

City University of New York (CUNY)

## CUNY Academic Works

---

Theses and Dissertations

Hunter College

---

Spring 5-19-2016

### The Role of Ambivalent Sexism on Attributions about the Homeless

Amanda Watsula  
*CUNY Hunter College*

[How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!](#)

More information about this work at: [https://academicworks.cuny.edu/hc\\_sas\\_etds/82](https://academicworks.cuny.edu/hc_sas_etds/82)

Discover additional works at: <https://academicworks.cuny.edu>

---

This work is made publicly available by the City University of New York (CUNY).  
Contact: [AcademicWorks@cuny.edu](mailto:AcademicWorks@cuny.edu)

The Role of Ambivalent Sexism on Attributions about the Homeless

by

Amanda Watsula

Submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts General Psychology, Hunter College  
The City University of New York

2016

Thesis Sponsor:

May 19, 2016

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

Rebecca Farmer Huselid, Ph.D.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

May 19, 2016

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

Darlene DeFour, Ph.D.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Second Reader

**Abstract**

This study examined whether ambivalent sexist beliefs impact views of the homeless. Results showed that benevolent sexism towards men was related to increased ratings of control and decreased ratings of external causes of male homelessness. Hostile sexism towards women positively predicted ratings of internal causes of female homelessness.

*Keywords:* ambivalent sexism, attributions, homeless

### **Introduction**

On a single night in January 2014, the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development documented 578,424 individuals who were homeless (Henry, Cortes, Shivji, & Buck, 2014). Of those individuals, 14%, or 80,590 people, were living in the state of New York (Henry, Cortes, Shivji, & Buck, 2014). Although the number of homeless individuals have slowly decreased over the past few years, from 671,888 in 2007 to 578,424 in 2014, it is no doubt that homelessness is still a pervasive problem in the United States (Henry, Cortes, Shivji, & Buck, 2014). The shelters designed to help this population are often full or overcrowded, forcing some to seek refuge in any safe place they can find. Many are found sleeping in subway stations, isolated areas of public parks, other 'hidden' sections away from public eye. Cuddy, Fiske, and Glick (2007) conducted a study to plot commonly stereotyped groups on a graph of both warmth and competence. The homeless as a group received the lowest rating of warmth and the lowest rating of competence, and this resulted in a plot location that was barely observable (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007). Out of all of the stereotyped groups examined, this research found the homeless to be the most negatively stereotyped. The homeless become outsiders in society because they are not viewed as valued members who work and contribute in the overall consumer culture (Belcher & DeForge, 2012). Instead, they are forgotten members who most people wish to ignore.

Views regarding the homeless often differ from person to person. Some believe that the homeless should be given help to rise out of their negative situation, while others believe that they should be left to fend for themselves. These differing views likely stem from attributions about homelessness; in other words, what a person believes is the main cause for homelessness. Besides the variability in these attributions, there could be additional factors about the homeless person that play a role in how he or she is viewed. Research has shown that gender and race are

the first two characteristics noticed by the brain when encountering someone new (Contreras, Banaji, & Mitchell, 2013). The current study chose to focus on one of these characteristics, gender, and its potential impact in attributions about the homeless.

### **Attribution Theory**

When someone observes another person engaging in a particular behavior, or observes a specific event, it can be helpful to determine the causes behind the observation. This psychological process is known as making attributions, and there are many popular theories regarding this topic. According to Forsyth (1980), there are four main functions of attributions: explanatory, predictive, egocentric, and interpersonal. First, attributions are explanatory because they reference either internal or external causes of behavior and allow more cognitive control (Forsyth, 1980). Second, by being predictive, an individual can use attributions to make estimates about future behavior (Forsyth, 1980). Third, attributions are egocentric because they provide a sense of protection for the self which could potentially be rejected if attributions were to result from observations completed in a rational way (Forsyth, 1980). Finally, attributions are interpersonal because they have the potential to change the perceptions of other people based on what is determined to be the causes of their behavior (Forsyth, 1980). These four functions of attributions can be equally useful in determining causes behavior and gaining cognitive control over the situation.

Another psychological process that often accompanies attribution theory is motivation. In general, motivation is the study of why people think and behave in the way that they do (Graham & Weiner, 1996). Motivation involves explanations for five components: (1) choice, or what the individual is doing; (2) latency, or how long it takes someone to begin the activity; (3) intensity, or the amount of effort that an individual puts into the activity; (4) persistence, or how long the individual is willing to do the activity; and (5) cognitions and emotional reactions, or what the

person is thinking while doing the activity (Graham & Weiner, 1996). Answers to these questions can help to determine which attributions will result after observing a particular behavior or event.

The current study used the Model of Achievement Attributions by Bernard Weiner (1985) as a basis for evaluating attributions. According to the model, there are three dimension typologies of attributions: internal versus external, stable versus unstable, and controllable versus uncontrollable (Weiner, 1985). Weiner's original model only included only the factors of locus of causality and stability of causes, but he later expanded it to include controllability (Weiner, 1985). On the locus of causality, internal attributions place responsibility for the behavior on the personal characteristics, while external attributions place responsibility on environmental factors (Weiner, 1985). Stability of causes refers to the frequency of the behavior: stable attributions indicate that a behavior was produced by skills, while unstable attributions indicate that the behavior was produced by luck (Weiner, 1985). The third dimension, controllability, refers to the extent to which a person holds control over his behavior or actions (Weiner, 1985). This dimension is also interrelated with certain emotions. Anger is experienced when someone is unable to achieve success due to factors that could have been controlled by others (Weiner, 1985). Guilt is experienced when an individual fails due to controllable causes that are internal (Weiner, 1985). Pity and sympathy is expressed towards another person when that person is seen failing as a result of external causes that are uncontrollable (Weiner, 1985). Finally, shame may be felt by someone when he fails due to uncontrollable, internal causes (Weiner, 1985). The three dimensions of causality, stability, and controllability make up the foundations of Weiner's Model of Achievement Attributions, which the current study will use as a conceptual framework to interpret and analyze data.

While using this model for research, Weiner concluded that the most dominant

attributions regarding the causes of behavior were ability and effort (1986). Specifically, success is typically seen as the result of high ability and high effort, while failure is seen as the result of low ability and low ambition (Weiner, 1986). These differences in attributions can be seen across a variety of studies. For example, in a study conducted by Forsyth and McMillan (1981), college students were asked to complete various questionnaires, including Weiner's model of attributions and a scale of affect, after they received scores on an exam. The participants who felt they controlled the outcome on the exam, who felt their success was due to internal factors and their failure was due to external factors, and who believed the exam outcomes were due to stable, controllable, and internal factors, all felt more positive affect after receiving their scores (Forsyth & McMillan, 1981). These results help to illustrate the effect of attributions on affect (emotions).

The current study focuses on attributions about the homeless i.e. the perceived causes of homelessness. An earlier examined attributions of the increase in homelessness in London in terms of individualistic, societal, and fatalistic beliefs (Furnham, 1996). Using a 45-item questionnaire, the researchers asked participants to rate each item on 6-point unimportant-important scale as it relates to the cause of increased homelessness. The items were grouped into factors such as housing, economic, and education. Results showed that societal and structural factors accounted for nearly a fifth of the variance (Furnham, 1996). The gender, socioeconomic status, and political affiliation of the participant were the most powerful predictors of attitudes towards the homeless (Furnham, 1996). After a regression analysis, the most powerful predictor overall was political affiliation (Furnham, 1996). These results illustrate that there is noticeable individual variability in attributions about the homeless, and that more research must be completed to determine if there are additional factors that significantly impact these attributions.

### **Ambivalent Sexism**

The current study not only examined attributions of the homeless with gender in mind,

but it also sought to find a possible relationship between these attributions and ambivalent sexism. Ambivalent sexism is a theoretical framework developed by Glick and Fiske (1996) to propose that sexism contains both positive and negative views of a gender, and that these views may coexist. Broadly, ambivalent sexism contains two dimensions: hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. Hostile sexism describes negative attitudes about gender, such as domination, hostility, and resentment (Clow & Ricciardelli, 2011). Benevolent sexism is virtually the opposite – it describes the positive attitudes about gender such as protection, benevolence, and idealization (Clow & Ricciardelli, 2011).

When it comes to ambivalent sexism towards women, the hostile and benevolent sexist beliefs break down into further subcategories. Hostile sexism is the ‘typical’ sexism that comes to mind when thinking about sexist beliefs towards women; these views meet definitions of prejudice (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Underneath hostile sexism, there are three dimensions: dominative paternalism, competitive gender differentiation, and heterosexual hostility (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Dominative paternalism refers to beliefs that women are not fully capable and they need a supportive figure in men, while gender differentiation refers to the beliefs that only men hold the characteristics that are necessary to lead and govern (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Furthermore, heterosexual hostility stems from the belief that men may be unable to separate their desire for women from their desire to dominate women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). All of these components play a role in hostile sexism and prejudiced beliefs about women.

