

EVALUATING MEASURES OF CONTEMPORARY SEXISM

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Two recently published measures of contemporary sexist attitudes were examined and compared with a sample of 106 Canadian college students. Swim, Aikin, Hall, and Hunter's (1995) Modern Sexism scale was found to be an acceptable measure of sexist attitudes in terms of its internal reliability and its ability to predict other gender-related political attitudes. Although the Modern Sexism scale and the Neosexism scale (Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly, 1995) were equally good at predicting support for the feminist movement and attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, the Neosexism scale had better internal reliability and exhibited stronger gender differences. Moreover, the Neosexism scale was superior at predicting value orientations relevant to modern prejudices.

Sexism, or the endorsement of discriminatory or prejudicial beliefs based on sex, is typically equated with stereotypical conceptions of the sexes and the adoption of a traditional gender-role ideology (Frable, 1989; Rombough & Ventimiglia, 1981). Overtly negative attitudes toward women have decreased over the past few decades (Mason & Lu, 1988; Myers, 1993). Although measuring controversial attitudes has always been difficult (Myers, 1993), the current cultural climate makes it especially unlikely that respondents will openly espouse prejudicial attitudes toward women. Indeed, because blatant derogation of minority groups has become increasingly stigmatized, measuring prejudicial attitudes has become a particularly daunting task. In response to the changes in societal norms witnessed in recent years, attempts have been made to distinguish

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between prejudice in its traditional and contemporary forms (e.g., McConahay, 1986). Whereas old-fashioned prejudices are characterized by stereotypical conceptions of a particular group and open discrimination, contemporary prejudices are usually expressed in a more subtle manner (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Myers, 1993).

The distinction between "old-fashioned" and "modern" forms of prejudice was first made by researchers studying racism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; McConahay, 1986). Racism and sexism appear to operate on a parallel belief systems (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1983), leading some researchers to adapt models of modern racism to describe contemporary sexism (Benokraitis & Feagin, 1986; Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995; Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly, 1995). Some of these studies have provided evidence for a clear distinction between old-fashioned and modern sexist attitudes that is consistent with the distinction found for racism (Swim et al., 1995; Tougas et al., 1995). Having identified contemporary sexism as a tangible construct, the need for a scale that can accurately and reliably tap this construct is obvious.

The concept of "modern sexism" as defined by Swim et al. (1995) is characterized by denying continued discrimination based on sex and feeling that women may be asking for too much from policy makers, which, in turn, results in unsympathetic responses or resistance to women's demands. Swim et al. (1995) devised a scale consisting of several items, some measuring old-fashioned sexism and others measuring modern sexism. A confirmatory factor analysis provided support for a two-factor structure, resulting in the formation of two subscales that the authors called Modern Sexism and Old-Fashioned Sexism (see also Swim & Cohen, 1997). Correlates of Modern Sexism include gender, value orientation, and perceptions of occupational sex-segregation. Because the Modern Sexism scale has not yet been used in published research without being administered together with the Old-Fashioned items, one aim of the present study was to provide a preliminary assessment of the Modern Sexism items as a stand-alone scale.

Tougas et al. (1995) refer to contemporary sexism as "neosexism," defining it as "manifestation of a conflict between egalitarian values and residual negative feelings toward women" (p. 843). Their Neosexism scale measures this construct, focusing mainly on support for public policies designed to enhance the status of women. Respondents with higher levels of neosexism are less likely to support affirmative-action policies directed at women. The authors reason that opposition to progressive social policies provides the neosexist with a socially acceptable means of opposing women's aspirations. The major purpose of the present study was to compare the Modern Sexism and Neosexism scales and their correlates.

The Modern Sexism and Neosexism scales measure, at least in part, political attitudes related to gender discrimination (Glick & Fiske, 1996). The validity of these measures can be examined by determining whether

they predict other gender-related political attitudes. We expected positive attitudes toward feminism and the women's movement to be accompanied by lower levels of sexism because the women's movement's primary goal is to achieve gender equality. Moreover, because negative attitudes toward homosexuals are often based on rigid views of gender roles, compulsory heterosexuality can also be considered part of the constellation of a sexist's understanding of the world (Bem, 1993). Prejudicial attitudes directed against homosexuals and similarly low status groups, such as women and racial minorities (Ficarrotto, 1990), describe a conservative mindset that provides a political target for the "Rainbow Coalition." In fact, researchers have identified sexist and racist attitudes as correlates of anti-homosexual attitudes (Ficarrotto, 1990; Kurdek, 1988). Moreover, heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men have consistently been found to be stronger among men than women, among conservatives than liberals and among those who more rigidly adopt traditional gender roles (Ficarrotto, 1990; Herek, 1994). Thus, we also expected to find that respondents with elevated levels of contemporary sexism would tend to have more negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men.

