Investigation of the Causes for Negative Attitudes towards Women Incompatible with Gender Stereotypes within the Context of Social Identity Theory

Toplumsal Cinsiyet Kalıp Yargılarıyla Uyumsuz Kadınlara Karşı Olumsuz Tutumların Nedenlerinin Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı Kapsamında İncelenmesi

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ABSTRACT

The primary gender stereotypes accepted in mainstream social psychology describe women as low in competence and high in warmth, men as having low warmth and high competence. Women who are incompatible with stereotypes are exposed to negative attitudes. Exposure to negative attitudes damages the psychological well-being of these group members. Stereotypes and negative attitudes towards members of social groups contribute to the persistence of their low status. Explaining the causes of gender stereotypes and negative attitudes towards women incompatible with stereotypes is an overlooked topic in mainstream social psychology. In order to change the ongoing gender system, where women have a disadvantageous status compared to men, it is necessary to understand the reasons for negative attitudes towards women who are incompatible with stereotypes. Based on the suggestions and findings of Social Identity Theory, explanations about negative attitudes towards women who are incompatible with gender stereotypes are presented in this study. It is concluded that most men reveal negative attitudes towards these women because women with high competency threaten men who can affirm their social identity through competency. Most men define their social identity through status-related traits such as competency. Due to the threat to men's social identity by women with high competence, it is concluded that negative attitudes towards these women are revealed by most of the men, based on theoretical suggestions. It is necessary to understand the identity management strategies to explain women's negative attitudes towards their fellows who are incompatible with stereotypes. According to the theoretical suggestions and related studies, it is concluded that the adoption of individual mobility and social creativity strategies reveal negative attitudes toward fellows who are incompatible with stereotypes. Although it is expected that women who adopt the social competition strategy have positive attitudes towards their fellows who are inconsistent with gender stereotypes, the level of adoption of this strategy is low. When theoretical suggestions and study findings are brought together, it is possible to understand the reasons for the negative attitudes towards women who are incompatible with gender stereotypes.
Keywords: Gender, social identity, stereotype, attitude, discrimination

ÖZ

Ana akım sosyal psikolojide kabul edilen temel toplumsal cinsiyet kalıpyargıları, kadınları düşük yetkinlikle ve yüksek sevecenlikle tanımlayan kalıpyargıların yanı sıra erkeklerin düşük sevecenlikle ve yüksek yetkinlikle tanımlandığı kalıpyargılardır. Cinsiyet kalıpyargılarıyla uyumsuz kadınlar genel bir örüntü olarak olumsuz tutumlara maruz kalmaktadır. Olumsuz tutumlara maruz kalan grupların üyelerinin psikolojik iyi oluş halleri negatif yönde etkilenmektedir. Sosyal grupların üyelerinin düşük sosyal statülerinin devam etmesinde bu grupların üyelerine yönelik kalıpyargıların ve olumsuz tutumların etkisi söz konusudur. Cinsiyet kalıpyargılarıyla uyumsuz kadınlara karşı olumsuz tutumların nedenlerinin açıklanması, anaakım sosyal psikolojide ihmal edilmiş bir konudur. Kadınların erkeklere kıyasla dezavantajlı statüye sahip olduğu süregelen toplumsal cinsiyet sisteminde değişimin sağlanması, kalıpyargılarla uyumsuz kadınlara yönelik olumsuz tutumların nedenlerinin anlaşılmasını gerektirmektedir. Bu çalışmada, Sosyal Kimlik Kuramının önerilerinden ve çalışma bulgularından yola çıkılarak kalıpyargılarla uyumsuz kadınlara karşı olumsuz tutumlara ilişkin açıklamalar sunulmuştur. Çoğu erkek sosyal kimliğini yetkinlik gibi statüye ilintili özellikler üzerinden tanımlamaktadır. Erkeklerin sosyal kimliğinin yetkinliği yüksek olan kadınlar tarafından tehdit edilmesi nedeniyle bu kadınlara karşı erkeklerin çoğu tarafından olumsuz tutumların açığa çıkarıldığı sonucuna kuramsal önerilerden yola çıkılarak ulaşılmaktadır. Kadınların cinsiyet kalıpyargılarıyla uyumsuz hemcinslerine karşı olumsuz tutumlarını açıklamada kuramın önerdiği kimlik yönetim stratejilerine başvurmak gerekmektedir. Kuramsal öneriler ve alanyazındaki çalışma bulguları doğrultusunda, bireysel hareketlilik ve sosyal yaratıcılık stratejilerinin benimsenmesinin kalıpyargılarla uyumsuz hemcinslere karşı olumsuz tutumları açığa çıkardığı sonucuna ulaşılmaktadır. Sosyal rekabet stratejisini benimseyen kadınların kalıpyargılarla uyumsuz hemcinslerine karşı olumlu tutumlar benimsemesi beklenilmekle birlikte, ilgili stratejinin benimsenme düzeyi düşüktür. Kuram kapsamındaki öneriler ve çalışma bulguları bir araya getirildiğinde, cinsiyet kalıpyargılarıyla uyumsuz kadınlara karşı toplum genelinde sürdürülen olumsuz tutumların nedenlerinin anlaşılması mümkün olmaktadır.
Anahtar sözcükler: Toplumsal cinsiyet, sosyal kimlik, kalıpyargı, tutum, ayrımcılık

