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WARMTH, COMPETENCE, AND AMBIVALENT SEXISM: VERTICAL ASSAULT AND COLLATERAL DAMAGE

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[Hillary Rodham Clinton's] most serious deficits are more personal than political. . . . She is notoriously thin-skinned, and her stony aloofness makes Al Gore and Bill Bradley look like Cheech and Chong.
—Clarence Page, *Chicago Tribune* (July 28, 2004)

I'm surprised they did a portrait of Hillary. I thought maybe an ice sculpture would have been more appropriate.
—Jay Leno, *The Tonight Show* (April 26, 2006)

Debate over the possibility of a female U.S. presidential candidate has centered on criticizing her lack of warmth; Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi, and Golda Meir had the same problem. In contrast, debate over Harriet Miers as a potential U.S. Supreme Court nominee targeted her lack of competence. Rare is the successful woman who is seen as both brilliant and kind; male leaders have more often received such credit.

The glass ceiling blocks women's vertical progress up the ranks of the workplace, but in the past 20 years a great deal has been learned about the lateral side effects of gains in status and perceived competence. In this chapter we examine the more subtle consequences of vertical and lateral shifts within hierarchical social systems, focusing on how hostile and benevolent sexist ideologies promote power differences at work.

First, we review how prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination stem from status systems and intergroup competition, according to the *stereotype content*

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model (SCM; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999). We also examine the changing problems that women face as they gain status. Next, we consider the unique circumstances of gender relations used to justify gender inequality according to *ambivalent sexism theory* (AST; Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1999, 2001a, 2001b). Last, we review evidence to support our argument that benevolent and hostile ideologies guide individuals' responses to women in the workplace.

STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE WORKPLACE

By some accounts, women have closed the gender gap in the professional realm. In the United States, women constitute 46% of the paid labor force (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2006a) and 50% of paid managers (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2006b). In 2004, 51% of the bachelor degrees awarded in the United States went to women, as did 52% of advanced degrees, 35% of professional degrees, and 33% of doctorate degrees (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2004). By contrast, in Fortune 500 companies, women represent only 4% of top officers, 3% of most highly paid officers, and 0.4% of CEOs (Catalyst, 2000). In the U.S. Congress, only 14% of senators and 15% of congressional representatives are women (Center for the American Woman and Politics, 2006). It is clear that the ratio of women in powerful leadership positions falls disturbingly short of the U.S. population's ratio.

Some origins of these disparities lie in the failure to reconcile stereotypic beliefs about women and stereotypic beliefs about people who hold elite positions (see also chap. 2, this volume). Similar to stereotypes about social groups, occupation stereotypes are seen as having well-defined gender and status dimensions. Participants' images of job types load on two orthogonal factors: prestige and gender type (Glick, Wilk, & Perreault, 1995). Specific gender-related attributes, however, sometimes load on the perceived occupational prestige factor instead of the gender type factor. However, even though the prestige and gender-type factors are orthogonal, masculine personality traits loaded on the occupational prestige factor, indicating that these attributes are more closely related to prestige than to perceived gender type of the job. Indeed, these masculine traits predict the prestige and salary of jobs (Glick, 1991). Thus, in hiring for a prestigious position, employers are more likely to value masculine qualities and therefore more likely to look for a man as the appropriate candidate (Heilman, 2001).

Gender is inextricably linked to prestige because gender stereotypes explicitly describe men's and women's status: men are imputed more status than are women. Inasmuch as people think gender category distinctions are rooted in biological underpinnings, most individuals believe not only that

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these distinctions are invariant over time and universal across cultures but also that the boundary distinctions are sharp and impervious to sociocultural influences (Haslam, Rothschild, & Ernst, 2000). To the extent such beliefs are shared, they are powerful. Status beliefs are particularly potent when both the dominant and the subordinate groups endorse them. High-status groups, of course, have an investment in the status quo, but, as we shall see, even low-status groups can be motivated to justify their social systems (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Given shared expectations about their competence, the dominant group maintains social power and access to resources because they are allegedly better qualified to perform in instrumental capacities (Carli, 1991; Ridgeway, 2001).

Cementing the link between gender and status, shared status beliefs are most likely to develop among groups who must cooperate with one another to get what they want (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Thus, because women and men are interdependent, women are nearly as likely as men to hold these status beliefs, in spite of their lower status position. As a result, we argue, women often cooperate in the existing status relation, when their self-interest might seem to lie elsewhere. We elaborate on the effect of these status beliefs when we review how they promote power differences in the workplace.

ORGANIZING BELIEFS ABOUT WOMEN IN AND OUT OF THE WORKPLACE

People like to have distinctive and positive group memberships (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). When boundaries between groups are impermeable and secure (as they are typically perceived to be in the case of gender relations), group identity and its boundaries engender in-group favoritism, which in turn reinforces the social categories of female and male (Ellemers, 1993; Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). Favoritism involves resources, such that groups reserve resources for those they favor and withhold resources from those they derogate. Although evidence for in-group favoritism outweighs that for out-group derogation, in-group favoritism can hurt the out-group by exclusion. In particular, control over group images favors the powerful.

