



Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/obhdp

Don't hate me because I'm beautiful: Acknowledging appearance mitigates the "beauty is beastly" effect

Stefanie K. Johnson^{a,*}, Traci Sitzmann^b, Anh Thuy Nguyen^c

^a University of Colorado Boulder Leeds School of Business, 995 Regent Drive 419UCB, Boulder, CO 80309, United States

^b University of Colorado Denver Business School, PO Box 173364, Campus Box 165, Denver, CO 80217-3364, United States

^c Illinois Institute of Technology, 3300 South Federal Street, Chicago, IL 60616-3793, United States

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 27 June 2013

Accepted 11 September 2014

Available online xxxx

Accepted by Paul Levy

Keywords:

Physical attractiveness

Acknowledging a stigma

Beauty is beastly

Sex discrimination

Hostile and benevolent sexism

Selection

Job interviews

ABSTRACT

Physically attractive women are discriminated against when applying for masculine sex-typed jobs, a phenomenon known as the *beauty is beastly effect*. We conducted three studies to establish an intervention for mitigating the beauty is beastly effect and to determine mediators and moderators of the intervention. As expected, physically attractive women were rated higher in employment suitability when they acknowledged that their sex or physical appearance is incongruent with the typical applicant for a masculine sex-typed job. Acknowledgement increased inferences of positive masculine traits, allowing the female applicant to be perceived as more suitable for the job, while reducing perceptions that she possessed countercommunal traits, decreasing the violation of her gender role. Finally, sexist beliefs interacted with the acknowledgment intervention, such that the acknowledgement intervention reduced the negative relationship between hostile sexism and employment suitability and increased the positive relationship between benevolent sexism and employment suitability, relative to the control condition.

© 2014 Elsevier Inc. All rights reserved.

Introduction

In April 2012, Samantha Brick published a column in *The Daily Mail* titled "There are downsides to looking this pretty." The subsequent backlash and media criticism were not surprising given that the benefits of physical attractiveness far outweigh any disadvantages (Eagly, Ashmore, Makhijani, & Longo, 1991). Physically attractive women are, however, discriminated against when applying for masculine sex-typed jobs—a phenomenon known as the *beauty is beastly effect* (Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979; Heilman & Stopeck, 1985). Although the beauty is beastly effect may not evoke strong feelings of sympathy, it demonstrates a subtle form of sex discrimination. The Civil Rights Act makes sex discrimination illegal in the workplace, including situations in which a neutral characteristic (i.e., physical attractiveness) becomes linked to a protected characteristic (i.e., sex).

Theoretically, the beauty is beastly effect occurs because of inferences related to a lack of fit and gender role violations (Eagly, 1987; Heilman, 2001). Specifically, salient features such as physical attractiveness and sex trigger stereotype inferences

that attractive women lack the traits necessary to succeed in a masculine job (Cash, Gillen, & Burns, 1977; Gillen, 1981; Heilman, 1983). Conversely, if a woman demonstrates that she has the requisite skills and experience needed for a masculine job, she violates her gender role and is, therefore, seen as lacking communal traits (Eagly, 1987). In fact, Heilman and colleagues have found that when women are successful in masculine jobs they are seen as possessing characteristics that are the *opposite* of the communal stereotype; they are seen as bitter, quarrelsome, selfish, deceitful, and devious (Heilman, Block, & Martell, 1995; Heilman, Block, Martell, & Simon, 1989). These traits are defined as countercommunal and reflect the image of an individual who is cold, hostile, and devoid of interpersonal skills (Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004).

Due to the lack of fit expectations and social role violation, attractive women are viewed negatively when applying for masculine sex-typed jobs (Cash et al., 1977; Gillen, 1981; Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979; Heilman & Stopeck, 1985; Jackson, 1983; Johnson, Podratz, Dipboye, & Gibbons, 2010). Role violations may be seen as particularly egregious among attractive women because of their perceived femininity, which is incompatible with the traits necessary to succeed in the position at hand (Heilman, 2001). Further, the bias against physically attractive women is intensified in jobs where physical attractiveness is not advantageous for performing the job duties because there is greater misfit between

* Corresponding author.

E-mail addresses: Stefanie.Johnson@Colorado.edu (S.K. Johnson), Traci.Sitzmann@ucdenver.edu (T. Sitzmann), Anguye11@hawk.iit.edu (A.T. Nguyen).

the job requirements and women's physical appearance (Beehr & Gilmore, 1982; Johnson et al., 2010).

Although a breadth of research has examined the beauty is beastly effect, there are no established techniques for mitigating discrimination against attractive women applying for masculine sex-typed jobs. We advance discrimination theory surrounding this effect by developing an intervention—namely, acknowledging that one's physical appearance and sex are incongruent with the typical job applicant—and testing the effect of this intervention across three studies. Study 1 proposes that the acknowledgement intervention mitigates the beauty is beastly effect. Study 2 examines mediators of the effect of the intervention on ratings of employment suitability. Specifically, we propose that acknowledging one's physical appearance and sex leads evaluators to perceive that the female applicant is a better fit for the position because she possesses traits typically viewed as favorable in male job applicants (e.g., willing to take risks, independent, assertive). In addition, the acknowledgement intervention reduces inferences that the applicant possesses countercommunal traits. Finally, Study 3 proposes that sexist beliefs interact with acknowledging one's atypical appearance during a job interview, such that the intervention reduces the negative relationship between hostile sexism and employment suitability and increases the positive relationship between benevolent sexism and employment suitability, relative to a no acknowledgement control condition.

Theoretical overview of acknowledging a stigma

There are no established techniques for reducing discrimination against attractive women applying for masculine sex-typed jobs. Attractiveness and sex are salient physical features making stereotype inferences particularly strong and automatic (Eagly et al., 1991; Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Hosoda, Stone-Romero, & Coats, 2003; Langlois et al., 2000; Stangor, Lynch, Duan, & Glass, 1992). Therefore, common methods for reducing stereotypes, such as providing more information about the stereotyped individual, are ineffective at reducing attractiveness effects (Hosoda et al., 2003; Langlois et al., 2000). Given the automatic nature of stereotypes related to physical attractiveness and sex, it should be most effective to directly address, rather than try to avoid, perceivers' stereotype inferences.

