Review

Unfit or disliked: How descriptive and prescriptive gender stereotypes lead to discrimination against women

Francesca Manzi[1], Suzette Caleo[2] and Madeline E. Heilman[3]

Decades of research attest to the role of gender stereotypes in the emergence of gender-based discrimination. Placing a focus on recent studies, we provide evidence that gender stereotypes continue to negatively affect women's career outcomes in jobs and fields that are seen as male in gender-type. We identify two pathways through which gender stereotypes bring about discrimination: Whereas descriptive gender stereotypes lead to gender discrimination through negative performance expectations produced by lack-of-fit perceptions, prescriptive gender stereotypes lead to gender discrimination through social penalties elicited by perceived stereotype violation. We end by discussing how characteristics of women and those evaluating them may amplify or ameliorate discriminatory behavior, and by considering how organizations and policymakers can leverage research to promote gender equality.

Addresses
[1] Department of Management, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, United Kingdom
[2] Department of Public Administration, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA, USA
[3] Department of Psychology, New York University, New York, NY, USA

Corresponding author: Manzi, Francesca (f.manzi@lse.ac.uk)

Introduction

Despite significant advances for women in the workplace, disparities in opportunities, pay, and status between women and men persist, and women remain underrepresented in many masculine fields—that is, in occupations or fields that have traditionally been dominated by men and/or are seen as male in gender-type [1,2]. Decades of research on gender discrimination show that gender stereotypes play a major role in perpetuating these discrepancies: Not only do gender stereotypes create barriers for women attempting to enter masculine fields, but they also generate difficulties for women when they attain these positions (for a review, see [3]). In this paper, we review long-standing theories explaining how, when, and why gender stereotypes promote gender discrimination. Focusing on recent research, we illustrate how different discriminatory processes continue to impede women's career advancements in today's workplace.

How gender stereotypes lead to discrimination

Gender stereotypes are generalizations about the attributes of women and men that are widely shared. These attributes encompass two broad dimensions: communality (a general orientation towards social relationships) and agency (a general orientation towards personal achievement). Despite some signs of change, gender stereotypes associating women with communality and men with agency have stubbornly persisted [4*,5].

To better understand how stereotypes lead to discrimination, it is important to distinguish between their descriptive and prescriptive functions. Whereas descriptive gender stereotypes designate what women and men *are* like, prescriptive gender stereotypes designate what men and women *should be* like. Both descriptive and prescriptive gender stereotypes can produce biased evaluations and discriminatory behavior that hinder women's career progress, albeit through different pathways.

The descriptive pathway to gender discrimination
Descriptive gender stereotypes depict women as kind and helpful (i.e., communal) and men as assertive and competitive (i.e., agentic). In addition to being gender-specific, gender stereotypes tend to be oppositional: Women are seen as high in communality but low in agency and men are seen as high in agency but low in communality. These shared characterizations of women and men serve as shortcuts for forming impressions, influencing

judgments often without perceivers' awareness. Consequently, how a particular woman is viewed can be determined not by her actual attributes or accomplishments, but rather by beliefs about her gender group [6].

Stereotypes portraying women as communal but not agentic are particularly harmful to women pursuing careers in masculine settings. Why? Because masculine jobs and fields are thought to require attributes that are consistent with stereotypes about men but inconsistent with stereotypes about women. For example, investment banking, mathematics, and CEO positions are all more strongly associated with men than women [7*], and "star" performers in male-dominated occupations are thought to possess more stereotypically masculine than feminine traits [8]. This mismatch between descriptive stereotypes about women and the attributes believed necessary to succeed in masculine jobs results in a perceived incongruity or "lack of fit," which in turn produces the expectation that women are not equipped to adequately handle these jobs and are unlikely to succeed at them [9,10]. Recent evidence supports the idea that lack-of-fit perceptions lead to discrimination in the workplace. Even today, women in masculine fields face negative consequences for hiring [11*], starting salary levels [12], job placement decisions [13], performance evaluations [14], organizational rewards [15], and career development opportunities [13].

