

Ambivalent sexism in adolescents of Castilla-La Mancha¹

Sexismo ambivalente en adolescentes de Castilla-La Mancha

DOI: 10.4438/1988-592X-RE-2021-392-480

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Abstract

Sexist attitudes are configured in differential socialisation processes sexism is justifying inequality between men and women. This article aims to identify the variables that make it possible to explain and to predict sexist attitudes in adolescence in Castilla-La Mancha. This research uses a quantitative methodological strategy and a cross-sectional design through the Adolescent Sexism Detection Scale (DSA). The sample, based on stratified random sampling, is representative at the Autonomous Community level (95% confidence level and 2.2% margin of error) and is made up of 1,840 students (50.1% women and 49.9% men) of Compulsory Secondary Education. Pearson's correlations between sexist attitudes and possible explanatory variables show that levels of hostile sexism are higher as religiosity, positioning on the political right, consumption of pornography and non-perception of sexism in society increase. At the same time, the levels of benevolent sexism are higher as the size of the municipalities, the religiosity, the position on the political right and the consumption of pornography increases. Finally, the results of the multiple linear regression, using the successive steps method, show that sex, religiosity, political ideology, and life-long partnership predict both hostile and benevolent sexism.

Key words: gender stereotypes, hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, adolescence, attitudes.

⁽¹⁾ Funding: Subsidised project nº 2019-002 Research Chair Project. "Collaboration agreement signed between the Institute for Women of Castilla-La Mancha and the University of Alcalá for the creation of the "Isabel Muñoz Caravaca" research chair.

Acknowledgment: "Predoctoral Contract for University Teacher Training at the University of Alcalá".

Introduction

All societies transmit to each generation ways of communicating, thinking, and acting in order to maintain some degree of homogeneity. Every individual internalises this information in order to function in society and thus to obtain social approval. The socialisation process is the fundamental tool for arriving at this adaptive situation, although it does not always occur harmoniously (Costa, 2015; Giddens y Sutton, 2018; Perez-Felkner, 2013). The multiple theories developed about the process of integrating people into their social group differ in terms of whether they assign an active or a passive role to the subject in the process; however, they all affirm the way in which social interaction influences the construction of the identity of the subject through intrinsic and invisible power structures that lead to relationships of inequality (Denzin, 2017; Giddens y Sutton, 2018; Izquierdo y Ariño 2013; Perez-Felkner, 2013), as is the case in gender-based relationships (Colás, 2007; Eagly y Wood, 2012, 2017; Elche y Sánchez, 2017; Monreal y Terrón, 2015).

Sex-gender inequality, understood as the oldest and most universal form of inequality, is also the product of a social construction (De Miguel, 2015). From the moment of birth (if not before), sex becomes a powerful descriptor around which our identity is organised through the process of differential gender socialisation (Monreal y Terrón, 2015; Subirats, 2017; Yubero y Navarro, 2010), leading to gender roles, which are based on the possibility of procreation and the sexual division of work (Colás, 2007; Eagly y Wood, 2012; Izquierdo y Ariño, 2013). Gender is, therefore, a cultural representation that contains mandates and prohibitions on the lives of women and men, giving them a gender identity and becoming one of the socialising experiences that most defines the person (Colás, 2007; Elche y Sánchez, 2017; Yubero y Navarro, 2010). This differential socialisation leads to stereotypical beliefs about what is expected of a woman and a man based on differentiated social roles, behaviours that are perceived as natural and immovable (Eagly y Wood, 2012, 2017; Elche y Sánchez, 2017; Sánchez et al., 2011; Subirats, 2017). In short, these kinds of beliefs ensure the perpetuation and reproduction of sexism in all orders of our society.

This reproduction becomes a vicious circle where sexism predicts different social behaviours for men and women, which are derived from the internalisation of social norms and roles throughout the processes

of differential socialisation. All socialising agents, but especially the family and education system, perpetuate a stereotypical view of the sexes. Garaigordobil and Aliri (2011) demonstrate the intergenerational connection of sexism in the family. And Díaz and Anguita (2017) found that in the education system the prejudices and stereotypes associated with the sex-gender system persist. Thus, although sexism is identified with evaluations we make of people according to their sexual category (Ferrer, Bosch, Ramis y Navarro, 2006; Glick y Fiske, 1996, 1999; Lameiras, 2002; Rodríguez, Lameiras y Carrera, 2009; Rodríguez, Lameiras, Carrera y Faílde, 2010), it cannot be forgotten that it is rooted in social behaviours learned and internalised in the different spaces of socialisation.