Acknowledging a stigma can reduce the effect of the stigma on evaluations by bringing perceivers' stereotypes to their attention, interrupting the automatic effects of stereotypes on social information processing and resulting in a more thorough evaluation of the target (Hebl & Kleck, 2002; Kunda & Thagard, 1996; Singletary & Hebl, 2009). In one study, Hebl and Kleck (2002) ran mock-job interviews in which an interviewee was in a wheelchair and either acknowledged or did not acknowledge his stigma. Acknowledgement took the form of (p. 229), "When people meet me, one of the first things that they notice is that I use a wheelchair." Stigmatized individuals were more likely to be hired when they acknowledged their disability. The benefits of acknowledging a stigma are enhanced when acknowledgment occurs early in the social interaction and when it is accompanied by information that reduces the stereotype in question (DeJong, 1980; Hebl & Kleck, 2002; Hebl & Skorinko, 2005).

Although physical attractiveness is generally beneficial, it can be thought of as a stigma when it is not perceived as desirable in a given domain. Goffman (1963) defined stigma as an "undesired differentness" (p. 5) and suggested that a particular characteristic can be advantageous in one situation but a stigma in another situation. Crocker, Major, and Steele (1998) note that because stigmas are socially constructed, the extent to which a characteristic is a stigma can vary across situations. Therefore, we conceptualize

physical attractiveness as a stigma for women applying for masculine sex-typed jobs.

Study 1 examined the effect of acknowledging a stigma when applying for a masculine sex-typed job in which physical attractiveness is not advantageous for performing the job duties (i.e., construction worker). Specifically, the applicant acknowledged her physical appearance (i.e., *I know I don't look like your typical construction worker*) or sex (i.e., *I know there are not a lot of women in this industry*) and we hypothesize that either manipulation will mitigate the beauty is beastly effect.

Hypothesis. Acknowledging one's physical appearance or sex will result in more favorable employment suitability ratings for a physically attractive female job applicant, relative to a physically unattractive female job applicant.

Study 1

Method

Participants

Participants were 180 undergraduate students from a human subject pool. The subject pool consists of primarily white business school students (74%) and is about 55% male. The second largest racial category is Asian (16%). The mean age is approximately 26 years ($SD = 5.68$).

Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to one of six conditions in a 2 (unattractive female, attractive female) \times 3 (control, acknowledge appearance, acknowledge sex) between-person design. Participants were told that they would be evaluating four finalists for a job in construction. Construction represents a masculine sex-typed job in which physical attractiveness is unimportant; thus, it should elicit the beauty is beastly effect (Johnson et al., 2010). The application packet consisted of interview transcripts with the same four interview questions for each applicant and a picture of each applicant on the transcript. Three of the applicants were male and were used as filler applicants. The focal applicant was female, and she was always the second applicant in the packet.

We experimentally manipulated whether the women in the photos were physically attractive or unattractive. The photos were headshots from a university yearbook, and the women were similar on a variety of dimensions including age and race. They were also both wearing interview-appropriate clothing, had shoulder length hair, and neither was wearing eyeglasses. However, the women differed based on physical attractiveness; Johnson et al.'s (2010) research established that the attractive and unattractive women were one standard deviation above and below the mean on ratings of physical attractiveness made by 204 college students.

Acknowledgement was manipulated by altering the response to a question regarding why the applicant should be hired. In the control condition the applicant said, *You should hire me because my skills and work experience are a perfect fit for this job. If you look at my work history, you will see that I have been successful in this industry and I am motivated to do the job.* In the acknowledge physical appearance condition, *I know that I don't look like your typical construction worker, but. . .* was inserted at the beginning of the second sentence of the control condition response; in the acknowledge sex condition, *I know that there are not a lot of women in this industry, but. . .* was inserted in the same place in the transcript. We placed the manipulation early in the transcript because acknowledging at the beginning or middle of an interview is more effective than at the end of an interview, and we linked the acknowledgement with stereotype-inconsistent information (i.e., *you will see that I have*

been successful in this industry...) to enhance its effect (Hebl & Skorinko, 2005).

Participants rated each applicant with three questions assessing employment suitability. The questions were *I feel that this applicant answered the interview questions well*, *I have a favorable impression of this candidate*, and *I would be likely to offer this applicant the job*. Participants responded on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from *Strongly Disagree* to *Strongly Agree* (Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$).

Results

A 2 (unattractive, attractive) \times 3 (control, acknowledge appearance, acknowledge sex) ANOVA revealed no main effect for physical attractiveness, $F(1,173) = 3.61$, $p = .06$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, and no main effect for acknowledgement, $F(2,173) = 1.17$, $p > .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. However, the physical attractiveness by acknowledgement interaction was significant, $F(2,173) = 5.81$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$, and the effect size was medium (Cohen, 1988).

To explain the interaction, we compared the acknowledgement and no acknowledgement conditions for the physically unattractive and attractive job applicants (Fig. 1). The physically attractive applicant performed significantly better when she acknowledged either her appearance, $F(1,67) = 6.27$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$, or sex, $F(1,63) = 8.16$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$, compared to when she did not. Both effect sizes were medium. The physically unattractive applicant performed significantly worse when she acknowledged her appearance, $F(1,59) = 4.17$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$, although there was no effect of acknowledging her sex, $F(1,49) = .41$, $p > .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. These were medium and small effect sizes, respectively. There were no significant differences between acknowledging appearance and acknowledging sex for either applicant. Thus, the findings reveal that acknowledging either appearance or sex mitigated the beauty is beastly effect.

Study 2

Study 1 demonstrated that a physically attractive female job applicant was rated higher in employment suitability when she acknowledged that her sex or physical appearance is incongruent with the typical applicant for a masculine sex-typed job. The goal of Study 2 is to uncover the reasons why acknowledgment results in higher employment suitability ratings for attractive women. There are two primary reasons why the beauty is beastly effect occurs based on the lack of fit model and social role theory (Eagly, 1987; Heilman, 1983; Heilman et al., 2004). First, attractive women are perceived to be too feminine to perform the job duties

of a masculine sex-typed job and, thus, are rated low on the masculine traits that are necessary to fulfill the job requirements. Second, attractive women are seen as violating their gender role by applying for a masculine sex-typed job, and gender role violations give rise to inferences that women possess countercommunal traits, such as being arrogant, cynical, and hostile. We argue that acknowledgment mitigates both of these processes.

