



**UNIVERSITY FEDERAL OF PARAIBA
CENTER FOR HUMAN SCIENCES, LETTERS AND ARTS
DEPARTAMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
GRADUATE PROGRAM FOR SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY
DOCTORATE IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY**

THESIS

Discrimination against equal men in the labor market

Hyalte Abreu Viana

2020

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Prof^a Dr^a. Ana Raquel Rosas Torres, *Advisor*

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THESIS

Discrimination against equal men in the labor market

Thesis submitted to the Graduate Program in Social Psychology at the Federal University of Paraíba, by Hyalle Abreu Viana, under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Ana Raquel Rosas Torres, as a partial requirement for obtaining a Doctor of Social Psychology degree.

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ATA DE DEFESA DE TESE

Aos vinte dias do mês de março de dois mil e vinte, por meio do Skype, reuniram-se em solenidade pública os membros da comissão designada pelo Colegiado do Programa de Pós-graduação em Psicologia Social para o exame de defesa de tese da aluna **Hyalie Abreu Viana** (orientanda, UFPB, CPF: 083.494.064-70). Foram componentes da banca examinadora os professores: Prof.^a Dr.^a Ana Raquel Rosas Torres (UFPB, Orientadora, CPF: 267.442.364-15), Prof. Dr. Cícero Roberto Pereira (UFPB, Membro Interno, CPF: 982.070.754-49), Prof.^a Dr.^a Dalila Xavier de Franca (UFS, Membro externo à instituição, CPF: 424.940.284-34), Prof. Dr. José Luis Álvaro Estramiana (UCMadrid, Membro externo à instituição, CPF: 014.677.654-22) e Prof.^a Dr.^a Renata Pimentel da Silva (F.M.Nassau, Membro externo à instituição, CPF: 079.407.234-80). Na cerimônia compareceram, além do examinada, alunos de pós-graduação, representantes dos corpos docente e discente da Universidade Federal da Paraíba e interessados em geral. Dando início aos trabalhos, a presidente da banca, Prof.^a Dr.^a Ana Raquel Rosas Torres, após declarar o objetivo da reunião, apresentou a examinada Hyalie Abreu Viana e, em seguida, concedeu-lhe a palavra para que dissertasse sobre sua tese, intitulada: "DISCRIMINATION AGAINST EGALITARIAN MEN IN THE LABOR MARKET". Passando então ao aludido tema, a candidata foi a seguir arguida pelos examinadores na forma regimentar. Ato contínuo passou a comissão, em secreto, a proceder a avaliação e julgamento do trabalho, concluindo por atribuir-lhe a avaliação "APROVADA" na defesa de trabalho de conclusão do curso de Pós-Graduação em Psicologia Social, nível doutorado. Nada mais havendo a tratar, eu, Patrícia Nunes da Fonseca, Coordenadora do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Psicologia Social da UFPB, lavrei a presente ata, que depois de lida e aprovada por todos, assino juntamente com os membros da banca. João Pessoa, 20 de março de 2020.



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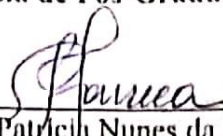


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Discrimination against equal men in the labor market

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To my parents Vera and Pedro

“It is through work that the woman has been reducing the distance that separated her from the man, only work can guarantee her complete independence”.

Simone de Beauvoir

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Discrimination against egalitarian men in the labor market

ABSTRACT

The objective of this thesis is to investigate how we react to men who defend gender equality, who in this thesis were called egalitarian men. To achieve this objective, this thesis is organized in two articles. In the first article, two studies were developed. Study 1 (N = 250) investigated the attribution of stereotypes to egalitarian men through an open question, and study 2 (N = 221) analyzed the stereotypical attribution to egalitarian men and women in a work context considered to be male. Taken together, the results of this article show that the egalitarian man is perceived as fragile and possibly homosexual. But on the other hand, he is perceived as more competent than traditional men. The second article, through two studies, investigated discrimination against equal men in the labor market. Thus, Study 1 (N = 235) tested the hypothesis that a man's egalitarian or traditional positioning in relation to the division of gender roles influences the agreement of his hiring / failing for a leadership position. The role of sexism in the relationship between the type of positioning of men (traditional X egalitarian) and the decision made by the recruiter in a selective process (hiring or not) in the perception of the legitimacy of this decision was also analyzed. Study 2 (N = 278), in turn, analyzed what types of justifications people use to agree or disagree with hiring / failing egalitarian or traditional candidates. The results of these two studies showed that the more one adheres to hostile sexism, the greater the perceived legitimacy in hiring the traditional candidate. Regarding the justifications, we found that the hiring of the traditional candidate is justified by his dedication to the job and his rejection by the fact of being dependent on his wife. The hiring of the egalitarian candidate is justified because he seems to be a good professional and his rejection for his priority given to the family. Together, the results presented in this thesis show the diverse faces that sexism can take on Brazilian society.

Keywords: egalitarian men; stereotypes; gender discrimination; sexism.

Discriminação contra homens igualitários no mercado de trabalho

RESUMO

O objetivo desta tese é investigar como reagimos a homens que defendem a igualdade de gênero, que nesta tese foram denominados de homens igualitários. Para alcançar este objetivo, esta tese organiza-se em dois artigos. No primeiro artigo foram desenvolvidos dois estudos. O Estudo 1 (N = 250) investigou a atribuição de estereótipos a homens igualitários por meio de uma pergunta aberta e o estudo 2 (N = 221) analisou a atribuição estereotípica a homens e mulheres igualitários em um contexto de trabalho considerado masculino. Tomados em conjunto, os resultados deste artigo mostram que o homem igualitário é percebido como frágil e possivelmente homossexual. Mas por outro lado ele é percebido como mais competente do que os homens tradicionais. O segundo artigo, por meio de dois estudos, investigou a discriminação contra homens igualitários no mercado de trabalho. Dessa forma, o Estudo 1 (N = 235) testou a hipótese de que o posicionamento igualitário ou tradicional de um homem em relação à divisão dos papéis de gênero influencia na concordância da sua contratação/reprovação para um cargo de chefia. Analisou-se também o papel do sexismo na relação entre tipo de posicionamento do homem (tradicional X igualitário) e a decisão tomada pelo recrutador em um processo seletivo (contratá-lo ou não) na percepção da legitimidade dessa decisão. O Estudo 2 (N = 278), por sua vez, analisou quais tipos de justificativas as pessoas usam para concordarem ou discordarem da contratação/reprovação de candidatos igualitários ou tradicionais. Os resultados desses dois estudos mostraram que quanto mais se adere ao sexismo hostil, maior a legitimidade percebida na contratação do candidato tradicional. No que se refere às justificativas verificamos que a contratação do candidato tradicional é justificada por sua dedicação ao trabalho e sua reprovação pelo fato de ser dependente da esposa. Já a contratação do candidato igualitário é justificada por ele parecer ser um bom profissional e sua reprovação por sua prioridade dada à família. Em conjunto, os resultados apresentados nesta tese mostram as diversas faces que o sexismo pode assumir na sociedade brasileira.

Palavras-chave: Homens igualitários; estereótipos; discriminação de gênero; sexismo.

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The research problem with this thesis is to investigate how we react to men who defend gender equality. In other words, we seek to investigate what we think or how we evaluate a member of our group who defends an ideal of the other group, even when this defense may in some way harm the status that my group occupies in society. Therefore, this thesis is theoretically based on the perspective of intergroup relations (Tajfel, 1982) which, among other things, shows that the mere awareness of belonging to one group (endogroup) and not to another (exogroup) would already be able to promote discrimination between members of these groups in a process called social comparison. Thus, the general hypothesis that guides this work is that egalitarian men will be perceived more negatively than non-egalitarian (traditional) men in typically male work contexts and are therefore targets of discrimination.

Studies, such as Anderson's (2009), have been showing that men who defend equality are perceived with more feminine stereotypes. This same author, when asking the participants to evaluate subjects in the categories "man", "woman", "feminist" and "feminist man", demonstrated that the latter were perceived as relatively weaker and homosexual. Also in research developed by Rudman, Mescher and Moss-Racusin (2012) it was demonstrated that both men and women tend to stigmatize the “egalitarian man”, attributing more feminine stereotypes and perceiving him as more susceptible to being homosexual, when compared with male targets that do not support equal rights for men and women. Furthermore, these results indicate that when a man adheres to the ideals of gender equality, he begins to be seen as having stereotypical female characteristics and his own sexual orientation is questioned. In a recent study with university students, Viana, Souza and Torres (2018) also identified that men in a profession considered female suffers the challenge of being seen as homosexual.

In view of the results of these studies, and taking care not to reproduce homophobia, it is important to reflect on these data in order to understand that the fact of being perceived as homosexual when defending gender equality or being in a typically female profession is not what worries us. However, as social psychologists, what we really need to investigate is why this type of positioning bothers men and women.

In order to clarify the understanding of the problem that this thesis proposes to investigate, it is important to illustrate what we consider to be an egalitarian man for gender issues. Among so many other things that can characterize an egalitarian man, we present a dialogue taken from an internet site that will help us to differentiate a man who reacts to social desirability and one who in fact has a conduct that collaborates essentially for changes in the social structure referring to gender issues.

“United States, large table, people from all over the world. The subject: home and children, men and women, sexism and feminism.
Then, one of the Brazilians, full of pride, said: 'Ah, I always help my wife with the housework.'
To his enormous surprise, the other Brazilian at the table, married to a Dutchman and living abroad for thirty years, stamped: 'Do you see now why I always say that the Brazilian man is sexist?'
The poor Brazilian was upset. Didn't understand anything. He even thought it was an irony. That maybe she hadn't heard well. He repeated: 'Are you talking about me? But I just said that I help my wife with all the household chores!'
'Yeah. When saying "help", what you are saying is: this obligation is only hers, but I, look how cool and so magnanimous I am, I even get off my pedestal and... help!'
And the Dutch husband added: 'At home, we both share tasks equally.'
”(Alex Castro, 2012. Excerpt from the website “Papo de homem”, in the text entitled *Feminismo para homens, um curso rápido*).

In a survey carried out by Arraes (2014), published in the Forum magazine, with the intention of instigating the debate on the subject of feminist or pro-feminist men, there were some interesting statements by some of the interviewees who, among other things, collaborate for our understanding what men engaged in the fight for gender

equality consider essential to be recognized as such. Thus, for them it is necessary: “... to be sensitive to not reproducing sexist acts, and to have the willingness to educate other men to recognize themselves as sexists. It is necessary to build a ‘new’ man, without taking the autonomy from their wives in this fight”. Also according to the interviewees, this man, regardless of being an active participant or just an ally in the struggle of women, must be an important instrument to dissipate “the values of equality to places and people that women - because of the misogyny of society - do not reach ”. According to one of the participants, being a feminist or pro-feminist man is “someone who can teach their peers that men and women have the same rights ... this person will engage even outside the work market and will teach their children that *[domestic]* tasks are everyone's duties ”.

In view of this scenario and believing that both women and men can and must fight for equality in view of the greater objective, which is the guarantee of human rights for all, this thesis is based on the assumption that, perhaps, few men have joined this struggle due to the stereotypes and prejudices that society has about egalitarian men and, consequently, the achievements in the field of gender equality are slow and difficult to achieve, perpetuating and maintaining sexism.

For the purpose of this thesis, sexism will be understood as the prejudice directed towards women, which, according to Glick and Fiske (1996), would be an ambivalent prejudice, which can present itself in an explicitly negative way (hostile sexism), as in a cordial and superficially positive way (benevolent sexism), but according to these authors, both forms of sexism have the intention of maintaining *status quo*, relegating traditional roles to women. Discrimination is a consequence of sexism and can be exposed in the most varied ways, such as, for example, lower

wages, difficulty in professional advancement, low representation in positions of power and prestige, among others.

It is important to highlight for the purpose of this work that, according to IBGE (2018), women dedicate themselves much more than men to domestic chores and / or care tasks with others. According to the data of this institute, in 2016 women dedicated 73% more hours than men, being, therefore, 18.1 weekly hours dedicated by women and only 10.5 hours by men. In the Northeast the situation worsens. Women spend 80% more hours than men in domestic activities, which shows that in addition to lower wages, women must face the triple workday. Considering business spaces, in 2016, only 39.1% of management positions in Brazil were held by women.

Regarding the spaces of power and decision, there is still an alarming disparity, and it was necessary to create law no. 12,034 in 2009, requiring electoral quotas to guarantee a minimum of 30% and a maximum of 70% of candidates by gender. But according to the study released by IBGE (2018) despite the existence of quotas, only 11.3% of the seats in the National Congress were occupied by women in 2017. It is also evident that these quotas are concerned with proportionally equaling the amount of candidacies of men and women, but does not guarantee vacancies in the legislative spaces, nor does it provide punishment for the party that fails to fulfill them. So the result is a underrepresentation of women in these spaces, which is naturalized.

Taken together, these evidence shows that the gender gap is still quite large. Bearing in mind the problem that guides this thesis, which, as already explained, starts from the approach of intergroup relations (Tajfel, 1972a; Tajfel, 1972b; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) so we can understand how the processes of social change of minority groups with the aim of generating reflections on the possible causes of maintaining sexism and understanding why issues related to gender equality,

especially in the sphere of the labor market, are taking such slow steps. We believe that social changes depend, to a large extent, on the organization of minority groups (e.g. women, black, LGBT movements), but they also depend on their ability to enlist allies in majority groups, for example, men supporting the feminist movement.

Thesis Organization

This thesis had the financial support of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES) and is structured in two articles. Each of the articles is composed of two studies that meet specific objectives of the thesis, which contribute in an integrated way to the achievement of the general objective. Thus, although the articles were designed to respond to the general objective of the thesis, they are not comparative, but started from questions that aimed to identify one of the possible causes of maintaining sexism in our society, which is the lack or low adherence of men in the fight for gender equality.

Based on the literature, egalitarian men suffer from some stigmas (eg effeminate, sensitive, weak, homosexual) and, based on these data, we developed the hypothesis that this may be one of the mechanisms that lead men to move away from the ideals of equality, maintaining the *status quo*.

The first article analyzed the stereotypes attributed to egalitarian men. To achieve this goal, two studies were carried out. The first study aimed to investigate the attribution of stereotypes about men who support gender equality, through a single open question, and from there to investigate the existence of stereotypical content related to the dimensions proposed by Fiske et al. (2002) and Cuadrado, López-Rodríguez and Navas (2016): sociability, competence and morality. Study two aimed to analyze whether the stereotypes attributed to egalitarian men are influenced by the

variables: type of positioning (egalitarian / traditional) and gender of the character. It is clarified that this article was accepted for publication in the journal *Acta Colombiana de Psicología* (indexed in PsycInfo, Scopus, among others).

The second article was also composed of two studies, and aimed to test the hypothesis that the equal positioning of a man on the division of gender roles will impact the way we judge him in terms of suitability to exercise a high status function in a Big company. Thus, Study 1 tested the hypothesis that a man's egalitarian or traditional positioning in relation to the division of gender roles influences the agreement of his hiring / rejection for a leadership position. Study 2 aimed, through a quanti-qualitative approach, to investigate what types of justifications people use to agree or disagree with hiring / failing egalitarian or traditional candidates regarding the division of gender roles. It is clarified that this article was submitted to the journal *Psychology of Men and Masculinities* (Indexed in the JCR, with an impact factor of 1,926).

