

# Psychology of Men & Masculinity

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Online First Publication, March 9, 2017. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/men0000097>

### CITATION

Wilkins, C. L., Wellman, J. D., Flavin, E. L., & Manrique, J. A. (2017, March 9). When Men Perceive Anti-male Bias: Status-Legitimizing Beliefs Increase Discrimination Against Women. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/men0000097>

# When Men Perceive Anti-male Bias: Status-Legitimizing Beliefs Increase Discrimination Against Women

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This research examines how increasing perceptions of anti-male bias lead men who endorse the gender status hierarchy to perpetuate social inequality. For men primed with anti-male bias, greater status-legitimizing belief (SLB) endorsement was associated with more negative evaluations of a female target and less desire to help her. SLB endorsement was unrelated to evaluations and helping when men were primed with bias against an outgroup (Study 1). Furthermore, when men perceived anti-male bias, priming SLB caused more negative evaluations and fewer helping intentions toward female targets (Study 2). An analysis of the free-response feedback that participants provided targets revealed ingroup favoritism; men primed with SLBs provided male targets more constructive feedback than they did to female targets (Study 2). Thus, some men may be particularly likely to display discrimination against women when they perceive bias against their own group. We discuss how this behavior may perpetuate social disparities.

*Keywords:* anti-male bias, status-legitimizing beliefs, discrimination

*Supplemental materials:* <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/men0000097.supp>

Men in the United States increasingly identify as victims of discrimination. Recent research demonstrates that men perceive increasing amounts of anti-male bias and decreasing anti-female bias (Bosson, Vandello, Michniewicz, & Lenex, 2012; Kehn & Ruthig, 2013; Wilkins, Wellman, Babbitt, Toosi, & Schad, 2015). We examine the intergroup consequences of these perceptions.

Given that men have traditionally been at the top of the status hierarchy (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), perceiving bias against men should correspond to the belief that the traditional social structure is unstable. Changes to the status hierarchy are often viewed as threatening—particularly for high-status individuals—and correspond with efforts to reestablish the hierarchy (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Knowles, Lowery, Hogan, & Chow, 2009; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Wilkins & Kaiser, 2014). In the present research, we test whether men who endorse beliefs that legitimize social inequality display ingroup favoritism and/or outgroup bias in re-

sponse to increasing perceptions of bias against their group. In other words, we examine whether men, who might not otherwise exhibit bias, behave discriminatorily in response to seeing their group as victimized.

## Change to the Status Hierarchy Is Threatening

In the United States, men enjoy a privileged status relative to women; they enjoy a greater access to wealth, income, and power (Cohen, 2013; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In order for this type of inequality to persist, societies propagate beliefs that help justify social disparities (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). These beliefs include gender stereotypes, and ideologies such as Protestant work ethic, meritocracy, and belief in a just world (e.g., Bem & Bem, 1970; Jost & Hunyady, 2003; Jost & Kay, 2005; Jost, Pelham, Sheldon, & Sullivan, 2003; Katz & Hass, 1988; Lerner, 1980). These beliefs encourage individuals to rationalize the status quo and to perceive the status hierarchy as being fair and legitimate (Jost & Hunyady, 2003, 2005; Jost & Kay, 2005; McCoy, Wellman, Cosley, Saslow, & Epel, 2013). We refer to attitudes that justify the hierarchy as SLBs. SLBs are varied but serve a unifying function of justifying the existing system.

Given the pervasiveness of SLBs, individuals are likely to experience threat when the status hierarchy may be altered. This is particularly true of high-status individuals like men who have more to risk (i.e., losing their privileged position) than low-status groups if existing status arrangements change. For example, Whites' self-worth decreases when they perceive racial progress (Wilkins, Hirsch, Kaiser, & Inkles, 2016). Furthermore, high-status individuals experience physiological threat when they per-

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This research was supported by a Grant in Support of Scholarship from Wesleyan University to Clara L. Wilkins. We thank John Oliver Siy and Deborah Holoien for comments on a previous draft. This research has not been presented previously.

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ceive a potential loss of power or change to the status quo (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005; Scheepers, Ellemers, & Sintemaartensdijk, 2009). Thus, social change causes discomfort—particularly for high-status groups that benefit from existing inequality.

Importantly, social change may not be equally threatening to all high-status individuals; discomfort may depend on the extent to which they support the current system. Those who endorse the status hierarchy (SLB endorsers) are likely to be particularly threatened by changes to it. Those who believe social inequality is illegitimate may, in contrast, welcome change. SLB endorsers believe that high-status groups are entitled to positive outcomes (Major, 1994). Thus, perceiving bias against men should be viewed as particularly egregious for SLB-endorsing men and motivate them to reestablish the hierarchy.