Egalitarian and individualistic value orientations are considered to underlie contemporary prejudicial attitudes (Katz & Hass, 1988; McConahay, 1986; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Sears, 1988). Whereas the Protestant-ethic orientation is associated with individualistic values, including hard work, self-reliance, and achievement, the humanitarian-egalitarian orientation emphasizes equality of opportunity, social justice, and concern for the well-being of others. Studies examining the specific associations of these values to modern racism have met with mixed results, but most have pointed to some link with individualistic and egalitarian value systems. For example, Katz and Hass (1988) reported that negative attitudes toward blacks are associated with endorsement of the Protestant-ethic orientation, whereas a humanitarian-egalitarian orientation predicts pro-Black attitudes. According to Sears (1988), contemporary racial prejudice, as manifested in resistance to civil rights, may be more the result of resistance to equality than of the perception that a particular group lacks individualistic values. Nonetheless, McConahay and Hough (1976) contend that values associated with the Protestant ethic are primary contributors to modern racist attitudes.

Contemporary forms of sexism are manifested in a lack of support for social policies aimed at reducing gender inequalities (e.g., affirmative action; Tougas et al., 1995), suggesting a link between sexism and nonegalitarian and individualistic ideologies. Indeed, Swim et al. (1995) found that contemporary sexists tended to have a higher Protestant-ethic orientation but a lower humanitarian-egalitarian orientation. Obvious conceptual similarities between the Modern Sexism and Neosexism scales make it likely that these value orientations would extend to sexism as measured by the Neosexism scale. Accordingly, we expected to find similar associations

with both sexism scales (i.e., respondents with stronger Protestant-ethnic orientations would be relatively more sexist, respondents with stronger humanitarian-egalitarian orientations would be less sexist).

Participants' tendency to respond in culturally normative ways may make the results of certain attitudinal measures suspect, particularly when people know which responses are socially acceptable. To examine this possibility, participants in the present study also completed a scale measuring the extent to which they might mask their true attitudes by giving the "correct" responses.

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 71 female and 35 male students enrolled in undergraduate psychology courses at the University of Windsor (a medium-sized Canadian university two miles from downtown Detroit), who were recruited to participate in a study on contemporary social issues. All were given course credit for their participation. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 40 years ($M = 20.48$, $SD = 2.58$), and 23% were of non-European ancestry. When asked to classify their political viewpoint, 77% considered themselves to be "liberal" or "very liberal," the remainder were "conservative" or "very conservative." When asked about frequency of attendance at religious services, 16%, 19%, 48%, and 17% said that they attended weekly, monthly, yearly, and never, respectively. Eighty-three percent classified their sexual orientation as exclusively heterosexual (i.e., as "7" on a 7-point scale).

Measures

Participants completed the sexism scales, validity measures, and a demographic questionnaire. Reported Cronbach's alphas for the 8-item Modern Sexism scale (see Swim & Cohen, 1997) are high (.75 in Swim et al., 1995; .82 in Swim & Cohen, 1997), although the scale has not been administered previously without the Old-Fashioned Sexism items. The 11-item Neosexism scale (see Appendix) has an internal reliability of .76 (Tougas et al., 1995). For both of these measures, respondents rate their agreement with individual items on a 7-point Likert-type scale (from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*); higher scores indicate more sexist attitudes.

One of the validity measures was the 10-item Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement scale (FWM; Fassinger, 1994), which is designed to measure affective attitudes toward the feminist movement. The scale has high internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = .89). Agree-

ment or disagreement with individual items is indicated using a 5-point Likert-type scale. Higher FWM scores indicate more positive attitudes toward feminism as a social movement.

The 10-item short version of the Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men scale (ATLG; Herek, 1988, 1994) was also used to test the validity of the sexism scales. Respondents rate their agreement with ATLG items using a 9-point Likert-type scale. Higher scale scores indicate more negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. The scale has good internal reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .90$).