The second component of ambivalent sexism towards women, benevolent sexism, references ideas that may not appear to be negative at first glance. Beliefs that fall under this category involve concepts that women belong in particular roles, but there is a positive undertone to these beliefs and they often refer to pro-social or intimacy-seeking behaviors in women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Benevolent sexism identical dimensions to hostile sexism: protective



paternalism, gender differentiation, and heterosexuality (Glick & Fiske, 1996). However, in this case, protective paternalism refers to beliefs that women need to be cherished and protected because men are dependent on them, while gender differentiation refers to beliefs that women hold traits and characteristics that complement those of men (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Heterosexuality asserts that 'men's sexual motivation towards women may be linked with a genuine desire for psychological closeness' (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Hostile sexism and benevolent sexism combine to form ambivalent sexism, which oppresses women while also placing them on a pedestal.

However, women aren't the only victims of ambivalent sexism; men can receive this type of discrimination, as well. Ambivalent sexism towards men also contains the dimensions of hostility and benevolence. Hostile sexism in this regard involves three underlying dimensions: resentment of paternalism, compensatory gender differentiation, and heterosexual hostility (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Resentment of paternalism occurs when women, who hold lower status, feel distressed by the higher status of males above them (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Compensatory gender differentiation refers to 'negative stereotypes of the dominant group that compensate for the negative identity thrust on the subordinate group by characterizing dominants as inferior in ways that are safe to criticize and by attributing to dominants the negative traits associated with power' (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Finally, heterosexual hostility regards resentment by women of men in personal relationships because of male sexual aggressiveness (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Although these dimensions of hostile sexism differ when directed towards males, they still invoke negative feelings and prejudice.

The benevolent sexism towards men dimension is similar to the previously described benevolent sexism towards women. There are three components: maternalism, compensatory gender differentiation, and heterosexual attraction (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Maternalism involves

beliefs that there is a weakness in men, but that this weakness denotes a need to nurture and protect them (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Compensatory gender differentiation refers to the idea that there are status differences between groups, and that the group in power (men) are in that position because of favorable traits (Glick & Fiske, 1999). The third component, heterosexual attraction, stems from the belief that women are only successful if they have a romantic relationship with a man (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Similar to the benevolent sexism beliefs towards women, benevolent sexism beliefs about men may seem positive on the surface, but underneath they invoke negative prejudicial beliefs.

Ambivalent sexism in society can result in negative outcomes for both males and females. According to Clow and Ricciardelli (2011), “competitive gender differentiation can be used to justify men’s current and continued power, as men are perceived as possessing the characteristics (such as agentic traits) necessary to be leaders and to govern (hostile sexism) whereas complementary gender differentiation ascribes to women the idealized characteristics (such as communion traits) for motherhood and marriages (benevolent sexism), justifying their lack of power and feeding into protective and dominative paternalism.” As a result, men and women are placed into specific gender roles, and these roles define how to interact with the world and with the opposite gender.

When it comes to the relationship between men and women, not only does this dominance and subordination exist, but there are also close romantic and familiar relationships (Glick & Fiske, 2011). While one group holds power in a specific domain, it must also rely on the other group in another domain, and vice-versa. As a result, the current study also examined the role of participant gender when making attributions about male and female homelessness to determine if the participant’s own identity impacted his or her views of the same or opposite gender.

### **The Impact of Ambivalent Sexism on Attributions**

Previous research has shown that individuals who are high in ambivalent sexism differ in attributions of behavior, and these attributions typically align with more traditional views of gender. In a study completed by Viki and Abrams (2002), participants read scenarios about acquaintance rape. In the control condition, no information was given about the victim, and in the experimental condition, the victim was described as a married woman. Participants who scored high in benevolent sexism towards women assigned more blame to the victim in the experimental condition (married woman) compared to the control condition (Viki & Abrams, 2002). The researchers posed that this blame was the result of viewing the victim as not adhering to traditional social norms of being a married woman; instead, she was assaulted during a possible act of infidelity (Viki & Abrams, 2002).

In a similar study completed by Valor-Segura, Exposito, and Moya (2011), participants listened to the description of a domestic violence attack by a husband on his wife. Descriptions varied in the declared cause of the attack; it was described as either having resulted from jealousy, from the threat of separation, or from the possibility that the wife would take a vacation with friends. There was also a control condition where the attack was described as occurring unprovoked. Participants then rated blame of the victim, rated responsibility of the attacker, and completed the ambivalent sexism inventory. Results showed that participants high in hostile sexism towards women significantly blamed the victim more than participants low in hostile sexism towards women (Valor-Segura, Exposito, & Moya, 2011). Furthermore, high hostile sexism towards women also resulted in lower ratings of responsibility of the male attacker (Valor-Segura, Exposito, Moya, 2011). The researchers concluded that those with hostile sexist beliefs are likely more prone to justify discrimination and aggression against women, and therefore look at possible actions the victim may have done to warrant the attack (Valor-Segura,

Exposito, & Moya, 2011).

Furthermore, ambivalent sexism has been shown to impact views of self-defense. In a study conducted by Russell, Ragatz, and Kraus (2008), participants were first asked to read scenarios about a defendant who shot her partner in an act of self-defense, and then they answered questions about guilt of the defendant, various legal elements, and sexist attitudes. The case scenarios provided had variations in gender, sexual orientation, and the possibility of the defendant suffering from battered person syndrome. Results showed that participants high in benevolent sexism towards men assigned higher ratings of guilt to the defendant who fought back, likely because the defendant was not adhering to social norms of dominance and submissiveness (Russell, Ragatz, & Kraus, 2008). Also, participants high in hostile sexism towards men assigned lower ratings of guilt to the defendant, potentially due to negative views of male dominance and thus seeing the defense as justified (Russell, Ragatz, & Kraus, 2008).

These studies illustrate the impact of ambivalent sexist beliefs on attributions of behavior. Specifically, those high in ambivalent sexism appear to hold strong views about traditional gender roles, and this ultimately impacts how they make judgments of observed behavior. As the previous researchers noted (Viki & Abrams, 2002; Valor-Segura, Exposito, & Moya, 2011; Russell, Ragatz, & Kraus, 2008), this difference in attributions is consistently present when making judgments of various victimized groups. Although the homeless are a likely victimized group in society and may receive prejudice similar to rape victims or self-defense victims, no research has been conducted to examine the impact of ambivalent sexism on attributions about the homeless. It is possible that holding strong views of traditional gender roles could influence views of male and female failure, such as homelessness.

### **Locus of Control**

Since individual differences in locus of control can impact beliefs about success and

failure, the current study explored the role of this construct in the relationship between ambivalent sexism and attributions about the homeless. Locus of control refers to the extent a person believes that events are under his or her control or whether they are due to outside factors. Rotter (1966) originally described locus of control as having two dimensions: internal and external. However, Levenson (1973) proposed that the locus of control framework should be reconfigured to account for variation in types of external locus of control. As a result, a framework that encompassed three dimensions was offered: internal locus of control, powerful others, and chance. Levenson's dimension of internal locus of control was similar to that suggested by Rotter; however, the dimensions of powerful others and chance reflected more specific types of external locus of control (Levenson, 1973). Levenson's model was used as a basis for studying locus of control in the current study.

### **Current Study**

Up until this point, no research has examined the role of ambivalent sexism on attributions about the homeless. This research project will begin to fill this gap. Since previous studies have shown that ambivalent sexism can impact judgements made of stigmatized groups, the current study examined its role in attributions about the homeless. Participants were randomly assigned to view a series of photos accompanied by a short description of the employment and living situation of the person in each photo. The photos consisted of employed and unemployed/homeless individuals varying in age and gender. Participants were then asked to make attributions about each particular person's success or failure as described by the provided descriptions. Participants also completed a series of questionnaires with various measures, two of which measured ambivalent sexism beliefs (one for ambivalent sexism towards males and one for ambivalent sexism towards females). Attribution ratings (Weiner, 1986) were compared with scores on the ambivalent sexism measures. It was predicted that the benevolent dimension of

ambivalent sexism would impact how participants view the causes of male and female homelessness.

### **Aims and Hypotheses**

The current study sought to establish a relationship between ambivalent sexism and attributions about the homeless. First, it was predicted that participants would rate homeless females as having less control over their situation, and would more strongly endorse external causes and instability of female homelessness. On the contrary, it was predicted that participants would rate homeless males as having more control over their situation, and would more strongly endorse internal causes and stability of male homelessness. Second, it was predicted that participants high in benevolent sexist beliefs would more strongly endorse the abovementioned attributions when compared to participants low in benevolent sexist beliefs. Potential relationships between attributions and the hostility dimension of ambivalent sexism, as well as gender and race of the participant, were also explored.

### **Methods**

#### **Participants and Procedure**

Participants consisted of undergraduate students at a public university in New York City. Participants were members of the psychology department pool and received research credit towards their introductory psychology class for completing the study. Data was collected during a Fall semester and subsequent Spring semester, resulting in two separate data collection periods. Analyses were first completed using the combined data set for overall results, and then each semester was analyzed separately to explore possible results unique to that data collection period.