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EGALITARIAN MEN: STEREOTYPES AND DISCRIMINATION IN THE LABOR MARKET

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Abstract

This article aimed to analyze the stereotypes attributed to "egalitarian men", understood here as men who support gender equality in relation to domestic and family responsibilities as well as inclusion in the workforce. To do so, two studies were carried out. The first study investigated the attribution of stereotypes to egalitarian men through a single open question. A total of 250 university students participated in this study, of which 51.1% were male, and their average age was 21.5 years (SD = 4.39). The second study analyzed the attribution of stereotypes to egalitarian or traditional men and women in a work context considered masculine. Participants included 221 university students with a mean age of 21.9 years (SD = 4.19), the majority (54.3%) being male. Taken together, the results of the two studies indicate that the egalitarian man is perceived as fragile and possibly homosexual. On the other hand, he is also seen as being more competent than traditional men.

Keywords: Gender equality, gender stereotypes, gender discrimination.

Hombres igualitarios: estereotipos y discriminación en el mercado laboral

Resumen

Este artículo tuvo por objetivo analizar los estereotipos atribuidos a "hombres igualitarios", aquí entendidos como hombres que defienden la igualdad de género en lo que se refiere a las responsabilidades domésticas y familiares, así como en la inserción laboral. Para ello, se realizaron dos estudios: El primer estudio investigó la atribución de estereotipos sobre hombres igualitarios por medio de una única cuestión abierta. Participaron 250 universitarios, de los cuales el 51.1% eran del sexo masculino y con edad media de 21.5 años (DT = 4.39). El segundo estudio analizó la atribución de estereotipos a hombres y mujeres igualitarios o tradicionales en un contexto laboral

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considerado masculino y contó con la participación de 221 universitarios con edad media de 21.9 años ($DT = 4.19$), siendo la mayoría (54.3%) del sexo masculino. En conjunto, los resultados de los dos estudios indican que el hombre igualitario es percibido como frágil y, posiblemente, homosexual. Por otro lado, él también es visto como más competente que los hombres tradicionales.

Palabras clave: Igualdad de género, estereotipos de género, discriminación de género.

Homens igualitários: estereótipos e discriminação no mercado de trabalho

Resumo

Este artigo teve por objetivo analisar os estereótipos atribuídos a “homens igualitários”, aqui entendidos como homens que defendem a igualdade de gênero no que se refere às responsabilidades domésticas e familiares como também na inserção laboral. Para tanto, foram realizados dois estudos: O primeiro estudo investigou a atribuição de estereótipos sobre homens igualitários por meio de uma única questão aberta. Participaram 250 universitários, dos quais 51.1% eram do sexo masculino e com idade média de 21.5 anos ($DP = 4.39$). O segundo estudo analisou a atribuição de estereótipos a homens e mulheres igualitários ou tradicionais em um contexto laboral considerado masculino e contou com a participação de 221 universitários com idade média de 21.9 anos ($DP = 4.19$), sendo a maioria (54.3%) do sexo masculino. Em conjunto, os resultados dos dois estudos apontam que o homem igualitário é percebido como frágil e, possivelmente, homossexual. Por outro lado, ele também é visto como sendo mais competente do que os homens tradicionais.

Palavras-chave: Igualdade de gênero, estereótipos de gênero; discriminação de gênero.

Introduction

Brazil ranks among the worst in terms of pay gaps between men and women. Data from the *IBGE* (2018) show that 21.5% of women and 15.6% of men from 25 to 44 years of age have completed college. However, although they are mostly in the higher education bracket and therefore more qualified for the labor market, women with this level of education receive, on average, 63.4% of the income of men with the same level of education. In 2016, for example, only 39.1% of management positions in Brazil were held by women. The situation is even more alarming when we consider that Brazil occupies the 95th position among the 149 countries studied regarding gender inequalities (World Economic Forum, 2017). Taken together, this evidence shows that gender disparity in Brazil is still quite strong.

However, given these obvious numbers of gender inequality in Brazil, we wonder what may be hindering the narrowing of these differences and the construction of a more egalitarian society for men and women. Studies conducted in Brazil suggest that the sexual division of roles (eg, domestic chores) is still very strong (Araújo & Lombardi, 2013; Guedes & Araújo, 2011; Hirata, 2015). This has strong repercussions on family dynamics, leading to women's physical and emotional overload, as well as their professional life (El País, 2019; Fontoura, Rezende, Mostafa & Lobato, 2017; Garcia-Alonso, Krentz, Lovich, Quickenden & Taplett, 2019), making entry and stay in the labor market more difficult (Fontoura et al., 2017; Garcia-Alonso et al., 2019). However, these studies have in common the perspective of women: what are the consequences of sexist discrimination for women. Although we agree that studies of sexist discrimination should have this kind of emphasis, in this paper we take a slightly different perspective: why are men so resistant to change when it comes to the sexual division of roles? We can raise two hypotheses to answer this question.

Firstly, it could be the perception that more egalitarian relations between men and women may lead to the loss of certain privileges linked to the vision of a patriarchal society, in which it would be up to men to control economic, legal and political institutions and, to women, the care of the house and children and the satisfaction of the husband's sexuality. This division of roles endowed men with a structural power that gave them the primacy of the dominant group and made the family a privileged locus for the reproduction of patriarchal values concerning male superiority and female inferiority.

In explaining sexist discrimination, Méndez (1995) and Zurutuza (1993) start from the assumption that the public versus private dichotomy, characteristic of patriarchal society, is constantly reinforced during the socialization process and would

lead boys to develop images of masculinity associated with sexuality, the figure of the man as strong, dominating and responsible for supporting the family; and images of femininity related to the woman as a docile, submissive and responsible person for the home and the offspring.

Taken together, such images of male supremacy would form the psychosocial substrate that would justify attitudes of discrimination, oppression, and female domination. In short, sexist discrimination can be understood as an instrument used by patriarchal society to ensure gender differences, which is legitimized through the attitudes of female devaluation that are structured along the course of development, supported by legal, medical and social instruments that standardize them. Here it is also important to keep in mind that patriarchalism would be one of the factors behind sexual violence against women and children. It is no wonder, for example, that Bott, Guedes, Goodwin, and Mendoza (2012) point out that the small but substantial proportions of young women in all surveys reported that their first intercourse was 'forced'. Husbands, partners, and boyfriends were the most commonly reported perpetrators in those surveys that measured this indicator. These results almost certainly represent the tip of the iceberg of the broader problem of child sexual abuse and unwanted sexual situations, in which the image of a woman as an object at the disposal of the man is probably hegemonic.

The second hypothesis would be the male difficulty in supporting egalitarianism between men and women for fear of themselves being discriminated as "feminine". Of course, these two possibilities are deeply intertwined, for the patriarchal view would produce images of men and women that somehow justify and perpetuate the status quo (Mendez, 1995, Zurutuza, 1993). Here it is important to clarify that when these authors speak of "images" they are referring to stereotypes, which, according to Fiske (1998),

would be beliefs regarding the characteristics of social groups and their members, which are transmitted to society and can be accepted by one person as well as groups. The view of stereotypes as justifiers of the system has been investigated since the 2000 (Costa-Lopes, Dovidio, Pereira & Jost, 2013; Pereira & Vala, 2007; Pereira, Vala & Costa-Lopes, 2010), although always emphasizing interracial and / or interethnic relationships. Here it is important to point out that together these works do not argue that social injustices, whether racial, ethnic or gender-related, can only be explained by stereotypes. What these papers advocate is that they would be important elements because they are both the product and justifiers of intergroup relations, an idea originally defended by Henri Tajfel (1981).

This paper aims to investigate this second hypothesis: how the egalitarian man is perceived because, despite the large accumulation of works on the theme of gender discrimination (Benard & Correl, 2010; Burgess, 2013; Connor & Fiske, 2019; Connor & Fiske, 2018), this aspect has been little studied. Thus, the general objective of this work was to analyze the stereotypes attributed to "egalitarian men" (Rudman, Mescher, & Moss-Racusin, 2012), understood here as men who support gender equality with regard to domestic and family responsibilities as well as inclusion in the workforce.

The approach used to achieve this objective is that of intergroup relations, which assumes that the social belonging of the individual to certain social categories or groups directly influences distinct behaviors regarding majority or minority groups existing in a given society (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Stereotypes are here conceived as socially constructed and shared beliefs about the characteristics of social groups and their members, which would facilitate the understanding and explanation of social reality (Fiske, 1998). As such, stereotypes would be formed by means of a fit into distinct social categories, not only having the function of organizing the world, making it more

understandable, but also serving to facilitate the justifications of intergroup differences (Amâncio, 2006; Costa-Lopes, Dovidio, Pereira & Jost, 2013; Pereira & Vala, 2007; Pereira, Vala & Costa-Lopes, 2010) .

Tajfel (1981) argued that the functions of stereotypes can be understood from two aspects: individual and collective. He also emphasizes that this taxonomy does not signify an opposition, because, for him, the individual would be part of the collective and the collective would also be part of the individual. Furthermore, according to Tajfel (1981), individual functions, besides simplifying reality, facilitating cognitive economy, also serve to protect the value system of the individual and thus maintain a positive self-image. This position is endorsed by more recent authors, such as Álvaro and Garrido (2006), Lima (2013), and Torres and Camino (2013). As for collective functions, Tajfel (1981) states that they can be for: a) explanation, due to the need to relate causes to complex and/or negative events, generally considering some vulnerable group as the cause; b) differentiation, acting in favor of a positive identification with the group; and c) social justification, serving to give arguments favorable to actions of social division based on categorization. Thus, stereotypes would be important elements for understanding a relevant aspect of gender relations: how egalitarian men are regarded and what are the consequences for them being seen as such.

Aiming to answer these questions, we conducted two studies. The first one aimed to investigate the attribution of stereotypical traits through a single open question. The second study analyzed the attribution of stereotypes to egalitarian or traditional men and women in a work context considered masculine. Traditional men and women are here understood as those who advocate differentiated social roles for men and women with regard to domestic, family, and work activities.

Stereotypes and gender stereotypes

In the studies presented here, we start from Tajfel's initial ideas (1978) in which he argues that intergroup relations do not take place in a social vacuum. They happen in the social fabric that makes up a certain society, whose plot is permeated by ideologies that support them and that, in a way, justify the unequal relations between the various groups. In the specific case of this work, we are interested in the relations between men and women that are permeated by sexism, whose patriarchal view, as we have seen, attributes to men the mastery of the legal and juridical apparatus of a certain society and, to women, the submission to this apparatus.

For the purposes of this study and considering the intergroup relations perspective, gender stereotypes would generate accentuated differences between men and women (Barreto & Ellemers, 2015), which would lead to a simplification of reality. While according to Ellemers (2018), gender is considered a principal resource in the perception of people, and is perceived as a binary categorization, in which we tend to compare men to women and vice versa, anchoring any differences on the basis of the contrasts between them. Gender stereotypes have historically contributed to legitimizing and naturalizing inequality between the sexes, especially with regard to the invisibility of women in the public sphere (Garrido, Álvaro & Torres, 2018). It is important to note here that taking this approach as an overview of the subject matter does not mean that we are reducing the issue of sexist discrimination to the existence of stereotypes. Our starting point is that the existence and permanence of gender stereotypes would be important aspects of this type of discrimination and the importance of which has not yet been sufficiently investigated.

An important way of analyzing gender stereotypes can be found in the studies by Pereira, Álvaro, and Garrido (2016) on the process of essentialization, demonstrating that although the "gender" category was less essentialized than the race category, when

analyzing specifically the process of essentialization faced by men and women, women were more essentialized than men. Essentialization, according to these same authors, is the process of social categorization in which belief is placed in the existence of immutable characteristics of the target entities of the essentialist characterization, which differentiates them from those of other social categories. It is important to note that, in essentialist thinking, the categorization process, while sharing the assumption that it depends on the superficial similarities identified by the appearances of the members of a category, adds on the belief that the members of a group share more profound characteristics and that they differ from other categories (Gelman & Wellman, 1991), which would allow one to assume the existence of an immutable "essence" for each social category. However, although the studies by Pereira, et al. (2016) show us the process by which men and women are seen, in stereotypical terms, in different ways, they do not specify the stereotypical contents that are attributed to each one and, more importantly, how this attribution is not only related to the gender category per se, but also to the positions related to the sexual division of roles assumed by men and women.

Considering studies on gender stereotype content, the model most commonly used by Social Psychology is the Stereotype Content Model (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), which, according to Cuddy et al. (2009), would make it possible to know about the abilities of others to reach their goals and anticipate the intentions of others regarding ourselves. According to Fiske et al. (2002), stereotypes would be organized by means of two orthogonal dimensions, namely competence and sociability, which, combined with each other, would produce different forms of attitudes or prejudices.

Thus, while the competence dimension brings together aspects related to power, status, and instrumentality, the sociability dimension involves aspects such as expressiveness and affectivity. It is thus perceived that there is a dichotomization in the

stereotypical content that can, depending on the context, modify the semantics of the stereotype, pointing to the ambivalent character of stereotypes (Fiske, Xu, Cuddy & Glick, 1999). These authors argue that a certain group, when perceived as having high values in sociability and low ones in competence, would provoke a prejudice of the paternalistic type (e.g., attitudes towards women). While those groups with high values in competence and low ones in sociability would produce envy and this would result in attitudes of avoidance. Thus, groups with low status would be perceived as highly sociable, but not competent (incapable and low-threat), while those with high status would be attributed high competence and low sociability.

Based on these ideas, Fiske et al. (2002) argue that the secondary role occupied by women in today's societies would also be the fruit of the social stereotype. Thus, according to these authors, because they are members of a low status group, they would also be perceived as more sociable and less competent. Taken together, these processes would underlie the maintenance of the privileges of the majority groups, in this case, men.

Meanwhile, the perception that high status groups are more competent and less sociable would help justify the social system and the resentment toward majority groups. Also according to Fiske et al. (2002), the fact that the attribution is positive in one dimension does not necessarily contradict discrimination, since it may be functionally coherent with the negative stereotypical content of the other dimension. Thus, this model seeks to describe and predict how groups are ordered in a society, and tries to understand how the position of one group in this structure is closely related to the types of discrimination that its members may face (Bergsieker, Leslie, Constantine & Fiske, 2012).

However, although the stereotype content model by Fiske et. al (2002) is the one most used in studies on this topic, Leach, Ellemers, and Barreto (2007), and López-Rodríguez, Cuadrado, and Navas (2013), upon reviewing it, proposed the addition of the morality dimension. This third dimension would be distinct from the sociability dimension, since according to these authors, they were already being considered in several studies as components of the same dimension (Fiske et al., 2002).

For Leach et al. (2007) the dimensions of morality and sociability would form a supra-ordered dimension, called benevolence, but they would be conceptually distinct dimensions, that is, the same group may be considered moral (honest) but not sociable (warm). Thus, for these authors, the three-dimensional model would remedy these discrepancies. On the other hand, the morality dimension has been considered as a positive evaluation alternative for minority groups, who would have difficulty in being perceived positively in terms of competence. These authors also point out that in their studies, the morality dimension was more important in the positive evaluation of the ingroup and less important in the positive evaluation of the outgroup.