Either of the components that contribute to lack-of-fit perceptions — gender-typing of the field or stereotyping of the target (i.e., the woman being evaluated) — can moderate whether and to what extent discrimination occurs. Specifically, the more masculine the field or job is thought to be, the greater the perceived lack of fit and the more negative the outcomes likely to follow. For example, women fare more poorly in occupations and disciplines numerically dominated by men [11,14,16,17]. Similarly, the greater the degree to which a particular woman is viewed in gender stereotypical terms, the greater the perceived lack of fit and resulting consequences. Individual attributes and/or contextual factors that make a woman's gender salient and therefore activate descriptive stereotypes, such as actual and potential motherhood [18,19] and scarcity of women in the job or field [20], have also been linked to discrimination against women. In sum, as the perceived masculinity of the context and/or the stereotyping of the woman increases, so too do perceptions of lack of fit and the resulting expectations of inadequacy that foster discrimination.

Lack-of-fit perceptions are also most likely to ensue when information about a person is scarce, conflicting, or unclear. Such ambiguity fuels discrimination because it allows people to "fill in the blanks" with stereotypic beliefs [3]. For example, women's outcomes are impaired when evaluators have access to less (vs. more) information about their capabilities [21,22], women in

STEM fields are deemed less competent than equally performing men when their performance varies over time (vs. when it remains constant) [23], and women academics are less likely than men to be credited for their contributions when there is uncertainty regarding who has done what on team projects [24].

In sum, descriptive stereotypes can impede women's career progress by promoting the expectation that women lack "the right stuff" to succeed in masculine fields and occupations. However, challenging descriptive gender stereotypes by exhibiting agentic behavior exposes women to another source of gender discrimination — one that derives from prescriptive gender stereotypes.

The prescriptive pathway to gender discrimination

In addition to being descriptive, gender stereotypes designate the behaviors that are appropriate and inappropriate for women and men. These designations, which function as gender norms, largely conform to the content of gender stereotypes, with communal behaviors constituting "shoulds" for women (e.g., women should be kind) and agentic behaviors "should nots" (e.g., women should not be assertive). Unlike discrimination stemming from descriptive stereotypes, discrimination stemming from prescriptive stereotypes is produced not by a perceived lack of fit but rather by perceived norm violations. When women are thought to have defied prescriptive stereotypes, their behavior is met with social penalties: they are seen as interpersonally unpleasant and disliked [25]. These social penalties, in turn, result in discrimination against women [3,10,26].

A host of stereotype-inconsistent behaviors have been shown to elicit penalties and discrimination against women. They include engaging in agentic behaviors that are prescribed for men but discouraged for women. For example, displaying dominance [25,27*] and signaling a bottom-line mentality [28] result in more negative reactions towards women than men. They also include failing to engage in prescribed communal behaviors. Women, but not men, are punished for showing a lack of support for subordinates' family lives [29] or not helping others when help is requested [30]. Even behaviors that are deemed inappropriate for both women and men, such as engaging in incivility [31], abusive supervision [32], or interpersonal injustice [33], elicit more negative reactions towards women than men due to greater perceived norm violation.

Paradoxically, women's success also can give rise to negative reactions, particularly when the success is in areas deemed "off-limits" for them. For instance, recent research demonstrates that incoming women CEOs receive more negative judgments from stakeholders than incoming male CEOs when both have received endorsements that accentuate their competence [34].

Exhibiting success in masculine domains can imply that gender prescriptions have not been adhered to − that women have violated prescriptive stereotypes by behaving agentically − leading to social penalties and subsequent discrimination. Because their achievement induces inferences that women lack the communal qualities that they are supposed to possess, what is celebrated in men is often punished in women, sometimes even earning them derogatory labels such as "iron maiden", "ice queen", and "nasty woman".

Prescriptive stereotype violations—whether actual or inferred—lead to discrimination against women throughout the work cycle. Women who are thought to have behaved in stereotype-inconsistent ways receive lower performance evaluations [31,32,35], are less likely to receive rewards [36], have shorter tenures [34], and obtain worse negotiation outcomes [37]. Stereotype-violating women also face interpersonal consequences: they are more likely to experience mistreatment [28], and people are less likely to intervene when they are sexually harassed [38].