Qualtrics web-based software was used to conduct the study. Participants first completed a series of questionnaires related to personal beliefs and characteristics. Participants were then randomly assigned to view one of two photo sets; each photo set contained four photos and a

short description of the person in each photo. Participants were asked to hypothesize why the person in each photo was in his or her current employment situation. These responses were open-ended and participants recorded them in a specific text box for each photo. Participants were also asked to rate on a five-point Likert scale the likelihood that the person's employment was due to internal causes, the likelihood it was due to external causes, the amount of control the person has over their employment, and the likelihood the person's employment would change in the future. After completion, participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

## **Materials and Measures**

### **Target Photos**

Two sets of photos were prepared. Each set consisted of four photos: three depicted employed individuals and one depicted a homeless individual. Photos were drawn from an online photo database and consisted of two males and two females; all individuals were Caucasian and between 26 and 29 years old. Each photo was accompanied by a short biography listing the individual's age, education, and employment status. Education attainment ranged from an Associate's degree to an MBA, and employment status included a high school English teacher, a consultant for an investment company, a mechanical engineer, and a currently unemployed homeless individual. In Set A, two employed targets were male, one employed target was female, and the homeless target was female. In Set B, two employed targets were female, one employed target was male, and the homeless target was male. The photo depicting the female homeless target in Set A was the same as an employed female target in Set B, and the photo depicting the male homeless target in Set B was the same as an employed male target in Set A. Both Set A and Set B had the same descriptions. The photos and corresponding descriptions are listed in Table 1.

### **Ambivalent Sexism**

The *Ambivalent Sexism Inventory* and the *Ambivalence towards Men Inventory* were used to measure sexist beliefs. Participants were given both measures regardless of the gender of the homeless target in their photo set.

The *Ambivalent Sexism Inventory* (ASI) measures sexist beliefs about females and includes two subscales: Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). The Hostile sexism scale measures views of women that would meet classic definitions of prejudice; examples include, “Most men fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them” and “When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.” The Benevolent sexism scale measures views of women that seem positive in nature but also include a level of stereotyping and prejudice; examples include, “Women should be cherished and protected by men” and “A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.” All 22 items on the ASI are rated on a 6-point Likert Scale from 0-Disagree Strongly to 5-Agree Strongly; some items are reverse-scored. Higher scores indicate more sexist attitudes toward women. Participants are unaware of whether an item is labeled hostile or benevolent. Initial analysis across six samples by Glick and Fiske (1996) revealed adequate reliability; alphas ranged from 0.83 to 0.92 for total ASI score, 0.80 to 0.92 for hostile sexism, and 0.73 to 0.85 for benevolent sexism. Reliability for the current study was 0.76 for total ASI score, 0.64 for hostile sexism, and 0.66 for benevolent sexism.

The *Ambivalence towards Men Inventory* (AMI) measures sexist beliefs about males and also includes two subscales to measure hostile sexism and benevolent sexism (Glicke & Fiske, 1999). Examples of items from the hostile sexism subscale include, “Men would be lost in this world if there weren’t women there to guide them” and “When it comes down to it, most men are really like children.” Examples of items from benevolent sexism subscale include “Men are less



likely to fall apart in emergencies than women are” and “Men are more willing to put themselves in danger to protect others.” Similar to the ASI, all 20 items on the AMI are rated on a 6-point Likert Scale from 0-Disagree Strongly to 5-Agree Strongly; some items are reverse-scored. Higher scores indicate sexist attitudes towards men. Participants are unaware of whether an item is labeled hostile or benevolent. Initial analysis across three samples by Glick and Fiske (1999) revealed adequate reliability; alphas ranged from 0.83-0.87 for total AMI score, 0.81 to 0.86 for hostile sexism, and 0.79 to 0.83 for benevolent sexism. Reliability for the current study was 0.92 for total AMI score, 0.86 for hostile sexism, and 0.90 for benevolent sexism.

### **Locus of Control**

Locus of control was measured using the *Multidimensional Locus of Control Scale* (Levenson, 1974). This scale consists of three subscales: internal locus of control, powerful others, and chance. Internal locus of control refers to feelings of personal influence over events; examples include “Whether or not I get to be a leader depends mostly on my ability” and “I can pretty much determine what will happen in my life.” ‘Powerful others’ refers to the belief that those in positions of superiority have influence over personal events; examples include “I feel like what happens in my life is mostly determined by powerful people” and “In order to have my plans work, I make sure that they fit in with the desires of people who have power over me.” Chance refers to the belief that luck or fate are the primary determinant of events; examples include “To a great extent my life is controlled by accidental happenings” and “When I get what I want, it’s usually because I’m lucky.” Initial analysis by Levenson (1973) and other studies (Levenson, 1974; Huebner & Lipsey, 1981) revealed adequate reliability; alphas ranged from 0.67 to 0.72 for internal locus of control, 0.62 to 0.82 for powerful others, and 0.68 to 0.83 for chance. Reliability for the current study was 0.75 for total locus of control score, 0.67 for internal, 0.73 for chance, and 0.79 for powerful others.

**Consistency Check:**

There were three non-standard questions distributed throughout the survey to measure consistency and to ensure that participants were not falsifying results. Examples included “Please mark 'mostly positive' for this question,” and “Please mark 'no difference' for this question.”

**Results****Demographics and Descriptive Statistics**

Overall, 187 individuals participated in the survey; average age among the participants was 20.07 with a standard deviation of 3.46 and a range of 17 to 38 years old. 62% of the participants identified as female ( $n = 116$ ), 38.5% identified as male ( $n = 70$ ), and 0.5% did not select a response ( $n = 1$ ). With regards to race, the majority of participants identified as Asian (36.9%,  $n = 69$ ) followed by White/Caucasian (28.3%,  $n = 53$ ), Black/Latino (25.1%,  $n = 47$ ), and Other (9.4%,  $n = 15$ ); 1.1% ( $n = 2$ ) did not select a response. Most participants identified as having a non-Hispanic ethnicity (75.9%,  $n = 142$ ). Further descriptive statistics of the participants are listed in Table 2. Participants in the homeless male condition ( $M = 3.32$ ,  $SD = .69$ ) had slightly higher ambivalent sexism towards women compared to participants in the homeless female condition ( $M = 3.11$ ,  $SD = .76$ ),  $t(185) = 1.98$ ,  $p = .05$ . Additionally, participants in the Fall semester subject pool ( $M = 4.33$ ,  $SD = .65$ ) had significantly higher scores on internal locus of control than participants in the Spring subject pool ( $M = 4.12$ ,  $SD = .66$ ),  $t(185) = 2.15$ ,  $p = .03$ .

Participants in the sample were also grouped into classifications for sexism towards men and sexism towards women based on the analyses suggested by Glick and Fiske (1996). The classification included Ambivalent Sexists (high in both benevolent and hostile sexism), Hostile Sexists (high in hostile sexism and low in benevolent sexism), Benevolent Sexists (high in benevolent sexism and low in hostile sexism) and Non-Sexists (low in both benevolent and

hostile sexism). Details on the distribution of these sexism classifications by condition are listed in Table 3, and distribution by gender are listed in Table 4.

### **Relationships among Variables**

Means, standard deviations, and correlations between the measures across both conditions are presented in Table 5. Benevolent sexism towards both men and women was correlated with ratings that homelessness was more controllable and less externally caused. In contrast, hostile sexism towards either gender was not significantly associated with attributions about homelessness. Correlations pertaining to the **homeless male** condition (see Table 6) showed fewer significant key relationships. Only benevolent sexism towards men predicted lower attributions to external causes of homelessness ( $r = -.22$ ). In the **homeless female** condition (see Table 7) both benevolent and hostile sexist attitudes about women were linked to expectations that her situation would change. Finally, hostile sexism towards women predicted stronger beliefs that her homelessness was internally caused (something about her).

### **Hypothesis 1: Gender Differences in Attributions**

It was predicted that participants would rate homeless females as having less control over their situation; additionally, participants would more strongly endorse external causes and instability of homelessness for homeless females when compared to homeless males. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare ratings of control, change, external causes, and internal causes in the homeless male and homeless female conditions. Results from these 4 tests showed no significant differences in attributions based on the gender of the homeless target person. Results from these analyses are presented in Table 8.

Although overall analyses did not support this hypothesis, when the data was examined separately for the Fall and Spring semester subject pool participants, one significant difference was uncovered: participants in the Spring subject pool significantly rated external causes higher

for the homeless female condition ( $M = 3.57$ ,  $SD = 1.01$ ) when compared to the homeless male condition ( $M = 3.00$ ,  $SD = 1.09$ )  $t(76) = -2.38$ ,  $p = .02$ ). Although this was a singular finding, this result is consistent with predictions in Hypothesis 1.

Respondent's gender and race were also examined to check for equivalence in attributions about the homeless. Univariate ANOVA analyses did not find any significant main effects or interactions in ratings of homeless males compared to homeless females across gender or race of the respondent.

### **Hypothesis 2: Sexist Attitudes and Attributions**

It was predicted that participants who reported higher benevolent sexist beliefs would significantly differ in ratings of control, change, and causality of homelessness when compared to participants who reported lower benevolent sexist beliefs. Specifically, participants high in benevolent sexism would more strongly endorse internal causes, stability, and controllability for homeless males, and would more strongly endorse external causes, instability, and uncontrollability for homeless females. Possible relationships between attributions of the homeless and the hostile sexism dimension of ambivalent sexism were also explored. To test these predictions, t-tests (truncating the sexism data) and multiple regression interactions (using the full range of sexism measures) were utilized. The data was first split into four dichotomous variables: benevolent sexism towards women, hostile sexism towards women, benevolent sexism towards men, and hostile sexism towards men. Participants who had scores in the lower 50% of responses were categorized as low in a variable, and those who had scores in the upper 50% of responses were categorized as high. T-tests, univariate ANOVA analyses, and linear regressions were performed to examine these sexism variables in relation to attributions about the homeless and the homeless male versus homeless female condition.