Based on the ideas advocated by Leach et al. (2007) and the fact that the work presented here involves the study of stereotypical attributions to the members of a majority group, but that analyzes the processes involved in the defense of minority group positions (egalitarian man), we believe that using the three-dimensional model of stereotypes proposed by these authors would be more pertinent. This decision is based on the fact that this model makes it possible to evaluate the target - egalitarian man - in terms of a third dimension, morality, which would be important for the theme covered here, in the case of gender relations in family and work contexts.

On the other hand, research has shown that contact with counter-stereotypical people helps to reduce sexism (Bosak, Szczesny & Eagly, 2012; Gocłowska, Crisp &

Labuschagne, 2012; Williams, Berdahl, & Vandello, 2016). However, it has also shown that men who advocate gender equality, because they threaten the social hierarchy between the sexes, are subject to punishment for de-legitimizing the perception of the status quo, in which men would possess greater power and privilege than women (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan & Nauts, 2012). Thus, men who deviate from normative patterns of masculinity are described with stereotypes tied to low-status groups (weak, sensitive, feminine) or perceived as homosexual, even when there is no reason for this conclusion, such as when married to a woman (Anderson, 2009; Brescoll, Uhlmann, Moss-Racusin & Sarnell, 2012; Heilman & Wallen, 2010; Rudman & Mescher, 2013; Rudman et al., 2012; Viana, Souza & Torres, 2018).

Rudman et al. (2012) argue that men can use such discrimination or stigmas to deter other men from gender-equality struggles, aiming to maintain the hierarchy between men and women and the status quo. For this reason it is important to understand both the stereotypes constructed about the egalitarian man and also how he is evaluated in stereotypical terms, so that we may know whether in fact the stigma attached to this man can have an impact on his adherence and participation in movements that seek gender equality.

Objectives and overview of the studies

Given the above, the general objective of this work was analyze the stereotypes attributed to "egalitarian men" (Rudman et al., 2012), understood here as men who support gender equality with regard to domestic and family responsibilities as well as inclusion in the workforce. To achieve this objective, two studies were conducted. The first study aimed to investigate the attribution of stereotypes about men who support gender equality, through a single open question, and from there investigate the existence of stereotypical content related to the dimensions proposed by Fiske et al. (2002) and

Cuadrado, López-Rodríguez, and Navas (2016): sociability, competence, and morality. The results of this study indicated that, in a general manner, egalitarian men are viewed through the stereotypical content most often attributed to women (Cuadrado, et al., 2016; Fiske et al., 2002). Based on these results, Study 2 aimed to specifically analyze whether the attribution of stereotypic traits is influenced by the positioning (egalitarian-traditional) and gender of the character (male or female) in a work context. Finally, it is important to clarify that the studies reported here followed the ethics recommendations for research with humans in accordance with National Health Council Resolution 466/12.

Method

Study 1

This is a descriptive correlational study that aimed to investigate the attribution of stereotypes about men who defend gender equality, through a single open question, and from there investigate the existence of stereotypical content related to the three dimensions proposed by Fiske et al. (2002) and Cuadrado et al. (2016): sociability, competence, and morality. This objective was planned based on data found in the literature (Anderson, 2009; Rudman et al., 2012; Viana et al., 2018) that show that men who defend gender equality are perceived as more feminine than those who do not defend it, and are also perceived to be more likely to be homosexual merely because they defend an ideal of equality (Anderson, 2009; Rudman et al., 2012; Viana et al., 2018). Through the stereotypical content attributed to this egalitarian man it would be possible to reflect on the impact that egalitarian positioning can have on the hierarchical structure between men and women in society. Our expectation was that the egalitarian man would be seen through more feminine stereotypic traits.

In this study the discursive data were processed through textual analysis with the aid of computer programs that, according to Camargo and Justo (2013), prove relevant in studies about thoughts, opinions, beliefs, and symbolic content produced by a given phenomenon. For this purpose, IRAMUTEQ software, a free program for the R software environment, and in the python language, was used (Camargo & Justo, 2013).

Participants

The sample was non-probabilistic, by convenience (Marôco, 2011), composed of 250 university students participating in the study, of which 51.1% were male. All of them were studying in a public university in the Brazilian Northeast.

Participant ages ranged from 16 to 51 years ($M = 21.5$ and $SD = 4.39$). The inclusion criteria were a) to voluntarily accept participation in the study and b) to be a university student.

Instrument

The questionnaire used was divided into two sections. The first contained only one open question: "How does Brazilian society perceive men who defend equality between men and women?" The second consisted of socio-demographic questions (gender, age, and course of study).

This type of methodological strategy, known as the substitution technique (Abric, 2003; Guimelli & Deschamps, 2000), consists in asking not what one thinks, but how "one believes that society thinks". This strategy has at least two repercussions when it comes to studies on stereotypes and discrimination. First, it decreases the subject's level of involvement with their responses, thus allowing them to be freer to produce stereotypic content less marked by social desirability (Costa-Lopes & Pereira, 2011). Second, as advocated by Chokier and Moliner (2006) and Flament and Milland (2010), the substitution technique places subjects in an explicit situation of social

comparison, making them attribute opinions, thoughts, beliefs, and attitudes to the other in relation to a social object. Examples of this situation can be found in Camino, Silva, Machado and Pereira (2001) and Batista, Leite, Torres and Camino (2014), among others.

Procedure

The questionnaires were answered individually during collective application in the classroom. All participants signed the Informed Consentiment agreeing to participate voluntarily in the study.

Data analysis

Statistical methods were applied to textual data (Reinert Method), which is a procedure based on Descending Hierarchical Classification (DHC). Thus, the lexical analysis procedures were developed with the help of *Iramuteq - Interface de R pour les Analyses Multidimensionnelles de Textes et de Questionnaires* software (Camargo & Justo, 2013; Ratinaud, 2009). DHC is characterized as a cluster analysis in which the text segments, after successive divisions, are grouped into homogeneous classes.

It is important to clarify that the Reinert method, or DHC, is a procedure based on automatic data processing statistical operations that provides results for further analytical processing and therefore does not represent the analysis itself. It is also important to clarify that this type of analysis does not deal with individual cases, but rather with those units that were relevant in the participants' discourse as a whole. This method facilitates the topical organization of the discourse found about the research object in the datasets, based on the construction of different lexical classes, but only through content analysis that can give meaning to its organization (see for example: Camino et al., 2013; Camino et al., 2014; Ferreira, et al., 2017). In this sense, it can be said that lexical analysis combines advantages of quantitative and qualitative

approaches, but differs from Bardin's (1977) classical content analysis. For this reason, we believe that the data analysis technique used in our first study is consistent with the objective we intended to address and is pertinent to the type of data collected for the analysis.

According to Salviati (2017) and Camargo and Justo (2013), in the DHC the software processes the text in order to obtain classes formed by vocabularies that are significantly associated with that class (significance starts from $X^2 = 2$). In this way, the software, with the same correlation logic, uses divisions of the textual corpus, together with the list of reduced forms and the built-in dictionary, to present a hierarchical scheme of classes that, according to Salviati (2017) and Camargo and Justo (2013), makes it possible to infer the ideas that the textual corpus wishes to convey. In other words, the Iramuteq software aims to obtain classes of text segments (TS) with vocabulary similar to one another and vocabulary different from the TSs of the other classes. This analysis is based on lexical proximity and the idea that words used in a similar context are associated with the same lexical universe and are part of specific meanings or systems of representation (Salviati, 2017). However, the TSs are distributed according to their respective vocabulary and the set of terms is partitioned according to the frequency of the roots of the words.

Here it is important to clarify that the text segments of the corpus are classified according to their respective vocabularies and their set is divided according to the frequency of the reduced forms. From matrices crossing text segments and words (in repeated chi-square tests), the DHC method is applied and a stable and definitive classification is obtained (Reinert, 1990). This analysis aims to obtain classes of text segments that, at the same time, present a vocabulary similar to one another, and a vocabulary different from the text segments of other classes. From these matrix

analyses, the software organizes the data analysis in a DHC dendrogram (Figure 1) that illustrates the relationships between classes.

Results

Through lexical analysis, after the reduction of the words to their roots, the corpus presented a total occurrences of 2,782 different words with 757 distinct forms. Number of Texts was equal to 250, distributed into 250 Text Segments (TS), with a retention of 68.4% of the corpus. The Descending Hierarchical Classification (DHC), illustrated in the dendrogram in Figure 1, indicated the existence of three distinct classes.

For the descriptive analysis of the vocabulary of each class, Camargo and Justo (2013) suggest using two simultaneous criteria: a) keep attention on non-instrumental words with a frequency greater than the average frequency of the set of words of the total corpus (in our case 2,782 occurrences divided by 757 distinct forms, which results in the value of 3.67), and b) consider the words with X^2 of association to the class that are significant ($p < .05$).

The DHC demonstrated that the division of the analysis corpus derived three distinct classes, which were distributed over two clusters, with Classes 1 and 2 being merged into a single cluster, and Class 3 forming the second cluster, which opposes the other two classes. Class 1 was the one that obtained the highest percentage of retention, equivalent to 61.4% of Text Segments; Class 2 had a 24% retention, and Class 3 obtained 14.6%. In the table, X^2 expresses the associative strength between the word and the class. The classes will be described following the order presented in the Descending Hierarchical Classification (DHC) and were named according to the interpretation of the Text Segments. Within each of the classes, the words are presented in descending order by the value of X^2 and, therefore, of the association with the class. It

is also noted that each word has an associated p -value, which is related to the level of significance of the association of the word with the class, and therefore only the statistically significant vocabularies ($p \leq .05$) were considered and included in the dendrogram of Figure 1.

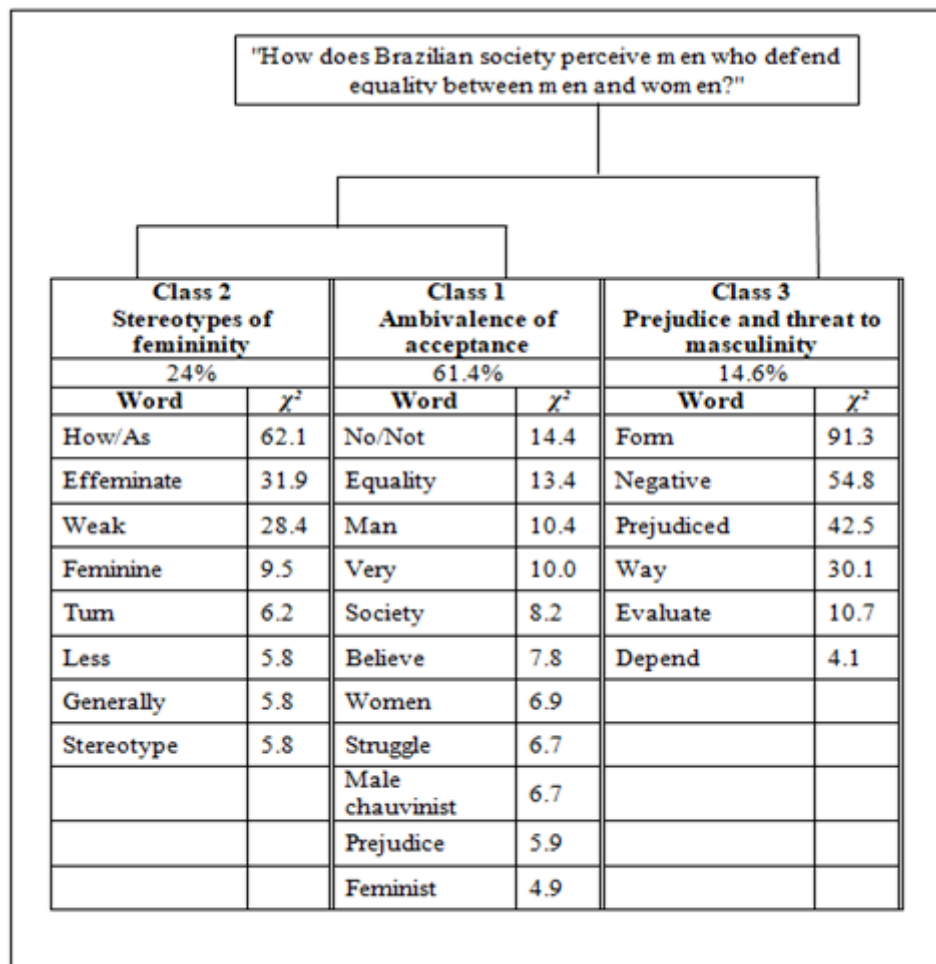


Figure 1. DHC of the discourse about the perception of men who support equality between men and women. Source: Figure developed by the authors. Study data.

Class 2, named "Stereotypes of Femininity", refers to the social representation of an effeminate man, thus perceived as weak, dominated by women, gays, corroborating the literature (Anderson, 2009; Rudman et al., 2012; Viana et al., 2018). In this class, the significance of the X^2 of the words (Figure 1 - first column) How/As, Effeminate, Weak, Feminine, Turn, Less, Generally, and Stereotype indicates that they organize its

semantic content. Thus, one can see content of sociability stereotypes of (Cuadrado et al., 2016; Fiske et al., 2002;), for example, the fact that they are perceived as less men, sensitive, incompetent, submissive, etc. As examples of discourse on this class we have: "men engaged in these struggles are effeminate, sensitive men" and "are seen as incompetent."

In Class 1, called "Ambivalence of Acceptance", the content is more grounded in the consequences that men are subject to when they decide to engage in a struggle for rights that, in the first instance, would not be their own. In this class, the significance of the X^2 of the words (Figure 1 - second column) No/Not, Equality, Man, Very, Society, Believe, Women, Struggle, Male chauvinist, Prejudice, and Feminist indicates that they organize its semantic content.

Thus, the content varies from the perceived threat of this man to the women's right to speak, as if wanting to "steal" women's protagonism in positioning himself as an egalitarian man. So they are often discredited and stereotyped as feminine, homosexual, and are despised for fighting for equality between men and women due to the machismo present in Brazilian society. On the other hand, according to the participants, there is also a positive image of this man, especially on the part of the women, who would see such men as allies for the achievement of equality. Thus, often these men would be seen by them as examples of dignity and of just people. Finally, it is important to point out that in this class many stereotypical contents related to morality appeared (Cuadrado et al., 2016), such as: "they evaluate as a good person, as long as he does not silence those who really deserve to speak"; "One part, generally women, think it's beautiful [...] another part, mostly men, thinks it's effeminate."

While Class 3, named "Prejudice and threat to masculinity", carries a negative image of the egalitarian man, thus alienating the male population from this social

responsibility in view of the prejudice they are subject to in a society marked by patriarchalism and machismo. In this class, the significance of the X^2 of the words (Figure 1 - third column) Form, Negative, Prejudiced, Way, Evaluate, Depend, Of/From indicates that they organize its semantic content. Thus, according to the participants, society tends to criticize these men with prejudiced jokes and insults, and this is due in part to the negative view of the feminist movement, which many believe is aggressive and unruly. In this third class, we see content tied to the competence dimension (Fiske et al., 2002; Cuadrado et al., 2016) that anchors this image to the perceived threat to male group status in society. This perceived threat would be a consequence, according to the participants, of the fact that egalitarian men defend ideals that favor the women's group, thereby jeopardizing the notion of male supremacy and patriarchalism's control over them. However, an attempt was seen to delegitimize the struggle of these egalitarian men, questioning their competence and masculinity, with the intent of maintaining the status quo. Examples of discourse from this class: "in a negative way, tending to alienate the male population from the movement and ridiculing those who are part of it", and "the patriarchal character of society makes the view of these people somewhat negative."

