Personal Endorsement of Ambivalent Sexism and its Impact on Objective and Subjective Career Success

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

The gender wage gap is a persistent problem that has remained stubbornly stagnant over recent decades. Although significant efforts have been expended to understand why it exists and persists, we argue that an important contributor—personal endorsement of hostile and benevolent sexist beliefs—may have been overlooked. We examine whether and how one's sexist attitudes shape one's perceptions and actions that can affect one's career success, both objective and subjective. Our results indicate that personal endorsement of hostile sexist beliefs helps to explain the gender wage gap. For objective career success, a serial mediation model was supported, such that gender predicted hostile sexism (with men more likely to endorse these attitudes than women), hostile sexism predicted seeking out men for career advice, and seeking out men for career success then predicted objective career success. Interestingly, although benevolent sexism was related to greater career interruptions for women (but not men), career interruptions was negatively related to pay for men (but not women). Finally, although there was no gender difference in subjective career success overall, we uncovered an indirect effect between gender and subjective career through hostile sexism and defensive voice, serially. These results highlight the importance of studying how personal endorsement of sexism influence one's workplace outcomes in addition to the effects of others' sexist beliefs and behaviours.

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Introduction

In the workplace, a substantial gender wage gap is still apparent. In the United States, women earn 79.6 cents for every dollar earned by men (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015), and this gap has remained stubbornly stagnant in the face of anti-discrimination policies and regulations (Blau & Kahn, 2006). Additionally, women continue to be highly underrepresented in senior leadership and management roles. Within S&P 500 companies, women represent 44.3% of the workforce, but hold only 5.6% of CEO positions (Catalyst, 2017). Thus, there are many indicators that women, relative to men, continue to have more difficulty achieving career success in the modern workplace. In the current study, we shift focus from examining the sexist attitudes and behaviours of others', the traditional focus of sexism research, to examining how one's personal endorsement of sexist attitudes may also contribute to gender disparities in career success.

Numerous researchers have sought to uncover the reasons behind these persistent gender disparities in the workplace. Some scholars have posited that these gaps could be due to differences in human capital investments (e.g., education; Neuman & Oaxaca, 2004) or performance (e.g., Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1993) between men and women. The former explanation seems somewhat unlikely given that women now receive 57.2%, 59.2%, and 52.7% of bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees, respectively, in the United States (though we acknowledge these degrees are unequally distributed across disciplines; National Center for Education Statistics, 2016). Similarly, recent meta-analytic work appears to refute this latter line of reasoning. Joshi, Son, and Roh (2015) found that despite minimal gender differences in performance (d = 0.04), gender differences in objective organizational rewards (e.g., salary, bonuses, and promotions) were substantial (d = 0.56; i.e., fourteen times larger), and gender differences in performance did not explain the gender rewards gap. Further, Roth, Purvis, and

Bobko (2012) found that although women were generally rated as slightly better performers than men (d = -0.11), men were still rated as having greater promotion potential than women (d = 0.11).

Gender differences in performance and other human capital variables appear to be insufficient in fully accounting for the observed gender gap in career success. As such, gender discrimination or bias is frequently cited as a major contributor to these gender disparities in the workplace. For example, Cortina, Kabat-Farr, Leskinen, Huerta, and Magley (2013) found evidence of selective incivility in the workplace, such that women were more frequently subject to uncivil behaviours (e.g., rude treatment, ostracism, doubts regarding one's competence and abilities) on the job compared to men. Similarly, meta-analyses summarizing experimental research where men and women's qualifications and/or performance are held constant demonstrate bias in that women are evaluated more negatively than men in employment and leadership decisions (e.g., Eagly, Karau, & Makhijani, 1995; Koch, D'Mello, & Sackett, 2015).

Sexist attitudes and beliefs are inextricably linked with gender discrimination and bias. Sexist attitudes are often conceptualized as reflecting two distinct but related dimensions, collectively referred to as ambivalent sexism: *hostile sexism*, which refers to hostile, negative attitudes toward women who violate traditional gender norms, and *benevolent sexism*, which refers to paternalistic, positive attitudes toward women who conform to traditional gender norms (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Together, these two forms of sexism are argued to maintain the status quo by punishing women who violate and rewarding women who conform to traditional gender roles, respectively (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

Although the literature has documented the detrimental consequences for women *subjected* to both forms of sexist behaviours (e.g., Bond, Punnett, Pyle, Cazeca, & Cooperman,

2004; Jones et al., 2014), little research has examined the outcomes, including career success, of those who *personally endorse* hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes and beliefs. Specifically, we argue that endorsement of sexist attitudes should shape one's perceptions, actions, and choices that can then affect one's career success and outcomes. In fact, although men are significantly more likely to endorse hostile sexist attitudes than women, women appear to be equally likely to endorse benevolent sexist attitudes as men (Glick et al., 2000)—highlighting that experiences of others' sexist behaviours or discrimination and personal endorsement of sexist attitudes are likely distinct constructs. Further, beliefs about traditional gender roles are often complementary in that they differentiate between appropriate roles for men and women, such that endorsement of sexist attitudes and beliefs may ultimately affect the career outcomes of both women *and* men. Thus, the overarching purpose of this study is to take a complementary perspective to existing gender bias and discrimination research by examining the relationships between personal endorsement of ambivalent sexism attitudes (i.e., hostile and benevolent sexism) and career outcomes of men and women to help shed new light on factors that contribute to the continued existence and maintenance of gender disparities in career outcomes in the workplace.

Gender Differences in Career Success

Career success has been conceptualized as the positive outcomes associated with one's work experiences and has been broken down into two distinct components: objective and subjective (Arthur, Khapova, & Wilderom, 2005). Objective or extrinsic career success has been defined as the work outcomes that can be observed and evaluated and is typically measured by salary or number of promotions (e.g., Judge, Cable, Boudreau, & Bretz, 1995), while subjective or intrinsic career success has been defined as one's perceptions or judgements about their career progression and is typically operationalized as career satisfaction (e.g., Judge, Higgins,

Thoresen, & Barrick, 1999). Furthermore, subjective career success has been conceptualized to be multifaceted and extend beyond simply career satisfaction to include dimensions of recognition, quality and meaningfulness of work, influence, authenticity, work-life balance, and growth and development (Shockley, Ureksoy, Rodopman, Poteat, & Dullaghan, 2015). Indicators of objective and subjective career success are positively and moderately correlated (i.e., career satisfaction, r = .22 with promotions and r = .30 with salary), highlighting that they are related but distinct (Ng, Eby, Sorensen, & Fieldman, 2005).

Numerous studies, which have subsequently been summarized in meta-analyses, find that men tend to obtain greater objective career success (i.e., salary and promotions) compared to women (Joshi et al., 2015; Ng et al., 2005). Further, these gender differences remain, even when controlling for various factors, such as full-time work status, field of occupation, and time (e.g., Abele, 2003; Abele & Spurk, 2009a; Bertrand et al., 2010; Wood, Corcoran, & Courant, 1993). Research also indicates that women tend to hold lower status jobs, earn less at job entry, and are promoted at a slower rate than men (e.g., Blau & Devaro, 2007; Brett & Stroh, 1997; Landau, 2017; Reskin & Ross, 1992). Overall, there is a large and consistent body of evidence that women are achieving lower levels of objective career success in the workplace relative to their male counterparts.

In contrast to the robust evidence of gender differences in objective career success, a meta-analytic summary found that, on average, there was no evidence of consistent gender differences in subjective career success (Ng et al., 2005). However, there was substantial heterogeneity around this overall null estimate, indicating that there are likely circumstances where gender differences in subjective career success emerge in both directions. This incongruity between the relationship between gender and objective and subjective career success has led

scholars to conclude that men's evaluations of their subjective career success depend upon their objective career success, while women's evaluations of their subjective career success appears to be less dependent upon their objective career success (e.g., Mayrhofer, Meyer, Schiffinger, & Schmidt, 2008). This may be because women have lower expectations for career success (Judge et al., 1995), such that women are equally satisfied compared to their male counterparts despite achieving lower objective career success (e.g., Abele & Spurk, 2009; Ng et al., 2005). Thus, relationships between gender and subjective career success may be more subtle and indirect compared to the more direct relationships between gender and objective career success.

Ambivalent Sexism and Career Success

The theory of ambivalent sexism is founded upon the principles of social role theory, which posits that sex differences in social behaviour arise from the division of labour between the sexes (Eagly, 1987). Gender roles refer to social norms where women are expected to be communal whereas men are expected to be agentic (Spence & Helmreich, 1978). As such, women are expected to be caring and nurturing and have greater emotional expressiveness and interpersonal sensitivity, while men are expected to be assertive, independent, and have greater self-efficacy. Due to these differential gender role expectations, men and women are socialized and governed to develop a differential set of skills and beliefs (Eagly, 1987), which have implications for outcomes in a range of domains, including the workplace.

Scholars have theorized that men gained structural power, which then contributed to the gender-based division of labour, as a result of their agentic characteristics (e.g., size, strength, social dominance orientation; Eagly, 1987; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). However, although men hold structural power, women have dyadic power due to men's dependence on women for intimacy and reproduction (Guttentag & Secord, 1982). Further, these

different power structures are encoded in ambivalent sexist attitudes (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Specifically, men's structural power is legitimized through the hostile sexist beliefs that women are the "weaker" sex and lack the agentic traits to exercise power (Glick & Fiske, 1996). In contrast, women's dyadic power is legitimized through the benevolent sexist beliefs that women need to be to be protected and provided for by men and possess unique characteristics (e.g., refinement) that men don't possess (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

To date, the literature has typically focused on how sexist beliefs shape our interactions with and evaluations of others. For example, those who more strongly endorse hostile sexist beliefs were both less likely to recommend female candidates and more likely to recommend male candidates for a managerial role (Masser & Abrams, 2004). As another example, those who more strongly endorsed benevolent sexist beliefs were less likely to offer female workers challenging developmental opportunities compared to their male counterparts (King et al., 2012). The literature also documents that women subjected to sexist behaviours from others tend to experience a host of negative outcomes, including lower job satisfaction and organizational commitment, lower performance, and higher turnover (e.g., Blau, Tatum, & Ward-Cook, 2003; Bond et al., 2004; Sanchez & Brock, 1996; Shaffer, Joplin, Bell, Lau, & Oguz, 2000). However, this work has largely overlooked the potential impact of one's personal endorsement of sexist attitudes and beliefs on one's workplace experiences and outcomes, such as career success.

