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Benevolent vs. Hostile Sexism Impact on Work Performance for Women in Turkey

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**BENEVOLENT VS. HOSTILE SEXISM: IMPACT ON WORK PERFORMANCE FOR
WOMEN IN TURKEY**

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Psychology
Western Kentucky University
Bowling Green, Kentucky

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Psychology

By
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May 2010

Benevolent VS. Hostile Sexism: Impact on Performance Outcomes for Women in Turkey

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BENEVOLENT VS. HOSTILE SEXISM: IMPACT ON PERFORMANCE OUTCOMES FOR WOMEN IN TURKEY

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May 2010

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All studies to date that have assessed the direct impact of benevolent vs. hostile sexism on performance outcomes have done so in the context of a Western society. Because of this void in the literature, it remained unknown how living in a low egalitarian and/or non-Western society may impact women's experiences of sexism. The purpose of this study is to address this gap in the literature. This study investigates the impact of benevolent vs. hostile sexism on women in four Turkish textile factories. 210 Turkish female textile factory workers were randomly assigned to the benevolent sexism, hostile sexism, or control condition. Performance and level of gender identification were measured. The results of this study indicated that while participants were impacted by sexism, the impact of benevolent vs. hostile sexism resulted in different outcomes than for women in higher egalitarian Western Societies.

Benevolent Vs. Hostile Sexism: Impact on Performance Outcomes for Women in Turkey

As women become more prominent figures in the workplace, it becomes increasingly important to study the unique situations they face. Most societies are built on a patriarchal value system which places men in the positions of economic, political and social power, whereas women fall into subordinate supportive and caregiver roles. Through the modernization of society, this trend has begun to shift, and women now make up a larger portion of the workforce than before. This transition, however, has not come without difficulties. While equality continues to increase, sexism is still a real and present barrier to women's success, especially at work. The purpose of the present study is to add to the current literature regarding the impact of sexism on performance outcomes for women, as well as to fill a gap, by assessing the phenomenon across cultures.

Sexism is defined as prejudice or discrimination based on sex (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Glick and Fiske, however, argued that sexism can be divided into two complimentary categories: *benevolent* sexism which is a subjectively positive orientation of supporting, protecting and holding women in high moral regard and *hostile* sexism which falls into more traditional definitions of prejudice. Combined, these complimentary parts create an overall situation of ambivalent sexism toward women, with women being both revered and reviled.

Glick and Fiske (1996) further argued that the underlying value system supporting sexism as a whole can be divided into *paternalism*, *gender differentiation*, and *heterosexuality*. *Paternalism* is defined as relating to others as a father relates to his children (*Random House College Dictionary*, 2000) and contains both *dominative* and

protective paternalism. *Dominative paternalism* connotes the domination of the father figure while *protective paternalism* construes a sense of affectionate protection. This idea of men as protective of women may help to justify men as dominators of women (Glick & Fiske). A man who is sexist can view himself in a positive light by recognizing that he supports and protects women.

Gender differentiation refers to an idea that men innately have the traits necessary to lead and that women have a different, yet complimentary set of traits (nurturing, emotionally supportive). This idea also helps to justify the system of gender inequality because it poses male dominance as an inevitable and necessary result of natural differences between the sexes. In this context, women are positively portrayed as filling necessary and complimentary (though not equal) roles to men (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Heterosexuality, in terms of how Glick et al. (2000) broke down the components of sexism, refers to the reproductive and sexual dependence of men on women. This specific situation creates a unique conflict because a dominant group is rarely so dependent on a subordinate group to meet a very basic need. In the case of men and women, however the dominant group (men) must rely on the subordinate group (women) in order to reproduce and meet sexual needs. As such it may lead to ambivalent feelings toward women seeing them positively as mothers and wives, but negatively as temptresses who use their sexual allure to emasculate men.

These underlying values help to create an attitude of ambivalence toward women. For instance, *heterosexuality* (the dependence of men on women to reproduce) can elicit resentment and disdain from men as well as creating feelings of intimacy and affection. In *paternalism* we can also see this dichotomy of women as good and bad. In this context

men become both the punishers and the protectors of women because they are viewed as weaker and as less competent than men. As such, an overall sense of ambivalence becomes pervasive. Women are both saints and evil temptresses, as well as incompetent but nurturing and nice (Glick et al., 2000).

In the above discussed dichotomous view, whether benevolent or hostile sexist attitudes or behaviors are expressed toward women, becomes dependent on which “type” of women a man believes he is interacting with. If the woman fits the stereotypical role assigned to her sex then she is met with benevolence, but if she does not fit the stereotype, she is met with hostility. As such, while benevolent sexism subjectively appears positive and prosocial, it works in conjunction with hostile sexism to support and maintain the current system of male dominance. Benevolent sexism serves as the reward for “good” behavior and hostile sexism serves to punish “bad” behavior (Fischer, 2006).

What is interesting in this situation is that the system of rewards and punishment conditions women to not only accept their subordination but also to perpetuate it. Women, therefore, often embrace benevolent sexism while at the same time scorning hostile sexism, unaware that they are different sides of the same coin. In this sense, benevolent sexism becomes a sort of modern day Trojan horse, being revered as a wonderful gift, while its true existence leads to detrimental outcomes.

Aside from the reward aspect, there are other reasons why women may embrace benevolent sexism. For example, system justification theory posits that individuals in a given society seek affirmation for maintaining the status quo of the social, economic, or political system (Glick et al., 2000). This is true for dominant and subordinate groups who seek to justify their given lot. According to this point of view, women would seek to

rationalize their subordination to men. Benevolent sexism helps to serve this purpose. In spite of hostile sexism, men also protect, care for, and set women on a moral and interpersonal pedestal. This kinder, gentler more prosocial version of sexism helps to justify women's subordinated status. Women do not have the upper economic hand, but their husbands bestow on them their own wealth and social status. Additionally, women are encouraged toward fulfilling domestic roles and praised as nurturing and caring when they do.

