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Experiences of Ambivalent Sexism and Applicant Behaviors:
The Interplay of Affective Reactions

by

Lauren Marie Soda

A thesis submitted to the School of Psychology
Florida Institute of Technology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

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July, 2024

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Abstract

Title: Experiences of Ambivalent Sexism and Applicant Behaviors: The Interplay of Affective Reactions

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This study focused on ambivalent sexism, which can have detrimental effects for organizations, consisting of two factors: benevolent and hostile sexism. Benevolent sexism is the subtler of the two, oftentimes creating a sense of inferiority and increased anxiety for those experiencing it. Hostile sexism, on the other hand, is often more overt and instills a sense of anger from the target. There appears to be little research looking at experiences of ambivalent sexism in work settings and the affective reactions to those events (i.e., anger and anxiety). I believed that when people experience hostile sexism will feel angry and associate the problem with the perpetrator, and those who experience benevolent sexism will feel anxiety and attribute the problems to themselves. Even less research looks at how these reactions affect individuals' intentions to seek different types of roles (i.e., in-person, remote, hybrid), especially when considering sensitivity to sexism. Thus, it remains unclear whether the experiences of ambivalent sexism in work settings lead to an affective reaction, further influencing applicant behavior (i.e., work preference). I utilized a cross-sectional survey design to further dive into the topic of work preference.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Ambivalent sexism, broadly defined as complementary sexist ideologies that serve the function of prejudice (Glick & Fiske, 1996) that are aimed at controlling women, can have detrimental effects for organizations, such as increased turnover (Jones et al., 2014; Pearson et al., 2000; Ross-Sheriff, 2012), decreased performance (Jones et al., 2014), and lowered job satisfaction (Murama & Bravi, 2021). According to the literature, ambivalent sexism has two factors – benevolent and hostile sexism. Benevolent sexism is the subtler of the two (Glick & Fiske, 1996), oftentimes creating a sense of inferiority and increased anxiety for those experiencing it (Chawla & Gabriel, 2023). Hostile sexism, on the other hand, is often more overt (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and instills a sense of anger from the target (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005b; Chawla & Gabriel, 2023; Hansen & Sassenberg, 2006; Lemonaki et al., 2015; Swim et al., 2001).

Consider the following example of benevolent sexism: You are working at the office when you approach your manager to discuss your interest in a project that, if led successfully, can propel your career in the field and lead to promotions. In response to your interest, your manager states that while you are qualified, they know that you have children at home and would hate to give you more difficult tasks that could lead to you being overwhelmed and burnt out. This is an example of benevolent sexism – it is subtle enough that you might not realize that your manager has some type of sexist view. Depending on your personal views, the

statement from your seemingly caring manager may either make you anxious or think that, maybe they are right? Or you may respond to your manager stating that they are incorrect in their belief, and you should be considered for leading the project.

Now consider this example of hostile sexism: You are eating lunch with your colleague who makes an insulting comment. You reply that the comment bothered you and he replied that “women are easily offended”. This statement is much more obvious, and the problem is clearly with your coworker and not you.

Ambivalent sexism is rooted in sexist ideologies that are common and universally experienced across cultures (Bareket & Fiske, 2023; Fiske & North, 2014; Glick et al., 2000; Glick et al., 2004). While benevolent sexism can be expressed unconsciously (Capodilupo et al., 2010), hostile sexism is obviously a form of sexism that is explicitly expressed, likely consciously from the perpetrator.

Much of the research on ambivalent sexism has focused on individuals’ ambivalently sexist ideologies, and recently, on outcomes such as job performance and satisfaction in work settings. As a result, it is necessary to dive into individual experiences of ambivalent sexism at work, and how those influences applicant behaviors.

The Research Gap

While there is a substantial amount of research on ambivalent sexism, much of the literature that focuses on this form of sexism in workplaces looks at

outcomes such as job performance, job satisfaction, and turnover (e.g., Jones et al., 2014; Jones et al., 2016; Murami & Bravi, 2021; Pearson et al., 2000; Ross-Sheriff, 2012). There have been numerous attempts at creating and validating measures of ambivalent sexism that are inventories of the topic (e.g., Kuchynka et al., 2017; Saloman et al., 2020). Most of which base their measures on Glick and Fiske's (1996) original Ambivalent Sexism Inventory. Very few have attempted at developing measures addressing actual experiences of ambivalent sexism, none of which are framed for work settings.

Generally, there appears to be little research looking at experiences of ambivalent sexism in work settings and the affective reactions to those events (i.e., anger and anxiety). Even less research looks at how these reactions affect individuals' intentions to seek different types of roles (i.e., in-person and remote).

Thus, it remains unclear whether the experiences of ambivalent sexism in work settings lead to an affective reaction, which further influences applicant behavior for the target of the event. Therefore, it is necessary utilize qualitative data to better understand employees' affective reactions to ambivalent sexism.

Using the Behavioral Activation and Behavioral Inhibition Systems as theoretical drivers, this study utilizes a cross-sectional survey with measures on experiences of ambivalent sexism, affective reactions, work location preference, and some demographic data. The resulting analyses are regression based as I looked at the outcomes in a continuous fashion. In this document, I provide a literature review on the risk factors and outcomes of ambivalent sexism, theoretical

frameworks, and the affective reactions associated with experiences of ambivalent sexism. Then I go over the proposed methodology and analyses for my study.

Lastly, I end with the expected implications.

Significance of the Study

The results of this research study could address the current literature gap by providing more detailed information about how affective reactions to experiences of ambivalent sexism (benevolent and hostile sexism), might influence applicant work setting preferences. At the organizational level, information from this study could help leadership identify why certain applicants prefer in-person roles and others prefer remote roles. Additionally, this research study may provide leaders with the necessary information to justify training on sexism and the effects those actions and behaviors have on different subgroups of employees.

At the employee level, examining affective reactions to ambivalent sexism may provide practical insights to how these experiences impact why some may choose remote roles versus in-person roles. By providing the results of this research study, individual employees may be able to identify the type of ambivalent sexism (benevolent or hostile sexism) they are experiencing, and better understand their reactions to that those experiences. Raising awareness of the various types of sexism in the workplace may aid in creating an inclusive culture where employees and their supervisors are careful about what they say to each other and, thus, reduce organizational turnover.

Summary

This study contributes to the existing literature on ambivalent sexism in numerous ways. First, this research adds to the current lack of research on affective research provides a more in-depth look at how affective reactions to ambivalent sexism impact preference of work type. The findings from this study may help organizations experiencing heightened turnover and low morale to better understand what may be leading to these issues and steps that can be taken to mitigate these negative outcomes in the future.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Ambivalent sexism, a term coined by Glick and Fiske in 1996, refers to complementary sexist ideologies that serve the function of prejudice (Glick & Fiske, 1996) aimed at controlling women. Thus, ambivalent sexism theory suggests that there are differences in power and interdependence between men and women, creating complementary sexist beliefs – benevolent and hostile sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Benevolent sexism is often conceptualized as the subtler or the two facets and is oftentimes in a favorable tone. An example of benevolent sexism in the workplace would be a manager assigning male employees more challenging work to prevent female employees from experiencing increased stress at work (King et al., 2012). Hostile sexism targets women in an overt fashion but being obviously rude and discriminatory (Bareket & Fiske, 2023; Glick & Fiske, 1996). An example of hostile sexism in the workplace could be an offensive comment, suggesting that a woman is manipulating a manager or supervisor to attain a promotion because they are not as qualified as her male counterparts (Bareket & Fiske, 2023). Over the years, research has suggested that ambivalently sexist ideologies are common and universally experienced across cultures (Bareket & Fiske, 2023; Fiske & North, 2014; Glick et al., 2000; Glick et al., 2004).

While it was previously stated that research on ambivalent sexism has mostly focused on performance issues (Dardenne et al., 2007; Dumont et al., 2010), new research has suggested that there have been four types of focus on the topic – theoretical models on the nature of ambivalent sexism in a specific area (Hammond

et al., 2020; Hammond & Overall, 2017a; 2017b), basic theoretical concepts of ambivalent sexism theory (Glick & Fiske, 1997; 2001b; 2001c; 2011; McHugh & Frieze, 1997), reviews of broader concepts related to ambivalent sexism, such as social roles and sexism in general (Becker & Sibley, 2016; Clow & Ricciardelli, 2011; Radke et al., 2016), and ambivalent sexism in the workplace (Ciakara et al., 2009; Bareket & Fiske, 2023; Hideg & Shen, 2019). Though, a review conducted by Bareket and Fiske (2023) suggested that social ideologies, social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism and system justification were the main domains to be researched on ambivalent sexism. Their results suggest that ambivalent sexism is highly related to other sociological ideologies (Bareket & Fiske, 2023). Additionally, this review found that control over women is a recurring theme for ambivalent sexism (Bareket & Fiske, 2023).

Antecedents of Ambivalent Sexism

Political Ideologies

Research on ambivalent sexism has suggested a variety of antecedents. To begin, Barreto and Doyle (2023) suggested that neoliberalism, which has been historically referred to a political approach to deregulation of markets and opening up national economies (Larner, 2003), is one of the reasons one might believe and engage in ambivalently sexist ways. Barreto and Doyle (2023) argued that neoliberalism empowers women to strive for higher-level roles, but then blame them for failing. That is, women are still holding traditional gender roles in the home (i.e., taking care of children and housekeeping), but they are also expected to

be more involved in work (Barreto & Doyle, 2023). Barreto and Doyle (2023) suggested that this shift in societal beliefs may have an impact on how sexism is experienced and expressed in the workplace. Additionally, men are often described as having agency (i.e., “power to evoke or intervene in an event”; Eteläpelto et al., 2013, p. 49; Giddens, 1984) and competency in the workplace that oftentimes leads to higher status roles with more power (Eagly, 1994; Fiske et al., 2007), whereas women are associated with warmth and communal traits (Eagly & Karau, 2002) and often restricted to roles that require individuals be sociable and nice (Barreto & Doyle, 2023).

Gender, Age, and Race

While limited, there has been some research on predictors and particular risk factors of ambivalent sexism. Gender, age, and race have been found to be predictors of ambivalent sexism. For example, cisgender men have been found to have high levels of hostile sexism, whereas cisgender women and gender-diverse individuals have lower levels of benevolent sexism (Schiralli et al., 2022). Other research has suggested that for both transgender and cisgender individuals, higher scores of both hostile and benevolent sexism are present (Khorashad et al., 2019). Additionally, for men, experiences of benevolent and hostile sexism did not result in the same affective responses of females experiencing sexism (i.e., anxiety, anger) (Chawla & Gabriel, 2023). Lastly, women who have more children tend to reflect higher scores on benevolent sexism scales (Deake et al., 2021).