We argue that there is reason to believe that one's own standing on sexist attitudes and beliefs should ultimately influence one's career success. Specifically, one's beliefs about gender roles should influence one's personal perceptions and choices at work by shaping what behaviours are seen to be appropriate for men and women. For example, since hostile sexists believe that women are inferior to men and lack agency, we would expect these individuals to

behave in ways in the workplace that demonstrate value for male dominance. One such behavior that reflects such a belief would be to seek out male coworkers, who may have greater access to power and resources (Hultin & Szulkin, 1999), rather than female coworkers for career-related advice (Watkins et al., 2006). Similarly, since benevolent sexists believe that women are uniquely suited to feminine and communal roles and that it is men's role to protect them, women who endorse benevolent sexism may be more likely to prioritize family over work and men who endorse benevolent sexism may be particularly likely to desire to be sole breadwinners. Further, all these preferences and behaviours may have implications for the career success that one ultimately achieves. Below, we develop and detail our predictions regarding the relationships between gender, one's hostile and benevolent sexist beliefs, career success, and the mechanisms that link them together.

Hypothesis Development

It should be noted that although we anticipate gender to play a role in shaping the relationship between ambivalent sexism and career success, we expect that gender plays different roles in the relationship between hostile and benevolent sexism and career success. Prior research indicates that gender differences in hostile sexism tend to be larger and more consistent than gender differences in benevolent sexism, such that men are more likely to report hostile sexist attitudes than women (Glick et al., 2000; Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001; Russell & Trigg, 2004; Travaglia, Overall, & Sibley, 2009). Additionally, although hostile sexist beliefs largely focus on denigrating (non-traditional) women, benevolent sexist beliefs reference the complementary roles of men and women (e.g., homemaker and breadwinner), such that gender-based prescriptions differ by gender. Thus, we anticipate that gender may tend to exert direct or main

effects on hostile sexism, which then subsequently affects career success, while gender may tend to moderate relationships between benevolent sexism and career-related outcomes.

Objective Career Success. In this section, we focus on two behavioural mechanisms associated with hostile and benevolent sexism to explain the gender wage gap. First, we theorize whom one seeks out for career-related advice as the mediating mechanism that is motivated by hostile sexism and how it primarily helps men achieve greater career success. Second, we posit career interruptions as the mediating mechanism motivated by benevolent sexism and describe how it primarily affects women's lower objective career success (see Figure 1). Below, these pathways are articulated in greater detail.

The Hostile Sexism Pathway. The literature indicates that gender predicts objective career success, such that women tend to be disadvantaged relative to men. We argue that one of the intervening variables that explains this relationship is personal endorsement of hostile sexist beliefs. Specifically, prior research has established that men are more likely to endorse hostile sexism compared to women across cultures (e.g., Glick et al., 2000; Glick & Fiske, 1996).

This gender difference in hostile sexism has been attributed to men's membership in the dominant group that has assumed positions with status and privilege to wield power and control within society; thus, men are more likely to perceive that any gains made by lower status groups (e.g., women) are at the expense of the dominant group. That is, men may be more likely to perceive that status or resources are zero-sum (i.e., if one group gains then the other must lose; Kehn & Ruthig, 2013; Wilkins, Wellman, Babbitt, Toosi, & Schad, 2015), resulting in greater endorsement of hostile sexist beliefs that denigrate women and justify men's current elevated societal position (Ruthig, Kehn, Gamblin, Vanderzanden, & Jones, 2017).

Hypothesis 1: Gender predicts hostile sexism such that men will be more likely to endorse hostile sexist beliefs than women.

Hostile sexist beliefs include endorsement of competitive gender differentiation and dominative paternalism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). The former reflects beliefs that women are inferior and incompetent because they do not possess the same agentic traits as men, while the latter stipulates that only a superordinate male figure can fulfill leadership roles and roles that require complex judgement. Thus, hostile sexists are apt to believe that men are more competent and better suited for structural power than women.

These beliefs are likely to influence workplace behaviours. Specifically, we argue that the threat experienced by hostile sexists from the achievements and advancements of women in the workplace may motivate them to seek out career advice on how to maintain their status and position. In fact, Watkins and colleagues (2006) found that modern sexists were more likely to seek men out for career-related advice. Given the similarities between modern sexism (i.e., antagonism and resentment toward women who are making political and economic demands; see Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995) and hostile sexism and as evidenced by strong correlations between measures of the two (r = .65; Glick & Fiske, 1996), hostile sexists should also be more likely to seek out career-related advice from male over female colleagues at work.

Hypothesis 2: Hostile sexism is positively associated with the proportion of men sought out for career advice.

Those who form relationships with others holding greater status, power, influence, and knowledge are generally able to achieve greater objective career success (Seibert, Kraimer, & Liden, 2001). Given the disproportionate number of positions of power held by men relative to women, those who seek advice primarily or exclusively from men are more likely to be

interacting with powerful and influential individuals within an organization (Ibarra, 1997). Given that "who you know dictates what you know" (Watkins et al., 2006, p 527), access to job-related or organizational-related information from powerful others has been associated with greater objective career success (Judge & Bretz, 1994). As a result, those who seek out more men for career advice may benefit from these relationships and achieve greater objective career success.

Hypothesis 3: The proportion of men sought out for career advice is positively associated with objective career success.

Taken together, we anticipate a serial mediation model linking gender and objective career success. Specifically, gender predicts personal endorsement of hostile sexism, hostile sexism then leads to seeking men for career advice, seeking men for advice then positively affects objective career success. This pathway suggests that one of the reasons that men have greater objective career success is because men are more likely to endorse hostile sexist beliefs which lead them to engage in specific behaviours that improve their objective outcomes. As hostile sexists are more inclined to have zero-sum beliefs towards gender status, they may engage in such behaviours to alleviate the perceived threat of losing their status to women by seeking out powerful men for advice and support. As these actions enable access to an influential network, these individuals (who are predominantly, but not exclusively, men) are rewarded, resulting in greater objective career success.

Hypothesis 4: The relationship between gender and objective career success is serially mediated by hostile sexist attitudes and tendency to seek career advice from men.

Benevolent Sexism Pathway. In contrast to the direct effects model articulated above for hostile sexism, we posit that personal endorsement of benevolent sexism may also be related to objective career success, but differently for men and women as a result of different gender role

prescriptions. In particular, benevolent sexist beliefs and attitudes are expected to differentially influence the likelihood of career interruptions for men and women, which may help to explain the gender wage gap.

Benevolent sexist beliefs dictate the differential roles that men and women are expected to adhere to societally. Specifically, protective paternalism reflects beliefs that women require men's protection (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Consequently, men are expected to hold higher status roles as protectors and providers, while women's complementary and typically lower status roles include wife, mother, and other domestic roles. This complementary gender differentiation reflects the idea that women complete men. Accordingly, women who more strongly endorse benevolent sexist beliefs tend to be attracted to, and dependent on, men with status and resources (Travaglia et al., 2009). With fewer expectations to support themselves, women who more strongly endorse benevolent sexist beliefs are more likely to interrupt their careers to start and maintain a family or relocate with their husbands than those who more weakly endorse benevolent sexist beliefs (Evers & Sieverding, 2014; Spivey, 2005). As a result, gender is expected to moderate the relationship between benevolent sexism and career interruptions. For women, personal endorsement of benevolent sexism should be positively related to career interruptions, while for men, personal endorsement of benevolent sexism should be negatively associated with career interruptions given endorsement of the male breadwinner ideology.

> **Hypothesis 5:** The relationship between benevolent sexism and career interruptions is moderated by gender, such that the relationship is positive for women and negative for men.

Research shows that those who take extended time away from work are penalised by losing opportunities for promotions, and consequently, have fewer opportunities for raises and

ascension up the corporate ladder (e.g., Albrecht, Edin, Sundström, & Vroman, 1999; Hewlett & Luce, 2005). The human capital approach suggests that career interruptions interfere with the development of employee skills, knowledge, and networks, resulting in loss of human capital over the course of the absence (Blau, Ferber, & Winkler, 2013). Furthermore, those who took multiple leaves generally received fewer rewards than those who took a single leave and those who took a single leave generally received fewer rewards than those who did not take any leaves (Judiesch & Lyness, 1999). Ultimately, career interruptions have been found to be negatively correlated with salary, percent salary increase, and number of promotions (Judiesch & Lyness, 1999; Seibert et al., 2001). Ideal workers are expected to prioritize work over non-work responsibilities (Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015). Thus, ultimately, career interruptions are expected to result in lower objective career success (Schneer & Reitman, 1990).

Hypothesis 6: Career interruptions are negatively related to objective career success.

Taken together, we anticipate a moderated mediation model linking benevolent sexism to objective career success. Specifically, we theorize that gender moderates the relationship between benevolent sexism and career interruptions, such that the relationship is stronger (or positive) for women compared to men, and career interruptions then negatively affects objective career success. This model suggests that the influence of benevolent sexism differentially affects men and women and contributes to the gender wage gap as women who endorse benevolent sexism reprise the role of the homemaker and will be more likely to take time away from their careers to fulfill stereotypically feminine roles, such as caring for family and/or children.