### Independent Samples T-Tests

Analyses using t-tests showed that those high in benevolent sexism towards men ( $M = 3.12$ ,  $SD = 1.03$ ) rated external causes of overall homelessness significantly lower than those low in benevolent sexism towards men ( $M = 3.59$ ,  $SD = .84$ ),  $t(183) = 3.39$ ,  $p = .00$ . Additionally, those high in benevolent sexism towards men ( $M = 3.06$ ,  $SD = 1.15$ ) rated overall homeless' control significantly higher than those low in benevolent sexism towards men ( $M = 2.62$ ,  $SD = 1.14$ ),  $t(184) = -2.69$ ,  $p = .01$ .

When the conditions were analyzed separately, this relationship was also present in the homeless male condition. Those high in benevolent sexism towards men ( $M = 2.98$ ,  $SD = .97$ ) rated external causes of male homelessness significantly lower than those low in benevolent sexism towards men ( $M = 3.52$ ,  $SD = .92$ ),  $t(98) = 2.92$ ,  $p = .00$ . Those high in benevolent sexism towards men ( $M = 3.02$ ,  $SD = 1.22$ ) also rated homeless males' control significantly higher than those low in benevolent sexism towards men ( $M = 2.54$ ,  $SD = 1.23$ ),  $t(99) = -2.05$ ,  $p = .04$ . Results from analyses of the **homeless male** condition are presented in Table 9. There were no significant differences found in the **homeless female** condition.

When the ambivalent sexism dichotomies were examined separately for respondent gender, **male respondents** high in benevolent sexism towards men had significantly higher ratings of internal causes of homelessness ( $M = 3.30$ ,  $SD = 1.07$ ) compared to male respondents low in benevolent sexism towards men ( $M = 2.73$ ,  $SD = 1.08$ ),  $t(68) = -2.13$ ,  $p = .04$ . Males high in benevolent sexism towards men also had significantly lower ratings of external causes of homelessness ( $M = 3.14$ ,  $SD = 1.03$ ) compared to males low in benevolent sexism towards men ( $M = 3.73$ ,  $SD = .78$ ),  $t(68) = 2.55$ ,  $p = .01$ . Furthermore, males high in benevolent sexism towards men had significantly higher ratings of homeless' control ( $M = 3.25$ ,  $SD = 1.14$ ) than males low in benevolent sexism towards men ( $M = 2.54$ ,  $SD = 1.24$ ),  $t(68) = -2.44$ ,  $p = .02$ .

Among **females respondents**, those high in benevolent sexism towards men had significantly lower ratings of external causes of homelessness ( $M = 3.15$ ,  $SD = 1.01$ ) than those low in benevolent sexism towards men ( $M = 3.53$ ,  $SD = .86$ ),  $t(112) = 2.18$ ,  $p = .03$ . Regarding hostile sexism, males high in hostile sexism towards women had marginally significantly higher ratings of internal causes of homelessness ( $M = 3.29$ ,  $SD = 1.08$ ) compared to males low in hostile sexism towards women ( $M = 2.79$ ,  $SD = 1.08$ ),  $t(68) = -1.91$ ,  $p = 0.06$ ). There were no significant differences among females for sexism towards women, nor were there differences among male or female participants for hostile sexism towards men.

### **Univariate ANOVA Analyses**

Univariate ANOVA analyses were also used to examine ambivalent sexism across conditions with regards to attributions. A significant main effect emerged for **benevolent sexism towards men** when making attributions about control: participants high in benevolent sexism towards men rated homeless male control ( $M = 3.02$ ,  $SD = 1.12$ ) and homeless female control ( $M = 3.12$ ,  $SD = 1.19$ ) significantly higher than participants low in benevolent sexism for rated homeless male control ( $M = 2.54$ ,  $SD = 1.23$ ) and homeless female control ( $M = 2.70$ ,  $SD = 1.04$ ),  $F(1,182) = 7.08$ ,  $p = .01$ . A main effect also emerged for benevolent sexism towards men when making attributions about external causes,  $F(1,181) = 10.93$ ,  $p = .00$ ; those high in benevolent sexism towards men rated external causes significantly lower for the homeless male ( $M = 2.98$ ,  $SD = .97$ ) and the homeless female ( $M = 3.29$ ,  $SD = 1.09$ ) than participants low in benevolent sexism towards men rated external causes for the homeless male ( $M = 3.53$ ,  $SD = .92$ ) and the homeless female ( $M = 3.65$ ,  $SD = .75$ ). These findings regarding benevolent sexism towards men and attributions of male homelessness are consistent with predictions from Hypothesis 2. Furthermore, a marginally significant main effect emerged for **hostile sexism towards women** when making attributions about change. Participants high in hostile sexism

towards women rated likelihood of change higher for the homeless male ( $M = 3.56, SD = .81$ ) and the homeless female ( $M = 3.61, SD = .99$ ) than participants low in hostile sexism towards women rated change for the homeless male ( $M = 3.46, SD = .84$ ) and the homeless female ( $M = 3.23, SD = .83$ ),  $F(1, 181) = 3.55, p = 0.06$ .

For **Fall semester** participants, univariate ANOVA analyses found a significant interaction between condition and ambivalent sexism towards women among ratings of change for participants. Prior to controlling for other variables, participants who were high in Benevolent Sexism towards women rated likelihood of change higher for homeless females ( $M = 3.70, SD = .66$ ) and lower for homeless males ( $M = 3.45, SD = .95$ ), and participants who were low in benevolent sexism towards women rated likelihood of change lower for homeless females ( $M = 3.27, SD = .83$ ) and higher for homeless males ( $M = 3.68, SD = .75$ ),  $F(1,100) = 4.20, p = .04$ . Unfortunately this finding was not replicated in the **Spring semester** or overall data, and the interaction disappeared when controlling for other variables.

### **Linear Regression Analyses**

Multiple regression analyses were used to determine if there were interactions between ambivalent sexism (used as a continuous measure) and condition (male vs. female target) on attributions. Gender of the participant and condition were entered as covariates in step one, all four ambivalent sexism subscales were entered in step two, and four interactions between the ambivalent sexism subscales and condition were entered in step three. Using the overall sample data, the hostile sexism towards women-by-condition interaction positively predicted internal ratings of the homeless female ( $R^2 = .06, F(10,174) = 1.07, p = .02$ ). As shown in Figure 1, respondents higher in **hostile sexism towards women** rated internal causes significantly higher for the homeless female ( $b = .64$ ). In contrast, hostile sexism towards women did not significantly predict internal attributions about the homeless male ( $b = -.11$ ).

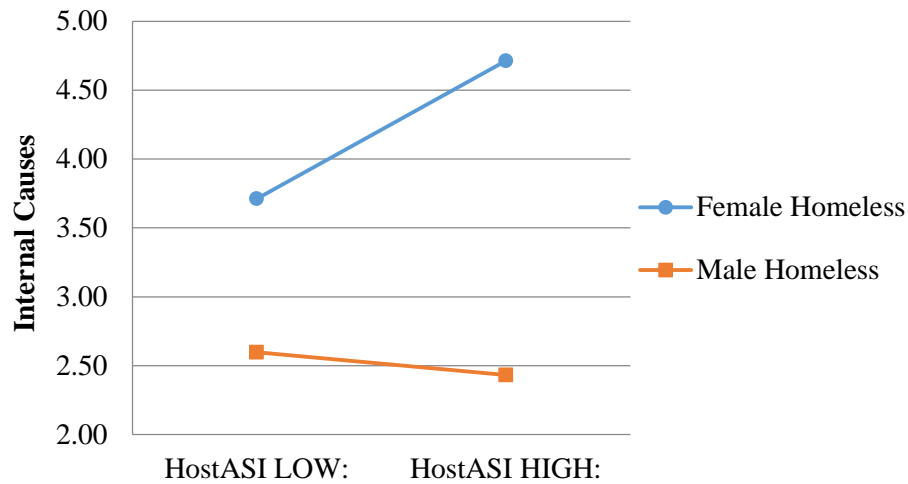


Figure 1. Effects of Hostile Sexism towards Women on Internal Ratings of Homelessness

For participants in the **Fall semester**, the hostile sexism towards women-by-condition interaction also significantly predicted internal ratings; and both conditions were significantly impacted ( $R^2 = .13$ ,  $F(10, 95) = 1.474$ ,  $p = .02$ ). As shown in Figure 2, respondents higher in hostile sexism towards women rated internal causes significantly higher for the homeless female ( $b = .74$ ) and significantly higher for the homeless male ( $b = .90$ ).