Heilman's (1983, 1995) lack of fit model clarifies that performance expectations are formed based on whether a job applicant's personal characteristics are aligned with the requirements of the job. Applicants for masculine sex-typed jobs are evaluated based on whether they possess the masculine traits that are perceived as necessary to fulfill the job requirements. For women, attractiveness results in automatic inferences that the applicant is feminine (Cash et al., 1977; Gillen, 1981)—which is inconsistent with the job requirements for a masculine sex-typed job. As Heilman (2001, p. 660) suggests, "the greater the degree of stereotyping or the more masculine in sex-type the job, the worse the perceived fit and the more negative the expectations are apt to be. These expectations of failure give rise to a clear bias toward viewing women as ill equipped to perform the job competently."

Processes that interrupt stereotype inferences that an attractive woman lacks masculinity should result in greater perceived fit between the woman and the job. Gender stereotypes are easily and automatically activated, but people are able to reduce the effect of stereotypes on decision making under some circumstances (Banaji & Hardin, 1996; Banaji, Hardin, & Rothman, 1993; Blair & Banaji, 1996; Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink, & Elliot, 1991; Kunda & Sinclair, 1999). Acknowledging one's appearance and sex can interrupt automatic stereotype inferences because it gives the female applicant a chance to point out that she does have the ability to do the job and allows the perceiver to make a more substantive evaluation of the job candidate (Kunda & Thagard, 1996). This is consistent with Heilman's (2001) suggestion that women are perceived to have the masculine traits necessary to succeed in a masculine sex-typed job if they have successfully performed the job requirements in the past.

However, when women are successful in a masculine sex-typed industry, they may be perceived negatively due to the belief that they possess countercommunal traits (Eagly, 1987; Heilman, 2001). Heilman and colleagues have shown that gender role violations related to the workplace do not simply result in the perception that a woman is somewhat low in warmth or sensitivity, but actually give rise to the inference that she is truly hostile and uncivil (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Heilman et al., 2004). Women who violate their gender roles in the workplace "are characterized as the antithesis of the female nurturer—as the quintessential 'bitch' who is concerned not at all about others but only about herself" (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007, p. 82).

Other studies have shown that successful female managers are perceived as abrasive, untrustworthy, selfish, pushy, bitter, quarrelsome, deceitful, and devious (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Heilman et al., 1989; Heilman et al., 1995; Heilman et al., 2004). Heilman et al. (2004) characterize these traits as countercommunal. Countercommunal traits have a moderate, negative relationship with communal/feminine traits ($r = -.37$) and a weak, positive relationship with agentic/masculine traits ($r = .12$), suggesting that countercommunal is not a component of agentic or communal but represents its own distinct construct (Helmreich, Spence, & Wilhelm, 1981).

Acknowledgment may reduce stereotype inferences of countercommunal traits by providing information that the woman is aware of her gender role. When woman recognize their female gender role, it reduces inferences related to counter-communion (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Rudman & Glick, 2001). Ultimately, female applicants must convey that they possess the traditional

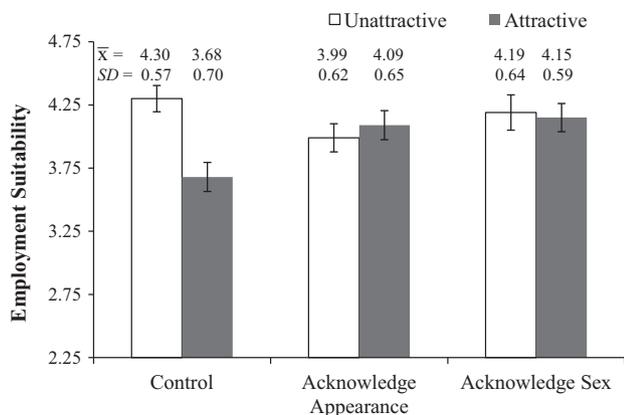


Fig. 1. Effects of acknowledging appearance and sex on ratings of employment suitability for attractive and unattractive female job applicants.

masculine traits necessary to perform the job duties. Further, they must avoid coming across as hostile, arrogant, and cynical (i.e., countercommunal) because competent women also risk being labeled an *ice queen*, *battle axe*, or other disparaging terms that can be used to derogate successful women (Heilman, 2001). Acknowledgment may serve a dual role: interrupting inferences about lacking masculine traits while maintaining that the female applicant does not possess countercommunal traits, despite the fact that she has been successful in a traditionally male industry.

Hypothesis 1. Acknowledging one's physical appearance and sex will result in more favorable employment suitability ratings for a physically attractive female job applicant, relative to the no acknowledgement control condition.

Hypothesis 2. Acknowledging one's physical appearance and sex will result in higher ratings of masculine traits and lower ratings of countercommunal traits for a physically attractive female job applicant, relative to the no acknowledgement control condition.

Hypothesis 3. Inferences of masculine and countercommunal traits will fully mediate the relationship between acknowledgment and employment suitability ratings.

Method

Participants

Participants were 81 undergraduate business students from a human subject pool. The sample was primarily white ($N = 64$) but there were also eight Asians, one African American, three Hispanics, and five participants from other races. There were 34 men and 47 women and the mean age was 21.41 years ($SD = 3.78$).

Procedure

We followed the same procedure as Study 1 with four main differences. First, to maximize the strength of the manipulation, the applicant acknowledged both her appearance and sex (i.e., *I know that I don't look like your typical construction worker and there are not a lot of women in this industry...*). Second, we were interested in the mediating process by which acknowledgement increases ratings of employment suitability, rather than establishing the beauty is beastly effect. Thus, all participants rated an attractive job applicant. Third, we used a picture of a different attractive female applicant than was used in Study 1 to increase the generalizability of the findings. Fourth, no fill candidates were used and participants were told that they would evaluate one finalist for a job in construction. This decision was made to ensure that we did not distract and confuse participants by having them examine several applicants before rating the mediating processes underlying the acknowledgment effect. Thus, Study 2 contained one experimental manipulation with two levels (acknowledgment and control conditions) and measured two mediating variables (masculine and countercommunal traits).

Measures

Masculine traits

Consistent with Martin (1987), masculine traits were assessed with a 10-items scale that contains a combination of items from the Bem Sex-Role inventory (Bem, 1981) and the Extended Personality Attributes Scale (Spence, Helmreich, & Holahan, 1979). The scale items are *leadership abilities*, *assertive*, *strong personality*, *aggressive*, *forceful*, *willing to take a stand*, *takes risks*, *defends beliefs*, *independent*, and *dominant*. Participants rated the extent to which

these characteristics described the job applicant on a nine-point Likert scale ranging from *Not at All Characteristic* to *Extremely Characteristic* (Cronbach's $\alpha = .83$).