Summary
In sum, these parallel pathways to gender discrimination clearly demonstrate that women are caught in a double bind in masculine workplaces. If descriptive stereotypes come to define women as communal but not agentic, then lack-of-fit perceptions and negative performance expectations ensue. If, however, women demonstrate the attributes necessary for effective performance by engaging in agentic behavior or succeeding in masculine roles, they are penalized for violating prescriptive stereotypes. Whichever the path, the consequence is discrimination against women (Figure 1).

Counteracting the descriptive and prescriptive pathways to gender discrimination
The two pathways that we have identified are suggestive of the kinds of interventions that would most effectively reduce gender discrimination in the workplace. The processes underlying the descriptive pathway suggest that directly targeting either stereotypes about women or perceptions of masculine fields can mitigate lack-of-fit perceptions and the discriminatory outcomes that follow [39]. Research demonstrates various ways in which this can be accomplished − whether by increasing the representation of women in male gender-typed fields [40], avoiding diversity interventions that inadvertently increase the salience of gender [41], or eliminating gendered language from job titles [42,43*].

Figure 1
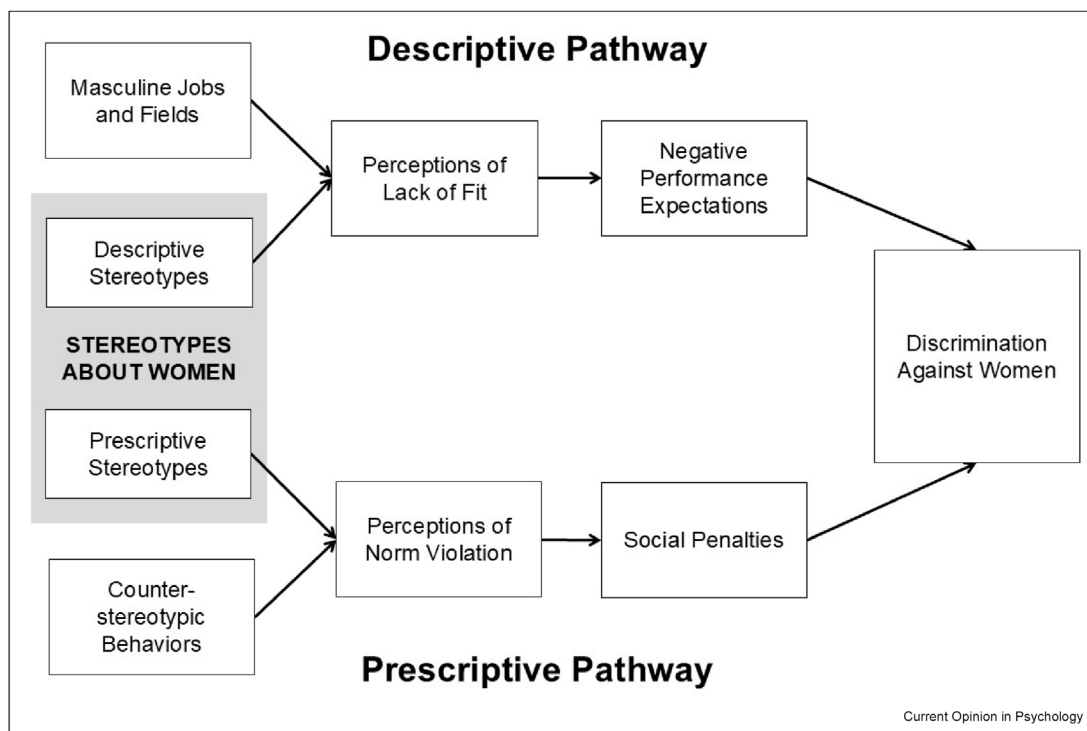
Pathways from gender stereotypes to discrimination against women.

Tempering the deleterious effects of prescriptive stereotypes requires a different set of actions—ones that target organizational norms, policies, and practices. For example, deemphasizing highly masculine organizational norms such as dominance and aggressive competition can reduce perceptions of gender norm violation by broadening the range of acceptable behaviors and freeing women (and men) of the expectation that agentic behavior is the only route to success [44,45]. Additionally, establishing policies that make it okay for women to engage in stereotypically masculine behavior, such as requiring all employees to submit self-nominations for promotion and rewards [46], can preclude perceptions of women as norm-breakers, thus averting penalties for their gender-inconsistent behavior.