Hypothesis 7: Gender moderates the first-stage mediation model between benevolent sexism, career interruptions, and objective career success, such that the indirect effect

between benevolent sexism and objective career success through career interruptions varies by gender.

Subjective Career Success. While there is an absence of an overall gender difference for subjective career success, it is still important to examine how factors that affect subjective career success might differ between men and women. In other words, a factor that negatively or positively affects women may not necessarily affect men in the same way and vice versa. We argue that personal endorsement of sexist attitudes leads men and women to have different experiences and expectations that contribute to subjective career success.

In this section, we focus on two behavioural mechanisms associated with hostile and benevolent sexism that may be linked to subjective career success. We posit that different factors contribute to men and women's subjective career success. First, for the hostile sexism pathway, we investigate how men's greater tendency to endorse hostile sexism relative to women may influence their use of defensive voice and how this may affect their perceptions of subjective career success. Second, with regard to the benevolent sexism pathway, we investigate work-family conflict as a potential mediating mechanism between benevolent sexism and subjective career success and how gender may moderate the first stage of this mediation pathway (see Figure 2). Below, these pathways are articulated in greater detail.

Hostile Sexism Pathway. As noted in previous sections, men are more likely to endorse hostile sexist beliefs than women. In response to the rising numbers of women in non-traditional roles and male-dominated occupations, individuals who hold more hostile sexist beliefs are likely to believe that the status quo is being threatened. These feelings are likely motivated by zero-sum gender beliefs (i.e., if one group gains, the other must lose). Hostile sexists' zero-sum beliefs suggest that they are losing opportunities to non-traditional women or women are

violating the status quo as women's numbers increase within the workforce (Ruthig et al., 2017). When people feel threatened, they behave in ways to regain control. One way to mitigate these feelings of threat is to voice concerns and oppose the threatening changes in their organizations.

Voice is defined as an employee's communication to the organization of their desire to influence or change the work environment (Maynes & Podsakoff, 2014). Previous definitions of voice largely conceptualized it as a positive behaviour with desirable outcomes; however, more recent work recognizes both positive and negative aspects of voice. Although four types of voice behaviour have been described in the literature, the current study focuses on defensive voice. Specifically, we theorize that individuals who hold hostile sexist beliefs are more likely to engage in defensive voice, or "the voluntary expression of opposition to changing an organization's policies, procedures, programs, practices, etc., even when the proposed changes have merit or making changes is necessary" (Maynes & Podsakoff, 2014, p. 5).

In fact, prior research finds that engaging in voice weakens appraisals of threat (Sinclair, Martin, & Croll, 2002). Motivated by zero-sum beliefs and/or perceived violations of the status quo, hostile sexists are thus more likely to defend existing organizational policies when they feel threatened. In order to preserve the status quo, hostile sexists are likely to use a defensive voice to express their objections towards the changing nature of their work environment (i.e., the influx of women) and defend existing policies (e.g., identity-blind selection procedures), despite others' perceptions for the need for change.

Hypothesis 8: Hostile sexism is positively associated with defensive voice.

Individuals who express defensive voice oppose change, particularly when change is necessary (Maynes & Podsakoff, 2014). As the change may be undesirable to those who express opposition, these individuals may ruminate on the perceived loss of rewards or changes in the

valued status quo as women advance and are given more opportunities in their workplace. They may also focus on arguments that can be used to convince others that these changes in policy are problematic and disrupt daily work activities. Further, zero-sum gender beliefs have been found to result in negative emotional reactions (Wong, Klann, Bijelić, & Aguayo, 2017). All of these tendencies may breed malcontent and dissatisfaction, including toward one's job and career.

Additionally, as organizational change is often meant to improve the current state of affairs, those expressing opposition to necessary change may experience negative treatment from others who disagree with one's views. In fact, defensive voice is generally perceived to be harmful towards the organization (Maynes & Podsakoff, 2014). Accordingly, the lack of success from voicing their concerns (i.e., inability to prevent change) is expected to result in dissatisfaction due a lack of recognition of their concerns and influence on their organizations. Thus, those who express defensive voice may not feel like they are a valued member of the organization or occupation and, consequently, may perceive lower subjective career success.

Hypothesis 9: Defensive voice is negatively associated with subjective career success.

Taken together, a serial mediation model is expected between gender and subjective career success. Specifically, this pathway predicts that men are more likely to be high in hostile sexism compared to women, hostile sexism then positively predicts defensive voice, which ultimately results in lower subjective career success. Specifically, since hostile sexists are more likely to believe that the current status quo is effective and practical, they are expected to engage in defensive voice behaviour to express their opposition towards the changing status quo. As defensive voice is targeted towards necessary change, their concerns are unlikely to be shared by others, resulting in lower subjective career success.

Hypothesis 10: The relationship between gender and subjective career success is serially mediated by hostile sexist attitudes and defensive voice.

***Benevolent Sexism Pathway*.** For individuals who endorse benevolent sexist attitudes, upholding traditional gender roles means that men are expected to be the primary or sole providers for the family, while women are expected to be the primary caregivers. However, in the modern family, both partners likely need to be employed. This is because norms have changed and women are also as likely as men to pursue a career, in addition to the increased costs of living (Gino, Wilmuth, & Brooks, 2015; Greene & DeBacker, 2004). In these instances, women who endorse benevolent sexism take on the responsibility of both maintaining their jobs as well as continuing to uphold their domestic duties. Work-to-family conflict occurs when the demands of the job interfere with fulfilling family-related responsibilities (Netemeyer, Boles, & McMurrian, 1996). We expect women who endorse benevolent sexism to be more likely to prioritize family, and as a result, they will be more likely to experience (or perceive) that work interferes with family. In contrast, men who endorse benevolent sexism would not be expected to experience the same level of conflict because they are primarily responsible for financially supporting the family through work.

Hypothesis 11: The positive relationship between benevolent sexism and work-family conflict is moderated by gender, such that the relationship is stronger for women.

Work-family conflict has been linked to a number of negative outcomes stemming from the burden of maintaining dual roles, including stress (job, family, and work-related), burnout, withdrawal intentions, and dissatisfaction (job, marital, and family; Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000; Amstad, Meier, Fasel, Elfering, & Semmer, 2011). As a result of these negative outcomes, individuals who experience work-to-family conflict may tend to blame the work

domain for their challenges in maintaining work-life harmony (Shockley & Singla, 2011). Thus, work-to-family conflict is expected to be associated with lower perceptions of subjective career success.

Hypothesis 12: Work-family conflict is negatively related to subjective career success.

Altogether, gender is expected to moderate the negative and indirect effect of benevolent sexism on subjective career success through work-family conflict. Specifically, work-family conflict is expected to mediate this relationship for women, but not for men. Benevolent sexism is expected to interact with gender to predict work-family conflict because women who endorse benevolent sexism, compared to men, are more likely to prioritise their family over their work due to the strong influence of gender roles. Although women have increased their presence in the workplace, their domestic and family responsibilities have remained largely unchanged (Hochschild & Manchung, 1989; Pew Research Center, 2015; Statistics Canada, 2006). As a result of these competing demands, women compared to men who endorse benevolent sexism are expected to experience greater work-family conflict, which then results in lower subjective career success.

Hypothesis 13: The mediated relationship between benevolent sexism and subjective career success via work-family conflict, will be moderated by gender in the first stage, such that the indirect effect holds for women but not men.

Although research to date suggests that there tends not to be gender differences on subjective career success overall, these two proposed mediating mechanisms (e.g., defensive voice and work-family conflict) may potentially illuminate that the two different forms of sexism differentially influence the factors affecting men and women's report of subjective career success to generate this null effect. Men, on one hand, are more dissatisfied with their careers because

they are more likely to endorse hostile sexist beliefs, which lead them to be more likely to engage in defensive voice. Women, on the other hand, are more dissatisfied with their careers because those who endorse benevolent sexist beliefs are more likely to perceive or experience work-family conflict. Thus, in this case, the null effect belies the complex relationships that are at play.

The Current Study

Despite gains towards gender equality in the workplace, gender disparities in career outcomes are still widespread and apparent. The current research takes a novel perspective to understand such gender differences in career outcomes by focusing on personal endorsement rather than others' support of sexist attitudes. Our study makes several contributions to the literature. First, to our knowledge, our study is the first to examine the impact of personal endorsement of hostile and benevolent sexism on career outcomes. Second, our study highlights the propensity to engage in certain behaviours (i.e., mediating mechanisms) guided by sexist attitudes and beliefs that have consequences for career success. Finally, we take a balanced perspective and examine both the potential benefits and harms that are associated with personal endorsement of sexism. With the knowledge that endorsement of sexist beliefs can potentially be beneficial, we can better understand why some people and groups continue to endorse sexism.

Method

Participants and Procedures

Participants were recruited from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (M-Turk). Prior research has found that M-Turk samples are more diverse than typical undergraduate samples (Buhrmester et al., 2011) and are a source of reliable and high quality data (Paolacci & Chandler, 2014), including for organizational research (Behrend, Sharek, Meade, & Wiebe, 2011). Participants completed a brief pre-screen questionnaire to determine their eligibility for the focal study. Only individuals who were employed in a non-temporary position, working a minimum of fifteen hours per week, were current residing and had been residing in the United States for at least the past ten years (to reduce the potential effects of culture) were invited to participate in the focal study.

