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The Afterglow of Construct Accessibility: The Behavioral Consequences of Priming Men to View Women as Sexual Objects

LAURIE A. RUDMAN AND EUGENE BORGIDA

The University of Minnesota

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The hypothesis that temporary and chronic construct accessibility effects may independently influence cognitive and behavioral reactions was examined. Male subjects blocked on the Likelihood to Sexually Harass (LSH) scale (Pryor, 1987) were randomly assigned to priming condition (control vs facilitation of the category, *women as sexual objects*). On a lexical decision task, as predicted, primed subjects responded faster to sexist words than did control subjects. In addition, they were slower to recognize nonsexist words pertaining to women than were controls. All subjects subsequently interviewed a female confederate job applicant under high or low power conditions. The power manipulation, the priming manipulation, and the individual difference measure proved to be associated with subjects' (1) stereotyped information acquisition during the interview and (2) sexualized behavior during the interview. In addition, both the priming manipulation and the dispositional measure were associated with sex-typed evaluations of the confederate. The findings are supportive of an additive versus an interactive model, whereby *either* chronic *or* temporary construct accessibility may be sufficient to produce sex discriminatory behavior.

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The influence of construct accessibility on social perception has been well documented in the social-cognitive literature (Higgins & Bargh, 1987). Moreover, assimilative effects have been demonstrated for two independent types of accessibility: (1) temporary accessibility, whereby contextual influences induce perceivers to interpret events consistent with momentarily activated constructs (e.g., Higgins, Rholes, & Jones, 1977; Srull & Wyer, 1978, 1979); and (2) chronic accessibility, whereby routinely activated constructs are likely to affect judgment irrespective of priming manipulations or situational influences (Bargh, 1984; Higgins & King, 1981). The former is attributed to a recency effect and the latter to a frequency effect; both are posited to be prominent determinants of construct activation phenomena by current construct accessibility theories (Higgins, Bargh, & Lombardi, 1985; Higgins & King, 1981; Srull & Wyer, 1986, 1989).

Importantly, an initial study by Bargh, Bond, Lombardi, and Tota (1986) demonstrated that temporary and chronic accessibility effects are independent sources of influence in social judgment tasks. In a rare study that examined both types of accessibility, they found that recency of prime *and* frequency of activation were predictive of construct accessibility effects. Interestingly, they did not find evidence for an interactive, cumulative model in which chronic users might be especially likely to exhibit priming effects relative to nonchronic users (cf. McKenzie-Mohr & Zanna, 1990). Instead, their results supported an additive model in which chronic and temporary sources of construct accessibility are independently associated with a construct's use.

An important implication of construct accessibility theory lies in its predictive utility vis-à-vis social categorization processes, including the use of stereotypes in impression formation (e.g., Manis, Nelson, & Shedler, 1988; Manis, Paskewitz, & Cotler, 1986; Srull & Wyer, 1980; Stangor, 1988). Recent research has demonstrated that categorization is the means by which a stereotype is accessed and used to draw inferences about a target (e.g., Zarate & Smith, 1990). Current models of impression formation (Brewer, 1988; Neuberg & Fiske, 1990) suggest that perceivers automatically categorize targets based on salient physical cues (e.g., race, gender, and age). However, individuals are often members of multiple social groups (e.g., Black female lawyers), so the question of which stereotype will be accessed by perceivers has become an important one (e.g., Stangor, Lynch, Duane, & Glas, 1992).

Moreover, although superordinate categories may provide the basis for a target's initial classification (Stangor et al., 1992), recent research suggests that perceivers subsequently rely on more differentiated social subtypes during impression formation (Brewer, Dull, & Lui, 1981; Devine & Baker, 1991). For example, a perceiver may first classify a woman based on her gender (Stangor et al., 1992) but then subclassify her as a career woman, a nurturer, or a sexual object (Deaux, Winton, Crowley, & Lewis, 1985; Clifton, McGrath, & Wick, 1976; Kanter, 1977). In other words, social categorization (and hence

stereotyping) most likely involves a process that devolves hierarchically from superordinate to subordinate levels (Hamilton & Mackie, 1990).

The present study argues that subtype selection and influence is at least partially a function of construct accessibility. Specifically, we hypothesized that an environment that implicitly primes perceivers to categorize women negatively (e.g., as sexual objects in an inappropriate context) should enhance the accessibility of a harmful subtype, which in turn should have both cognitive and behavioral effects.

To test for such effects, we followed the reliable procedure of presenting subjects with a series of ostensibly unrelated tasks (e.g., Higgins et al., 1977). The first task involved a priming manipulation in which the category *women as sexual objects* was facilitated in male subjects. The second and third tasks entailed cognitive and behavioral assessments of the priming effects. Moreover, to prevent subjects' suspicions regarding the priming manipulation's purpose, we used material that is routinely available and culturally sanctioned: television commercials that portray women as sex objects.[1] It was hypothesized that primed subjects would be more likely to think of women as sexual objects, and would therefore be more likely to exhibit sexist behavior in a subsequent interaction with a female job applicant than would unprimed subjects. As such, the present study measured the effects of temporary construct accessibility on cognition and behavior simultaneously. Past research has primarily focused on cognition (for reviews, see Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Higgins & Bargh, 1987) or has independently examined cognitive and behavioral priming effects (Herr, 1988, Studies 1 and 2).

However, we recognized that subjects would not necessarily require priming to exhibit cognitive and behavioral sexism. Previous research has demonstrated that individuals rely on chronically accessible constructs to interpret social information, especially in the absence of situational influences (e.g., Bargh & Pratto, 1986; Bargh et al., 1986; Higgins, King, & Mavin, 1982). We therefore pretested subjects on an individual difference measure designed to assess the probability that they would sexually exploit women, the Likelihood to Sexually Harass (LSH) scale (Pryor, 1987). We hypothesized that subjects who scored high on the LSH would be inclined to (1) chronically view women as sexual objects and (2) exhibit sexist behaviors as a result, irrespective of situational priming.

A key question under investigation was whether the effects of temporary and chronic accessibility would interact on the behavioral measures, as indicated by recent research on the antecedents of sexual harassment (Bargh

[1] By sexist, we mean that the ads portrayed women as interchangeable, decorative objects whose sole function is to please (i.e., be sexually accessible to) men. For the most part, the ads depicted women as the implied "reward" for product consumption. Certainly there are other operationalizations of sexist portrayals. Moreover, we do not wish to imply that *sexual* is synonymous with *sexist*. However, sexual objectification is sexist, just as sexual harassment constitutes sex discrimination, and it should be noted that women are most often the targets.

& Raymond, 1992; McKenzie-Mohr & Zanna, 1990; Pryor, LaVite, & Stoller, 1993). While priming should have cognitive consequences, we hypothesized that behavioral consequences might depend on both a predisposition to view women as sexual objects *and* a category accessibility boost from the priming manipulation. As noted earlier, research by Bargh et al. (1986) supported an additive model for temporary and chronic accessibility effects on a social judgment task (i.e., either situational influence or personality predisposition was sufficient to produce assimilation effects), but this finding has heretofore not been extended to behavior. Thus, a primary goal of the present study was to assess whether the influence of temporary and chronic accessibility effects on behavior would be additive or interactive.