Nowadays, inequality between men and women continues to be built on the basis of sexism (Bonilla-Algovia, 2021). The existence of sexism, whether manifest and hostile or more subtle, remains an obstacle to achieving equality between men and women (Doob, 2015; Esteban y Fernández, 2017). It seems essential, therefore, to delve into variables, especially those related to social attitudes and beliefs, which could contribute to the maintenance of sexist attitudes. In addition to the variable sex, usually common in empirical studies on sexism (Esteban y Fernández, 2017; Glick y Fiske, 2011; Lameiras y Rodríguez, 2002; Stevenson, 2015), religiosity and political ideology have been incorporated more recently (Haggard, Kaelen, Saroglou, Klein y Rowatt, 2019; Mikolajczak y Pietrzak, 2014; Stevenson, 2015), as well as the objectification of women through the consumption of pornography (Cikara, Eberhardt y Fiske, 2011; Gallego y Fernández-González, 2019).

Practically all sexism research concludes that men have higher scores on sexist attitudes than women. Sex has become an essential variable in explanations of sexism (Aguaded, 2017; Bonilla-Algovia, 2021; Davies, Gilston y Rogers, 2012; Esteban y Fernández, 2017; Lameiras y Rodríguez, 2002; León y Aizpurúa, 2020; Stevenson, 2015). In most studies, the most significant differences between men and women occur in the dimension of hostile sexism, that is, that which is linked to explicit prejudice and hostilities towards women derived from situations of inferiority with respect to men (Glick y Fiske, 2011); although men can also score higher in benevolent sexism, that is, that related to subjectively positive and paternalistic attitudes towards women, such as the attitude of protectiveness or the emphasis on their roles as mothers and wives (Glick y Fiske, 1996; León y Aizpurúa, 2020).

More recent studies positively associate conservative ideology with ambivalent sexism towards women (León y Aizpurúa, 2020; Mikolajczak y Pietrzak, 2014; Roets, Van Hiel y Dhont, 2012), although the theories on which this correlation is based have been widely used in research on racial prejudice. According to Duckitt (2006), authoritarian social attitudes have a close correspondence with conservatism, which is based on the search for collective security and social cohesion. Roets et al. (2012) show that authoritarianism and social domination are great predictors of sexist attitudes in unequal societies. Along the same lines, the research by León and Aizpurúa (2020), with a sample of 2,112 university students, shows that men who consider themselves more conservative are significantly more sexist than their counterparts, although conservative women also showed higher scores in ambivalent sexism than those considered left-wing.

Expectations about gender roles are influenced by cultural factors, including religion. The vision of a cohesive society founded on traditions is common in a great majority of religious people, and this vision promotes a vision of women mediated by stereotyped social roles, meaning that religiosity and conservatism are intertwined (Mikolajczak y Pietrzak, 2014). Studies on religiosity and sexist attitudes correlate with ambivalent sexism, some in a generic way, by establishing that being a believer (religious) predicts sexist attitudes (León y Aizpurúa, 2020), others concretising this religiosity by stating that Judeo-Christian ideals support sexist attitudes (Haggard et al. 2019; Mikolajczak y Pietrzak, 2014) or that the most fundamentalist and extreme people are those with the most extreme sexist attitudes, both hostile and benevolent (Stevenson, 2015). In relation to religious ideals and ambivalent sexist attitudes, some authors go a step further and affirm that men who present stereotypical expectations of the purity and chastity of women are more likely to blame them for rape (Glick y Fiske, 2011).

Sexism has also been associated with behaviours related to the consumption of pornography, especially in adolescence. Cikara et al. (2011) conducted a study with a young population, through the visualisation of a series of images, and correlated hostile sexism with the vision of women as a sexualised tools; for hostile sexist men, the sexualised woman ceased to be a human being with her own autonomy and became a simple object. Recently, in the Spanish context, Gallego and Fernández-González (2019) have carried out a study with a sample of 382

heterosexual men, in which they relate the consumption of pornography with patterns of violent behaviour, as well as with sexist attitudes towards women. The results show a positive correlation between the consumption of pornography and aggressive behaviours towards their partners when men scored high in attitudes that justify violence, in mythologised beliefs about sexual abuse, in neo-sexual attitudes, and in the belief that women are sex objects. The opposite occurred when the scores on these attitudes and beliefs were low, hence the potential for prevention associated with the work to eradicate these beliefs and attitudes.

The main goal of this study was to analyse the acceptance of ambivalent sexism and its relationship with different explanatory variables in the adolescent population of Castilla-La Mancha. The specific objectives were: a) to analyse the differences between men and women in hostile and benevolent sexism; b) to evaluate the influence of the educational course, having a partner, the size of the municipalities, religiosity and political ideology on the acceptance of sexist attitudes; c) to analyse whether the levels of sexism in adolescence are related to the consumption of pornography and the perception of sexism in society; and d) to identify the variables that make it possible to significantly predict the different types of sexism. The hypotheses proposed were that there would be statistically significant differences between men and women and that the levels of sexism would be significantly related to sex, educational course, religiosity, political ideology, size of municipalities, having a partner, perception of sexism, and the consumption of pornography.