### Perceiving Bias Against High-Status Groups Will Motivate SLB Endorsers to Reestablish the Status Hierarchy

Perceiving a threat to the group (even in the absence of an unstable status hierarchy) should mobilize group members (Stephan, Ybarra, & Rios Morrison, 2009). If high-status individuals encounter bias against their group, there are several strategies they can adopt to reestablish their group's position. First, they can claim bias, as high-status groups' discrimination claims reinforce the status hierarchy (Major et al., 2002; Unzueta, Everly, & Gutierrez, 2014). This is, in fact, a strategy that some adopt. For example, when the status hierarchy is unstable (because of racial progress) SLB-endorsing Whites are particularly likely to perceive racial bias (Wilkins & Kaiser, 2014). Furthermore, White SLB-endorsers react more positively to anti-White bias claimants (Wilkins, Wellman, & Kaiser, 2013; also see Unzueta et al., 2014) and to anti-male discrimination claimants than SLB-rejecters (Wilkins, Wellman, & Schad, 2015).

In addition to perceiving and claiming discrimination, high-status individuals can reinforce the status hierarchy by displaying ingroup favoritism. If high-status individuals perceive bias, they may feel justified in expressing preference for their ingroup or discrimination toward the outgroup. Preferential treatment toward the ingroup might be justified as a means to overcome the perceived inequality. Similarly, it may release bias against outgroup members that would otherwise be suppressed (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003).

### Can Perceiving Bias Against One's Group Increase Social Disparities?

Recent research suggests that perceiving discrimination likely increases high-status groups' motivation to maintain their position. For example, among Whites, greater perceptions of anti-White bias are associated with more favorable attitudes toward policies that help Whites and negatively associated with support for policies that benefit racial minorities (Wellman, Liu, & Wilkins, 2015; Wilkins et al., 2015). Similarly, under conditions of group threat, support for inequality predicts hurting outgroup members (Halabi, Dovidio, & Nadler, 2008). In other words, perceiving bias and endorsing SLBs are both associated with attitudes that help the ingroup and potentially disadvantage the outgroup. It remains unclear whether perceiving discrimination against the ingroup and SLB endorsement *cause* high-status individuals to express more

bias against low-status groups. Furthermore, it is unknown whether this pattern is relevant to gender relations—which are more interdependent than racial or ethnic group relations. Establishing this relationship is crucial because it implies that the mere suggestion of bias against men could change behavior in a way that increases overall social inequality.

## Current Research and Hypotheses

We examined men's reactions to increasing perceptions of anti-male bias. Men first read about increasing bias against men (or a control) and then were asked to evaluate a male or female target's résumé as part of an ostensibly unrelated study. We expected that among men primed with anti-male bias, greater SLB endorsement would be associated with less positive attitudes toward women and fewer helping intentions toward them. We also examined favoritism toward men, but expected that it might be less likely to occur, given threatened groups' tendency to hurt the outgroup more than help the ingroup (Halabi et al., 2008). We did not expect SLB endorsement to affect behavior when men were primed with bias against a control group because it would not be perceived as threatening.

## Study 1

Study 1 tested whether SLBs predicted more negative evaluations of women when men were primed with anti-male bias. Study 1 also examined whether SLB-endorsing men would evaluate male targets more favorably than female targets when primed with anti-male bias. We expected that SLBs would be unrelated to men's evaluations when they were primed with bias against an unrelated group.

## Method

**Participants.** Participants were 163 males<sup>1</sup> (race: 74.3% White, 13.9% Asian, 6.9% Latino, 4.9% Black; age:  $M = 31.67$ ,  $SD = 10.09$ ) recruited on Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) in exchange for \$0.75. Data was analyzed for 144 individuals who passed attention checks (did not display evidence of random clicking; condition *Ns*: anti-male, male resume: 29; anti-male, female resume: 35; control, male resume: 41; control, female resume: 39).

**Procedure.** Participants were led to believe they were taking part in two separate studies: one examining "reactions to print media" and the other a "resume evaluation" study. The print media portion manipulated perceived discrimination by randomly assigning participants to read an article about anti-male bias or an article about discrimination toward the Inuit in Canada (control condition): a group irrelevant to the self (McCoy & Major, 2007). The anti-male bias article described increasing perceptions of bias

<sup>1</sup> We aimed to collect data from 160 participants, but several failed to submit the MTurk human intelligence task and thus three additional individuals' responses were recorded. Participants were screened using a demographic questionnaire, which included, age, race, political orientation, and other filler items. Only those who reported being male were able to proceed to the consent form. This method was used to screen participants in all studies.