The idea of complementary gender roles also aids in system justification. The widely accepted notion that it is biology, and not social influence, which leads to segregated gender roles, makes the current system of gender inequality appear fair. Although women do not have as much involvement in leadership, political, or economic domains, they fulfill important complementary domestic and supportive roles. As such, the system appears to be fair, with each gender fulfilling necessary functions in society (Fischer, 2006).

In practice however, benevolent as well as hostile sexism, lead to negative outcomes for women in life as well as in the workplace. The negative impact of hostile sexism on women is transparent and, in general (especially in Western cultures), accepted as negative. Benevolent sexism, although it appears to be positive, however, has been shown to have a more negative impact on performance outcomes for women than hostile sexism. For example, Dardenne, Bollier and Dumont (2007), studied the consequences of benevolent sexism on women's performance. The authors hypothesized that benevolent sexism would result in decreased performance. To test this hypothesis, they conducted two studies.

In the first study, Dardenne et al. (2007) recruited uneducated poor women to participate in a study of job selection. Participants read a cover story containing either hostile sexist, benevolent sexist or neutral wording. Following the introduction participants were then asked to complete a series of tasks that involved math and spatial abilities, abilities that are not often associated with women. As was predicted, women confronted with benevolent sexism performed more poorly ($M = 1.64$) than those confronted with hostile sexism ($M = 6.31$), $t(25) = 4.66, p < .001, \eta^2 = .47$.

Dardenne et al. (2007) then conducted a follow up study to determine the generalizability of the findings from their first study. Participants in their second study consisted of undergraduate female students. Unlike the first experiment, however, where participants believed they were actually applying for a job, in this subsequent study manipulations and instructions were role-played. As was found in their previous study, women exposed to the benevolent condition performed worse than those exposed to either the hostile sexism or neutral condition $t(33) = 2.12, p < .05, \eta^2 = .12$.

To explain this decrease in performance, Dardenne et al. (2007) considered appraisal theory as a possible explanation for those exposed to benevolent sexism. Appraisal theory states that emotions are elicited and differentiated based on how an individual subjectively evaluates the significance of a situation, object or event based on a number of dimensions (Dalglish, & Power, 1999). Because hostile sexism is overt and easily identified as sexism, it may elicit anger and increase motivation to perform well. Benevolent sexism, on the other hand, is often perceived as kind and gentle and as such would not increase motivation to perform well. This is not to say that benevolent sexism

would decrease motivation, just that it would not increase motivation as hostile sexism may (Dardenne et al.).

The authors also proposed several explanations regarding the reasons why women performed worse in the benevolent condition. For example, they noted that the underlying basis for benevolent sexism is a belief that women lack ability. However, because benevolent sexist behaviors may be perceived as simply helping and being kind, it comes across as prosocial. This situation may then lead women to doubt their competence and result in poor performance. Furthermore, the authors suggested that gender identification may also have an impact on how women react to benevolent sexism. Women who are more strongly identified with their gender may be more perceptive of sexism and experience more uncertainty and frustration than women who do not identify strongly with their gender (Dardenne et al., 2007).

Alternatively, Dardenne, et al. (2007) point to literature regarding the activation of group stereotypes. This concept, known as *stereotype threat*, is the realization that one's performance on a particular task might confirm a negative stereotype about one's group. The anxiety experienced in this situation may then lead to impairment in active memory and reduced performance. In a situation of benevolent sexism, stereotype threat may be activated (Bosson, Haymovits & Pinal, 2004). For instance, studies have shown that black students performed worse on standardized exams when asked to indicate their race or told that their scores would be compared with white students' scores (Schmader, Major, & Gramzow, 2001). Similarly, studies have also shown that women perform worse on math tests when asked to indicate their gender or when told their scores were compared with men's scores (Schmader, et al.). As such, benevolent sexism may activate

stereotypes about women, which results in women behaving in a stereotypical manner and thus performing poorly on some tasks.

It is important to note, however, that these studies were conducted in Western cultures. As such, these findings cannot be generalized to non-Western societies. Therefore, it is only apparent that in societies which are relatively egalitarian (Western cultures), women perform worse under situations of benevolent sexism. We do not know, however, whether women in less egalitarian cultures will react in the same manner.

Gender and Culture

Gender plays a significant role in all cultures. The way in which work is divided, power is distributed, and social interactions take place are largely impacted by the beliefs, perceptions and traditions surrounding gender. In most countries gender is viewed dichotomously, split between opposing characteristics; male and female. Traditionally this split has resulted in men dominating politically, socially, and economically, while women dominate in childcare and the domestic sphere. This dichotomous perception of gender often accompanies an unequal distribution of power placing men as dominant and women as subordinate. The degree of inequality between men and women varies by culture. Some cultures can be considered highly egalitarian where others are less so (Chhokar et al., 2007).

Societies that would be considered more egalitarian would be those who have approached gender equality. In such countries, there is little disparity between men and women with respect to political positions, social status, and compensation in jobs with similar qualifications. In cultures that are less egalitarian there is a wider gap between the

pay men and women receive, women tend to fair worse in terms of health have less impact politically, and gain social status through their husbands' position (Chokkar et al., 2007).

In Western cultures such as France, where the study by Dardenne et al. (2007) was conducted, women enjoy more economic, political and social freedom than in many countries around the world. In fact, women make up nearly 64.1% of the workforce but earn only 12% less than men with similar backgrounds, education, and experience. Women in France have also been exposed to a public and active feminist movement which has made the issue of gender inequality more salient (French Embassy, 2007).