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Introduction

Gender is a concept that expresses the characteristics, roles, and behaviors required for "being a woman" and "being a man" in social life (Connell 2009). The researchers, who were the first to discuss the differences between men and women, claimed that men are more intelligent than women, which was explained by the fact that men's brains are larger than women's (Shields 1975). Later, when the brain-body ratio was considered, women's brains were bigger than men's. Therefore, the assumption that men are more intelligent than women was rejected. Many biologically based explanations have been offered as to why women have communal and men have agentic features (Helgeson 2012). The answer to this question is explained by the concept of fetal testosterone by most researchers in the biology field (Brizendline 2006). Accordingly, some differentiations occur in the brains of male and female fetuses depending on the difference in testosterone levels (Geschwind and Behan 1982). On the other hand, there is a large number of studies showing that this claim is not valid (Diamond 1991, Connellan et al. 2000) compared to the few studies that support this claim (Finegan et al. 1992, Hines, 2006, Gilmore et al. 2007, Auyeung et al. 2009).

In the early 1930s, concepts of "femininity" and "masculinity" were brought to the literature to understand the differences specific to men and women (Helgeson 2012). Accordingly, women with feminine characteristics are emotional, helpful, affectionate, etc., while men are independent, active, competitive, etc., and have masculinity-related features. This definition of gender, conceptualized as a personality variable, has been criticized by some researchers (Eckes and Trautner 2000). In the 1980s, the view that gender is a social category and that the main reason for gender differences was social processes gained interest (Helgeson 2012). Thus, the importance of stereotype in explaining gender differences has been understood. Stereotypes are the accepted definitions of the characteristics that various social groups have and do not have (Dovidio et al. 2005). In other words, stereotypes are erroneous generalizations about the characteristics of members of various groups without considering the individual differences in the group. While the characteristics described as feminine are associated more with women, the features described as masculine are associated with men. These shortcuts are the product of stereotypical thinking (Helgeson 2012).

It seems very important to understand the reasons for the social acceptance of stereotypes against women and men. With the realization of the said understanding, it will be possible to understand the negative attitudes and behavioral outcomes that arise due to the stereotypes. Stereotypes that include positive and negative cognitive beliefs are accepted as a primary antecedent of attitudes in mainstream social psychology. Attitudes caused by stereotypes lead to behavioral outcomes –for example, discrimination against members of target groups– (Augoustinos et al. 2014). Exposure to negative attitudes and discrimination negatively affects psychological well-being at the individual level (Quinn and Crocker 1999, Schmitt et al. 2014, Stevens and Thijs 2018). Let's explain the concepts of stereotype, attitude, and discrimination through an example. Prejudiced attitudes towards African Americans will emerge depending on the stereotype that they are not sufficient in the field of intelligence. Depending on these attitudes, discrimination at the behavioral level will be inevitable. Thus, African American individuals, believed to be less intelligent than White Americans, will be excluded from many different areas of society, such as education and business life, and their psychological well-being will be negatively affected.