Some groups' favoritism matters more than that of other groups. A group's power derives from the value of the resource that the group controls in a given context (Fiske & Berdahl, 2007). For example, one social resource includes the reputation of a group or its members. Groups in power control intergroup reputations, in that their images carry more impact because the powerful also control other resources (e.g., money, access). The stereotypes people hold about various cultural groups thus manifest social power. Consider, for example, the generally positive evaluations of

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culturally dominant groups (e.g., the middle class, Christians) and the overtly negative evaluations of less culturally valued groups (e.g., the lower class, drug addicts).

Vertical and Lateral Dimensions: Warmth and Competence

Although this analysis might explain why women are stereotypically viewed as incompetent, it does not explain the many positive images of women on some dimensions. Men and women differ in their stereotypic specialties, which helps explain how they resolve the tension between interdependence and status disparity. The SCM (Cuddy et al., 2008; Fiske et al., 1999, 2002, 2007) organizes beliefs about cultural groups (including gender groups) along two dimensions: competence and warmth. The SCM posits that the content of a stereotype and of its accompanying prejudice follows from a social group's perceived status and cooperation in society. That is, the way an in-group feels about an out-group will depend on the perceived intent and capability of the out-group to harm the in-group. This 2 (intent: low or high warmth) ¥ 2 (capability: low or high competence) mapping of intergroup space yields four classes of stereotypes (see Figure 4.1). Groups high on both are the in-group
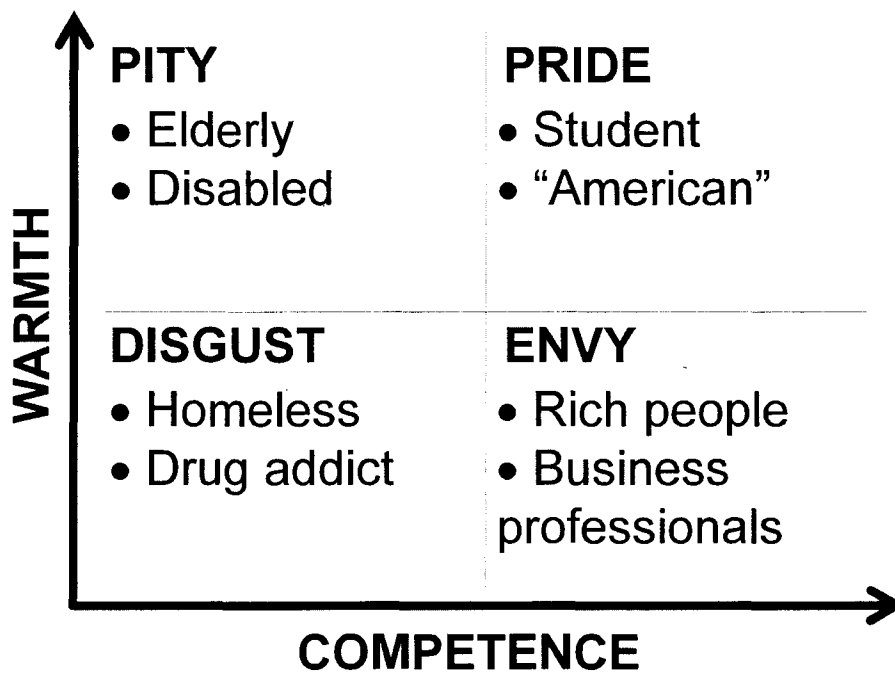
Fig. 1

Figure 4.1. Stereotype content model warmth by competence space, stereotyped group exemplars, and associated emotions. Source data from Fiske et al. (2002).

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and its allies (societal reference groups, e.g., the middle class or Christians); groups low on both are the worst off (people who are homeless, addicted, or poor).

The mixed case—groups high on one dimension but low on the other— are most relevant to gender relations. Paternalistic[1] pity targets allegedly warm but incompetent groups such as people who are older or disabled and (in some samples) housewives. Envious prejudice targets allegedly competent but cold groups such as Jewish or Asian people and female professionals (in U.S. samples).

According to the SCM, structural relations between groups (or relative levels of perceived status and competition) cause specific stereotypes regarding a group's competence and warmth, which in turn maintain the status quo. As we just noted, favorable stereotypes are reserved for the in-group, its allies, and culturally dominant groups. Because of in-group favoritism, these groups are perceived to be both warm and competent. They have no intention of competing with themselves and are therefore liked and respected. Liking and respect, in turn, legitimize the social power of the in-group.

Conversely, derogatory stereotypes describe out-groups that are seen as competitive or exploitative and having low status (e.g., people who are homeless). Because these groups are thought to usurp economic and political capital that would otherwise go to higher status groups in society, they are seen as competing in a zero-sum distribution of resources. These groups are seen as having low warmth and low competence, and they are disliked and disrespected as a result. Disliking and disrespect further undermine the social power of these groups.