Method

Research design

The research is based on a quantitative methodological strategy. The research design was correlational, and the approach was cross-sectional. The information was collected at a single point in time through a structured questionnaire. The questionnaire was self-administered and included validated scales and self-elaborated questions. The research team, using the complex samples tool, made a random selection of the educational centres. The methodological strategy made it possible to address the objectives of the study and to test the hypotheses.

Participants

The study is made up of a representative sample at the Castilla-La Mancha level, made up of 1,840 students in the third and fourth years of Compulsory Secondary Education (CSE); 50.1% are women and 49.9% men, with a mean age of 14.67 years ($DT = .89$). Table 1 compiles the sociodemographic and situational characteristics of the adolescents. The selection of the sample was carried out through stratified random sampling. The representativeness criteria were the stratification by provinces (Albacete, Ciudad Real, Cuenca, Guadalajara, and Toledo) and the size of the municipalities (rural, semi-urban, and urban). According to the established randomness and stratification criteria, the sample is representative with a confidence level of 95% and a margin of error of 2.2% for a total population of 40,139 students enrolled in the stage.

TABLE I. Sociodemographic characteristics of the sample

	Total	
	n	%
Sex:		
Men	893	49.9
Women	895	50.1
Province:		
Albacete	177	9.6
Ciudad Real	516	28.0
Cuenca	145	7.9
Guadalajara	316	17.2
Toledo	686	37.3
Municipality Size:		
Rural	100	5.4
Semi-urban	740	40.2
Urban	1000	54.3
Age range:		
12–14 years old	848	46.2
15–18 years old	988	53.8

Variables and instrument

- *Sociodemographic and situational variables:* sex, age, educational course, province, size of the municipality, having a partner, religiosity, political ideology, consumption of pornography, and subjective perception of sexism in society.
- *Instrument for measuring ambivalent sexist attitudes in adolescence:* Levels of sexism were measured through the Ambivalent Sexism Detection Scale in Adolescents (DSA; Recio, Cuadrado y Ramos, 2007). The scale was validated in the adolescent population of the provinces of Madrid and Cáceres. It is made up of 26 items, of which 16 assess hostile sexism and 10 assess benevolent sexism. The response scale is Likert-type with 6 alternatives: from 1 (totally disagree) to 6 (totally agree). High scores report a greater acceptance of sexist attitudes. The reliability coefficients were adequate on the global scale and in each of the subscales: ambivalent sexism ($\alpha = .927$), hostile sexism ($\alpha = .908$), and benevolent sexism ($\alpha = .874$).

Procedure

The Regional Ministry of Education and the Institute for Women of Castilla-La Mancha facilitated access to educational centers. They received detailed information on the objectives and characteristics of the research. The information collection was carried out during teaching hours with the supervision of the research staff. The application of the questionnaires took place in the 2019/20 academic year. Before data collection, a Participant Information Sheet was delivered with all of the information related to the research, and the necessary instructions were given to facilitate participation. The completion of the questionnaire was anonymous and ensured the confidentiality of the data. The informed consent of the tutors, as well as the informed consent of the minors, were prerequisites for participation.

Analysis

Data processing was carried out with the SPSS statistical program. The descriptive statistics selected to analyse the DSA were the following:

the frequencies, the percentages, the mean, and the standard deviation. The differences between groups in the percentages of acceptance of sexism were calculated with the chi-square statistic. The differences in means between the groups were calculated with the one-way ANOVA or T-Student-tests for independent samples, selecting them based on the number of groups of the grouping variable. Some variables were recoded to make the comparison of means. Differences between hostile sexism and benevolent sexism within the same group were evaluated by T Student-test for related samples. The association between sexism and the explanatory variables was carried out with Pearson's correlations. The variables that predict hostile and benevolent sexism in adolescence were identified through several multiple linear regression analysis, using the successive step method. In all cases, to consider a result statistically significant, the probability of committing a type I error of $p \leq .05$ was adopted.

Results

Descriptive analysis and gender differences

The results point out that 71.4% of the adolescent population agree with some ambivalent sexist beliefs and 28.6% disagree with all sexist beliefs. There is a higher percentage of men than of women (75% vs. 67.7%) who agree with any of the beliefs included in the DSA ($c^2 = 10.42, p = .001$). The results are presented below, differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism.

Table II shows the percentages of agreement and disagreement with the sexist attitudes of the hostile component; 40.2% present some hostile sexist belief, which is 45.8% of men and 34.5% of women ($c^2 = 22.08, p = .000$). The individual analysis of the items reports that the highest values are presented in the statement 'Aman must address his wife fondly, but firmly' (18.5%), with differences of 10% according to sex (23.6% of men and 13.6% of women) ($c^2 = 28.83, p = .000$). On the contrary, the lowest values are presented in the statements 'a positive step in ending unemployment would be for women to stay at home' (2.3%), 'the woman who works away from home leaves her family unattended' (2.7%), and 'taking good care of the house is a woman's obligation' (3%). The degrees

of agreement presented by men are higher than those of women in all the items that make up hostile sexism. The greatest differences between groups, in addition to item 26 mentioned above, are found in the beliefs that 'women are manipulative by nature' ($c^2 = 29.28, p = .000$) and 'men are more qualified than women for public matters' ($c^2 = 25.64, p = .000$).

