Running head: SEXISM AND ATTITUDES TOWARD GENDER-NEUTRAL

LANGUAGE

Sexism and Attitudes toward Gender-Neutral Language:

The Case of English, French and German

Oriane Sarrasin,[1] Ute Gabriel[2] & Pascal Gygax[3]

PREPRINT

[1] Department of Psychology, University of Fribourg & Research Centre Methodology, Inequalities and Social Change, University of Lausanne, Switzerland

[2] Department of Psychology, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway

[3] Department of Psychology, University of Fribourg, Switzerland

Abstract

We examined the relationships between three forms of sexism (Modern, Benevolent and Hostile) and two components of attitudes toward gender-neutral language (attitudes toward gender-related language reforms and recognition of sexist language) across different contexts. A questionnaire study ($N = 446$) was conducted among students in the United Kingdom and in two regions (French- and German-speaking) of Switzerland. While we generally hypothesized all forms of sexism to be related to negative attitudes toward gender-neutral language, attitudes were expected to be more positive and less related to sexist beliefs in a context where gender-neutral language is firmly established (the UK), compared to contexts where the use of such language is only recent (the German-speaking part of Switzerland) or still scarce (the French-speaking part of Switzerland). We found that across all contexts modern and hostile sexist beliefs were indeed related to negative attitudes toward gender-related language reforms while, intriguingly, benevolent sexist beliefs were related to positive attitudes in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. Recognition of sexist language was significantly related to Modern Sexism only. Finally, British students were found to express more positive attitudes toward gender-neutral language (both components) than Swiss students.

189 words

Keywords: gender-neutral language; Modern Sexism; Ambivalent Sexism; languages

Sexism and Attitudes toward Gender-Neutral Language:

The Case of English, French, and German

Since the 1970s, the notion of *gendered language as being sexist* has been highly debated (e.g., Markowitz, 1984; Mucchi-Faina, 2005) and alternatives, grouped in this article under the concept of *gender-neutral* language, have been suggested. Mostly conducted on U.S. student samples, the extensive research on the topic has shown that negative attitudes toward gender-neutral language are related to a strong endorsement of negative forms (i.e., antagonist attitude) of sexism. In contrast, subjectively positive (i.e., benevolent) forms of sexism have not yet been studied, and little is known about the relation between sexism and attitudes toward gender-neutral language in a multi-language context such as Switzerland, let alone outside the U.S. context.

The present study aimed primarily at extending previous research on the relationship between sexism and the attitudes toward gender-neutral language by investigating the relationship not only between negative, but also between subjectively positive forms of sexism and attitudes toward gender-neutral language across three contexts (United Kingdom, French- and German-speaking parts of Switzerland). The secondary aim of the study was to explore the extent to which linguistic and political context played a role in the formation of attitudes toward gender-neutral language and their relation to sexist beliefs. The ideas we tested were: (1) whether people who lived in a context where gender-neutral language had consistently been implemented for a long time (the United Kingdom) held more positive attitudes toward such language use; and (2) whether these attitudes were less strongly associated with sexist attitudes compared to people who lived in a context

where gender-neutral language had been implemented only for a short time (the German-speaking part of Switzerland) or where it was still under debate (the French-speaking part of Switzerland).

Gender-Neutral Language

Sexist language, or hereafter *unnecessarily gendered language*, has been defined as "words, phrases, and expressions that unnecessarily differentiate between females and males or exclude, trivialize, or diminish either gender" (Parks & Roberton, 1998a, p. 455). In most cases discriminating against women, examples of unnecessarily gendered language include: non-parallel structures (e.g., "man and wife"), lexical asymmetries (e.g., "governor" and "governess") and generic use of masculine forms (e.g., "he" or "man"). The claims of feminist linguists that language is fundamental to gender inequality (e.g., Lakoff, 1975) have been supported by empirical data showing, for example, that when reading masculine forms intended as generic, readers tend to associate them predominantly with men (e.g., Gastil, 1990; Gygax, Gabriel, Sarrasin, Oakhill, & Garnham, 2008; Hamilton, 1988). Alternatives aimed to minimize assumptions regarding the gender of human referents have therefore been suggested since the 70s, such as *firefighter* instead of *fireman*; *they* or *s/he* instead of the generic *he*. Although language use has somewhat changed over time, gender-neutral language is not yet generally accepted and its use is far from being the norm (e.g., Mucchi-Faina, 2005). Resistance to the use of gender-neutral alternatives can take the form of refusal to change the language, but also of denial that women can be discriminated against through language. Ongoing arguments against gender-neutral language include its perceived inelegancy, cumbersomeness and long-windedness, its difficulty to read and comprehend, as well as its ineffectiveness. In

contrast, advocates of the use of gender-neutral language regard these arguments as spurious and consider resistance to changing such language an expression of sexism.

Research in English mainly conducted on U.S. student samples seems to support this view. The use of unnecessarily gendered language has been found to be related to open ("old-fashioned") sexism, as measured by the Attitudes toward Women Scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1972: Cronin & Jreisat, 1995; Jacobson & Insko, 1985; Matheson & Kristiansen, 1987) as well as to subtler ("modern") forms of sexism, as measured by the Modern Sexism Scale (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995: Cralley & Rusher, 2005; Swim, Mallett, & Stangor, 2004). Similarly, Parks and Roberton (2004) found a higher endorsement of sexist beliefs to be related to negative attitudes toward gender-neutral language. In the same vein, Swim et al. (2004) found that modern sexist beliefs were related to a lower detection of unnecessarily gendered language. Two further factors were shown to play a role in students' attitudes toward gender-neutral language. First, female students reported more positive attitudes toward gender-neutral language (Parks & Roberton, 2004), and used it more frequently than male students (e.g., Jacobson & Insko, 1985; Matheson & Kristiansen, 1987; see, however, Swim et al., 2004). Second, older students were shown to hold more positive attitudes than younger students (e.g., Cronin & Jeisrat, 1995; Rubin & Greene, 1991; for a detailed discussion of age differences in attitudes toward gender-neutral language, see Parks & Roberton, 1998b, 2008).

While controlling for gender and age, the present study extends previous studies conducted on English-speaking U.S. student samples by examining the existence and stability of the relation between sexism and attitudes toward gender-neutral language across three different student groups who speak different languages,

and whose countries and universities differ in gender-neutral language policies. If opposition to gender-neutral language is a universal expression of sexist beliefs, the relationship that has been documented for U.S. students should hold across languages and language policies. Moreover, research has so far only focused on forms of sexism characterized by antipathetic ("negative") attitudes towards women. We broadened this focus by taking into account a subjectively positive – but nevertheless detrimental for women – form of sexism, namely, Benevolent Sexism.