In addition to uniform favoritism and derogation, the SCM allows for mixed-content stereotypes in which groups can be seen as having high warmth and low competence, or as having low warmth and high competence. Paternalistic stereotypes depict groups that are neither inclined nor capable of competing with the in-group, meaning they have low status and are not seen as competitive (e.g., people who are older and, in some samples, home-makers; e.g., Eckes, 2002; Fiske et al., 2002). These groups do not threaten the in-group and are therefore seen as incompetent but warm. This stereotype encourages paternalistic prejudice, which disrespects competence and rewards socially desirable but deferent qualities (e.g., compliant, subordinate; Glick & Fiske, 2001a, 2001b; Ridgeway, 2001). Paternalistic prejudice promotes compliance from subordinates with minimal conflict, allowing dominant groups to legitimate their higher status (Jackman, 1994).

In contrast, envious stereotypes are reserved for groups that have attained high status and are therefore seen as competitive (e.g., Asian people, career

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[1]Although the word *paternalism* often refers to the hierarchical organization of a family in which the father, who is traditionally perceived to know best, makes decisions for the children, we use the word more broadly. In this chapter *paternalism* refers to belief systems that divest individuals of their rights and responsibilities, purportedly in their best interest, when in fact these belief systems better serve dominant groups' interest in maintaining the status quo.

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women). Envious prejudice accepts the out-group's perceived competence because of their undeniable status or success but lowers their perceived warmth to justify their negative reactions toward the out-group. In short, these four classes of stereotypes stem from groups' status and perceived level of competition, but their function is the same in each case: The stereotypes legitimize the current social structure and, as long as they persist, continue to reinforce it.

Reinforcement takes concrete forms. Blocking or rejecting the power of disliked or disrespected groups maintains existing power hierarchies. As individuals' power increases, their evaluations of others become increasingly negative and their evaluations of self become increasingly positive (Georgesen & Harris, 1998, 2000); this potentially leads powerholders to believe they know what is best for everyone. Even disadvantaged groups may identify with certain aspects of the culturally dominant group and endorse its viewpoint. Not only can low-status groups explicitly (Haines & Jost, 2000) and implicitly (Jost, Pelham, Brett, & Carvallo, 2002) favor high-status groups, but the more disadvantaged a group is, the more likely that group is to defend the status quo (Jost, Pelham, Sheldon, & Sullivan, 2003), provided that intergroup relations appear to be stable and secure (Turner, 1999).

A great deal of prejudice is enacted by in-groups withholding resources and positive attributes from out-groups (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2000; Mummendey, 1995). When the in-group is men and the context is a professional setting (a setting in which men are the culturally dominant group), different kinds of resources, when withheld, can undermine the social power of women. According to the SCM, liking and respect are two of the most important social resources in determining a group's place relative to other groups in society. Cooperation earns liking but not respect. Competition wins respect but not liking. We return to this later, but first we focus on some issues specific to working women: combining work with motherhood, and combining competence with warmth.

Businesswomen, Homemakers, and Mothers

In the case of gender, paternalistic prejudice rewards women who are in traditional roles by attributing more socially desirable traits (e.g., patience, warmth) to them. In essence, warmth is a consolation prize for renouncing competition with men for social power. When women transgress traditional gender norms of femininity by taking on a nontraditional role, one way to penalize their gain in status or their competition is to cast their behavior in a negative light. As predicted by the SCM, the negative reactions that arise as a result of competition posed by nontraditional women justify men's resentment of them, penalizing women's traditional advantage on the perceived warmth dimension.

Contemporary subtypes of women exemplify groups that would fall in the mixed (i.e., paternalistic or envious) stereotype categories. On average, women

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are thought to have less status than do men, but status can vary depending on the role of the woman in question. Once her status is assessed, that status influences the nature of her relationship with men (i.e., cooperative or competitive), ultimately determining whether she elicits paternalistic or envious prejudice. On the one hand, a female homemaker is seen as cooperative because she has taken on a traditionally female role, but she is also seen as low status because she is presumed to have little or no income and relatively less education than a typical man; she is perceived as warm but not competent outside the home. A female professional, on the other hand, contradicts stereotypes regarding women's normal status and, in light of the associations between status and power, can be seen as a formidable competitor. She is seen as having high status because she is presumed to have acquired considerable education and income and she is seen as competitive because she has managed to take on a traditionally male role. Thus, she is admittedly competent but not warm. Different subtypes of women include, but are not limited to, respected but disliked women (e.g. businesswomen, feminists) and disrespected but liked women (e.g., housewives, secretaries; Deaux, Winton, Crowley, & Lewis, 1985; Eckes, 1994, 2002; Noseworthy & Lott, 1984; Six & Eckes, 1991).