Remaining questions and future research directions

Whether and to what degree gender discrimination occurs may further depend on characteristics of two key players in the discrimination process: the target of evaluation and the evaluator. Emerging work in these areas offers not only new insight regarding additional moderators of gender discrimination, but also new opportunities for extending theory development in the future.

Characteristics of the target

The effect of women's additional identities on gender discrimination has been a topic of recent interest. Research on intersectionality has shown that gender interacts with other social identities (e.g., race, age, sexual orientation) to differentially influence perceptions of women — sometimes exacerbating negative outcomes, sometimes attenuating them, and sometimes eliminating them altogether (see, for example, [47] in this issue). Another growing body of work has begun to look beyond binary gender identities (e.g., female vs. male) to examine whether (and how) traditional models of gender discrimination account for negative evaluations of non-binary individuals (see, also, [48] in this issue). In addition, women's increasingly multifaceted roles and professional identities (e.g., mother, athlete, professor, entrepreneur) — and whether they influence the degree of discrimination they encounter — present a similar opportunity for exploration. As this research on target characteristics continues to develop, it will help to provide further understanding about how and in what ways the intersection of different identities activates descriptive or prescriptive pathways to discrimination.

Characteristics of the evaluator

Who the evaluator is can also have important implications for whether and to what extent gender discrimination ensues. Unsurprisingly, evaluators who hold more traditional beliefs and/or show greater endorsement of gender stereotypes [49,50] are more likely to discriminate against women in masculine domains. The social identity of the evaluator also matters. For example, meta-analytical findings suggest that women evaluators are less likely to discriminate against other women than evaluators who are men [51]. However, sharing a social identity such as gender does not always preclude evaluators from becoming perpetrators of discrimination: Recent evidence shows that there are conditions under which women evaluate other women more harshly than men do [52,53] and that gender discrimination is more likely to ensue when both the evaluator and the target of evaluation share a common racial identity [54]. Additional work examining whether and when commonalities between evaluators and targets increase or decrease perceptions of lack of fit and/or gender norm violation will help to identify instances that are most apt to promote subsequent discriminatory behavior.

Conclusion

Decades of research demonstrate that gender stereotypes lead to workplace discrimination against women through both descriptive and prescriptive pathways. Recent research has continued to support long-established theories. It also has advanced prior work by considering novel questions and contexts. Not only do these new research efforts hold potential to further our understanding of the pathways that produce gender discrimination, but they also offer promising avenues for effectively combatting the obstacles that impede women's career advancement.

Author contribution

Francesca Manzi: Conceptualization, Writing - Original Draft, Writing - Review & Editing. **Suzette Caleo:** Conceptualization, Writing - Original Draft, Writing - Review & Editing. **Madeline Heilman:** Conceptualization, Writing - Original Draft, Writing - Review & Editing.

Declaration of competing interest

None.

Data availability

No data was used for the research described in the article.

References

References of particular interest have been highlighted as:

* of special interest

1. Penner AM, Petersen T, Hermansen AS, Rainey A, Boza I, Elvira MM, Tufail Z: **Within-job gender pay inequality in 15 countries**. *Nat Human Behav* 2023, **7**:184−189, https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-022-01470-z.

2. Bureau of Labor Statistics: ***Women in the labor force: a data-book***. https://www.bls.gov/opub/reports/womens-databook/2022/home.htm. Accessed 15 July 2024.

3. Heilman ME, Caleo S, Manzi F: **Women at work: pathways from gender stereotypes to gender bias and discrimination**. *Annu Rev Organ Psychol Organ Behav* 2024, **11**:165–192, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-orgpsych-110721-034105.

4. Charlesworth TES, Banaji MR: **Patterns of implicit and explicit stereotypes III: long-term change in gender stereotypes**. *Soc Psychol Personal Sci* 2022, **13**:14–26, https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550620988425.