Countercommunal traits

Eight items from Spence et al. (1979) were used to assess countercommunal traits: *hostile*, *arrogant*, *boastful*, *greedy*, *dictatorial*, *looks out only for self*, *egotistical*, and *cynical*. Participants rated the extent to which these characteristics described the job applicant on a nine-point Likert scale ranging from *Not at All Characteristic* to *Extremely Characteristic* (Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$).

Employment suitability

The same items from Study 1 were used to assess employment suitability. The scale's internal consistency was the same as Study 1 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$).

Results

Manipulation checks

Participants completed three manipulation check items as a final step before finishing the experiment, and the items were rated on a five-point Likert-scale ranging from *Strongly Disagree* to *Strongly Agree*. The first question asked if they agreed that the applicant was good looking. Participants reported that the applicant was good looking ($M = 4.03$, $SD = .79$), and ratings of attractiveness did not significantly differ across experimental conditions. We also included two items that asked whether the applicant mentioned her sex and appearance. Participants in the acknowledgment condition provided significantly higher ratings than participants in the control condition, indicating that the job applicant acknowledged her sex ($M = 4.46$, $SD = 1.23$; $M = 1.43$, $SD = .90$, respectively, $F(1,79) = 160.56$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .67$) and appearance ($M = 4.54$, $SD = 1.23$; $M = 1.45$, $SD = .90$, respectively, $F(1,79) = 181.21$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .70$).

Hypothesis tests

Means, standard deviations, and correlations are presented in Table 1. We used regression analysis to test the three hypotheses. To test Hypothesis 1 (i.e., acknowledgment increases ratings of employment suitability), we regressed employment suitability on a dummy coded variable comparing the acknowledgment (coded 1) and control (coded 0) conditions. The intervention had a significant effect on ratings of employment suitability ($\beta = .29$, $t(79) = 2.68$, $p < .05$, $R^2 = .08$). The mean for employment suitability was 3.76 ($SD = 0.90$) in the control condition and 4.24 ($SD = 0.69$) in the acknowledgement condition.

Next, we tested Hypothesis 2—acknowledging one's physical appearance and sex will result in higher ratings of masculine traits and lower ratings of countercommunal traits for a physically attractive female job applicant, relative to the control condition. Acknowledgment resulted in significantly higher masculinity ratings ($\beta = .23$, $t(79) = 2.07$, $p < .05$, $R^2 = .05$). The mean was 5.38 ($SD = 1.23$) in the control condition and 5.94 ($SD = 1.20$) in the acknowledge condition. In addition, acknowledgment resulted in significantly lower countercommunal ratings ($\beta = -.23$, $t(79) = 2.09$, $p < .05$, $R^2 = .05$). The mean was 2.45 ($SD = 1.30$) in the control condition and 1.94 ($SD = .85$) in the acknowledge condition.¹

¹ We also examined whether the sex of the rater moderated the effects of the acknowledgement intervention on ratings of masculine traits, countercommunal traits, and employment suitability. None of the interactions were significant, suggesting that the acknowledgement manipulation is equally effective for male and female interviewers.

Table 1
Means, standard deviations and correlations from Study 2.

	M	SD	1	2	3
1. Condition: 0 = Control, 1 = Acknowledge	.51	.50			
2. Masculine Traits	5.67	1.24	.23*		
3. Countercommunal Traits	2.19	1.12	-.23*	-.13	
4. Ratings of Employment Suitability	4.00	0.83	.29*	.61*	-.34*

Note. $N = 81$. Masculine and countercommunal traits were assessed on a nine-point scale, whereas employment suitability was assessed on a five-point scale.

* $p < .05$.

Hypothesis 3 suggests that inferences of masculine and countercommunal traits fully mediate the relationship between acknowledgment and ratings of employment suitability. A single model with both mediators was analyzed using the SPSS macro created by Hayes (2008) to construct bias-corrected confidence intervals (CIs). Bootstrapped CIs avoid power problems introduced by asymmetric and other non-normal sampling distributions (MacKinnon, Lockwood, & Williams, 2004). There was a significant indirect effect of acknowledgment on ratings of employment suitability through both masculine traits ($M = .21$, $SE = .11$, 95% CI = .003, .45) and countercommunal traits ($M = .09$, $SE = .06$, 95% CI = .004, .28). Further, the direct effect of acknowledgment on employment suitability was not significant with the mediators in the model ($M = .17$, $SE = .15$, 95% CI = $-.11$, .46). Thus, the results support **Hypothesis 3** and full mediation.

Study 3

We have demonstrated that acknowledging one's physical appearance or sex reduces the beauty effect and the intervention works because raters assume that the female applicant possesses masculine traits while not inferring that she possesses countercommunal traits. The next question we want to address is whether this intervention interacts with sexist beliefs. Thus, Study 3 examines whether the intervention alters the effect of hostile and benevolent sexism on ratings of employment suitability and enhances the external validity of the effect by having construction workers rate the attractive female applicant.

Despite the extensive literature on sex discrimination, relatively few studies have shown that overtly held sexist beliefs influence applicant evaluations (Salvaggio, Streich, & Hopper, 2009). There is some support for the idea that sexist individuals discriminate against women applying for masculine sex-typed jobs (King & King, 1983), but these findings have not been extended to the beauty is beastly effect. Glick and Fiske (1996), Glick and Fiske (2001) suggest that sexist beliefs can take both negative and positive forms, labeled hostile and benevolent sexism, respectively.

Hostile sexism relates to resentful attitudes toward women, such as seeing women as competitive, manipulative, devious, and threatening to men (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick & Fiske, 2001). Hostile sexism evokes particularly negative reactions when women violate their gender role, such as when women pursue careers outside the home (Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Thus, men high in hostile sexism may react negatively when attractive women apply for masculine sex-typed jobs. However, acknowledging that one's appearance is atypical for a given job may moderate the effect of hostile sexism on ratings of employment suitability because it reduces inferences that women are violating their gender role (Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979; Heilman & Stoepeck, 1985). This is consistent with Study 2's results indicating that acknowledgment reduced perceptions that the attractive female applicant possessed countercommunal traits.