Modern, Hostile and Benevolent Sexism

Traditionally, sexism has been defined as open antipathy toward women (Glick & Fiske, 1997). However, over recent decades, sexism has become less overt due to strong normative pressures not to express blatant prejudicial remarks (McConahay, 1986). Although this new form of sexism – *Modern Sexism* (Swim et al., 1995) – resembles the traditional form (e.g., *Old-Fashioned Sexism*) as it is characterized by endorsement of traditional gender roles, it is expressed in a subtler way – for instance, by denying current discrimination of women. Examples of modern sexist beliefs are: *People in our society treat husbands and wives equally* or *the government and news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual experiences* (examples from the Modern Sexism Scale, Swim et al., 1995).

Open or subtle sexist beliefs are not expressed through antagonist ("negative") attitudes only. Indeed, attitudes toward women have also been shown to be generally very positive but still prejudicial (e.g., the *women-are-wonderful-effect*, Eagly & Mladinic, 1993). Glick and Fiske (1996) named these two distinct aspects of attitudes toward women *Benevolent Sexism* (i.e., the positive side) and *Hostile Sexism* (i.e., the

negative side), which together form *Ambivalent Sexism*. Whereas Hostile Sexism can be described as antipathy toward women who are challenging traditional gender roles (e.g., *Women seek to gain power by getting control over men)*, Benevolent Sexism is a subjectively positive attitude made up of chivalry and condescension (e.g., *Women should be cherished and protected by men*; examples from the Ambivalent Sexism Scale; Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Albeit of different valences and resulting in ambivalent attitudes, both hostile and benevolent beliefs are considered to be coherent because they are complementary in justifying gender inequalities (Glick & Fiske, 2001): Hostile Sexism, by hindering women's access to decision positions, and Benevolent Sexism, by depicting women as weak and needing male protection. In that sense, Benevolent Sexism helps to legitimate Hostile Sexism by allowing sexist people to see themselves as benefactors of women, provided that they embrace their conventional – subordinate – gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

Hypotheses: Sexism and attitudes toward gender-neutral language. Based on past research on attitudes toward gender-neutral language and sexism we expected the following relations:

As subtle sexist beliefs are often expressed through a denial of ongoing discrimination against women, people holding such beliefs are likely to deny that language can be sexist. Therefore, and in line with past research, we expected that the more people endorsed modern sexist beliefs, the less positive they would be towards gender-related language reforms, and the less they would recognize linguistic

expressions as discriminatory against women[1] (Hypothesis 1).

Hostile Sexism and Modern sexism are both characterized by antipathy toward women expressed in either a subtle (i.e., Modern) or an open (i.e., Hostile) way. As a consequence of the conceptual and empirical overlap between the two scales, we hypothesized that the more people endorsed hostile sexist beliefs, the less positive they would be towards gender-related language reforms and the less they would recognize linguistic expressions as discriminatory against women (Hypothesis 2).

With reference to Benevolent Sexism, the relationship is less obvious. Benevolent Sexism reflects an ostensible positive attitude towards women but still implies prescribed gender roles: Women are portrayed as weak but adorable, provided they conform to traditional gender roles (Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997). Given that gender-neutral language is associated with feminism (i.e., a context most critical to traditional gender roles) and given that the use of the masculine form, independent of its grammatical particularities, may reflect societal empowerment, we expected high levels of Benevolent Sexism to be related to negative attitudes toward gender-related language reforms, and lower recognition of language as being discriminatory against women (Hypothesis 3).

Languages and Language Policies

Up to this point, only general relations between the different forms of sexism and attitudes toward gender-neutral languages have been examined. However,

---

[1] Note that the order of presentation of the attitudes toward gender-related language reforms and recognition of language in the subsequent sections merely reflects a pragmatic concern (i.e., from *general* to *specific*). We do not take a position on the causal nature of the relationship between the two variables.

contextual characteristics are likely to affect attitudes toward gender-neutral language as well as their relations to sexist stances. For example, languages vary in the number of linguistic elements that need to be changed for establishing gender-neutral language, as well as in the nature of those changes (i.e., whether a disputable noun can simply be replaced by another noun or whether a longer construction is needed). Such linguistic differences might not only influence concerns about the stylistic elements of the language, but also the forming, implementation and success of policies related to gender-neutral language. This led us to postulate that in contexts in which few changes needed to be made to "neutralize" a language, and in which language policies had been implemented early and effectively, attitudes toward gender-neutral language would be less negative and linked less strongly to sexism than in contexts in which far-reaching changes were necessary or in which language policies had not been implemented, or both. We elaborated this very notion by comparing three samples from different contexts: one university in the United Kingdom and two universities in Switzerland (French- and German-speaking parts).

     English vs. German and French: Implementation difficulty. In *natural gender languages* such as English, there is no grammatical marking for most nouns, whereas in *grammatical gender languages*, such as French and German, a gender is assigned to every noun. While arbitrary in the case of inanimate objects, the grammatical gender assigned to animate beings does match the biological gender in most cases (for instance, in German, *der Lehrer* as masculine, and *die Lehrerin* as feminine, male and female teacher). If a group has a mixed or unknown composition, the masculine form formally prevails (see Académie Française, 2002; Duden, 2005). This *generic* use of grammatically masculine words also exists in English (e.g., "he"

and "man"), but is far less widespread than in languages with grammatical gender. As in English, these languages also contain gender-balanced alternatives. In German, a masculine noun used in a generic way (e.g., *Verkäufer*, sales assistant) can be replaced by forms including women (e.g., *Verkäuferinnen und Verkäufer*, *VerkäuferInnen*) or nouns constructed from the present participles or from adjectives (e.g., *die Verkaufenden*; Albrecht, 2000). Similar alternative solutions exist in French (e.g., *vendeuses et vendeurs*, *vendeurs/euses*). Overall, the implementation of gender-neutral language can be considered less intricate in English (gender-unmarked language) than in French and German (gender-marked languages).

United Kingdom vs. Switzerland: Time of implementation. Gender-neutral language was introduced in the English-speaking world quite early (from the 1970s), by means of specific guidelines (e.g., National Council of Teachers of English, 1975; American Psychological Association, 1977) and legal measures. In the United Kingdom, the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) specifies that job advertisements must not contain job descriptions referring to only one gender (e.g., "salesman") unless making it clear that no discrimination is intended. Gender-neutral language appeared later in Switzerland than in the United Kingdom, and differences are clearly visible across linguistic regions. The Federal Council (i.e., executive authority) has taken several measures since 1986, but differentially with regard to the four official languages (Chancellerie Fédérale Suisse, 1993; see also Moser, Sato, Chiarini, Dmitrow-Devold, & Kuhn, 2011). Whereas legal documents in German are to be written using gender-neutral language, documents in French, as well as in Italian, can be written using neutral or masculine-only forms (Rumantsch was not mentioned, probably because it is only scarcely spoken). As a consequence, Albrecht (2000)

noted that gender-neutral language was reasonably well established in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, while only scarcely in the French-speaking part (see also Béguelin & Elmiger, 1999). This might be at least partially due to the differences in political efforts to establish gender fairness in language use. In sum, gender-neutral language use was promoted earliest and strongest by the Government in the United Kingdom, later in the German-speaking part of Switzerland (i.e., in the 90s) and almost not at all in the French-speaking part of Switzerland.