In regard to age, hostile sexism appears to be higher for males when they are adolescents through young adulthood. These levels have been found to level off in middle adulthood, and then increase again in older age (Ferragut et al., 2017; Hammond et al., 2018), suggesting a curvilinear relationship. The same relationship is found amongst women for both hostile and benevolent sexism (Ferragut et al., 2017; Hammond et al., 2016). In general, males' benevolent sexism has been reported to increase with age (Ferragut et al., 2017; Hammond et al., 2018). For race, there have been conflicting claims about experiences of ambivalent sexism. Some research has suggested that benevolent sexism is not correlated with hostile sexism among Black American participants, but were correlated among White individuals (Davis et al., 2022; Hayes et al., 2013). This suggests that benevolent sexism may be perceived differently by group membership (Davis et al., 2022). Davis and colleagues (2022) also reported that Black women endorse benevolent sexism more than white American women. While women in general experience sexism, women of color often experience gendered racism (Holder et al., 2015), also known as "double jeopardy" (Berdahl & Moore, 2006). This term means that women of color face racism and sexism at the same time (Essed, 1991). Little research has been done on benevolent sexism against women of color (Lewis et al., 2016).

Cultural Background

Cultural background may have an impact on the amount of ambivalently sexist beliefs one holds. For example, Hostile sexism has been reported to be

strongest in countries with less wealth, education, health, and lower gender equality (Brandy, 2011). However, Barreto and Doyle (2023) suggested that hostile sexism may be detrimental to society, which may help explain why these countries struggle with wealth, education, health, and gender equality. It is important to note that research on ambivalent sexism and culture is not well established and should be pursued in the future to better understand these relationships (Barreto & Doyle, 2023).

Religiosity and Sexual Orientation

Other predictors of ambivalent sexism are religiosity, and sexual orientation. Christianity and Islam (Burn & Busso, 2005; Glick et al., 2002; Maitner & Henry, 2018; Mikołajczak, M. & Pietrzak, 2014; Taşdemir & Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2010), and political conservatism (de Geus et al., 2022) is oftentimes associated with increased levels of ambivalent sexism. Regarding sexual orientation, those who desire to be in heterosexual romantic relationships report stronger ambivalently sexist attitudes than sexual-minority respondents (Cowie et al., 2019; Lopez-Saez et al., 2020; Pistella et al., 2018).

Outcomes of Ambivalent Sexism

In general, women who report more experiences with hostile sexism on a daily basis, report more experiences with benevolent sexism as well (Salomon et al., 2020). When both are occurring in the workplace, there are a series of negative outcomes, especially for female and minority employees (Barreto & Doyle, 2023). For example, for those that are direct targets or viewers of ambivalent sexism and

similar behaviors, can lead to increased turnover intentions (Jones et al., 2014; Pearson et al., 2000; Ross-Sheriff, 2012), decreased performance (Jones et al., 2014), decreased intention to strive for leadership positions (Barreto et al., 2010; Rollero & Fedi, 2014), and cognitive performance (Dardenne et al., 2007; Dumont et al., 2010).

While there is substantial research on ambivalent sexism in general, much of the literature has focused its attention on benevolent sexism and hostile sexism separately. Thus, it is important to understand the nuances of benevolent and hostile sexism as they have different outcomes for individuals in the workplace.

Benevolent Sexism

The first of the two facets of ambivalent sexism is benevolent sexism. Benevolent sexism can be defined as “a set of interrelated attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles but that is subjectively positive in feeling tone and also tend to elicit behavior typically categorized as prosocial or intimacy seeking” (Allport, 1954; Glick & Fiske, 1996). On the surface, benevolent sexism appears to promote gender equality, and is “friendly sexism”, but that is not necessarily the case (Benilock, 2020). Some common examples of benevolent sexism are “feelings of protectiveness toward women” and the belief that “men should provide for women” (Glick & Fiske, 1996). For example, in a work setting, a manager who holds benevolently sexist attitudes may assign male employees more challenging work to prevent female employees from experiencing increased stress at work (King et al., 2012). In

general, those who, in work settings, engage in ways that suggest they hold benevolently sexist attitudes contribute to occupational gender segregation (Hideg, 2016), which assumes that women are weak, not as strong as men, and need men's help (Cassidy, 2019), and encourages that women be employed in roles that are gender appropriate (Hideg, 2016).

Benevolent sexism has been compared to microaggressions (Feigt et al., 2021), which are "brief and commonplace verbal, behavioral, or situational indignities that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative slights or insults, especially toward members of minority or oppressed groups (APA, 2023). Specifically, benevolent sexism is considered a gender-based microaggression (Feigt et al., 2021) which are often unconsciously expressed due to internalized biases and lack of self-awareness of said biases (Capodilupo et al., 2010). Thus, microaggressions are a mechanism for biases (i.e., benevolently sexist ideologies) to come out in a way that allows the perpetrator to express their unconscious views without being outwardly sexist or racist.

In general, sexism is quite common (Swim et al., 2001), and research has found that benevolent sexism was found to be related to field of study. Experiences of benevolent sexism appear to be more prevalent for degrees that are traditionally more technical (i.e., data science, information technology) than other degrees (i.e., social sciences, humanities) (Fernández et al., 2006). Additionally, research has found that gender stereotypes and sexism are pervasive in STEM environments

(Kuchynka et al., 2018) and Western countries that value “traditional women (i.e., housewives; Becker, 2010).

Benevolent sexism can be categorized into three different forms – protective paternalism, complementary gender differentiation, and heterosexual intimacy, (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Protective paternalism suggests that men are protectors of women and should provide for them (Glick & Fiske, 1996). An example of someone with this belief would be someone who believes that women ought to be rescued first in emergencies (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Complementary gender differentiation reinforces societal gender norms. This suggests that the weaknesses of both men and women are balanced out by each other. An example of complementary gender differentiation would be the belief that women are purer than men (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Lastly, heterosexual intimacy suggests that there are innately romantic feelings between men and women. An example of heterosexual intimacy is the belief that every man ought to have a woman whom he adores, or that people are not happy in life without being involved, romantically, with someone of another sex (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Seeing as heterosexual intimacy focuses on intimate relationships not often apparent in work samples, I do not plan to include this sub-facet on benevolent sexism. Managers who engage in benevolently sexist actions and behaviors are more likely to avoid giving negative feedback to females to protect their feelings (King et al., 2012). All of these actions inhibit female employees’ ability to stand out and advance in their jobs (Hideg, 2016; King et al., 2012).

Cassidy and Krendl (2019) suggested a “shifting standards” for benevolent sexism. What this suggests is that individuals have differing standards for evaluating different groups (Biernat et al., 1991). Therefore, when women are compared with other women, those with benevolently sexist ideologies may see women as competent. But, when women are being compared to men, they are no longer seen as competent (Cassidy & Krendl, 2019). This makes women more likely to be overlooked for leadership positions and promotions when being compared to men (Bear et al., 2017).

Outcomes of Benevolent Sexism

Research on various outcomes of benevolent sexism has reported that women exposed to benevolent sexism tend to describe themselves in line with stereotypes of their gender, and they tend to remember more gender-stereotypical information they associate with themselves (Barreto & Doyle, 2023). This association of gender-stereotyped information about themselves may introduce a stereotype threat (Davies et al., 2002; 2005; Spencer et al., 2016). Stereotype threat refers to situations in which a stereotype about a certain group is mentioned or a member of the group is aware of said stereotypes and the individual becomes worried about being judged for the stereotype. The awareness of the stereotype makes individuals feel more pressure to succeed (Spencer et al., 1999; Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995) and can undermine performance in a variety of settings such as financial decision making (Carr & Steele, 2010) and academia (Major & O’Brien, 2005; Steele, 1997; Steele et al., 2002a; Walton & Spencer, 2009). On top

of creating almost a stereotype threat for women when they become aware of their stereotyped information, benevolent sexism has been associated with inhibiting women's promotion potential, cognitive and task performance, and self-efficacy (Dardenne et al., 2007; Jones et al., 2014; Vescio et al., 2005). When managers fail to give their subordinate female employees challenging projects and tasks and avoid giving negative feedback, they oftentimes end up with less work-related skill sets, and those work-related skills and experiences are often underdeveloped (King et al., 2012). Not only does benevolent sexism negatively impact targets of the behaviors and actions, but those simply viewing actions similar to benevolent sexism has been reported to increase turnover intentions (Jones et al., 2014; Pearson et al., 2000), which, in turn, can cost organizations a significant amount of talent, and money (Dess & Shaw, 2001)

Not only is benevolent sexism associated with negative workplace implications (i.e., Dardenne et al., 2007; Jones et al., 2014; Vescio et al., 2005), there are psychological and physiological implication for those who experience and observe these behaviors. Chawla and Gabriel (2023) reported that experiencing benevolent sexism was positively related to experiences of anxiety. Attributional Ambiguity Theory to Discrimination describes an uncertainty one feels about the outcomes they receive. This uncertainty is about whether the outcome is an indicator of that person's capabilities as an individual, or whether the outcome is an indicator of some social prejudice others have against that person. (Crocker & Major, 1989; Major & Crocker, 1993; Major et al., 2003). Essentially, this theory

suggests that individuals will make either an internal or external attribution to the outcomes they receive. Using this theory, Jones et al. (2014) reported that targets of subtle discrimination, such as benevolent sexism, most often make an internal attribution (i.e., ‘it’s not them, it’s me’) to their experiences. Thus, they are more likely to have an increased sense of self-doubt about their abilities and they may have feelings of incompetence (Dardenne et al., 2007; Dumont et al., 2010).

Hostile Sexism

The second facet of ambivalent sexism is hostile sexism, the overt and unambiguous form of prejudice towards women that is oftentimes offensive and discriminatory (Barreto & Elmers, 2005; Dardenne et al., 2007; Good & Rudman, 2010; Saloman et al., 2015). Allport (1954) described hostile sexism as the form of prejudice that people often think of when they think of prejudice and stereotypes. Common beliefs of those who believe in hostile sexism ideologies are beliefs that women are less competent and credible than men in work-related domains (Glick & Fiske, 1996; 1999; Hammond et al., 2018; King et al., 2012). In general, hostile sexism appears to “address power relations, gender differentiation, and sexuality (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

Hostile sexism oftentimes takes the form of inappropriate jokes that are inherently sexist, crude, or meant to belittle women, explicitly stating that some jobs are not meant for women, and making general comments that are insulting towards or about women (Brinkman & Rickard, 2009; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Jones et al., 2014; Thomas & Esses, 2004), and tend to be reported to be strongest in

countries with less wealth, education, health, and lower gender equality (Brandy, 2011).