Unfortunately, members of many groups in different societies are exposed to negative attitudes and discrimination due to stereotypical beliefs. These negative consequences are particularly evident for groups of disadvantaged status. Generally, women leaving family life and showing themselves in the public sphere (business life) coincide with the middle of the twentieth century (Macunovich 1996). Today, women and men are expected to have equal status. On the other hand, women earn lower wages than men, are excluded from high-ranking professions in the public sector, and have more responsibilities in private life than men. All these factors show that social status works in favor of men (Acemoglu et al. 2004, Mason and Goulden, 2004, Tichenor 2005). The fact that men have a higher status than women in many societies brings them professions that are respected by society and to maintain their success in such fields (Correll 2004). Thus, the advantageous positions of men and disadvantaged positions of women show a social continuity.

It can also be understood from the contents of the stereotypes attributed to women and men that women remain at a disadvantaged status when compared to men. As a result of the studies conducted to determine the contents of stereotypes, it was found that evaluations of individuals and members of social groups are evaluated through two basic stereotype dimensions (Fiske et al. 1999, Fiske and Durante 2016). These are competence and warmth stereotypes. Intelligence, determination, and independence are the features of competence. Traits such as affection, sincerity, and kindness are indicators of warmth. Competence is attributed to groups believed to be high in status, while high warmth is attributed to groups perceived to be low competitive (Fiske et al. 2002). The definition of a social group at a high level by one stereotype dimension and low in the other is explained with

the complementary hypothesis. According to the related hypothesis, while one of the perceptions of competence and warmth is high, the perception of the other stereotype dimension will be low. This complementarity effect in perception is due to the evaluation of groups by comparing them with each other (Fiske et al. 2002). In line with the relevant proposal, it is seen that the complementarity effect is generally revealed in the evaluation of various social groups with stereotypes (see Kervyn et al. 2010). Consistent with the complementarity hypothesis, the typical male is associated with high competence and low warmth; a typical woman is perceived as high in warmth and low in competence (Ellis and Bentler 1973, Spence et al. 1975, Eckes 2002, Abele 2003, Cuddy et al. 2009). On the other hand, subgroups of women who are incompatible with traditional roles, such as business women and feminist women, are perceived to be high in competence and low in warmth (DeWall et al. 2005, Aktan and Bilim 2016, Odenweller and Rittenour 2017).

Whether a woman's competence is perceived as low or high, she is exposed to negative attitudes in both cases. Firstly, women perceived as high in warmth and low in competence (conforming to gender stereotypes) are more liked than women perceived as highly competent and less warm (incompatible with stereotypes) (Brescoll and Uhlmann 2005, Heilman and Okimoto 2007, Okimoto and Brescoll 2010, Okimoto and Heilman 2012). On the other hand, women must be perceived as highly competent to be considered professionally competent. (Cuddy et al. 2004). In one study, women were expected to be both competent employees and caring parents; men are only expected to be competent employees (Park et al. 2008). The results obtained in the above studies are independent of the participant's gender. In other words, whether the person who perceives a woman as highly warm is a woman or a man, the belief that women are inadequate in the professional field is revealed due to the low competence attributed to this woman. However, perceiving women as incompatible with gender stereotypes –high in competence, low in warmth– reveals negative attitudes towards these women.

According to the current trend in social psychology, where the social cognition approach has been adopted since the 1970s, stereotypes have been handled as social schemas in mind (Augoustinos et al. 2014). These schemas in mind serve to interpret the world more easily. This perspective makes it unnecessary to focus on how stereotypes are embedded in the minds of individuals. The point of having stereotypes is a cognitive need causes examine the role of stereotypes in information processing rather than how they are acquired. Information processing refers to cognitive processes such as under what conditions stereotypes about social groups are triggered and why some people have more stereotypes than others (Augoustinos and Innes 1990, Schneider 2004, Augoustinos et al. 2014). However, ignoring the question of why stereotypes are adopted and maintained limits the steps to prevent negative attitudes and behaviors resulting from these stereotypes. Social Identity Theory emerges as a fundamental theory that can answer questions such as why stereotypes towards social groups are adopted and maintained and why these stereotypes affect attitudes. The first of the aims of the present study is to explain why gender stereotypes are adopted by both women and men, in line with the recommendations of Social Identity Theory. The study's second aim is to explain the causes of negative attitudes towards women incompatible with gender stereotypes within the framework of relevant theoretical recommendations and study findings.