Table 1  
*Model Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses Study 1*

Dependent variable	Target evaluation				Helping intentions			
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	$\Delta R^2$	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	$\Delta R^2$
Step 1				.03				.02
SLBs	-.11	.06	-.14		-.11	.07	-.13	
Article (0 = Anti-male)	-.01	.17	-.01		.06	.18	.03	
TG (0 = male)	-.25	.17	-.13		-.15	.18	-.07	
Step 2				.10**				.05
TG $\times$ SLBs	-.25*	.13	-.22		-.20	.14	-.17	
SLBs $\times$ Article	.03	.13	.03		.06	.14	.05	
TG $\times$ Article	1.07**	.32	.48		.70*	.36	.30	
Step 3				.03*				.04*
TG $\times$ SLBs $\times$ Article	.50*	.25	.30		.72**	.28	.40	

Note. SLBs = status-legitimizing beliefs; TG = target gender.  
 \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ .

against men, and mentioned domains in which women tend to outperform men (e.g., education). This article successfully increases perceptions of discrimination against men relative to the Inuit control article (Wilkins et al., 2015).

In the “resume evaluation” portion of the study, participants were randomly assigned to evaluate the resume of either a male or female target. The resumes were identical except the name, which was used to manipulate target gender (male: Cody Peterson; female: Caroline Peterson). The résumés can be viewed in the Appendix. Participants evaluated and reported their intentions of helping the target. Finally, participants indicated their SLB endorsement.

### Measures

**Target evaluation.** Four items measured how favorably participants viewed the target. We asked, “How would you rate the applicant on the following traits?” and participants rated the target on experience, quality, intelligence, and overall impression on a 0 (*very weak*) to 6 (*very strong*) scale. These items were averaged to create a composite ( $\alpha = .92$ ,  $M = 4.58$ ,  $SD = .99$ ; range: 0 to 6).

**Helping intentions.** Three items that measured the extent to which the participants were willing to help the target were averaged; for example, “If this person asked you for help, how likely would you be to help them?” 0 (*not at all likely*); 6 (*very likely*); ( $\alpha = .81$ ;  $M = 4.54$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ; range: 0 to 6).

**SLBs.** The 12-item SLB measure was adapted from Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, and Federico (1998): for example, “America is an open society where individuals of any group can achieve higher status,” “Differences in status between groups are fair,” and “In America, getting ahead doesn’t always depend on hard work” (reverse coded). These items were averaged together to form the SLB composite (O’Brien & Major, 2005), 0 (*strongly disagree*); 6 (*strongly agree*); ( $\alpha = .94$ ;  $M = 2.62$ ,  $SD = 1.28$ ; range: 0 to 6).<sup>2</sup>

## Results and Discussion

**Analysis strategy.** SLBs were unaffected by article condition:  $F(1, 140) = .74$ ,  $p = .39$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .005$ , target gender,  $F(1, 140) = .16$ ,  $p = .69$ ;  $\eta_p^2 = .001$ , or their interaction:  $F(1, 140) = .52$ ,  $p = .47$ ;  $\eta_p^2 = .004$ . Thus, we were able to use it as a moderator.

Main effects of SLBs (mean-centered), article condition, and target gender were entered in Step 1 of a hierarchical linear

regression. The two-way interactions were entered in Step 2. The three-way interaction was entered in Step 3. We also probed significant two-way interactions by testing end-point effects to determine whether SLB-endorsers and rejecters differentiated between male and female targets. Full details are displayed in Table 1.

**Target evaluation.** As predicted, there was a significant three-way interaction between article condition, target gender, and SLBs, Step 3:  $F(1, 136) = 3.99$ ,  $p = .04$ ,  $\Delta R^2 = .03$ ; model:  $F(7, 136) = 3.76$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $R^2 = .16$ .

In the anti-male bias condition SLBs were associated with *less* favorable evaluations of the female target,  $b = -.36$ ,  $SE = .12$ ,  $t(163) = -2.96$ ,  $p = .004$ . SLBs were unrelated to evaluations of the male target,  $b = .17$ ,  $SE = .14$ ,  $t(163) = 1.17$ ,  $p = .25$ . Thus, the more individuals endorse SLBs the less favorable participants’ evaluations of the female target were. End-point analysis revealed that SLB rejecters ( $-1 SD$ ) evaluated male and female targets similarly,  $b = -.15$ ,  $SE = .36$ ,  $t(60) = -.42$ ,  $p = .68$ . In contrast, SLB endorsers ( $+1 SD$ ) evaluated male targets more favorably than female targets,  $b = -1.49$ ,  $SE = .34$ ,  $t(60) = -4.40$ ,  $p < .001$ .