In addition, we were interested in assessing whether an explicit power differential between subjects and the confederate would enhance the effects of either temporary or chronic accessibility. For example, some sexual harassment theories argue that disparities in organizational status are causally linked to workplace discrimination, whereas others posit that explicit power differences are unnecessary because men, by virtue of their gender, are endowed with more sociocultural status than women (Tangri, Burt, & Johnson, 1982). To operationalize organizational status, we adopted a previously defined power construct: asymmetrical control over another's outcomes (Depret & Fiske, in press; see also Fiske, 1993). The question at hand concerned whether power would exacerbate behavioral sexism, especially in men who had been primed (or were dispositionally inclined) to view women as sexual objects.

A secondary goal involved using an implicit measure (a lexical decision task) to test whether activating one subtype would facilitate or inhibit activation of another subtype within the same superordinate class (i.e., gender). Spreading activation theory (e.g., Collins & Loftus, 1975) might predict a facilitation effect whereby excitation of one subtype (e.g., sexual object) would spread to activate another (e.g., nurturer). However, this hypothesis assumes that sexual object and nurturer are stored as instances of the same higher-order category in much the same way that apples and pears are stored as instances of fruit (Loftus, 1973). If this were the case, then priming any female subtype should result in a facilitation effect for other subtypes on a reaction-time measure (for nonsocial examples, see Loftus, 1973; Schneider & Fisk, 1984; Warren, 1972).

Alternatively, subtypes may have mutually exclusive links to the superordinate category, rendering them antagonistic versus facilitative. If this were the case, then increasing the accessibility of one type might lead to a decrease in the accessibility of another type (Higgins et al., 1985). Because the two subtypes investigated in this study are intuitively contradictory, it seemed likely that activating one (sexual object) would inhibit rather than facilitate activating the other (nurturer). Simply put, the constructs "whore" and "mother" may be equally available in men's minds, but once the former is activated, it may be difficult to access the other.

In addition, the lexical decision task also employed ambiguous stimuli that could be construed consistently or inconsistently with the primed construct, *women as sexual objects*. We hypothesized that only primed subjects would exhibit carryover effects; that is, that they would tend to interpret double entendres (e.g., cherry, easy, strip) sexually rather than neutrally, whereas nonprimed subjects would tend to construe them neutrally (e.g., Higgins et al., 1977).

Finally, we assessed the possible *explicit* memory effects of temporary and chronic construct accessibility via two mnemonic measures: a free recall and a cued recall test. We predicted that relative to unprimed subjects, primed subjects would be more likely to recall the physical attributes of a female confederate and less likely to recall substantive information after interviewing her. Based on previous research, this prediction might seem especially likely for chronics versus nonchronics (McKenzie-Mohr & Zanna, 1990). However, because our priming manipulation was essentially nonreactive, the primed construct was instead expected to insinuate itself into our unsuspecting subjects' recall data irrespective of the individual difference measure (Devine, 1989). Finally, the cued recall measure was used to assess the previously unexamined possibility that any selective memory effects found under the free recall measure would diminish under a more sensitive test.

METHOD

Overview

Male subjects (pretested to be high or low on the LSH scale) participated in three purportedly unrelated tasks. First, they rated a videotape containing sexist or control male-targeted commercials as part of a fictitious market research project. This constituted the two-level prime condition (sexist vs control tape). Second, they performed a lexical decision task ostensibly as control subjects for a separate project. In fact, the lexical decision task served as a manipulation check for the priming effect of the sexist ads. Third, subjects interviewed and evaluated a female confederate for an office managerial position, supposedly as a favor to the experimenter. The interview task was performed under high or low power conditions. In the high power condition, subjects were led to believe they had control over a hiring decision. In the low power condition, subjects were told the hiring decision was already made; their task was to help train the confederate. In fact, the interview task served as a measure of the behavioral consequences of the earlier priming manipulation.

Subjects and Pretesting

Eighty undergraduate men, ranging in age from 18 to 39 ($M = 24$), participated in the study in exchange for extra credit in an introductory psychology course. Approximately 3 weeks before the start of the experiment, they were pretested on a variety of psychological measures, including Pryor's (1987) Likelihood to Sexually Harass (LSH) scale.[2] The LSH contains 10 scenarios

[2] Other individual difference measures collected included Malamuth's (1989a, 1989b) Attraction to Sexual Aggression Scale, Bem's (1974, 1981) Sex Role Inventory, and The Simplified Attitudes Towards Women Scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1972; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1974; M. C. Nelson, 1988). These measures served to screen for homosexuality, and to concurrently validate Pryor's LSH scale (average $r = .32$, $p < .01$).

depicting quid pro quo sexually exploitive opportunities. Respondents are asked to indicate on a 5-point scale anchored at (1) *not at all likely* and (5) *very likely* whether they would take advantage of the situation and harass the woman described in each vignette. A median split on the LSH was conducted on a pretest pool of undergraduate subjects ($N = 243$) in order to classify subjects as high or low scorers (median = 16).

The 80 subjects, blocked on the LSH, were subsequently contacted for participation in a "market research project." They were told they would be asked to evaluate several male-targeted commercials. They were also invited to help the experimenter prepare a computerized lexical decision task for use in an ostensibly unrelated project. Subjects who agreed to participate were then scheduled for an appointment.

Stimulus Materials

Ad rating task stimuli. Two videotapes, a sexist (experimental) tape and a control tape, were prepared. Each tape contained 20 ads that were yoked by product (e.g., the second commercials on both tapes were beer ads, the third set were car ads, etc.). The experimental tape contained 16 sexist ads and four control ads, the latter included to reduce suspicion; the control tape comprised 20 control ads (i.e., devoid of sexist imagery). Each tape began with a graphic identifying a fictitious market research company ("Midwestern Market Research Company"). In addition, the ads were labeled with identification numbers and separated by a 6-s countdown graphic to enhance the credibility of the cover story.[3]

Lexical decision task stimuli. Thirty-six undergraduate men generated the primary stimuli for the lexical decision task. In a pretesting procedure, they free-associated for 90 s to the counterbalanced categories *women as sexual objects* and *women as nonsexual objects*. Words independently generated by at least 33% of the sample (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991) were chosen as exemplars of that category for the lexical decision task (Ms = .47 and .44 for sexual objects and nonsexual objects, respectively). Overall, the lexical decision task included 10 pretested sexist words (e.g., babe, bimbo, playboy) and 10 pretested nonsexist words pertaining to women (e.g., mother, sister, nurturer). In addition, the task contained 10 gender neutral words (e.g., desk, paper, table), 10 sexual double entendres (e.g., cherry, easy, strip), and 40 nonword letter strings. In sum, the lexical decision task contained 80 letter strings, divided into five types of stimuli: sexist words, nonsexist words, neutral words, double entendres, and nonwords. Across categories, the words did not differ on the following dimensions: number of letters, number of syllables, (both Fs < 2.15, ns) and, for the four codable categories, linguistic frequency, $F(3, 75) = 1.81$, ns (Francis & Kucera, 1982).