Hostile sexism has been conceptualized as having three subthemes – power relations, gender differentiation, and sexuality (Glick & Fiske, 2001, p. 112). Power relations often encompasses aggressive reference to men’s superiority over women. An example of power relations is the comment that “women seek to gain power by getting control over men” (Glick & Fiske, 2001, p. 112). Those who have beliefs concurrent to gender differentiation often draw a line and restrict roles of power and status to men. “Women are easily offended” is an example of gender differentiation for hostile sexism (Glick & Fiske, 2001, p. 112). Lastly, heterosexual intimacy refers to beliefs that women use sex to manipulate men and strive to restrict this “manipulation tactic” (Glick & Fiske, 2001). An example of heterosexual intimacy would be that “many women get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances” (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

Outcomes of Hostile Sexism

In general, hostile sexism tends to lead to a series of negative outcomes. For example, women who experience hostile sexism tend to see the perpetrator as threatening them (Marchiondo et al., 2018), increased turnover intentions (Jones et al., 2014; Pearson et al., 2000; Ross-Sheriff, 2012), inhibited performance (Jones et al., 2014) and decreased self-efficacy (Jones et al., 2014).

It also may trigger fight or flight reactions (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005). Fight or flight is stress response that activates physiological reactions (i.e., staying to “fight” or leaving the situation; Dhabhar & McEwen, 1997; Dhabhar, 2009). For those who decide to “fight”, they tend to have anger towards the perpetrator of the sexist comment or behavior and associate the sexist attitudes as being a problem with the perpetrator, not the target (Dardenne et al., 2007; Lerner & Keltner, 2001; Roseman et al., 1990; Smith & Ellsworth, 1985). Though, those who choose the “flight” option, tend to develop anxiety-related emotions that make the target direct their focus internally. They tend to be unsure about who is the problem (i.e., themselves or the perpetrator) (Lazarus, 1991). Since hostile sexism is most often associated with anger as the outcome (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005b; Chawla & Gabriel, 2023; Hansen & Sassenberg, 2006; Lemonaki et al., 2015; Swim et al., 2001), it is likely that those who experience this type of sexism will have increased intentions to socially compete due to that anger (Lemonaki et al., 2015).

Research has suggested that, when angry, individuals have an increased determination to succeed (Bagozzi et al., 2000; Lane & Terry, 2000) and feel confident about their abilities and qualities (Harmon-Jones & Allen, 1998). The target may realize that they are not the problem - it is their boss and they may not necessarily change their behaviors and beliefs. Since targets of hostile sexism do not think they are the problem, they may seek a new job, but simply to get a new boss or environment.

Theoretical Framework

When individuals are experiencing a form of sexism, it is reasonable to believe they will have some kind of affective reaction which can influence job search behavior. Seeing as anxiety and anger are oftentimes an outcome of these behaviors (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Chawla & Gabriel, 2023), it is important to understand why individuals react certain ways. Lazarus (1991) reported that “anxiety stems from appraisals of uncertainty regarding the situation, including the agent responsible for the perceived threat of a stressful event”.

There are several theories that can be utilized for research on ambivalent sexism. For example, Stress as Offense to Self (SOS; Semmer et al., 2019), which is “based on the assumption that achieving and maintaining a positive self-view is a basic need and that threats to self-esteem generate strain” (Semmer et al., 2019), focused on stress and boosting self-esteem as being an important aspect of stressful resources at work.

Research has suggested that professional roles tend to become a part of people’s identity (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016; Haslam & Ellemers, 2005). Thus, a professional role ends up being a part of the self (Oyseman et al., 2012) and people often end up having high senses of esteem for their roles in the workplace and will try to defend themselves if they feel threatened at work (Gollwitzer et al., 2013). If given illegitimate tasks that are not necessarily related to their job, feelings of appreciation at work are low or are interpreting messages as offending from their environment, stress is experienced as well. (Eatough et al., 2016; Pierce & Gardner,

2004; Sculte-Braucks et al., 2019; Semmer et al., 2015; Sonnentage & Lischetzke, 2018).

Another theory to be considered is Weiss and Cropanzano's (1996) Affective Events Theory, which suggests that events at work are related to affective reactions or emotional responses, further determining attitudes and behaviors in the workplace. Therefore, when an employee experiences some event at work, an emotional response is facilitated, and then the individual's behaviors and attitudes may adjust from what the emotional response is. Additionally, it is likely that the affective reactions are not conscious reactions, suggesting that individuals are likely to change behaviors and attitudes without realizing it (Winkielman et al., 2005).

Now that there is an understanding of how individuals react affectively to an event, it is helpful to discuss what different reactions (i.e., anxiety and anger) suggest for individuals' effort towards goals. For the purposes of this study, I focus on Fowles (1980) Behavioral Activation System (BAS) and Carver and White's (1994) Behavioral Inhibition System (BIS). BAS suggests that effort facilitated towards goals has been associated with anger (Harmon-Jones, 2004; Harmon-Jones & Segelman, 2001). This system is associated with reward and punishments – specifically the efforts to escape from a punishment but is also associated with hope and happiness (Gray, 1977; 1981; 1990). BAS has been reported to relate to positive affect (Carver & White, 1994). In layman's terms, the BAS suggests that, when an individual experiences an event or a series of events and they attribute that

event in a way that exhibits anger, the attribution (i.e. anger) affects how the individual will put effort into their goals and behaviors, such that effort towards goals is facilitated.

The BIS has been reported to inhibit effort towards goal (Carver & White, 1994), and has been associated with anxiety, frustration, and fear (Gray, 1970; 1977; 1978; 1990). BIS has been reported to relate to negative affect (Carver & White, 1994). Different from BAS, BIS occurs when an individual experiences an event or series of events, attributes said event in a way that makes them feel anxiety, that attribution (i.e., anxiety), affects how the individual will put effort into their goals and behaviors, such that effort towards goals is inhibited. Thus, individuals experiencing hostile sexism, with anger as outcomes (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005b; Chawla & Gabriel, 2023; Hansen & Sassenberg, 2006; Lemonaki et al., 2015; Swim et al., 2001), are likely to experience BAS, whereas those who experience benevolent sexism, with anxiety outcomes (Chawla & Gabriel, 2023), are likely to experience BIS. Therefore, these behavioral activation and inhibition systems may be related to individuals' choice of work (i.e., remote or in-person) when they experience ambivalent sexism, depending on whether it is benevolent or hostile sexism. See Figure 1 for visual representation of the relationship between an event or series of events and affective reactions.

Applicant Behavior

Applicants seeking new roles participate in a job search, which refers to “a dynamic, recursive self-regulated process which involves setting an employment

goal and expending effort toward behaviors that serve this goal” (Kanfer et al., 2001, p. 838; Chawla & Gabriel, 2023). Applicants actively seeking a new job will complete applications and submit resumes to job postings. Thus, this process is dynamic in that it requires individuals to monitor job boards (i.e., LinkedIn, Indeed, ZipRecruiter, etc.) and respond to emails and phone calls (Chawla & Gabriel, 2023). Chawla and Gabriel (2023) studied self-regulatory processes associated with searching for jobs, and how experiences of hostile and benevolent sexism in the job search affect actions and attitudes during the job search. They reported that participants who experienced hostile sexism reported more anger, and those who experienced benevolent sexism had increased anxiety, higher job search effort and intensity, but experienced emotional exhaustion and increased rejection (Chawla & Gabriel, 2023). Additionally, Ali et al. (2016) reported that exposure to incivilities during a job search had negative implications for applicants’ search-efficacy and intensity.

Remote Work/Work from Home (WFH)

Remote work, also termed as working from home, has historically been known as a beneficiary voluntary option of work to provide more flexibility to the employee (Torres and Orhan, 2022). Generally, remote work can be defined as “a variety of arrangements that involve working away from the employer’s main offices” (Morganson et al., 2010, p. 579). In the past, working from home has been considered to be a lucrative perk of having higher-level corporate positions (Morganson et al., 2010) and has been reported to have positive outcomes on

behaviors, attitudes, and work outcomes (Maruyama et al., 2009). Since the COVID-19 pandemic, remote work has become a dominant topic in literature and has had various outcomes, such as productivity (Bloom et al., 2015; Wu et al., 2008), flexibility (Murama & Bravi, 2021), and collaboration (Yang et al., 2022) due to various participant pools and contexts.

In the past few years, there has been a substantial amount of research on remote work, likely due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Of this research, there have been some conflicting arguments. For example, research has suggested that remote workers have more autonomy, flexibility with their daily lives (Murmura & Bravi, 2021), increased productivity (Bloom et al., 2015; Choudhury et al., 2021) and have higher job satisfaction (Murmura & Bravi, 2021). Additionally, Pirzadeh and Lingard (2021) reported an extreme reduction in commuting times, increased times for family activities, and safer working conditions.

On the other hand, research has suggested that remote work has not been as beneficial as initially thought. For example, research has suggested productivity has decreased (Wu et al., 2008), there is a siloing of collaboration (Yang et al., 2022), managerial oversight (Kaur et al., 2015), and a decrease in knowledge spillovers (Atkin et al., 2022).

While there is a substantial number of conflicting arguments on the (dis)advantages of remote work, it is likely that there is some underlying reason for the conflicting findings. Research has shown that women with young children and families disproportionately value job flexibility, including ability to work remotely,

partly due to societal expectations of family roles (Atkin et al., 2020; Barbulescu and Bidwell, 2013; Mas and Pallais, 2017). Thus, women and underrepresented minorities value flexibility due to socioeconomic status (Hsu & Tambe, 2022), and want to avoid the higher cost of commuting that women often face (Le Barbanchon et al., 2021). Additionally, some research has suggested that women seek out remote roles to avoid overtly competitive dynamic (Flory et al., 2015) because they may be less effective than men in these environments (Gneezy et al., 2003). Men have been reported to be twice as likely to choose a competitive role compared to women, likely because they are overconfident about their performance compared to women (Niederle & Westerlund, 2007).

Women generally take qualifications described in the job description more seriously than men (Coffman et al., 2020), thus when postings use “softer” qualifications, the gender skills gap tends to decrease (Abraham & Stein, 2020). By designing a job as remote eligible, Hsu and Tambe (2022) argue that it inherently invites a labor pool to consist of more women, underrepresented minorities, and experienced candidates.

In the past, there has been a higher proportion of women and underrepresented minorities applying to remote role, but with the remote eligible roles, comes some tradeoffs. In the past, working remotely is associated with lower salary expectations and decreased promotion potential (Bloom et al., 2015; Hsu & Tambe, 2022). This has been argued to be because being in-person at a job result in more feedback and managerial oversight (Emanuel et al., 2022). Therefore, individuals in the job

market may choose a remote or in-person role depending on what they value. If someone values flexibility, they will likely seek out a remote role. If they seek success and promotion potential, they may want to seek in-person roles (Barbulescu & Bidwell, 2013; Hsu & Tambe, 2022). It is important to note that while some may desire to work remotely, there may be some barriers prohibiting them from actually working in a remote setting, such as ineffective technology (i.e., issues with home Wi-Fi; Seperoni, 2023), having to take on more responsibilities while working from home (i.e., children stay at home and cause disruptions during the day; Ewers & Kangmennaang, 2023), or not having the physical space at home to work (Fereydooni & Walker, 2020).