United Kingdom vs. German- vs. French-speaking parts of Switzerland: Status of implementation. As our empirical research focused on university students, we assessed the status of implementation of gender-neutral language in the three universities from which we took our samples. More specifically, we checked each with regard to: (a) whether the university had clear guidelines for staff and students regarding gendered-language use, and (b) how the university presented itself on its entrance homepage. Both British and Swiss German universities provided documents and web pages explaining why language can be considered as discriminatory against women and which alternatives have to be used. Though gender-neutral language was mentioned in the Swiss French University, it was only specified that the official (i.e., cantonal) rules in terms of gender-neutral language had to be applied in administrative documents. When comparing entrance homepages, no masculine forms are visible in the British and Swiss German websites (and gender-neutral alternatives were used in German), while in French, masculine nouns (e.g., "étudiants") were still used to refer to all students. Overall, the British and Swiss German students who took part in our study could be considered as being familiar with gender-neutral language, while the same assumption could not be made in the case of the Swiss French

students.

Hypotheses: Sexism and attitudes toward gender-neutral language across contexts. Taken together, the three contexts differ in terms of linguistic features (easier implementation in English than in French and German), time of implementation (United Kingdom earlier than Switzerland) and status of implementation (most established in the United Kingdom and in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, while only scarcely present in the French-speaking part of Switzerland). Although the following hypotheses are based on these different features, we were not able to empirically disentangle difficulty, time and status of implementation effects from one another. Rather, we considered the single variable "language" to embrace all of these contextual features.

We first expected attitudes towards gender-neutral language to be most positive (most positive attitudes toward gender-related language reforms and highest recognition of language as being discriminatory against women) in British students, followed by Swiss German students and finally Swiss French students (Hypothesis 4).

We also expected the relations between sexism and attitudes toward gender-neutral language to vary across the three groups. When establishing implementation of gender-neutral language requires fewer changes, and policies for the use of such a language are already in place, sexist attitudes might be less reflected in opposition toward gender-neutral-language: people holding sexist beliefs would not oppose gender-neutral language as though it were a "lost cause", but rather turn their attention to topics that are still under debate. If, in contrast, the adoption of gender-neutral language is an ongoing discussion and would require more considerable

changes, people holding sexist beliefs are likely to be strongly opposed to gender-neutral language in the aim of hindering its implementation. Following the same reasoning, people fighting for the equal treatment of women can be expected to express highly positive attitudes toward gender-neutral language with the goal of having it adopted. Consequently, we expected attitudes towards gender-neutral language to be more strongly related to sexist beliefs in Swiss French students, followed by Swiss German students and finally British students (Hypothesis 5).

Method

Participants

Data were collected from 446 students (110 males) ranging in age from 18 to 29 years ($M = 21.45$, $SD = 2.38$). A group of 21 additional participants aged 30 or older were excluded, as they did not correspond to typical undergraduate students' age. Students came from three different universities: 150 were English speakers (United Kingdom), 157 French speakers (French-speaking part of Switzerland) and 139 German speakers (German-speaking part of Switzerland). The participants filled in the questionnaire individually in a quiet room and received course credits or a financial compensation (only in the UK, £4) for their participation.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire comprised the Modern Sexism Scale of Swim et al. (1995) and the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Benevolent and Hostile Sexism Scales; items were mixed) of Glick and Fiske (1996). To assess attitudes toward gender-neutral language, items were chosen from the Language Use Questionnaire (three items; Prentice, 1994) and from the Attitudes toward Sexist/Non-sexist Language Scale (four items; Parks & Roberton, 2000, 2001).

All items used in this study were originally written in English. When a French and German translation already existed, it was applied. When no translation was available, the scale was translated and adapted by the first author for French and by a German-speaking person for German[2]. The new items were back-translated into English by bilingual translators (with the exception of Recognition of sexist language, see below). All items had to be judged on a 6-point Likert scale, where 1 = *not at all sexist* and 6 = *absolutely sexist* for the Recognition of sexist language measure and 1 = *strongly disagree* and 6 = *strongly agree* for all other items. All items were recoded such that higher values indicated more sexist opinions, more positive attitudes toward gender-related language reforms and the assessment of more examples as sexist.

Modern Sexism Scale (MS). The Modern Sexism Scale (Swim et al., 1995) is composed of eight items investigating denial of continuing discrimination (e.g., "Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in this country") and antagonism toward women's demands (e.g., *It is easy to understand the anger of women's groups in this country*, reversed in the actual item). The scale was translated into French for the present study. The German translation by Eckes and Six-Materna (1998) was used for five items. The remaining three items were translated for this study. Cronbach's alphas were .81 for the English, .78 for the French and .75 for the German version.

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI: BS and HS). The Benevolent Sexism Scale (11 items) and the Hostile Sexism Scale (11 items) together form the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Hostile Sexism items investigate hostility toward women (e.g., *Once a woman gets a man to commit to her,*

---

[2] All new items are available upon request from the corresponding author.

she usually tries to put him on a tight leash) whereas Benevolent Sexism items concern, for instance, perceptions of women as adorable but needing protection (e.g., *Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives*). The French (Dardenne, Delacolette, Grégoire, & Lecocqu, 2006) and German (Eckes & Six-Materna, 1999) versions of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory were used. Cronbach's alphas in the current sample were for the Benevolent Sexism Scale and the Hostile Sexism Scale .82 and .82 respectively for the English, .84 and .80 for the French and .84 and .85 for the German version.

Attitudes toward gender-related language reforms (AGLR). The Language Use Questionnaire by Prentice (1994) is composed of 10 items, 5 of which are fillers to detract from the real topic of the scale. The other 5 items refer to participants' attitudes toward gender in language. We translated these items into French for the present study and used German translations by Stahlberg and Sczesny (2001). Though all 5 items were present in the questionnaire, scale analyses revealed that they were not sufficiently consistent internally across the three languages. Therefore, we selected for the analyses those 3 items that most strongly correlated. Cronbach's alphas were .67 for the English, .70 for the French and .74 for the German version.