Working mothers pose a paradox all their own. How do people perceive mothers, normally targets of benevolence and paternalistic prejudice, when they operate in a setting in which women are more often the target of hostility and envious prejudice? Professional women exchange their perceived competence for perceived warmth when they become mothers (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004). Working women with children are perceived not only as less competent than women without children, but also as less competent than they were before becoming mothers. Moreover, Cuddy et al. (2004) found that perceived competence predicted the likelihood that participants would hire, promote, or further train an employee, whereas warmth did not, indicating that the gain in warmth does not aid women but the loss in competence detracts from their appeal as employees. The underlying assumption is that working mothers are less dependable as employees (e.g., Halpert, Wilson, & Hickman, 1993) because they are perceived to be less committed to their job and that "taking on a primary caregiver role 'turns a person's brain to mush' " (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004, p. 692).

Obstacles to Progress: Confirming and Disconfirming Warmth Versus Competence

Women must walk a narrow path: Their competence may be doubted, as women, but their warmth may be doubted, as professional women. These two dimensions operate differently, making it difficult for professional women to gain both respect for their competence and liking for their warmth at the same time.

People tend to possess a negativity bias, a tendency to attend more to negative than to positive information (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer,

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& Vohs, 2001). In fact, people are quicker to attribute negative traits but take longer to revise them once they have made a negative trait ascription (Rothbart & Park, 1986). For example, one need lie only once to be seen as untrustworthy, but one must be honest over a long period before observers will confidently ascribe trustworthiness. Conversely, people more easily revise positive trait ascriptions but more reluctantly confirm them. In other words, it is harder to shake a bad reputation than it is to get one, whereas the opposite is true for a good reputation.

Trait confirmability and disconfirmability are further moderated by trait content: a strong negativity effect occurs for traits related to warmth, but almost no negativity effect occurs for traits related to competence (Tausch, Kenworthy, & Hewstone, 2007). A person is expected to be nice by default, so one has to be rude only once to be seen as sporting a chip on one's shoulder, whereas an intelligent person may make an unintelligent comment without receiving the label "incompetent." Competence-related traits require many more instances to be disconfirmed than do warmth-related traits.

Consider how this bias handicaps women who are rising through the ranks of the workplace. The negative reactions that arise as a result of competition posed by nontraditional women justify the dominant group's resentment of them, resulting in the perception that successful women are competent but cold. Even if a woman is respected for her competence, she can be disliked and therefore denied access to promotions and raises. Thus, it seems incumbent on women to manage their images in a way that promotes warmth in addition to competence. However, given that people possess a negativity bias for warmth-related traits, one could imagine how a woman who has experienced a gain in status also has to fight an uphill battle. One inconsiderate remark and she is a bitch. Likewise, a woman who is trying to progress through the ranks of an organization is disadvantaged because stereotypes associated with her already cast her in a "cold" light.

The SCM says that the content of stereotypes and emotions elicited by different social groups can be predicted by how competitive or cooperative groups are (perceived warmth), in addition to how able they are to make good on any threat to the in-group (perceived competence). Although the relative status and interdependence of groups clearly shape male–female relations, several factors unique to gender further complicate the SCM prejudices. In the specific case of men and women, AST digs deeper to explicate the institutions and mechanisms by which gender inequality persists.

AMBIVALENT SEXISM THEORY:
BENEVOLENT AND HOSTILE SEXISM

The extremity with which people generate and rate different subtypes of women provides some insight into the complexity of attitudes people have

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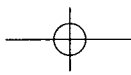
about them. AST (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1999, 2001a, 2001b) contends that prejudice against women is not rooted in absolute antipathy. Rather, sexism combines complementary gender ideologies, held by both men and women worldwide (Glick et al., 2000), and these ideologies promote the persistence of gender inequality. Benevolent sexism is a paternalistic ideology that views women as subordinate, best suited for traditional, low-status roles; women need to be protected, cherished, and revered for their virtue. Hostile sexism, a closer relative of mere antipathy, is a combative ideology maintaining that women seek to control men and that they use sexuality or feminist ideology as a means to achieving status.

Hostile sexism and benevolent sexism follow predictably from the power differences and interdependence between men and women in all domains of everyday life. Specifically, patriarchy, gender differentiation, and heterosexual relations are variables somewhat unique to gender relations. More important, they predict specific behavioral outcomes for men and women in both the private and public domains. As AST describes, each of the three constructs has both a benevolent and a hostile component, giving way to complementary justifications for gender inequality. We review each variable in turn.

Patriarchy (male structural power) yields paternalism, the ideological justification of male dominance (i.e., the belief that, because men have more power in society, they should know what is best for women even if women do not necessarily agree). The hostile elements of patriarchy are based in *dominative paternalism*, which refers to the belief that men ought to have more power than do women and the concern that women might usurp men's power in the future. As a complement, the benevolent elements of patriarchy are based in *protective paternalism*, the belief that men need to protect and provide for women because they are weak.