TABLE II. Agreement with hostile sexist attitudes

	Total (n=1840)	Men (n=893)	Women (n=895)	χ^2
2. The most suitable place for women is at home with their family.	9.6%	11.8%	7.5%	9.47**
4. Women are weaker than men in all respects.	9.4%	9.5%	9.3%	.01
5. A positive step in ending unemployment would be for women to stay at home.	2.3%	3.3%	1.6%	5.48*
7. It is more natural for daughters and not sons to take care of elderly parents.	9.1%	9.6%	8.5%	.59
9. Taking good care of the house is the obligation of the woman.	3%	3.7%	2.2%	3.44
10. Women must be put in their place so that they do not dominate men.	5.7%	8.1%	3.2%	20.10***
12. Women are manipulative by nature.	8%	11.3%	4.4%	29.28***
14. A man must be his family's main source of income.	8.1%	11.1%	4.9%	22.85***
16. The husband is the head of the family and the woman must respect his authority.	5%	7.1%	3%	15.43***
18. It is not typical of men to take care of household chores.	8.9%	10.2%	8%	2.59
19. Women reason worse than men.	5%	6.9%	2.9%	14.93***
20. Men are more qualified than women for public matters (e.g. politics, business, etc.).	8.4%	11.9%	5.2%	25.64***
22. The woman who works away from home leaves her family unattended.	2.7%	3.9%	1.6%	8.75**
23. Men must make the most important decisions in a couple's life.	3.8%	5.6%	2.2%	13.52***
25. A woman must be willing to make sacrifices for her husband's professional success.	5.7%	7.7%	3.9%	11.38***
26. A man must address his wife fondly, but firmly.	18.5%	23.6%	13.6%	28.83***

Footnote: *p $\leq .05$; **p $\leq .01$; ***p $\leq .001$.

Table III shows the percentages of agreement and disagreement with the sexist attitudes of the benevolent component. The levels of agreement are higher than those of hostile sexism; 68.4% present some benevolent sexist beliefs, which is 71.7% of men and 64.8% of women ($c^2 = 9.20, p = .002$). In general, the most accepted statements were ‘women are, by nature, more patient and tolerant than men’ (44%) and ‘women have, by nature, a higher sensitivity than men’ (30.3%), which refer to traits that have traditionally been attributed to women in a stereotypical way. In contrast, the assertions of benevolent sexism with the highest levels of disagreement are ‘women are irreplaceable at home’ (11.1%) and ‘by nature, women are better equipped than men to endure suffering’ (15.1%). The latter is the only one in which women agree significantly more than men ($c^2 = 7.82, p = .005$). On the other hand, men present a significantly higher agreement in four items, two of them with differences of more than 9 percentage points: ‘women know better than men how to raise children’ ($c^2 = 25.68, p = .000$) and ‘women are better suited than men to please others’ ($c^2 = 22.26, p = .000$).

TABLE III. Agreement with benevolent sexist attitudes

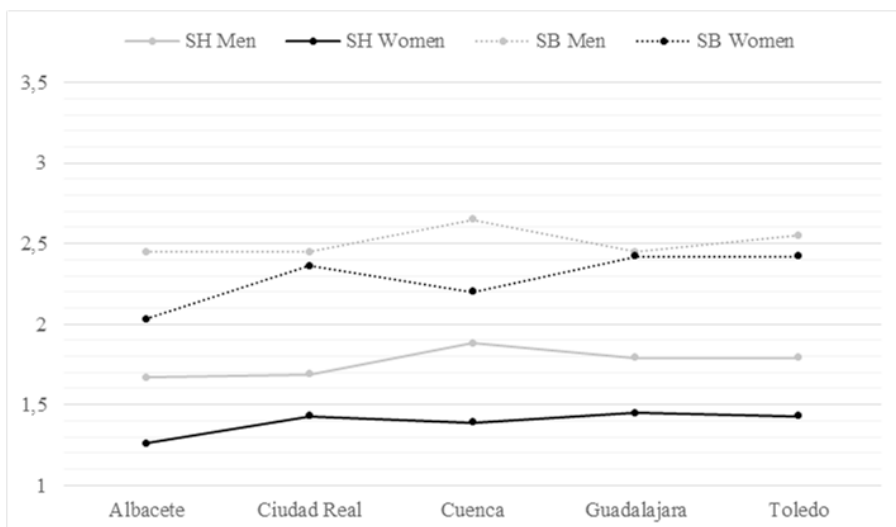
	Total (n=1840)	Men (n=893)	Women (n=895)	χ^2
1. Women are, by nature, more patient and tolerant than men.	44%	43.3%	45.8%	1.03
3. Affection is more important to women than to men.	24.5%	27.6%	21.9%	7.68**
6. Women are better suited than men to please others (i.e., to be attentive to what they want and need).	21.9%	26.8%	17.5%	22.26***
8. Because of their higher sensitivity, women are more compassionate than men towards their partners.	28.9%	29.4%	28.7%	.11
11. Women know better than men how to raise children.	22.3%	27.3%	17.3%	25.68***
13. Women have a greater ability to forgive their partners' flaws than men.	24.8%	24.8%	25.1%	.02
15. For a man a fragile woman has a special charm.	17.6%	17.9%	16.9%	.31
17. Women, by nature, have a higher sensitivity than men.	30.3%	31.4%	30.5%	.17
21. Women are irreplaceable at home.	11.1%	13.4%	8.6%	10.49***
24. By nature, women are better equipped than men to endure suffering.	15.1%	12.7%	17.5%	7.82**