Interview task stimuli. Subjects preselected seven questions from a stack of 14 cards to ask the female confederate during the interview. The cards comprised seven question dyads yoked by content: dress code, personality traits, job criteria, sociability, self-disclosure, hypothetical job situation, and personal attributes. In each dyad, one question was more sexist and inappropriate than its counterpart (based on pretest results). For example, the dress code dyad presented the following choice: (a) "Do you think it is an employer's right to ask that employees dress attractively—for example, to insist that women wear skirts?" versus (b) "Do you feel you could effectively enforce a dress code for office employees?" The job criteria dyad offered (a) "Do you

[3] The ads were assigned to prime condition based on pretest results. Forty undergraduates (19 men and 21 women) rated 50 ads on dimensions of sexism, eroticism, and enjoyability. These ads, designed to appeal to male consumers, were drawn from monitoring network and cable television for several weeks. Products represented included beer, cologne, cars, and clothing. In addition, raters indicated the relative autonomy, intelligence, power, and agency of the women portrayed in each ad. The tapes were prepared so that the combined ratings of the final stimulus tapes differed significantly on each dimension (all ts > 12.00, ps $< .001$), with the exception of enjoyability ($t < 1$). Thus, the experimental tape was designed and pretested to be more sexist in orientation, but no more enjoyable than the control tape.

have a good phone voice?" versus (b) "Are you good at taking charge of a situation?" In general, the sexist questions were more personal (e.g., inquiring about an affinity for office affairs versus business travel) or more stereotypical of women (e.g., inquiring about interpersonal sensitivity versus career ambitions) than were nonsexist questions.[4]

The confederate's responses to the 14 questions, constructed to be neutral in tone, were scripted and memorized. For example, questions pertaining to job requisites evoked equivocal answers, whereby the confederate appeared capable, but not unduly qualified. Ratings of confederate behavior by independent observers subsequently confirmed this assessment.

Procedure

The ad rating task. Subjects arriving for the "market research project" were met individually by the first experimenter, who escorted them to a room equipped with a video monitor, a VCR, and a remote control. Based on random assignment to condition, the experimenter loaded the VCR with the sexist or the control tape. After completing a cover sheet of demographic information (e.g., age, income level, television viewing habits) subjects were instructed to watch each ad, pause the tape, and fill in the rating scales. The measures were 7-point scales, anchored by the following end points: [The ad is] good–bad, likable–not likable, enjoyable–not enjoyable, and attention getting–not attention getting. Subjects also indicated whether they used the product, how familiar they were with the ad and the product, and finally whether they would buy the product based on the ad they just saw. Subjects were instructed to return to the lab with their rating scales when they had completed the market research task. The task required approximately 30 min to complete.

The lexical decision task. When subjects returned to the lab, they were met by a second experimenter, who claimed to need baseline data for an unrelated lexical decision project. Subjects were led to believe they would act as control subjects for the task. After guiding subjects through computerized instructions and 10 practice trials, the experimenter left the room while subjects proceeded through 80 self-paced experimental trials. Each trial consisted of a warning (a signal "+" appeared in the center of the CRT screen for 500 ms), followed by a randomly selected letter string. The subject's task was to quickly and accurately identify the string as a word or nonword by pressing predetermined keys. The computer measured accuracy of response and subjects' reaction times (RTs) to the nearest millisecond. The program used for this purpose was Micro Experimental Laboratory (MEL) software. The task required approximately 5 min to complete.

The interview task. Following the computer task, subjects were "debriefed" by the second experimenter and compensated. Noting that 25 min remained of the subject's scheduled hour, the second experimenter then asked each subject if he would mind interviewing a woman, as a favor to her.[5] At this point, subjects were randomly assigned to power condition. In the *high power* condition, subjects were told the woman was auditioning for the role of confederate in an "interview skills" project. The job entailed pretending to be a job applicant for an office managerial position. High power subjects were informed that their evaluation of the candidate would have a controlling influence on the experimenter's hiring decision. In the *low power*

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[4] In a pretest session, 73 undergraduates (45 women, 28 men) rated the 14 questions on dimensions of sexism and appropriateness for the job of office manager using 7-point scales. In all cases, the designated "sexist" question was rated as more sexist and less appropriate than the yoked "nonsexist" choice (all $ts > 4.63$, $ps < .01$). Analyses of composite indices of sexism and appropriateness revealed that, overall, designated sexist questions were rated as more sexist ($Ms = 4.8$ vs 2.6) and less appropriate ($Ms = 2.7$ vs 5.4) than designated nonsexist questions, $ts = 14.23$ and 16.28, respectively, $ps < .001$. There were no gender differences on any of the ratings (all $ts < 1.60$, ns).

[5] Only one subject, citing time constraints, refused to interview the confederate. He was subsequently replaced. In addition, no subject during the process debriefing expressed suspicion that the three tasks were interrelated.

condition, subjects were asked to interview and evaluate the woman, but only for the sake of practice; they were told she already had the job. It was stressed to all subjects that they were ideal interviewers because they were complete strangers to the woman, which modeled conditions in the "real" study.

The experimenter then escorted subjects to another room and introduced them to the confederate. Subjects were then handed a stack of 14 preshuffled cards, on which were printed 14 interview questions. Subjects were instructed to preselect seven questions to ask the confederate during the interview. As described previously, the questions comprised sexist–nonsexist dyads yoked by content (e.g., dress code, job requisities, and personal attributes).[6]

After introductions, the confederate excused herself and left the room so that subjects ostensibly chose their questions in private. Unbeknownst to subjects, they were monitored by the experimenter via a video camera focused through a one-way mirror. When subjects appeared ready for the interview, the experimenter signaled the confederate and started the camera. The confederate then returned to the room, sat approximately 1.6 m (5.25 feet) opposite the subject, and always began the interview with a brief introduction that included her name, residence, major, and when she expected to graduate. Subjects then proceeded to ask the confederate seven preselected questions. The interview task required an average of 6.17 min to complete and was videotaped in its entirety.

Confederate and subject evaluative measures. When the interview was over, the experimenter interrupted the interaction and dismissed the confederate, who retired to complete a questionnaire assessing her impressions of the subject. Toward that end, she responded to specific questions about the subject's sexualized behavior on 7-point scales (e.g., "How much did you feel the subject was looking at your body?"; "How sexually motivated did you think he was?"; and "How sexist did he appear to be?"). She also rated the friendliness and attractiveness of each subject.

Meanwhile, subjects received the Interview Evaluation Questionnaire (IEQ), an evaluation measure containing questions about the confederate's suitability for both the confederate and the office manager position, her personal attributes (e.g., friendliness, competence, and attractiveness), and manipulation checks regarding how powerful and influential the subject had felt during the interview. All response measures encompassed 7-point scales with appropriately labeled end points.

Explicit mnemonic measures. Upon completing the IEQ, subjects received two memory measures: a free recall and a cued recall test. For the free recall test, subjects were told the experiment was "actually about social memory" (McKenzie-Mohr & Zanna, 1990). Subjects were subsequently given 3 min to write down everything they could recall about the interview and the woman job applicant. Immediately afterward, the experimenter administered a self-paced cued recall test. This measure comprised three parts: (1) questions pertaining to the confederate's biographical information (e.g., her name, residence, expected graduation date), (2) questions about the confederate's physical appearance (e.g., the color of her hair, eyes, and clothing), and (3) questions pertaining to the room where the lexical decision task was conducted (e.g., number of computers, color of the walls). The latter were control questions, designed to assess if there were any systematic mnemonic differences among subjects, despite random assignment.

Upon completion of the dependent measures, subjects were probed for suspicion, debriefed, and dismissed. Prior to dismissal, all subjects were informed that their interview had been videotaped and given the opportunity to erase their tape or sign a release form (all subjects signed).