Recognition of sexist language (RSL). The Attitudes toward Sexist/Non-sexist Language Questionnaire (Parks & Roberton, 2000, 2001) is composed of 21 items, divided into subscales according to beliefs about sexist language, recognition of sexist language and willingness to use non-sexist language. The subscale Recognition of sexist language (composed of four items) was used in the present

study. It is made up of four sentences that represent examples of disputable (i.e.,

sexist) language use: a masculine noun when referring to a mixed group, a

discriminatory proverb, "he" when referring to a person of unknown sex and a

marked male noun when referring to a woman. In the original study, respondents had

to judge the sentences from *not at all sexist* to *definitely sexist*, according to the scale.

As literal translations were not always possible, these items were adapted for French

and German. Cronbach's alphas were .68 for the English, .63 for the French and .68

for the German version.

Results

Descriptive Analyses

Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 1. Sexism means ranged

from 2.69 (HS, female Swiss German students) to 3.56 (BS, male Swiss German

students). In line with past research investigating sexist beliefs among students (e.g.,

Eckes & Six-Materna, 1998; Glick & Fiske, 1996), these results indicated undecided

to moderately non-sexist attitudes.

Means of attitudes toward gender-neutral language scores were close to or

below 3 (from 2.17 in male Swiss German students to 3.21 in female British students)

for the two measures combined. These attitudes were slightly more negative than in

past studies (e.g., Parks & Roberton, 2004). Female students held more positive

attitudes toward gender-related language reforms than male students, but this

difference was quite small ($d = 0.24$; Cohen, 1988). On the contrary, cross-linguistic

differences in recognition of sexist language were of moderate size ($d = 0.46$), with

British respondents recognizing more examples as sexist ($M = 3.01$, $SD = 1.10$) than

respondents from the two Swiss samples (combined; $M = 2.53$, $SD = 0.98$). Similar

differences were revealed in the case of the AGLR scale but were of smaller size ($d =$ 0.28; English: $M = 3.09$, $SD = 1.11$; Swiss samples: $M = 2.77$, $SD = 1.15$).

-- INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE --

Correlations are presented in Table 2. Congruent with past research (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 1997) sexism scores were in most cases correlated (with the exception of the BS – MS relation in the two Swiss samples) with coefficients as high as .48. Preliminary analyses, however, revealed that these high correlations were unlikely to result in multicollinearity issues in the further regression models (i.e., Variance Inflation Factors were all below 1.6; e.g., O'Brien, 2007). Finally, the two components of attitudes toward gender-neutral language were correlated in all languages.

-- INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE --

Regression Analyses

To test our hypotheses, robust hierarchical linear regression analyses (i.e., with robust standard errors) were conducted separately for both dependent variables, "Attitudes toward gender-related language reforms" and "Recognition of sexist language". Control variables, namely, age and students' gender, were entered in Model 1. Gender was weighted such as 1 = *female* and -3.05 = *male* because of the greater proportion of women. In Model 2, the three sexism scores were entered. Scores were centered at the grand mean to interpret interactions in Model 4 (see

Cohen, Cohen, Aiken, & West, 2003). High scores of Modern (Hypothesis 1), Hostile

(Hypothesis 2) and Benevolent Sexism (Hypothesis 3) were expected to predict

negative attitudes toward gender-related language reforms and low recognition of

sexist language. Two dummy variables were created to yield two contrasts between

linguistic groups: the first contrast (Language 1: *English = -2/3, French = 1/3,*

German = 1/3) compared the UK with Switzerland; the second contrast (Language 2:

English = 0, French = 1/2, German = -1/2) compared the two languages within

Switzerland. In Model 3, the two dummies were entered to test main effects of

context. Attitudes were expected to be most positive in British students, followed by

Swiss German and then Swiss French students. In a final model (Model 4), all

interactions between sexism and the language dummies were entered (six

interactions). The relation between sexism and attitudes toward gender-neutral

language was expected to be stronger among Swiss students (with a stronger relation

in French than in German) than among British students (Hypothesis 5).

      Attitudes toward gender-related language reforms. Results for all models

are given in Table 3. Model 1 explained 1% of the variance in Attitudes toward

gender-related language reforms ($F(2, 443) = 3.20, p = .05$). While age had no

significant impact ($b = -.02, p = .43$), female students expressed more positive

attitudes than male students ($b = .06, p = .04$; see Descriptive Analyses). Entering the

three sexism types in Model 2 significantly increased explained variance ($\Delta R^2 = .14, p$

$< .001$). Both Modern ($b = -.44, p < .001$) and Hostile Sexism ($b = -.23, p = .002$) had

a significant impact. In line with our expectations stronger modern and hostile sexist

beliefs were related to more negative attitudes toward gender-related language

reforms. Hypothesis 3 was not supported: Benevolent Sexism had no significant

impact ($b = .07, p = .28$).

The explained variance was significantly increased when language dummies were entered in Model 3 ($\Delta R^2 = .02, p = .01$). While Language 2 had no significant impact ($b = .08, p = .55$), Language 1 significantly predicted Attitudes toward gender-related language reforms ($b = -.31, p = .004$): British students held more positive attitudes than Swiss students (see Descriptive Analyses). This effect remained significant when interaction terms between sexism and language were introduced in the model (Model 4; $\Delta R^2 = .02, p = .04$). Only the interaction between Benevolent Sexism and Language 2 yielded a significant effect ($b = .41, p = .006$). As shown in Figure 1, strong endorsement of benevolent sexist beliefs were related to more positive attitudes in French ($t(431) = 2.91, p = .004$), while it had no significant effect in German ($t(431) = -1.57, p = .18$).

-- INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE --

-- INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE --

Recognition of sexist language. Results for all models are given in Table 4. The first model did not explain a significant share of the variance in Recognition of sexist language ($F(2, 443) = .54, p = .58$): both age ($b = -.02, p = .32$) and gender ($b = .00, p = .95$) had no significant effect. Explained variance increased significantly when the different types of sexism were entered in Model 2 ($\Delta R^2 = .07, p < .001; F(5, 440) = 6.17, p < .001$). Modern Sexism significantly predicted Recognition of sexist language ($b = -.32, p < .001$). In line with Hypothesis 1, higher levels of Modern Sexism were related to less Recognition of sexist language, and this result remained

stable when the language dummies and the related interactions were introduced in the

models. Contrary to Hypotheses 2 and 3, neither Benevolent Sexism ($b = .02, p = .74$)

nor Hostile sexism ($b = -.08, p = .22$) significantly predicted Recognition of sexist

language. In Model 3 ($\Delta R^2 = .05, p < .001$), Language 1 was significantly related to

Recognition of sexist language ($b = -.48, p < .001$), while this was not the case for

Language 2 ($b = -.11, p = .40$). In line with Hypothesis 4, British students recognized

more examples as sexist than Swiss students (see Descriptive Analyses). No

interaction between sexism and language had a significant impact (Model 4; $\Delta R^2 =$

$.01, p = .18$).