In the control condition SLBs were unrelated to evaluations of the targets: male:  $b = -.05$ ,  $SE = .10$ ,  $t(163) = -.46$ ,  $p = .64$ ; female:  $b = -.07$ ,  $SE = .13$ ,  $t(163) = -.53$ ,  $p = .60$ . There were no significant differences in evaluations of the male and female targets among SLB endorsers and rejecters in the control condition: low SLB:  $b = .27$ ,  $SE = .27$ ,  $t(76) = 1.02$ ,  $p = .32$ ; high SLB:  $b = .22$ ,  $SE = .30$ ,  $t(76) = .73$ ,  $p = .47$  (Figure 1).

**Helping intentions.** As predicted, there was a significant interaction between article condition, target gender, and SLBs: Step 3:  $F(1, 136) = 6.70$ ,  $p = .01$ ,  $\Delta R^2 = .04$ ; model:  $F(7, 136) = 2.46$ ,  $p = .02$ ,  $R^2 = .11$ .

In the anti-male bias condition SLBs were associated with fewer intentions of helping the female target,  $b = -.40$ ,  $p = .003$ . SLBs were not related to helping intentions toward the male target,  $b = .20$ ,  $p = .22$ . End-point analysis revealed that SLB rejecters ( $-1 SD$ ) did not differentiate helping intentions toward targets of

<sup>2</sup> See supplemental materials for correlations between all measures for this and the following studies.

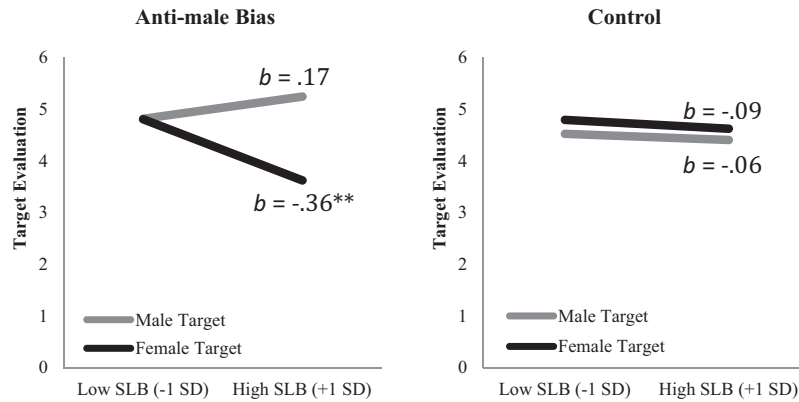


Figure 1. Positive evaluations by SLB endorsement and target gender. \*\* $p < .01$ .

different sexes,  $b = .26$ ,  $SE = .40$ ,  $t(60) = .65$ ,  $p = .52$ . But SLB endorsers (+1  $SD$ ) reported greater helping intentions toward the male target compared to the female target,  $b = -1.27$ ,  $SE = .37$ ,  $t(60) = -3.39$ ,  $p < .001$ .

In the control condition, SLBs were unrelated to helping intentions: male:  $b = -.10$ ,  $p = .39$ ; female:  $b = .02$ ,  $p = .88$ . Furthermore, there was no differential helping reported toward targets of different sexes among SLB endorsers or rejecters in the control condition, low SLB:  $b = .05$ ,  $SE = .30$ ,  $t(76) = .17$ ,  $p = .87$ ; high SLB:  $b = .22$ ,  $SE = .30$ ,  $t(76) = .73$ ,  $p = .47$  (Figure 2).

In sum, SLB endorsement was associated with greater discrimination against female targets such that SLB-endorsers evaluated males more favorably than females, and reported a greater willingness to help males than females. In other words, as predicted, reading about anti-male discrimination lead to bias against women for SLB-endorsing men.

Study 1 demonstrated that perceiving anti-male bias and attitudes about the status hierarchy shape reactions toward ingroup and outgroup members. However, we measured, rather than manipulated SLBs, so it was unclear whether they play a causal role in evaluations.

## Study 2

Study 2 manipulated SLBs, rather than measuring them, to examine their effect on evaluations of female and male targets. In replication of Study 1, we expected an interaction between SLB-prime and target gender such that SLB prime would be associated with less favorable evaluations of a female target and fewer helping intentions toward her (relative to a neutral prime). We also tested whether participants primed with SLBs would display less favorable evaluations of a female target and fewer helping intentions toward her than those evaluating a male target. We did not expect differential evaluations of male and female targets for those not primed with SLBs.

## Method

**Participants.** Participants were 191 males<sup>3</sup> recruited through MTurk in exchange for \$1.50. After removing 15 individuals who failed attention checks and 29 who did not complete the prime,<sup>4</sup> 147 participants remained (race: 81% White, 8.8% Latino, 6.8%

Asian, 2.7% Black, .7% Native American; age:  $M = 38.32$   $SD = 13.66$ ; Condition  $N$ s: control prime, male resume: 32; control prime, female resume: 53; SLB prime, male resume: 32; SLB prime, female resume: 30).