Social Identity Theory

According to Social Identity Theory (SIT), the main reason for the emergence of stereotypes is the processes of social categorization and social comparison (Tajfel and Wilkes 1963). According to the theory, information about in-and-out group members is acquired as a product of social categorization during the life-long socialization process (Tajfel and Turner 1982). Information is obtained through social comparison processes, which means comparing the characteristics of the in-group and out-group. Individuals in a social category gain a social identity related to that category by perceiving the characteristics of the members of the in-group as similar and the characteristics between the groups differently. Individuals who define themselves as belonging to specific categories distinguish the characteristics of their in-groups and out-groups by making social comparisons with the members of other groups. The motivation to acquire a positive social identity is the main reason for making such a distinction. Gender as a social identity and stereotypes defining gender are also determined as a result of these processes (David et al. 2004).

It seems usual for men to adopt the competence stereotype that provides an advantageous social status to social groups. On the other hand, it is noteworthy to explain why women also believe that men are more competent than women and that they associate the warmth stereotype with their group, which does not provide any social status. Moreover, there is general negativity in the attitudes towards women perceived as low in warmth and high in competence. Another critical issue is explaining the reasons for negative attitudes towards women perceived as incompatible with gender stereotypes. The current gender system is one in which men have a

comparative advantage over women. A fundamental step in order to raise women's status in this system is to understand the causes of negative attitudes toward women who are incompatible with gender stereotypes. By understanding all these reasons, it will be possible to understand the reasons for the continuity of the gender system and possible solutions for the change in this system. Providing this understanding will contribute to the psychology literature in general and gender literature in particular.

An Explanation of Men's Attitudes towards Women Incompatible with Gender Stereotypes in the Scope of Social Identity Theory

According to Social Identity Theory, members of groups with an advantageous social status have a positive social identity. Members of advantaged groups can affirm their social identities in status-related areas (such as competence) (Iacoviello et al. 2019). From the men's perspective, it is expected that the social identity of members of high-status groups will be positive. In this case, advantaged group members would be expected to attribute competence to their in-group and warmth to their out-group. It seems relatively plausible that a highly competent woman threatens social identity for many men. In this case, negative attitudes towards the relevant targets will be inevitable. Ellemers and Bos (1998) identified four strategies that advantaged groups use when they feel their social identity is threatened: discrediting/blaming the disadvantaged group, accepting the situation, competing with the disadvantaged group, and denying the situation. All strategies other than accepting the situation will ensure the continuity of negative attitudes toward women and serve for the maintain the existing gender system.

An Explanation of Women's Attitudes towards Women Incompatible with Gender Stereotypes in the Scope of Social Identity Theory

Explaining why disadvantaged group members adopt stereotypes against them is not as easy as those of individuals of advantageous status. Various identity management strategies should be used to affirm social identity by members of groups with disadvantaged status. Three different identity management strategies have been identified that members of disadvantaged groups can use to cope with negative social identity: individual mobility, social creativity, and social competition (Tajfel and Turner 1982).

Individuals adopting the individual mobility strategy try to gain an advantageous status with their individual identities. Those who use the individual mobility strategy have succeeded in gaining a place in status-related areas or highly believe in this possibility. A woman's effort to gain competence in a male-dominated system by differentiating herself from other women with her identity can be given as an example of individual mobility. Individuals using the social creativity strategy may adopt three different creativity strategies: identifying a new comparison dimension, reviewing the existing comparison dimension, and choosing a new comparison group. A woman who defines herself as traditional tries to affirm her social identity in a dimension unrelated to her status, such as warmth, is an example of using a new comparison dimension. Emphasizing how unique the quality of warmth is, the woman reviews the existing comparison dimension. She would have chosen a new comparison group if she was happy to be different from other women who are inconsistent with stereotypes. Members of groups with a relatively lower status than the out-group evaluate the out-group as more competent than the in-group if they can differentiate themselves from the out-group in the area of warmth. On the other hand, when those with advantageous status can evaluate themselves as better in the field of competence, they evaluate the other group as warmer (Yzerbyt et al. 2005, Yzerbyt and Cambon 2017). These findings indicate that individuals with disadvantaged status actively use the social creativity strategy. Finally, individuals who adopt the social competition strategy strongly believe their current status can change. They prefer to act against the out-group in line with this belief (Tajfel and Turner 1982).