Footnote: *p $\leq .05$; **p $\leq .01$; ***p $\leq .001$.

In the DSA an average score of 1.91 (DT =.72) is obtained. The comparison of means between paired variables shows that the levels of hostile sexism ($M = 1.59$, $DT = .69$) are significantly lower than the levels of benevolent sexism ($M = 2.42$, $DT = .97$) ($t = -48.28$, $p = .000$). The results, when comparing the means according to sex, report that men present a higher average score than women in all forms of sexism, that is, in ambivalent attitudes or DSA scale ($M_{\text{men}} = 2.04$, $DT = .76$; $M_{\text{women}} = 1.77$, $DT = .66$) ($t = 8.05$, $p = .000$), in hostile attitudes ($M_{\text{men}} = 1.76$, $DT = .75$; $M_{\text{women}} = 1.41$, $DT = .58$) ($t = 10.95$, $p = .000$), and in benevolent attitudes ($M_{\text{men}} = 2.50$, $DT = .96$; $M_{\text{women}} = 2.35$, $DT = .97$) ($t = 3.28$, $p = .001$).

In order to verify that these findings are stable throughout Castilla-La Mancha, the means were compared according to sex, disaggregating the sample into five groups, corresponding to the five provinces of the autonomous community (see Figure I). The DSA results report that men have significantly higher levels of ambivalent sexism in all provinces ($p < .05$). Regarding hostile sexism, men's scores are also significantly higher than women in all contexts: Albacete ($M_{\text{men}} = 1.67$; $M_{\text{women}} = 1.26$; $t = 4.87$, $p = .000$), Ciudad Real ($M_{\text{men}} = 1.69$; $M_{\text{women}} = 1.43$; $t = 4.67$, $p = .000$), Cuenca ($M_{\text{men}} = 1.88$; $M_{\text{women}} = 1.39$; $t = 4.17$, $p = .000$), Guadalajara ($M_{\text{men}} = 1.79$; $M_{\text{women}} = 1.45$; $t = 4.16$, $p = .000$), and Toledo ($M_{\text{men}} = 1.79$; $M_{\text{women}} = 1.43$; $t = 6.73$, $p = .000$). Finally, regarding benevolent sexism, the differences based on sex are significant in Albacete ($M_{\text{men}} = 2.45$; $M_{\text{women}} = 2.03$; $t = 3.16$, $p = .002$) and Cuenca ($M_{\text{men}} = 2.65$; $M_{\text{women}} = 2.20$; $t = 2.55$, $p = .012$), but they are not in Ciudad Real ($M_{\text{men}} = 2.45$; $M_{\text{women}} = 2.36$; $t = .95$, $p = .342$), Guadalajara ($M_{\text{men}} = 2.45$; $M_{\text{women}} = 2.42$; $t = .24$, $p = .814$), and Toledo ($M_{\text{men}} = 2.55$; $M_{\text{women}} = 2.42$; $t = 1.66$, $p = .098$). Consequently, although the differences are not always significant, men score higher than women in all provinces and in all forms of sexism, confirming that men are more sexist than women.

FIGURE I. Average scores by sex and province



Scores based on educational course, partner tenure, and municipality size

Table IV shows the levels of acceptance of sexist attitudes according to the educational course. Third-year CSE-students obtain higher average scores in ambivalent sexism ($t = 2.23$, $p = .026$) and hostile sexism ($t = 2.31$, $p = .021$) than fourth-year students. The differences are not significant in benevolent sexism ($t = 1.71$, $p = .088$). Likewise, when disaggregating the data according to sex, the differences between the third-year CSE-students and the fourth-year students are minimised, so that the course does not seem to be a relevant variable in the explanation of ambivalent sexism.