The Katz and Hass (1988) 11-item Protestant-Ethic (PE) scale and 10-item Humanitarian-Egalitarian (HE) scale are designed to measure individualistic and egalitarian value orientations, respectively; Cronbach's alphas of .76 (PE) and .83 (HE) confirm the reliability of the scales. Items include general statements about moral ideals and preferred means of achieving goals in society. Responses to items on both scales are made using a 6-point Likert-type scale. Higher PE scores indicate a more individualistic orientation; higher HE scores indicate a more egalitarian orientation.

To assess possible effects of social desirability, participants completed the short version (Form C) of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability scale (Reynolds, 1982), which has 13 Yes-No items and good internal reliability ($KR-20 = .76$). Finally, a brief questionnaire was used to obtain demographic information.

Procedure

Participants were tested in small groups of five or fewer. Each participant was given a package containing a consent form and the questionnaires. Consent forms were collected separately from the questionnaires. Participants were seated apart from each other and assured of confidentiality. Because the Modern Sexism scale has not been administered previously as a stand-alone scale, each respondent completed its eight items first so that the scale's reliability could be tested without the possibility of contamination from other scales. Debriefing followed completion of the survey materials.

RESULTS

Correlations between scales are provided in Table 1. These correlations were also examined separately for men and women, but none differed significantly in magnitude based on gender. Because the Social Desirability scale was not associated with any of the other scales, the scale was excluded from subsequent analyses. Mean scores on the scale ($M = 5.21$,

Table 1
Correlations Between Scales

	NEO	FWM	ATLG	PE	HE	SD
MS	.588 ^d	-.529 ^d	.256 ^c	.109	-.191 ^a	.075
NEO		-.516 ^d	.411 ^d	.212 ^b	-.224 ^b	-.075
FWM			-.396 ^d	.035	.137	-.086
ATLG				.143	-.142	-.038
PE					-.006	.008
HE						.127

Note: MS = Modern Sexism scale (Swim et al., 1995); NEO = Neosexism scale (Tougas et al., 1995); FWM = Attitudes toward Feminism and the Women's Movement scale (Fassinger, 1994); ATLG = Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men scale—short version (Herek, 1988); PE = Protestant-Ethic scale (Katz & Hass, 1988); HE = Humanitarian-Egalitarian scale (Katz & Hass, 1988); SD = Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability scale—Form C (Reynolds, 1982).

^a $p = .056$, ^b $p < .05$, ^c $p < .01$, ^d $p < .0001$.

SD = 2.79) did not differ significantly from means reported previously by Reynolds (1982), $t(710) = 1.37$, $p = .171$.

Reliability of Contemporary Sexism Scales

The internal reliability of the Modern Sexism scale ($\alpha = .65$) was at the low end of levels typically considered to be acceptable (Nunnally, 1978). Hence, the scale appears to have lower internal reliability when used alone than when used in combination with items from the Old-Fashioned Sexism scale, at least for this sample. Corrected item-total correlations ranged from .219 to .537. Following principal components analysis, item loadings onto the principal component ranged from .370 to .725, confirming that the scale represents a unitary construct.

The internal reliability of the Neosexism scale was good ($\alpha = .81$) and comparable to that reported by the scale's authors (Tougas et al., 1995), with corrected item-total correlations ranging from .102 to .761. Principal components analysis confirmed that the scale is unidimensional, with loadings onto the principal component ranging from .160 to .857. Although a loading of .160 is low for a scale item, this item (item 11) appears to be an anomaly; the next lowest loading was substantially higher (.446).

The correlation between the two sexism scales was relatively high (see Table 1), with 35% of the variance in one scale explained by variance in the other scale. Nonetheless, a confirmatory principal components analysis of all of the items from both scales (oblique rotation, two factors) provided evidence of differences between scales. The two factors were only modestly correlated ($r = .322$), and most of the Neosexism items (i.e., 9 of 11) loaded on one factor, whereas most of the Modern Sexism items (i.e., 6 of

8) loaded on the other factor. A chi-square test of independence confirmed the association between factors and sexism scales, $\chi^2(1, N = 19) = 6.13$, $p = .013$.

Sexism and Gender

As Swim et al. (1995) have noted, "most tests of the construct validity of sexism scales seek to determine whether women and men respond differently to these scales" (p. 201; see also DelBoca, Ashmore, & McManus, 1986; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Tests of gender differences on the Modern Sexism scale revealed that men were more sexist than women ($M = 26.17$, $SD = 5.70$ vs. $M = 23.55$, $SD = 6.29$ for men vs. women, respectively), $t(100) = 2.06$, $p = .042$. When gender differences were tested separately for each of the scale's eight items (corrected for multiple tests), however, none of the items revealed differential responding based on gender. The means from our sample did not differ from those reported by Swim et al. (1995) [men: $t(34) = .735$, $p = .467$; women: $t(67) = 1.29$, $p = .201$].