What kind of strategies women use to cope with their disadvantaged status, in other words, to affirm their social identity, was examined in a study (Breinlinger and Kelly 1994). Accordingly, it has been determined that the individual mobility strategy, in which women emphasize their individual identities to exist in the world of men, is one of the strategies that is used. Another strategy is the social competition strategy, which is the tendency to rebel against the disadvantaged status. When the items under this strategy are examined, it is seen that there are items emphasizing that women should be competent in order to achieve high status and that efforts should be made for this. Another strategy is the social creativity strategy. Women using this strategy have a new dimension of comparison in which they see their characteristics of warmth as valuable. Second, they highly value the existing comparison dimension regarding warmth-related characteristics (such as being a mother and having positive interpersonal relationships). Finally, they compare themselves to a new comparison group based on their belief that they are better than other women in various aspects.

Depending on the perceptions of the current system's legitimacy, permeability, and stability, which strategy to use is shaped (Tajfel 1975). Legitimacy refers to beliefs that the system is just and justifiable for members of both groups. Permeability is the belief that one can pass to the status of the out-group, while beliefs about the continuity of the existing status difference mean permanence. Perception of the system as highly legitimate, permeable, and low stable will lead to adopting an individual mobility strategy. Perceiving the system with a high level of legitimate and stable perception and low permeability will ensure the adoption of social creativity. If perceptions of the system's legitimacy, permanence, and stability are low, adoption of the social competition strategy will be expected (Tajfel 1975, Tajfel and Turner 1982). Findings support the relevant hypotheses (Mummendey et al. 1999a, Mummendey et al. 1999b, Cambon et al. 2015, Akfırat et al. 2016, Yzerbyt and Cambon 2017).

In some other studies, identification with group identity was another significant predictor of adopting the three strategies (Doosje et al. 1995, Ellemers and Van Rijswijk 1997, Mummendey et al. 1999a, Ellemers et al. 2002). When the predictive power of all variables is examined simultaneously, the strongest predictors of individual mobility are the decrease in the perception of permanence of the system and identification with group identity (Mummendey et al. 1999a). In another study, it was observed that the increase in the belief of individuals with disadvantaged status to achieve equal success with the out-group –permeance perception– caused an increase in the level of identification with the out-group. In addition, this strategy increases the tendency to evaluate the out-group more positively than the in-group (Guimond et al. 2002). Using individual mobility strategy increases as identification with the in-group decreases (Mummendey et al. 1999a, Bettencourt et al. 2001). The increase in the use of the individual mobility strategy leads to an increase in identification with the out-group (Guimond et al. 2002). As a result, it can be supposed that mobility strategy is associated with a high level of identification with the out-group than the in-group.

Identification with group identity emerges as a significant variable that positively predicts social creativity and competition strategies (Doosje et al. 1995, Ellemers and Van Rijswijk 1997, Mummendey at al. 1999a, Ellemers at al. 2002). In the study conducted by Outten and Schmitt (2015) with disadvantaged group members, it was found that the increase in identification with group identity caused an increase in life satisfaction by increasing social creativity and social competitiveness strategies. The following sub-headings examine the reasons for women's negative attitudes towards their fellows who are incompatible with gender stereotypes regarding three different identity strategies they can adopt. Summary information on the relevant strategies is presented in Table 1.

Social Creativity

Adopting the social creativity strategy at a high level will lead to accepting the disadvantaged position of own group in status-related issues such as competence and trying to differentiate the in-group from the out-group on status-unrelated issues such as warmth. A study supporting these claims showed that an increase in attention to issues unrelated to status was positively associated with an increase in the use of social creativity strategy (Verkuyten and Reijerse 2008). Therefore, it is possible to assume that the social creativity strategy is related to the tendency to differentiate between the in-group and out-group over stereotypes.