TABLE IV. Average scores based on educational course

	Total		t	Men		t	Women		t
	3° CSE	4° CSE		3° CSE	4° CSE		3° CSE	4° CSE	
	M (DT)	M (DT)		M (DT)	M (DT)		M (DT)	M (DT)	
DSA	1.94 (.75)	1.87 (.69)	2.23*	2.08 (.78)	2.00 (.73)	1.68	1.80 (.69)	1.74 (.63)	1.47
SH	1.62 (.71)	1.55 (.66)	2.31*	1.79 (.76)	1.72 (.74)	1.45	1.45 (.61)	1.38 (.53)	1.88
SB	2.46 (.98)	2.38 (.94)	1.71	2.55 (.98)	2.44 (.93)	1.68	2.38 (.99)	2.32 (.95)	.83

Footnote: *p $\leq .05$; **p $\leq .01$; ***p $\leq .001$.

Table V shows the mean scores in the DSA according to the size of the municipalities and the relationship with a partner throughout life. Thus, although it is true that semi-urban centers present lower levels of sexism than urban and rural centers, the differences between the three groups are very small, being significant only in the subscale of benevolent sexism ($F = 3.34, p = .036$). On the other hand, having a partner does seem to have a significant association with the acceptance of sexist attitudes. People who have had a partner, compared with those who have not, obtain higher scores in both ambivalent sexism ($t = 2.73, p = .006$) and in the hostile ($t = 2.07, p = .039$) and benevolent ($t = 2.91, p = .004$) components.

TABLE V. Levels of sexism according to municipality size and partner tenure

	Size of the municipalities			F	Partner tenure		t
	Rural	Semi-urban	Urban		Has had	Has never had	
	M (DT)	M (DT)	M (DT)		M (DT)	M (DT)	
DSA	1.95 (.82)	1.87 (.70)	1.93 (.73)	1.88	1.95 (.73)	1.85 (.70)	2.73**
SH	1.64 (.84)	1.57 (.66)	1.60 (.69)	.70	1.62 (.70)	1.55 (.67)	2.07*
SB	2.44 (.93)	2.35 (.94)	2.47 (.98)	3.34*	2.48 (.98)	2.34 (.94)	2.91**

Footnote: *p $\leq .05$; **p $\leq .01$; ***p $\leq .001$.

Scores based on religiosity and political ideology

Table VI lists the levels of sexism according to religiosity and political ideology. Comparison of means according to religiosity shows that 'highly' religious people score higher than those who are 'somewhat' religious, and both score higher than the 'little or no' religious belief in all forms of sexism, with a .000 p value. On the other hand, in terms of political ideology, those who position themselves on the left, compared to those who position themselves in the center and on the right, present lower mean scores in ambivalent sexism ($F = 32.49, p = .000$), as well as in hostile sexism ($F = 40.56, p = .000$) and in benevolent sexism ($F = 15.41, p = .000$).

TABLE VI. Levels of sexism according to religiosity and political ideology

	Religiosity			F	Political ideology			F
	Little or no	Somewhat	Highly		Left	Center	Right	
	M (DT)	M (DT)	M (DT)		M (DT)	M (DT)	M (DT)	
DSA	1.72 (.70)	1.98 (.70)	2.06 (.74)	32.17***	1.76 (.66)	1.91 (.69)	2.18 (.83)	32.49***
SH	1.44 (.67)	1.64 (.67)	1.71 (.73)	22.98***	1.45 (.58)	1.57 (.65)	1.88 (.84)	40.56***
SB	2.18 (.94)	2.52 (.95)	2.61 (.97)	30.53***	2.27 (.96)	2.46 (.94)	2.65 (1.01)	15.41***

Footnote: * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$.

Levels of sexism based on pornography consumption and perception of sexism

There are variables related to the learning process, such as the subjective perception of sexism in society and exposure to pornographic content, which could be influencing the acceptance of ambivalent sexist attitudes in adolescence. In this sense, as Table VII shows, the most sexist people are those who believe that there is currently hardly any sexism in Spanish society. On the other hand, regarding the viewing of pornographic

content, the comparison of means reports that those who consume a lot of pornography, compared to those who consume little or none, have higher levels of ambivalent sexism ($F = 12.41, p = .000$), hostile sexism ($F = 19.37, p = .000$), and benevolent sexism ($F = 3.53, p = .030$).

TABLE VII. Levels of sexism based on pornography consumption and perception of sexism

	How much pornography have you seen?			F	How sexist do you think Spanish society is?			F
	Little or no	Somewhat	Highly		Little or no	Somewhat	Highly	
	M (DT)	M (DT)	M (DT)		M (DT)	M (DT)	M (DT)	
DSA	1.85 (.71)	1.94 (.69)	2.09 (.78)	12.41***	2.00 (.74)	1.86 (.69)	1.84 (.72)	9.45***
SH	1.51 (.64)	1.64 (.68)	1.79 (.80)	19.37***	1.70 (.74)	1.57 (.66)	1.46 (.62)	16.56***
SB	2.39 (.99)	2.43 (.91)	2.57 (.93)	3.53*	2.50 (.96)	2.34 (.91)	2.45 (1.04)	5.20**

Footnote: *p \leq .05; **p \leq .01; ***p \leq .001.