Gender equality in Turkey is much lower than in the United States. According to the 2008 World Economic Forum, Turkey is ranked 127th in the world in terms of women's rights and well-being. Women in Turkey make up a mere 16% of the workforce and occupy jobs that fit stereotypes of women such as nurses, secretaries and teachers (Chhokar et al., 2007). Furthermore, the feminist movement in Turkey has never grown to a point that issues of gender inequality have successfully been brought to the forefront of the society at large (Chhokar, Brodbeck, & House, 2008). As such, the concept of sexism is not readily recognized as a social problem, and benevolent sexism is perceived as truly prosocial and not patronizing or undermining.

However, although sexism is not readily recognized in Turkey, it is actively functioning within the society. In their study of sexist attitudes, Sakalli-Ugurlu and Beydogan (2002) looked at Turkish university student attitudes toward women managers. The authors noted, much like the United States, women in Turkey have been working outside the home since the 1950's, but the level of jobs held by women is consistently

centered around the lower rungs of business hierarchy and are consistent with gender stereotypes. The results of their study indicated women had more positive attitudes toward women managers than Turkish men, that those scoring high on support for patriarchy as well as hostile sexism had more negative attitudes toward women managers, and that patriarchy and hostile sexism were responsible for negative attitudes toward women managers more so than benevolent sexism.

In a society where hostility and violence toward women is pervasive, clinging to benevolent sexism may be a survival mechanism. If acting contrary to gender roles leads to severe hostility then women may be inclined to behave in line with traditional stereotypes and value the rewards offered by benevolent sexism. For women in more egalitarian societies where violence against women, while still pervasive is at least less common, women may be more inclined to challenge gender role traditions or at least not embrace them (Fischer, 2006).

In a study of sexism, Fischer (2006) examined whether benevolent sexism in women was a response to hostility toward their gender. She noted that because benevolent sexism showers women with seemingly positive outcomes, women who experience hostility toward their gender may turn to benevolent sexism as a way of dealing with the unpleasantness. She further noted that based on system justification theory, it should hold that if women believe men uphold hostile sexist attitudes then they themselves should support hostile sexist ideals and the same for benevolent sexism.

Fischer (2006) hypothesized that women's benevolent sexist attitudes would change as a function of changing knowledge of male attitudes toward women but their hostile sexist beliefs would not change. To test this hypothesis, 130 undergraduate

women were asked to complete surveys which were designed to measure their sexist beliefs before and after reading statements on men's beliefs about women. As predicted, women who read statements expressing benevolent sexist attitudes toward women by men indicated more agreement with benevolent sexist beliefs. Additionally, there were no differences in women's adherence to hostile sexist beliefs based on the statements they read.

Fischer (2006) notes that increased adherence to benevolent sexist ideals may help to buffer women's self-esteem against the overt negativity of hostility. As such, benevolent sexist beliefs in women may be an adaptive strategy to maintain individual and group self-esteem in spite of the hostility that comes with living in a patriarchal society. In Turkish culture, benevolent sexism is strongly upheld by men, therefore, it would follow that women would also strongly support such ideals.

Assimilating benevolent sexist ideals into one's schema for gender interactions, however, may lead women to doubt their own competence as Dardenne et al. (2007) noted. This adherence to and acceptance of benevolent sexism might further influence the performance of women from countries such as Turkey where gender equality is low.

Attributional ambiguity theory offers another basis for why Turkish women may perform worse under conditions of benevolent sexism than women in Western cultures (Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major, 1991). Women in Turkey are less aware of gender inequality as a political and social issue and thus may be less likely to recognize sexism. Therefore, when confronted with discrimination, Turkish women may be less likely to conclude they are being discriminating against. Instead, they will likely conclude that the

sexist treatment is not based on prejudice, but instead on personal characteristics of themselves.

Furthermore, social identity theory holds that individuals' identity is composed of a personal identity in addition to various group identities (Schmader, 2002). This theory also states that people are motivated to maintain a positive group social identity and, therefore, negative group stereotypes are a threat to one's overall positive group image. As such, those who are more identified with group membership were more negatively affected by negative stereotypes of their group. Because there is more social segregation of women in Turkey compared to the United States, women in Turkey may develop stronger gender identification than do women in Western cultures. According to Williams, Satterwhite, and Best (as cited in Matsumoto & Wang, 2008), men and women in cultures that are more rural, less economically developed, and have less women employed outside the home, tend to exhibit greater gender differentiation. This greater gender identification may then result in women's experiences of stereotype threat being heightened.

In a study by Shih, Pittinsky, and Ambady (1999), researchers primed negative and positive group stereotypes of Asian American students and assessed performance on a math test. Students who had been primed with positive stereotypes of Asian Americans performed better than did those primed with negative stereotypes. In another study by Schmader et al. (2001), the impact of group identification and performance was assessed. In their study, undergraduate participants listened to a recording of a man stating that he was a researcher developing a standardized math test. He further explained that scores on the test would be used to determine the individual's mathematical abilities. In the

control group participants were only asked to write their first initial and last name on the cover sheet. For those in the experimental group, however, they were asked to also indicate whether they were male or female and the researcher explained that he was interested in comparing the performance of men to women. Prior to the test administration all individuals were also given a questionnaire to assess their level of gender identification. Results indicated that only when women believed their scores were being compared with men's and when they were highly gender identified did their performance become significantly worse than men's $\beta = -.69, p < .01$.

The culmination of these theories would suggest that women exposed to sexism in less egalitarian societies would experience more significant decreases in performance than women in more egalitarian societies. Women in less egalitarian societies may be more likely to buy into ideas of benevolent sexism, thus making the impact of stereotype threat more noticeable. Additionally, women in less gender egalitarian societies may be less likely to identify a situation as sexist and therefore, according to attributional ambiguity theory, they may be more likely to attribute outcomes of discrimination/prejudice to their own personal characteristics. Lastly, women in less gender egalitarian societies may be more gender identified. According to social identity theory, the more identified an individual is with their group, the more they are negatively impacted by negative group stereotypes.