Benevolent sexism relates to men's beliefs that women ought to be protected and supported but are weak and best suited for

conventional gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick & Fiske, 2001). The duality of wanting to support women while also trying to protect them may lead to null effects of benevolent sexism on evaluations of women in employment situations (Masser & Abrams, 2004; Salvaggio et al., 2009). The support component should result in positive evaluations of women, but the desire to protect woman from the challenges of a masculine sex-typed job might temper those positive feelings. Consistent with this idea, King et al. (2012) found that benevolent sexism negatively affected men's assignment of challenging job experiences to women because men attempt to "protect" women from the difficulties, struggles, and frustrations of challenging work.

For benevolent sexists, the stereotype that is activated upon seeing an attractive woman is that she needs support and protection by men because she lacks the masculine qualities needed to do the job. Acknowledgment may reduce paternalistic beliefs about wanting to take care of and nurture women by suggesting that the woman possesses the masculine traits necessary to do the job (Fiske, 1998; Fiske, Glick, Cuddy, & Xu, 1999; Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999; Glick & Fiske, 2001). If women acknowledge their sex, they may cue the evaluator that they do not need protection and, thus, the positive aspects of benevolent sexism may lead to more favorable evaluations of female applicants (Glick & Fiske, 1997). Therefore, we predict that benevolent sexism will not affect the evaluation of an attractive female applicant in the control condition. However, benevolent sexism will have a positive effect on ratings of employment suitability when a female applicant acknowledges her sex and appearance.

Hypothesis 1. Acknowledging one's physical appearance and sex will result in more favorable employment suitability ratings for a physically attractive female job applicant, relative to the no acknowledgement control condition.

Hypothesis 2. Acknowledging one's physical appearance and sex will interact with hostile sexism when predicting employment suitability ratings. Relative to the no acknowledgement control condition, acknowledgement will result in a less negative relationship between hostile sexism and employment suitability ratings.

Hypothesis 3. Acknowledging one's physical appearance and sex will interact with benevolent sexism when predicting employment suitability ratings. Relative to the no acknowledgement control condition, acknowledgement will result in a more positive relationship between benevolent sexism and employment suitability ratings.

Method

Participants

Participants were 94 construction workers who were recruited from a construction union hall to participate in a study on hiring in the construction industry. All participants were male (which reflects the nature of the industry) and most were white ($N = 60$). There were also six African American, one Asian, and four Hispanic participants, and 25 participants failed to indicate their race. The mean age was 30.05 years ($SD = 7.40$).

Procedure

The same general procedure as Study 2 was employed except for one key difference: a trained actress was employed to create a video of a job interview to maximize the realism of the materials. The actress followed the same script used in Study 2, and the applicant acknowledged both her appearance and sex (i.e., *I know that I*

don't look like your typical construction worker and there are not a lot of women in this industry...). Thus, Study 3 contains one experimental manipulation with two levels (acknowledgement and control conditions) as well as two individual differences that may interact with the manipulation (hostile and benevolent sexism).

Participants gathered in groups and each group was randomly assigned to watch either the control or acknowledgement video. The videos were identical except that phrases acknowledging sex and physical appearance were included in the acknowledgement video. The camera remained focused on the job applicant throughout the interview and the candidate was dressed professionally in a business suit. The interviewer was male, and although his voice is heard asking the interview questions, he never appeared in person in the video.

After watching the video, participants rated the applicant on employment suitability using the same scale as Studies 1 and 2 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .76$). They also rated the applicant on physical attractiveness using a single item (*The applicant was good looking*). The average rating was 3.20 ($SD = 0.72$). This rating is similar to the attractive female candidate in Study 1; the average rating of the attractive female in Study 1 was 3.28 ($SD = 1.09$; Johnson et al., 2010).

Participants also completed eight items from the ambivalent sexism inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) before watching the job interview. Four items were used to measure benevolent sexism (e.g., *Women ought to be rescued first in emergencies*; Cronbach's $\alpha = .76$). Hostile sexism is comprised of only one factor so the four items with the highest factor loadings were chosen for this study (Glick & Fiske, 1996). These items are, *Women exaggerate the problems they have at work*, *Women are too easily offended*, *Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist*, and *Women seek special favors under the guise of equality* (Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$). Ratings were made on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*).

Results

Means, standard deviations, and correlations are presented in Table 2. To replicate our previous results, we began by testing Hypothesis 1—acknowledgement will result in more favorable employment suitability ratings of an attractive woman applying for a masculine sex-typed job, relative to the no acknowledgement control condition. We ran a multiple regression analysis with condition (acknowledgement coded 1 and control coded 0), hostile sexism, and benevolent sexism predicting employment suitability. There was a significant effect of acknowledgement on employment suitability ratings ($\beta = .24, t(90) = 2.35, p < .05$). Participants rated the applicant as more suitable for employment in the acknowledgement condition ($M = 3.58, SD = 0.62$) than in the control condition ($M = 3.27, SD = 0.67$), supporting Hypothesis 1. Also, consistent with expectations, hostile sexism was negatively related to employment suitability ratings ($\beta = -.26, t(90) = -2.53, p < .05$), whereas benevolent sexism was not significantly related to employment suitability ratings ($\beta = .18, t(90) = 1.85, p > .05$).

Table 2
Means, standard deviations and correlations from Study 3.

	M	SD	1	2	3
1. Condition: 0 = Control, 1 = Acknowledge	.50	.50			
2. Benevolent Sexism	3.32	1.16	-.10		
3. Hostile Sexism	2.84	1.24	.22*	-.08	
4. Employment Suitability	3.43	.65	.16	.18	-.22*

Note. $N = 94$.
* $p < .05$.

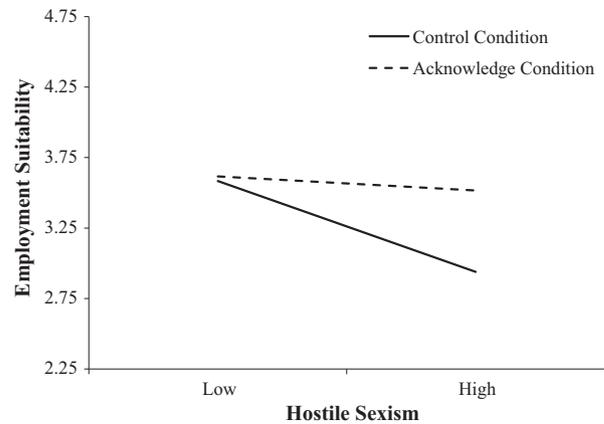


Fig. 2. Effect of acknowledging appearance and sex on the relationship between hostile sexism and employment suitability.