Gender differentiation refers to the social distinctions all cultures make between men and women and the importance of gender identity in social hierarchy (Harris, 1991). Competitive (or hostile) gender differentiation is characterized by the idea that stereotypes associated with women inherently include inferiority and incompetence because of women's lower social status. However, complementary (or benevolent) gender differentiation stresses the usefulness of women in gender-conventional roles (e.g., mother) and accounts for the view that women are wonderful because they are nurturing and supportive or possess a moral purity (Eagly & Mladinic, 1993).[2]

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Finally, the necessary condition of heterosexual relations and sexual reproduction highlights the interpersonal interdependence of men and women. The hostile interpretation of this interdependence is that women are purportedly able to use sex to control men, whereas the benevolent interpre-

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[2]Note that the SCM warmth dimension links both friendly intent and trustworthiness, so it combines these ideas.

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tation asserts that women are a valuable resource (e.g., essential for men's true happiness), even if they are inferior.

Both men and women report subscribing to these ideologies, albeit to varying degrees (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Kilianski & Rudman, 1998), and these ideologies perpetuate gender inequality. As noted, men are socially dominant by many accounts (e.g., higher status roles, greater income; United Nations Development Programme, 2005), and psychologists have proposed several mechanisms by which men are able to maintain their higher status. *System justification theory* argues that people are motivated to create beliefs that reinforce the status quo so that they can see the social system in which they live as fair and legitimate (Jost & Banaji, 1994); *social dominance theory* also posits that people create ideologies ("legitimizing myths") to support the hierarchy (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Therefore gender stereotypes that reinforce the current system emerge.

The dominant group also has incentive to reward subordinate group members, on whom they rely, for warmth and cooperation. Being hostile alone would never work to keep the subordinates in check (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Overt control leads powerholders and targets to attribute targets' behavior to force, which leads the powerholder to perceive the target as weak and the target to resent the powerholder (Kipnis, 1976, 1984). As soon as the powerholder is no longer present, the target will cease to enact the desired behavior. This kind of power maintenance is rare in the upper echelons of the workplace.

However, relational tactics (e.g., rewarding subordinates for compliance) lead both parties to perceive choice in the target's behavior, which allows the target to maintain self-respect and encourages self-sustaining behavior. Relational tactics suggest one way that men and women maintain the system, by some degree of perceived choice. This perception of perceived choice is essential, for the hierarchical gender system would never sustain itself for this long if it were maintained only by brute force.

Instead of using brute force, dominant groups endorse paternalistic ideologies that offer help and protection to subordinates to justify the hierarchy (Jackman, 1994). The system is arranged so that dominant groups confer benefits on the subordinate group members to keep them complacent. Subordinate group members, ever sensitive to their position and related stereotypes, are influenced by status beliefs in their own behavior, and cooperate to maintain amicable conditions (Seachrist & Stangor, 2001). In part, benevolent sexism stems from the perceived willing cooperation of the subordinates. In addition, seemingly "protective" gestures allow dominant group members to see subordinate group members as less competent while turning a blind eye to discriminatory acts (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001a, 2001b). In other words, dominant groups can deny subordinates education, organizational power, and economic participation under the guise of protection (Glick et al., 2000). If subordinate group members go along with the arrangement, dominant group

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members are free to assume that subordinate group members consent to the practice. If subordinate group members reject the "benefits," thereby refusing to cooperate, the dominant groups will react with hostility toward them, because they believe it is their right to maintain the system.

Some Consequences of Ambivalent Sexism

AST builds on the existing theories of gender inequality by demonstrating why it is that both hostile and benevolent ideologies contribute to persistent prejudice and discrimination against women. First, although benevolent sexism is seemingly innocuous and, in certain situations, is perceived as beneficial, it is problematic because it is yoked to hostile sexism; benevolent sexism does not exist without hostile sexism and the resulting prejudice and discrimination. Data from more than 15,000 participants in 19 countries illustrate that benevolent and hostile sexism are highly correlated with one another, and negatively correlated with other indicators of gender equality in economic and political life (Glick et al., 2000).

Second, benevolent sexism selectively favors only women who occupy traditional female roles. Ambivalent sexists reconcile their presumably conflicting ideologies about women by reserving benevolent beliefs for traditional women and hostile beliefs for nontraditional women (Glick, Diebold, Bailey Warner, & Zhu, 1997). Working women, especially aspirants for leadership, do not "benefit" from benevolent sexism.

Last, benevolent sexism reduces women's resistance to prejudice and discrimination because benevolence is often used to justify hostile acts. For example, women with higher benevolent sexism scores rated professional discrimination (e.g., boss promotes male employee instead of female employee, even though she is more qualified) as less serious when the perpetrator cited benevolent justifications (e.g., for women's protection). Similar effects occurred for interpersonal discrimination (e.g., husband forbids wife from going out at night), which might also predict husbands' resisting their wives' paid employment. Furthermore, higher benevolent sexism scores predicted women's greater tolerance for husbands' overtly hostile discrimination, although this last finding held only for women without paid employment (Moya, Exposito, & Casado, 1999). Benevolent sexism operates at the boundary between home and work.