5. Eagly AH, Nater C, Miller DI, Kaufmann M, Sczesny S: **Gender stereotypes have changed: a cross-temporal meta-analysis of US public opinion polls from 1946 to 2018**. *Am Psychol* 2020, **75**:301–315, https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000494.

6. Manzi F, Heilman ME: **Breaking the glass ceiling: for one and all?** *J Pers Soc Psychol* 2021, **120**:257–277, https://doi.org/10.1037/pspa0000260.

7. Guilbeault D, Delecourt S, Hull T, Desikan BS, Chu M, Nadler E: **Online images amplify gender bias**. *Nature* 2024, **626**: 1049–1055, https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-024-07068-x.

8. Villamor I, Aguinis H: **Think star, think men? Implicit star performer theories**. *J Organ Behav* 2024, **45**:783–799, https://doi.org/10.1002/job.2784.

9. Heilman ME: **Sex bias in work settings: the lack of fit model**. *Res Organ Behav* 1983, **5**:269–298.

10. Eagly AH, Karau SJ: **Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders**. *Psychol Rev* 2002, **109**:573–598, https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.109.3.573.

11. Galos DR, Coppock A: **Gender composition predicts gender bias: a meta-reanalysis of hiring discrimination audit experiments**. *Sci Adv* 2023, **9**, eade7979, https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.ade7979.

12. Schuster C, Sparkman G, Walton GM, Alles A, Loschelder DD: **Egalitarian norm messaging increases human resources professionals' salary offers to women**. *J Appl Psychol* 2023, **108**:541–552, https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0001033.

13. Lee YG, Koval CZ, Lee SS: **The glass wall and the gendered evaluation of role expansion in freelancing careers**. *Acad Manag J* 2023, **66**:1042–1070, https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2020.1176.

14. Aragón OR, Pietri ES, Powell BA: **Gender bias in teaching evaluations: the causal role of department gender composition**. *Proc Natl Acad Sci USA* 2023, **120**, e2118466120, https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2118466120.

15. Klein FB, Hill AD, Hammond R, Stice-Lusvardi R: **The gender equity gap: a multistudy investigation of within-job inequality in equity-based awards**. *J Appl Psychol* 2021, **106**:734–753, https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000809.

16. Vlasceanu M, Amodio DM: **Propagation of societal gender inequality by internet search algorithms**. *Proc Natl Acad Sci USA* 2022, **119**, e2204529119, https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2204529119.

17. Abraham M: **Gender-role incongruity and audience-based gender bias: an examination of networking among entrepreneurs, Admin**. *Sci. Q* 2020, **65**:151–180, https://doi.org/10.1177/000183921983281.

18. Cheung HK, Anderson AJ, King EB, Mahabir B, Warner K, Jones KP: **Beyond the baby bump: subtle discrimination against working mothers in the hiring process**. *J Bus Psychol* 2022, **37**:1181–1198, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10869-022-09790-7.

19. Peterson Gloor JL, Okimoto TG, King EB: **"Maybe baby?" The employment risk of potential parenthood**. *J Appl Soc Psychol* 2022, **52**:623–642, https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12799.

20. Geerling DM, Chen JM: **Women's perceived contributions to diversity: the impact of target race and contextual gender salience, Group Process**. *Intergr. Relat.* 2021, **24**:1077–1094, https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430220930077.

21. Joshi A, Oh S, DesJardine M: **A new perspective on gender bias in the upper echelons: why stakeholder variability matters**. *Acad Manag Rev* 2024, **49**:322–343, https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2021.0131.

22. Botelho T, Abraham M: **Pursuing quality: how search costs and uncertainty magnify gender-based double standards in a multistage evaluation process, Admin**. *Sci. Q* 2017, **62**: 698–730, https://doi.org/10.1177/0001839217694358.

23. Heilman ME, Manzi F, Caleo S: **Updating impressions: the differential effects of new performance information on evaluations of women and men**. *Organ Behav Hum Decis Process* 2019, **152**:105–121, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2019.03.010.

24. Ross MB, Glennon BM, Murciano-Goroff R, Berkes EG, Weinberg BA, Lane JI: **Women are credited less in science than men**. *Nature* 2022, **608**:135–145, https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-022-04966-w.