A reliable gender difference was found for scores on the Neosexism scale, $t(103) = 5.80$, $p < .0001$, with men ($M = 34.41$, $SD = 10.96$) being more sexist than women ($M = 24.52$, $SD = 6.46$). The mean score for the men in our sample was no different from that obtained from the all-male sample of college students examined by Tougas et al. (1995), $t(162) = .50$, $p = .617$. Tests of individual items (corrected for multiple tests) revealed that 8 of the 11 scale items were rated differently based on the gender of the respondent ($ps < .0045$). A repeated-measures analysis of variance with one within-subjects variable (standardized scores on the Modern Sexism and Neosexism scales) and one between-subjects variable (gender) yielded a significant two-way interaction, $F(1, 99) = 15.15$, $p < .0005$, confirming that gender differences were greater for the Neosexism scale than they were for the Modern Sexism scale (see Figure 1).

Sexism and Other Attitudes

Overall levels of responding on the Attitudes Towards Feminism and the Women's Movement scale ($M = 35.17$, $SD = 6.33$) did not differ from those reported by Fassinger (1994), $t(220) = .56$, $p = .579$. As shown in Table 1, the FWM scale was significantly and negatively correlated with both measures of sexism. These correlations did not differ in magnitude. These results confirmed our prediction that respondents who were more sexist would also be less supportive of the feminist movement. We also found that respondents who were more sexist tended to have more negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, as identified by the significant

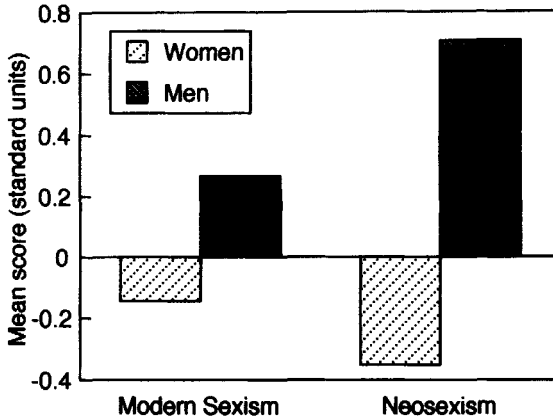


FIGURE 1. Mean standardized scores on the sexism scales as a function of the gender of the respondent. Higher scores indicate more sexist attitudes.

positive correlations between ATLG scores and scores on the Modern Sexism and Neosexism scales. Again, the magnitude of the correlation between sexism and homophobia did not differ as a function of which sexism scale was used. Interestingly, the women in our sample were significantly less homophobic than the female undergraduates from California tested by Herek (1988) almost 10 years ago, $t(69) = 6.94$, $p < .0001$ ($M = 31.54$ vs. $M = 47.61$, respectively). Men's attitudes in our sample, however, were virtually identical to those of their earlier counterparts, $t(34) = .95$, $p = .349$ ($M = 45.91$ vs. 49.40 , respectively).

Respondents' scores on both the HE and the PE scales were higher overall than those reported by Katz and Hass (1988) for their control (i.e., not primed) group (HE: $M_s = 48.62$ vs. 37.81 , $t(124) = 6.21$, $p < .0001$; PE: $M_s = 40.60$ vs. 32.76 , $t(125) = 4.47$, $p < .0001$). Although Modern Sexism scores were not associated with Protestant-Ethic scores (see Table 1), their association with Humanitarian-Egalitarian scores approached conventional levels of statistical significance. By contrast, scores on the Neosexism scale were positively correlated with PE scores and negatively correlated with HE scores, as expected. Hence, respondents who were more sexist (as measured by the Neosexist scale) were more likely to adhere to an individualistic value system but less likely to support egalitarian values.