Participants then completed surveys at three separate time points in order to minimize the effects of common method variance (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). Participants were given two days to access and complete each survey. The second and third surveys were available five days after the first and second survey were posted, respectively, providing a minimum of three days between the completion of each wave of the study. Participants were compensated $2 USD for their participation at each wave of the study.

From an initial pool of 394 individuals, a total of 256 (retention rate = 65%) individuals completed all three phases of the study. Comparing individuals who participated in all three phases of the study with participants who dropped out at an earlier phase, results indicate that there were no significant differences in their hostile and benevolent sexism scores at Wave 1. Additionally, seven participants who failed attention check items (e.g., please choose 'strongly

agree') and two participants who did not respond to the length of organizational tenure question were excluded, resulting in a final sample size of 247.

The final sample had a fairly even gender distribution (41.4% female), was predominantly Caucasian (77.9%), and was highly educated (54.2% completed a four-year degree or even higher levels of education). On average, these participants were 36.87 years of age (*SD* = 10.64), worked 40.34 hours per week (*SD* = 5.94), and had been employed at their current organization for 6.8 years (*SD* = 6.10). See Table 1 for sample demographics.

Measures

All measures employed a five-point Likert scale (from 1 = strongly *disagree* to 5 = strongly *agree*) unless otherwise specified. The predictors (i.e., hostile and benevolent sexism) were assessed in the first wave of the study. The proposed mediators (i.e., proportion of men sought for career-related advice, defensive voice, career interruptions, and work-family conflict) were assessed in the second wave of the study. Career outcomes (i.e., objective and subjective career success) were assessed in the third and final wave of the study.

Ambivalent Sexism. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory was used to assess hostile sexism (11 items, α = .93; e.g. "Women seek to gain power by getting control over men") and benevolent sexism (11 items, α = .91; e.g., "Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess"; Glick & Fiske, 1996). In this sample, men scored significantly higher than women on both hostile (*d* = .31) and benevolent (*d* = .43) sexism.

Proportion of Men Sought for Career Advice. Following Watkins et al. (2006), participants were instructed to rank order up to five co-workers who have provided them with valuable job/career-related advice and information and report their initials, gender, position (i.e., below manager level, manager, director level or above), and relationship (e.g., supervisor, co-

worker, subordinate). The gender composition of those sought out for advice for each participant was operationalized by calculating the proportion of these co-workers that were men.

Defensive Voice. To assess defensive voice, we adapted Maynes and Podsakoff's (2013) defensive voice subscale to reflect a self-report measure by replacing "This employee" with "I" (5 items, α = .85; e.g., "I vocally oppose changing how things are done, even when changing is inevitable").

Career Interruptions. Career interruptions were assessed by asking participants to report the number, length, nature (i.e., voluntary or involuntary), and reason for each employment gap they experienced after completing their highest level of education. The reason for employment gaps were coded into 5 categories (i.e., family-related leave [including parental leave], health/medical, reasons related to voluntary and involuntary turnover [i.e., quit, laid off, fired, company closed], relocation, and other). The total number of gaps and the total length of these gaps, combined in months, for each participant were used as an index of career interruption. Both length and number of gaps were measured to determine whether these indices were differentially related to career success. The number of gaps may not be equivalent to the length of gap due to the various reasons for these gaps. As a result, the impact of each gap may be different and is better optimized through the operationalization with gap length.

Work-Family Conflict. Perceptions of work-to-family conflict (five items, α = .95; e.g., "Things I want to do at home do not get done because of the demands my job puts on me") was assessed with Netemeyer, Boles, and McMurrian's (1996) measure.

Objective Career Success. Objective career success was measured with the two most common indicators used in the literature: income and promotions. Participants were asked to report their annual income before taxes (including bonuses and other direct income), and the

number of promotions received over the course of their entire career. Results were analyzed separately for income and promotions because they are generally only modestly correlated (Ng et al., 2005).

Subjective Career Success. Overall subjective career success (α = .96) was measured with a comprehensive 24-item scale developed by Shockley and colleagues (2015). This measure taps multiple aspects of subjective success based on qualitative interviews with workers, including recognition (e.g., "my supervisors have told me I do a good job"), quality work (e.g., "I am proud of the quality of the work I have produced"), meaningful work (e.g.," I believe my work has made a difference"), influence (e.g., "the organizations I have worked for have considered my opinion regarding important issues"), authenticity (e.g., "I have been able to pursue work that meets my personal needs and preferences"), personal life (e.g., "I have been able to have a satisfying life outside of work"), growth and development (e.g., "I have continuously improved by developing my skill set"), and satisfaction (e.g., "my career is personally satisfying").

Data Analyses

Multiple regression and (moderated) mediation analyses were conducted to evaluate the relationships between predictors (i.e., hostile and benevolent sexism), proposed mediators (i.e., career advice, defensive voice, career interruption, and work-family conflict), and career success (i.e., objective and subjective career success). We used Hayes' (2012) PROCESS macro to test the serial mediation models as well as conditional indirect effects, both with 10,000 bootstrap samples as recommended by prior research (Hayes, Preacher, & Myers, 2010; Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007).

Control variables. Variables known to be relevant for predicting career success were identified and controlled for in the analyses. Organizational tenure and age are known to be associated with higher salaries and greater numbers of promotions (Ng et al., 2005). Therefore, these two variables were controlled for in all analyses concerning objective career success. Furthermore, in order to rule out the possibility that the proportion of men sought out for career-related advice was due to over-representation of men in the organization, such that only men were available to reach out to for advice, gender composition of occupation was also entered as a control variable for that pathway. Gender composition of occupation was dummy coded with gender-integrated industry as the referent (i.e., male-dominated occupations were coded as [1,0] and female-dominated occupations were coded as [0,1]).

Results

Table 1 presents the means, standard deviations, effect sizes of gender differences across variables, and correlations for all variables used in the analyses. Correlations show that age was weakly but significantly correlated with the number of promotions (r = .29, p < .001), but not with income (r = .07, p > 0.05). Tenure was weakly but significantly correlated with both income (r = .18, p < 0.05) and the number of promotions (r = .12, p < .05).

To establish the presence of the gender difference in career outcomes in the current sample, a regression analyses was conducted using gender to predict both income and the number of promotions (men was coded as 0 and women as 1). Results indicate that gender was a significant predictor of income (B = -9597.47, SE = 3787.62, p <.05), but not promotions (B = -.199, SE = .28, p >.05). Men earn more than women, but men and women do not differ in the number of promotions received. Further, including control variables did not change the results. Thus, due to the lack of gender differences, we focused on income as our indicator of objective career success rather than promotions in subsequent models. In contrast and as expected, men and women do not differ in ratings of subjective career success (B = .04, SE = 1.00, p > .05).

Hypothesis Testing

Objective Career Success.

***Hostile sexism pathway*.** Hypothesis 1 predicted that men would score higher on hostile sexism than women. Contrary to the hypothesis, gender did not predict hostile sexism (B = -.11, SE = .14, p = .45).[1] Instead, when included in the same model, employment in male-dominated industries was a stronger predictor of hostile sexism than gender (B = .41, SE = .15, p <.01). Providing strong support for Hypothesis 2, regression analyses revealed a significant positive relationship between hostile sexism and tendencies to seek men out for career advice (B = .07,

SE = .02, *p* <.001). Further, seeking men out for career advice was positively related to income (*B* = 19634.74, SE = 5507.13, p <.001), supporting Hypothesis 3. Given that hostile sexism predicted the proportion of men sought out for career-related advice with and without controlling for gender composition of industry, the following serial mediation analysis was conducted using only age and tenure as controls and excluding gender composition of industry.

Hypothesis 4 proposed a serial mediation model where hostile sexism and seeking men out for career advice mediate the relationship between gender and objective career success. As illustrated in Figure 3, the indirect effect of gender on income via hostile sexism and career advice was significant (*Indirect Effect* = -427.66, *SE* = 278.22, 95% CI [-1306.62, -75.79], supporting serial mediation and Hypothesis 4.

***Benevolent sexism pathway*.** Hypothesis 5 predicted that gender would moderate the relationship between benevolent sexism and career interruptions. Regression analyses indicated a significant interaction between benevolent sexism and gap length (*B* = 9.44, *SE* = 3.47, *p* < .01), but not number of gaps (*B* = .24, *SE* = .18, *p* = .19). Simple slopes analyses (see Figure 4) reveal that there is a significant positive relationship between benevolent sexism and career gap length for women (*B* = 6.74, *SE* = 2.48, *p* < .01), but not men (*B* = -1.19, *SE* = 2.43, *p* > .05). Hypothesis 6 predicted a negative relationship between career interruption and objective career success. Regression analyses revealed that the number of gaps (*B* = -5210.13, *SE* = 1514.07, *p* < .001), but not gap length (*B* = -130.31, *SE* = 78.77, *p* = .10) predicted income.

Further analyses were conducted to reconcile these discrepant findings. While men and women do not different in the number of career gaps (*d* = -.08), women are more likely to experience lengthier gaps (*d* = -.34) compared with men. Given the lack of gender differences in the number of career gaps, further analyses focused on gap length.

Additional supplemental analyses (see Table 3) revealed that gender also moderated the relationship between career interruption and objective career success. There was a significant interaction between gap length and gender (B = 647.12, SE = 207.35, p < .01) in predicting income. Simple slopes analyses (see Figure 5) revealed that there was a significant negative relationship for men (B = -669.09, SE = 206.49, p < .001), but not for women (B = -.58.44, SE = 78.23, p > .05). These results indicate that the opposite effect between the two stages of the proposed mediation model cancelled each other out, such that career interruptions did not mediate the relationship between benevolent sexism and objective career success for men or women. Specifically, women who endorse benevolent sexism reported lengthier career interruptions than men, but career interruptions did not affect their income. In contrast, benevolent sexism was not related to career interruptions for men, but career interruptions were related to lower income for men than women.