-- INSERT TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE --

Discussion

The present study extended previous studies on sexism and attitudes toward

gender-neutral language by taking into account not only negative forms of sexism,

but also benevolent sexist beliefs, and by doing so across different political and

linguistic settings outside the U.S. context. In line with Hypothesis 1, Modern Sexism

significantly predicted both indicators of attitudes toward gender-neutral language.

Replicating previous results mostly conducted on U.S. student samples, British and

Swiss students who endorsed modern sexist beliefs held more positive attitudes

toward gender-related language reforms and recognized fewer examples of disputable

language as sexist. This relation did not vary across contexts: no matter how long

gender-neutral language has been implemented and how much it is used, subtle sexist

beliefs seemed to find their expression in overlooking potentially sexist language use

and in opposition to language change. This result gives support to feminist claims that opposition to gender-neutral language finds its source in sexist beliefs.

A similar link between a more open form of sexism, Hostile Sexism, and negative attitudes toward gender-related language reforms was also found to hold across contexts. However, as no relation was found between Hostile Sexism and Recognition of sexist language, Hypothesis 2 was only partially supported. Most interestingly, in contrast to our expectations (Hypothesis 3), Benevolent Sexism was associated with positive attitudes toward gender-related language reforms, but only in the Swiss French sample. Thus, in contrast to results regarding Modern and Hostile Sexism, this latter result indicates that relations between sexist beliefs and attitudes toward gender-neutral language are capable of evolution. Finally, in line with Hypothesis 4, attitudes toward gender-neutral language were more positive among British students (more positive attitudes toward gender-related language reforms and higher recognition of sexist language), who seemed to be more impervious to "old-fashioned" gendered forms compared to Swiss students.

Two results deserve special attention: Hostile Sexism, in contrast to Modern Sexism, was not related to the recognition of sexist language, and Benevolent sexism was positively associated with the attitudes toward gender-related language reforms in the Swiss French sample only. In relation to the former, it seems that despite a strong conceptual and empirical overlap, what differentiates Modern Sexism from Hostile Sexism is of greater importance in the recognition of sexist language. Indeed, while both types of sexism reflect antipathy toward women, Hostile Sexism assesses beliefs that are focused on violations by women of traditional gender roles, while Modern Sexism has a subtler expression and is more focused on the denial of current

discrimination (Campbell, Schellenberg, & Senn, 1997). Denying that some grammatical forms might constitute a form of discrimination against women is probably more closely related to a general denial of current discrimination than to openly criticizing women for violating traditional gender roles, which may explain the differences in our findings.

As for the second result, in line with Hypothesis 5, Benevolent Sexism was related to attitudes toward gender-related language reforms to a greater extent among Swiss French students studying and living in a context where gender-neutral language has been only scarcely implemented. What is more surprising is that the *more* those students endorsed benevolent sexist beliefs, the *more* they held positive attitudes. While most previous research on Benevolent Sexism has revealed that endorsing benevolent sexist beliefs has negative consequences for women (for a review of examples, see Lee, Fiske, & Glick, 2010), our results are nevertheless congruent with the *Opposing Process Model of Benevolent Sexism* (Sibley & Perry, 2010). This model predicts that, for women, holding benevolent sexist beliefs may have two opposite consequences for support for gender equality. On the one hand, Benevolent Sexism can lead to lower support, via Hostile Sexism, by condemning women who do not conform to traditional gender roles. On the other hand, positive evaluations (i.e., Benevolent Sexism depicts women, in some ways, as *better* than men) lead to greater support by triggering in-group favoritism.

Based on a New Zealand electoral sample, Sibley and Perry (2010) showed that endorsement of Benevolent Sexism was directly related to positive attitudes toward gender equality policies (e.g., equality of income) for women, while no such link was found for male respondents. In our samples, composed of mostly women,

benevolent sexist beliefs might have significantly been related to more positive attitudes toward gender-related language reforms only for Swiss-French students because in-group favoritism might have been triggered only in a context where gender-neutral language had not been implemented. In the British and Swiss German universities, gender-neutral language was frequently encountered, and thus probably did not make female respondents' gender identity salient. However, this idea could not be tested, as the low proportion of male students did not allow us to perform reliable by-gender analyses. Further research is needed to study the combined effects of gender and Benevolent Sexism on attitudes toward gender-neutral language.

Limitations and Avenues for Future Research

We close by noting some limitations and avenues for further research. The first issue concerns the use of scales in different languages. For all but the Recognition of sexist language scale, the different language versions of the scales had either already been checked by other authors or had been controlled for by back-translations. However, the items of the (originally English) Recognition of sexist language scale could not be literally translated into French and German, but had to be adapted. For instance, although the word *man* can in French (i.e., *homme*) be used to refer to men in particular as well as to humans in general, this does not hold for German. Here two different words are used: *Mann* for a male person and *Mensch* to refer to humans. Thus, for each language, the items had to be modified according to the language-specific features of gender marking. Strictly speaking, each of the three versions of the Recognition of sexist language scale assesses the perceived bias *within* the specific language and not with reference to a shared criterion.

A second issue concerns the sample, which, as in previous studies on attitudes

toward gender-neutral language, consisted of students. On the one hand, this homogeneity has the advantage of facilitating comparisons not only to previous research but also, as in the present study, across languages, as any differences in the findings can hardly be attributed to differences in the composition of the samples. On the other hand, as gender-neutral language is relatively common in universities, our participants should already be acquainted with the use of gender-neutral language. One might hypothesize that results from samples with participants who witnessed the first debates on gender-neutral language would show more negative attitudes toward gender-neutral language, as change might be more difficult to accept for people who had been used to a language free of gender-neutral alternatives. By studying attitudes of such a sample, one could more precisely examine how the relations between sexist beliefs and attitudes toward gender-neutral language have evolved.

Finally, our approach does not allow for disentangling of the effects of the linguistic features – that is, the number of linguistic elements that need to be changed and the nature of the changes – from effects of ease of implementation of gender-neutral language and familiarity with such a language. To do so, future research might focus on individuals who speak the same language but live in different political contexts (e.g., German-speaking inhabitants of Switzerland, Austria and Germany).