We also tested for gender differences on the FWM, ATLG, HE, and PE scales. As one would expect, men were less supportive than women of the feminist movement, $t(103) = 3.71$, $p = .0003$, and had more negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, $t(103) = 3.45$, $p = .0008$. There

Table 2
Summary of Multiple Regression Analyses

Scale	Modern Sexism and Gender			Neosexism and Gender		
	Multiple R	Sexism <i>pr</i>	Gender <i>pr</i>	Multiple R	Sexism <i>pr</i>	Gender <i>pr</i>
FWM	.577 ^e	-.498 ^e	.270 ^c	.527 ^e	-.424 ^e	.120
ATLG	.371 ^d	.205 ^b	.277 ^c	.431 ^e	.309 ^c	.140
HE	.191	-.184 ^a	.009	.227 ^b	-.214 ^b	.040
PE	.110	.105	.011	.228 ^b	.227 ^b	.086

Note: *pr* = partial correlation; FWM = Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement scale (Fassinger, 1994); ATLG = Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men scale-short version (Herek, 1988); PE = Protestant-Ethic scale (Katz & Hass, 1988); HE = Humanitarian-Egalitarian scale (Katz & Hass, 1988).

^a*p* = .087, ^b*p* < .05, ^c*p* < .01, ^d*p* < .001, ^e*p* < .0001.

were no gender differences on the HE and PE scales. In a final set of analyses, we used multiple regression to examine attitudes measured by the FWM, ATLG, HE, and PE scales as a function of gender *and* sexism. For each of the four measures, we predicted our respondents' scores using two models, the first with gender and Modern Sexism scores as predictor variables, the second with gender and Neosexism as predictors. These analyses allowed us to test whether gender made a unique contribution to predicting scale scores with sexism held constant and whether sexism made a unique contribution with gender held constant. The results are summarized in Table 2. Holding gender differences constant did not change the pattern of simple associations that we observed between sexism (either measure) and attitudes. Nonetheless, when differences in Neosexism were partialled out, gender no longer exhibited an association with FWM or with ATLG. By contrast, partial associations between gender and FWM and between gender and ATLG remained significant when Modern Sexism scores were held constant.

DISCUSSION

The results of the present study confirmed that the Modern Sexism scale can be used as a stand-alone measure of contemporary sexist attitudes. Nonetheless, for this sample the Neosexism scale had better internal reliability and exhibited stronger differences in responding based on gender. Although responses on both measures indicated that men were significantly more sexist than women, the magnitude of the gender difference was greater for the Neosexism scale.

The correlation between the two sexism scales was relatively high, although most of the variance in one scale could not be explained by variance in the other scale. It appears, then, that the Modern Sexism and

Neosexism scales are not as similar as some researchers have suggested (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Indeed, principal components analysis provided additional evidence that the scales are measuring different but related constructs, despite the fact that both scales are based on modern racist models (McConahay, 1986). Principal tenets underlying modern racism include the following: (a) discrimination is no longer a problem, (b) racial minorities are asking for too much in their push for equality, and (c) many of the gains made by minorities are undeserved (McConahay, 1986). Modern Sexism items, measuring denial of discrimination based on sex, are consistent primarily with the first tenet. Indeed, 5 of the 8 items in the scale measure the extent to which a respondent denies the continuing existence of sexism. As such, the relatively small gender differences in Modern Sexism may reflect the fact that many women tend to deny their underprivileged social status (Crosby, Pufall, Snyder, O'Connell, & Whalen, 1989). We expect that this phenomenon might be particularly likely among undergraduates who take for granted opportunities in education and employment that are relatively recent from a historical perspective and not equally available to all women.

By contrast, the Neosexism scale appears to incorporate more of the tenets of contemporary prejudice against women without disproportionately focusing on any one aspect. Whereas Modern Sexism corresponds closely to what Glick and Fiske (1996) call the "Recognition of Discrimination," Neosexism directly assesses issues related to women's participation in the labor force in addition to measuring denial of continued discrimination. These differences likely account for the surprisingly small amount of overlap between the two measures. Tougas et al. (1995) contend that contemporary forms of prejudice are manifested as responses to social pressures to adopt egalitarian norms. Opposition to initiatives aimed at achieving gender equality on the grounds that such policies actually threaten equality by giving women unfair advantages allow the neosexist to portray an egalitarian image. By considering gender-related policy issues, the Neosexism scale allows respondents to express sexist attitudes without necessarily admitting that they believe that women are inferior to men. In short, the Neosexism scale appears to be a sensitive measure of modern prejudices based on gender.

On one hand, the stronger gender differences observed with the Neosexism scale over the Modern Sexism scale can be considered to provide evidence of the Neosexism scale's superiority as a measure of sexism. On the other hand, it is conceivable that the strong association between Neosexism and gender could actually be a disadvantage in some contexts. For example, our results suggest that Neosexism scores are so strongly associated with gender that they negate effects of gender when sexism and gender are tested jointly. Hence, if a researcher wants a less gender-based measure of sexism, such that sexism and gender can vary at least somewhat independently, the Modern Sexism scale might be a better choice.