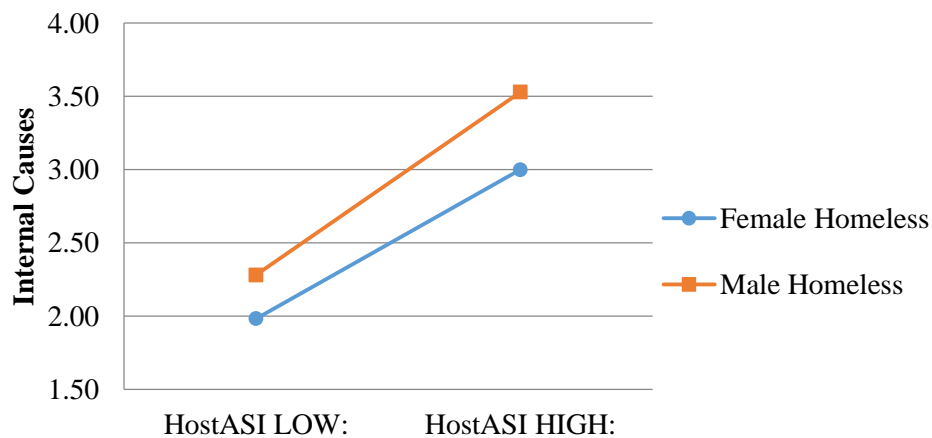


Figure 2. Effects of Hostile Sexism towards Women on Internal Ratings (Fall Semester)



For participants in the **Spring semester**, the benevolent sexism towards women-by-condition interaction positively predicted ratings of change of the homeless female, ( $R^2 = .13$ ,  $F(10, 95) = 1.474$ ,  $p = .02$ ). As shown in Figure 3, respondent's higher in benevolent sexism towards women rated change significantly higher for the homeless female ( $b = .98$ ). In contrast, hostile sexism towards women did not significantly predict change attributions about the homeless male ( $b = -.11$ ).

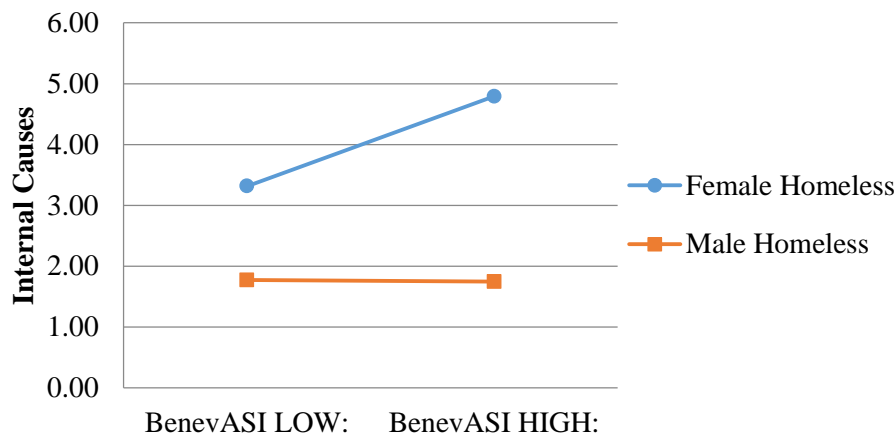


Figure 3. Effects of Benevolent Sexism towards Women on Change Ratings (Spring Semester)

### Sexism Classifications

Prior analyses examined the four sexism subscales as separate, independent measures. To examine ambivalent sexism as a whole using both the hostile and benevolent dimensions, participant data was organized into sexism classifications utilizing the grouping method suggested by Glick and Fiske (1996). These classifications included Ambivalent Sexists (high in both benevolent and hostile sexism), Hostile Sexists (high in hostile sexism and low in benevolent sexism), Benevolent Sexists (high in benevolent sexism and low in hostile sexism) and Non-Sexists (low in both benevolent and hostile sexism). Participant data was organized this

way for responses on ambivalent sexism towards men and for ambivalent sexism towards women.

With regards to these classifications and the dependent variables, a one-way ANOVA did not reveal any significant differences among the **sexism towards women classifications** for attributions about the homeless, but **sexism towards men classifications** resulted in significant differences in ratings of external causes of homelessness,  $F(3, 181) = 5.61, p = 0.00$ , as well as ratings of homeless' control,  $F(8, 182) = 3.19, p = 0.03$ . For ratings external causes, Non-Sexists averaged 3.606, Hostile Sexists averaged 3.54, Ambivalent Sexists averaged 3.25, and Benevolent Sexists averaged 2.77. For ratings of control, Benevolent Sexists averaged 3.35, Ambivalent Sexists averaged 2.96, Non-Sexists averaged 2.64, and Hostile Sexists averaged 2.54.

When making attributions about a **homeless male**, sexism towards men classifications (presented in Table 11) resulted in significant differences in ratings of external causes,  $F(3,96) = 3.39, p = 0.02$ . Benevolent Sexists averaged 2.73, Ambivalent Sexists averaged 3.08, Hostile Sexists averaged 3.44, and Non-Sexists averaged 3.58. This is consistent with Hypothesis 2 in that those high in benevolent sexism towards men rated external causes of male homelessness lower than those low in ambivalent sexism towards men. There were no significant differences for the **homeless female** condition. Results regarding sexism towards men are listed in Table 10, and results regarding sexism towards women are listed in Table 11.

A Pearson chi-square was performed to compare distribution of the sexism classifications across genders. Results showed that there was a marginally significant association between gender and proportion of the four sexism towards women classifications,  $X^2(3, N = 186) = 7.57, p = 0.06$ . Male participants were more likely to be Ambivalent Sexists towards women and female participants were more likely to be Non-Sexists towards women. There was also a

significant association between gender and proportion of the four sexism towards men classifications,  $X^2(3, N = 185) = 11.83, p = 0.01$ . Male participants were more likely to be Ambivalent Sexists towards men and female participants were more likely to be Non-Sexists towards men. Distribution of sexism classifications by gender are listed in Table 4.

Numerous differences emerged when the sexism classifications were analyzed separately for male and female participants. Among **male participants**, sexism towards men classifications resulted in significant differences in ratings of external causes of homelessness,  $F(3, 66) = 3.41, p = 0.02$ , and marginally significant differences in ratings of control,  $F(3,66) = 2.57, p = 0.06$ . For ratings external causes, male Benevolent Sexists averaged 2.81, male Ambivalent Sexists averaged 3.32, male Non-Sexists averaged 3.67, and male Hostile Sexists averaged 4.00. For ratings of control, male Non-Sexists averaged 2.52, male Hostile sexists averaged 2.60, male Ambivalent Sexists averaged 3.07, and male Benevolent Sexists averaged 3.56. Among **female participants**, sexism towards men classifications were also significantly different in ratings of control,  $F(3,110) = 2.72, p = 0.05$ . Female Benevolent Sexists averaged 2.70, female Ambivalent Sexists averaged 3.26, female Hostile Sexists averaged 3.42, and female Non-Sexists averaged 3.58. There were no differences in attributions among the sexism towards women classifications in either male participants or female participants.

Finally, to examine attributions of the homeless by participants on both ends of the sexism spectrum, and independent samples t-test was used to compare Ambivalent Sexists (high in both benevolent and hostile sexism) and Non-Sexists (low in both benevolent and hostile sexism). Overall, **Ambivalent Sexists towards men** rated external causes of homelessness significantly lower ( $M = 3.25, SD = 1.01$ ) when compared to Non-Sexists towards men ( $M = 3.61, SD = .80$ ),  $t(131) = -2.23, p = .03$ . Furthermore **Ambivalent Sexists towards women** rated likelihood of change marginally higher ( $M = 3.65, SD = .94$ ) when compared to Non-Sexists

towards women ( $M = 3.35, SD = 0.88, t(130) = 1.81, p = .07$ ).

In the **homeless male** condition (Figure 4 and Figure 5), Ambivalent Sexists towards women rated external causes of male homelessness significantly lower ( $M = 3.08, SD = .94$ ) when compared to Non-Sexists towards women ( $M = 3.58, SD = 0.89, t(65) = -2.22, p = .03$ ).