Correlations and regression analysis

Table VIII shows the Pearson correlations between sexist attitudes and the possible explanatory variables. The levels of hostile sexism are higher as religiosity, positioning on the political right, the consumption of pornography, and the non-perception of sexism in society increase. In the same way, levels of benevolent sexism are higher as the size of municipalities, religiosity, positioning on the political right, and the consumption of pornography increases.

TABLE VIII. Correlations between different forms of sexism and explanatory variables

	Ambivalent sexism		Hostile sexism		Benevolent sexism	
	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>
Age	.02	.323	.01	.573	.03	.205
Municipality size	.03	.242	.01	.813	.05	.049
Religiosity	.19	.000	.15	.000	.18	.000
Political ideology	.17	.000	.19	.000	.11	.000
Consumption of pornography	.11	.000	.15	.000	.05	.042
Perception of sexism	-.09	.000	-.13	.000	-.03	.229

Finally, in order to identify the variables that make it possible to predict sexist attitudes in adolescence, three multiple linear regression analyses have been performed, using the method of successive steps (see Table IX). The dependent variables are ambivalent sexism in the first analysis, hostile sexism in the second, and benevolent sexism in the third. The independent variables are the same in the three analyses: sex (0, female; 1, male), age (range 12–18 years), size of the municipality (0, rural; 1, semi-urban; 2, urban), tenure a partner (0, has never had a partner; 1, has had a partner), religiosity (0, no religious; 5, highly religious), political ideology (0, far to the left; 5, far to the right), perception of sexism in society (0, non-sexist society; 5, high sexist society), and consumption of pornography (0, I have not seen any pornography; 5, I have seen a lot of pornography).

The values of the variance inflation factor (VIF) and the Durbin-Watson coefficients show that all the resulting models comply with the non-multicollinearity assumption and with the error independence assumption. The first model reports that the variables that significantly predict ambivalent sexism are religiosity ($\beta = .177$), sex ($\beta = .179$), political ideology ($\beta = .114$), and having had a partner ($b = .070$) ($R = .306$; ANOVA = 40.786, $p = .000$). The second model reports that the variables that significantly predict hostile sexism are sex ($\beta = .226$), religiosity ($\beta = .148$), political ideology ($\beta = .133$), the perception of sexism in society ($\beta =$

-.060) and having had a partner ($\beta = .053$) ($R = .347$; ANOVA = 43.263, $p = .000$). The last model reports that the variables that significantly predict benevolent sexism are religiosity ($\beta = .174$), sex ($\beta = .073$), having had a partner throughout life ($\beta = .080$), and political ideology ($\beta = .067$) ($R = .226$; ANOVA = 21.337, $p = .000$).

TABLE IX. Linear regression for sexism prediction

	B	SE	Standardised B	t	p	IC 95%
Ambivalent sexism:						
Constant	1.401	.047		29.71	.000	1.308 – 1.493
Religiosity	.089	.012	.177	7.22	.000	.065 – .114
Sex	.259	.035	.179	7.39	.000	.190 – .328
Political ideology	.060	.013	.114	4.59	.000	.034 – .085
Partner tenure	.103	.035	.070	2.92	.004	.034 – .171
Hostile sexism:						
Constant	1.144	.053		21.73	.000	1.041 – 1.248
Sex	.311	.034	.226	9.15	.000	.244 – .378
Religiosity	.071	.012	.148	6.10	.000	.048 – .094
Political ideology	.066	.012	.133	5.43	.000	.042 – .090
Perception of sexism	-.026	.011	-.060	-2.46	.014	-.047 – -.005
Partner tenure	.074	.033	.053	2.23	.026	.009 – .138
Benevolent sexism:						
Constant	1.925	.065		29.71	.000	1.798 – 2.052
Religiosity	.118	.017	.174	6.92	.000	.084 – .151
Sex	.142	.048	.073	2.94	.003	.047 – .236
Partner tenure	.157	.048	.080	3.26	.001	.063 – .252
Political ideology	.047	.018	.067	2.64	.008	.012 – .082

Note: B - Non-standardised coefficient; SE - standard error; Standardised B - standardised coefficient; Student's t-T; p. 95% CI - confidence interval for B at 95%.