Ambivalent Sexism and Choice of Work

Research has suggested that viewing and experiencing behaviors like ambivalent sexism can increase turnover intentions (Jones et al., 2014; Pearson et al., 2000), indicating that those who experience these acts, will be more likely to be searching for new roles. On top of the psychological and physiological impacts of microaggressions in the workplace, these actions have been shown to lower productivity and increase turnover intentions, especially among women and people from minority groups (Cherry & Wilcox, 2020; McCann, 2022).

As previously discussed, the subtle discrimination that is benevolent sexism is most often attributed internally by targets (Jones et al., 2014). The “it’s not them, it’s me”, makes employees doubt themselves and their abilities (Dardenne et al., 2007; Dumont et al., 2010). On the other hand, hostile sexism oftentimes leads to

an external attribution of “it’s not me, it’s them”, and generally makes targets angry and willing to socially compete (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005b; Chawla & Gabriel, 2023; Hansen & Sassenberg, 2006; Lemonaki et al., 2015; Swim et al., 2001).

Sensitivity to Sexism

Sensitivity to sexism can be referred to as ones’ susceptibility to the “occurrence of sexism directed at themselves and others” (Stangor et al., 1999, p. 251) and has been conceptualized as having an influence on how targets of sexism will label the event (Stangor et al., 1999). More specifically, those who are identified as being highly sensitive to sexism, compared to those who are low on sensitivity to sexism, are more sensitive to the occurrence of sexism and believe that they encounter prejudice and sexism and see a greater number of headlines pertaining to gender discrimination more often than those who are low (Stangor et al., 1999). That is, individuals high on sensitivity to sexism are more likely to identify an event as being sexism than those who are low (Stangor et al., 1999). Therefore, if an individual is low on sensitivity to sexism, it is likely that they will not detect something as being sexist (König & Heine, 2023; Stangor et al., 1999), which likely impacts the affective reactions associated with those events. Interestingly, men appear to be less sensitive to sexism, and thus do not identify experiences of sexism as easily as women (Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Glick & Fiske, 1996). This is especially important in understanding individuals’ reactions to sexism in regard to job behaviors.

What's Missing?

Previous research has focused almost exclusively on the outcomes of ambivalent sexism in the workplace, rather than looking at the affective reactions of the sexism. Additionally, research has not yet begun to look at previous experiences of ambivalent sexism and how those affective reactions influence applicant behaviors when searching for new roles.

Summary

This literature review chapter covered the origins of ambivalent sexism (benevolent and hostile sexism), BAS, BIS, applicant search behaviors, and various working conditions (in-person and remote). The following chapter details the methods that were used to recruit participants, collect participant data, and then analyze the data appropriately.

Since targets of both benevolent and hostile sexism are likely to have increased turnover intentions (Jones et al., 2014; Pearson et al., 2000), I expected that participants who have experienced this type of discrimination to be seeking jobs. In sum, those who have experienced benevolent sexism will be more interested in applying to more remote roles than those who have not experienced benevolent sexism. Additionally, those who have experienced hostile sexism will be seeking more in-person roles than those who have not experienced hostile sexism.

Chapter 3

Methods

The purpose of this study was to explore the affective reactions to ambivalent sexism at work, and the subsequent impact on applicant behavior. By examining this phenomenon in depth, this study further informs the literature regarding affective reactions to forms of sexism, and how that impacts choice of work location. Additionally, the results of this study may help organizations reduce instances of ambivalent sexism (benevolent and hostile) in the workplace. In the following sections, I explain the study's design and implementation as well as my role in the research and ethical considerations.

Study Design

I utilized a single cross-sectional survey design. For the purposes of this survey methodology, I administered measures on sensitivity to sexism, experiences of benevolent and hostile sexism, anger, anxiety, and work preference. Data was collected from CloudResearch's Connect and was then analyzed with Hayes' (2017) PROCESS in SPSS version 29.0.2.0. See Figures 2 and 3 for proposed PROCESS models 4, and Figures 4 and 5 for proposed PROCESS models 7.

Hypotheses

1. There will be a statistically significant negative regression coefficient between experiences of benevolent sexism and work preference.
2. There will be a statistically significant positive regression coefficient between experiences of hostile sexism and work.

3. Anxiety mediates the effect of benevolent sexism on preference of remote work.
4. Anger mediates the effect of hostile sexism on preference of in-person work.
5. Sensitivity to sexism moderates the relationship between benevolent sexism and anxiety such that as sensitivity to sexism increases, the relationship becomes stronger.
6. Sensitivity to sexism moderates the relationship between hostile sexism and anger such that as sensitivity to sexism increases, the relationship becomes stronger.

Participants

CloudResearch Connect was used for participants to sign up for the study. I included participants who are U.S. citizens, at least 18 years old, are actively seeking a new job, and have worked in the past six months. I added attention checks to the study questions and those who missed the attention checks were removed from the data set. Participants first read an informed consent form. After reading, signing the form, and agreeing to participate in the study, they were then taken to the survey and demographic questions.

Procedure

Before recruiting participants, I first obtained permission to conduct this study from the institutional review board (IRB) at Florida Institute of Technology. After approval was obtained, I began data collection. Participants were recruited

from a web-based recruitment system and volunteered to participate via CloudResearch Connect, utilizing CloudResearch’s filtering system for increased response quality. CloudResearch is a relatively new system that is restricted to American participants (Hartman et al., 2023). Of importance, CloudResearch reports that researchers should expect no more than one to two percent of poor responding from participants (Hartman et al., 2023), and averages around 97% in data quality (Hartman et al., 2023). The authors report that participant pools are regularly monitored, ensuring they are responding from the location they claim utilizing IP addressed and continuous data quality monitoring (Hartman et al., 2023).

Connect’s targeted demographics allowed me to prevent participants from participating if they do not meet the posted requirements. More specifically, Connect’s filtering function allowed me to select demographics to target. For example, I selected that participation requires participants to be currently seeking a job. Within the system, I selected an option to include only participants who are actively seeking roles in some manner, including the following options: “I need a job as soon as possible,” “I need a job soon,” “I am interested in a new job but am in no rush,” and “I am just looking around.” See Appendix A for a screen capture of the choice options.

Participants were asked a series of screening questions at the beginning to determine eligibility. Then, participants were directed to complete measures on

experiences of ambivalent sexism, sensitivity to sexism, affective reactions, work location preference, and demographic items in Qualtrics.

Measures

Ambivalent Sexism

Ambivalent sexism was measured using a modified version of Kuchynka et al.'s. (2017) Ambivalent Sexism Scale, which consists of 15 items on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = the event has never happened to you; 6 = the event happens very frequently). For the purposes of this study, I modified the frame of reference from “In your STEM courses and course-related activities” to “at work or work-related functions.” For example, the original item number one was “In the past six months, how often have you in your STEM courses and course-related activities been subjected to offensive comments.” The modified item was “In the past six months, how often have you, at work and at work-related functions been subjected to offensive comments.” Reported internal consistency was acceptable with $\alpha = .91$, $\alpha = .94$, and $\alpha = .84$ for hostile sexism, protective paternalism, and complementary gender differentiation, respectively (Kuchynka et al., 2017). See Appendix B for full list of items.

Sensitivity to Sexism

Sensitivity to sexism was measured using Stangor et al.'s (1999) Sensitivity to Sexism Scale which consists of three items on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = not at all; 7 = very much). Reported internal consistency was acceptable with an $\alpha = .69$ (Stangor et al., 1999). See Appendix C for full list of items.

Affective Reactions

Anger was measured using a modified version of Watson & Clark's (1999) Positive and Negative Affect Extended (PANAS-X) scale. I plan to modify the frame of reference from "In the past few weeks" to "in the past six months". As done in Chawla & Gabriel (2022), who reported an $\alpha = .82$, the six items included were "angry", "hostile", "irritable", "scornful", "disgusted", and "loathing". See Appendix D for full list of items.

Anxiety was measured using a modified version of Van Katwyk et al's. (2000) Job-Related Affective Well-Being Scale. I modified the frame of reference from "the past 30 days" to "the past six months". As done in Chawla & Gabriel (2022), who reported an $\alpha = .89$, the four items included were, "nervous", "tense", "anxious", and "worried." See Appendix E for a full list of items.

Choice of Work

Choice of work (i.e., remote and in-person) was measured using a self-developed prompt, "Please indicate your interest in working the following". Participants indicated their interest in seeking out a remote and in-person position on a bipolar school scale (-5 = remote; 5 = in-person). See Appendix F for full list of items.

Participant Demographics

Demographic items were asked last, as recommended by various researchers (Dillman, 2007; Fink et al., 2003; Jackson, 2009; Whitley, 1996) in attempt to prevent primacy effects and breakoffs by personal questions

(Stoutenborough, 2008). Demographic information asked was on participant age, gender, current employment status, and whether they are currently seeking new employment. After See Appendix G for a full list of demographic questions.

Chapter 4 Results

Data Analysis

The study was a cross-sectional survey with measures on experiences of ambivalent sexism, sensitivity to sexism, affective reactions, work location preference, and demographic data with an original sample of participants was $N = 378$. Prior to conducting analyses, I first cleaned the data where I removed participants who did not meet eligibility criteria. Those identified as not meeting eligibility criteria were those who indicated that the work they are seeking cannot be done remotely and in-person ($N = 63$), are not currently seeking a job ($N = 74$), are not working, and have not worked in the past six months ($N = 17$), and those who failed attention checks ($N = 13$). Outlier analyses were then conducted by creating z-score composites of each scale. Two individuals were removed as their individual composites that exceeded ± 3.3 were removed as suggested by Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007. Thus, I removed a total of 169 participants, resulting in a final sample size of $N = 209$.

Descriptive Statistics

In total, there were 209 participants included in data collection, with a median age of 34 years ($M = 35.40$, $SD = 9.66$) and ranged from 18 to 68 years old. The sample consisted of 99 males, 104 females, 2 identifying as other, and 4 who chose not to disclose. Descriptive statistics were run for work preference ($M = -2.51$, $SD = 2.85$), sensitivity to sexism ($M = 2.63$, $SD = 1.39$), hostile sexism ($M =$

1.64, $SD = 0.73$), benevolent sexism ($M = 1.91$, $SD = 1.00$), anger ($M = 1.95$, $SD = 0.80$), and anxiety ($M = 2.82$, $SD = 0.96$). Descriptive statistics and correlations between all study variables are presented in Table 2.

Additionally, I ran the internal consistency for the Ambivalent Sexism Scale, Sensitivity to Sexism, PANAS-X, and the Job-Related Affective Well-Being Scale. The Ambivalent Sexism Scale had an $\alpha = .93$, Sensitivity to Sexism had $\alpha = .87$, PANAS-X had an $\alpha = .88$, and the Job-Related Affective Well-Being Scale was $\alpha = .91$.

The resulting data was analyzed via regression using Hayes' (2017) PROCESS Models 4 and 7. Hypotheses 3 and 4 were analyzed using model 4, and hypotheses 5 and 6 were analyzed using model 7. PROCESS is an add-on within SPSS that allows for a variety of moderation and mediation analyses (Hayes, 2012; 2017). Model 4 tests a simple mediation where X influences Y directly, and indirectly through M (see Figure 6 for a conceptual diagram of Model 4). Model 7, specifically, tests a moderated mediation where X influences Y directly, and indirectly through M and W (See Figure 7 for a conceptual diagram of Model 7).