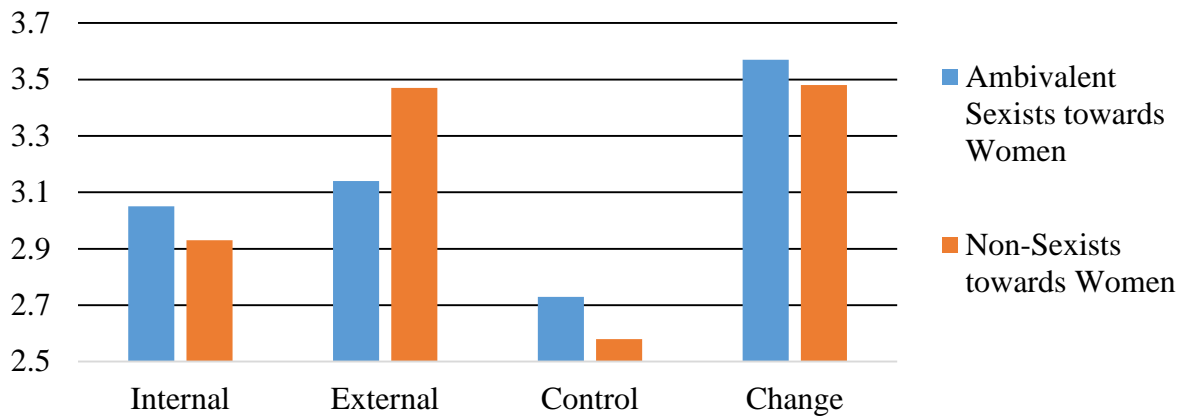


Figure 4. Attributions of Male Homelessness, Sexism towards Women

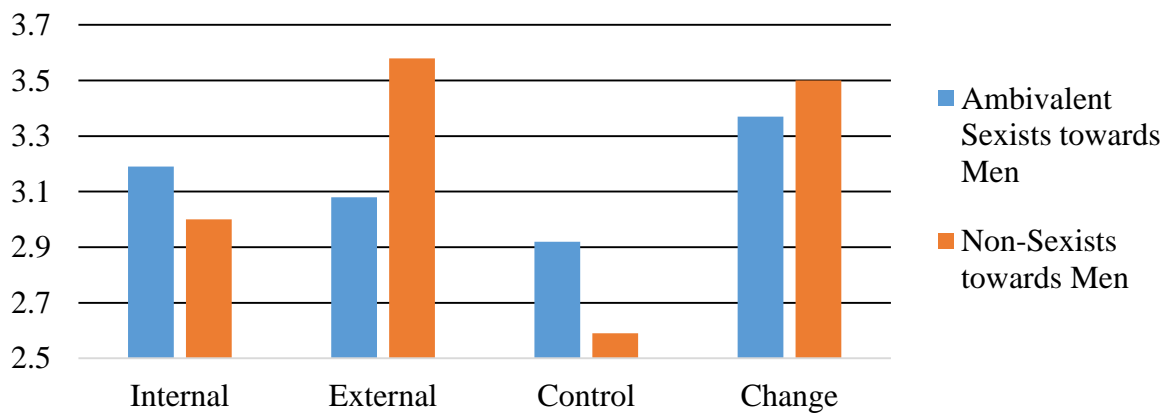


Figure 5. Attributions of Male Homelessness, Sexism towards Men

In the **homeless female** condition (Figure 6 and Figure 7), Ambivalent Sexists towards women rated likelihood of change of female homelessness significantly higher ( $M = 3.75, SD = 1.04$ ) when compared to Non-Sexists towards men ( $M = 3.25, SD = 0.87, t(62) = 2.09, p = .04$ ).

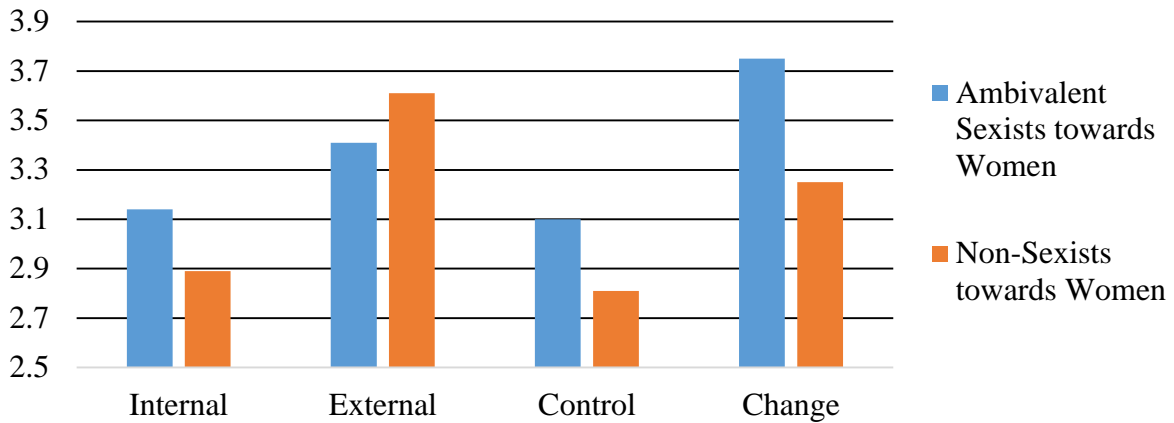


Figure 6. Attributions of Female Homelessness, Sexism towards Women

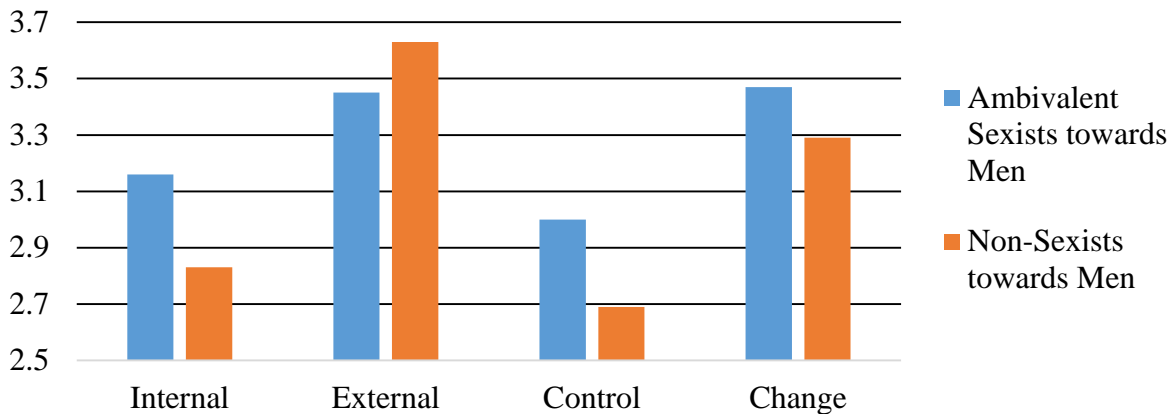


Figure 7. Attributions of Female Homelessness, Sexism towards Men

### Discussion

The data from the current study help to shed light on what others may be thinking when they come across a homeless individual, and if ambivalent sexism plays a role in how people think about the homeless. It was predicted that attributions about a homeless male would be more internal, controllable, and stable, while attributions about a homeless female would be more external, uncontrollable, and unstable. Overall, this hypothesis was not supported; however, when analyzing the data separately for each semester, participants in the Spring semester rated

external causes higher for the homeless female when compared to the homeless male, and this was consistent with predictions. The lack of this finding in the Fall semester data is likely due to the scaling system used. The average rating of external causes of homelessness by Fall semester participants was near the upper limit of the 1-5 rating scale, and this may have produced a ceiling effect making it difficult to distinguish a significant difference between ratings of homeless males and homeless females in that data collection period.

Using correlations, both benevolent sexism towards men and benevolent sexism towards women were related to increased ratings of control and decreased ratings of external causes. Since these findings were across both conditions, these results may be due to an underlying relationship between traditional views of men and women (benevolent sexism) and traditional views about success and failure.

It was also hypothesized that the benevolent component of ambivalent sexism would impact attributions about the homeless. When making attributions about homeless males, benevolent sexism towards men would positively predict ratings of internal causes and control, and negatively predict ratings of change. Additionally, when making attributions about homeless females, benevolent sexism towards women would positively predict ratings of external causes and change, and negatively predict ratings of control. Multiple dimensions of this hypothesis were supported in various ways. Using correlations, benevolent sexism towards men was related to decreased ratings of external causes in the homeless male condition. Additionally, in the homeless female condition, benevolent sexism towards women was related to increased ratings of change. Both of these findings confirm two out of six proposed relationships in the second hypothesis. An interesting finding also emerged in the female homeless condition: hostile sexism towards women was related to increased ratings of internal causes and ratings of control. This finding was unexpected; however, since hostile sexism can be seen as bitterness towards that

particular gender, ratings of the homeless female may have been an extension of that animosity and resulted in blaming the female for her situation.

When the ambivalent sexism scales were separated into high and low dichotomies, t-test analyses revealed findings consistent with hypothesis two. When making attributions about a homeless male, participants high in benevolent sexism towards men rated external causes significantly lower and rated control significantly higher when compared to participants low in benevolent sexism towards men. This finding confirms two out of three predictions regarding attributions of homeless men from hypothesis 2. These results are similar to findings from the correlations.

The sexism dichotomies were then used to create classification variables suggested by Glick and Fiske (1996). There were no significant differences among the sexism towards women classifications, however the sexism towards men classifications significantly differed on ratings of control and ratings of external causes. For control, Benevolent Sexists had the highest ratings and Hostile Sexists had the lowest ratings. For external causes, Non-Sexists had the highest ratings and Benevolent Sexists had the lowest ratings.

Linear regressions also revealed that ambivalent sexism was a predictor of certain attributions. Similar to what was found using correlations, hostile sexism towards women by condition positively predicted ratings of internal causes in the homeless female condition. This interaction did not have an effect on ratings of internal causes in the homeless male condition in the overall sample. For participants in the Fall semester, hostile sexism towards women by condition also positively predicted ratings of internal causes in the homeless female condition, in addition to positively predicted ratings of internal causes in the homeless male condition. In the Spring semester, benevolent sexism towards women by condition interaction significantly predicted ratings of change in the homeless female condition. It is unclear why these patterns

varied across samples. Students completing their research requirements in the final weeks of the semester may be different in various ways from those who complete them in the opening weeks. This timing variable no doubt added greatly to the variance in our study. Another explanation is the change of political discourse in the media from the Fall semester to the Spring semester. The 2016 presidential election race produced many hostile and negative comments, particularly about gender, that were widely reported by the media. As the election race continued from the Fall into the Spring, this discourse became more antagonistic, and it is possible that the salience of sexist views impacted how participants responded to the measures of ambivalent sexism.

### **Strengths and Limitations**

It is possible that the overall negative stigma associated with homelessness impacted the results. Previous research has found that the poor are often blamed for their misfortune (Flanagan & Tucker, 1999; Sidel, 1996). For the current study, this strong belief could be more salient in comparison to the gender of the homeless target. Furthermore, present opinions of gender roles and sexist ideals may have differed from when the *Ambivalent Sexism Inventory* and the *Ambivalence towards Men Inventory* were first developed, and this may have made it difficult for the current study to find significant endorsement of sexism. A study completed by Spence and Hahn (1997) compared scores on the *Attitudes towards Women Scale* among students during 1971, 1976, 1980, and 1992, and found that responses in the later years were more egalitarian than those in the earlier years.