The purpose of this current study is to address the cross-cultural void in the literature. To date, most studies assessing the impact of benevolent and hostile sexism on women's performance have been conducted in Western cultures. I propose that

Hypothesis 1: Women who are more gender identified will perform worse under both the hostile and benevolent sexism conditions than women who are less gender identified.

Hypothesis 2: Women will perform worse under conditions of hostile and benevolent sexism than women in control conditions.

Hypothesis 3: Women will perform worse under conditions of benevolent sexism than women in hostile sexism or control conditions.

Methods

Participants

Participants were 211 female factory workers ages 14 to 60 from a textile factory in Turkey. Most participants were unmarried (134 single; 62 married; 13 did not answer), without children (142 no children; 58 had children; 13 did not answer), and of Turkish ethnicity (148 Turkish; 19 Kurdish; 41 did not answer). All participants indicated they were Muslim and most had obtained a high school education or less.

Design

Cover story. The method used was similar to the one utilized by Dardenne et al. (2007). The experiment was presented as being part of a company's development of a new hiring and interview process. All instructions were presented orally. Participants were asked to imagine that they had been searching for a job for several months and had applied for one that they thought would be interesting. They were further told to imagine that they had just received an invitation to go to an interview. Participants were told that the firm is a textile factory that previously only employed men. The interview procedures were said to include the completion of a test that is well-known and frequently used for job recruitment.

Manipulation of sexism. A scripted letter was presented as a letter from the CEO. The introduction section of the letters were the same across all conditions. The segment describing what the work environment would be like, however, varied by condition and was designed to convey attitudes expressing benevolent sexism, hostile sexism, or no sexism. Sexist items were chosen based on the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick &

Fiske, 1996). In the control condition participants were simply read the initial introduction and directions. (See Appendix A for the complete script.)

In the benevolent sexist condition participants were presented with the following script regarding the work environment: (See Appendix B for the complete script.)

Women who may be hired will work with mostly men. This should not be a problem. The company knows how good it is for them to hire women. All of the employees think that having women around will make the company better. One reason they think that is because women have better taste than men. Women also have a better morals then men. Also, because the men who work there are aware the new employee might be a woman, they have agreed to work with the women. The men have agreed to give the women time and to help them get used to the new job.

In the hostile sexist condition participants were presented with the following script: (See Appendix C for the complete script.)

Women who may be hired will work with mostly men. I just hope women here won't be offended. Women sometimes get so easily upset! I also hope we won't have a problem with more complaints being filed. Women tend to exaggerate problems they have at work.

After the initial script was read, participants were given a performance measure of math and spatial ability (see Appendix D), which they were told was designed to test important skills and knowledge for the target job. The performance measure took

approximately thirty minutes to complete. Once completed, participants were given Settle's Women Centrality questionnaire (2004) to assess their level of gender identification (See Appendix E). This questionnaire assesses how central gender is to a female participant's identity. Participants were asked to indicate the degree to which they agreed (1) or disagreed (7) with items on a 7 point Likert scale (e.g. "overall being a woman has very little to do with how I feel about myself"). Higher numbers on the scale indicate stronger gender identification, $\alpha = .79$ (Settles, 2004). Once the questionnaire was completed, participants were debriefed.

Results

As is indicated in Table 1, scores on the gender identity scale ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 2.5$) were correlated with performance measure scores ($M = .097$, $SD = .3$). The correlation was insignificant, $r = -.12$, $p = .07$, and thus Hypothesis 1, in which it was predicted that the more gender identified women were, the worse they would perform, was not supported.

Table 1

Correlation

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>
Gender Identity	4.27	2.5		
Performance Score	.097	.3		
			-.12	.07

A 2X3 ANOVA was calculated to assess Hypotheses 2, which predicated that women overall would perform worse under conditions of hostile and benevolent sexism than those in the control conditions, and Hypothesis 3, which predicted that women in the benevolent condition would perform worse than those in any other condition. The results which are presented in Tables 2 and 3, were statistically significant, $F(2, 209) = 4.03$, $p = .02$. Post hoc comparisons using the Bonferonni test indicated that the mean scores for the control condition ($M = 1.02$, $SD = 1.2$) and benevolent condition ($M = .94$, $SD = .76$) were significantly different than the hostile condition ($M = .64$, $SD = .73$). The benevolent and control conditions, however, were not significantly different from each other. Therefore, Hypothesis 2 was partially supported but Hypothesis 3 was not.

Table 2

ANOVA

	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Between Groups	6.14	2	3.07	4.03	-.019*
Within Groups	157.69	207	.76		
Total	163.83	209			

* $p < .05$

Table 3

Bonferonni

	Mean Difference	Std. Error	<i>Sig.</i>
Hostile v. Benevolent	-.37*	.14	.035
Hostile v. Control	.39*	.16	.049
Benevolent v. Control	-.02	.15	1.0

* $p < .05$

Discussion

As the results indicate, culture appears to at least partially influence women's performance under conditions of hostile versus benevolent sexism. Studies assessing the impact of sexism on women's performance in Western cultures (Dardenne et al., 2007) have found that while women perform worse when exposed to both benevolent and hostile sexist situations, their performance is especially worse when exposed to benevolent sexist events. The present study, however, found that, at least for these participants, exposure to hostile sexism decreased performance but not exposure to benevolent sexism.

There are several possible explanations for why this difference might exist between women in high versus low egalitarian societies. One possible explanation is that women in low egalitarian societies cling to the protection afforded them through benevolent sexism. Previous literature has found that, for women in highly hostile sexist societies, adhering to benevolent sexist beliefs may be adaptive to maintain both individual and group self-esteem (Fischer, 2006). It is further possible that this acceptance of benevolent sexism may allow one to maintain self-esteem to a high enough degree that exposure to it does not instigate internalized feelings of incompetence, thus not negatively impacting performance.