Subjective Career Success

***Hostile sexism pathway*.** Hypothesis 8 predicted that hostile sexism would be positively related to defensive voice (see Table 4). In support of this hypothesis, there was a positive relationship between hostile sexism and defensive voice (B = .22, SE = .05, p < .001). Hypothesis 9 predicted that defensive voice would be negatively related to subjective career success. In support of the hypothesis, defensive voice negatively predicted subjective career success (B = -.21, SE = .06, p < .001).

Hypothesis 10 proposed a serial mediation model where hostile sexism and defensive voice behaviour mediated the relationship between gender and subjective career success. As illustrated in Figure 6, the indirect effect of gender on subjective career success through hostile sexism and defensive voice was significant (*Indirect Effect* = .01, SE = .01, 95% CI [.003, .04]).

Benevolent sexism pathway. Hypothesis 11 predicted that gender would moderate the relationship between benevolent sexism and work-family conflict, such that women would report greater work-family conflict than men. Results revealed a significant interaction between benevolent sexism and gender in predicting work-family conflict (B = .41, SE = .19, p <.05; see Table 4). Simple slopes analyses (see Figure 7) reveal that there is a positive relationship between benevolent sexism and reports of work-to-family conflict for women (B = .27, SE = .14, p < .05), but not men (B = -.16, SE = .13, p > .05). Regression analyses also revealed that work-family conflict is negatively related to subjective career success (B = -.21, SE = .04, p <.001), supporting Hypothesis 12.

Hypothesis 13 proposed a moderated mediation model where benevolent sexism predicts subjective career success via work-family conflict for women, but not men. In support of this hypothesis (see Figure 8), the indirect effect of benevolent sexism on subjective career success through work-family conflict was significant for women (*Indirect Effect* = -.06, SE = .03, 95% CI [-.14, -.01]), but not for men (*Indirect Effect* = .02, SE = .03, 95% CI [-.02, .09]).

Discussion

Summary of Findings

The goal of the present research was to study the influence of personal endorsement of ambivalent sexism and gender on subjective and objective career success. The findings for objective career success indicated that hostile sexism and the proportion of men sought out for career-related advice helped to explain men's greater income relative to women. Specifically, men were more likely to endorse hostile sexism than women, which subsequently led to seeking out proportionately more men for career-related advice and, ultimately, resulted in higher income. These findings are consistent with those uncovered by Watkins and colleagues (2006), who found that those who endorsed modern sexism were more likely to seek out proportionately more men for advice at work and, subsequently, received more promotions as a result. Our study builds on Watkins and colleagues (2006) such that we were able to specify that hostile sexism, which is moderately correlated with modern sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996), is associated with the likelihood to seek out men for career-related advice. Overall, our research highlights how one's personal attitudes and beliefs have important implications for the gender wage gap.

Our findings for subjective career success indicate that both men and women who endorse either hostile or benevolent sexism report lower levels of subjective career success; however, the mechanisms by which this occurs differ for men and women. Specifically, men, who were more likely to endorse hostile sexism compared to women, were then more likely to express defensive voice, and this ultimately had a negative impact on their subjective career success. In contrast, benevolent sexism was negatively related to subjective career success for women, but not men, with work-family conflict serving as the mechanism. Taken together, the

absence of gender differences in subjective career success masks the complexity beneath and is better understood by disentangling the unique experiences of men and women.

Gender Composition of Industry vs. Gender. It is important to note that gender did not predict hostile sexism after controlling for the gender composition of the industry one was employed in. This suggests that women who are employed in male-dominated occupations may also be more likely to endorse hostile sexism. One possibility is that women may be responding to their environment when they endorse hostile sexism (Becker, 2010; Derks, Ellemers, van Laar, & de Groot, 2011); women in male-dominated environments are often harassed and conformity to the sexist culture may be a protective mechanism (Russell & Trigg, 2004). Alternatively, evidence in support of the opposite direction suggests that those with stronger masculine ideologies hold stronger sexist beliefs and are more drawn to masculine occupations (Leaper & Van, 2008). Overall, we note that it is difficult to disentangle the effects and causal order of gender and industry gender composition, given that the two are correlated (i.e., more men work in male-dominated industries).

The Complex Nature of Career Interruptions. Although career interruptions have often been cited as an explanation for the gender wage gap (Blau & Kahn, 2007), our results indicate that these relationships were nuanced. Although women who endorsed benevolent sexism reported more and lengthier employment gaps compared to men, in contrast to men, women were not financially penalized for career interruptions. These latter results are consistent with emerging research showing that men received greater wage penalties from employment gaps than women (Albrecht et al., 1999; Schneer & Reitman, 1990; Theunissen, Verbruggen, Forrier, & Sels, 2011). Since men are not expected to have career interruptions, career gaps for

men violate norms and may signal to employers that these male candidates lack ambition or commitment and may ultimately be unproductive employees (Theunissen et al., 2011).

Recent research suggests that the reasons for career interruptions also matter. Career interruptions due to parental leave and unemployment were more detrimental for men than interruptions due to military service (Albrecht et al., 1999; Theunissen et al., 2011). On the other hand, career interruptions due to educational leave and self-employment had no impact on wages (Theunissen et al., 2011). Unfortunately, we were not able to examine the relationship between sexism and types of career interruptions in the current study due to low statistical power (i.e., five types of leave relative to the number of participants in the current study).

Gender and Subjective Career Success. We explore whether men and women's subjective career success may be the result of and shaped by different factors, despite an absence of overall gender differences. Our data demonstrates that this does indeed appear to be the case. Benevolent sexism predicts lower subjective career success (via work-family conflict) for women, whereas men, who tend to endorse hostile sexism to a greater extent than women, experience lower subjective career success (due to greater use of defensive voice). Thus, we demonstrate in order to effectively understand how sexism shapes subjective career success it is critical to consider the role of gender and intervening factors.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

One limitation of this study is that our findings are based on correlational data and the direction of results should be interpreted cautiously. However, we argue that our methods were the best way to study the variables of interest because it is difficult to study sexism and career outcomes experimentally. First, career outcomes are difficult to study experimentally because changes occur over longer periods of time. As such, career outcomes would be an unlikely

dependent variable for an experimental study. Second, although sexist beliefs can be primed (e.g., Good & Sanchez, 2009), it is difficult to assess long-term changes as a result of the experimental manipulation. In contrast, one of the strengths of our study was that our data were collected from a diverse sample with a variety of employment experiences and from different backgrounds to capture a broader picture of the labour force. Future studies that address the causal direction of sexism and career outcomes may be fruitful, but difficult to design.

A second limitation of this study was that the pattern of results for hostile and benevolent sexism did not replicate what is typically seen in the literature. Specifically, the means of hostile and benevolent sexism were lower than expected (ranged from 1.44 to 2.15 out of a scale of 5); prior studies typically find averages to centre on the mid-point of the scale (i.e., close to 3). Additionally, the gender differences for benevolent sexism was larger than hostile sexism, and men scored significantly higher than women on benevolent sexism; in the literature, gender differences in hostile sexism are typically larger than those found for benevolent sexism and men and women often score similarly on benevolent sexism (Glick et al., 2000).

One potential explanation for lower reports of sexism could be due to our highly educated sample (over half of our sample obtained a four-year degree or higher). Indeed, Glick, Lameiras, and Castro (2002) found a moderate and negative correlation between education and both hostile and benevolent sexism (r = -.33 and r = -.46, respectively). Since the items for hostile sexism carry a more overt negative connotation towards women than items for benevolent sexism, one explanation that the gender difference in benevolent sexism was larger than the gender difference in hostile sexism is that participants may have been motivated to respond without prejudice. To control for this possibility, future research could include an internal and external motivation to respond without sexism (Klonis, Plant, & Devine, 2005) or social desirability scale. However,

we note that despite low mean scores on sexism, there was still variability on these constructs and we did observe significant relationships with many of our key variables.

One of our pathways suggest that men compared to women who more strongly endorse hostile sexism are likely to feel threatened as a result of their zero-sum beliefs. One potential direction for future research is to examine the condition that would predict the subset of men who would be most likely to act upon this threat. Some research suggests that low-performing males were most likely to display aggression towards females in a video game setting (Kasumovic & Kuznekoff, 2015). It stands to reason that those who are performing poorly experience greater levels of threat because their jobs and status are at risk. Replicating these results in an organizational setting would help us identify those who may be most vocal against diversity initiatives and equal opportunities. Moreover, if hostile sexism and poor performance do indeed interact, more targeted methods can be devised to design diversity training programs to address these types of threats that may be specific to poor performers.

An interesting and important direction for future research is to explore the reasons for career interruptions to determine whether patterns of interruptions differ for those who endorse sexism. Although we know that certain types of leaves are more detrimental than others from prior research, we do not know whether certain types of leaves are more likely to be taken depending on one's standing on hostile and benevolent sexism. This line of research highlights the importance of unpacking motivations behind certain behaviours, such as parental leave, and raises the question of whether women, rather than men, are taking parental leave because of personal choices or because of social norms and expectations. The results of this type of research is an exciting direction to embark upon because it exposes the pervasiveness of sexist ideologies

within our society and enables us to challenge our current norms and establish more equal and balanced social expectations.

Further, given that personal endorsement of sexist beliefs and attitudes has downstream consequences on career success, another promising direction of future research is to examine other behaviours and work outcomes that are affected by one's own sexist beliefs. With the knowledge that endorsement of sexism guides certain behaviours, future research that examines other work-related outcomes (e.g., performance, engagement, and commitment) would illuminate the range of outcomes that are impacted by hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes. By exploring these research questions, we dig deeper into the potential dynamics that may be exacerbating gender inequality in the workplace.