Partial discussion

In this first study we could observe that in the participants' perception, egalitarian men are seen as sensitive, incompetent, feminine, that is, some contents related to the sociability dimension of the stereotype content model by Fiske et al. (2002) and Cuadrado et al. (2016) are attributed to these men. Together these results corroborate Anderson (2009), Rudman et al. (2012), and Viana et al. (2018), who show that men who support gender equality are perceived as more feminine than normative men.

This first study further demonstrates that egalitarian men suffer from the normative pressures related to gender roles and are discriminated against for supporting an ideal that can threaten the status of the men's group in the social hierarchy. It is also interesting to reflect on the pressure of machismo intrinsically present in these results, reflected, for example, when participants say that egalitarian men are a threat to women's right to speak, that they are more feminine, incompetent, and unreliable. We believe that these arguments are perhaps an attempt to keep men away from this cause that is perceived by the participants as a responsibility that is not theirs, as well as to try to maintain the status quo, as if they wanted to tell us implicitly that this "is not a man's thing." In these terms we find that there is a relationship between these results and competence stereotypes (Cuadrado et al., 2016; Fiske et al., 2002), since some of these arguments may serve to demotivate men from being egalitarian. If they are like this, they will not be seen like the other men in society who, according to the studies on gender stereotypes, are perceived as competent and respected.

However, while perceiving the stereotypical view of egalitarian men as a threat to masculinity and feminism itself, it is also found that for some participants this man who supports gender equality should be well regarded because it would help to achieve equal rights, and this should be seen as everyone's struggle and not just that of women. In this case, egalitarian men are perceived as extremely positive, fair, and dignified, attributes characteristic of the morality dimension of Cuadrado et al. (2016).

Based on these results, we planned the second study, which aimed to specifically analyze whether the attribution of stereotypical traits is influenced by the positioning (egalitarian-traditional) and gender of the character (male or female) in the work context. For this purpose, a 2 X 2 design and a masculine work context were used. This context was chosen because, according to Moreno (2017), from January to August of

2017, of the 20,813 people who were registered with the Federal Council of Engineers and Agronomists (*Confea*), as civil engineers, only 28.1% were female. This author also points out that in 2015 the percentage of women enrolled in the civil engineering degree program was 30.3%. According to her, in the job market this percentage drops to 26.9%. On the other hand, the study developed by Viana (2016) showed that university courses in the exact sciences area are typically categorized as being masculine (e.g., engineering, physics, mathematics).

Study 2

After analyzing the stereotypical content attributed to the egalitarian man and the proof of existence of stereotypical attributes tied to the dimensions of sociability, morality, and competence, we were interested in analyzing the attribution of stereotypes to egalitarian or traditional men and women in a work context considered masculine. This masculine context (engineers at a construction company) was chosen based on the study developed by Viana (2016) and on data reported by Moreno (2017) showing that professions such as engineering are mostly occupied by men. Thus, as in typically masculine contexts, men are perceived as more competent and less sociable than women (Fiske et al., 2002; Viana, 2016; Viana et al., 2018). It is believed that in this context egalitarian men will be under greater normative pressure and consequently will be perceived as less competent and more sociable than men who do not support maternity leave, because by taking an egalitarian position, they could lose their status of superiority.

Thus, the second study of this work tested the general hypothesis that the positioning and the gender of the character will affect the attribution of stereotypical traits. So we hypothesize that:

H1) Men who call themselves egalitarian, defending a right won by the feminist movement, such as the right to maternity leave, should be perceived as more sociable than women who defend that same right and men who oppose the right to maternity leave (Anderson, 2009; Rudman et al., 2012). This is due to the fact that previous research (Anderson, 2009; Rudman et al., 2012) shows that egalitarian men are stereotyped with feminine or homosexual attributes, and thus should also be perceived as more sociable (Fiske, et al., 2002). While egalitarian women, in a masculine context, will be perceived as more competent than sociable, corroborating the model of Fiske et al. (2002).

H2) On the other hand, men who are traditional and against maternity leave should be perceived as more competent than egalitarian men. This is because in the typically masculine context presented in the instrument, it is already expected that the traditional man is perceived as more competent (see Fiske et al., 2002 and Viana et al., 2018), but the egalitarian man will be perceived as a black sheep (Pinto, Marques, Levine & Abrams, 2016), being perceived more negatively in the competence dimension. According to these authors, all groups have prescriptive norms that dictate how their members should behave. Thus, the basic premise is that the group member who opposes the generic and prescriptive norms of their group (deviant or counter-normative member) threatens the positive social identity of others in the group, but the members who defend the norms (normative) reinforce this identity (Marques, Yzerbyt and Leyens, 1988). Thus, according to Pinto et al. (2016), when there is a salient norm and some individual deviates from this norm (counter-normative), this individual is evaluated more negatively than the normative individual. The black sheep effect occurs, therefore, as a strategy to protect intragroup dynamics.

H3) Regarding the morality dimension, we have the hypothesis that, because it is a dimension that serves both to qualify minority groups and increase ingroup positivity (Cuadrado et al., 2016; López-Rodríguez et al., 2013), egalitarian characters will be seen as more moral than traditional ones because this dimension, although very close to the sociability dimension, differs from it since, according to Brambilla et al. (2011) morality has a rather strong power in forming impressions both at the ingroup level and in relation to other groups. Authors such as Brambilla et al. (2012) demonstrated that morality was a more effective predictor in relation to sociability and competence in the overall assessment of a group of unknown immigrants. For this reason, we believe that by defending a just and positive ideal for the advancement of society, egalitarian individuals will stand out in this dimension.

Method

This is a study with a 2 X 2 experimental design in which the gender of the character (man or woman) and the type of positioning (Egalitarian or Traditional) were manipulated, with the factors varying between participants.

Participants

The sample was non-probabilistic, by convenience (Marôco, 2011), composed of 221 university students, the majority (54.3%) being male, equally distributed between courses considered masculine or feminine (Viana, 2016). Participant ages ranged from 17 to 48 years ($M = 21.89$ and $SD = 4.19$). All of them were studying in a public university in the Brazilian Northeast. It is important to clarify that this context was used because previous studies (Viana, 2016; Viana et al., 2018) show that the type of work context (masculine or feminine) influences both the attribution of stereotypes and the

evaluation of the professional. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four experimental conditions as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Number of participants by experimental condition

Positioning	Man	Woman	Total
Egalitarian	56	56	112
Traditional	55	54	109
Total	111	110	221

The inclusion criteria were a) to voluntarily accept participation in the study and b) to be a university student.

Instrument

First, a situation was presented to participants in which a man (or a woman) was defending: a) the right to maternity leave because it is a right that should be guaranteed at all costs, regardless of the woman's profession and the position she holds (egalitarian situation) or (b) leave is not a right but a perk and women take advantage of this time to do other things, adversely affecting the companies that need to continue to pay their salaries monthly throughout the period of leave (traditional situation). Each participant responded to only one of the four conditions.

Then participants responded to the following sections:

- a) *Stereotypical perception*. The scale with eighteen items in the version developed by Cuadrado et al. (2016) was used. These authors draw on the works of Fiske et al. (2002), Leach et al. (2007), and Brambilla et al. (2011), whose studies confirmed the three-factor structure formed by the sociability, morality, and competence dimensions of this instrument, with satisfactory internal consistency indices. In the study by Cuadrado et al. (2016) the scale was applied to evaluate

six distinct groups in these dimensions and, for all of them, Cronbach's alphas above .85 were calculated.

For this study, the items were translated from Spanish to Portuguese with the help of judges. Participants were told: "Think of (name of the target of the story read) and say to what extent you believe each of the following characteristics describes him/her". Each dimension was evaluated with six items: a) morality (honest, trustworthy, sincere, courteous, fair, well-intentioned), b) sociability (kind, friendly, attentive, warm, agreeable, good character), and c) competence (secure, intelligent, skilled, efficient, capable, competent). After factor analysis some items presented low factor loadings (below .30) and had to be excluded from the analysis. They were: attentive and good character from the sociability factor; courteous and fair from the morality factor; and the secure item from the competence factor. Thus the stereotype scale became more parsimonious, with satisfactory internal consistency indicators for the three dimensions: morality ($\alpha = .78$), sociability ($\alpha = .81$), and competence ($\alpha = .89$), corresponding respectively to 16.4, 22.5, and 20.0% of the total variance.

b) Sociodemographic characteristics (gender and age).

At the end of the questionnaire, we included two questions to ascertain whether the experimental manipulation had produced an effect. The first asked about the gender of the character in the situation presented. The second asked about the extent to which the participant considered the character to be egalitarian or traditional with regard to women's struggles. We highlight that the percentage of correct answers to these questions was higher than 98% and only these participants were considered in the study.

Procedures

The questionnaires were answered individually during collective application in the classroom, after consent from the teacher. All participants signed the Informed Consentment agreeing to participate voluntarily in the study. After accepting participation, the students received the previously randomized questionnaires.

Data analysis

In order to verify the effect of the experimental manipulation on the dependent variables (sociability, morality, and competence stereotypes), a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed, and descriptive statistics were also calculated to characterize the sample in question.

According to Field (2006), for the results of MANOVA to be considered valid, the following assumptions must be met: (1) independence of observations; (2) the sample must be random; (3) multivariate normality: inferred through the verification of normality for each dependent variable considering the groups of the independent variable; (4) homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices: measured by Box's M Test. To verify the presence of multivariate normality, the result of the Shapiro-Wilk Test was considered to be more accurate than the Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test (Field, 2006). This was combined with visual inspection of normality in the Histograms, Q-Q Plots, and Box Plots. The Shapiro-Wilk test gave indications that lead to rejection of the null hypothesis of normal distribution at the significance level of 5%. However, the more flexible skewness and kurtosis measurements allow verification of normality of the data distribution, since the skewness values are greater than -1 and less than 1. The last criterion was obtained through Box's M Test (Hair et al., 2010), which by being non-significant ($Box's M = 26.14$, $p = .11$), indicates that there is homogeneity in the variance-covariance matrices. Additionally, Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) nevertheless

suggest that if large samples produce large variances and covariances, the probabilistic values will be conservative (and the significance values found will be reliable). Taken together, these results show that the conditions for MANOVA are satisfied.

Results

Stereotype attribution to egalitarian women and men

Previous analyses have shown that the participant's gender does not affect the results, thus being excluded from the analyses. The design used in the MANOVA included only the variables manipulated in the scenario presented: the character's gender and type of positioning (egalitarian, in favor of the leave, versus traditional, against the leave). There was a significant multivariate effect of the character's gender, Wilks's Lambda = .96, $F(3,220) = 3.14$, $p = .03$, and the character's position, Wilks's Lambda = .58, $F(3,220) = 51.05$, $p = .01$. There was also a multivariate effect of the interaction between the character's gender and the character's position, Wilks's Lambda = .96, $F(3,220) = 3.21$, $p = .02$.

The character's gender provoked statistically significant differences only in the competence stereotype, $F(1,217) = 6.07$, $p = .01$, indicating that in general the female character was perceived as more competent ($M = 3.6$; $SD = 0.72$) than the male character ($M = 3.4$; $SD = 0.73$).

However, the character's position generated statistically significant differences in the three stereotypical dimensions: sociability $F(1,217) = 142.30$, $p = .01$, morality, $F(1,217) = 66.25$, $p = .01$, and competence, $F(1,217) = 74.02$, $p = .01$. In general, the egalitarian targets, advocates of maternity leave, were perceived more positively in the three stereotypical dimensions, that is, they were perceived as more sociable, moral, and competent (Table 2).

Table 2. Means (and Standard Deviations) of Stereotypical perception in the dimensions of sociability, morality, and competence by the positioning of the character. The asterisk (*) indicates statistical significance between the means ($p < .05$).

	Sociability	Morality	Competence
Egalitarian	M = 3.49* (SD = 0.75)	M = 4.02* (SD = 0.81)	M = 3.92* (SD = 0.78)
Traditional	M = 2.29* (SD = 0.78)	M = 3.14* (SD = 0.79)	M = 3.08* (SD = 0.69)

In relation to the interaction between the character's position and the character's gender, there are statistically significant differences in the sociability dimension only in the condition in which the targets support maternity leave (Egalitarian), $F(1,217) = 4.92$, $p = .03$ (see Table 2 and Figure 2), showing that the egalitarian man supporting maternity leave is perceived as more sociable than the woman with the same position and than the traditional man against the leave. The dimension of morality was not influenced by these variables.

Table 3. Means (and Standard Deviations) of Stereotypical perception in the dimensions of sociability, morality, and competence by the positioning of the character and the gender of the character. The asterisk (*) indicates statistical significance between the means ($p < .05$).

	Sociability		Morality		Competence	
	Man	Woman	Man	Woman	Man	Woman
Egalitarian	M = 3.66* (SD = .76)	M = 3.34* (SD = .69)	M = 3.96 (SD = .75)	M = 4.08 (SD = .86)	M = 3.81 (SD = .78)	M = 4.03 (SD = .77)
Traditional	M = 2.18 (SD = .77)	M = 2.40 (SD = .78)	M = 3.09 (SD = .79)	M = 3.19 (SD = .79)	M = 2.94* (SD = .66)	M = 3.21* (SD = .69)

The results of these interactions can also be observed in the graphs of figure 2.

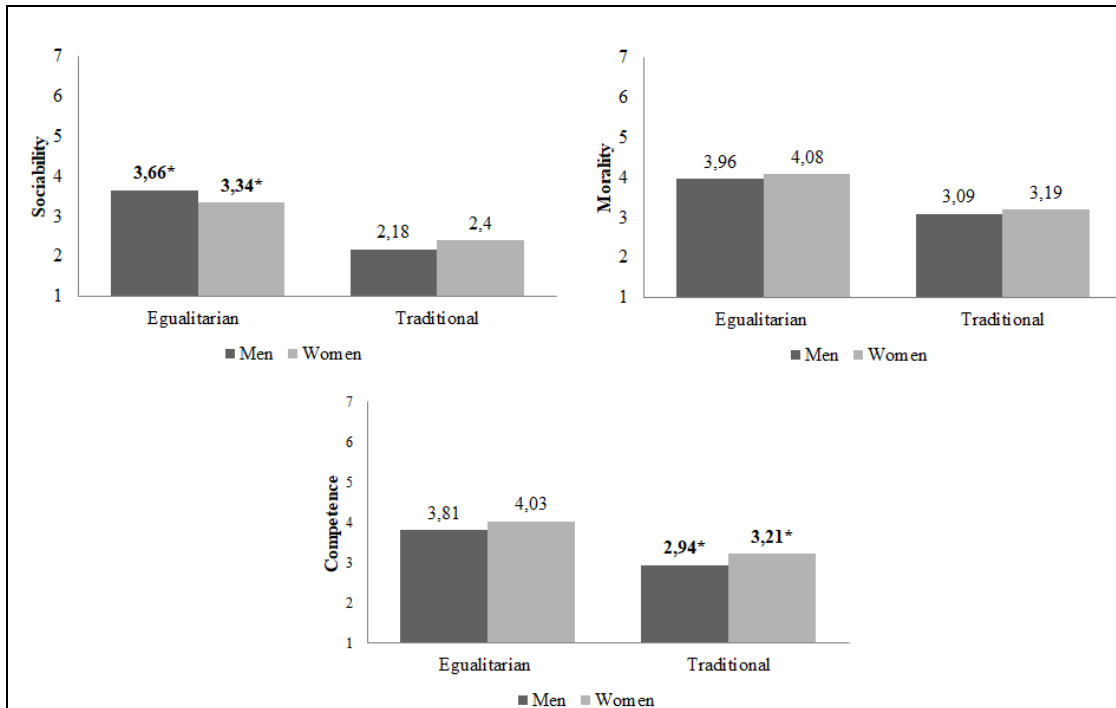


Figure 2. Stereotypical perception in the dimensions of sociability, morality, and competence by the positioning of the character and the gender of the character. The asterisk (*) indicates statistical significance between the means ($p < .05$).