**Procedure.** Participants were told they were taking part in two separate studies: one examining “cognitive performance” and the other involving “resume evaluation.” The cognitive performance portion involved an experimental manipulation of SLBs using an established sentence-completion priming task (McCoy & Major, 2007). Participants were randomly assigned to either receive an SLB prime or a neutral prime. All participants were given 20 sets of five words and were instructed to make four-word sentences. In the SLB prime condition participants unscrambled sentences related to SLBs (e.g., item: “effort positive prosperity leads to”; answer: “Effort leads to prosperity.”). In the neutral prime condition participants unscrambled sentences unrelated to SLBs (e.g., item: “books open worlds count new”; answer: “Books open new worlds.”). They had 5 min to complete as many of the 20 sentences as possible.

All participants then read the anti-male bias article from Study 1. Only the anti-male bias condition was included because it was the condition in which we expected SLBs to moderate evaluations of targets. Participants then viewed male and female resumes, as described in Study 1. Participants were given an opportunity to review the resume again before having the option of providing real (free-response) feedback on how to improve the resume. Participants were paid the same amount irrespective of the time it took them to complete the study, so we reasoned that expending extra time to review the resume before providing feedback would be evidence of real-world helping, which often comes at a cost to the self.

**Measures.** Target evaluations ( $\alpha = .91$ ,  $M = 4.68$ ,  $SD = .90$ ; range: 2 to 6) and helping intentions ( $\alpha = .75$ ,  $M = 4.54$ ,  $SD = .97$ ; range: 2 to 6) were assessed as described in Study 1.

<sup>3</sup> We aimed for 200 but nine individuals did not complete measures beyond the screening questionnaire.

<sup>4</sup> Consistent with McCoy and Major (2007), participants were considered to have completed the prime if they provided correct sentences for at least 75% of the stimuli.

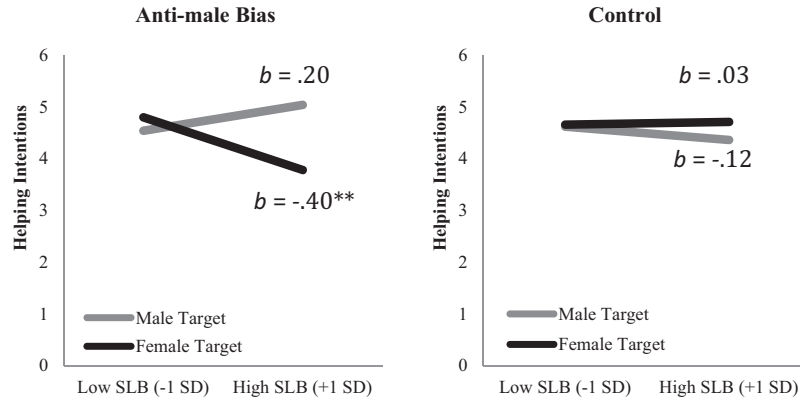


Figure 2. Helping intentions by SLB endorsement and target gender. \*\* $p < .01$ .

## Results and Discussion

**Target evaluation.** We ran a 2 (prime: SLB prime vs. neutral prime)  $\times$  2 (target gender: male vs. female) analysis of variance (ANOVA) to determine whether there were differences in evaluations of female and male targets in the SLB prime and neutral prime conditions. There was no significant main effect of prime condition,  $F(1, 143) = 1.44, p = .23; \eta_p^2 = .01$ , but there was a main effect of target gender,  $F(1, 143) = 10.01, p = .002; \eta_p^2 = .07$ . This effect was qualified by the expected interaction between target gender and prime condition,  $F(1, 143) = 4.19, p = .04; \eta_p^2 = .03$ .

In replication of Study 1, participants in the SLB prime condition evaluated the female target significantly less positively ( $M = 4.20, SE = .16$ ) than those in the neutral prime condition ( $M = 4.68, SE = .12$ ),  $F(1, 143) = 5.80, p = .02; \eta_p^2 = .04$ . Participants did not differ in their evaluation of the male target based on prime condition: (SLB:  $M = 4.97, SE = .15$ , neutral prime:  $M = 4.84, SE = .15$ ),  $F(1, 143) = .33, p = .57; \eta_p^2 = .002$ .

Among those in the neutral prime condition, there were no differences in evaluations of the male versus female target  $F(1, 143) = .71, p = .40; \eta_p^2 = .005$ . Among men primed with SLBs, the male target was evaluated more positively than the female target  $F(1, 143) = 12.06, p = .001; \eta_p^2 = .08$  (Figure 3).