Another possible explanation would lie in the possibility that stereotype threat is a contributing factor to the decreased performance experienced by Western women who are exposed to benevolent sexism. The lower levels of education obtained by the factory workers in Turkey, however, would likely have given them little opportunity to be

exposed to ideas of sexism and feminism. This lack of exposure to issues surrounding gender inequity may mean that the women are less aware of the negative stereotypes which underlie benevolent sexism. In order for stereotype threat to occur, the individual must at least be aware that the stereotypes about them exist. If the factory workers in Turkey were unaware of the stereotypes, then it would follow that they would not be impacted by stereotype threat in the benevolent situation.

Similarly, attributional ambiguity theory may not apply to benevolent sexist interactions for Turkish women. If women are so underexposed to ideas of gender inequality as to be unaware that patronizing behavior is a form of prejudice, the impact of attributional ambiguity would be non-existent. Thus, there would be no ambiguity because it would not be recognized that benevolent sexist behavior could be related to a prejudiced idea or negative stereotype. As such, when exposed to benevolent sexism, women would not recognize a possibility of prejudice and thus not internalize any feelings of inferiority.

It was further found in the present study that gender identification had no impact on participants' performance. There are a variety of possible explanations for this finding. First, it is possible that gender identification did not play a role in how women reacted to the sexist situations. Most of the literature regarding gender identification and performance has been conducted with Western samples. As such, although Western women have been shown to perform worse when they are highly gender identified (Shih et al., 1999), whether this interaction is the same for women in less egalitarian societies has been less explored. Additionally, since there are no cross-cultural comparisons for the levels of gender identification, it is unknown if Turkish women's average level of

gender identification is comparable to those of women in Western societies. Therefore, although Shih et al. (1999) found higher levels of gender identification to impact performance, we do not know if the level of gender identification for the Turkish sample is either so high or so low as to result in a different interaction.

It is also possible that results in the present study are due to the level of illiteracy among the participants. It is possible that many of the participants did not fully understand the nature of the questions. This same problem would not have been evident in results for the performance measure since the participants held higher mathematical skills than reading skills.

Limitations

This study has several limitations. First, there were no pre-tests to assess participant's initial ability in math or initial level of gender identification before they were exposed to the benevolent or hostile conditions. Another limitation arises because all materials were translated from English to Turkish and there are several English words for which there are no direct Turkish translations. Furthermore, the scenario was artificial and thus may not accurately portray the true impact of sexism in the workplace. Another weakness of the current study resides in all data being collected at one location. Results may not generalize to factories outside of the one being assessed. Lastly, the high rate of illiteracy may have had a significant impact on participant's responses to items on the gender identity scale.

Conclusion

Based on findings in the present study, it appears that culture at least plays some role in how women's performance is impacted by benevolent and hostile sexism. As

such, it may be difficult to generalize what we know about benevolent and hostile sexism in high egalitarian, Western societies to low egalitarian, non-Western societies.

Future research should investigate whether individuals with different demographics would perform the same as those in the present study. For example, all participants in the present study were Muslim and, as such, it would be of interest to know if differences would exist for women in Turkey who are not Muslim. Additionally, participants in the present study, at most, obtained high school diplomas, so it would also be of interest to investigate what impact education may have for performance outcomes. Moreover, all participants were from Istanbul and the surrounding area, so future research should assess whether these outcomes would differ for women in other geographic locations within Turkey. In addition to conducting further research within Turkey, future research should also assess the impact of benevolent and hostile sexism on women's performance in other non-Western cultures.

Future research should also continue to explore the role gender identification plays in how non-Western women's performance is impacted by sexism. In the present study, gender identification was found to play no role in how women performed under sexism. As previously discussed, there are various reasons why those results may be unique to this study. As such, future studies should continue to look at this issue to determine if gender identity in fact plays no role.

Sexism has a negative impact on women's performance cross-culturally. Although most studies have assessed the impact on Western women, this study shows that at least in regard to hostile sexism, sexist events can negatively impact how women perform in a non-Western culture. The unique role benevolent and hostile sexism play

when culture comes into the picture requires further investigation. As representation of women in the workforce increases along with the global diversity of the workforce, these issues of sexism and culture will become increasingly important to understand.

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Appendix A
Control Condition Script with Translation

Good (morning/afternoon/evening). Our business, Pure Cotton Company has recently developed a new hiring process for their employees. We want to test it out first before applying it to actually employees. Omar has been generous enough to allow us to try out this new process with the help of their employees, all of you.

You are not, however, required to participate. By participating in this activity, you will however be entered in a drawing for prize. If, however, you do not wish to participate, you may leave the room and return to work at this time. Furthermore, if at any time during this training activity, you wish to no longer participate, you are welcomed to leave. Whether you do or do not participate in this activity will not affect your job here at Omar.

For those who wish to participate, we will begin the training.

Imagine that you have been searching for a job for several months and have applied to one that you thought would be interesting. Now imagine that you have just received an invitation to go to an interview for this job. The factory you are going to for the interview primarily hires men.

In accordance with Pure Cotton's hiring process, you will be asked to complete a brief set of tasks which are related to the job followed by two short questionnaires.

Thank you for your involvement in this training activity. If you have any questions or concerns, two of Pure Cotton's associates will be there to assist you.

İyi günler. Şirketimiz, Som Cotton Company son zamanlarda işçileri için yeni bir işe alım süreci geliştirdi. Bu işe alım sürecini gerçek çalışanlara uygulamadan önce test etmek istedik. Orma bu yeni süreci çalışanlarının, hepiniz yardımıyla denememize izin vererek bizi onurlandırdı.