Furthermore, this study was completed in a major city where participants likely have constant contact with homeless individuals. As a result, the results may differ if the study is completed in a more rural area. Future research is required to determine whether ambivalent sexism interacts with other variables with regards to attributions of the homeless, and whether the results of this study can be generalized to other settings.



However, it is also important to note that the sample of this study was diverse ethnically, and no significant differences were found when ethnicity and race were analyzed for each hypothesis. The lack of differences suggests that findings from this study may be consistent across ethnic and racial groups. Further research could examine this further, and could expand on the possible role of racial identity of the homeless individual when making attributions about a homeless male or homeless female.

### **Implications**

The results of this study can help us better understand what others are thinking when they come in contact with a homeless individual. By understanding their frame of mind, we can better comprehend how we can encourage them to get involved and help the homeless population. The results may also shed light on the quality of life of homeless individuals. If attributions about the homeless differ depending on the gender of the homeless target, the quality of life and services available to that individual may also differ. We can better create programs to help males and females separately.

Table 1 – Target Photos and Descriptions





	Group A (Homeless Female)	Group B (Homeless Male)
<b>Photo 1</b>		
	<p><b>Age:</b> 27</p> <p><b>Education Status:</b> Bachelor’s Degree in Education</p> <p><b>Employment:</b> Is currently employed as a high school English teacher</p>	<p><b>Age:</b> 28</p> <p><b>Education Status:</b> Bachelor’s Degree in Engineering</p> <p><b>Employment:</b> Is currently employed as a mechanical engineer</p>
<b>Photo 2</b>		
	<p><b>Age:</b> 26</p> <p><b>Education Status:</b> Associate’s Degree in Business</p> <p><b>Employment:</b> Has been unemployed for two years and homeless for one year</p>	<p><b>Age:</b> 29</p> <p><b>Education Status:</b> MBA in Finance</p> <p><b>Employment:</b> Is currently employed as a consultant for an investment company.</p>
<b>Photo 3</b>		
	<p><b>Age:</b> 29</p> <p><b>Education Status:</b> MBA in Finance</p> <p><b>Employment:</b> Is currently employed as a consultant for an investment company.</p>	<p><b>Age:</b> 26</p> <p><b>Education Status:</b> Associate’s Degree in Business</p> <p><b>Employment:</b> Has been unemployed for two years and homeless for one year</p>
<b>Photo 4</b>		
	<p><b>Age:</b> 28</p> <p><b>Education Status:</b> Bachelor’s Degree in Engineering</p> <p><b>Employment:</b> Is currently employed as a mechanical engineer</p>	<p><b>Age:</b> 27</p> <p><b>Education Status:</b> Bachelor’s Degree in Education</p> <p><b>Employment:</b> Is currently employed as a high school English teacher</p>

Table 2 – *Participant Demographics*

	<b>Group A (Homeless Female)</b>	<b>Group B (Homeless Male)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>N</i>	86	101	187
<b>Age (years)</b>			
Mean	20.02	20.11	20.07
(Range)	(17-37)	(18-38)	(17-38)
<b>Gender</b>			
Male	35	35	70 (37%)
Female	51	65	116 (63%)
<b>Race</b>			
White	23	30	53 (29%)
Asian	33	36	69 (37%)
Black/Latino	23	24	47 (25%)
Other	6	10	16 (9%)
<b>Ethnicity</b>			
Hispanic	21	20	41 (22%)
Non-Hispanic	62	80	142 (78%)
<b>Childhood Background</b>			
Poor/Working Class	42	47	89 (48%)
Middle Class	30	38	68 (37%)
Upper-Middle/Wealthy	14	15	29 (15%)
<b>Current Financial Situation</b>			
Poor/Working Class	42	42	84 (45%)
Middle Class	29	45	74 (40%)
Upper-Middle/Wealthy	14	13	27 (15%)
<b>Religious/Faith Background</b>			
Christian (Catholic/Protestant)	26	38	64 (35%)
Jewish/Muslim/Hindu/Buddhist	25	21	45 (24%)
Agnostic/Atheist	16	14	30 (16%)
Other/I Don't Know	21	25	46 (25%)
<b>Extent of Religion</b>			
Very Religious	6	5	11 (6%)
Somewhat Religious	29	31	60 (32%)
Not Very Religious	25	35	60 (32%)
Not At All Religious	26	29	55 (30%)

Table 3 – *Sexism Classifications by Condition*

	<b>Group A (Homeless Female)</b>	<b>Group B (Homeless Male)</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Sexism Towards Men</b>			
Ambivalent Sexists	31 (36%)	36 (36%)	67 (36%)
Benevolent Sexists	11 (13%)	15 (15%)	26 (14%)
Hostile Sexists	8 (9%)	18 (18%)	26 (14%)
Non-Sexists	35 (42%)	32 (31%)	67 (36%)
<b>Sexism Towards Women</b>			
Ambivalent Sexists	29 (34%)	37 (37%)	66 (35%)
Benevolent Sexists	8 (9%)	20 (20%)	28 (15%)
Hostile Sexists	13 (15%)	13 (13%)	26 (14%)
Non-Sexists	36 (42%)	31 (31%)	67 (36%)

Table 4 – *Sexism Classifications by Gender*

	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Sexism Towards Men</b>			
Ambivalent Sexists	28 (40%)	38 (33%)	66 (36%)
Benevolent Sexists	16 (23%)	10 (9%)	26 (14%)
Hostile Sexists	5 (7%)	21 (18%)	26 (14%)
Non-Sexists	21 (30%)	46 (40%)	67 (36%)
<b>Sexism Towards Women</b>			
Ambivalent Sexists	31 (44%)	34 (26%)	65 (36%)
Benevolent Sexists	5 (7%)	23 (20%)	28 (15%)
Hostile Sexists	10 (14%)	16 (14%)	26 (14%)
Non-Sexists	24 (35%)	43 (40%)	67 (36%)

Table 5  
*Overall Correlations for Criterion Variables*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Mean (SD)
<b>1. LC - Internal</b>	-											4.24 (.66)
<b>2. LC - Chance</b>	<b>-.26**</b>	-										3.31 (.73)
<b>3. LC - Powerful Others</b>	-.10	<b>.67**</b>	-									3.34 (.79)
<b>4. ASI - Benevolent</b>	<b>.34**</b>	.01	.02	-								3.22 (.73)
<b>5. ASI - Hostile</b>	.12	-.02	-.05	<b>.50**</b>	-							3.08 (.67)
<b>6. AMI - Benevolent</b>	<b>.18*</b>	-.01	-.09	<b>.70**</b>	<b>.59**</b>	-						2.67 (1.07)
<b>7. AMI - Hostile</b>	.08	.12	.03	<b>.56**</b>	<b>.42**</b>	<b>.61**</b>	-					2.86 (.92)
<b>8. Internal Ratings</b>	.07	-.02	-.03	.05	.08	.08	-.01	-				3.09 (1.07)
<b>9. External Ratings</b>	<b>-.17*</b>	<b>.32**</b>	<b>.23**</b>	<b>-.17*</b>	-.13	<b>-.22**</b>	-.10	-.02	-			3.35 (.97)
<b>10. Control Ratings</b>	<b>.18*</b>	<b>-.19**</b>	<b>-.16*</b>	<b>.15*</b>	.12	<b>.16*</b>	.07	<b>.29**</b>	<b>-.21**</b>	-		2.83 (1.16)
<b>11. Change Ratings</b>	.17*	-.03	.03	.14	.14	.03	.04	.00	-.08	.14	-	3.47 (.87)

LC = Locus of Control  
 ASI = Ambivalent Sexism towards Women  
 AMI = Ambivalent Sexism towards Men

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level

\* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

Table 6  
*Correlations for Homeless Male Condition*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Mean (SD)
<b>1. LC - Internal</b>	-											4.25 (.66)
<b>2. LC - Chance</b>	<b>-.23*</b>	-										3.35 (.75)
<b>3. LC - Powerful Others</b>	-.13	<b>.70**</b>	-									3.34 (.76)
<b>4. ASI - Benevolent</b>	<b>.34**</b>	.10	.06	-								3.32 (.69)
<b>5. ASI - Hostile</b>	.07	.01	-.07	<b>.33**</b>	-							3.05 (.68)
<b>6. AMI - Benevolent</b>	<b>.26**</b>	-.03	-.13	<b>.70**</b>	<b>.53**</b>	-						2.73 (1.04)
<b>7. AMI - Hostile</b>	.04	.17	.13	<b>.48**</b>	<b>.27**</b>	<b>.55**</b>	-					2.90 (.89)
<b>8. Internal Ratings</b>	.10	.06	.07	.07	-.03	.05	-.02	-				3.13 (1.13)
<b>9. External Ratings</b>	-.16	<b>.28**</b>	<b>.25*</b>	-.15	-.08	<b>-.22*</b>	-.10	.06	-			3.25 (.98)
<b>10. Control Ratings</b>	.07	-.14	-.17	.12	.05	.18	.05	<b>.24*</b>	-.14	-		2.78 (1.20)
<b>11. Change Ratings</b>	<b>.22*</b>	.02	.09	.00	.08	.02	-.08	.04	-.17	.18	-	3.51 (.82)