**Helping intentions.** We ran a 2 (prime: SLB prime vs. neutral prime)  $\times$  2 (target gender: male vs. female) ANOVA to determine

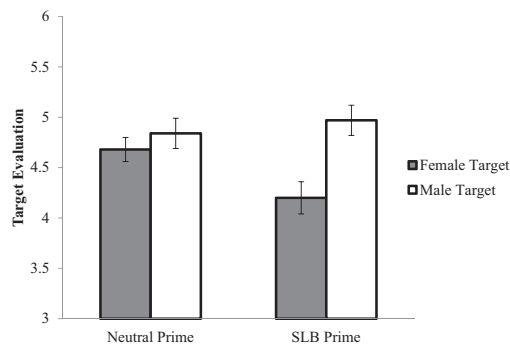


Figure 3. Positive evaluations by SLB prime and target gender. Error bars represent the  $\pm 1$  standard error of the mean.

whether there were differences in helping intentions toward female and male targets based on the SLB prime condition. There was no effect of prime condition,  $F(1, 143) = .71, p = .40; \eta_p^2 = .005$  but there was a main effect of target gender,  $F(1, 143) = 4.01, p = .047; \eta_p^2 = .03$ . This effect was qualified by a significant interaction between target gender and prime condition,  $F(1, 143) = 4.27, p = .04; \eta_p^2 = .03$ .

Consistent with Study 1, participants in the SLB prime condition indicated significantly fewer helping intentions toward the female target ( $M = 4.13, SE = .17$ ) than those in the neutral prime condition ( $M = 4.60, SE = .13$ ),  $F(1, 143) = 4.65, p = .03; \eta_p^2 = .03$ . Participants did not significantly differ in their helping intentions toward the male target based on prime condition (SLB:  $M = 4.79, SE = .17$ , neutral:  $M = 4.59, SE = .15$ ),  $F(1, 143) = .69, p = .41; \eta_p^2 = .005$ .

In the control condition, men reported equal intentions of helping male and female targets,  $F(1, 143) = .002, p = .96; \eta_p^2 < .001$ . When primed with SLBs, men reported a greater willingness to help the male target than the female target,  $F(1, 143) = 7.35, p = .008; \eta_p^2 = .05$  (Figure 4).

**Resume viewing.** Across conditions, 36 individuals chose to view the resume another time before providing feedback. There

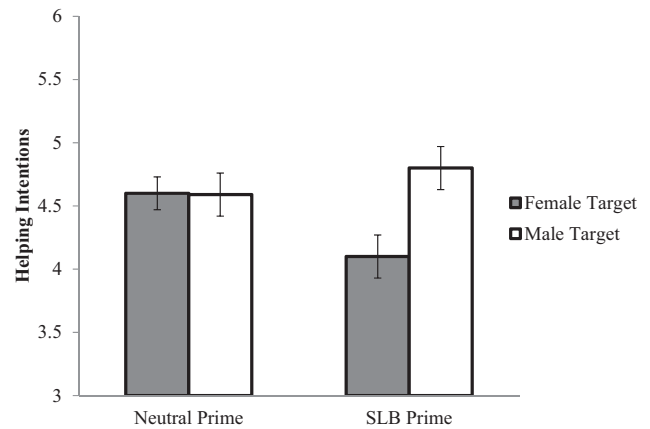


Figure 4. Helping intentions by SLB prime and target gender. Error bars represent the  $\pm 1$  standard error of the mean.

was a significant association between target gender condition and SLB prime condition in predicting whether or not the participant chose to review the resume,  $\chi^2(1) = 4.05, p = .04$ . Among participants who decided to view the resumes of male targets, more were in the SLB prime condition (72%) than the neutral condition (28%). Among participants who decided to view the resumes of female targets, the reverse pattern emerged; 39% were in SLB prime condition and 61% were in the neutral prime condition.

Study 2 replicated Study 1 by manipulating, rather than measuring, SLB endorsement. SLB endorsement caused more negative evaluations of a female target and decreased helping intentions toward her when men were primed with anti-male bias. We assessed whether participants chose to view the resume another time before providing feedback as a gauge of actual helping behavior. We found more helping of the male target than the female target. Thus, Study 2 provided evidence that SLBs cause both favoritism toward men and discrimination against women when men are primed with anti-male bias.

### Additional Analyses

We were interested in assessing whether participants' self-reported helping intentions mapped on to their actual helping behavior in Study 2. Specifically, we were interested in assessing the extent to which participants provided constructive feedback on how to improve targets' resumes. We hypothesized that being primed with SLBs would correspond with providing less useful feedback to female targets, and that SLBs might increase useful feedback to male targets (consistent with the helping intention results of Study 2). In other words, we expected an interaction between target sex and SLB endorsement in predicting feedback helpfulness.