Hypothesis 2 predicts that acknowledgment will interact with the effect of hostile sexism on employment suitability ratings, such that acknowledgement will decrease the negative relationship between hostile sexism and employment suitability ratings, relative to the control condition. We ran a multiple regression analysis with hostile sexism ($\beta = -.49, t(93) = -3.28, p < .05$), experimental conditions ($\beta = -.24, t(93) = -.97, p > .05$), and their interaction ($\beta = .60, t(93) = 2.02, p < .05$) as predictors of employment suitability. In the control condition, there was a negative effect of hostile sexism on employment suitability ratings ($r(47) = -.44, p < .05$), but the effect was reduced in the acknowledgement condition ($r(47) = -.09, p > .05$). Fig. 2 shows employment suitability ratings by condition for individuals who were one standard deviation above and below the mean on hostile sexism and reveal that the results support Hypothesis 2.

Next we tested Hypothesis 3—acknowledgment will interact with the effect of benevolent sexism on employment suitability ratings, such that acknowledgement will increase the positive relationship between benevolent sexism and employment suitability, relative to the control condition. We ran a multiple regression analysis with benevolent sexism ($\beta = .04, t(93) = .28, p > .05$), experimental conditions ($\beta = -1.29, t(93) = .28, p > .05$), and their interaction ($\beta = .62, t(93) = 1.99, p < .05$) as predictors of employment suitability. There was not a significant relationship between benevolent sexism and employment suitability in the control condition ($r(47) = .04, p > .05$), but the relationship was significant and positive in the acknowledgement condition ($r(47) = .42, p < .05$; see Fig. 3). Thus, the results support Hypothesis 3.

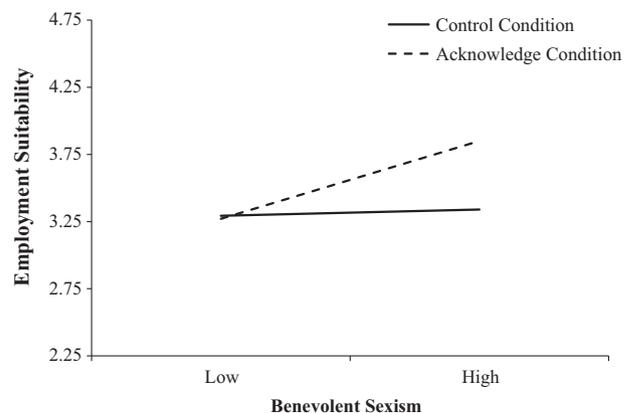


Fig. 3. Effect of acknowledging appearance and sex on the relationship between benevolent sexism and employment suitability.

General discussion

Our research demonstrates that acknowledging appearance and sex reduces the beauty is beastly effect. For over three decades, researchers have been aware that attractive women are discriminated against when applying for masculine sex-typed jobs (Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979; Heilman & Stoeckel, 1985), and the Civil Rights Act decrees that this form of discrimination is illegal. However, the current research is the first to develop and test the effect of a theory-driven intervention for mitigating the beauty is beastly effect. Thus, the current research is valuable for reducing discrimination and demonstrates that simply acknowledging one's atypical physical appearance and sex reduces employment discrimination against attractive women applying for a masculine sex-typed job.

The intervention works by increasing inferences that attractive women possess the masculine traits perceived as necessary do a masculine sex-typed job and by reducing inferences of countercommunity elicited by the social role violation (Eagly, 1987; Heilman, 1983). Specifically, when an attractive female applicant acknowledged her appearance, she was perceived as higher in masculine traits than when she did not acknowledge her appearance, suggesting that she has the characteristics necessary to succeed in the construction industry. Furthermore, she was rated as lower in countercommunal traits than when she did not acknowledge her appearance, suggesting that she is low in the antagonistic traits that could interfere with interpersonal relationships with colleagues. Ultimately, viewing the applicant as possessing masculine traits while lacking countercommunal traits improved ratings of employment suitability.

In addition, the acknowledgement intervention reduced discrimination against attractive women among raters high in hostile sexism. Relatively few studies have demonstrated that overtly held sexist beliefs influence applicant evaluations (Salvaggio et al., 2009). Thus, our findings not only add to the literature on the beauty is beastly effect, but also add to research on sexism by demonstrating how hostile sexism impacts evaluations of attractive women applying for traditionally masculine jobs.

The findings related to benevolent sexism are particularly interesting given that most previous research has failed to find an effect of benevolent sexism on ratings of women (e.g., King et al., 2012). In the control condition, we found no effect for benevolent sexism on the evaluation of an attractive female job applicant. That is not to say, however, that benevolent sexism does not influence perceptions of women because benevolent sexism enhanced the evaluation of an attractive female applicant in the acknowledgment condition. The duality of wanting to support women while trying to protect them may lead to null effects of benevolent sexism on evaluations of women in employment situations (Masser & Abrams, 2004; Salvaggio et al., 2009). Yet, acknowledging that one's appearance is atypical for the job at hand may signal that the applicant is confident and capable (Hebl, Tickle, & Heatherton, 2000). Thus, benevolent sexists may decide that protection is unnecessary and may instead show their support by providing more a favorable evaluation of an attractive female applicant.

Practical implications

There are clear practical implications for this research. Foremost, these findings can be used to reduce sex discrimination against physically attractive women. The intervention is straightforward to implement, making it possible to easily coach attractive women who are applying for masculine sex-typed jobs. However, acknowledgment should be used with caution because people

often have unrealistic views of their physical attractiveness (Feingold, 1992). In Study 1, we found an unattractive applicant was rated significantly worse when she acknowledged her appearance so acknowledgment could result in negative repercussions if one is not as physically attractive as she believes. Therefore, individuals should possess accurate self-perceptions before using acknowledgment to reduce the negative effect of stigmas.

It is also possible that this intervention could be used to reduce negative evaluations of individuals with other stigmas. For example, Hebl and Kleck (2002) found that acknowledgment was beneficial for individuals in a wheelchair. However, there is also evidence that acknowledgment can be detrimental, so acknowledgment should be tested with different groups and in different contexts before being widely used to reduce discrimination. Hebl and Kleck (2002) found that acknowledging obesity resulted in lower ratings in an employment context, and Hagiwara, Wessel, and Ryan (2012) found that acknowledging race resulted in more negative evaluations of Barack Obama in the 2008 election among highly prejudiced individuals. Further, Hagiwara et al.'s (2012) study found no benefit of acknowledging sex for Sarah Palin in the 2008 election.