RESULTS

Results will be presented in the following order: (1) an examination of the dispositional and situational independent variables, including manipulation

[6] To enhance the study's external validity, subjects were also encouraged to "think of follow-up questions" and in general, to ask any questions they deemed important to the task at hand. Because this data paralleled the preselected question data, it will not be discussed further.

checks; (2) information acquisition measures, including question selection data and memory for acquired information; (3) subjects' social judgment data; and (4) behavioral measures, including ratings obtained by the confederate and independent observers. Finally, a path analysis examining the mediational nature of a subset of variables will be presented.

Dispositional and Situational Antecedents

The LSH scale. Scores on the LSH ranged from 10 to 42 in the sample ($M = 18.92$). Because subjects were pretested and blocked on the LSH prior to random assignment, the scale served as an orthogonal factor in the study.

The priming manipulation. As part of a market research project, subjects rated the sexist or control ads on 5-point scales tapping four dimensions (good–bad, likable–not likable, enjoyable–not enjoyable, and attention getting–not attention getting). These items were combined ($\alpha = .96$) and the index submitted to a two-way (Prime × LSH) ANOVA. Results revealed no main effect for prime condition, $F(1, 78) = 2.20$ (Ms = 2.87 vs 3.09 for the sexist and control tape groups). In addition, there was no main effect for LSH ($F < 1$). Thus, subjects in both prime conditions reported comparable enjoyment and interest levels for the ad rating task. Likewise, there were no differences on items that pertained to ad familiarity, product familiarity, and current use of the product (all Fs < 1). As a final check, oneway ANOVAs were conducted separately on items tapping cable access, number of hours spent watching television, and preference for watching beer commercials (notorious for their sexist content). There were no differences across conditions on these measures (all Fs < 1).

A check on priming: The lexical decision task. The reaction time measure served as an unobtrusive means of ascertaining the effectiveness of the priming manipulation. Figure 1 presents subjects' mean response latency for the lexical decision task as a function of prime condition (sexist vs control tape) and word type (sexist words, nonsexist words, neutral words, double entendres, and nonwords). A 2 × 2 × 5 mixed-factor multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) revealed no main effect for LSH nor prime condition, both Fs(1, 76) < 1.23, ns. However, a main effect for word type obtained, $F(4, 304) = 9.04$, $p < .001$. A planned contrast analysis revealed that nonwords were recognized slower than any other type, $F(1, 304) = 22.23$, $p < .001$.[7] A test of the residual variance was not significant ($F < 1$).

In addition, the expected Prime × Word Type interaction obtained, $F(4, 304) = 12.90$, $p < .001$. Simple effects analyses revealed that, as predicted, primed subjects recognized sexist words faster than the control group, $F(1, 161) = 4.73$, $p < .05$ (Ms = 568.19 vs 659.75). In addition, primed subjects

[7] This represents a positive response bias (i.e., "yes" decisions require shorter latencies than "no" decisions) that is common throughout the response latency literature (e.g., Carpenter & Just, 1975) and will not be discussed further.

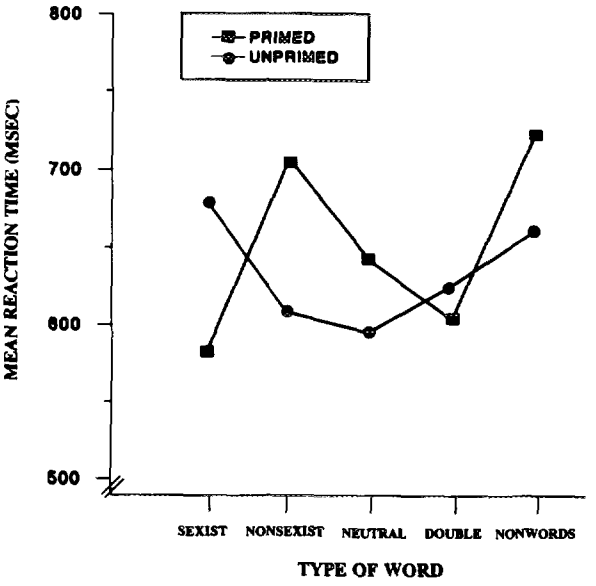

FIG. 1. Subjects' mean lexical decision response latency as a function of type of word and prime condition.

were slower to recognize nonsexist words pertaining to women than were controls, $F(1, 161) = 5.59, p < .05$ ($Ms = 692.31$ vs 593.55). Therefore, the sexist tape apparently facilitated construct accessibility for the specific subtype (*women as sexual objects*) rather than priming the superordinate category (*women*).

Although not independent of the foregoing analyses, an examination of contrasts within the sexist and control tape groups was conducted to ascertain whether ambiguous stimuli were interpreted in line with the priming manipulation. Within the primed group, sexist words and double entendres were recognized with equal alacrity, $t(39) = 1.41$, ns. Moreover, double entendres were recognized faster than neutral words, $t(39) = -2.95, p < .01$. Within the control group, double entendres were recognized faster than sexist words, $t(39) = -2.92, p < .01$. However, there were no significant differences between double entendres and neutral words, $t(39) = 1.79$, ns. Although the evidence is indirect, these results suggest that sexist tape subjects interpreted ambiguous stimuli consistent with the construct primed by the sexist commercials. By contrast, control tape subjects apparently interpreted double entendres in line with neutral stimuli (see Fig. 1).

An analysis of subjects' recognition accuracy revealed no main effects for type of stimulus tape, lexical category, nor any interaction between these factors (all $Fs < 1.39$, ns).

The power manipulation check. After completing the interview, subjects responded to two measures designed to check on the power manipulation: "How powerful did you feel during the interview?" and "How much of an influence do you feel your evaluation will have on the interviewee's future?" Subjects responded using appropriately labeled 7-point scales, with higher values corresponding to more power and influence.

The two items were combined ($\alpha = .67$) and the index submitted to a three-way (Prime × Power × LSH) ANOVA. Results revealed a significant main effect for the power manipulation, $F(1, 72) = 11.89, p < .001$. As expected, subjects in the high power condition felt substantially more powerful and influential ($M = 4.82$) than did low power subjects ($M = 3.33$). No other differences emerged on this measure.

Information Acquisition Measures

Interview question data. A primary dependent variable of the interview task was the number of sexist questions the subject asked the female confederate under the pretext of a job interview. A three-way ANOVA revealed a main effect for prime, $F(1, 72) = 37.10$, $p < .001$. As predicted, primed subjects ($M = 3.50$) asked significantly more sexist questions than did controls ($M = 1.88$). There was also a main effect for the power manipulation, $F(1, 72) = 4.08$, $p < .05$. High power subjects asked more sexist questions ($M = 2.93$) than did low power subjects ($M = 2.45$). Finally, there was a significant main effect for LSH, $F(1, 72) = 4.98, p < .03$. High-scoring subjects were more likely to ask sexist questions than were low scorers (Ms = 2.95 vs 2.42, respectively). There were no interactions on this measure (all Fs < 1).

Free recall task. After completing the interview and their evaluations of the confederate, subjects spent three minutes writing down "whatever came quickly and easily to mind" about the interview and the confederate. Subsequently, two independent raters content-coded the recollection data by counting the number of words consigned to the following categories (rater agreement alphas are in parentheses): (1) the confederate's physical appearance (.86); (2) her physical behavior (.78); (3) her personality (.73); and (4) evaluating the confederate (.81). After rating the recall data independently, the judges resolved discrepancies; thus, the final coding scheme represented 100% rater agreement.