### Method

**Coders.** Four research assistants (2 females) served as coders ( $M_{\text{age}} = 22.75, SD = .96$ ).

**Procedures.** Coders (blind to experimental condition<sup>5</sup>) evaluated the feedback that participants generated in Study 2.

**Materials.** Each coder viewed a random order of the free-response feedback provided to targets. Thirteen statements did not include feedback (e.g., the statement literally read: "None." or were simply left blank), so they were not coded. This left a total of 134 individual sources of feedback.

#### Measures

**Constructiveness.** Coders rated the responses by answering the question, "How helpful/constructive is this feedback?" on a 0–6 scale anchored at *not at all* and *very much*. Coders tended to agree on their ratings (intraclass correlation coefficient = .76), so scores were averaged across coders.

### Results and Discussion

**Feedback usefulness.** We ran a 2 (SLB prime)  $\times$  2 (target sex) ANOVA to determine whether participants provided differentially useful feedback to male and female targets based on prime condition. There were main effects of prime condition,  $F(1, 130) = 14.39, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .10$  and of target sex,  $F(1, 130) = 6.79, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .05$ . These were qualified by the predicted interaction,  $F(1, 130) = 4.88, p = .03, \eta_p^2 = .04$ .

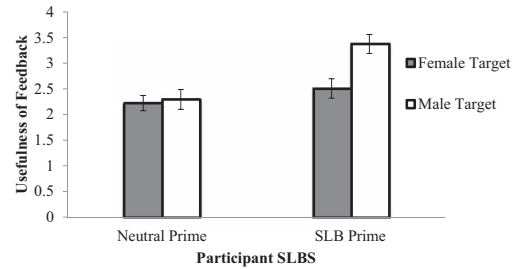


Figure 5. Usefulness of actual feedback by SLB prime and target gender. Error bars represent the  $\pm 1$  standard error of the mean.

Participants primed with SLBs provided the male target more constructive feedback ( $M = 3.38, SD = .99$ ) than those in the neutral prime condition ( $M = 2.29, SD = .89$ ),  $F(1, 130) = 4.88, p < .001$ . The prime did not affect the usefulness of feedback provided to female targets (control:  $M = 2.22, SD = 1.02$ ; prime:  $M = 2.51, SD = 1.18$ ),  $p = .24$ .

Viewed another way, among participants in the neutral prime condition, there were no differences between the feedback provided to the female target and to the male target,  $p = .77$ . Among those in the SLB prime condition, more useful feedback was provided to the male target than was provided to the female target,  $p = .001$  (Figure 5).

We examined the actual feedback that men provided to male and female targets and found that SLBs predict men's *actual* behavior when they perceive bias against their own group. Specifically, men differentiate between equally qualified men and women in such a way that ultimately favors men relative to women.

### General Discussion

We examined the intergroup consequences of perceiving increasing anti-male bias. Specifically, we were interested in determining whether men who perceive increasing anti-male sexism display bias toward women to compensate for the discrimination they perceive. We expected that male SLB endorsers would be particularly inclined to counteract perceived bias against men because they are motivated to maintain their groups' status in society.

Consistent with predictions, we found that priming anti-male bias caused SLB-endorsing men to more negatively evaluate female targets and to report fewer helping intentions toward them (relative to SLB-rejecting men). In terms of actual behavior, we found that men primed to perceive bias against their group and primed with SLBs were more likely to help other men. Specifically, men in the SLB prime condition were more likely to take the time to review male targets' resumes again, and they provided male targets with more constructive feedback on how to improve their resume (relative to men not primed with SLBs or those evaluating women). Our findings suggest that perceiving discrimination against the ingroup leads male SLB-endorsers to engage in behaviors that privilege other men over equally qualified women.

<sup>5</sup> Participants were blind to SLB prime and hypotheses but were not always blind to target sex because sometimes feedback included gender pronouns.

We expected greater discrimination against women than favoritism toward men given previous research (Halabi et al., 2008). Instead we found evidence of both favoritism and bias across the different measures. It may be that evaluations are more consistent with outgroup bias and actual behavior is more consistent with ingroup favoritism, but further research is needed to determine which is most likely to occur and when.