Conclusion

Overall, the current research brings an important and complementary perspective to the one typically taken in the literature, focusing on sexist attitude and behaviours in one's environment, on factors that may contribute to the gender wage gap and perceptions of subjective career success. We encourage future research to continue to consider the role of personal endorsement of ambivalent sexist attitudes on the gender wage gap as well as potential interconnections between personal endorsement of sexist beliefs and sexist and biased treatment from others. By assessing the potential benefits or harm associated with sexism for both men and women, we can begin to challenge our gender roles as we continue to understand how our personal beliefs shape our behaviors and impact personal outcomes.

Table 1

Sample Demographics

	N	Mean (SD) or %
Age	247	36.78 (10.58)
Hours Worked per week	246	40.38 (5.95)
Organizational Tenure (years)	247	6.8 (6.10)
Gender		
Male	146	59.1%
Female	101	40.9%
Ethnicity		
Caucasian/White	192	77.7%
African American/Black	17	6.9%
East Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Korean)	17	6.9%
Hispanic/Latino	14	5.7%
South Asian (Indian, Sri Lankan, Pakistani)	2	0.8%
Native American	1	0.4%
Other	4	1.6%
Highest Education Obtained		
High school graduate or GED	20	8.1%
Some college, but no degree	53	21.5%
Associate's degree	39	15.8%
Four-year degree (e.g., Bachelor's degree)	110	44.5%
Graduate degree (e.g., Master's or Doctoral degree)	20	8.1%
Professional degree (e.g., MD, J.D.)	5	2.0%
Gender Composition of Industry		
Gender Integrated	90	36.6%
Male dominated	79	32.1%
Female dominated	51	20.7%
Unspecified	26	10.6%

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations among Study Variables

		Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations																		
	Variable	M	SD	M	SD	*d*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
		Men		Women																
1	Age (years)	36.01	10.08	37.90	11.23	-.18	-													
2	Organizational tenure (years)	6.62	5.84	7.07	6.48	-.07	.47	-												
3	Male-dominated industry*	0.44	0.50	0.15	0.36	.67	.10	.13	-											
4	Female-dominated industry*	0.10	0.30	0.37	0.48	-.67	-.09	-.13	-.35	-										
5	Gender[1]	-	-	-	-	-	.09	.04	-.31	.33	-									
6	Hostile sexism	1.76	0.97	1.44	1.07	.31	-.05	-.02	.21	-.20	-.15	-								
7	Benevolent sexism	2.15	0.83	1.79	0.82	.43	-.06	-.04	.11	-.13	-.21	.28	-							
8	Proportion of men sought for career advice	0.68	0.27	0.38	0.30	1.06	-.07	-.03	.24	-.19	-.47	.30	.13	-						
9	Gap length (months)	7.08	11.60	15.29	31.90	-.34	.14	-.03	-.04	.01	.18	.09	.06	-.11	-					
10	Number of gaps	1.03	1.20	1.13	1.16	-.08	.17	-.12	-.02	.05	.04	-.04	-.06	-.13	.36	-				
11	Defensive voice	1.88	0.83	1.80	0.78	.11	-.13	-.07	.00	-.05	-.05	.27	.03	.03	.03	-.04	-			
12	Work-family conflict	2.32	1.15	2.37	1.25	-.04	.07	.10	.04	-.03	.02	.24	.03	-.06	.14	.07	.29	-		
13	Income (USD)	46114.82	29229.58	34013.52	24320.70	.45	.06	.18	.18	-.14	-.21	.04	-.11	.26	-.12	-.23	.10	-.02	-	
14	Promotions	2.91	1.98	2.86	2.20	.02	.30	.12	-.01	-.04	-.01	-.04	-.07	.11	.11	.04	-.12	-.05	.14	-
15	Subjective career success	3.82	0.74	3.86	0.74	-.05	-.05	.06	.11	0	.03	-.16	.02	.01	-.17	-.27	-.25	-.33	.15	.09

Note: n = 146 men; n = 103 women

r > .125, p <0.05; r > .163, p <.01; r > .207, p <.001

*Male- and female-dominated industry dummy coded in relation to gender integrated industry

[1]Gender dummy coded as men = 0, women = 1

Table 3

Unstandardized Regressions Results for Hostile Sexism on Objective and Subjective Career Success

Predictor	*Coefficient*	*SE*	*t*	*p*	*Coefficient*	*SE*	*t*	*p*
	Hostile Sexism (M_1)							
Constant	1.88	0.24	7.86	0.00	1.76	0.08	20.97	0.00
Gender[1] (X)	-0.31	0.13	-2.37	0.02	-0.32	0.13	-2.43	0.02
Age	0.00	0.01	-0.52	0.60				
Tenure	0.00	0.01	0.10	0.92				
	$R^2 = .02$				$R^2 = .02$			
	$F_{(1,245)} = 2.06$, $p < .05$				$F_{(3,243)} = 5.92$, $p < .05$			
	Career Advice[a] (M_2)				Defensive Voice (M_2)			
Constant	0.58	0.07	7.88	0.00	1.50	0.11	13.91	0.00
Gender (X)	-0.28	0.04	-7.67	0.00	-0.02	0.10	-0.19	0.85
Hostile Sexism (M_1)	0.07	0.02	4.13	0.00	0.22	0.05	4.37	0.00
Age	0.00	0.00	-0.27	0.79				
Tenure	0.00	0.00	-0.12	0.90				
	$R^2 = .26$				$R^2 = .08$			
	$F_{(4,242)} = 22.24$, $p < .001$				$F_{(2,244)} = 9.94$, $p < .001$			
	Income (Y)				Subjective Career Success (Y)			
Constant	29528.69	7836.23	3.77	3.77	4.33	0.13	32.61	0.00
Gender (X)	-7044.37	3887.33	-1.81	0.07	0.00	0.09	0.00	1.00
Hostile Sexism (M_1)	-1002.19	1732.07	-0.58	0.56	-0.07	0.05	-1.46	0.15
Career Advice (M_2)	18929.60	6145.51	3.08	0.00				
Age	-10.99	180.26	-0.06	0.95				
Tenure	881.16	311.43	2.83	0.01				
Defensive Voice (M_2)					-0.21	0.06	-3.53	0.00
	$R^2 = .12$				$R^2 = .26$			
	$F_{(5,241)} = 6.30$, $p < .001$				$F_{(3,243)} = 6.32$, $p < .001$			

Notes. $N = 247$. [a]Career advice = proportion of men sought out for career-related advice. [1]Gender dummy coded as men = 0, women = 1. Age and tenure were controlled for only in the objective career success pathways.

Table 4

Unstandardized Regressions Results for Benevolent Sexism on Objective and Subjective Career Success

Predictor	*Coefficient*	*SE*	*t*	*p*	*Coefficient*	*SE*	*t*	*p*	*Coefficient*	*SE*	*t*	*p*
	Career Interruptions: Gap Length (*M*)				Career Interruptions: Number of Gaps (*M*)				Work-Family Conflict (*M*)			
Constant	-4.32	6.72	-0.64	0.52	0.50	0.35	1.40	0.16	2.58	0.27	9.49	0.00
Gender[1] (*W*)	-9.72	7.33	-1.33	0.19	-0.43	0.39	-1.10	0.27	-0.73	0.39	-1.86	0.06
Benevolent Sexism (*X*)	-0.95	2.16	-0.44	0.66	-0.16	0.11	-1.38	0.17	-0.12	0.12	-1.01	0.31
X x *W*	9.44	3.47	2.72	0.01	0.24	0.18	1.32	0.19	0.41	0.19	2.22	0.03
Age	0.45	0.15	3.04	0.00	0.03	0.01	4.24	0.00				
Tenure	-0.43	0.25	-1.70	0.09	-0.05	0.01	-3.67	0.00				
	R^2 = .31				R^2 = .09				R^2 = .02			
	$F_{(5,241)}$ = 5.22, p < .001				$F_{(5,241)}$ = 4.76, p < .001				$F_{(3,243)}$ = 1.76, p > .05			
	Income (*Y*)								Subjective Career Success (*Y*)			
Constant	44602.39	7833.58	5.69	0.00	47266.58	7698.82	6.14	0.00	4.27	0.14	29.82	0.00
Benevolent Sexism (*X*)	-3182.11	2079.84	-1.53	0.13	-3759.91	2040.18	-1.84	0.07	0.02	0.05	0.46	0.65
Career Interruptions												
Gap Length (*M*)	-130.31	78.77	-1.65	0.10								
Number of Gaps (*M*)					-5210.13	1514.07	-3.44	0.00				
Age	-33.65	188.58	-0.18	0.86	76.67	188.47	0.41	0.68				
Tenure	813.80	323.35	2.52	0.01	614.56	324.36	1.89	0.06				
WFC (*M*)									-0.21	0.04	-5.50	0.00
	R^2 = .05				R^2 = .09				R^2 = .11			
	$F_{(4,242)}$ = 3.45, p < .01				$F_{(4,242)}$ = 5.83, p < .001				$F_{(2,244)}$ = 15.19, p < .001			

Conditional Indirect Effects

	Boot indirect effect	Boot *SE*	Boot Lower 95% *CI*	Boot Upper 95% *CI*	Boot indirect effect	Boot *SE*	Boot Lower 95% *CI*	Boot Upper 95% *CI*	Boot indirect effect	Boot *SE*	Boot Lower 95% *CI*	Boot Upper 95% *CI*
Men	123.25	244.61	-135.20	980.47	816.93	718.08	-261.80	2681.93	0.02	0.03	-0.02	0.09
Women	-1107.51	825.77	-3189.22	78.16	-434.66	748.10	-2265.51	792.66	-0.06	0.03	-0.13	0.00

Notes. [1]Gender dummy coded as men = 0, women = 1. Age and tenure were controlled for only in the objective career success pathways.