LC = Locus of Control  
 ASI = Ambivalent Sexism towards Women  
 AMI = Ambivalent Sexism towards Men

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level

\* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

Table 7  
*Correlations for Homeless Female Condition*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Mean (SD)
<b>1. LC - Internal</b>	-											4.24 (.67)
<b>2. LC - Chance</b>	<b>-.31**</b>	-										3.27 (.71)
<b>3. LC - Powerful Others</b>	-.08	<b>.65**</b>	-									3.33 (.84)
<b>4. ASI - Benevolent</b>	<b>.34**</b>	-.10	-.01	-								3.12 (.76)
<b>5. ASI - Hostile</b>	.17	-.04	-.03	<b>.71**</b>	-							3.12 (.66)
<b>6. AMI - Benevolent</b>	.09	.00	-.05	<b>.69**</b>	<b>.67**</b>	-						2.59 (1.12)
<b>7. AMI - Hostile</b>	.11	.05	-.07	<b>.65**</b>	<b>.60**</b>	<b>.66**</b>	-					2.82 (.96)
<b>8. Internal Ratings</b>	.03	-.14	-.15	.03	<b>.23*</b>	.11	-.01	-				3.05 (1.01)
<b>9. External Ratings</b>	-.19	<b>.38**</b>	.21	-.16	-.21	-.20	-.09	-.11	-			3.47 (.94)
<b>10. Control Ratings</b>	.31	<b>-.25*</b>	-.16	.21	.21	.15	.09	<b>.36**</b>	<b>-.31**</b>	-		2.90 (1.13)
<b>11. Change Ratings</b>	.12	-.10	-.03	<b>.25*</b>	<b>.22*</b>	.04	.16	-.05	.02	.11	-	3.41 (.93)

LC = Locus of Control  
 ASI = Ambivalent Sexism towards Women  
 AMI = Ambivalent Sexism towards Men

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level

\* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

Table 8

*Hypothesis 1 - Independent Samples T-Tests, Attributions about Homeless Males and Homeless Females*

		<i>n</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
<b>Internal Rating</b>	Homeless Male	101	3.13	1.28	.52	185	.61
	Homeless Female	86	3.05	1.00			
<b>External Rating</b>	Homeless Male	100	3.25	.98	-1.52	184	.13
	Homeless Female	86	3.47	.94			
<b>Control Rating</b>	Homeless Male	101	2.78	1.20	-.66	185	.51
	Homeless Female	86	2.89	1.13			
<b>Change Rating</b>	Homeless Male	100	3.51	.83	.762	183	.45
	Homeless Female	85	3.41	.93			



Table 9

*Hypothesis 2 - Independent Samples T-Tests, Homeless Male Condition, Benevolent Sexism towards Men*

		<i>n</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
<b>Internal Rating</b>	Low Benev AMI	50	3.08	1.10	-.43	99	.67
	High Benev AMI	51	3.18	1.16			
<b>External Rating</b>	Low Benev AMI	49	3.53	.92	<b>2.92</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>.00</b>
	High Benev AMI	51	2.98	.97			
<b>Control Rating</b>	Low Benev AMI	50	2.54	1.23	<b>-2.05</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>.04</b>
	High Benev AMI	51	3.02	1.12			
<b>Change Rating</b>	Low Benev AMI	50	3.52	.79	.12	98	.90
	High Benev AMI	50	3.50	.86			

Table 10

*Hypothesis 2 – Univariate ANOVA, Condition x Sexism towards Women Classifications*

	<i>Source</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
<b>Internal Rating</b>	Condition	1	.78	.67	.416
	Sexism towards Women	3	1.92	1.69	.17
	Condition*Sexism towards Women	3	1.19	1.04	.38
<b>External Rating</b>	Condition	1	1.01	1.08	.30
	Sexism towards Women	3	1.14	1.22	.30
	Condition*Sexism towards Women	3	.08	.09	.97
<b>Control Rating</b>	Condition	1	.74	.97	.33
	Sexism towards Women	3	1.30	1.72	.17
	Condition*Sexism towards Women	3	.63	.83	.48
<b>Change Rating</b>	Condition	1	.01	.01	.93
	Sexism towards Women	3	.64	.47	.71
	Condition*Sexism towards Women	3	1.00	.73	.54

Table 11

*Hypothesis 2 – Univariate ANOVA, Condition x Sexism towards Men Classifications*

	<i>Source</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
	Condition	1	.00	.00	.98
<b>Internal Rating</b>	Sexism towards Men	3	1.26	1.08	.36
	Condition*Sexism towards Men	3	.38	.33	.81
	Condition	1	1.42	1.62	.20
<b>External Rating</b>	Sexism towards Men	<b>3</b>	<b>4.80</b>	<b>5.50</b>	<b>.00</b>
	Condition*Sexism towards Men	3	.33	.38	.77
	Condition	1	.28	.37	.55
<b>Control Rating</b>	Sexism towards Men	3	.54	.70	.56
	Condition*Sexism towards Men	3	.67	.87	.45
	Condition	1	.98	.73	.39
<b>Change Rating</b>	Sexism towards Men	<b>3</b>	<b>3.92</b>	<b>2.94</b>	<b>.04</b>
	Condition*Sexism towards Men	3	.08	.06	.98

## References

- Belcher, J. R., & DeForge, B.R. (2012). Social stigma and homelessness: The limits of social change. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 22(8), 929-946.
- Clow, K.A., & Ricciardelli, R. (2011). Women and men in conflicting social roles: Implications from social psychological research. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 5(1), 191-226.
- Contreras, J.M., Banaji, M.R., & Mitchell, J.P. (2013). Multivoxel patterns in fusiform face area differentiates faces by sex and race. *PLoS ONE*, 8(7), e69684.
- Cuddy, A.J.C., Fiske, S.T., & Glick, P. (2007). The BIAS map: Behaviors from intergroup affect and stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92(4), 631-648.
- Flanagan, C.A., & Tucker, C.J. (1999). Adolescents' explanations for political issues: Concordance with their views of self and society. *Developmental Psychology*, 35, 1198-1209.
- Forsyth, D.R. (1980). The functions of attributions. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 43(2), 184-189.
- Forsyth, D.R., & McMillan, J.H. (1981). Attributions, affect, and expectations: A test of Weiner's three-dimensional model. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 73(3), 393-403.
- Furnham, A. (1996). Attributions for the increase in urban homelessness. *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, 11(1), 189-200.
- 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.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S.T. (1999). The ambivalence toward men inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent beliefs about men. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 23(3), 519-536.

- Glick, P., Fiske, S.T., Mladinic, A., Saiz, J.L., Abrams, D., Masser, B., . . . Lopez, W.L. (2000). Beyond prejudice as simple antipathy: Hostile and benevolent sexism across cultures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 79*(5), 763-775.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S.T. (2011). Ambivalent sexism revisited. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 35*(3), 530-535.
- Graham, S., & Weiner, B. (1996). Theories and principles in motivation. In B.C. Berliner & R.C. Calfee (Eds.), *Handbook of Educational Psychology* (pp. 63-84). New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Hayes, E.R., & Swim, J.K. (2013). African, Asian, Latina/o, and European Americans' responses to popular measures of sexist beliefs: Some cautionary notes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 37*(2), 155-166.
- Henry, M., Cortes, A., Shivji, A., & Buck, K. (2014). The annual homeless assessment report to Congress. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Community Planning and Development.
- Huebner, R.B., & Lipsey, M.W. (1981). The relationship of three measures of locus of control to environmental activism. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 2*(1), 45-58.
- Levenson, H. (1973). Multidimensional locus of control in psychiatric patients. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 41*(3), 397-404.
- Levenson, H. (1974). Activism and powerful others: Distinctions within the concept of internal-external control. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 38*, 377-383.
- Rotter, J.B. (1966). Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control and reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs, 80*, (Whole No. 609).

- Russell, B., Ragatz, L.L., Kraus, S.W. (2009). Does ambivalent sexism influence verdicts for heterosexual and homosexual defendants in a self-defense case? *Journal of Family Violence, 24*, 145-157.
- Scheier, M.F., & Carver, C.S. (1985). Optimism, coping, and health: Assessment and implications of generalized outcome expectancies. *Health Psychology, 4*, 219-247.
- Sidel, R. (1996). The enemy within: A commentary on the demonization of difference. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 66*(4), 490-495.
- Spence, J.T., & Hahn, E.D. (1997). The Attitudes towards Women Scale and attitude change in college students. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21*(1), 17-34.
- Valor-Segura, I., Exposito, F., Moya, M. (2011). Victim blaming and exoneration of the perpetrator in domestic violence: The role of beliefs in a just world and ambivalent sexism. *The Spanish Journal of Psychology, 14*(1), 195-206.
- Viki, T., & Abrams, D. (2002). But she was unfaithful: Benevolent sexism and reactions to rape victims who violate traditional gender role expectations. *Sex Roles, 47*(5), 289-293.
- Weiner, B. (1985). An attributional theory of achievement motivation and emotion. *Psychological Review, 92*(4), 548-573.
- Weiner, B. (1986). *An attributional theory of motivation and emotion*. New York: Springer-Verlag.