Yine de katılmaya zorunlu değilsiniz. Bu etkinliğe katılarak çekilise de katılmış olacaksınız. Eğer katılmak istemiyorsanız, odadan ayrılıp çalışmaya devam edebilirsiniz. Ayrıca bu etkinlik sırasında herhangi bir anda katılmaktan vaz geçerseniz odadan ayrılabilirsiniz. Bu etkinliğe katılıp katılmamanız Orma'daki işinizi etkilemeyecek.

Katılmak isteyenler için, eğitime başlıyoruz.

Birkaç aydır iş aradığınızı ve ilginç olabileceğini düşündüğünüz bir işe başvurduğunuzu düşünün. Şimdi de bu iş için mulakat yapmak üzere davet edildiğinizi düşünün. Bu firma cogunlukla erkekleri ise almaktadır.

İse alım süreci dahilinde sizden işle ilgili kısa bir takım görevleri yerine getirmeniz ardından da iki kısa anketi yanıtlamanız istenecek.

Eğer sorularınız veya endişeleriniz olursa, Som Cotton'un iki ortağı size yardım etmek üzere burada bulunmaktadırlar.

Appendix B
Benevolent Sexist Condition with Translation

Good (morning/afternoon/evening). Our business, Pure Cotton Company has recently developed a new hiring process for their employees. We want to test it out first before applying it to actually employees. Omar has been generous enough to allow us to try out this new process with the help of their employees, all of you.

You are not, however, required to participate. By participating in this activity, you will however be entered in a drawing for a prize. If, however, you do not wish to participate, you may leave the room and return to work at this time. Furthermore, if at any time during this training activity, you wish to no longer participate, you are welcomed to leave. Whether you do or do not participate in this activity will not affect your job here at Omar.

For those who wish to participate, we will begin the training.

Imagine that you have been searching for a job for several months and have applied to one that you thought would be interesting. Now imagine that you have just received an invitation to go to an interview for this job.

The factory you are going to for the interview primarily hires men, which should not be a problem. The company knows how good it will be for them to hire women. All of the employees think that having women around will make the company better. One reason they think that is because women are more cultured and have better morals than men. Also, because the men who work there are aware the new employee might be a woman, they have agreed to help the women. The men have agreed to give the women time and to aid them in getting used to the new job.

In accordance with Pure Cotton's hiring process, you will be asked to complete a brief set of tasks which are related to the job followed by two short questionnaires.

If you have any questions or concerns, two of Pure Cotton's associates will be there to assist you.

İyi günler. Şirketimiz, Som Cotton Company son zamanlarda işçileri için yeni bir işe alım süreci geliştirdi. Bu işe alım sürecini gerçek çalışanlara uygulamadan önce test etmek istedik. Orma bu yeni süreci çalışanlarının, hepiniz yardımıyla denememize izin vererek bizi onurlandırdı.

Yine de katılmaya zorunlu değilsiniz. Bu etkinliğe katılarak çekilise de katılmış olacaksınız. Eğer katılmak istemiyorsanız, odadan ayrılıp çalışmaya devam edebilirsiniz. Ayrıca bu etkinlik sırasında herhangi bir anda katılmaktan vaz geçerseniz odadan ayrılabilirsiniz. Bu etkinliğe katılıp katılmamanız Orma'daki işinizi etkilemeyecek.

Katılmak isteyenler için, eğitime başlıyoruz.

Birkaç aydır iş aradığınızı ve ilginç olabileceğini düşündüğünüz bir işe başvurduğunuzu düşünün. Şimdi de bu iş için mulakat yapmak üzere davet edildiğinizi düşünün.

İşe alınma ihtimali olan kadınlar çoğunlukla erkeklerle birlikte çalışacaklar. Bu firmamız için sorun teskil etmemektedir. Şirket kadınları istihdam etmenin kendileri için ne kadar iyi olacağını biliyor. Çalışanların hepsi kadınların çevrelerinde olmasının şirket için daha iyi olacağını düşünmektedirler. Bunu düşünmelerinin nedeni kadınların erkeklerden daha kültürlü ve daha ahlaklı olması. Aynı zamanda, orda çalışan erkekler yeni işe alınacak kişilerin kadın olabileceğini bildikleri için, onlara yardım etme konusunda fikir birliğine vardılar. Erkekler kadınlara zaman verme ve yeni işe alışmaları için onlara yardım etme konusunda anlaştılar.

İşe alım süreci dahilinde sizden işle ilgili kısa bir takım görevleri yerine getirmeniz ardından da iki kısa anketi yanıtlamanız istenecek.

Eğer sorularınız veya endişeleriniz olursa, Som Cotton'un iki ortağı size yardım etmek üzere burada bulunmaktadırlar.

Appendix C
Hostile Sexist Condition Script with Translation

Good (morning/afternoon/evening). Our business, Pure Cotton Company has recently developed a new hiring process for their employees. We want to test it out first before applying it to actually employees. Omar has been generous enough to allow us to try out this new process with the help of their employees, all of you.

You are not, however, required to participate. By participating in this activity, you will however be entered in a drawing for a prize. If, however, you do not wish to participate, you may leave the room and return to work at this time. Furthermore, if at any time during this training activity, you wish to no longer participate, you are welcomed to leave. Whether you do or do not participate in this activity will not affect your job here at Omar.

For those who wish to participate, we will begin the training. Imagine that you have been searching for a job for several months and have applied to one that you thought would be interesting. Now imagine that you have just received an invitation to go to an interview for this job.

The factory you are going to for the interview primarily hires men. I hope women who may get hired won't be offended. Women sometimes get so easily upset! I also hope we won't have a problem with more complaints being filed. Women tend to exaggerate problems they have at work.

In accordance with Pure Cotton's hiring process you will be asked to complete a brief set of tasks which are related to the job followed by two short questionnaires.

If you have any questions or concerns, two of Pure Cotton's associates will be there to assist you.