Benevolent and hostile sexism both relate to several behaviors and individual differences that predict prejudice and discrimination against women in the workplace. Here are a few relevant examples: Hostile sexism predicts the likelihood of individuals passing on female- and male-disparaging jokes; hostile sexism also predicts how funny men think these jokes are (Thomas & Esses, 2004). Education negatively relates to benevolent and hostile sexism, and Catholicism predicts more benevolent but not hostile sexism (Glick,

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Lameiras, & Castro, 2002). Most relevant to employment issues, the alleged protection promoted by benevolent sexism is contingent on wives occupying traditional roles and remaining subordinate to husbands' authority (Glick, Sakali-Urgulu, Ferreira, & deSouza, 2002). Finally, individuals who score high on hostile sexism are more likely to infrahumanize women (Viki & Abrams, 2003); that is, hostile sexists deem women as less than human because they tend to deny that women possess positive, uniquely human emotions (e.g., compassion, hopefulness). Once the effects of hostile sexism and benevolent sexism were controlled for, participant gender was not related to this effect. Considerable data, then, demonstrate the role of ambivalent sexism, with hostile sexism having a more direct role and benevolent sexism having an indirect role, through the home, in workplace issues. Ambivalent sexism contributes to social-status restrictions on women.

Related Analyses of Status Beliefs and Roles for Women

We have reviewed the pervasive benevolent and hostile ideologies that dictate social rewards and punishments. Gender relations also reflect a well-defined and deeply embedded hierarchy, which includes automatically accessed roles. As noted previously, gender is inextricably linked to social hierarchy because gender stereotypes explicitly describe men's and women's status, traits, and roles (Berger, Fisek, Norman, & Zelditch, 1977; Ridgeway, 2001; Webster & Foschi, 1988). Besides status, interdependence matters: Men and women have to work together to get what they need and want. Two significant trends emerge as a result of this gender-status link and cooperative interdependence: (a) the status-differentiating qualities of both groups are more likely to be highlighted than are other qualities and (b) men, when unchallenged, are likely to interpret cooperation of women as consent. So, on the surface, men and women contentedly continue the present arrangement, and both groups do the necessary cognitive gymnastics to make sense of the way things are (Jost & Banaji, 1994).

Furthermore, gender is a salient, and perhaps the most salient, social category (Fiske, 1998; Stroessner, 1996), and gender stereotyping is often automatic or unconscious (Dunning & Sherman, 1997). In other words, the mere sight of a woman can immediately elicit a specific set of associated traits and attributions, depending on the context (category-based perception; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). As a result, the pressure on women to cooperate by enacting traditional gender roles is immediate.

Social-role theory (Eagly, 1987) suggests that gendered division of labor is the source of the stereotypes people hold about women and men to this day. Women are associated with domèstic roles (e.g., mother), which require communal qualities (e.g., warmth, patience), whereas men are associated with high-status roles (e.g., professional), which require agentic traits (e.g., compe-

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tence, independence). Thus, the "work" roles associated with each gender have shaped the content of the stereotypes people hold about men and women. Although the content of stereotypes for women may seem subjectively positive, public domains make it clear that these "favorable" attitudes are predicated on women occupying low-status roles.

The queen bee syndrome demonstrates yet another manner in which women may feel conflicted about rising through the ranks of the workplace. The term *queen bee syndrome* refers to the fact that women who have been individually successful in male-dominated environments are likely to oppose the women's movement and the promotion of female colleagues (Ellemers, van den Heuvel, de Gilder, Maass, & Bonvini, 2004; Staines, Tavris, & Jayaratne, 1974). One possible explanation for this finding comes from the social identity perspective: If women who have been successful in male-dominated domains see themselves as more masculine and thereby different from "regular women," it may be that they are motivated to emphasize intragroup differences in service of individual mobility goals (Ellemers et al., 2004; Tajfel, 1978). For women still advancing in the workplace the queen bee syndrome may have a two-fold effect: advancement may involve deemphasizing aspects that were previously central to the self (e.g., communality) as well as eliciting prejudice from those one expects to support them most (i.e., other, more senior female colleagues; Ellemers et al., 2004).

Given the features of gender relations—the clearly defined and deeply embedded hierarchy, the automatically accessed roles, and the pervasive benevolent and hostile ideologies that dictate social rewards and punishments—women in professional settings face a catch-22 every day. They have to choose between cooperating and competing, and they have to evaluate the possible outcomes of violating the status quo because, as the next section indicates, violations invite retaliation.