Conclusion

In sum, our findings showed both stability and variability in the relation between sexist beliefs and attitudes toward gender-neutral language. Comparing samples drawn from different contexts revealed that British and Swiss students' attitudes toward gender-neutral language use were, at least in part, an expression of their general attitudes toward women. Indeed, regardless of the number of necessary

linguistic changes and familiarity with gender-neutral language, modern and hostile sexist beliefs predicted opposition to such a language. Moreover, if opposition to gender-neutral language exists, it is likely to decrease over time, as shown by the more positive attitudes held by the British students. Overall, these findings may be taken as indications that gender-neutral language should be implemented, even in case of opposition based on linguistic considerations.

References

Académie Française (2002). *Féminisation des noms de métiers, fonctions, grades et titres [Feminization of job tiles, posts, tanks and qualifications]*. Retrieved November 24, 2007, from http://www.academie-francaise.fr/actualites/feminisation.asp

Albrecht, U. (2000). Unserer Sprache ist verbildet durch einen Maskulinismus. Die deutsche Schweiz auf dem Weg zu einer geschlechtergerechten Sprache. [German Switzerland on the way to a gender-adequate language]. *Bulletin Suisse de Psychologie Appliquée, 72*, 11-46.

American Psychological Association (1977). Guidelines for non-sexist language in APA journal. *Publication manual change sheet 2*. Washingtion DC: American Psychological Assocation.

Béguelin, M. J., & Elmiger, D. (1999). Les consignes de «féminisation» du lexique et du discours: l'exemple de la Suisse romande [Instructions on how to « feminize » the lexicon and the discourse : the example of French-speaking Switzerland]. In M. E. Almeida & M. Maillard (Eds.), *O Feminino nas Línguas, Culturas e Literaturas* (pp. 51-84). Funchal: Centro Metagram.

Campbell, B., Schellenberg, E. G., & Senn, C. Y. (1997). Evaluating measures of contemporary sexism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21*, 89-102. doi: 10.1111/j.1471-6402.1997.tb00102.x

Chancellerie Fédérale Suisse (1993). *Formulation non sexiste: circulaire de la Chancellerie Fédérale du 19 août 1993* [Non-sexist language : form of the Federal Chancellery, on the 19th of August 1993.] Berne: Services Linguistiques Centraux.

Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences* (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Cohen, J., Cohen, P., West, S. G., & Aiken, L. S. (2003). *Applied multiple Regression/Correlation. Analysis for the Behavioural Sciences* (3rd ed.). Hillsdale NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Cralley, E. L., & Rusher, J. B. (2005). Lady, girl, female or woman: Sexism and cognitive busyness predict use of gender biased nouns. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 24*, 300-314. doi:10.1177/0261927X05278391

Cronin, C., & Jreisat, S. (1995). Effects of modeling on the use of non-sexist language among high school freshpersons and seniors. *Sex Roles, 33*, 819-830. doi:10.1007/BF01544781

Dardenne, B., Delacolette, N., Grégoire, C., & Lecocq, D. (2006). Structure latente et validation de la version française de l'Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: l'échelle de sexisme ambivalent [Latent structure of the French validation of the ambivalent sexism inventory : Échelle de sexisme ambivalent]. *L'Année Psychologique, 106*, 235-264.

Duden (2005). *Die Grammatik* (7th ed.) [The German Grammar]. Mannheim: Dudenverlag.

Eagly, A. H., & Mladinic, A. (1993). Are people prejudiced against women? Some answers from research on attitudes, gender stereotypes and judgments of competence. In W. Strobe & M. Hewston (Eds.) *European Review of Social Psychology* (Vol. 5, pp. 1-35). New York; Willey.

Eckes, T., & Six-Materna, I. (1998). Leugnung von Diskriminierung: Eine Skala zur Erfassung des modernen Sexismus [Denial of discrimination: A scale measuring

Modern Sexism]. *Zeitschrift für Sozialpsychologie, 29*, 224-238.

Eckes, T., & Six-Materna, I. (1999). Hostilität und Benevolenz: Eine Skla zur

Erfassung des ambivalenten Sexismus [Hostility and Benevolence: A scale

measuring Ambivalent Sexism]. *Zeitschrift für Sozialpsychologie, 30*, 211-228.

Gastil, J. (1990). Generic pronouns and sexist language: The oxymoronic character of

masculine generics. *Sex Roles, 23*, 629–643. doi:10.1007/BF00289252

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*, 1323–1334. doi: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*,

491-512. doi: 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. doi: 10.1111/j.1471-6402.1997.tb00104.x

Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2001). Ambivalent stereotypes as legitimizing ideologies:

differentiating paternalistic and envious prejudice. In J.T. Jost and B. Mayor

(Eds.), *The psychology of legitimacy. Emerging perspectives on ideology, justice,

and intergroup relations* (pp. 278-306). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University

Press.

Gygax, P., Gabriel, U., Sarrasin, O., Oakhill, J., & Garnham, A. (2008). There is no

generic masculine in French and German: When beauticians, musicians and

mechanics are all men. *Language and Cognitive Processes, 23*, 464-485.

doi:10.1080/01690960701702035

Hamilton, M. C. (1988). Using masculine generics: Does generic he increase male

 bias in the user's imagery? *Sex Roles, 19*, 785–798. doi:10.1007/BF00288993

Jacobson, M. B., & Insko, W. R., Jr. (1985). Use of non-sexist pronouns as a function

 of one's feminist orientation. *Sex Roles, 13*, 1-7. doi:10.1007/BF00287456

Lakoff, R. (1975). *Language and women's place*. New York: Harper & Row.

Lee, T. L., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2010). Next Gen Ambivalent Sexism:

 Converging correlates, causality in context, and converse causality, an

 introduction to the Special Issue. *Sex Roles, 62*, 395–404. doi :10.1007/s11199-

 010-9747-9

Markowitz, J. (1984). The impact of sexist-language controversy and regulation on

 language in university documents. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 8*, 331-347.

 doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.1984.tb00641

Matheson, K., & Kristiansen, C. M. (1987). The effect of sexist attitudes and social

 structure on the use of sex-biased pronouns. *Journal of Social Psychology, 127*,

 395-398.

McConahay, J. B. (1986). Modern racism, ambivalence, and the Modern Racism

 Scale. In J.F. Dovidio & D.L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and

 racism* (pp. 91-125). San Diego: Academic Press.

Mucchi-Faina, A. (2005). Visible or influential? Language reforms and gender

 (in)equality. *Social Science Information, 44*, 189-215.

 doi:10.1177/0539018405050466

Moser, F., Sato, S., Chiarini, T., Dmitrow-Devold, K., & Kuhn, E. (2011).

 *Comparative analysis of existing guidelines for gender-fair language within the

 ITN LCG Network*. Language Cognition Gender, Marie Curie Initial Training

Network.