### Theoretical Clarifications

We proposed that in response to perceiving bias, men would favor their ingroup relative to women out of a desire to uphold the status hierarchy. While we provided evidence of this proposed mechanism through SLB moderation, we could not rule out the alternative explanation that high-status SLB endorsers are simply more concerned about righting discrimination in general (rather than bias specifically directed toward their group). In order to test this alternative, we ran another study (see Study 1 in the online supplemental materials for complete details) in which we primed men to perceive bias against women (or the Inuit) and then we assessed their evaluations of male and female targets. SLB endorsement did not moderate men's reactions toward male or female targets when they were primed to perceive bias against women. In other words, it is unlikely that SLB endorsers are simply concerned about justice and respond to bias by favoring disadvantaged groups; they seem to be particularly responsive to bias against the ingroup.

Another question that arises is whether our results are limited to men. In other words, would women primed to perceive bias against men show outgroup favoritism based on SLBs? We tested this possibility in a sample of women. While some evidence suggests that SLBs are group neutral (in that they affect men and women's reactions similarly), we did not expect SLB-endorsing women to behave like SLB-endorsing men. High-status individuals may be more concerned about maintaining the system than low-status individuals. For example, although high-status individuals show evidence of physiological threat in response to system instability, low-status individuals do not (Scheepers, Röell, & Ellemers, 2015). Indeed, in a follow-up study (see Study 2 in the online supplemental materials for full details), when women were primed to perceive bias against men, their SLB endorsement was unrelated to evaluations of male and female targets.

Finally, are our results simply evidence of social identity threat? More concretely, would women presented with discrimination against women also favor women? Anti-female bias may be less likely to affect women's attitudes than men's for several reasons. First, perceiving bias might be perceived of as "business as usual" for women. Furthermore, low-status groups are not expected to react as strongly to ingroup threats as high-status groups are (Stephan et al., 2009). Finally, manipulating women's perceptions of anti-female bias does not affect zero-sum beliefs (although it does increase men's zero-sum beliefs [ZSB]; Wilkins et al., 2015). Given that ZSBs directly correspond to perceived intergroup competition (and hence desire to help the ingroup and hurt the outgroup), it seems unlikely that perceiving greater bias would affect women's behavior. Thus, men may be uniquely motivated to reestablish a hierarchy threatened by greater perceptions of bias against their group.

### Reconciliation With Previous Research

Previous work could be interpreted as suggesting that perceiving bias against high-status groups might be beneficial to those groups and to the status hierarchy, while we argue that these perceptions are threatening. Specifically, Unzueta and colleagues (2014) argue that Whites' discrimination claims are hierarchy enhancing because they cause high-status groups to seem particularly deserving of their position. In addition to increased system legitimacy, perceiving bias against White men increases their perceived competence (Unzueta, Lowery, & Knowles, 2008). At first glance, these results seem to conflict with our current argument that perceiving bias against high-status groups threatens the hierarchy and thus privileged groups. We contend that perceiving bias against high-status groups can make differences between groups appear fair while simultaneously implying that the social structure might be vulnerable to change. If high-status groups are perceived of as experiencing more bias than low-status groups, it follows that eventually the relative ranking of groups will change. Similarly, high-status individuals can maintain perceived competence and believe that the groups' position is threatened. Thus, perceiving discrimination against high-status groups makes the hierarchy appear legitimate, but also threatens the social structure and encourages high-status individuals (who want to maintain the hierarchy) to bolster their groups' dominant position.

### Conclusion

Although men, on average, remain objectively advantaged relative to women, (e.g., Cohen, 2013), they increasingly identify as victims of discrimination (Wilkins et al., 2015). The current research suggests that when high-status individuals perceive increasing bias against their group, those who endorse the status hierarchy may perpetuate social disparities. Thus, if men increasingly perceive discrimination against their group, they may be more inclined to discriminate against women and provide other men with an extra boost.

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(Appendix follows)

**Appendix****[Name of Target]****Experience**


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Disney Studios: Department of Advertising (*January 2007 to August 2012*)

**Assistant Director of Sales**

Developed and executed three integrated marketing plans each quarter. Analyzed performance of all marketing programs to identify the best opportunities for optimization. Managed, mentored and developed a team of 12 product managers.

Schad, Davidson, and Triedman: Luxury Real Estate (*May 2002 to September 2006*)

**Assistant Marketing Coordinator**

Developed and implemented data-based solutions in a timely manner. Coordinated closely quality control regarding products awaiting dispositions.

**Marketing Coordinator**

Developed department's first incentive performance plan which motivated staff and resulted in a 23% increase in sales. Surpassed revenue projections in three consecutive quarters

**Skills**


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-Multi-media marketing	-Adobe Photoshop
-Prospecting	-Skilled negotiator
-Customer retention	-Brand development
-MS Office	-Google Analytics

**Education**


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**Ohio State University**-Columbus, OH

Bachelor of Arts in Sociology

2001

3.7/4.0 GPA

Minor in History

Received September 3, 2016

Revision received December 20, 2016

Accepted December 26, 2016 ■