Regression analyses, if the sample is disaggregated according to sex, show that the ambivalent sexist attitudes of men can be predicted from political ideology ($\beta = .143$, $t = 4.07$, $p = .000$), religiosity ($\beta = .149$, $t = 4.21$, $p = .000$), and pornography consumption ($\beta = .072$, $t = 2.08$, $p = .038$) ($R = .232$; ANOVA = 15.113, $p = .000$). The ambivalent sexist attitudes of women, on the other hand, can be predicted from religiosity ($\beta = .234$, $t = 6.57$, $p = .000$), having had a partner throughout life ($\beta = .084$, $t = 2.44$, $p = .015$), and political ideology ($\beta = .075$, $t = 2.11$, $p = .000$) ($R = .270$; ANOVA = 20.317, $p = .000$). Therefore, while association with the political right and the feeling of religiosity are variables that predict ambivalent sexist attitudes in both sexes, the consumption of pornography only predicts sexism in men and having had a partner only predicts sexism in women.

Discussion

The aim of this study has been to identify the variables that make it possible to explain and predict sexist attitudes in adolescence in Castilla-La Mancha. In order to achieve this aim, we have studied the scores obtained in the DSA (Recio et al. 2007), the relationships between ambivalent sexism (hostile and benevolent attitudes) and various explanatory variables such as sex, educational course, province, size of the municipality, having had a partner, religiosity, political ideology, the consumption of pornography, and the perception of sexism in Spanish society.

Despite the advances that have mitigated social gender roles, sexist attitudes are still far from being completely eradicated: 71.4% of the adolescent population of Castilla-La Mancha agrees with some ambivalent sexist beliefs. These results, in line with the findings of recent research (Esteban y Fernández, 2017; García-Cueto et al. 2015; Merino et al. 2010; Recio et al. 2007; Rodríguez et al. 2010), show that the adolescent and young population continues to present ambivalent sexist attitudes, although benevolent attitudes, which are the most subtle and deceptive, are more accepted than hostile ones, demonstrating that sexism, instead of disappearing, adapts to the socio-historical context.

The results, in addition to confirming the survival of sexism in the adolescent population, report that men obtain significantly higher scores than women in both ambivalent sexism and in the hostile and benevolent

components. Previous research has also found that men present higher levels of ambivalent sexism than women (Bonilla-Algovia, 2021; Esteban y Fernández, 2017; Lameiras y Rodríguez, 2002; León y Aizpurúa, 2020; Mikolajczak y Pietrzak, 2014; Rodríguez et al. 2010; Roets et al. 2012; Stevenson, 2015), which may be due to the transmission of mandates, social roles, and differentiated messages depending on whether they are addressed to men or to women (Colás, 2007; Díaz y Anguita, 2017; Eagly y Wood, 2012; Elche y Sánchez, 2017; Izquierdo y Ariño, 2013; Sánchez et al. 2011; Yubero y Navarro, 2010), as well as to the fact that sexism legitimises inequalities (Bonilla-Algovia, 2021). It might be appropriate to formulate a question: Why are men and women, boys, and girls, still educated differently? Education continues to be the means through which differential socialisation is reproduced. It is this that makes possible the incorporation of values and hierarchical behaviours that put one gender over the other, thus perpetuating the patriarchal social order (Lorente, 2007).

The correlations between ambivalent sexist attitudes and possible explanatory variables show that the levels of sexism in adolescence are higher as religiosity, positioning on the political right, the consumption of pornography, and the non-perception of social sexism increase. Therefore, some variables such as religiosity (Haggard et al. 2019; León y Aizpurúa, 2020; Mikolajczak y Pietrzak, 2014; Rodríguez et al. 2010), political positioning or ideology (Leon y Aizpurúa, 2020; Mikolajczak y Pietrzak, 2014; Roets et al. 2012), consumption of pornography (Gallego y Fernández-González, 2019), and the perception of sexism are related to the acceptance of sexism—so much so that the regression models show that the factors which predict hostile and benevolent sexism are the following: a) showing a high level of religiosity; b) being a man; c) being on the political right; and d) having had a partner. The consumption of pornography, in turn, is an explanatory variable for ambivalent sexism in the sample of men, but not in that of women.

Regarding the limitations of the study, it must be considered that the information related to the consumption of pornography and to the perception of sexism have not been collected through validated instruments; however, the research questionnaire and its dimensions were designed by a multidisciplinary team with extensive experience in the field. On the other hand, it is important to note that, although the DSA was validated with adolescents, its psychometric properties are not

known in the specific context of Castilla-La Mancha. Thus, in the future it would be advisable to implement studies that remove these limitations and that, through different methodological paradigms, analyse sexist attitudes in diverse cultural contexts.

In conclusion, although education is one of the means by which differential gender socialisation is reproduced, it is also a key element in the elimination of sexist attitudes. The school and the family are the main agents capable of avoiding perpetuating stereotyped social roles and of contributing to the development of a more just and egalitarian society. The school institution receives girls and boys previously socialised under traditional gender mandates, so that, if the school does not intervene, it will maintain, produce, and reproduce the gender stereotypes that exist in society. Only the coeducational school model recognises the ways in which sexism manifests itself and envisions the elimination of inequalities and gender hierarchies through a critical socialisation that promotes equality (Lorente, 2007; Subirats, 2017).

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