FALLOUT

In many domains men continue to surpass women in power and status (Pratto & Walker, 2001). Even when their objective behavior is equivalent, men and women are perceived as displaying divergent behaviors and possessing attributes indicative of differences in power, status, and dominance (Heilman, 2001). Moreover, particularly in masculine domains, women's relative power and status may be misperceived as being lower than objectively indicated. Women have to work harder than men do to be perceived as equally competent (Foschi, 2000).

Dominant groups endorse negative stereotypes that legitimize their privilege and withhold social power from subordinate groups. AST makes specific predictions about possible negative outcomes for women who operate in the public domain and have to navigate the fallout from benevolent and hos-

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tile ideologies. Some negative outcomes include patronizing discrimination, backlash, and sexual harassment.

Benevolence

Women are allegedly communal and men are allegedly agentic (Eagly, 1987), but employees seen as warm and incompetent may elicit patronizing discrimination (Glick & Fiske, 2007), which can have serious consequences for women in professional settings. Because stereotypes about women comprise status beliefs (i.e., women have less status than men), fewer agentic traits, and more communal traits, superiors tend to hold women to lower stereotyped-based standards in performance settings (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Biernat & Manis, 1994; Biernat, Manis, & Nelson, 1991; Biernat, Vesico, & Manis, 1998). In masculine domains this activation of low or patronizing standards for women can lead evaluators to be more impressed with female candidates than male candidates because the female candidate readily surpasses minimum standards for a woman (a *wow effect*). A male candidate, however, is held to higher, male stereotype-based standards and therefore seems comparatively less impressive (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997). Still, this "advantage" does not translate into getting the job because of an enormous behavioral gap between praising an applicant's qualities and actually putting applicants on the payroll (Biernat & Fuegen, 2001). These decisions distinguish between zero-sum and non-zero-sum behaviors (Biernat et al., 1998), such that zero-sum choices allocate limited but valuable resources (e.g., money, promotions), and non-zero-sum choices dole out unlimited but less-valued resources (e.g., verbal praise, positive nonverbal cues). Non-zero-sum decisions contrast with stereotypes, as a consequence of shifting standards (e.g., "She did a really great job giving that presentation, for a woman. We should definitely consider her for the job"). However, the really valuable, limited zero-sum choices assimilate to stereotypes (e.g., men are more competent than women, so hire the man; Biernat & Fuegen, 2001; Biernat & Vescio, 2002). In other words, although female applicants are likely to appear on the short list, they still lag in hiring, raises, and promotions (see also chap. 1, this volume, for an analysis of the glass cliff resulting from benevolent sexist beliefs).

More overt manifestations of patronizing discrimination include handicapping by overhelping, taking over, and limiting the responsibilities of targets (Rudman, Glick, & Phelan, 2007). In other words, people who are perceived as warm but incompetent will not be allowed to demonstrate their capabilities because the individuals who surround them will be reluctant to trust or burden them with the work that is required of others in comparable positions. Both women and men tend to respond with anger to patronizing behaviors of power-holders; but men subsequently perform better, whereas women perform worse as a consequence (Vescio, Gervais, Snyder, & Hoover, 2005).

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Patronizing discrimination is embedded in benevolent sexism and maintains the dominant group's higher status. The double-edged nature of patronizing discrimination is precisely what makes benevolent sexism so insidious. It does not seem overtly sexist and in many cases is seemingly beneficial to the recipient. Furthermore, perpetrators may even think they are helping recipients. Women who accept paternalistic gestures do so either because they are not aware that they are reinforcing their own low-status role or because they understand they have to cooperate, and accepting benevolent gestures is a better alternative to enduring overt hostility (see chaps. 5 and 6, this volume, for other analyses of seeming prejudice acceptance).

Hostility

Given the pervasive and immediate nature of gender-status associations, women have to weigh the alternatives of cooperation versus perceived competition. Every day, women face a paradox in performance settings: They have to provide strong counterstereotypic information (e.g., that they are agentic and competent) to demonstrate that they are qualified for high-status professional roles (Glick, Zion, & Nelson, 1988), but this deviation from prescribed gender norms can elicit a backlash (Rudman, 1998).

Consider the consequences of refusing benevolent gestures or violating feminine norms. If a woman elects to reject patronizing assistance, she risks being seen as uncooperative. As a result, the benefits of paternalism, reserved for women who stick to traditional gendered behavior, are revoked and backlash rooted in hostile sexism can take its place. Manifestations of backlash include hiring discrimination (Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004), harsher appraisals (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992), sabotage (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004), social exclusion (Jackman, 1994), and sexual harassment (Fiske & Stevens, 1993; see also chap. 8, this volume). Indeed, high hostile sexism scores, but not benevolent sexism scores, are related to more negative evaluations and fewer management recommendations for female candidates and more management recommendations for male candidates (Masser & Abrams, 2004). Moreover, women are bound by workplace culture norms; the social costs of making attributions to discrimination prevent stigmatized individuals from dealing with the discrimination (Kaiser & Miller, 2001).