İyi günler. Şirketimiz, Som Cotton Company son zamanlarda işçileri için yeni bir işe alım süreci geliştirdi. Bu işe alım sürecini gerçek çalışanlara uygulamadan önce test etmek istedik. Orma bu yeni süreci çalışanlarının, hepiniz yardımıyla denememize izin vererek bizi onurlandırdı.

Yine de katılmaya zorunlu değilsiniz. Bu etkinliğe katılarak çekilise de katılmış olacaksınız. Eğer katılmak istemiyorsanız, odadan ayrılıp çalışmaya devam edebilirsiniz. Ayrıca bu etkinlik sırasında herhangi bir anda katılmaktan vaz geçerseniz odadan ayrılabilirsiniz. Bu etkinliğe katılıp katılmamanız Orma'daki işinizi etkilemeyecek.

Katılmak isteyenler için, eğitime başlıyoruz.

Birkaç aydır iş aradığınızı ve ilginç olabileceğini düşündüğünüz bir işe başvurduğunuzu düşünün. Şimdi de bu iş için mulakat yapmak üzere davet edildiğinizi düşünün.

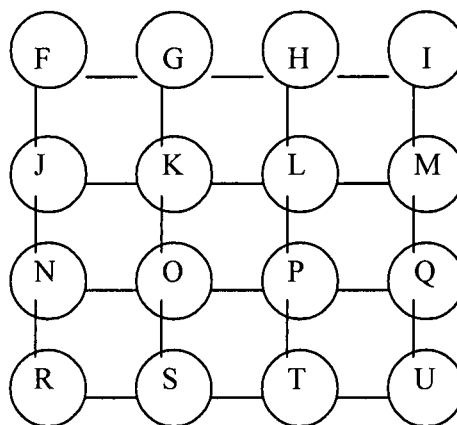
Bu firma cogunlukla erkekleri ise almaktadır. Kadınların buna gücenmeyeceklerini umarım. Kadınlar bazen çok kolay sinirlenebiliyorlar! Aynı zamanda daha fazla şikayetlerle karşı karşıya kalmayacağımızı umarım. Kadınlar işte yaşadıkları problemleri abartma eğilimine sahipler.

İşe alım süreci dahilinde sizden işle ilgili kısa bir takım görevleri yerine getirmeniz ardından da iki kısa anketi yanıtlamanız istenecek.

Eğer sorularınız veya endişeleriniz olursa, Som Cotton'un iki ortağı size yardım etmek üzere burada bulunmaktadırlar.

Appendix D

Performance Measure with Translation



Each circle is a point on the ocean. Consider that the distance from one point to the other on a line is 2 km. You are the captain on the ship located on one point. The other circles are harbors to which your ship might go. For each item below, we'll give you the location of your ship and one harbor. You should calculate the **shortest distance** between them. Any move should be on the lines on the diagram.

- **Here are 2 examples :**

Ship N – Harbor O (the ship goes from N to O)

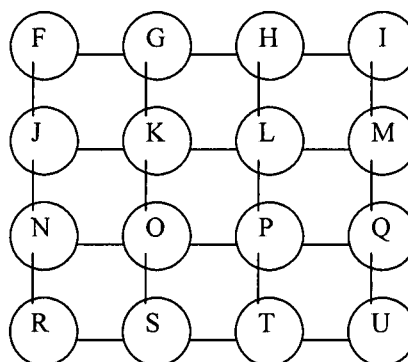
Answer: 2 because 2 km separates the ship from the Harbor

Ship J – Harbor G

Answer : 4 (2+2)

- **You have to take into account other parameters :**

- When the wind direction is indicated (wind : \uparrow , \rightarrow , \downarrow , or \leftarrow), you add 1 km for any 2 km you must travel in the opposite direction of the wind or you subtract 1 km for any 2 km when you are traveling in the same direction as the wind.
- If the wind is coming from left or right, the ship is not affected
- The arrow indicates the wind direction for a group of 3 items (then the wind has an impact on any trajectory, either horizontal or vertical)
- When the current is indicated (current : \uparrow , \rightarrow , \downarrow , or \leftarrow). THE SAME INSTRUCTIONS AS FOR THE WIND
- A double arrow ($\uparrow\uparrow$, $\rightarrow\rightarrow$, $\downarrow\downarrow$, or $\leftarrow\leftarrow$) indicates that the wind and/or running water is doubled. For 2 km with the ship, you should add or subtract 2 km.



SOLVE EACH PROBLEM

For items 1, 2, and 3 : wind ↑ - Curreant ←←

1. Ship R – Harbor O.....	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2. Ship T – Harbor J.....	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
3. Ship T – Harbor M.....	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

For items 4, 5, and 6 : Wind ↓ - Curreant ↑↑

4. Ship Q – Harbor I.....	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
5. Ship P – Harbor M.....	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
6. Ship U – Harbor K.....	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Pour les items 7, 8 et 9 : Wind ↓↓ - Courrant ←

7. Ship S – Harbor N.....	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
8. Ship L – Harbor R.....	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
9. Ship H – Harbor O.....	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Thank you for your participation

Her daire okyanus üzerindeki bir noktayı gösteriyor. Bir çizgi üzerindeki iki nokta arasındaki mesafesinin 2 km olduğunu düşünün. Siz bir nokta üzerindeki bir geminin kaptanısınız. Diğer daireler sizin geminizin gidebileceği limanlar. Aşağıdaki her madde için, size geminizin yerini ve bir liman vereceğiz. Bu iki arasındaki en kısa mesafeyi hesaplamalısınız. Her hareket şekildeki çizgiler üzerinden olmalı.

- **Aşağıda iki örnek bulunuyor:**

1) Gemi N – Liman O (gemi N'den O'ya gidecek)

Cevap: 2 çünkü gemiyi limandan ayıran 2 km var.