Study limitations

Like any study, there are some limitations to this research. Foremost, we used fake applicants to study the attractiveness bias. Although there is concern over the artificiality of such manipulations, meta-analytic evidence suggests that attractiveness effects are similar in face-to-face encounters (Hosoda et al., 2003; Langlois et al., 2000). Despite this fact, it would be useful to study the effects of acknowledging appearance on stereotypes in actual interviews to ensure that effects persist even in high-stakes situations and to better understand the dynamic effects of acknowledgement in two-way interactions. Acknowledgement may inform interviewers that it is fine to talk about a stigma (Belgrave & Mills, 1981; Hastorf, Wildfogel, & Cassman, 1979), even though interviewers may be afraid to do so because sex is protected under the Civil Rights Act. This could give interviewers the opportunity to allay any concerns that they have about stigmatized applicants' ability to do the job.

Another limitation is Studies 1 and 3 did not contain a manipulation check to confirm that participants were consciously aware that the female applicant acknowledged her atypical appearance. Yet, Study 2 did contain a manipulation check and the acknowledgement results were similar to the other studies, lending credence to the theoretical rationale underlying the hypothesized effects. Also, only Study 1 required participants to rate male job applicants who were not part of the experimental manipulation. The lack of filler applicants in subsequent studies may have increase participants' awareness of the purpose of the study, producing a demand characteristic. Finally, in Study 3 we measured sexist beliefs before participants viewed the interview. It is possible that completing this inventory created a demand characteristic or primed raters to be more sexist.

Conclusion

In conclusion, stereotypes continue to impact evaluations of women in the workplace. The beauty is beastly effect represents a subtle form of sex discrimination whereby physically attractive women are evaluated negatively when applying for masculine sex-typed jobs. Simply acknowledging that one's sex and appearance is atypical for a masculine sex-typed job proved sufficient for reducing the beauty is beastly effect. The intervention works by clarifying that the applicant possesses the traditionally

masculine traits that are needed to succeed in the industry while simultaneously not possessing countercommunal traits that may hamper her ability to get along with co-workers. Finally, the intervention interacted with hostile and benevolent sexism, such that directly addressing one's atypical appearance reduced the negative effect of hostile sexism on evaluations of employment suitability and increased the positive effect of benevolent sexism on evaluations of employment suitability, making it doubly effective.