Hostile ideologies elicited by competitive or counternormative behaviors promote ideas that can be used to justify resentment. A hostile interpretation of heterosexual intimacy can motivate individuals to infer that female coworkers acquired their positions illegitimately (e.g., by sleeping with a superior), because sexuality is supposedly the domain in which women have the perceived ability to control men (Ely, 1994). As one might predict, men who are most concerned with protecting their status are also the most likely to harass (Maass, Cadinu, Guarnieri, & Grasselli, 2003). Individuals (men or

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women) who threaten men's status most often elicit harassment (Berdahl, 2004; Dall'Ara & Maass, 2000; Maass et al., 2003). Power is automatically linked to sex for some men: Those men who maintain strong sex-role stereotypes are more likely to harass and are prone to behave aggressively toward women (Bargh & Raymond, 1995; Bargh, Raymond, Pryor, & Strack, 1995; see also chap. 8, this volume). Furthermore, women who are perceived as "sexy" can elicit hostile reactions, from both men and women, and lead people to perceive sexual harassment as justified (Muehlenhard & MacNaughton, 1988). High-status women who dress in sexy ways are especially demeaned; for low-status women, sexy dress has no effect (Glick, Larsen, Johnson, & Branstiter, 2005). Thus, women at work pay a high price for a variety of counternormative behaviors.

Nonverbal norms complicate matters because women face an uphill battle to preserve their legitimacy once they are in positions of authority. Dominant nonverbal behavior is a major cue to power (Carli, LeFleur, & Loeber, 1995; Henley, 1995; LaFrance, Hecht, & Paluck, 2003). The trouble lies in the fact that many nonverbal behaviors function both as dominance cues and as cues of intimacy, depending on who is expressing them, when, and where. For example, individuals who touch are seen as more dominant than the target they are touching (Major, 1981), but physical touch between two people is also a clear signal of intimacy and closeness. Because dominant nonverbal behavior is a central avenue for control that also severs the dual function of communicating intimacy, women who enact these behaviors in an effort to communicate their authority run the risk of being misinterpreted. Indeed, research shows exactly this pattern: Not only are dominant behaviors seen as less dominant when displayed by women as compared with men, but dominant behaviors are also seen as more sexual when displayed by women as compared with men. These attribution patterns hold when women express dominant gestures in dyadic interactions (Henley & Harmon, 1985) as well as when they express dominant gestures in the absence of an interaction partner (e.g., sitting upright with arms resting away from the body, maintaining direct eye contact with the camera; Cikara & Morrow, 2004).

The misperception of women's dominance behaviors as sexual may be particularly pernicious and may disserve women in at least two ways. First, behavioral confirmation may work in concert with attributions to restrict women's ability to influence situations and other people. That is, misinterpreting dominance cues as gestures of intimacy may cause people to behave in ways that elicit stereotype-confirming behaviors from women, thereby promoting the erroneous notion that they acquired their status illegitimately. Perhaps rightly, women do not believe that they can be seen simultaneously as competent and sexual (Gutek, 1989). Second, women being seen as sexual rather than powerful leads male workers to objectify women, making the women more likely targets for harassment and unwanted sexual advances. As one might

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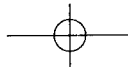
expect, flirtatiousness and harassment have negative consequences for women's self-confidence (Satterfield & Muehlenhard, 1997).

Although women tolerate harassment less than men do, ambivalent sexism is related to greater tolerance of harassment for both men and women, as measured by the Sexual Harassment Attitudes Scale (Russell & Trigg, 2004). Furthermore, behaving submissively in the face of harassment is not a solution. Submissive behavior undermines people's perception of social power and can also lead to exploitation (Richards, Rollerson, & Phillips, 1991). Attributing a woman's status to her sexuality, aggression, or coldness suggests she gained her power illegitimately. The more people endorse benevolent and hostile sexism, the greater the likelihood they will make these attributions. Thus, hostility toward women creates predictable forms of backlash against counternormative behavior by women.

CONCLUSION

Women face direct assault as they climb toward the glass ceiling, which casts doubt on their competence, but they also face lateral hostility as they bump up against glass walls that constrain their warmth to the straight and narrow confines dictated by gender roles. As women gain status and observers grudgingly admit their competence, women risk losing their perceived humanity, their warmth in particular. This is what happened to Hillary Clinton. But if women make sure to emphasize their warmth, loyalty, and sincerity, they may be discounted as less competent. Similar risks threaten men in positions of power, but they are exaggerated for women. Maybe these vertical assaults and collateral damages will attenuate if they are documented and they enter the popular mind. Particularly in the case of gender, people tend to neglect the importance of social structure. Thus, it is crucial that we highlight the structural conditions that give rise to gender inequity. It is not the case that disadvantage has to lead to system justification, and we would encourage resistance rather than denial or avoidance (e.g., see Reicher & Haslam, 2007; Schmitt, Branscombe, & Postmes, 2003). We hope the stereotypic competence-warmth trade-off will soon be seen for the outdated canard it is.

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