Like sexist attitudes in general, attitudes toward the feminist movement reflect underlying beliefs about women and their roles in society. The Modern Sexism and Neosexism scales were equally good at predicting attitudes toward the feminist movement. Sexist attitudes and negative attitudes toward the feminist movement were also associated with negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. This is not surprising considering the similarities between the goals of the feminist and homosexual-rights social movements. Compulsory heterosexuality is a major contributor to gender polarization, which inevitably reinforces the domination of women by men (Bem, 1993; Rich, 1980). As such, both the feminist movement and the gay and lesbian movement reject gender stereotypes and conformity to traditional gender roles.

The results of the present study also point to a link between value orientations and contemporary sexism as measured by the Neosexism scale. Neosexist individuals tended to reject an egalitarian orientation and to accept an individualistic value system. This finding is in line with the idea that contemporary sexist attitudes are manifested as responses to recent social changes. Values espousing social equality challenge a purely meritocratic system. By contrast, adherence to individualistic values, such as self-reliance, increase the likelihood that recent gains made by women and other minorities will be perceived as undeserved. Although Swim et al. (1995) reported that modern sexists (as identified by their scale) tended to be less supportive of egalitarian values, the effect in our sample was only marginally significant. Moreover, Swim et al. (1995) also reported that sexist men exhibited elevated levels of support for Protestant-ethic ideals, a finding we failed to replicate with their scale.

Because the Neosexism scale was developed with Canadian samples (Tougas et al., 1995) and the present sample was comprised of Canadian undergraduates, one might wonder whether our findings would generalize to the United States. We suggest that they would. On the scales that have been developed and administered recently, responses from our English-speaking sample were virtually identical to those from American college samples (i.e., on the Modern Sexism scale and the Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement scale), as they were to those obtained at a largely French-speaking Canadian university (i.e., on the Neosexism scale). Differences in responding that were uncovered between our sample and American samples (i.e., on the value orientation scales and the Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men scale) would be as likely to stem from temporal factors (i.e., our respondents were tested approximately 10 years later) as they would from national differences. Nonetheless, replication of our findings in the United States with larger and more diverse samples should be a goal for future research.

A recent scale called the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) — published subsequent to our data collection — provides additional insights into the area of contemporary sexist attitudes. The Ambivalent

Sexism Inventory focuses on interpersonal relationships between men and women, differentiating between "hostile" and "benevolent" forms of sexism. Future research could examine the association between sexist attitudes in interpersonal relationships (as measured by the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory) and sexist attitudes in the public sphere (as measured by Neosexism). Such a study has the potential to refine the ways in which psychologists conceptualize modern sexism in particular and modern prejudices in general.

In sum, the Neosexism scale appears to be a useful measure of sexist attitudes and a good predictor of related constructs. Our results also indicate that the Modern Sexism scale is adequate as a stand-alone scale and predictive of some related attitudes. Because the Modern Sexism scale focuses on respondents' denial of continuing discrimination, this scale may be of most use to researchers who are primarily interested in this aspect of sexism.

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APPENDIX

Items from the Neosexism Scale (Tougas et al., 1995)

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1. Discrimination against women in the labor force is no longer a problem in Canada.^a
 2. I consider the present employment system to be unfair to women.^{*b}
 3. Women shouldn't push themselves where they are not wanted.^{a,b,c}
 4. Women will make more progress by being patient and not pushing too hard for change.^d
 5. It is difficult to work for a female boss.
 6. Women's requests in terms of equality between the sexes are simply exaggerated.^{a,e}
 7. Over the past few years, women have gotten more from the government than they deserve.^a
 8. Universities are wrong to admit women in costly programs such as medicine, when in fact a large number will leave their jobs after a few years to raise their children.
 9. In order not to appear sexist, many men are inclined to overcompensate women.
 10. Due to social pressures, firms frequently have to hire underqualified women.
 11. In a fair employment system, men and women would be considered equal.*
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*Reverse coded.

^aItem used originally by McConahay (1986).

^bItem used originally by Gaertner and Dovidio (1986).

^cItem used originally by Kinder and Sears (1981).

^dItem used originally by Jacobson (1985).

^eItem used originally by McConahay and Hough (1976).