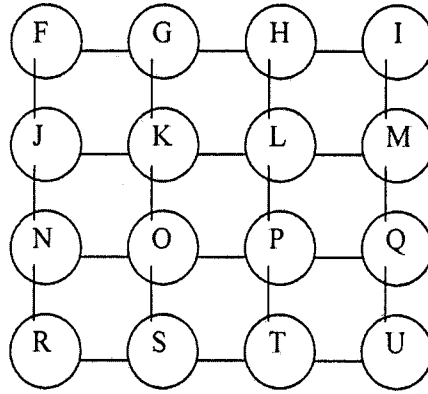
2) Gemi J – Liman G

Cevap : 4 (2+2)

- **Diğer değişkenleri de hesaba katmalısınız :**

Rüzgarın yönü belirtildiği zaman (rüzgar : \uparrow , \rightarrow , \downarrow , ve \leftarrow), gitmek zorunda olduğunuz rüzgarın estiği yönün tersine her 2 km için, 1 km eklemeli veya rüzgarla aynı yönde yolculuk yapıyorsanız her 2 km için 1 km çıkarmalısınız.

- Eğer rüzgar sağdan veya soldan esiyorsa gemi etkilenmez.
- Ok, 3 maddeden oluşan grup için rüzgarın yönünü gösterir. (o zaman rüzgar ya yatay ya da dikey bir yönde etkili olmaktadır)
- Akıntı belirtildiği zaman (akıntı : \uparrow , \rightarrow , \downarrow , ve \leftarrow). RÜZGAR İÇİN YAPILAN AYNI AÇIKLAMALAR GEÇERLİDİR
- Çift ok ($\uparrow\uparrow$, $\rightarrow\rightarrow$, $\downarrow\downarrow$, ve $\leftarrow\leftarrow$) rüzgarın veya akıntının iki katına çıktığı anlamına gelir. Geminin gittiği 2 km için, 2 km eklemeli veya çıkarmalısınız.



HER PROBLEMİ ÇÖZÜMÜZ

Madde 1, 2, ve 3 için : rüzgar ↑ - akıntı ←←

1. Gemi R – Liman	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2. Gemi T – Liman	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
3. Gemi T – Liman	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Madde 4, 5, ve 6 için : rüzgar ↓ - akıntı ↑↑

4. Gemi Q – Liman	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
5. Gemi P – Liman	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
6. Gemi U – Liman	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Madde 7, 8 ve 9 için : rüzgar ↓↓ - akıntı ←

7. Gemi S – Liman	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
8. Gemi L – Liman	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
9. Gemi H – Liman	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Katıldığınız için teşekkür ederiz.

Appendix E

Settle's Women Centrality Questionnaire with Translation

Demographics

Age _____

Race _____

Religion _____

Please circle the most accurate response to each question below:

How long have you worked at Omar?

Less than 6 months 6 – 12 months 1-3 years 3-6 years 6+ years

Are you married? Yes No

Do you have children? Yes No

Below are some statements concerning beliefs, opinions, and attitudes of people based on their gender (male or female). Read each statement carefully and use the following scale to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree, thinking about your gender. 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

1. Overall, being a woman has very little to do with how I feel about myself.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree			Neutral			Strongly Agree

2. In general, being a woman is an important part of my self-image.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree			Neutral			Strongly Agree

3. My destiny is tied to the destiny of other woman.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree			Neutral			Strongly Agree

4. Being a woman is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

Neutral

5. I have a strong sense of belonging to other woman as a group.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree			Neutral			Strongly Agree

6. I have a strong attachment to other woman.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree			Neutral			Strongly Agree

7. Being a woman is an important reflection of who I am.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree			Neutral			Strongly Agree

8. Being a woman is not a major factor in my social relationships

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree			Neutral			Strongly Agree

Demografik Özellikler

Yaş _____

İrk _____

Din _____

Lütfen aşağıdaki sorulara sizin için en uygun olan yanıtı işaretleyiniz:

Orma'da kaç yıldır çalışıyorsunuz?

6 aydan az 6 – 12 ay 1-3 yıl 3-6 yıl 6+ yıl

Evli misiniz? Evet Hayır

Çocuğunuz var mı? Evet Hayır

Aşağıda insanların inançları, fikirleri ve tutumları ile ilgili onların cinsiyetlerine dayanan (kadın veya erkek) bazı ifadeler bulunuyor. Cinsiyetinizle ilgili düşünerek, her ifadeyi dikkatlice okuyun ve bu ifadelere katılıp katılmadığınızı belirtmek için aşağıdaki ölçeği kullanın. 1 (kesinlikle katılmıyorum) to 7 (kesinlikle katılıyorum).

1. Genelde, kadın olmamın kendimle ilgili ne hisettiğimle çok az ilgisi vardır.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum			tarafsız			Kesinlikle katılıyorum

2. Genel olarak, kadın olmak kendimle ilgili algımın önemli bir parçasıdır.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum			Tarafsız			Kesinlikle katılıyorum

3. Benim kaderim bütün kadınların kaderine bağlıdır.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum			Tarafsız			Kesinlikle katılıyorum

4. Kadın olmak, nasıl bir insan olduğum ile ilgili hislerimde önemsizdir.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum			Tarafsız			Kesinlikle katılmıyorum

5. Aynı grubun üyesi olarak kadınlara karşı güçlü bir aidiyet duygusuna sahibim.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum			Tarafsız			Kesinlikle katılmıyorum

6. Diğer kadınlarla güçlü bir bağa sahibim.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum			Tarafsız			Kesinlikle katılıyorum

7. Kadın olmak kim olduğumun önemli bir yansıması.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum			Tarafsız			Kesinlikle katılıyorum

8. Kadın olmak sosyal ilişkilerimde önemli bir etken değil.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum			Tarafsız			Kesinlikle katılıyorum