References

- Banaji, M. R., & Hardin, C. D. (1996). Automatic stereotyping. *Psychological Science*, 7, 136–141.
- Banaji, M. R., Hardin, C. D., & Rothman, A. J. (1993). Implicit stereotyping in person judgment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 65, 272–281. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.65.2.272>.
- Beehr, T. A., & Gilmore, D. C. (1982). Applicant attractiveness as a perceived job-relevant variable in selection of management trainees. *Academy of Management Journal*, 25(3), 607–617. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/256084>.
- Belgrave, F. Z., & Mills, J. (1981). Effect upon desire for social interaction with a physically disabled person of mentioning the disability in different contexts. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 11(1), 44–57. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.1981.tb00821.x>.
- Bem, S. L. (1981). *The Bem Sex-Role Inventory: A professional manual*. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Blair, I. V., & Banaji, M. R. (1996). Automatic and controlled processes in stereotype priming. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70, 1142–1163. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.70.6.1142>.
- Brick, S. (2012). There are downsides to looking this pretty: Why women hate me for being this beautiful. *Daily Mail*. <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-2124246/Samantha-Brick-downsides-looking-pretty-Why-women-hate-beautiful.html>> Retrieved April 2.
- Cash, T. F., Gillen, B., & Burns, D. S. (1977). Sexism and beautyism in personnel consultant decision making. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 62(3), 301–310. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.62.3.301>.
- Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences* (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Crocker, J., Major, B., & Steele, C. (1998). Social stigma. In *The handbook of social psychology*. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.) (Vol. 2, pp. 504–553). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- DeJong, W. (1980). The stigma of obesity: The consequences of naive assumptions concerning the causes of physical deviance. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 21(1), 75–87. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2136696>.
- Devine, P. G., Monteith, M. J., Zuwerink, J. R., & Elliot, A. J. (1991). Prejudice with and without compunction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 60, 817–830. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.60.6.817>.
- Eagly, A. H. (1987). *Sex differences in social behavior: A social-role interpretation*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Eagly, A. H., Ashmore, R. D., Makhijani, M. G., & Longo, L. C. (1991). What is beautiful is good, but: A meta-analytic review of research on the physical attractiveness stereotype. *Psychological Bulletin*, 110(1), 109–128. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.110.1.109>.
- Feingold, A. (1992). Good looking people are not what we think. *Psychological Bulletin*, 111(2), 304–341. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.111.2.304>.
- Fiske, S. T. (1998). Stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (4th ed.) (Vol. 2, pp. 357–411). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Fiske, S. T., Glick, P., Cuddy, A. C., & Xu, J. (1999). *Ambivalent content of stereotypes, predicted by social structure: Status and competition predict competence and warmth*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.
- Fiske, S. T., & Taylor, S. E. (1991). *Social cognition* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Fiske, S. T., Xu, J., Cuddy, A., & Glick, P. (1999). (Dis)respecting versus (dis)liking: Status and interdependence predict ambivalent stereotypes of competence and warmth. *Journal of Social Issues*, 55(3), 473–489. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00128>.
- Gillen, B. (1981). Physical attractiveness: A determinant of two types of goodness. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 7(2), 277–281. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/014616728172015>.
- Glick, P., Diebold, J., Bailey-Werner, B., & Zhu, L. (1997). The two faces of Adam: Ambivalent sexism and polarized attitudes toward women. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23(12), 1323–1334. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/01461672972312009>.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70(3), 491–512. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.70.3.491>.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1997). Hostile and benevolent sexism: Measuring ambivalent sexist attitudes toward women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 21, 119–135. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1997.tb00104.x>.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2001). An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality. *American Psychologist*, 56, 109–118.
- Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Hagiwara, N., Wessel, J. L., & Ryan, A. M. (2012). How do people react to stigma acknowledgment? Race and gender acknowledgment in the context of the 2008 presidential election. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 42(9), 2191–2212. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2012.00936.x>.
- Hastorf, A. H., Wildfogel, J., & Cassman, T. (1979). Acknowledgement of handicap as a tactic in social interaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37(10), 1790–1797. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.37.10.1790>.
- Hayes, A. F. (2008). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach*. Guilford Press.
- Hebl, M. R., & Kleck, R. E. (2002). Acknowledging one's stigma in the interview setting: Effective strategy or liability? *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 32(2), 223–249. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2002.tb00214.x>.
- Hebl, M. R., & Skorinko, J. L. (2005). Acknowledging one's physical disability in the interview: Does "when" make a difference? *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 35(12), 2477–2492. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2005.tb02111.x>.
- Hebl, M. R., Tickle, J., & Heatherton, T. F. (2000). Awkward moments in interactions between nonstigmatized and stigmatized individuals. In T. F. Heatherton, R. E. Kleck, M. R. Hebl, & J. G. Hull (Eds.), *The social psychology of stigma* (pp. 275–306). New York: Guilford Press.
- Heilman, M. E. (1983). Sex bias in work settings: The lack of fit model. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 5, 269–298.
- Heilman, M. E. (1995). Sex stereotypes and their effects in the workplace: What we know and what we don't know. *Journal of Social Behavior & Personality*, 3–26.
- Heilman, M. E. (2001). Description and prescription: How gender stereotypes prevent women's ascent up the organizational ladder. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(4), 657–674. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00234>.
- Heilman, M. E., Block, C. J., & Martell, R. (1995). Sex stereotypes: Do they influence perceptions of managers? *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, 10, 237–252.
- Heilman, M. E., Block, C., Martell, R., & Simon, M. (1989). Has anything changed?: Current characterizations of men, women, and managers. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 74, 935–942. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.74.6.935>.
- Heilman, M. E., & Okimoto, T. G. (2007). Why are women penalized for success at male tasks?: The implied communality deficit. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92(1), 81–92. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.92.1.81>.
- Heilman, M. E., & Saruwatari, L. R. (1979). When beauty is beastly: The effects of appearance and sex on evaluations of job applicants for managerial and nonmanagerial jobs. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 23(3), 360–372. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0030-5073\(79\)90003-5](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0030-5073(79)90003-5).
- Heilman, M. E., & Stopeck, M. H. (1985). Being attractive, advantage or disadvantage? Performance-based evaluations and recommended personnel actions as a function of appearance, sex, and job type. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 35(2), 202–215. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0749-5978\(85\)90035-4](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0749-5978(85)90035-4).
- Heilman, M. E., Wallen, A. S., Fuchs, D., & Tamkins, M. M. (2004). Penalties for success: Reactions to women who succeed at male gender-typed tasks. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 89(3), 416–427. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.89.3.416>.
- Helmreich, R. L., Spence, J. T., & Wilhelm, J. A. (1981). A psychometric analysis of the Personal Attributes Questionnaire. *Sex Roles*, 7, 1097–1108.
- Hosoda, M., Stone-Romero, E. F., & Coats, G. (2003). The effects of physical attractiveness on job-related outcomes: A meta-analysis of experimental studies. *Personnel Psychology*, 56(2), 431–462. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.2003.tb00157.x>.
- Jackson, L. A. (1983). The influence of sex, physical attractiveness, sex role, and occupational sex-linkage on perceptions of occupational suitability. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 13(1), 31–44. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.1983.tb00885.x>.
- Johnson, S. K., Podratz, K. E., Dipboye, R. E., & Gibbons, E. (2010). Physical attractiveness biases in ratings of employment suitability: Tracking down the "beauty is beastly" effect. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 150(3), 301–318. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00224540903365414>.
- King, D. W., & King, L. A. (1983). Sex-role egalitarianism as a moderator variable in decision-making: Two validity studies. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 43, 1199–1210. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/001316448304300430>.
- King, E. B., Botsford, W., Hebl, M. R., Kazama, S., Dawson, J. F., & Perkins, A. (2012). Benevolent sexism at work: Gender differences in the distribution of challenging developmental experiences. *Journal of Management*, 38(6), 1835–1866. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0149206310365902>.
- Kunda, Z., & Sinclair, L. (1999). Motivated reasoning with stereotypes: Activation, application, and inhibition. *Psychological Inquiry*, 10, 12–22. http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15327965pli1001_2.
- Kunda, Z., & Thagard, P. (1996). Forming impressions from stereotypes, traits, and behaviors: A parallel-constraint-satisfaction theory. *Psychological Review*, 103(2), 284–308. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.103.2.284>.
- Langlois, J. H., Kalakanis, L., Rubenstein, A. J., Larson, A., Hallam, M., & Smoot, M. (2000). Maxims or myths of beauty? A meta-analytic and theoretical review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 126(3), 390–423. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.126.3.390>.
- MacKinnon, D. P., Lockwood, C. M., & Williams, J. (2004). Confidence limits for the indirect effect: Distribution of the product and resampling methods. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 39, 99–128. http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15327906mbr3901_4.

- Martin, C. L. (1987). A ratio measure of sex stereotyping. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 52(3), 489–499. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.52.3.489>.
- Masser, B. M., & Abrams, D. (2004). Reinforcing the glass ceiling: The consequences of hostile sexism for female managerial candidates. *Sex Roles*, 51(9–10), 609–615. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-004-5470-8>.
- Rudman, L. A., & Glick, P. (2001). Prescriptive gender stereotypes and backlash toward agentic women. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(4), 743–762. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00239>.
- Salvaggio, A. N., Streich, M., & Hopper, J. E. (2009). Ambivalent sexism and applicant evaluations: Effects on ambiguous applicants. *Sex roles*, 61(9–10), 621–633. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9640-6>.
- Singletary, S. L., & Hebl, M. R. (2009). Compensatory strategies for reducing interpersonal discrimination: The effectiveness of acknowledgments, increased positivity, and individuating information. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 94(3), 797–805. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0014185>.
- Spence, J. T., Helmreich, R. L., & Holahan, C. K. (1979). Negative and positive components of psychological masculinity and femininity and their relationships to self-reports of neurotic and acting out behaviors. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37(10), 1673–1682.
- Stangor, C., Lynch, L., Duan, C., & Glass, B. (1992). Categorization of individuals on the basis of multiple social features. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 62(2), 207–218. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.62.2.207>.