For my first theoretical model, the independent variable (X) is Benevolent Sexism, the dependent variable (Y) is preference for remote work, the moderator (W) is sensitivity to sexism, and the mediator (M) is anxiety. For my second theoretical model, the independent variable (X) is hostile sexism, the dependent

variable (Y) is preference for in-person work, the moderator (W) is sensitivity to sexism and the mediator (M) is anger.

Exploratory analysis between experiencing both hostile and benevolent sexism were conducted using a hierarchical multiple regression. For this analysis, I conducted two hierarchical multiple regressions – one beginning with hostile sexism and the other beginning with benevolent sexism. Additionally, I included an interaction term (hostile x benevolent sexism) and work preference. See Table 1 for summary of analyses.

Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 suggested that there would be a statistically negative regression coefficient between experiences of benevolent sexism and preference of remote work. The overall model was significant ($R^2 = .04$, $F(2, 206) = 4.28$, $p = .02$). The regression using experiences of benevolent sexism ($M = 1.91$, $SD = 1.00$) to predict work preference ($M = -2.51$, $SD = 2.85$) showed that experiences of benevolent sexism positively predicted work preference, $b = .50$, $p = .02$, rather than negatively predicting work preference. Since the work preference was in a bipolar school scale (-5 = remote; 5 = in-person), this suggests that as benevolent sexism experiences increase, in-person work preference increases. Thus, hypothesis 1 was not supported.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 suggested that there would be a statistically positive regression coefficient between experiences of hostile sexism and preference of in-person work. The overall model was significant ($R^2 = .03$, $F(2, 206) = 3.43$, $p = .03$). The regression using experiences of hostile sexism ($M = 1.64$, $SD = 0.73$) to predict work preference showed that experiences of hostile sexism does predict in-person work preference, $b = .80$, $p = .01$. Since the work preference was in a bipolar school scale (-5 = remote; 5 = in-person), this suggests that as hostile sexism experiences increase, in-person work preference increases. Thus, hypothesis 2 was supported.

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 suggested that anxiety would mediate the effect of benevolent sexism on preference of remote work. The overall model was significant ($R^2 = .04$, $F(2, 206) = 4.28$, $p = .02$). The regression using experiences of benevolent sexism to predict anxiety ($M = 2.82$, $SD = 0.96$) showed that experiences of benevolent sexism positively predicted anxiety, $b = .32$, $p < .001$. This suggests that as experiences of benevolent sexism increases, anxiety increases as well. In addition, the regression predicting work preference through anxiety is significant, $b = -.49$, $p = .02$. That is, as anxiety increases, there is a significant preference for remote work. Lastly, the indirect effect of anxiety on work preference is significant, $b = -.16$, 95% CI = $-.33 - -.02$, thus supporting hypothesis 3 that anxiety mediates the relationship between benevolent sexism and remote work preference. Interestingly,

the direct effect between benevolent sexism and work preference is significantly positive, predicting in-person work preference. Though, when considering anxiety, this relationship turns negative, suggesting anxiety is a suppressor variable.

Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4 suggested that anger would mediate the effect of hostile sexism on preference of remote work. The overall model was significant ($R^2 = .03$, $F(2, 206) = 3.43$, $p = .03$). The regression using experiences of hostile sexism to predict anger ($M = 1.95$, $SD = 0.80$) showed that hostile sexism positively predicted anger, $b = .55$, $p < .001$. However, the regression predicting work preference through anger is not significant, $b = -.42$, $p = .14$. Lastly, the indirect effect of anger on work preference is not significant, $b = -.23$, 95% CI = $-.58 - .06$, thus failing to support hypothesis 4. See Table 3 for direct and indirect effects of hypotheses 3 and 4.

Hypothesis 5

Hypothesis 5 suggested that sensitivity to sexism would moderate the relationship between benevolent sexism and anxiety such that as sensitivity to sexism increase, the relationship becomes stronger. The overall model was significant ($R^2 = .04$, $F(2, 206) = 4.28$, $p = .02$). Sensitivity to sexism did not moderate the relationship between benevolent sexism and anxiety, $b = -.06$, $t = -1.34$, $p = .17$, failing to support hypothesis 5. Therefore, sensitivity to sexism did not moderate the mediated relationship between benevolent sexism, anxiety, and work preference. See Table 4 for the moderated mediation results for hypothesis 5.

Hypothesis 6

Hypothesis 6 suggested that sensitivity to sexism would moderate the relationship between hostile sexism and anger such that as sensitivity to sexism increases, the relationship becomes stronger. The overall model was significant ($R^2 = .03$, $F(2, 206) = 3.43$, $p = .03$). Sensitivity to sexism did not moderate the relationship between hostile sexism and anger, $b = -.05$, $t = -.50$, $p = .28$, failing to support hypothesis 6. Therefore, sensitivity to sexism did not moderate the proposed mediated relationship between hostile sexism, anger, and work preference. See Table 5 for the moderated mediation results for hypothesis 6, and Table 6 for a summary of the results.

Exploratory Analyses

Exploratory analyses were conducted to explore the effect of benevolent and hostile sexism, along with the interaction of the two. Two hierarchical multiple regressions were conducted, one beginning with hostile sexism and one beginning with benevolent sexism.

In step 1 hostile sexism was a predictor and it explained a significant amount of variance in work preference ($R^2 = .02$, $F(1, 207) = 4.59$, $p = .03$). In step 2 benevolent sexism was added to the model and it did not significantly add increased variance in work preference ($\Delta R^2 = .00$, $\Delta F(1, 206) = .31$, $p = .58$). For step 3 the interaction term (hostile x benevolent) were added to model and it did not significantly add increased variance in work preference ($\Delta R^2 = .01$, $\Delta F(1, 205) = 2.17$, $p = .14$). In the final model with all three predictors in the model, all three

predictors together explained a nonsignificant amount of variance in work preference ($R^2 = .03$, $F(1, 205) = 2.36$, $p = .07$). Hostile sexism ($b = -.46$, $p = .52$), benevolent sexism ($b = -.50$, $p = .32$) and the interaction term (hostile x benevolent) ($b = .34$, $p = .14$) were not significant predictors. See Table 7 for the first round of exploratory analysis results.

For the second exploratory analysis, benevolent sexism was added to step 1 and did not explain a significant amount of variance in work preference ($R^2 = .02$, $F(1, 207) = 3.06$, $p = .08$). In step 2, hostile sexism was added and did not explain a significant amount of variance in work preference ($\Delta R^2 = .01$, $\Delta F(1, 206) = 1.81$, $p = .18$). For step 3, the interaction term (hostile x benevolent) was added and it did not significantly add increased variance in work preference ($\Delta R^2 = .01$, $\Delta F(1, 205) = 2.17$, $p = .14$). In the final model with all three predictors in the model, all three predictors together explained a nonsignificant amount of variance in work preference ($R^2 = .03$, $F(1, 205) = 2.36$, $p = .07$). Benevolent sexism ($b = -.50$, $p = .32$), hostile sexism ($b = -.46$, $p = .52$), and the interaction term (hostile x benevolent) ($b = .34$, $p = .14$) were not significant predictors. See Table 8 for the second round of exploratory analysis results.

Lastly, a simple linear regression was conducted on the interaction term (hostile x benevolent sexism) on work preference. Results showed that the interaction term significant predicted work preference, $b = .14$, $t(207) = 2.47$, $p = .01$. The interaction term explained a significant proportion of variance in overall work preference, $R^2 = .03$, $F(1,207) = 6.10$, $p = .01$. Three percent of the variance in

work preference was accounted for by the interaction term. See Table 9 for the linear regression results.

Chapter 5

Discussion

The present research conducted was aimed at advancing knowledge on ambivalent sexism in the academic literature. In general, research on the topic has mostly examined experiences of ambivalent sexism and various outcomes, such as job performance and satisfaction (e.g., Jones et al., 2014; Jones et al., 2016; Murami & Bravi, 2021; Pearson et al., 2000; Ross-Sheriff, 2012). There appears to be little research looking at experiences of ambivalent sexism in work settings, and even less looking at affective reactions and sensitivity to sexism. By expanding this literature into the applicant behavior space, I hoped to better understand the motivations of applicants seeking remote versus in-person roles. Additionally, I wanted to identify whether sensitivity to sexism and certain affective reactions to benevolent and hostile sexism impact work preference.

Results indicated that experiences of benevolent and hostile sexism are significantly positively related to work preference, suggesting a preference for in-person work. Interestingly, when considering the affective reactions of anxiety, the positive relationship becomes more complicated for benevolent sexism, suggesting a suppressor variable, where participants preferred remote work when they experience benevolent sexism and anxiety. These findings suggest that by simply experiencing benevolent and hostile sexism, employees may still prefer in-person work. This may be due to an increase in messaging that in-person work is beneficial. Take a recent Forbes (2023) article, that discusses the benefits of in-

person work, where they included a series of reasons to work in-person, such as a perceived or actual need of having better interpersonal relationships, mentorship, and promotion potential. If employees know about the research and popular press articles on the challenge of getting promotions when in remote roles (Bloom et al., 2015; Forbes, 2023; Hsu & Tambe, 2022), and have a goal of being promoted, or generally value promotion opportunities, they may be more likely to prefer in-person work than remote. So, depending on employees' overall goals, they may prefer in-person work over remote work, which was not considered in this study.

Though, when anxiety was brought into the equation, this preference for in-person work was negated, where employees preferred remote work. A possible explanation for this finding can be described through the BIS system, which states that when experiencing anxiety, facilitation towards goals is inhibited (Carver & White, 1994). Thus, when experiencing anxiety specifically, employees may no longer care about those factors and goals mentioned earlier (i.e., interpersonal relationships, mentorship, and promotion potential), and would rather avoid dealing with these negative emotions any further.

Lastly, sensitivity to sexism did not moderate the hypothesized mediation for hypotheses 5 and 6. It is possible that this finding occurred due to the nature of the data collection, where participants may have been able to identify the purpose of the study from the items on the ambivalent sexism measure. More specifically, the sensitivity to sexism may not have mattered in this instance because participants could easily identify the instances of sexism presented.

Next, I conducted exploratory analyses were conducted to explore whether benevolent sexism, hostile sexism, and the interaction of benevolent and hostile sexism, predict a significant amount of variance on work preference. I conducted two hierarchical multiple regressions, with neither being significant predictors of work preference. I then conducted a simple linear regression on the interaction term of hostile and benevolent sexism, which did result in significant positive variance explained on work preference. Therefore, the interaction term predicted in-person work preference. The nature of my results was complicated, potentially for numerous reasons. Firstly, the power for my study is inadequate, as the effect sizes were small, thus I recommend having a design that allows for more power in the future, which is further discussed in the limitations section.