The top half of Table 1 displays the mean number of subjects' written words on the free recall measure consigned to the categories described above. Subjects' total word count and individual category totals were submitted to separate three-way (Prime × Power × LSH) analyses of variance. No differences emerged for word frequency, physical behavior, or personality content (all Fs < 1.12, ns). However, main effects for the prime condition obtained for (1) physical appearance and (2) evaluation of confederate, Fs(1, 72) = 30.41 and 5.09, ps < .02. In recalling the confederate's interview, primed subjects concentrated more on her physical attributes and clothing ($M = 7.25$) than did

control subjects ($M = 1.52$). In addition, they spent less task-oriented time than did controls; that is, they wrote fewer words evaluating the confederate's qualifications for either the job of office manager or confederate (Ms = 3.38 vs 8.30).

Cued recall task. Following the free recall task, all subjects completed a cued recall measure. Responses to 21 questions (e.g., "What was the interviewee's name?") were open-ended and scored from 0 (null or wrong response) to 2 (completely correct response). Subjects received one point if their response was partially correct (e.g., if they recalled the confederate's first name, but not her last). Four items tapped recall for the confederate's biographical information (name, state of origin, current residence, and expected year of graduation; range = 0 to 8 points). Twelve items tapped recall for the confederate's physical appearance (e.g., the color of her hair, eyes, clothing, make-up, height, and jewelry; range = 0 to 24). Five control items asked subjects to recall details about the room where they had performed the lexical decision task (e.g., color of the walls, number of computers) as a means of tapping generic memory for the event (range = 0 to 10). The bottom half of Table 1 displays the mean cued recall scores.

All three indices were submitted to separate three-way (Prime × Power × LSH) ANOVAs. As expected, no differences emerged on the control index (all Fs < 1.08). However, a main effect for prime obtained on the biographical information index, $F(1, 72) = 59.65$, $p < .001$. Primed subjects recalled significantly less introductory information about the confederate ($M = 3.33$) than did control subjects ($M = 5.65$). In addition, a prime main effect emerged on the physical appearance index, $F(1, 72) = 39.14$, $p < .001$. Primed subjects recalled significantly more about the confederate's physical

TABLE 1
MEAN FREE RECALL WORD CONTENT SCORES AND CUED RECALL MEMORY TEST SCORES AS A FUNCTION OF PRIME CONDITION

	Prime condition	
	Sexist tape	Control tape
Free recall		
Word frequency	53.33	51.80
Physical behavior	5.23	3.71
Personality	2.05	2.75
Physical appearance	7.25	1.52*
Evaluation	3.38	8.30*
Cued recall		
Appearance index	17.41	10.23*
Biographical index	3.33	5.65*
Control index	5.25	5.06

Note. Pairs of means displayed with an asterisk are significantly different at the .05 level.

appearance than did controls (Ms = 17.41 vs 10.23). Thus, although subjects displayed no mnemonic differences on the control items, primed subjects apparently attended more to the confederate's physical appearance and less to her introductory information than did control subjects, as evidenced by the discrepancies in their recall scores on these measures.

Subjects' Social Judgment Measures

Performance manipulation check. Following the interview, subjects responded to the Interview Evaluation Questionnaire (IEQ). The first three items on the IEQ required subjects to indicate on 7-point scales how spontaneous and credible the confederate's answers appeared to be, and the likelihood of their hiring her as a research confederate.[8] A composite index of these measures ($\alpha = .80$) reflected the confederate's acting ability and served as a performance manipulation check. A three-way ANOVA on this measure revealed no differences across conditions (all Fs < 2.00, ns). Thus, subjects apparently found the confederate dramaturgically credible and consistent across all conditions.

The hireability index. Subjects also responded to two hireability items, "How likely would you be to hire her as an office manager?" and "If hired, what salary level would you recommend?" The first item was scaled (1) *not at all likely* to (7) *very likely*. The second item offered a range between $12,000 and $27,000 per annum, in $3000 increments. Standardized scores on these items were combined ($\alpha = .75$) and submitted to three-way ANOVA. Higher scores on this measure reflect a greater likelihood to hire the confederate and to pay her well. Results revealed main effects for the prime condition and LSH such that primed subjects and high LSH subjects were more likely to hire the confederate and compensate her well than unprimed or low LSH subjects, Fs(1, 72) = 16.62 and 7.55, respectively, ps < .05. However, a significant Prime × LSH interaction qualified these results, $F(1, 72) = 8.70$, $p < .01$. Simple effects analysis revealed that high LSH, primed subjects rated the confederate more hireable than their low LSH counterparts, $F(1, 72) = 15.98$, $p < .01$ (Ms = 1.52 vs −.25). In the control group, this difference was not significant, $F < 1$ (Ms = −.67 vs −.60).

Confederate's competence. A sixth item asked subjects to respond to, "How competent was the interviewee?" on a 7-point scale anchored at (1) *not at all*

[8] To enhance the external validity of the study, three women acted as confederates. Each confederate wore the same outfit for every interview (e.g., a knee-length skirt and sweater ensemble with low-heeled shoes). Each confederate memorized identical answers to the 14 interview questions. In addition, with the exception of names and hometowns, the introductory information given to each subject was identical across confederates. To examine whether individual confederates interacted with our dependent measures, analyses were conducted with the inclusion of confederate as a tri-level factor. In each case, confederate was a nonsignificant factor (all Fs < 2.04, ns).

competent and (7) *very competent*. Results of a three-way ANOVA revealed a main effect for prime, $F(1, 72) = 28.45$, $p < .001$. Overall, primed subjects rated the confederate significantly less competent ($M = 4.15$) than control subjects ($M = 5.55$). No other effects emerged on this measure (all $Fs < 3.10$, ns).

Confederate's friendliness and attractiveness. Subjects also responded to a 7-point item, "How friendly was the interviewee?" anchored by (1) *not at all friendly* and (7) *very friendly*. Results of a three-way ANOVA revealed a main effect for prime, $F(1, 72) = 59.06$, $p < .001$. Sexist tape subjects rated the female confederate significantly more friendly than control tape subjects ($Ms = 6.38$ vs 4.57). In addition, a main effect for LSH obtained, $F(1, 72) = 4.56$, $p < .04$. High LSH subjects ($M = 5.72$) rated the confederate more friendly than low LSH subjects ($M = 5.22$). A final 7-point item, "How attracted were you to the interviewee?" anchored by (1) *not at all attracted* and (7) *very attracted* was submitted to a three-way ANOVA. A significant main effect for LSH emerged, $F(1, 72) = 13.32$, $p < .001$. High LSH subjects reported being more attracted to the confederate ($M = 4.72$) than low LSH subjects ($M = 3.78$). No other effects emerged on this measure (all $Fs < 1.80$, ns).

Behavioral Measures

Confederate's impressions of subject-interviewers. Immediately following each interview, the confederate (blind to condition) responded to five 7-point items designed to assess her impressions of the subject. Two items, "How physically attractive did you think the subject was?" and "How attracted were you to him?" were combined ($\alpha = .88$) and submitted to a three-way ANOVA. No significant differences emerged on this measure (all $Fs < 2.10$, ns).