Figure 1

Model for Objective Career Success

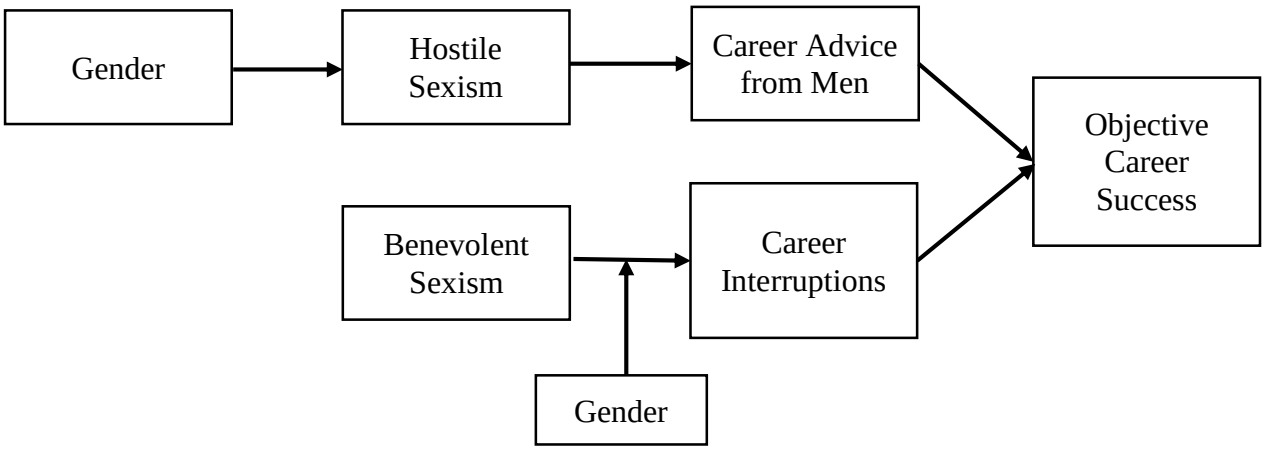


Figure 2

Model for Subjective Career Success

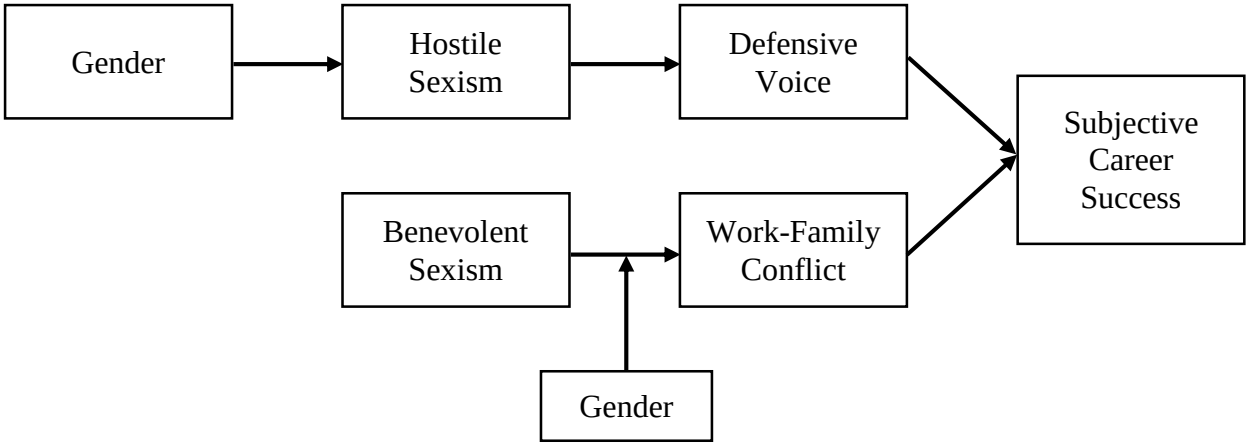
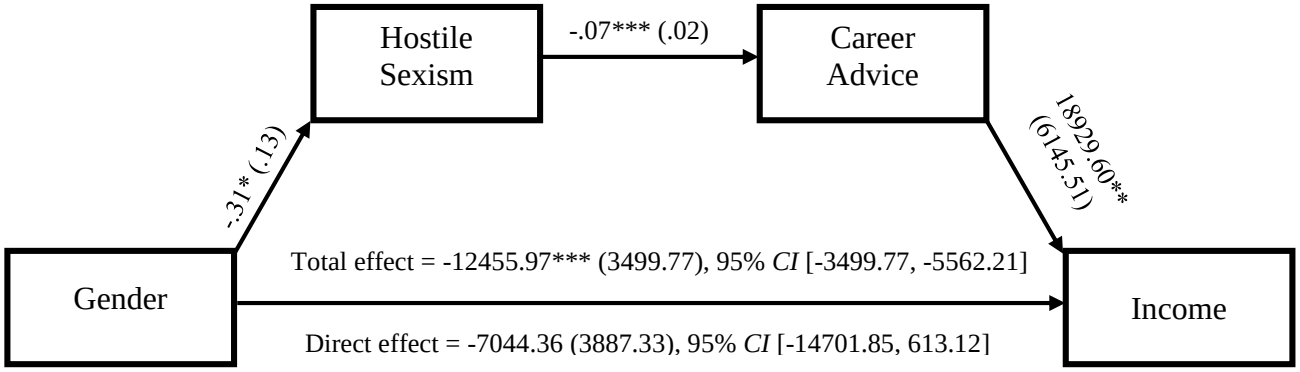


Figure 3

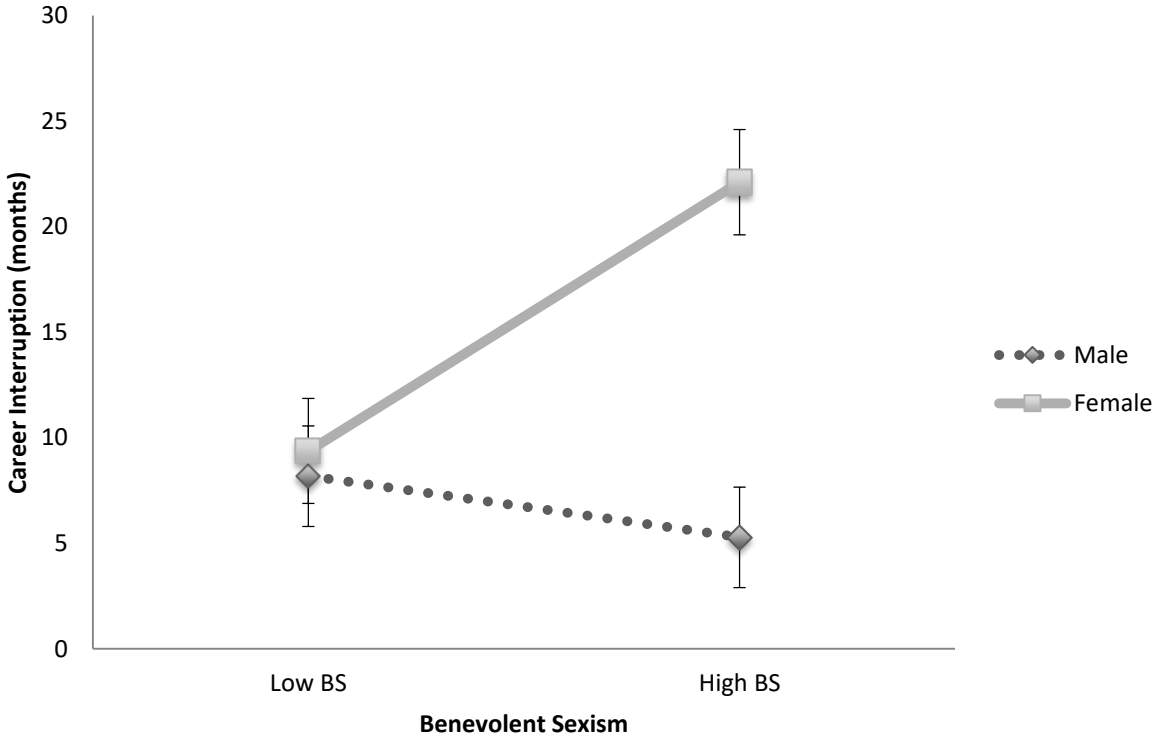
Serial Mediation Model for the Effect of Gender on Income via Hostile Sexism and Career Advice



Notes. Estimates are unstandardized coefficients with standard errors reported in the brackets. ***p ≤ .001, **p ≤ .01, and *p < .05.