Common in cross-sectional designs, I was unable to infer causality due to a lack of temporal precedence. Put simply, since I was unable to infer identify that the independent variable precedes the dependent variable, my results would need to be taken lightly. For example, it is difficult to identify whether the affective reactions of participants were already present prior to the experiences of hostile or benevolent sexism, thus meaning that the affective reactions may not necessarily occur because of the experiences of sexism.

Additionally, my study design required participants to think back about an experience that may have occurred months ago. Some research suggested that emotions like anxiety and anger only last minutes of hours (e.g., Ekman, 1984; Frijda et al., 1991), but more recent work has suggested that these emotions and

reactions are highly variable and can last many days (e.g., Gilboa & Revelle, 1994; Solomon & Corbit, 1974). Gilboa and Revelle (1994) reported that individuals appear to ruminate on negative experiences and the emotions elicited from them are nearly five times longer than the emotions elicited from positive experiences. For example, their findings suggested that when feeling strong negative emotions from some experience, participants ruminated on it from eight to forty-four days and when experiencing a mildly negative event, was ruminated on for about 12 hours (Gilboa & Revelle, 1994). This information is insightful when considering my results. This research, primarily conducted by Gilboa and Revelle (1994), would suggest that participants would need to have experienced the event much more recently than my measures asked for. For example, the ambivalent sexism scale asked participants to think back six months, which is substantially longer than the forty-four-day max of rumination on a strong negative experience. Thus, asking participants to think back six months likely resulted in participants recalling their affective reaction incorrectly. This is especially important for participants who may have not experienced these experiences of hostile and/or benevolent sexism in quite some time. Longitudinal research may be beneficial in the future to better establish causality by measuring participants' experiences and reactions over time rather than during one moment in time.

Anxiety, according to Freud's theories of anxiety (1917; 1936; as cited in Strongman, 1995), is generally considered a phenomenon that individuals experience daily. Those who experience anxiety regularly and for long periods of

time in their daily lives experience general strain on their physiological systems (Cohen et al., 2016). Therefore, those experience large amounts of stress and strain, or have anxiety disorders, may have interesting responses to added stressors like ambivalent sexism, such as increased likelihoods to being abusing substances (Bickel & Marsch, 2001), disease onset (Cohen et al., 2016), and overreactions to those added stressors (Vanin et al., 2008).

Also important to consider is that anxiety is not just an emotion, but also has physical experiences, such as increased blood pressure and (Kim & Gorman, 2005). While there has been a vast number of theories of anxiety, some theories, such as Gray's (1982; 1987) hold the notion that anxiety is the result of the fight or flight system, which refers to the autonomic, physical responses to stressors, where an individual will either fight or flee the situation (Taylor et al., 2002). The present study did not measure the physical symptoms of anxiety, nor did it consider fight or flight responses, which might have been an interesting and explanatory mechanism to the results. That is, participants may have experienced different work preferences depending on their reaction (i.e. fight or flight) to the events.

It is important to discuss the impacts of COVID-19, as remote work boomed during and after the wake of the pandemic (Silver, 2023). COVID-19 is a worldwide pandemic that began in 2019, resulting in shutdowns across the world in early 2020 (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, n.d.). These shutdowns mandates civilians to remain at home unless they were essential personnel for their workplace, such as police officers. Therefore, workers across America had to

transition to a work from home model virtually overnight (Brynjolfsson et al., 2020; Hsu & Tambe, 2023). Silver's (2023) article noted that in early 2020, Americans working remotely consisted of a little over 11 million people, or 7.3% of the country's labor force. By 2021, that number rose to 27.6 million people, or 17.9% of the labor force in America. Importantly, there are some jobs that simply cannot be done from home, such as construction or at a restaurant. This is notable because those who work in those industries likely experience ambivalent sexism occasionally, and may prefer remote work, but cannot work from home unless they change industries. Additionally, post-pandemic work has suggested that those who are better educated and better paid are more likely to work remotely than those who are not (Silver, 2023). This suggests that there may be some more factors to consider in preference for in-person or remote work, such as education and socioeconomic status. Recently, organizations have begun requesting or mandating employees to come back into offices (Silver, 2023). That is to say that remote work opportunities may have a bleak future, such as Haan's (2024) that 98% of employees surveyed who were working remotely during the pandemic have returned to the office in some fashion, further emphasizing the need for further work in this area.

Another interesting finding in my results was the appearance of a potential suppressor variable that swayed the results, but it is difficult to say for sure that this is the case. Suppressor variables can occur when a predictor variable is not correlated with the criterion but is correlated with another predictor (Ludlow &

Klein, 2014). In layman's terms, when the regression analysis was run, the program automatically controls for and partials out the effects of the variables, thus changing the relationship of the predictor variable and criterion variable (Ludlow & Klein, 2014). As noted by Ludlow and Klein (2014), suppressor variables are rarely predicted and come up after collecting data and running analyses (post hoc) and are rarely discussed in-depth in formal education. Therefore, the appearance of this suppressor could be a result of the way in which data was collected (cross-sectional) or may have something to do with the actual relationships between the variables.

Since the results are uncommon and difficult to interpret, it is likely that the data had some form of error, creating data that is hard to draw conclusions from. As suggested by Bem (2004), once analyzing the results, and attempting to understand them, it was decided that it is best to accept the unexpected results and not attempt to create an explanation that likely does not match what really happened. Therefore, the results of the study were inconclusive, making it difficult to provide practical and theoretical implications, and more research in the area is recommended at this point.

Study Limitations

While the results were not as anticipated, it is important to note that interpretation is difficult, suggesting some limitations to the study. Discussed first was the issue of power. As mentioned previously, Fritz and MacKinnon (2007) suggest that a sample size of 405 or larger is ideal for detecting adequate power (.8)

for mediation analyses. Seeing as my total sample size was $N = 209$, my sample size did not adequately have enough participants to ensure appropriate power. While this is a common issue in regression analyses, it is important to consider that effect sizes were small, making the predictive power of the variables to be difficult to establish. Additionally, the use of a cross-sectional survey design created an inability to establish causality, as I was unable to establish temporal precedence. Therefore, the study is simply correlational, and I cannot state that, for example, benevolent sexism causes in-person work preference. More longitudinal work in this area would be beneficial in aiding this issue.

The use of self-report measures also created the issue of common method bias. That is, the data was correlational in nature and based on a single source, further emphasizing the inability to make conclusions about causality. Common method bias describes that some variance may be attributable to the method of measurement (i.e., cross-sectional), rather than the variables I was interested in (Podsakoff et al., 2003). In the future, to minimize the effects of common method bias, it would be beneficial to counterbalance the order of the questions and measures (Podsakoff et al., 2003). This means that I would randomly assign the measures participants are to fill out. For example, one participant would fill out the sensitivity to sexism measure first, followed by experiences of hostile sexism, anxiety, anger, and experiences of benevolent sexism. Another participant may then start with experiences of benevolent sexism, followed by anger, experiences of hostile sexism, sensitivity to sexism, and anxiety. Another mechanism to reduce

common method bias would be to separate the time by using longitudinal data collection rather than cross-sectional (Podsakoff et al., 2003).

Another limitation of the study is that ambivalent sexism, and more specifically benevolent sexism, has historically been considered a gendered variable, which focuses on experiences, actions, and outcomes towards and for women (Barreto & Doyle, 2023). This study included participants that identified as any gender because research has suggested that anyone can be impacted by the effects of ambivalent sexism in the workplace (Barreto & Doyle, 2023). For example, research has reported that individuals simply viewing actions resembling benevolent sexism have increased turnover intentions (Jones et al., 2014; Pearson et al., 2000; Ross-Sheriff, 2012), decreased cognitive performance (Dardenne et al., 2007; Dumont et al., 2010), and decreased intention to strive for leadership positions (Barreto et al., 2010; Rollero & Fedi, 2014).

When considering just women, these harmful effects appear to be more detrimental than when males are also included in the studies (Barreto & Doyle, 2023). Thus, while the argument of including any genders as participants, it is important to note that the ambivalent sexism scale appears to have been more appropriate for women, such as an item stating, “treated as if you are weaker than men”. Therefore, the use of the Kuchynka et al’s. (2018) scale was not the ideal choice, but it is important to note that many of the scales measuring ambivalent sexism are less-than-stellar for the purpose of this study. Thus, the best avenue may be to develop a new measure on experience of ambivalent sexism in the workplace.

Another limitation of the survey was that I asked participants to think about an emotion they felt up to six months ago. As demonstrated by previous work (e.g., Gilboa & Revelle, 1994), individuals are not able to adequately think about and remember an emotion after some time. Therefore, my asking to remember an emotion six months out was not the best practice and would have benefitted from a form of situational judgment test or shorter time from those experiences. Lastly, it is likely that there were some confounding variables that were not controlled for, such as participants' need for childcare and disabilities where they need to work from home. Notably, during the COVID-19 pandemic, there was a five percent increase of individuals with disabilities being employed (Gonzales, 2022). This rise in disabled employees suggests that remote work is either preferred or the only option for some with disabilities due to the accessible option for people who want to work but cannot work in-person (Gonzales, 2022). Another variable is single parents. According to the United States Census Bureau (2022), there are 10.9 million one-parent families with children under the age of 18 in the United States, with single mothers making up 80% of those groups. Research has suggested that parents, especially women and those who are single parents, value flexibility for their jobs (Atkin et al., 2020; Barbulescu & Bidwell, 2013; Mas & Pallais, 2017). Thus, those individuals who may not be able to work in-person for various reasons, would have been beneficial for my study. It is entirely possible that some of the participants in my study were homebound due to a disability and/or childcare issues.

Future Research Directions

Future research may benefit from conducting more studies in this area. Firstly, it would be beneficial to conduct more research with increased power and effect sizes. Fritz and MacKinnon (2007) suggest that a sample size of 405 or larger is ideal for detecting adequate power (.8) for mediation analyses, suggesting that my sample did not ensure adequate power. Therefore, future research should attempt to gather more participants in attempts to get appropriate power for mediation analyses. A common recommendation for future research is that of longitudinal research, which aids in reducing common method bias and the lack of temporal precedence. Thus, future research could analyze participants' experiences of ambivalent sexism, their affective reactions, and work preferences over time.

Another consideration that could result in fruitful results is shortening the timeframe of self-reported experiences of ambivalent sexism and their resulting affective reactions. As previously discussed, emotions such as anxiety and anger have relatively short durations, where some research suggests that these emotions last minutes to hours (e.g., Ekman, 1984; Frijda et al., 1991), whereas other work says these emotions, when the result of extreme circumstances, last up to 45 days (Gilboa & Revelle, 1994). Therefore, it is recommended that future research shorten this timeframe to less than 45 days.