With respect to competence, there are marginally significant differences only in the condition in which the targets are against maternity leave (Traditional), $F(1,217) = 3.65$, $p = .06$, indicating that in this condition, traditional women are perceived as more competent than traditional men who are equally opposed to maternity leave (Table 3 and Figure 2)

It is also important to note that we predicted that the egalitarian man supporting maternity leave would be perceived more negatively in the competence dimension than the non-egalitarian man against the leave. However, the results demonstrate the opposite, that the egalitarian man, the supporter of maternity leave, was perceived as more competent than the traditional men, and this difference is statistically significant.

Finally, we would also highlight the fact that the egalitarian woman, who supports maternity leave, was evaluated more positively in the competence dimension than the egalitarian man, although this difference is not statistically significant.

Discussion

The results of Study 1 demonstrated the existence of stereotypical content related to the three dimensions proposed by Cuadrado et al. (2016): sociability, competence, and morality. Taken together, these results indicate that the egalitarian man is perceived in a negative way and enveloped in suspicions. Thus, according to the participants, men would react with prejudice and stereotypes of femininity linking the egalitarian man to homosexuals in a negative way. While women, according to the participants, would perceive it either as a threat to feminists' right to speak or as an important ally in the struggle for equal rights.

In this study it was also found that the classes that gave rise to the dendrogram brought elements that present the egalitarian man as quite sociable and feminine. According to some participants, this man is also perceived as an example of dignity and morality for contributing to gender equality, but he is seen as not very competent (viewed with distrust by other men and victims of prejudice), a fact that can lead to men's avoidance or lack of interest in participating in these struggles. However, men who support gender equality, because they are perceived as more sociable than competent, may also be victims of the discrimination inherent in low status groups (Fiske et al., 2002).

In Study 2, we verified that the perception of the targets in terms of sociability, morality, and competence is influenced both by the type of positioning (egalitarian or traditional) and by the gender of the targets (man or woman). However, the participant's

gender had no influence on the results found. The fact that the gender of the participants (men and women) did not influence the results does not compromise the conclusions we can reach in this paper because, according to Fiske (1998), stereotypes are socially shared beliefs that can be accepted by people and individuals as well as groups. Thus, we will present the main results found without comparing the gender of the participants, but according to the type of positioning and gender of the character presented in the experimental situation used.

In general, the egalitarian men were perceived as more sociable than egalitarian women and traditional men, corroborating our first hypothesis (H1). Differently from what we expected, however, egalitarian men were perceived as more competent than traditional men, a result contrary to H2. This result is similar to that found by Albuquerque (in press), who demonstrates that men who use paternity leave are more positively evaluated in the competence dimension.

This result, together with that of the sociability dimension (H1), leads us to conclude that investigations into the attribution of stereotypical traits should take into account variables concerning the relationships between the groups belonged to (male or female, see Fiske et al., 1999; 2002), but also those regarding more ideological levels, such as egalitarian or traditional positions (Doise, 2002). In other words, together, these results demonstrate the importance of connecting different levels of analysis (Doise, 2002) to understand phenomena that are the product of intergroup relations, such as stereotypes (Tajfel, 1981). It is also important to reflect that, according to the Stereotype Content Model (Fiske et al., 2002), the group perceived as highly sociable is an admirable group, but one that is poorly respected and, therefore, to think and act in accordance with this belief favors increasing inequality between social groups, in our case between the men and women groups.

Regarding women, the fact that they were assessed more positively in the competence dimension, regardless of their positioning, was unexpected given the predictions of the constant model in the literature in this respect, theorizing exactly the opposite (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Fiske et al., 2002). One possible explanation for this result is that although the stereotype content model by Fiske et al. (2002) empirically demonstrates that the group of men is perceived as more competent than the group of normative women, in the research scenario presented to the participants, the woman was an engineer in a high status company, i.e., she was counter-normative, as she was placed in a professional context typically masculine. Thus, she can be considered counter-stereotypical because she "escapes" the normative patterns and the expectations tied to traditional gender roles, and thus, moves closer to the outgroup (see Viana, 2016 and Viana et al., 2018). Therefore, when she opposes maternity leave, she is perceived as more competent than the man who is already expected to position himself in this way (Table 3). This result shows, among other things, that women need to become masculine so they can take on leadership roles or typically male professional spaces (Lima, 2011; Nogueira, 2010).

Similar results were found by Eagly and Steffen (1984), who demonstrated that participants tended to perceive women in male-dominated roles as more competent than men. These authors comment that this effect may be the result of the belief that if women explicitly chose that role, it is because they would have a dispositional inclination for these male-dominated activities, i.e., if they chose this profession it is because they are very competent and in addition, they would have overcome the normative pressures working against these choices.

With the dimension of sociability, the reverse is true: the man is the one who is counter-stereotypical (egalitarian, defender of a "women's right"), moving closer to

the outgroup (women) and moving away from the ingroup (men). For this reason he is perceived as having more sociable or feminine stereotypical attributes (Anderson, 2009; Rudman et al., 2012). Within this same perspective, Eagly and Steffen (1984) also demonstrated in their work that counter-stereotypical men were perceived as more sociable. According to these authors, this perception is due to the choice made by these men and to their having faced the normative barrier of stereotypes, leading the participants to believe that they are, in fact, more sociable because they chose to carry out an activity dominated by women.

Given these results, and based on the literature that has shown that men who adhere to women's rights movements are stigmatized and stereotyped with more feminine attributes and/or are perceived as probable homosexuals (Study 1 of this work; Anderson, 2009; Rudman et al., 2012; Viana et al., 2018), we believe that being an egalitarian man can also lead to discrimination against these individuals in work contexts. Thus, as contextualized in the introduction of this paper, the fear of being discriminated could hinder male support on gender equality issues, and it is precisely because of this fear that patriarchal ideology and stereotypes of sexual roles maintain and justify the status quo (Mendez, 1995; Zurutuza, 1993).

If that is true, it can help us understand one of the barriers to achieving gender equality. In other words, if men, who are members of the group that enjoys greater privileges in the social hierarchy, position themselves as egalitarian for gender issues, and for this reason suffer retaliation (black sheep effect, Marques et al., 1988; Pinto et al., 2016), this can serve as a justification for the non-adherence of men in the struggle for gender equality. Of course we are not reducing gender inequality to a single aspect, but proposing that the results found here contribute to its maintenance.

Taken together, the results presented here point to the importance of investigating the stereotype processes tied to gender relations. Specifically, we are dealing with an aspect that has been little investigated, which is how the man who defends gender equality is seen. Since stereotypes include, among their social functions, legitimizing prejudice and discrimination while maintaining the status quo (Álvaro & Garrido, 2006; Tajfel, 1981; Torres & Camino, 2013), the results indicate that in the quest to reduce discrimination against women, it is also important for us to work on the stereotypes linked to men, in order to change their image, humanizing it with regard to the expression of affections and egalitarian positions.

Thus, the results of this study have important implications because it draws attention to the need to deconstruct gender stereotypes, since that, in order to maintain the status quo, even members of socially majority groups (e.g. men) may be subject to suffering prejudice and discrimination depending on their position in relation to relationships between men and women. For this reason, bringing these discussions into school settings and starting this deconstruction of roles with children and young people can be a crucial alternative for achieving breakthroughs in gender equality. A possible development of the results presented here is the planning of interventions with schools that aim to discuss and deconstruct the sexual division of roles. Thus, performing playful psycho-pedagogical interventions (eg role-playing games) that encourage role equality and the deconstruction that certain games or social responsibilities are unique to a particular gender can be very effective in combating gender inequality.

In the work context, this work can also help companies to encourage models of couples who work full time so that men also engage actively in household and family activities, contributing to the change in beliefs that housework should be performed only by women. In another aspect, but also effective, is to make companies aware that,

by advertising their products, they remove stereotypical views of men and women in traditional activities and, in doing so, may contribute to changes in their consumers' paradigms and conceptions. Taken together, these possibilities for interventions point to the scientific and social relevance of the studies presented here.

However, it is important to note that some gaps were left by the studies presented here. One of the aspects that should be analyzed in future studies concerns the work context. Considering the alternative hypothesis that the results related to the competence dimension may have been influenced by the fact that the context used was a context perceived as masculine (Viana, 2016; Viana et al., 2018), additional studies should be conducted in feminine contexts or in neutral contexts.

A second aspect that we believe important to investigate in more detail concerns women's rights advocated by egalitarian targets. Here we use the right to maternity leave, which is one of the oldest guaranteed by law in Brazil. What would happen if the egalitarian target defended a more controversial right in Brazilian society, such as the right to abortion? Or paternity leave being enjoyed for the same period as maternity leave, since studies such as that by Albuquerque et al. (in press) demonstrate that when women become mothers they are judged by different standards in the workplace, compared to fathers. Another perspective that deserves investigation in future studies is the view of homosexuality and its impact on gender stereotypes. Finally, it is important to bear in mind that although our results have shown a relationship with the black sheep effect (Marques et al., 1988; Pinto et al., 2016), the impact of this effect was not directly investigated and deserves to be included in upcoming studies.

These ideas can undoubtedly contribute both to understanding the persistence of gender inequalities in Brazilian society and to helping pave the way for the construction of a more egalitarian society.

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A OUTRA FACE DO SEXISMO: O CASO DA DISCRIMINAÇÃO CONTRA
HOMENS IGUALITÁRIOS

THE OTHER FACE OF SEXISM: THE CASE OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST
EQUAL MEN

LA OTRA CARA DEL SEXISMO: EL CASO DE LA DISCRIMINACIÓN HACIA
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Abstract

This paper investigated, through two studies, discrimination against egalitarian men in the labor market and the justifications given for this discrimination. The role of sexism in the relation between the type of positioning of man (traditional X egalitarian) and the decision made by the recruiter in a selective process (hiring him or not) in the perception of the legitimacy of this decision was also analyzed. Study 1 (N = 235) showed that the more one adheres to hostile sexism, the greater the legitimacy is perceived in the hiring of the traditional candidate. In Study 2 (N = 278), the hiring of the traditional candidate is justified by his dedication to work and the failing by the fact that he depends on his wife. The hiring of the egalitarian candidate is justified because he seems to be a good professional and the rejection for prioritizing the family. Together, the results presented here show the diverse faces that sexism can take on Brazilian society.

Keywords: Egalitarian men; Traditional men; Sexism; Legitimacy.

Resumo

Este artigo investigou, por meio de dois estudos, a discriminação contra homens igualitários no mercado de trabalho e as justificativas dadas para a sua discriminação. Analisou-se também o papel do sexismo na relação entre tipo de posicionamento do homem (tradicional X igualitário) e a decisão tomada pelo recrutador em um processo seletivo (contratá-lo ou não) na percepção da legitimidade dessa decisão. O Estudo 1 (N = 235) mostrou que quanto mais se adere ao sexismo hostil, maior a legitimidade percebida na contratação do candidato tradicional. No Estudo 2 (N = 278), a contratação do candidato tradicional é justificada por sua dedicação ao trabalho e sua reprovação pelo fato de ele ser dependente da esposa. Já a contratação do candidato igualitário é justificada por ele parecer ser um bom profissional e sua reprovação por sua prioridade à família. Em conjunto, os resultados aqui apresentados mostram as diversas faces que o sexismo pode assumir na sociedade brasileira.

Palavras-chave: Homens igualitários; Homens tradicionais; Sexismo; Legitimidade.

This article investigated how a man who stands for gender equality is perceived and evaluated in the work market. Together, the results show that sexism can reach to women and men who defend egalitarian positions in a very similar way. Thus, it is discussed that one of the greatest obstacles to the construction of egalitarian societies with regard to sexist discrimination is based on ideologies that in the 21st century still defend the sexual division of male and female roles.

Introduction

Brazil ranks among the worst in terms of pay gaps between men and women. Data from *IBGE* (2018) show that 21.5% of women and 15.6% of men aged from 25 to 44 years have completed college. However, although they are mostly in the higher education bracket and therefore more qualified for the labor market, women with this level of education receive, on average, 63.4% of the income of men with the same level of education. In 2016, for example, only 39.1% of management positions in Brazil were held by women. The situation is even more alarming when we consider that Brazil occupies the 95th position among the 149 countries studied regarding gender inequalities (World Economic Forum, 2017). Taken together, this evidence shows that gender disparity in Brazil is still quite strong.

However, in view of these such evident numbers of the inequality between the genders existing in Brazil, we wonder what may be hindering the reduction of these differences and the construction of a more equal society for men and women. Studies carried out in Brazil suggest that the sexual division of roles (e.g. division of domestic tasks) is still very evident (Araújo & Lombardi, 2013; Guedes & Araújo, 2011; Hirata, 2015). This has strong repercussions both on family dynamics, leading to a physical and emotional burden on women, as well as on their professional lives (El País, 2019; Garcia-Alonso, Krentz, Lovich, Quickenden & Taplett, 2019; Fontoura, Rezende, Mostafa & Lobato, 2017), hindering both their start and stay in the labor market (Garcia-Alonso et al., 2019; Fontoura et al., 2017). However, these studies share the perspective of women: what the consequences of sexist discrimination for women are. Although we agree that studies on sexist discrimination should have this type of emphasis, in this paper we take a slightly different perspective. Thus, in this work we will analyze the discrimination, in the work environment, that the egalitarian man might

suffer. An egalitarian man is understood here as that man who defends the parity of status between men and women reflected in the defense of the sharing of all domestic and family tasks. Assuming that the gender division of roles is anchored in positions that make reference to gender stereotypes (eg women are fragile and maternal), which in turn are reflected in sexist positions (eg Women must be liked and protected by men) , this work aims to investigate discrimination against egalitarian men in the labor market and the justifications given for this kind of discrimination, also analyzing the role of sexism in the relation between the type of positioning of the man (traditional X egalitarian) and the decision made by the recruiter in a selection process (hiring or not) in the perception of the legitimacy of this decision.

Gender stereotypes can be defined as a set of socially shared beliefs about the characteristics that men and women have, and can be applied indiscriminately to members of these groups (Cuadrado, 2007). It is also noteworthy that gender stereotypes have two dimensions: descriptive and prescriptive. According to Cuadrado (2007), descriptive gender characteristics occur almost automatically when we encounter a man or a woman. These are the characteristics that we use to describe them and that are expected and desirable. Prescriptive characteristics indicate how men and women should behave. Still according to Cuadrado (2007), we make use of the prescriptive dimension when we expect that a woman should have interpersonal skills and be docile and understanding. However, when women do not have these attributes, they can suffer different types of discrimination (Viana, 2016; Viana, Souza & Torres, 2018).