More important, three items were combined to form an index of sexualized behavior ($\alpha = .74$): "How much did you feel the subject was looking at your body?"; "How sexually motivated did you think he was?" and "How sexist did the subject appear to be?" Higher scores on this index correspond to more sexually motivated behavior. Results of a three-way ANOVA revealed main effects for prime, power, and LSH, $Fs(1, 72) = 29.84$, 13.16, and 18.90; all $ps < .001$. Primed subjects scored higher than control subjects ($Ms = 13.20$ vs 9.38); high power subjects scored higher than low power subjects ($Ms = 12.23$ vs 9.95); and high LSH subjects scored higher than low LSH subjects ($Ms = 12.45$ vs 9.73). No interactions emerged on this measure. These results paralleled the sexist question data; indeed, the correlation between the sexualized behavior index and the number of sexist questions asked by subjects is reasonably robust ($r = .42$, $p < .01$). However, this association is far from perfect, and we next turned to examine whether specific behaviors (e.g., sitting close to the confederate) played a role in the confederate's evaluation. Toward that end, independent observers were recruited to watch the videotaped interviews and rate the subjects on a number of dimensions.

Independent observer ratings. Our objective was to assess whether independent raters could detect behavioral differences among subjects across experimental conditions. It seemed likely that, compared to men, women observers might be more familiar with, and hence more sensitive to, male sexualized behavioral cues. We therefore employed four women judges to rate the interviewer-subjects on several dimensions. To avoid fatigue, two judges rated the first half ($N = 39$) while two different judges rated the second half ($N = 41$).[9] Table 2 presents the observer rating data for 80 subject-interviewers, including inter-rater reliability coefficients and the means for each evaluated dimension by experimental condition.

All judges watched and rated half the interviews individually, responding on appropriately labeled 7-point scales. Table 2 summarizes the dimensions on which subjects were rated. These include: (1) *proximity to the confederate* ("How close to the confederate is the subject sitting?"), (2) *dominance* (a composite of two items: "How interpersonally dominating does the subject appear to be [i.e., how much does he control the interaction, interrupt her, etc.]?" and "To what extent does the subject seem to be role-playing the part of the interviewer?"), (3) *sexualized behavior* (a composite of four items: "How frequently do you feel the subject is looking at the confederate's body?"; " How sexually motivated does he appear to be? [i.e., to what extent is he coming on to her?]"; "How sexist does the subject appear to be?"; and "Given that she is hired, how surprised would you be to find out that the interviewer sexually harassed the confederate within her first year on the job?").

TABLE 2
MEAN OBSERVER RATINGS OF 80 INTERVIEWER-SUBJECTS BY EXPERIMENTAL CONDITION

	α	Prime[a]		Power[b]		LSH[c]	
Measure	$N = 39/41$	ST	CT	H	L	H	L
Proximity	.91/.85	4.12	2.66*	3.58	2.84*	3.79	2.92*
Dominance[d]	.90/.83	4.42	3.13*	3.94	3.60	4.43	3.51*
Sexual behavior[e]	.90/.93	4.27	3.13*	3.31	4.08*	4.15	3.20*

Note. Pairs of asterisked means differ at the .05 level. Higher numbers indicate a higher rating on the relevant dimension.

[a] Prime condition (ST, sexist tape; CT, control tape).

[b] Power condition (H, high power; L, low power).

[c] Likelihood to Sexually Harass score (H, high; L, low).

[d] Composite of role-playing and interpersonal dominance ratings.

[e] Composite of sexual staring, sexual motivation, sexism, and likelihood to sexually harass ratings.

[9] Initially we employed four male raters to duplicate the women's efforts. However, except for the proximity dimension their ratings failed to achieve reliable agreement alphas and were subsequently dropped from analyses.

As Table 2 shows, the women judges' inter-rater reliability alphas were sufficiently high to warrant submitting the composite indices to separate three-way ANOVAs. Results revealed a consistent main effect for prime condition: $Fs(1, 72) = 33.49$, 22.74, and 29.83 for proximity, the dominance index, and the sexualized behavior index, respectively (all $ps < .001$). In addition, all three measures obtained a significant main effect for LSH, $Fs(1, 72) = 12.34$, 4.66, and 18.89 respectively, all $ps < .05$. Thus, primed subjects and high LSH subjects apparently sat closer to the confederate, displayed more dominance during the interview, and behaved in a more sexualized manner than did their respective counterparts. In addition, main effects for power obtained on the proximity and sexualized behavior measures, with high power subjects scoring higher than low power subjects, both $Fs(1, 72) > 13.17$, $p < .01$.[10] Finally, a Prime × Power interaction emerged on the dominance index, $F(1, 72) = 8.03$, $p < .01$. Simple effects analyses revealed that high power subjects scored higher than low power subjects, $F(1, 72) = 8.42$, $p < .01$ ($Ms = 4.97$ *vs* 3.80). In the control group, differences were nonsignificant ($F < 1.23$, ns).[11]

Overall, women raters detected main effects for all three independent variables (prime, LSH, and power) for the proximity and sexualized behavior measures. In addition, main effects for prime and LSH emerged on the interpersonal dominance index, along with a Prime × Power interaction on that measure.

Path Analysis

The results thus far indicate that all three independent variables were related to behavioral sexism, as measured by (1) information-acquisition strategies (i.e., asking sexist questions during the interview), and (2) both the confederate's and independent female raters' assessment of sexualized behavior during the interview.

However, the preceding analyses do not allow us to examine the overall pattern of results, including possible mediational effects among the experimen-

[10] The proximity dimension was subsequently assessed objectively by measuring the distance between the interviewer and the confederate on the CRT screen at the beginning and end of each interview, averaging the distance, and submitting the result to a three-way ANOVA. Results paralleled the subjective measure in that main effects for prime, power, and LSH obtained; all Fs $(1,79) > 4.64$, $ps < .05$. In other words, sexist tape, high power, and high LSH subjects actually sat closer to the confederate than their control tape, low power, and low LSH counterparts.

[11] Observers also responded to two items tapping how relaxed and confident the subject-interviewers appeared to be. These were combined to form an index of "interview comfort" ($\alpha = .84$). Judges also rated subjects on single-item dimensions of friendliness ($\alpha = .73$) and attractiveness ($\alpha = .75$). All three measures revealed no significant differences when submitted to separate three-way ANOVAs. Thus, it appears that female observers were able to detect subtle differences in the sexualized behavior of subjects that were unconfounded with measures of confidence, friendliness, and physical attractiveness.

tal and dependent variables. To address these concerns in an exploratory manner, we conducted a path analysis on a subset of cognitive and behavioral measures, displayed in Fig. 2. The model included (1) the three independent variables (using LSH as a continuous variable); (2) a measure of construct accessibility (reaction time for sexist words); (3) two information acquisition measures: number of sexist questions asked and memory for the confederate's physical appearance (as measured by the cued recall index); (4) the independent raters' sexualized behavior index; and (5) two social judgment measures: subjects' ratings of the confederate's competence and the hireability index. Our primary objectives were to assess the mediational nature of the variables and to elucidate the unexpected hiring results (i.e., LSH and prime were positively related to a decision to hire the confederate, but negatively related to assessing her competence).