National Council of Teachers of English (1975). *Guidelines for non-sexist use of language in NCTF publications*. Urbana IL: National Council of Teachers of English.

O'Brien, R. M. (2007). A caution regarding rules of thumb for Variance Inflation Factors. *Quality & Quantity, 41*, 673-690. doi:10.1007/s11135-006-9018-6

Parks, J. B., & Roberton, M. A. (1998a). Contemporary arguments against non-sexist language: Blaubergs (1980) revisited. *Sex Roles, 39*, 445-461. doi:10.1023/A:1018827227128

Parks, J. B., & Roberton, M. A. (1998b). Influence of age, gender, and context on attitudes toward sexist/nonsexist language: Is sport a special case? *Sex Roles*, 38, 477-494. doi: 10.1023/A:1018766023667

Parks, J. B., & Roberton, M. A. (2000). Development and validation of an instrument to measure attitudes toward sexist/non-sexist language. *Sex Roles, 42*, 415-438. doi:10.1023/A:1007002422225

Parks, J. B., & Roberton, M. A. (2001). Erratum: Inventory of Attitudes toward Sexist/Nonsexist Language-General (IASNL-G): A correction in scoring procedures. *Sex Roles, 44*, 253. doi: 10.1023/A:1017376822176

Parks, J. B., & Roberton, M. A. (2004). Attitudes toward women mediate the gender effect on attitudes toward sexist language. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 28*, 233-239. doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.2004.00140.x

Parks, J. B., & Roberton, M. A. (2008). Generation gaps in attitudes toward sexist/nonsexist language. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 27*, 276-283. doi: 10.1177/0261927X08317956

Prentice, D. A. (1994). Do language reforms change our way of thinking? *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 13*, 3-19. doi:10.1177/0261927X94131001

Rubin, D. L., & Greene, K. L. (1991). Effects of biological and psychological gender, age cohort, and interviewer gender on attitudes toward gender-inclusive/exclusive language. *Sex Roles, 24*, 391-412. doi:10.1007/BF00289330

Sex Discrimination Act (1975). London: The Stationery Office.

Sibley, C. G., & Perry, R. (2010). An opposing process model of Benevolent Sexism. *Sex Roles, 62*, 438–452. doi :10.1007/s11199-009-9705-6

Spence, J. T., & Helmreich, R. L. (1972). The Attitudes Toward Women Scale: An objective instrument to measure attitudes toward the rights and roles of women in contemporary society. *JSAS: Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology, 2*, 667-668.

Stahlberg, D., & Sczesny, S. (2001). Effekte des generischen Maskulinums und alternativer Sprachformen auf den gedanklichen Einbezug von Frauen [Effects of generic masculine and alternative forms on the inclusion of women in mental representations]. *Psychologische Rundschau, 52*, 131-140.

Swim, J. K., Aikin, K. J., Hall, W. S., & Hunter, B. A. (1995). Sexism and racism: Old fashioned and Modern prejudices. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 65*, 199-214. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.68.2.199

Swim, J. K., Mallett, R., & Stangor, C. (2004). Understanding subtle sexism: Detection and use of sexist language. *Sex Roles, 51*, 117-128. doi:10.1023/B:SERS.0000037757.73192.06

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for Modern Sexism (MS), Benevolent Sexism (BS), Hostile Sexism (HS), Attitudes toward Gender-Related

Language Reforms (AGLR) and Recognition of Sexist Language (RSL)

	MS		BS		HS		AGLR		RSL	
	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)
English	3.17	(.80)	2.98	(.85)	2.99	(.77)	3.09	(1.11)	3.01	(1.10)
Female	3.10	(.78)	2.96	(.84)	2.95	(.75)	3.21	(1.10)	2.98	(1.04)
Male	3.36	(.82)	3.01	(.90)	3.14	(.81)	2.74	(1.09)	3.11	(1.28)
French	3.07	(.82)	3.03	(.95)	3.26	(.90)	2.69	(1.14)	2.49	(.89)
Female	3.03	(.85)	2.91	(.94)	3.22	(.93)	2.70	(1.19)	2.45	(.86)
Male	3.12	(.76)	3.29	(.93)	3.34	(.84)	2.66	(1.03)	2.55	(.94)
German	3.17	(.74)	3.23	(.88)	2.73	(.81)	2.86	(1.17)	2.58	(1.07)
Female	3.17	(.75)	3.21	(.88)	2.69	(.84)	2.91	(1.19)	2.66	(1.10)
Male	3.23	(.71)	3.56	(.86)	2.94	(.62)	2.58	(1.01)	2.17	(.79)
All languages	3.13	(.79)	3.08	(.90)	3.00	(.85)	2.88	(1.15)	2.69	(1.04)
Female	3.10	(.79)	3.03	(.89)	2.94	(.86)	2.94	(1.18)	2.70	(1.03)

Table 2

Correlations Between Age, Modern Sexism (MS), Benevolent Sexism (BS), Hostile Sexism (HS), Attitudes toward Gender-Related

Language Reforms (AGLR) and Recognition of Sexist Language (RSL), by Language

English	MS	BS	HS	AGLR	RSL
Age	-.13	-.22**	-.11	-.03	.05
MS		.27***	.48***	-.45***	-.26**
BS			.47***	-.19*	-.21*
HS				-.28***	-.27***
AGLR					.41***
French	MS	BS	HS	AGLR	RSL
Age	-.16*	-.07	-.22**	.04	-.02
MS		.10	.35***	-.28***	-.29***
BS			.34***	.14†	.10
HS				-.25**	-.05
AGLR					.38***
German	MS	BS	HS	AGLR	RSL
Age	-.11	-.13	-.23**	-.15†	--.08
MS		.14†	.21*	-.31***	-.24**
BS			.46***	-.14	.05
HS				-.15†	-.02
AGLR					.39***

Note. *** *p* < .001 ** *p* < .01; * *p* < .05; † *p* < .10

Table 3

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Attitudes toward Gender-Related Language Reforms (unstandardized coefficients;

robust standard errors are given in brackets; N = 446)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	b	(S. E)	b	(S. E)	b	(S. E)	b	(S. E)
Intercept	3.25	(.48)	4.08	(.46)	3.80	(.48)	3.88	(.48)
Gender[a]	.06*	(.03)	.03	(.03)	.03	(.03)	-.04	(.03)
Age	-.02	(.02)	-.06**	(.02)	-.04*	(.02)	-.04*	(.02)
Modern Sexism			-.44***	(.07)	-.45***	(.07)	-.45***	(.07)
Benevolent Sexism			.07	(.06)	.08	(.06)	.04	(.06)
Hostile Sexism			-.23**	(.07)	-.21**	(.08)	-.18*	(.08)
Language 1[b]					-.31**	(.11)	-.24*	(.11)
Language 2[c]					.08	(.13)	-.08	(.14)
Lang 1 X Modern Sexism							.18	(.13)
Lang 2 X Modern Sexism							.16	(.17)
Lang 1 X Benevolent Sexism							.21†	(.13)
Lang 2 X Benevolent Sexism							.41**	(.15)
Lang 1 X Hostile Sexism							-.14	(.16)
Lang 2 X Hostile Sexism							-.26	(.18)
R^2	.01*		.15***		.17***		.19***	
Change in R^2			.14***		.02*		.02*	