Another aspect that could be done differently is to create situational judgment tests (SJTs), rather than using cross-sectional self-report measures. This method of data collection would reduce issues of common method bias and recall

errors. Utilizing SJTs rather than self-report measures will expose participants to the forms of sexism at the time of the survey, and then have them think about how their affective reactions to that experience. Doing so will get participants closer to the experience and avoid participants having to think back to what they think they felt when experiencing ambivalent sexism in the past. Though, it may be unethical to expose participants to various degrees of sexism, so this research direction needs further consideration.

While on the topic of affective reactions of anxiety and anger, it would be interesting to consider participants' average daily anxiety or their ratings on a clinical anxiety measure, such as Spielberger et al's (1971) state-trait anxiety inventory. This may help identify major differences between participants' average experiences of anxiety, and then identifying the increase in anxiety as the result of the experiences of ambivalent sexism.

Notably, anxiety is not only an emotion but also is related to physiological experiences, which was not considered in this study. Future research could measure perceived physiological arousal via self-report measures, such as Wilhelm and Roth's (2001) measure on physiological experiences, which measures individuals perceived feelings of sweating, pounding heart, dizziness, and sensations of shortness of breath. Another method of measuring physiological experiences related to emotions would be to measure these variables, such as heartbeat and sweat levels, in an experimental setting using actual physiological sensors instead of asking participants to self-report their perceived sensations. A study that looks at

physical arousal and perceived sensations of anxiety may be a fruitful avenue of research to determine the rate of identification of physical arousal to anxiety.

Lastly, future research could benefit from attempting to identify and control confounding variables. For example, an item asking how strong participants need for childcare is and the strength of the emotions (i.e., anger and anxiety), might be beneficial to identify whether there are parents who need or value the flexibility to work from home to avoid costs of daycare (Hsu & Tambe, 2022), or to look at individuals with disabilities. Therefore, considering variables that may impact participants' ability to work from various locations would be beneficial.

Overall, this study sought to examine the relationship between ambivalent sexism, affective reactions, sensitivity to sexism, and work preference. While looking at the results at face value suggest that ambivalent sexism is related to in-person work preference, until individuals experience the affective reactions of anxiety and anger, the results are inconclusive and would benefit from more research before practical recommendations are made.

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List of Figures

Figure 1

Relationship Between Event(s) and Affective Reactions

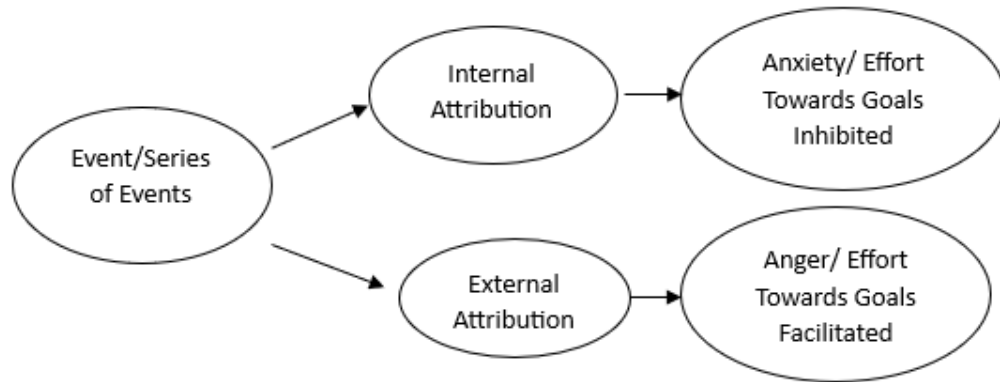


Figure 2

PROCESS Model 4 – Benevolent Sexism

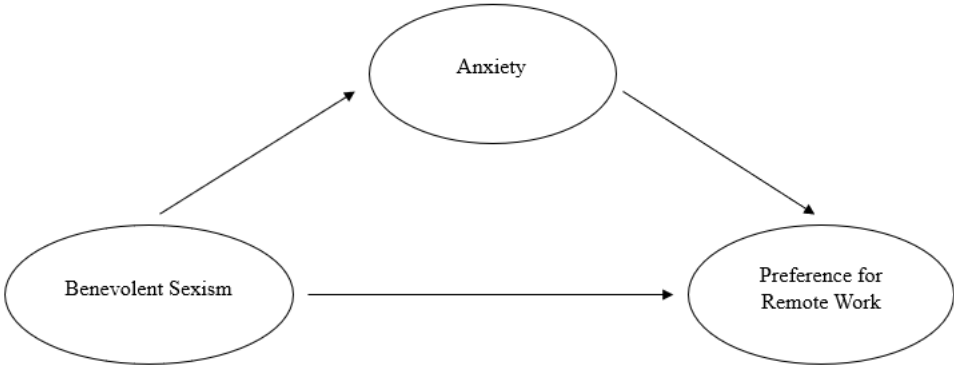


Figure 3

PROCESS Model 4 – Hostile Sexism

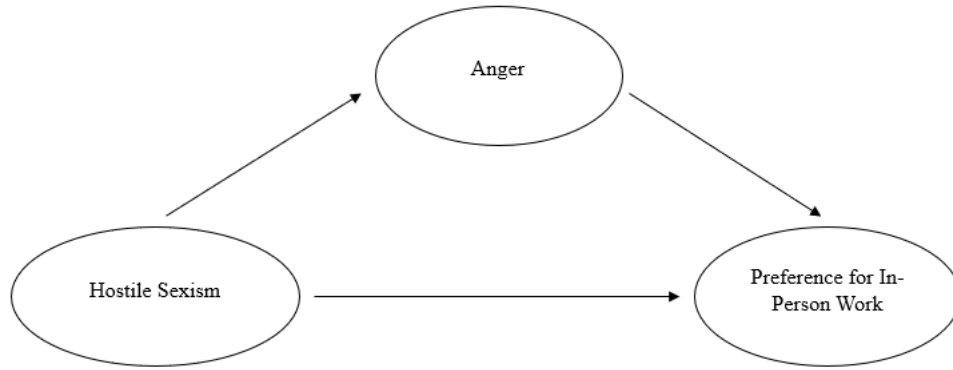


Figure 4

PROCESS Model 7 – Benevolent Sexism

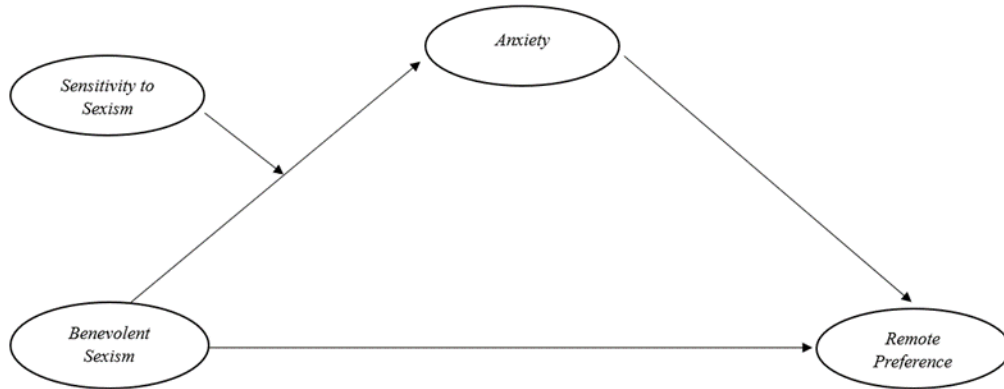


Figure 5

PROCESS Model 7 – Hostile Sexism

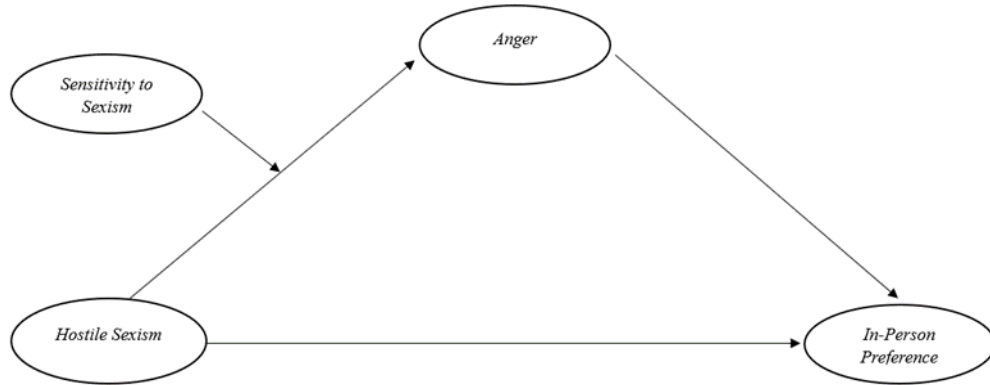


Figure 6

PROCESS Model 4 Conceptual Diagram

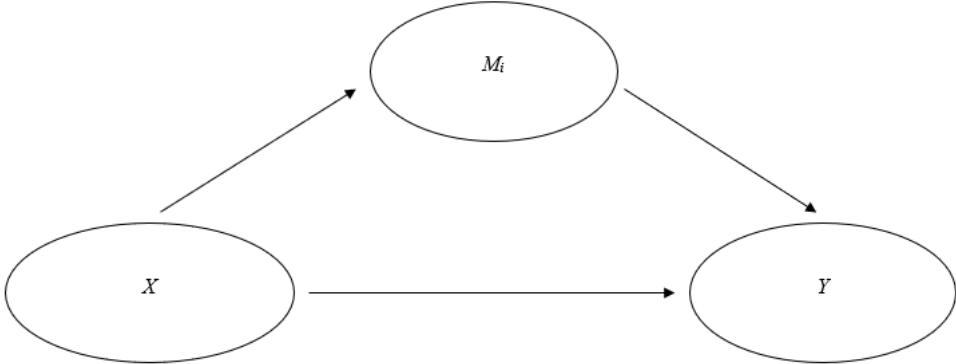
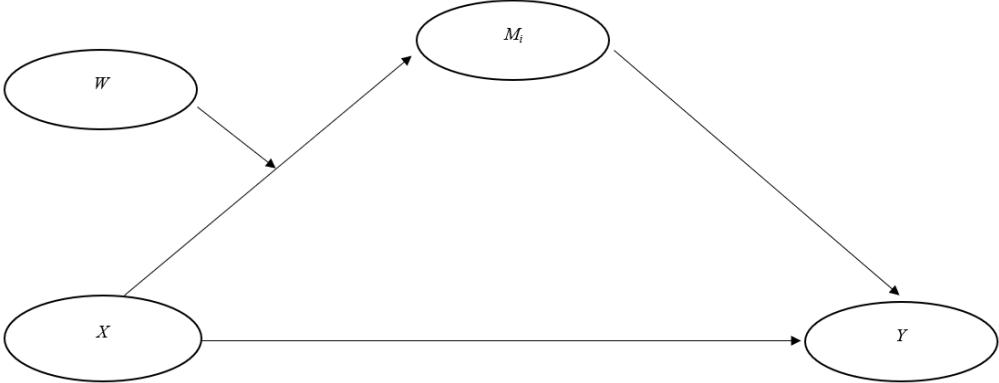