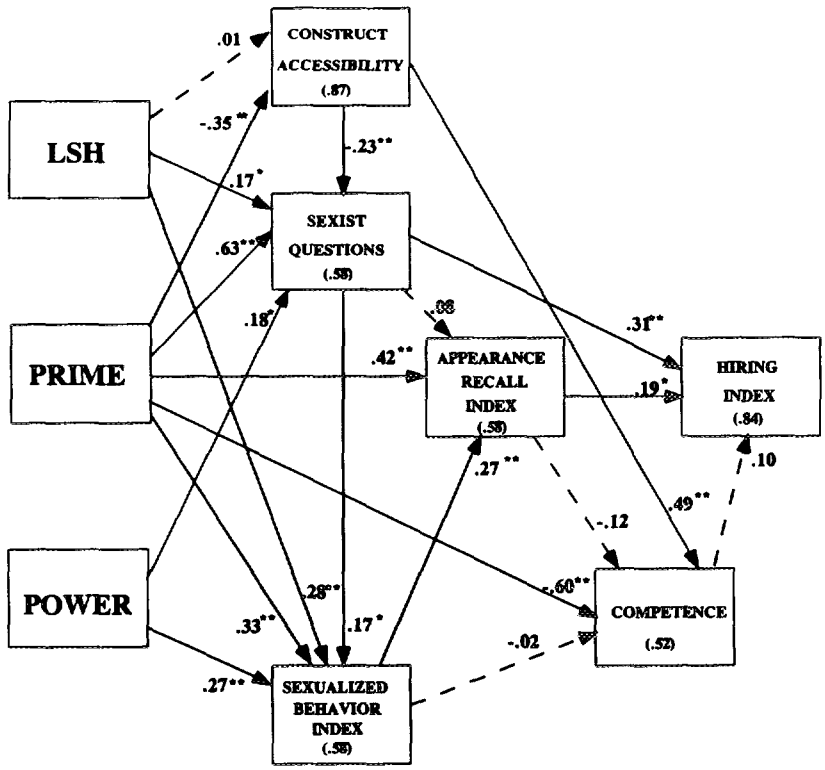

FIG. 2. Path analysis of the direct and indirect effects of prime, power, and LSH on a subset of cognitive and behavioral measures. (Note: PRIME was coded as 1 = sexist ads, 0 = control ads; POWER was coded as 1 = high power, 0 = low power; LSH is a continuous variable.) Path coefficients with dashed arrows are nonsignificant at $p > .10$. Error terms are in parentheses.

The model as tested is seen in Fig. 2. The dependent variables in the path analyses were selected based on the analyses of variance results and because they conceptually served as the best representatives for the cognitive and behavioral constructs under investigation. In addition, we tested a main effect rather than an interactive model because the ANOVA results suggested the appropriateness of the former. The results of the present model indicate that it is an adequate representation of the data, χ^2 (7, $N = 80$) = 15.06, $p > .31$. The goodness of fit index was robust (.96) and the root mean square residual was acceptably small (.048). Moreover, paths not represented in the model appeared to be inconsequential (all modification indices < 5.45).

Overall, the path coefficients supported our prior impressions that prime, power, and LSH contributed individually to number of sexist questions asked and to subjects' sexualized behavior ratings. The latter relationship appeared to be largely unmediated by the former. That is, although sexist question selection directly influenced observers' sexualized behavior ratings, the direct paths from the three independent variables to the sexualized behavior index remained intact.

But the path analysis also suggested that the strongest influence in the present investigation was the priming manipulation, by virtue of the greater number of direct (and indirect) paths associated with it, and the relative size of prime's path coefficients. For instance, as expected, prime was predictive of construct accessibility, which in turn directly predicted sexist question choice and lower competence ratings. Prime therefore appeared to have both a direct and an indirect influence on these two variables. Similarly, prime had a dual influence on memory for the confederate's physical appearance: An indirect path (via the sexualized behavior index) and a direct path were both significant.

Interestingly, the question selection measure and the cued recall index were both directly and positively related to a willingness to hire the confederate. Sexualized behavior ratings were also positively (though indirectly) related to this measure. In other words, subjects who asked sexist questions during the interview, treated her in a sexualized manner, and who paid attention to her physical attributes were the ones willing to hire her and to compensate her well.

Surprisingly, the competence ratings were not significantly related to the hiring decision. Thus, these results suggest (at best) that inappropriate criteria were used as a basis for hiring the confederate, and (at worst) that some subjects' motives for hiring her were suspect. Because of the stronger links between prime, hiring, and competence, the path analysis reveals that the priming manipulation is implicated in this state of affairs more than LSH or power.

DISCUSSION

The primary impetus for the present study was to investigate the behavioral consequences of temporary construct accessibility (i.e., priming men to view

women as sexual objects). Toward that end, the reaction time measure served as an unobtrusive manipulation check for the priming manipulation. Results revealed that, as predicted, sexist tape subjects responded faster to sexist words pertaining to women (e.g., babe, bimbo) and slower to nonsexist words pertaining to women (e.g., mother, nurture) than did comparison subjects in the control tape condition.[12] Although spreading activation theory (Collins & Loftus, 1975) might predict that the activation of one feminine stereotype would "spread" to facilitate activation of other feminine subtypes, the present results contradict that hypothesis. It appears that the two subtypes (sex-object vs nurturer) are sufficiently disparate that increasing the accessibility of one category inhibits the accessibility of the other. This finding thus supports the hypothesis that stereotypes are formed and stored at the level of subtypes, versus at the level of superordinate categories (Hamilton & Mackie, 1990). Although there is extant research comparing *inter*class stereotypes (e.g., race versus gender; see Stangor et al., 1992), to our knowledge the present study represents the first attempt to test whether priming one stereotype facilitates or inhibits the activation of a second, *inter*class (e.g., within one gender) social stereotype. As such, it highlights the necessity for a fine-tuned approach to social categorization processes in which the importance of stereotypical subtypes within broader schematic frameworks is examined (see also Brewer et al., 1988; Crocker, Fiske, & Taylor, 1984; Devine & Baker, 1991).

Not surprisingly, the lexical decision data also echo a consistent finding in the literature regarding the interpretation of ambiguous data under conditions of category activation (e.g., Darley & Gross, 1983; Duncan, 1976; Kunda & Sherman-Williams, 1993; Sagar & Schofield, 1980). That is, when data are "mixed" they are likely to be interpreted in line with the most accessible category (see Fiske & Taylor, 1991 for a review). Judging from the patterns that emerged from the response latency data, sexist tape subjects apparently interpreted the ambiguous stimuli (e.g., cherry, strip) as sexual, while control subjects did not. In other words, and consistent with construct activation theories (Higgins et al., 1985; Srull & Wyer, 1989), subjects apparently construed the same stimuli differently depending on whether their construct for *women as sexual objects* was recently activated.

Results therefore suggest that the priming manipulation was cognitively effective. But what of the behavioral consequences of temporary construct accessibility? Compared to controls, primed subjects (1) selected more sexist

[12] Recall that pretest subjects were responsible for the category, "women as nonsexual objects" resembling the nurturer subtype. When we asked pretest subjects to generate words associated with women nonsexually, they unanimously chose words that related to the feminine, nurturing stereotype (e.g., mother, sister, nurture) rather than words associated with other subtypes (e.g., career woman, feminist). We therefore can infer that nurturer is at least as connected to the superordinate category, women, as sexual object is, and that our results are probably not due to the subtypes being differentially associated with the higher-level category.

and inappropriate questions to ask of the target during a job interview, (2) sat closer to her, (3) rated her as more friendly, and (4) judged her as significantly less competent. In addition, these subjects recalled more about the interviewee's physical appearance and less about her biographical information, as assessed by both a free recall and cued recall measure, than did controls (see also McKenzie-Mohr & Zanna, 1990). Thus, primed subjects apparently paid more attention to the confederate's qualifications as a "sex object" than as a job applicant during the interview task (Sherman, Mackie, & Driscoll, 1990).