Study findings reveal that women frequently use social creativity strategy over the warmth stereotype. For example, in a study conducted by Guimond et al. (2006) in France, it was observed that women associated themselves more with relational and warmness traits compared to men in the condition in which social comparisons between groups were made and men with independence and competence traits. In another study, it was found that women used warmth more to describe themselves when compared to competence. In contrast, men attribute competence to themselves at a higher level than warmth (Abele 2003). Relevant findings also indicate that the basic stereotypes that individuals refer to define themselves, as well as to define others, are the stereotypes of competence and warmth.

In another study conducted by Marques and Yzerbyt (1988), it was observed that a low-level evaluation of the in-group member in terms of considered essential features for social identity leads to negative attitudes towards the target. Similarly, another study revealed that other members excluded the members who were inconsistent with the group norms (Marques et al. 1988). In many other studies, it has been observed that there are more positive attitudes towards in-group members who are perceived as compatible with group norms when compared to in-group members who are perceived as deviant (Castano et al. 2002, Eidelman and Biernat 2003, Lewis and Sherman 2010, Pinto et al. 2010). After all, the social creativity strategy, with its general definition, means making social identity positive through features unrelated to status. Women who affirm their social identity in areas unrelated to status, such as warmth, are likely to adopt negative attitudes towards their peers who have

low characteristics in these areas where social identity is structured. In other words, social identity will be threatened for those who adopt this strategy by in-group members who do not have the characteristics that the in-group members should have. Therefore it will be inevitable to adopt negative attitudes toward these deviant members.

Table 1. The determinants of identity management strategies and the possible social outcomes of the strategies				
Determinants of Identity Management Strategies		Adopted Identity Management Strategy	Adoption of Stereotypes Toward In-groups and Out-groups	Expected Reactions to Fellows Incompatible with Stereotypes
Legitimacy	High	Individual mobility	High	Negative
Permeability	High			
Stability	Low			
Identification with the in-group	Low			
Legitimacy	High	Social creativity	High	Negative
Permeability	Low			
Stability	High			
Identification with the in-group	High			
Legitimacy	Low	Social competition	Low	Positive
Permeability	Low			
Stability	Low			
Identification with the in-group	High			

Individual Mobility

When we switch to the individual mobility strategy, individuals who adopt it at a high level differentiate themselves from their in-groups and status-unrelated features. They tend to define themselves at a high level with status-related features (Ellemers et al. 2004, Derks et al. 2011a, Derks et al. 2011b). In addition, the high level of adoption of this strategy causes both the in-group and the out-group to define by traditional stereotypes (Jackson et al. 1996, Ellemers et al. 2004).

Queen bee syndrome is a concept directly related to individual mobility strategy (Ellemers et al. 2004). Queen bee syndrome means that women in top positions in male-dominated fields prefer male subordinates more than female subordinates and are more demanding towards female subordinates (Derks et al. 2011b, Xiong et al. 2022). A kind of self-defense mechanism causes this syndrome. Accordingly, a reactivity emerges due to the fear of being occupied own position by other women as rivals (Parks-Stamm et al. 2008). Therefore, a woman perceived to be highly competent is threatening to a woman with queen bee syndrome.

As a result, it is concluded that gender stereotypes are highly adopted by individuals who adopt the relevant strategy at a high level. In other words, women who adopt the individual mobility strategy perceive women as warmer than men and men as more competent than women, in line with stereotypes. Therefore, their expectations from women other than themselves should have low status-related features. The same-sex people who are perceived as incompatible with the stereotypes will –most likely– be threatening to individuals who adopt the individual mobility strategy. This perception of incompatibility will reveal negative attitudes towards non-traditional fellows.