When it comes to sexism, this one is understood as a special case of prejudice deeply marked by an ambivalence (instead of a uniform dislike) directed at women (Glick and Fiske, 1996). According to these authors, sexism has been conceived as a

reflection of hostility towards women, but limiting it only to this conceptual aspect ends up neglecting an extremely important and significant aspect: the subjectively positive feelings towards women, feelings that sometimes go together with the sexist dislike.

Thus, a seminal theoretical framework for the study of discrimination against women refers to the work of Glick and Fiske (1996) on sexism. For them, this phenomenon would be anchored in three points: patriarchy, the differentiation of the gender role and the idea of interdependence between women and men. Here it is important to emphasize that the interface between studies on stereotypes and those on sexism would be precisely in the last two points, since the primary ones would justify the sexual division of roles while the latter ones would act as a network of meanings on the relations between men and women. which, in turn, would perpetuate the very sexual division of roles. Also according to these authors, each of these elements would be associated with a set of hostile and benevolent attitudes towards women and, thus, would serve as a basis for the legitimacy of the male domain. For them, sexism must be understood as a multidimensional construct, in which the hostile dimension reflects an antipathy towards women who fight for equal rights. The benevolent dimension, on the other hand, would seem to be a non-prejudiced and superficially positive expression, but that basically represents women as less capable and dependent on men.

It is important to emphasize that according to Connor, Glick and Fiske (2016) hostile sexism and benevolent sexism are highly correlated and serve to reinforce male dominance in different ways. As these authors argue, hostile sexism punishes women who distance themselves from their socially prescribed roles and benevolent sexism rewards women who accept or submit to the roles prescribed by society. However, both dimensions serve to maintain the status quo and the hierarchy between men and women. Finally, it is important to note that, when talking about the relations between men and

women, sexism also talks about the normativity (and counter-normativity) of certain types of positions, such as, for example, the woman leaving for work and the man staying at home taking care of the children.

On this subject, recent studies have shown that depending on how mothers are perceived, inequality between men and women in the labor market is accentuated (González, Cortina & Rodríguez, 2019), and also that one of the possible reasons for the slow advance of gender equality in the labor market is due to the fact that the workplace continues to be the stage for masculinity disputes among men (Connor & Fiske, 2018; Glick, Berdahl & Alonso, 2018; Glick et al., 2018 ; Glick, Wilkerson & Cuffe, 2015; Matos, O'Neill & Lei, 2018, Reid, O'Neill & Blair-Loy, 2018). Among other things, these surveys demonstrate that as the status of men in the workplace depends on the perceptions of their masculinity and performance as men, they are motivated to prove their masculinity at work even if it costs the exclusion of women and counter-normative men (those who do not fit this parameter of hegemonic masculinity). The results of these studies are important because they make us reflect on gender discrimination in a different light. That is, if men are to prove their masculinity at all times and, knowing that the professions that enable economic and social status require a professional model that follows this pattern of masculinity, what happens to men who do not meet this normative standard (eg egalitarian man) and what impact does this have on gender equality achievements? This is one of our questions in this work.

Considering the above, it is also necessary to bear in mind the impact of social norms on our attitudes and behaviors. Conceptually, social norms are patterns of shared values that guide the behavior of individuals in their groups of belonging (Costa-Lopes & Pereira, 2011). According to these authors, although there is no consensus in the literature, at least two normative characteristics appear as central in order to specify the

conceptual nature of a standard, which are: description and prescription. In other words, the concept of norms is organized on these two aspects, the descriptive norm being understood as what is often done in society and the prescriptive norm what is typically approved and valued by society and, therefore, prescribes what can / should or cannot be done (Costa-Lopes & Pereira, 2011). Therefore, for the purpose of the work presented here, we can emphasize the existing relation between gender norms and stereotypes, which, as already discussed, also have well-defined descriptive and prescriptive characteristics. It is also important to emphasize that we are not defending a causal relation between norms and stereotypes, but only emphasizing that they are phenomena that are deeply rooted in each other and that together they contribute to the maintenance and / or change of the social structure, in our case, relations between men and women.

Researches on counter-normativity in the face of social expectations of gender roles have investigated how counter-normative men and women are perceived in stereotypical terms (Rudman, Mescher & Moss-Racusin, 2012; Viana et al., 2018). Together, these authors show that men who defend gender equality, as well as men who exercise professions perceived as feminine, are seen with more feminine attributes and / or as homosexuals. Our interest in this work is to test the hypothesis that the equal positioning of a man on the division of gender roles will impact the way we judge him in terms of suitability to perform a high status function in a large company. This hypothesis aims to fill a gap in the literature (Rudman et al., 2012), which is to test whether the equal positioning of men has an impact on discrimination that they might suffer. In this way, this article assumes that the norm of egalitarianism related to the division of gender roles, when emphasized, reduces the flagrant expressions of prejudice and discrimination. This idea is based on Costa-Lopes and Pereira (2011) who

demonstrated that, when it comes to racism, the norm of egalitarianism (also called the anti-racist norm) leads to the condemnation of attitudes considered less desirable, such as expressing anti-normative attitudes or behavior in “interracial” contexts. Also according to these authors, the salience or absence of the norm will depend on the context and people tend to behave differently in public (must outline socially desirable behaviors and attitudes) and private contexts (can act and think without normative pressure).

Study objectives and overview

This article consists of two studies. Study 1 aimed to test the hypothesis that a man's egalitarian or traditional positioning in relation to the division of gender roles influences the agreement of his hiring / failing for a leadership position.

Study 2, on the other hand, aimed, through a quantitative-qualitative approach, to investigate what types of justifications people use to agree or disagree with the hiring / failing of egalitarian or traditional candidates regarding the division of gender roles. Both studies followed ethical recommendations for research with human beings in accordance with resolution 466/12 of the National Health Council.

Study 1

The situation used to test the hypotheses proposed here is based on the work of Costa-Lopes and Pereira (2011) which demonstrates that the simple fact that the participant answers a questionnaire and knows that their answers will be read later is sufficient to activate social norms. Therefore, we assume that when a man who defends gender equality needs to be evaluated by participants through a questionnaire, the same process occurs, and thus the normative pressure of the social desirability of gender equality would be activated because people they know that their answers will be read and do not want to appear discriminatory. In this way, the egalitarian man will be more

likely to be evaluated positively (deserve to be hired). In the same way, in the case of a man who defends traditional gender relations based on the sexual division of roles, as it is a position no longer explicitly endorsed by society, the norm of egalitarianism will also be activated, but, in this situation, there is a greater probability of this man being negatively evaluated. Thus, the hypotheses tested here were:

H1) The context presented by *priming* will favor the salience of the egalitarian norm, specifically favoring responses based on social desirability and, in this way, it will make the decision to hire a man with an egalitarian positioning be perceived as more legitimate than the decision of hiring a man with traditional positioning. Thus, the norm of egalitarianism will lead to less expression of undesirable gender attitudes.

H2) In a complementary way, the egalitarian norm will also make the decision to reprove a man with traditional positioning be perceived as more legitimate than the decision to fail a man with egalitarian positioning.

H3) As the norm of egalitarianism will stand out, decreasing explicit discriminatory expressions, it is believed that adherence to the ideology of ambivalent sexism is capable of decreasing the desirability of the norm and effectively show discrimination in relation to egalitarian targets. To this end, it is believed that hostile sexism (hostile expression of antipathy) and benevolent sexism (subtle and apparently positive expression) will act as moderators of the relation between the candidate's positioning (egalitarian versus traditional), the recruiter's decision (hiring or failing) and the perception of legitimacy in the face of the recruiter's decision. Therefore, the higher the level of sexism in the participants, the more they will tend to agree that the manager position should be occupied by the traditional candidate, so we hypothesize that:

H3a) the greater the adherence to sexism, the greater the legitimacy perceived in hiring the traditional candidate;

H3b) the greater the adherence to sexism, the greater the legitimacy perceived in the failing of the egalitarian candidate;

H3c) the lower the adherence to sexism, the greater the legitimacy perceived in hiring the egalitarian candidate;

H3d) the lower the adherence to sexism, the greater the legitimacy perceived in the failing of the traditional candidate.

Method

Participants and design

235 university students participated in this study with an average age of 21.3 years old ($SD = 4.16$), 50.6% of them are female and 49.4% male. The participants were randomly allocated to one of four conditions in a factorial design 2×2 (positioning: egalitarian or traditional) \times 2 (decision on hiring: hired or failed) between subjects.

Procedures

The participants answered the questionnaires individually, but in a collective context in the classroom. Before starting to fill out the questionnaire, the participants read the Informed Consent Form (ICF), which addressed the research objectives, willingness to participate in the study and the guarantee of confidentiality to the participants. After reading the Informed Consent Form, the participants signed the term and started filling out the questionnaire.

Instrument

The questionnaire was initially composed of a scenario in which a large company, when opening a selection process for the position of manager, had selected two CVs of men, with similar qualifications, requiring an interview to hire one of them. Then the participants read excerpts from the interview that could be from a man who defended gender equality with regard to the sexual division of roles (eg equal division

of domestic and family tasks, father present in the education of children, etc.) or from a man who defended the traditional division of gender roles (eg dedication entirely to work and relegating to his wife all the domestic and educational responsibilities for their children). Finally, the participant was told that the interviewer had decided to hire or reject the candidate. Next, the questionnaire included the measure of perception of legitimacy (dependent variable), the ambivalent sexism scale Glick and Fiske (1996) and questions related to sociodemographic data. Each participant answered only one of the four conditions.

Dependent variable

Participants were required to report how much they supported the recruiter's decision. Support was measured using the average score of four items ($\alpha = .92$), so that the higher the score, the greater the agreement with the recruiter's decision to hire or fail candidates, depending on the situation.

Sexism measure

Glick and Fiske's (1996) ambivalent sexism scale adapted to Brazil by Formiga, Gouveia and Santos (2002) was used. The scale consists of 22 items, 11 with hostile sexism content and 11 with benevolent sexism content. Participants were instructed to inform how much they agreed with each statement using a seven-point scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The factor analysis was performed by fixing the extraction of two factors ($KMO = 0.92$; Bartlett's sphericity test, $\chi^2 (231) = 2244.8$, $p < .001$). The factors were named: a) Hostile sexism, with Cronbach's alpha of .90 and factorial loads ranging from .38 (feminists seek women to have more power) and .73 (women interpret innocent actions as being sexist) and b) Benevolent sexism, with alpha of .85 and loads ranging from .31 (In catastrophes, women must be rescued

first) and .79 (man is incomplete without a woman), both explaining together 42.2% of the variance.

Handling verification

To assess the effectiveness of the manipulation used, participants were required to report at the end of the study, how much they believed that the candidate in the story read was a feminist. For this purpose, they indicated on a scale ranging from 1 (Nothing feminist) to 7 (Very feminist). An analysis of variance (ANOVA) demonstrated that the manipulation of the positioning type was efficient, ($F(1,232) = 521,588, p < .001$). The egalitarian candidate was perceived as more feminist ($M = 5.18, SD = 1.07$) than the traditional candidate ($M = 1.91, SD = 1.09$), demonstrating that the positioning of the candidate (egalitarian or traditional) was really in evidence and was able to impact the responses of the participants in this study.

Data analysis

The SPSS software (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) version 20 was used to analyze the results. In this software it was possible to perform ANOVAs, ANCOVAs, estimate a moderation model, in addition to descriptive analyzes.

Results

To test the effect of the variables type of positioning (egalitarian versus traditional) and the recruiter's decision on the perception of the legitimacy of the decision, a 2 x 2 factorial ANOVA was performed. The results show that the main effect of the target positioning was significant, ($F(1, 234) = 3,884, p = .050$), indicating that the recruiter's decision was perceived as more legitimate when it involves a traditional candidate ($M = 4.59; SD = 1.76$) than an egalitarian candidate ($M = 4.00; SD = 2.20$). The main effect of the decision on hiring, ($F(1,234) = 126,116, p < .001$) was

also significant and shows that the decision to hire was more legitimate ($M = 5.45$; $SD = 1.48$) than to fail ($M = 3.27$; $SD = 1.81$).

In view of Hypothesis 1 (H1), it was found that the effect of the interaction between positioning and the hiring decision was significant, ($F(1,234) = 29.967$, $p < .001$), showing that the recruiter's decision was perceived as more legitimate when he hires an egalitarian candidate instead a traditional candidate, corroborating H1. As well as, regarding Hypothesis 2 of this study, the recruiter's decision was perceived as more legitimate when fails a traditional candidate than when he fails an egalitarian candidate, confirming our H2 (Figure 1).

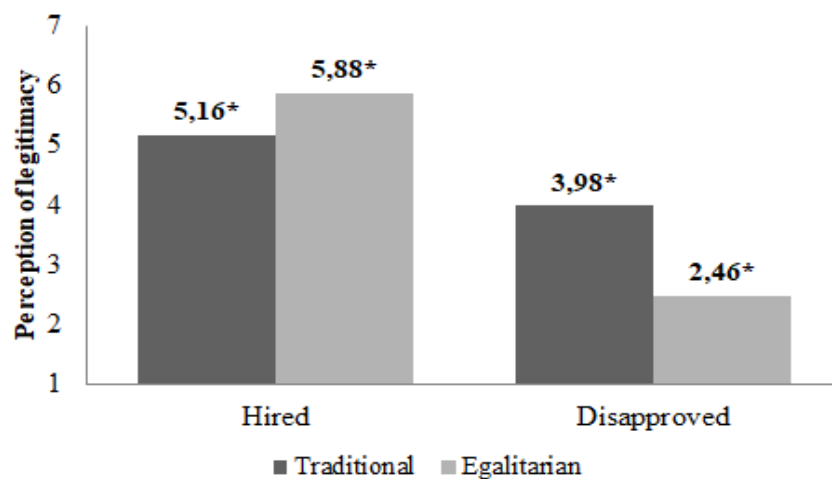


Figure 1: Perception of legitimacy perceived according to the type of positioning of the candidate and the recruiter's decision. The asterisk (*) shows statistic significance between rates.

With regard to the third hypothesis, the moderating role of hostile and benevolent sexism was tested in the relation between the candidate's positioning (egalitarian versus traditional), the decision (hiring or failing) and the perceived legitimacy in the face of the recruiter's decision. Initially, a 2 x 2 factorial ANCOVA was performed, with hostile sexism and benevolent sexism as covariates. However, benevolent sexism did not function as a moderator in the tested model. This may be due

to the fact that benevolent sexism for being superficially positive, served as another mechanism that favored the egalitarian norm, leading the participants to respond in a desirable way, for this reason there was no variation in the response of the participants.

With this result, the analysis was carried out considering only hostile sexism as a moderator. It was found that the triple interaction between the candidate's positioning (egalitarian or traditional), the decision about hiring (Hiring or failing) and hostile sexism was significant, ($F(1, 234) = 7,872, p = .005$). This result indicates that hostile sexism effectively performs as a moderator in the proposed model.