What were the behavioral effects of chronic construct accessibility? Based on previous research (e.g., Bargh & Raymond, 1992; Pryor et al., 1993), and as discussed in the introduction, it seemed possible that behavioral sexism would surface under interactive conditions; that is, when men with a propensity to sexually exploit women were primed to view them as sexual objects (see McKenzie-Mohr & Zanna, 1990). Instead, and consistent with past construct accessibility research (Bargh et al., 1986), we found that the individual difference measure performed as an additive factor when temporary and chronic construct accessibility sources were combined. Specifically, high LSH subjects scored higher than lows on the following dependent measures: (1) the number of sexist questions asked during the interview, (2) measures of proximity, (3) subjects' ratings of the confederate's friendliness and attractiveness, and (4) ratings of subjects' sexualized behavior.

And what about power? Previous models of sex-discriminatory behavior (e.g., the organizational model of sexual harassment; Tangri et al., 1982) have posited the importance of organizational status in determining who exploits who (sexually or otherwise). In the present study, we operationalized "sanctioned power" by granting subjects unequal influence over the target's outcomes (Depret & Fiske, 1991; Fiske, 1993; Fiske & Stevens, 1993).[13] Although manipulation checks revealed that subjects in the two conditions perceived influential differences, the power manipulation proved to be relatively weak in the present design. Nonetheless, compared to low power subjects, high power subjects (1) asked more sexist questions during the interview, (2) sat closer to the confederate, and (3) scored higher on indices of sexualized behavior. The only interaction that emerged was on the dominance index, in which high power subjects in the prime condition were rated as more interpersonally dominating than their low power counterparts (Dovidio et al., 1988). The path analysis revealed that, like LSH, the influence of the power

[13] In addition to social influence, we may have inadvertently manipulated accountability levels in subjects. However, accountability commonly has an attenuating effect on heuristic processing, including stereotyping (e.g., Kruglanski & Freund, 1983). We would therefore expect high power, primed subjects to ask less sexist questions, behave more appropriately, and evaluate the target less stereotypically than low power counterparts. This was not the case. In addition, if accountability were motivating subjects to process systematically rather than heuristically (Chaiken, 1980) we would expect high power subjects to score higher on the memory measures than low power subjects. Again, there were no differences.

manipulation on subjects' social judgment decisions was largely indirect (i.e., mediated through the sexist questions measure and the sexualized behavior index).

Overall, instead of supporting an interactive model of sexualized behavior (Bargh & Raymond, 1992; McKenzie-Mohr & Zanna, 1990; Pryor et al., 1993) the current findings point to a model in which *either* chronic (i.e., personality variables) *or* temporary (e.g., environmental cues) construct accessibility can produce behavior in men that has negative consequences for women. For example, stereotyping women—either temporarily or chronically—as sex objects may encourage men to seek information that results in biased hypothesis testing (Neuberg, 1989; Skov & Sherman, 1986; Snyder, 1981, 1984; cf. Trope & Bassok, 1982; Trope & Mackie, 1987). It may be the case that men disposed to view a woman as a sex object may elicit "confirmation" from her that she is indeed sexually accessible by asking her sexist questions, as the present study suggests. This in turn may evoke sexualized and dominating behavior in men and cause them to pay more attention to her physical appearance than her substantive attributes (e.g., job qualifications and performance). Subsequently, she may be evaluated in a stereotypical and discriminatory manner (e.g., as friendly and available, but incompetent).[14] Although being subtyped as a sex object may facilitate a favorable hiring decision, the hiring *purpose* awaits clarification from future research.

However, as evidenced by the path analysis results, subtype facilitation alone (at least, as measured by reaction time for sexist words) cannot explain all of the influence of the priming manipulation on the behavioral and explicit cognitive measures. It seems likely that exposure to sexist material may additionally prime awareness of a cultural climate (or "master status"; Kanter, 1977) in which treating women as sex objects is viewed as appropriate (Pryor & Stoller, 1992). Thus, we may have primed both the stereotype and tacit

[14] Alternatively, it is also possible that the sexist material was somewhat sexually arousing. A between-subject post-test of the two tapes, using self-report data from an independent sample of 40 undergraduate men, indicated that the sexist tape was reported to be more sexually stimulating than the control tape; Ms = 2.72 vs 1.22 on a 7-point scale for the sexist and control tapes, respectively, $F(1, 39) = 21.76$, $p < .01$. However, it is unlikely that physical arousal played a major role during the interview because (1) the interview occurred several minutes after the priming manipulation and (2) the arousal means for both tapes were well below the neutral point (i.e., sexist tape subjects were probably not greatly stimulated to begin with). Nonetheless, it is possible that activating sex-related constructs in sexist tape subjects may have induced a "date-motivated" versus a "task-motivated" orientation in this group (indeed, their free recall data showed significantly less task-oriented content than did control subjects' data). If so, then motivational factors may have differed in the two groups. In recent construct accessibility studies, disparate goal manipulations preceding social judgment tasks have been shown to overshadow individual difference measures; that is, it appears that chronic accessibility's influence may attenuate in the presence of temporary self-interest factors (Sedikides, 1990; Young, Thomsen, Borgida, Sullivan, & Aldrich, 1991). However, if this were the case, the confederate's attractiveness ratings should have increased as a function of prime. In fact, as noted earlier, there was only a main effect for LSH on this measure.

approval of the stereotype. This is consistent with attitude-change research in which priming a heuristic (in this case, "women are sex objects") increases the likelihood that the rule will be used in subsequent evaluations (see Chaiken, 1987, for a review). As the path analysis suggests, it would be interesting to test the relative contributions of subtype facilitation versus attitudinal acceptability and applicability as explanations for the priming manipulation's influence in future research.

In sum, the pernicious effects of culturally normative material such as sexist advertising may be that it (1) encourages men to mentally cast women into subjugative, sexualized roles and (2) facilitates access to norms advocating use of a sexist subtype. The cognitive effects may in turn leak unintentionally (i.e., automatically; Bargh, 1989) into even relatively nonsexist men's behavior. Indeed, the nature of the priming stimuli, which was routinely available and culturally sanctioned, virtually ensured subjects' nonreactivity.[15] The result of this subtlety may be a lack of defensive awareness, and hence "controllability" (Devine, 1989) on the part of subjects who are normally not inclined to exploit a woman for sexual favors, but who nonetheless are influenced by the institutionalized sexism that sexist advertising represents (Goffman, 1976). As a result, even inherently nondiscriminatory men may be vulnerable to the situational priming effects that accompany exposure to sexist material (Hansen & Hansen, 1988; St. Lawrence & Joyner, 1991; Weston & Thomsen, 1993). Our research indicates that while men may unintentionally bask in the "afterglow" of stereotyping women as sexual objects and treating them in kind, the reality for women may be considerably more bleak.

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[15] In fact, during debriefing, several primed subjects insisted they must have been controls because the ads they saw "weren't sexist."

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