Figure 7

PROCESS Model 7 Conceptual Diagram



List of Tables

Table 1

Summary of Analyses

Hypothesis Number	Hypothesis	Analysis
1	There will be a statistically significant positive regression coefficient between experiences of benevolent sexism and preference of work.	Model 4
2	There will be a significantly significant positive regression coefficient between experiences of hostile sexism and preference of in-person work.	Model 4
3	Anxiety mediates the effect of benevolent sexism on preference of remote work.	Model 4
4	Anger mediates the effect of hostile sexism on preference of in-person work.	Model 4
5	Sensitivity to sexism moderates the relationship between benevolent sexism and anxiety such that as sensitivity to sexism increases, the relationship becomes stronger.	Model 7
6	Sensitivity to sexism moderates the relationship between hostile sexism and anger such that as sensitivity to sexism increases, the relationship becomes stronger.	Model 7
Exploratory Analysis 1	Tested hostile sexism (model 1), hostile sexism and benevolent sexism (model 2), and hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, and interaction term (model 3) on work preference.	Hierarchical Multiple Regression
Exploratory Analysis 2	Tested benevolent sexism (model 1), benevolent sexism and hostile sexism (model 2), and benevolent sexism, hostile sexism, and interaction term (model 3) on work preference.	Hierarchical Multiple Regression
Exploratory Analysis 3	Tested the interaction term (benevolent x hostile sexism) on work preference.	Simple Linear Regression

Table 2*Descriptive Statistics and Correlations*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. WP	-2.51	2.85	-							
2. Age	35.40	9.66	-.16*	-						
3. Gender	1.57	0.62	-.14*	.11	-					
4. SS	2.63	1.39	-.02	-.06	.27**	-				
5. HS	1.64	0.73	.15*	.10	.10	.56**	-			
6. BS	1.91	1.00	.12*	-.11	.36**	.54**	.61**	-		
7. PANAS-X	1.95	0.80	-.02	-.08	.13*	.43**	.50**	.34**	-	
8. AWB	2.82	0.96	-.11	-.08	.16*	.36**	.35**	.33**	.62**	-

Note. WP = Work Preference, SS = Sensitivity to Sexism, HS = Hostile Sexism, BS =

Benevolent Sexism, PANAS-X = Positive and Negative Affect Scale Extended, AWB = Job-

Related Affective Well-Being Scale.

*Indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$. *** indicates $P < .001$.

Table 3*Direct and Indirect Effects*

IV	M	DV	Effects of IV on		Effect of M on		Direct Effects		Indirect	95% CI	
			M (a)		DV (b)		(c')			Effect	LLCI
			<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>			
BS	Anxiety	Work	.32***	.06	-.50*	.21	.50*	.21	-.16	-.33	-.02
		Pref									
HS	Anger	Work	.55***	.07	-.42	.28	.80**	.31	-.23	-.58	.06
		Pref									

Note. $N = 209$. All indirect effects are examining work preference. BS = Benevolent Sexism, HS = Hostile Sexism, Work Pref = Work Preference, CI = Confidence Interval, LLCI = Lower Level Confidence Interval, ULCI = Upper Level Confidence Interval.

*Indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$. *** indicates $P < .001$.

Table 4*Direct and Indirect Effects for Hypothesis 5*

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI	
					LLCI	ULCI
DV = Anxiety						
BS	.22	.08	2.86	.004	0.07	0.38
SES	.18	.05	3.37	.001	0.07	0.28
BSxSES	-.06	.04	-1.38	.17	-0.15	0.02
Dependent Variable = Work Preference						
BS	.50	.21	2.44	.02	0.10	0.91
Anxiety	-.50	.21	-2.33	.02	-0.92	-0.08
Indirect Effect						
	Effect	<i>SE</i>	LLCI	ULCI		
	-.15	.09	-0.37	-0.01		
	-.07	.05	-0.18	0.00		
Index of Mod Med						
	Index	<i>SE</i>	LLCI	ULCI		
	.03	.03	-0.00	0.10		

Note. *N* = 209. BS = Benevolent Sexism, SES = Sensitivity to Sexism, CI = Confidence Interval, LLCI = Lower Level Confidence Interval, ULCI = Upper Level Confidence Interval.

Table 5*Conditional Direct and Indirect Effects for Hypothesis 6*

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI	
					LLCI	ULCI
DV = Anger						
HS	.48	.09	5.05	<.001	0.29	0.66
SES	.12	.04	2.97	.00	0.04	0.20
HSxSES	-.05	.05	-1.08	.28	-0.15	0.04
Dependent Variable = Work Preference						
HS	.80	.31	2.61	.01	0.20	1.41
Anger	-.42	.28	-1.50	.14	-0.97	0.13
Indirect Effect						
	Effect	<i>SE</i>	LLCI	ULCI		
	-.23	.18	-.95	.08		
	-.17	.13	-.46	.06		
Index of Mod Med						
	Index	<i>SE</i>	LLCI	ULCI		
	.02	.03	-.02	.09		

Note. *N* = 209. HS = Hostile Sexism, SES = Sensitivity to Sexism, CI = Confidence Interval, LLCI = Lower Level Confidence Interval, ULCI = Upper Level Confidence Interval.

Table 6*Summary of Hypothesis Results*

Hypothesis Number	Hypothesis	Supported/Not Supported
1	There will be a statistically significant positive regression coefficient between experiences of benevolent sexism and preference of work.	Not Supported
2	There will be a significantly significant positive regression coefficient between experiences of hostile sexism and preference of in-person work.	Supported
3	Anxiety mediates the effect of benevolent sexism on preference of remote work.	Supported
4	Anger mediates the effect of hostile sexism on preference of in-person work.	Not Supported
5	Sensitivity to sexism moderates the relationship between benevolent sexism and anxiety such that as	Not Supported

	sensitivity to sexism increases, the relationship becomes stronger.	
6	Sensitivity to sexism moderates the relationship between hostile sexism and anger such that as sensitivity to sexism increases, the relationship becomes stronger.	Not Supported

Table 7*Exploratory Analysis – Hierarchical Multiple Regression Results (1)*

Work Preference									
Variable	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> ²	SE of the						
			Estimate	ΔR^2	ΔF	<i>F</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>
Step 1	.147	.022	2.82	.02	4.59	4.59			
HosSex							.57	.27	2.14*
Step 2	.152	.023	2.83	.00	.31	2.44			
HosSex							.46	.34	1.35
BenSex							.14	.25	0.56
Step 3	.183	.033	2.82	.01	2.17	2.36			
HosSex							-.46	.71	-0.65
BenSex							-.50	.50	-1.01
IntTerm							.34	.23	1.47

Note. *N* = 209. HosSex = Hostile Sexism, BenSex = Benevolent Sexism, IntTerm = Interaction Term (Hostile x Benevolent Sexism), SE = Standard Error.

*Indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$. *** indicates $P < .001$.

Table 8*Exploratory Analysis – Hierarchical Multiple Regression Results (2)*

Work Preference									
Variable	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> ²	SE of the						
			Estimate	ΔR^2	ΔF	<i>F</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>
Step 1	.121	.015	2.83	.02	3.06	3.06			
BenSex							.34	.20	1.75
Step 2	.152	.023	2.83	.01	1.81	2.44			
BenSex							.14	.25	0.56
HosSex							.46	.45	1.45
Step 3	.183	.033	2.82	.01	2.17	2.36			
BenSex							-.50	.50	-1.01
HosSex							-.46	.70	-0.65
IntTerm							.34	.23	1.47

Note. *N* = 209. BenSex = Benevolent Sexism, HosSex = Hostile Sexism, IntTerm = Interaction Term (Hostile x Benevolent Sexism), SE = Standard Error.

*Indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$. *** indicates $P < .001$.

Table 9*Exploratory Analysis – Linear Regression with Interaction Term*

Variable	β	95% CI		<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
		<i>LLCI</i>	<i>ULCI</i>		
Constant	-2.99	-3.54	-2.45	-10.85	<.001
IntTerm	0.14	0.03	0.24	2.45	.01

Note. *N* = 209. IntTerm = Interaction Term (Hostile x Benevolent Sexism).

Appendix A

Screen Capture of Connect Demographic Targeting

Work

Job Seeking

Are you currently seeking a job?

Select All

I need a job as soon as possible

I need a job soon

I am interested in a new job but am in no rush

I am just looking around

I am not looking for a job at all

Appendix B

Ambivalent Sexism Scale

In the past six months, how often have you, at work and at work-related functions been:

(1 = the event has never happened to you, 2 = the event happens rarely (2-3 times per month), 3 = the event happens sometimes (4-7 times per month), 4 = the event happens often (8-14 times per month), 5 = the event happens frequently (15-21 times per month), and 6 = the event happens very frequently (more than 21 times per month).

1. Subjected to offensive comments.
2. Treated in an insulting manner.
3. Harassed or threatened.
4. The target of obscene sexual comments of gestures.
5. The target of insulting jokes.
6. Accused of using your gender to your advantage.
7. Treated in an angry manner.
8. Treated as if you are weaker than men.
9. Treated as if you need a man's help.
10. Treated as if you are more vulnerable than men.
11. Treated as if you cannot take care of yourself.
12. Treated as if you are a "nice girl".

13. Treated as if you are innocent.
14. Treated as if others expected you to be sweet and friendly.
15. Treated as if you are more morally pure than men.

Appendix C

Sensitivity to Sexism Scale

Please indicate your agreement with the following:

(1 = not at all, 2 = rarely, 3 = occasionally, 4 = sometimes, 5 = frequently, 6 = usually, 7 = very much).

1. How often do people discriminate against you on the basis of your gender?
2. How much does the gender discrimination you experience bother you?
3. How often do you think about being the victim of gender-based discrimination?

Appendix D

Positive and Negative Affect Extended (PANAS-X) Scale

This scale consists of a number of words and phrases that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then mark the appropriate answer in the space next to that word. Indicate to what extent you have felt this way during the past six months:

(1 = very slightly or not at all, 2 = a little, 3 = moderately, 4 = quite a bit, 5 = extremely).

1. Angry
2. Hostile
3. Irritable
4. Scornful
5. Disgusted
6. Loathing

Appendix E

Job-Related Affective Well-Being Scale

Below are a number of statements that describe different emotions that a job can make a person feel. Please indicate the amount to which any part of your job (e.g., the work, coworkers, supervisor, clients, pay) has made you feel that emotion in the past six months. interest in working the following:

(1 = never, 2 = rarely, 3 = sometimes, 4 = quite often, 5 = extremely often or always).

1. Nervous
2. Tense
3. Anxious
4. Worried

Appendix F

Choice of Work Scale

Please indicate your interest in working the following:

(-5 = Remote; 5 = In-Person)

Appendix G

Demographic Items

Please answer the following:

1. What is your age?
2. What is your gender?
3. Are you currently employed or have been employed at least part-time in the last six months?
4. Are you currently seeking part-time or full-time employment?