The results show that the greater the adherence to hostile sexism, the more participants perceive legitimacy in hiring the traditional candidate ($b = .55; SE = .14; t = 3.83, p < .01, 95\% CI: .27; .84$), corroborating Hypothesis 3a. However, with regard to Hypothesis 3c, the perception of legitimacy in the situation of hiring the egalitarian candidate does not change due to the level of hostile sexism of the participants (Figure 2), and it is not possible to say that a lower adherence to hostile sexism would lead to a greater legitimacy perceived in hiring the egalitarian candidate as we hypothesized (H3c not confirmed), although it was possible to observe that among participants with low adherence to hostile sexism, the decision to hire the egalitarian candidate was perceived as more legitimate than the decision of hiring the traditional candidate, ($F(1, 227) = 11,247, p = .001$). Taken together, these results support hypotheses 3a and 3c of this work.

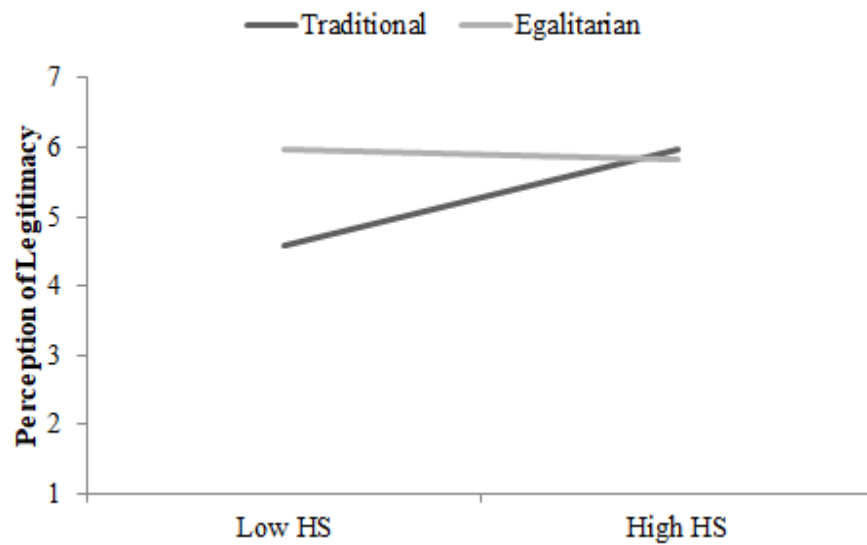


Figure 2. Perception of legitimacy perceived according to hostile sexism level of participants and the kind of position of the candidate at the hiring.

Regarding the failing situation (Figure 3), it was observed that the level of hostile sexism did not generate statistically significant differences in the perceived legitimacy of the recruiter's decision, that is, hypotheses 3b and 3d were not confirmed. However, both among individuals with less adherence to hostile sexism, ($F(1, 227) = 21,639$, $p = .001$) and among those with greater adherence, ($F(1, 227) = 8,452$, $p = .004$), there was a greater perception of legitimacy when the recruiter decided to fail the traditional candidate than when he failed the egalitarian candidate (See figure 3), a result contrary to what we predicted, as we believed that only among individuals with low adherence to hostile sexism the failing of the traditional candidate was perceived as more legitimate. We understand that this result may also have been influenced by the egalitarian norm that was activated (salient) during the study, leading the participants to respond in accordance with social desirability.

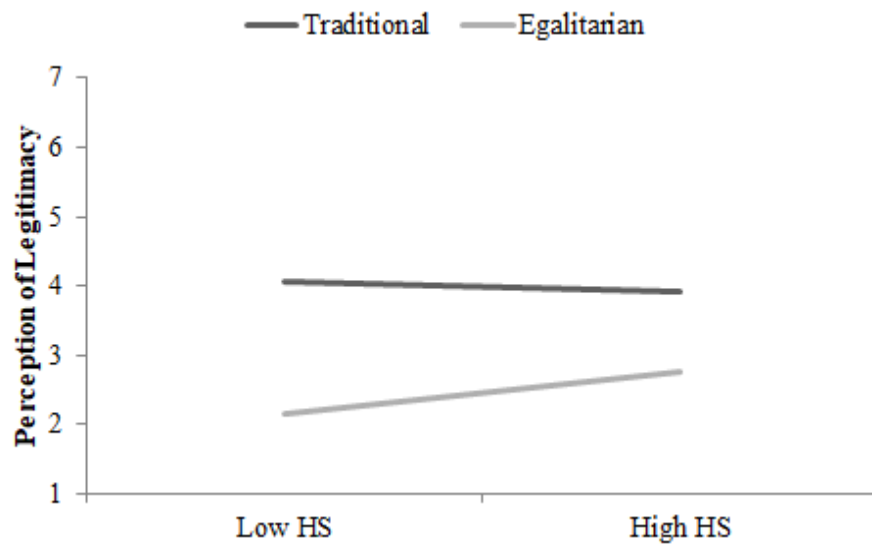


Figura 3. Perception of legitimacy perceived according to hostile sexism level of participants and the kind of position of the candidate at the rejection situation.

Although these results, for the most part, corroborate our hypotheses, a result contrary to what was expected caught our attention: individuals with greater adherence to hostile sexism also perceived more legitimacy in the disapproval of the traditional candidate. Why did this happen? To address this gap, we developed Study 2 using a quanti-qualitative approach which objective was to analyze the discursive arguments used to justify the hiring or failing of an egalitarian or traditional candidate regarding gender equality.

Study 2

Method

Participants

278 university students participated in this study, mostly male (51.6%) and ages ranging from 16 to 57 years old.

Procedures

The sample was for convenience and not probabilistic. University students answered the instrument individually in classrooms after signing the Informed Consent Form. It is important to note that, as in study 1, each participant answered only one of the conditions, which were randomly distributed.

Instrument

The questionnaire initially presented the same research scenario used in Study 1. Finally, the participant was told that the interviewer had decided to hire or fail the candidate. After reading this scenario, the participants were asked the following question: “Reading the interview, what do you think was essential for the recruiter to make the decision of hiring / failing X?”. Participants also responded to sociodemographic data.

Data analysis

Lexical Analysis Technique was used. For this, we used the software Irramuteq (R Interface for Les Analyzes Multidimensionnelles de Textes et de Questionnaires) developed by Pierre Ratinaud (2009), which allows researchers to use technical resources of lexical analysis. In this type of analysis, the software identifies the Text Segments, performs the word search and reduces the words based on their radicals, creating reduced and complementary forms.

Results

Justifications about hiring / failing egalitarian candidates

Regarding the justifications given by the participants for agreeing or disagreeing with the hiring / rejection of egalitarian candidates, the lexical analysis showed a total of

1468 different words evoked in 412 different ways. A number of texts equals to 138 was obtained, with a total utilization of the *corpus* of 70%. The Descending Hierarchical Classification (DHC) divided the *corpus* of the analysis into five distinct classes (Figure 4). Class 1, with the equivalent of 21.9% of Text segments; Class 2 with 22.9%; Class 3 with 16.7%; Class 4 with 14.6% and finally, Class 5, with 24% of Text Segments. The classes will be described following the order presented in the DHC and were named according to the semantic content of each one.

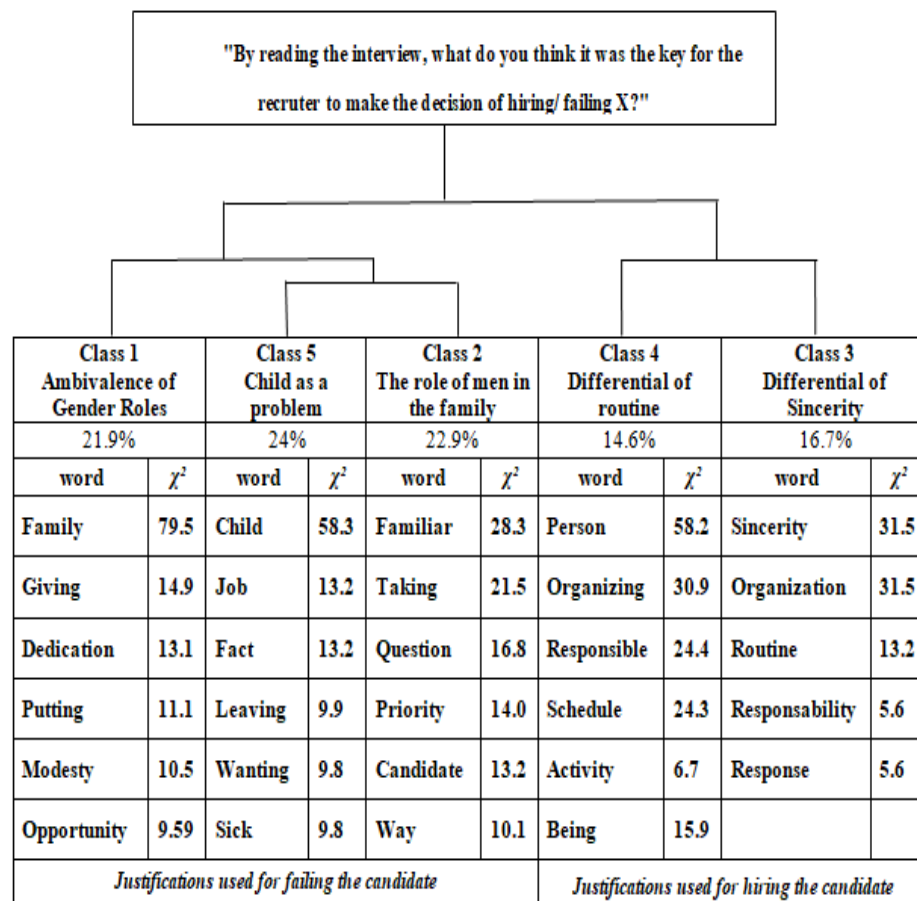


Figura 4. DHC of Justifications given for the hiring/ rejection of egalitarian candidates. Source: Figure elaborated by the authors. Data from the research.

It appears that the *corpus* is divided into two main *clusters*. On the one hand are the justifications related to the candidate's failing and on the other, the speeches related to the candidate's hiring.

On the side of the justifications for the candidate's rejection, Class 1 was called “Ambivalence of gender roles” and gathers mostly justifications about what was fundamental for the recruiter to fail the egalitarian candidate. Thus, the speeches bring, above all, the fact that the candidate has the family as a priority and the suspicion that the character's dedication to the family could bring future harm to the company. As an example of this Class 1 discourse we have: “the characteristic of X dedicating himself to his family and that this may take him away from work”.

Class 5, entitled “Child as a problem”, refers to the idea that having or wanting a child is perceived as an obstacle to good performance at work and to the professional's attendance at the company. In this way, the participants believe that the fact of the candidate demonstrating the desire of having a child and intending to exercise a participative and shared parenthood with his wife made him, a candidate for the position of manager, be perceived as an unwanted professional, despite all his professional qualifications. We have as an example of this class's discourse: “the fact that he will leave work to take care of his son, prioritizing the family above his function”.

Class 2, named “The role of men in the family”, brings justifications based on the idea that the candidate has failed because he is very participative in the family environment and work is not treated with priority, arguments similar to those found in Class 5. In Class2, however, it is evident that men should not be responsible for “female” roles or attributions, because if they do, they will suffer consequences. Once again, domestic and family responsibility are not seen as male roles and therefore there is strangeness and punishment for this man who escapes the rule (Lyness & Judiesch,

2014). As an example of speech present in this class we have: "I believe that because the candidate is very participative in the family environment".

In the second *cluster*, Classes 4 and 3 came together for bringing justifications related to the hiring of the character. Class 4, entitled "Differential of routine", gathers justifications that indicate that the character was hired because he has a very organized routine, with well-defined schedules. To exemplify the discourse present in this class we have: "the attitude towards schedules and commitments".

In Class 3, named "Differential of sincerity", it presents justifications once again linked to the aspects of organization and responsibility of the candidate with his tasks and duties. In this class, however, the participants highlighted that the character was hired for evidence of being a good, disciplined and organized professional. It is interesting that in this class the fact that the character is sincere in the answers also points out as something positive for his hiring, as in the speech: "sincerity and his active routine".

Justifications about hiring / failing traditional candidates

Regarding the justifications given by the participants for agreeing or disagreeing with the hiring / rejection of traditional candidates, the lexical analysis showed a total of 1768 different words evoked in 482 different ways. 140 text segments were obtained, with 87.14% of the *corpus* being used. DHC divided the analysis *corpus* into seven distinct classes (Figure 5). Class 1, with 11.5% of Text segments; Class 2 with 11.5%; Class 3 with 18.9%; Class 4 with 13.1%; Class 5 with 13.1%, Class 6 with 15.6% and Class 7 with 16.4% of Text Segments. The classes will be described in the order presented in the Descending Hierarchical Classification.

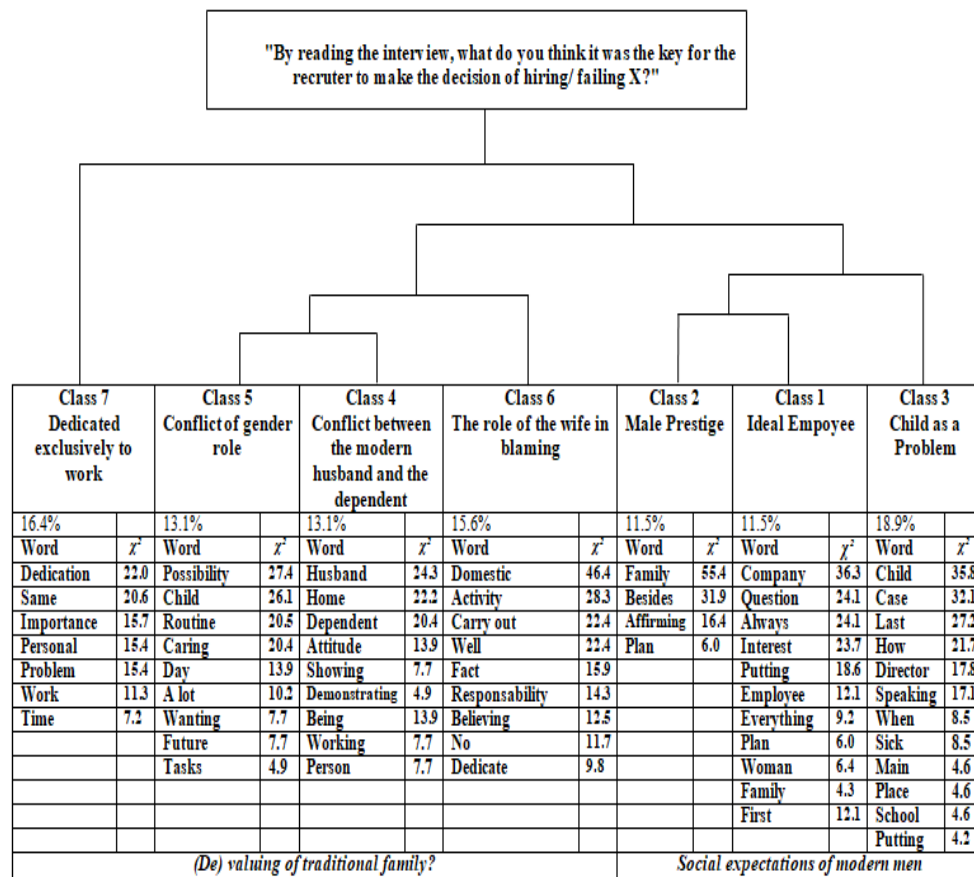


Figure 5. DHC of Justifications used by the hiring/ failing of traditional candidates. Source: Figure elaborated by the authors. Data from the research.