25. Dupree CH: **Words of a leader: the importance of intersectionality for understanding women leaders' use of dominant language and how others receive it**. *Adm Sci Q* 2024, **69**: 271–323, https://doi.org/10.1177/00018392231223142.

26. Rudman LA, Glick P: **Prescriptive gender stereotypes and backlash toward agentic women**. *J Soc Issues* 2001, **57**: 743–762, https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00239.

27. Ma A, Rosette AS, Koval CZ: **Reconciling female agentic advantage and disadvantage with the CADDIS measure of agency**. *J Appl Psychol* 2022, **107**:2115–2148, https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000550.

28. Tai K, Lee K, Kim E, Johnson TD, Wang W, Duffy MK, Kim S: **Gender, bottom-line mentality, and workplace mistreatment: the roles of gender norm violation and team gender composition**. *J Appl Psychol* 2022, **107**:854–865, https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000936.

29. Yu A, Pichler S, Russo M, Hammer L: **Family-supportive supervisor behaviors (FSSB) and work-family conflict: the role of stereotype content, supervisor gender, and gender role beliefs**. *J Occup Organ Psychol* 2022, **95**:275–304, https://doi.org/10.1111/joop.12379.

30. Heilman ME, Chen JJ: **Same behavior, different consequences: reactions to men's and women's altruistic citizenship behavior**. *J Appl Psychol* 2005, **90**:431–441, https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.90.3.431.

31. Motro D, Spoelma TM, Ellis APJ: **Incivility and creativity in teams: examining the role of perpetrator gender**. *J Appl Psychol* 2021, **106**:560–581, https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000757.

32. Kim JK, Harold CM, Holtz BC: **Evaluations of abusive supervisors: the moderating role of the abuser's gender**. *J Organ Behav* 2022, **43**:465–482, https://doi.org/10.1002/job.2581.

33. Mu F, Shen W, Bobocel DR, Barron AH: **Investigating gendered reactions to manager mistreatment: testing the presumed role of prescriptive stereotypes**. *J Organ Behav* 2024, **45**: 720–740, https://doi.org/10.1002/job.2763.

34. Dwivedi P, Misangyi VF, Joshi A: **"Burnt by the spotlight": how leadership endorsements impact the longevity of female leaders**. *J Appl Psychol* 2021, **106**:1885–1906. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000871.

35. Nandkeolyar AK, Bagger J, Ekkirala S: **Damned if she does, damned if she doesn't: the interactive effects of gender and agreeableness on performance evaluation**. *J Bus Res* 2022, **143**:62–71, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2022.01.066.

36. Correll SJ, Weisshaar KR, Wynn AT, Wehner JD: **Inside the black box of organizational life: the gendered language of performance assessment**. *Am Socio Rev* 2020, **85**:1022–1050, https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122420962080.

37. Dannals JE, Zlatev JJ, Halevy N, Neale MA: **The dynamics of gender and alternatives in negotiation**. *J Appl Psychol* 2021, **106**:1655–1672, https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000867.

38. Schachtman R, Gallegos J, Kaiser CR: **Gender prototypes hinder bystander intervention in women's sexual harassment**. *Pers Soc Psychol Bull* 2023, **21**, 01461672231203290, https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672231203290.

39. Heilman ME, Caleo S: **Combatting gender discrimination: a lack of fit framework**. *Group Process Intergr Relat* 2018, **21**: 725−744, https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430218761587.

40. Lawson MA, Martin AE, Huda I, Matz SC: **Hiring women into senior leadership positions is associated with a reduction in gender stereotypes in organizational language**. *Proc Natl Acad Sci USA* 2022, **119**, e2026443119, https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2026443119.

41. Martin AE: **The divergent effects of diversity ideologies for race and gender relations**. *Organ Behav Hum Decis Process* 2023, **175**, 104226, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2023.104226.

42. Archer AM, Kam CD: **She is the chair (man): gender, language, and leadership**. *Leader Q* 2022, **33**, 101610, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2022.101610.