Figure 4

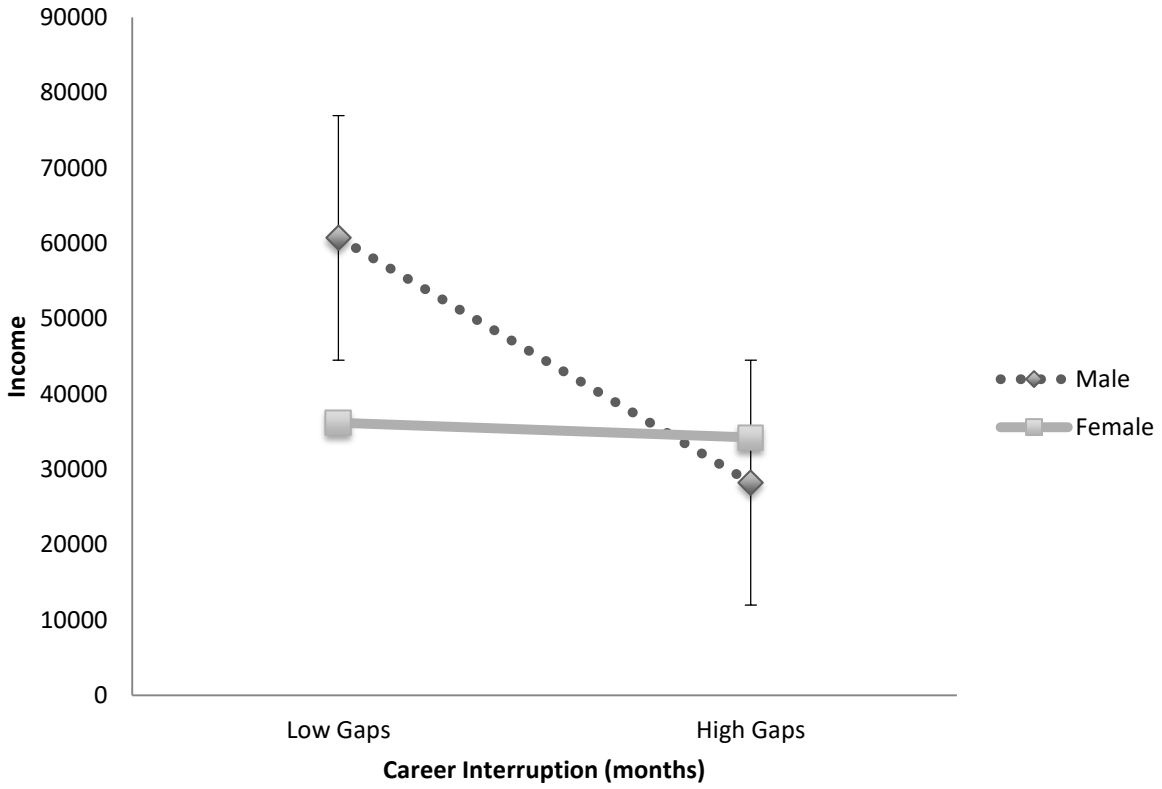
Interaction Between Benevolent Sexism and Gender on Career Interruption (Gap Length)



Notes. Error bars are means +/- 1 S.E.

Figure 5

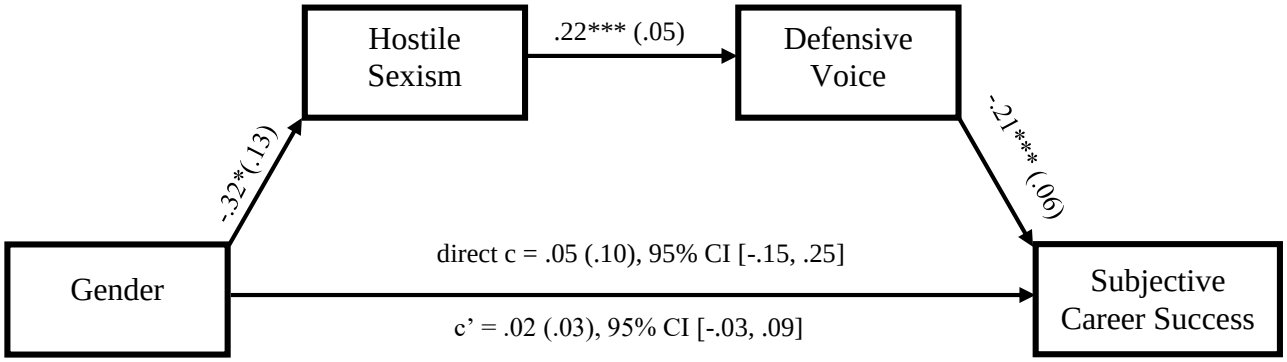
Interaction Between Career Interruption (Gap Length) and Gender on Income



Notes. Error bars are means +/- 1 S.E.

Figure 6

Serial Mediation Model for the Effect of Gender on Subjective Career Success via Hostile Sexism and Defensive Voice



Notes. Estimates are unstandardized coefficients with standard errors reported in the brackets. ***p ≤ .001, **p ≤ .01, and *p < .05.

Figure 7

Interaction Between Benevolent Sexism and Gender on Work-Family Conflict

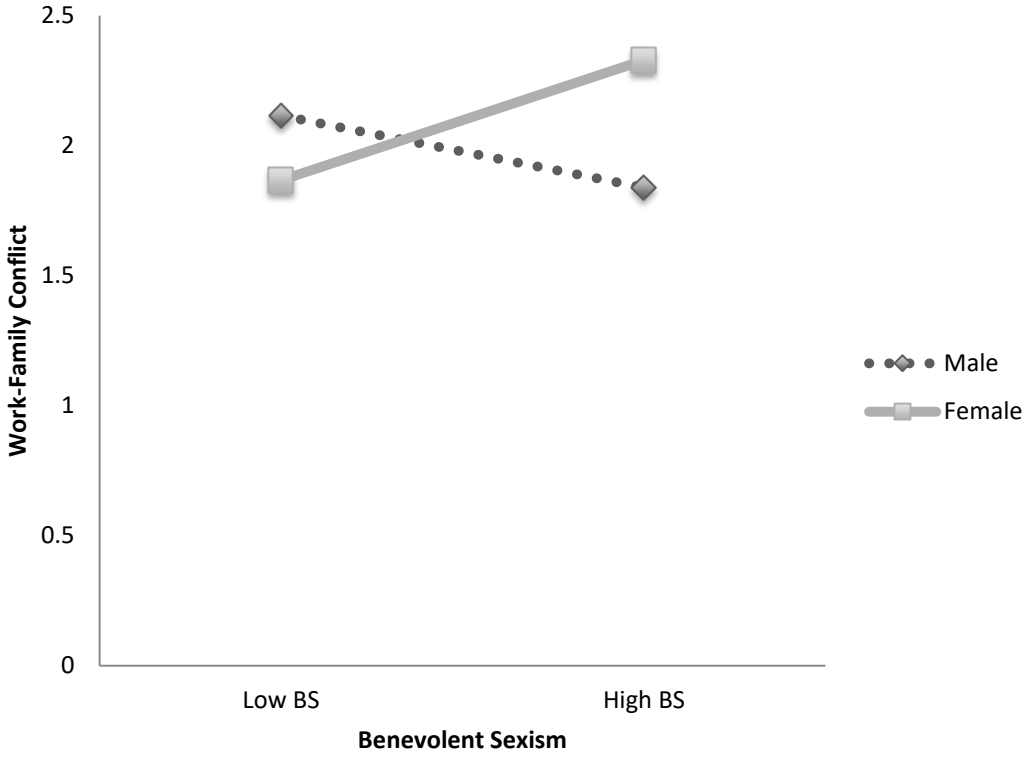
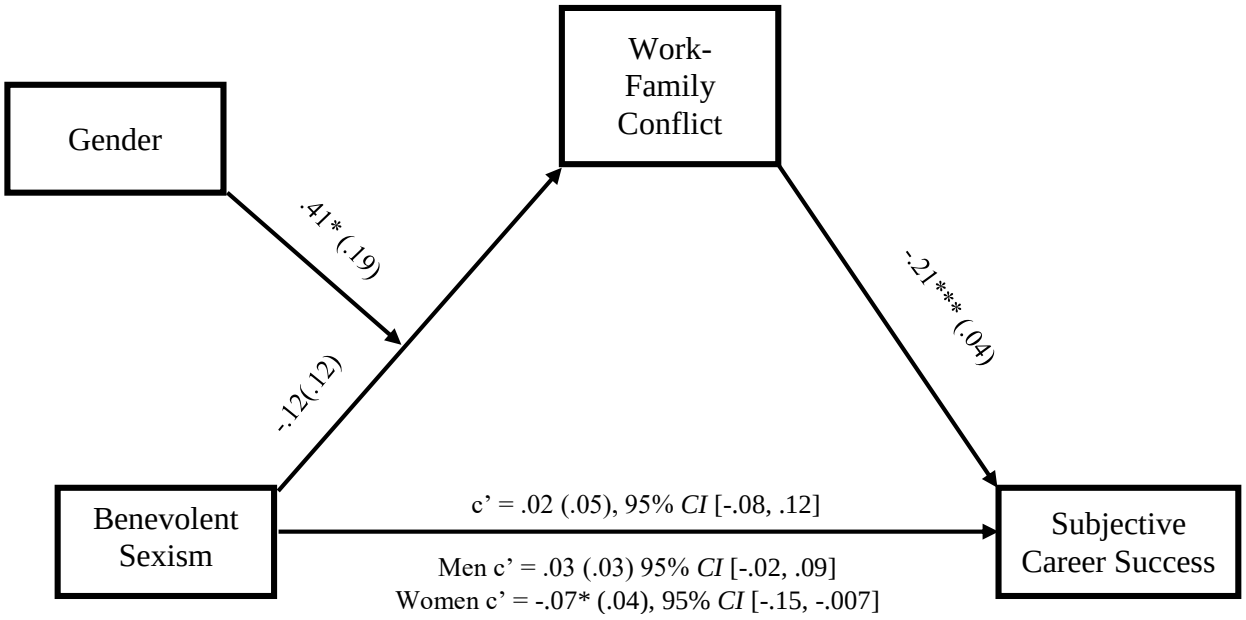


Figure 8

Moderated Mediation Model for the Effect of Gender on Benevolent Sexism and Subjective Career Success via Work-Family Conflict



Notes. Estimates are unstandardized coefficients with standard errors reported in the brackets. ***p ≤ .001, **p ≤ .01, and *p < .05.

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