It appears that the dendrogram is structured in 3 *clusters*. Class 7 was named “Dedicated exclusively to work” and gathered mostly justifications given for hiring the traditional candidate. Thus, the speeches revolved around the idea that the character was hired for dedicating himself fully to work, without interference from family and personal life. In this class there was also the idea of competitiveness that would be a characteristic of the candidate and that is perceived as positive and important for hiring and for the work market. To exemplify the speech of this class we have: “knowing that the candidate's personal life would not cause problems for the company”.

Class 5, entitled “Conflict of gender role”, justifies the failing of the candidate because he is very dependent on his wife and for his desire to have children in the future, a fact that could harm his work, as exemplified by the speech: “it is due to possibility of having children in the future and his daily tasks, for example, depending a lot on his wife ”. However, this class reveals a duality with regard to children: the desire of having a child in the future is perceived as a problem that justifies his failure, but the fact of not having them was still a factor that served to justify their hiring.

Class 4, named “Conflict between the modern husband and the dependent”, refers to the failing of the traditional candidate because he is very dependent on his wife and does not share tasks, valuing the traditional division of gender roles (men work and women take care of the house), as can be seen in this speech: “the fact that X is very dependent on his wife”. However, the justifications that emerge when this candidate is hired are that his total commitment to work is due to the fact that he has a housewife who gives all the support for an organized and assiduous life in the work environment. To exemplify this speech we have: “the fact that the candidate is married and his wife is a housewife leads to believe that there would be no interruption in his work”. In other words, having a well-defined role division is fundamental to hiring the candidate, but this could lead him to depend on his wife.

Class 6, called “The role of the wife in blaming”, brings justifications very similar to those used in Class 4, but here, the dependence on the wife comes in a tone of blame due to the fact that the woman does all the household activities alone and this would lead the husband to have difficulty at work due to lack of initiatives, as it is possible to observe in this speech: “due to the fact that his wife does all the household chores”. On the other hand, the justifications used for hiring refers to the family structure of the character, which supports him to carry out his work with the utmost

dedication, since he will not even have the responsibilities for his son. As an example, we have: “the fact of having a stable family structure due to the functions assumed by the wife that exempts him from domestic responsibilities”.

Class 2, entitled “Male prestige”, uses arguments related to the lack of priority given to the family and the exclusive dedication to work as something that serves both to justify the hiring of a traditional candidate and to justify his rejection. However, the positive or negative connotation of these arguments will depend on whether the participants are talking about a man who was hired or failed for the position of manager. For example, people who justify the failure of the candidate, believe that it was due to the fact that he has no responsibility at home, is not empathetic and kind to his family and because he only thinks about work. As an example of speech we have: “his unconcern with his family”. The justifications given by the participants about hiring, are based on the idea that leaving the family in the background and not having children, makes this candidate perceived as someone who will have a high performance at work, since he only needs to worry about the company's commitments, as noted in this speech: “the support that his family of traditional molds provides”.

Class 1, named “Ideal employee”, gathers arguments very close to Class 2 and most of them agglutinated in this class of justifications for hiring the character. The arguments revolve around the idea that he was hired due to his restrict interest in the company, commitment to work, having a woman who does all the domestic and family work while he works outside the home. It is a class that speaks precisely of traditional gender roles and the valorization of these roles in order to maintain the *status quo*. We have as an example of this class's speech the following sentence: “the commitment to put the company's interests at the forefront”.

Finally, Class 3, entitled “Child as a problem”, involves a duality in relation to children and work, as occurred in the results regarding the justifications given to egalitarian candidates. In this way, the arguments that made up this class justify their failing by mentioning the insensitivity of the traditional candidate for not paying attention to the child, as in the speech “the part he talks about his children. As a last resort, having to put his child as a priority in relation to work ”. On the other hand, the participants justified the hiring of the character because he still does not have children and even if he does have them, this would not hinder his routine at work, since work is a priority. As an example, we have: “the absence of children”.

Discussion and Final Comments

This article investigated, through two studies, how the egalitarian man is perceived when he competes for a high status position in a company and the justifications that are given when this man is passed or failed in a selection process. In addition, the role of hostile or benevolent sexism in the relation between the type of positioning of men (traditional X egalitarian) and decision made in a selective process (hiring him or not) were analyzed.

In Study 1, we found that the interactions between the type of positioning and the recruiter's decision demonstrate that the perception of legitimacy is greater when the recruiter decides to hire an egalitarian candidate instead of a traditional candidate, corroborating the first hypothesis (H1) of this work. Complementarily, this decision is perceived as more legitimate when the recruiter decides to fail the traditional candidate, confirming the second hypothesis (H2). Both results are relevant due to the norm of egalitarianism being prominent (Costa-Lopes & Pereira, 2011) and, thus, having influenced more desirable responses on the part of the participants.

It was also found that the more individuals adhere to hostile sexism, the more they will tend to judge a traditional man as more suitable to occupy a manager position in a company, to the detriment of an egalitarian man, corroborating Hypothesis 3a. This result can be interpreted through the prescriptive character of gender stereotypes, which, among other things, makes us treat men and women as possessing an essentialist endowment adequate to occupy certain roles and social spaces (Cuadrado, 2007). Thus, the traditional man is the one who fulfills this role that is socially expected for the male population, especially for a position that involves leadership and high *status*, as was the case of the scenario presented here in Study 1. On the basis of the level of hostile sexism it was not possible to observe significant differences in the perception of legitimacy in the situation of failing the egalitarian candidate and therefore H3b was not confirmed, however considering only individuals with low adherence to sexism, the egalitarian candidate was perceived as more legitimate than the traditional candidate for occupying the position of manager. The low adherence to hostile sexism also did not influence the perception of legitimacy in hiring the egalitarian candidate and the rejection of the traditional candidate, thus the hypotheses H3c and H3d were also not confirmed in this work, but when analyzing the responses given by both participants with less adherence to hostile sexism and those with greater adherence, it was perceived there was a greater perception of legitimacy in the rejection of the traditional candidate.

Although these results show that only part of our hypotheses have been corroborated, they point to the importance of continuing to investigate the harmful effects of sexism for both women and men who defend gender equality in our society by looking for what may underlie this phenomenon. And the fact that the participants with greater adherence to hostile sexism perceived more legitimacy when the recruiter

decided to reject the traditional candidate calls for attention and deserves to be investigated in future studies. This result is a mystery in a sense that it may lead us to the mistake of thinking that those individuals with a greater adherence to hostile sexism had a more positive view of the egalitarian candidate, when in fact it was found that the higher the level of hostile sexism the more people tend to see the traditional candidate as the most correct to occupy the position of manager.

Study 2 brought results that helped us to better understand those found in Study 1. Thus, the justifications given for the situation involving an egalitarian candidate being rejected demonstrate that his rejection, above all, is due to the fact he behaves differently from what is expected by society, being penalized for being counter-normative. In a study developed by Viana et al. (2018) it was possible to observe precisely the challenges faced by counter-normative professionals, who are anchored in the sexual division of labor, leading to prejudice and discrimination. It is perceived in this way, that the professional desired and idealized to occupy the position of manager should dedicate himself exclusively to work, which is what the patriarchal society expects. When there is a conflict between the roles of provider (traditional) and caregiver (egalitarian), the candidate is perceived as a problem professional (Lyness & Judiesch, 2014).

Some justifications given for not hiring an egalitarian man for the position of manager are quite similar to those that are already given by companies for not hiring women for leadership positions or status positions in different work spaces. This result is consistent with the theory of gender roles (Eagly et al. 2004; Ovejero, 2011), which makes us expect that only women have the responsibility to their families and children and, men, the responsibility to provide financially the home. In other words, all the arguments that cause women to play secondary and supporting roles in society are also

used to reproach this egalitarian man who is running for a prominent position, a result similar to that found by Lyness and Judiesch (2014), by demonstrating that both women and men report suffering from the same problems and challenges when they decide to combine family activities and formal work.

The arguments used to justify the hiring of the egalitarian candidate are exclusively related to the fact that he seems to be a good professional because he knows how to divide the routine and schedules well. At no time was it questioned or highlighted whether this man was participative in domestic activities or wished to be a participative father in the lives of his children as something that weighed on the decision, however, these arguments were the ones that most appeared as a justification for failing that same candidate. Bearing in mind that in our society open discrimination is not tolerable, this result leads us to believe that there was an effort on trying to justify the hiring without valuing the candidate's egalitarian positioning, so that the sexist ambivalence presents itself for trying to maintain the *status quo*.

Among the arguments that justified the failing of the traditional candidate stood out, mainly, the valorization of traditional gender roles by the candidate and the “dependence” on the wife. It is important to reflect on this aspect because, nowadays, due to the discussions around gender equality and the existence of anti-discrimination laws, it is not socially desirable for people to behave valuing these differences. However, in practical terms, not much is done to make gender equality a reality. According to data from IBGE - the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (2018), women with higher education receive an average of 63.4% of the earnings of men with the same level of education. In addition, the World Economic Forum (2017) states that, at the current rate, it will take 217 years for women to achieve the same wages as men and the same job opportunities. This indicates that, to some extent, the

defense of equality seems to be only on the level of discourse that is “pleasant” and socially desirable, but when someone behaves this way, they are penalized (Viana, Torres & Álvaro, in press).

Corroborating this problematization, it was not by chance that the arguments used to justify the hiring of the traditional candidate were mainly based on traditional gender roles, that is, on the fact that he was hired because he has the possibility of dedicating himself entirely to work by keeping a family in traditional moldes. Thus, the results discussed here may have important implications and collaborate with strategies that aim to combat inequality between men and women, as they reveal how people think about the egalitarian man and the traditional man in relation to issues related to gender equality, thus enabling the promotion of interventions and discussions capable of deconstructing masculinity patterns. One way to promote these reflections and enable changes would be to sensitize large companies to encourage models of couples with a double journey, enabling men to also actively engage in domestic and family activities, ensuring the equal insertion of men and women in the labor market, and encouraging the changing of beliefs that domestic tasks should be performed only by women.

Finally, it is important to note that this study aims to show that sexism manifests itself in different ways in order to achieve its objective, which is to maintain the *status quo* and the privileges of men in the social structure. It does not only affect women, as it was possible to observe in the results, it is also capable of penalizing men who, to some extent, threaten the social norm by defending gender equality. It is also important to point out that in future studies it is necessary to use other measures that can more directly detect discrimination against egalitarian targets and make use of heterogeneous samples (e.g. non-university samples) so that we can increase our power of generalization.

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The thesis aimed to investigate how we react to men who defend gender equality. This research problem was conceived due to the fact that national and world statistics show alarming numbers that show gender discrimination today. We wondered what could be hindering the decrease of these differences and build a more equal society for men and women. To achieve this goal, four studies were developed, organized into two articles, which with different methodological approaches, analyzed how the egalitarian man is perceived and evaluated in situations involving high status positions.

It is known that the vast majority of studies dealing with this theme have investigated gender discrimination considering only women as a target, but because it is a multidimensional construct, sexism manages to assume several facets with a single objective in mind: “keeping women in their rightful place”, or in other words: to maintain the *status quo* in which men hold power and privileges (Connor, Glick & Fiske, 2016). In addition to sexism, the social norm, stereotypes and gender roles are still quite strong and dictate the social places that each one must occupy. That is why it is so urgent and necessary to continue studying prejudice, discrimination, sexism, but it is also extremely important to think about alternative ways that can help us understand these phenomena from other angles and, therefore, we decided to study in this thesis the discrimination suffered by men who defend gender equality, reflecting on the impact that the stigma that follow these men can generate in the advances and / or regressions towards the so desired gender equality.

Each of the articles presented here brought specific contributions that, in an integrated manner, allowed to meet the general objective of the thesis. From the results of Article 1, it was possible to conclude that egalitarian men suffer prejudices related to their sexual orientation and stereotypes of femininity and sociability are attributed

to them. The egalitarian man is also perceived by some women as being a threat to the feminists' place of speech, but by other participants he is perceived as someone who can contribute to gender equality, although he is also perceived as not very competent. We also found that egalitarian men were perceived as more sociable than egalitarian women and traditional men, corroborating our first hypothesis. Contrarily what we expected, however, egalitarian men were perceived as more competent than traditional men. This result is similar to that found by Albuquerque (in press), which demonstrates that men who use paternity leave are evaluated more positively when it comes to competence. Therefore, this result deserves to be better investigated in future studies because it is also important to reflect on whether the egalitarian men, even though they are perceived by stereotypes that bring them closer to the group of women, still have more privileges than women do in the work environment. This can be an important piece of information for us to think on how these egalitarian men can be important to bring the message of equality between genders to companies and typically male spaces.

However, the results obtained in the first article ratify the importance of investigating the processes of stereotypes linked to gender relations and still point to the importance of taking a look at aspects little investigated which in our case is how the man who defends gender equality is seen. As already discussed in Article 1, one of the social functions of stereotypes is to legitimize prejudice and discrimination, maintaining the status quo (Álvaro & Garrido, 2006; Tajfel, 1981; Torres & Camino, 2013), thus, the results show that in the search for reducing discrimination against women, it is also important that we work on stereotypes linked to men, in order to change their image, humanizing it with regard to the expression of affection and egalitarian positioning. This was one of the reasons that led us to think about the

importance of making not only women, but also men, aware that the fight for equality belongs to everyone. It is not enough only one side to willing to break the barrier if on the other side there is a “heavily armed” army prepared and motivated to not allow any kind of change.

The results obtained in Article 2 demonstrated that the more individuals adhere to hostile sexism, the more they will tend to judge a traditional man as more suitable to occupy a management position in a company. However, among participants with greater adherence to hostile sexism, the rejection of the traditional candidate was perceived as more legitimate when the recruiter decided to fail the traditional candidate and, since we theorized the reverse, this result deserves to be investigated in future studies.

Article 2 also provides the justifications given by participants when a recruiter decides to pass or fail an egalitarian or traditional candidate. What draws attention is that when a man is counter-normative, that is, egalitarian, his rejection is justified because he behaves differently from what is expected by society, being penalized for being counter-normative. In other words, those who behave in such a way as to defy the current social norm are discriminated, after all, who ordered them to get involved in fights that are not theirs? This kind of justification can lead men to withdraw or give up fighting along with women for equal rights.

In contrast, the arguments that justified the rejection of the traditional candidate are due to the valorization of traditional gender roles by the man (candidate) and because he is dependent on his wife. Thus, this result seems to indicate the following: companies need a candidate who is fully dedicated to work and who is not explicitly prejudiced and sexist due to the pressure of social desirability and the ethical, moral and legal burdens that are implemented in those who dare to be prejudiced in an anti-

prejudice society. However, even if this man “helps” with household and family chores, under no circumstances can he divide these chores equally because he risks damaging the company's income, as can be seen in the result that pointed out the justification for the egalitarian man rejection.

Finally, it is important to note that this study aims to show that sexism manifests itself in different ways in order to achieve its objective, which is to maintain the status quo and the privileges of men in the social structure. It does not only affect women, because as it was possible to observe in the results, it is also capable of penalizing men who, to some extent, threaten the social norm by defending gender equality.

In view of all that was presented and discussed in the articles of this thesis, we believe that these results undoubtedly contribute both to understanding the persistence of gender inequalities in Brazilian society and to helping pave the way for the construction of a more egalitarian society.