43. Bailey AH, Dovidio JF, LaFrance M: **"Master" of none: institu-
*   tional language change linked to reduced gender bias**. *J Exp Psychol Appl* 2022, **28**:237−248, https://doi.org/10.1037/xap0000326.

44. Berdahl JL, Cooper M, Glick P, Livingston RW, Williams JC: **Work as a masculinity contest**. *J Soc Issues* 2018, **74**:422−448, https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12289.

45. Vial AC, Muradoglu M, Newman GE, Cimpian A: **An emphasis on brilliance fosters masculinity-contest cultures, Psychol**. *Sci* 2022, **33**:595−612, https://doi.org/10.1177/09567976211044133.

46. Chang EH, Milkman KL: **Improving decisions that affect gender equality in the workplace**. *Organ Dynam* 2020, **49**, 100709, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orgdyn.2019.03.002.

47. Rosette, Li, Samuel, Petsko: **Curr. Opin**. *Psychol* 2024. This issue.

48. Morgenroth T, Kirby TA, van der Toorn J: **Hetero-professionalism: the power of the gender/sex binary in the workplace**. *Curr Opin Psychol*. 2024, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2024.101908. This issue.

49. Barron K, Ditlmann R, Gehrig S, Schweighofer-Kodritsch S: **Explicit and implicit belief-based gender discrimination: a hiring experiment**. *Manag Sci* 2024, https://doi.org/10.1287/mnsc.2022.01229.

50. Bareket O, Fiske ST: **A systematic review of the ambivalent sexism literature: hostile sexism protects men's power; benevolent sexism guards traditional gender roles**. *Psychol Bull* 2023, **149**:637−698, https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000400. 11-12.

51. Koch AJ, D'Mello SD, Sackett PR: **A meta-analysis of gender stereotypes and bias in experimental simulations of employment decision making**. *J Appl Psychol* 2015, **100**: 128−161. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/a0036734.

52. Kark R, Yacobovitz N, Segal-Caspi L, Kalker-Zimmerman S: **Catty, bitchy, queen bee or sister? A review of competition among women in organizations from a paradoxical-coopetition perspective**. *J Organ Behav* 2024, **45**:266−294, https://doi.org/10.1002/job.2691.

53. Rivera LA, Owens J: **Glass floors and glass ceilings: sex homophily and heterophily in job interviews**. *Soc Forces* 2021, **99**:1363−1393, https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soaa072.

54. Xiao V, Lowery B, Stillwell A: **Gender backlash and the moderating role of shared racial group membership**. *Pers Soc Psychol Bull* 2023, **49**:554−570, https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672221074543.

Further information on references of particular interest

4. A large-scale analysis of implicit and explicit gender stereotypes
* associating men with career/sciences and women with family/arts shows that these stereotypes have weakened over the past 12 years. Despite these promising changes, gender stereotypes remain strong. Data-driven forecasts predict that completely eradicating gender stereotypes may take up to 134 years.

7. Taking a novel approach to examine gender bias in the perception of
* social categories (e.g., associating nurses with women and bankers with men), the authors examine the prevalence of male and female representation for each category in online text and images. Although gender bias is prevalent in both, it is much stronger in online images than text.

11. A meta-reanalysis of 70 audit experiments since 1983 showed that
*   the magnitude of hiring discrimination against women depends on the gender composition of the occupation. Providing support for the idea that lack-of-fit perceptions foster discrimination, women were less likely than men to be hired in male-dominated occupations but were more likely than men to be hired in female-dominated occupations.

27. This program of research expands our understanding of the pro-
*   cesses underlying the prescriptive pathway to discrimination by investigating why agentic women are penalized in some cases but rewarded in others. Arguing that agency is a multifaceted construct, the authors developed and validated a six-factor measure of agency (competent agency, ambitious agency, dominant agency, diligent agency, independent agency, and self-assured agency). They found that women were most likely to be penalized for exhibiting the dominance facet of agency.

43. This research follows the recent change of language in a leader-
*   ship title at a US university. The authors find that simply changing the title from "master" to "head" decreased the cognitive accessibility of a male exemplar (i.e., the degree to which people thought of a man over a woman).