Note. *** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; † $p < .10$

[a]male = -3.05, female = 1; [b]English = -2/3, French and German = 1/3; [c]English = 0, French = 1/2, German = -1/2

Table 4

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Recognition of Sexist Language (unstandardized coefficients; robust standard errors are given in brackets; N = 446)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	b	(S. E)	b	(S. E)	b	(S. E)	b	(S. E)
Intercept	3.17	(.48)	3.66	(.47)	3.22	(.47)	3.23	(.48)
Gender[a]	.00	(.03)	-.02	(.03)	-.01	(.03)	-.01	(.03)
Age	-.02	(.02)	-.05*	(.02)	-.02	(.02)	-.03	(.02)
Modern Sexism			-.32***	(.07)	-.34***	(.07)	-.32***	(.07)
Benevolent Sexism			.02	(.06)	.02	(.06)	.03	(.06)
Hostile Sexism			-.08	(.07)	-.06	(.07)	-.08	(.08)
Language 1[b]					-.48***	(.11)	-.46***	(.11)
Language 2[c]					-.11	(.13)	-.12	(.13)
Lang 1 X Modern Sexism							-.11	(.16)
Lang 2 X Modern Sexism							.04	(.15)
Lang 1 X Benevolent Sexism							.25†	(.14)
Lang 2 X Benevolent Sexism							.00	(.15)
Lang 1 X Hostile Sexism							.19	(.17)
Lang 2 X Hostile Sexism							.03	(.17)
R^2	.00		.07***	.	.12***		.13***	
Change in R^2			.07***		.05***		.01	

Note. *** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; † $p < .10$

[a]male = -3.05, female = 1; [b]English = -2/3, French and German = 1/3; [c]English = 0, French = 1/2, German = -1/2
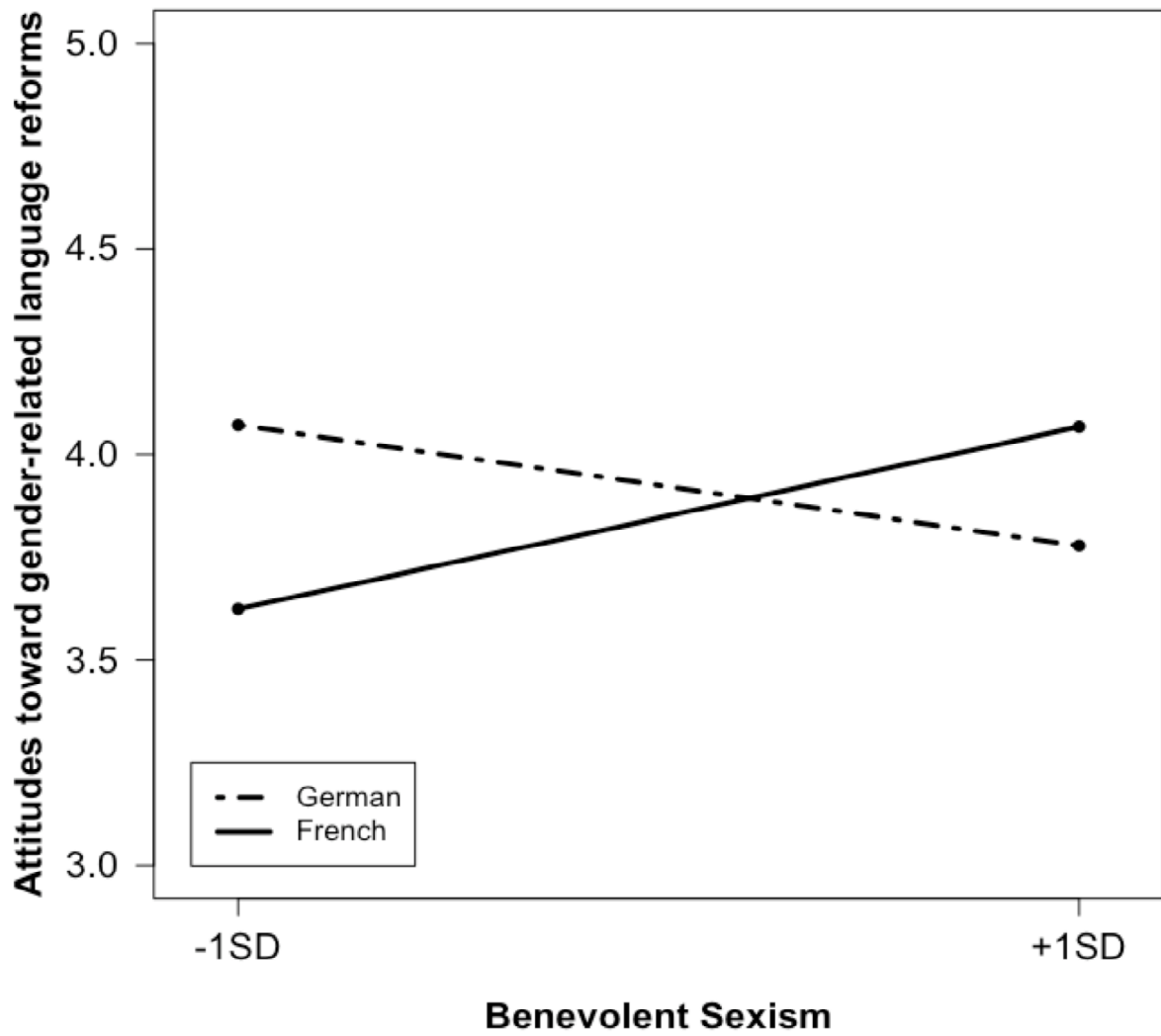
Figure 1

Figure caption

Relation between Benevolent Sexism and Attitudes toward Gender-Related Language

Reforms in German and French (*N* = 296)

Address for correspondence:

Oriane Sarrasin

Research Centre Methodology, Inequalities and Social Change

University of Lausanne

Vidy Building

CH - 1015 Lausanne

oriane.sarrasin@unil.ch

+41.21.692.31.86