Social Competition

The use of individual mobility and social creativity strategy does not cause any change in the disadvantaged status of the group by providing only a positive social identity. The only strategy that enables the change of status relations between groups is the strategy of social competition (Tajfel and Turner 1982). Individuals who use this strategy show their reactions to the disadvantaged position of their in-group and consider that it is necessary to cooperate with the members of the in-group to raise their social status. Social competition is a strategy that aims to raise the group's position in status-related areas such as competence and is associated with adopting beliefs that ensure equality between groups (Ouwerkerk et al. 2000, Van Zomeren et al. 2008, Verkuyten and Reijerse 2008). In addition, it is seen that the importance given to status-related issues increases with the use of social competition (Verkuyten and Reijerse 2008). The social competition strategy is the opposite of the social creativity strategy in many respects. In a study conducted by Becker (2012), it was revealed that the increase in the women's use of social creativity strategy decreased the intention to participate in collective

actions for women's rights. Social competition is positively associated with participation in collective actions and ideologies of changing the system (see Van Zomeren et al. 2008).

Those who highly internalize social creativity and competition strategies identify with their in-group (Doosje et al. 1995, Mummendey et al. 1999a, Ellemers et al. 2002). It was observed in a study that those who identified highly with their group revealed more negative attitudes towards in-group members who were inconsistent with group norms than those who are low identifiers (Coull et al. 2001). However, the meaning attributed to social identity by individuals who adopt these two strategies differ from each other. Social competition is a strategy that aims to raise the group's position in status-related issues such as competence. For this reason, it is concluded that the social competition strategy is the only strategy that does not cause negative attitudes –and even cause positive attitudes– toward women perceived as competent. On the other hand, these individuals can exhibit negative attitudes towards low-competent traditional fellows.

Although the social competition strategy appears to be a strategy related to positive attitudes towards women perceived as incompatible with gender stereotypes, it is seen that its adoption is low. Social competition is an identity management strategy that causes profit-loss accounting for possible action, so it is preferred at a low level compared to the other two strategies (Klandermans 1984, Opp and Roehl 1990, Blackwood and Louis 2012). Since individual mobility and social creativity are preferred more than social competition, it is expected that the number of women who have negative attitudes towards their fellows who are incompatible with gender stereotypes is expected to be at a high level. Thus, it will be inevitable to maintain the negative attitudes toward women incompatible with gender stereotypes throughout society.

Conclusion

Stereotypes about social groups are a primary cause of negative attitudes and behaviors towards members of these groups. Those people's well-being is negatively affected by exposing negative attitudes and behaviors (such as discrimination) (Schmitt et al. 2014). Stereotypes and negative attitudes toward disadvantaged group members cause the continuity of these groups' low social status (Augoustinos et al. 2014). Understanding the causes of stereotypes and attitudes towards disadvantaged groups is an essential step in improving the mental health of members of these groups and raising their status at the group level.

As stated by Augoustinos and Innes (1990), questions such as why stereotypes about members of social groups are adopted and internalized are neglected issues in mainstream social psychology. Therefore, it becomes difficult to understand the reasons for the attitudes depending on these stereotypes. One of the main conditions for ensuring a change in the system in favor of women, who have a relatively disadvantaged social status compared to men, is to understand the reasons for negative attitudes towards women who are incompatible with stereotypes. Social Identity Theory provides a detailed framework to explain the negative attitudes of men and women towards women incompatible with gender stereotypes. Before passing on the explanations presented in the Social Identity Theory, it is necessary to mention the basic stereotype dimensions people use to define themselves and others. Among these stereotypes called competence and warmth, competence is a stereotype associated with members of high-status groups. The warmth stereotype describes the members of groups with relatively low competitiveness and status (Fiske et al. 2012). The complementarity effect emerges during stereotypical evaluations of a social group. Accordingly, a person evaluated high in one dimension is evaluated low in the other (Kervyn et al. 2010). The complementarity effect is observed in the perceptions of the women group. While women who are compatible with traditional roles are perceived as high in warmth and low in competence (Eckes 2002, Abele 2003), women who are incompatible with traditional roles are perceived as high in competence and low in warmth (DeWall et al. 2005, Odenweller and Rittenour 2017). While women considered to be highly warm are exposed to discrimination, especially in professional fields that are called masculine (Cuddy et al. 2004, Park et al. 2008), also there are negative attitudes toward competent women (Brescoll and Uhlmann 2005, Okimoto and Heilman 2012).

From the perspective of men who have advantaged social status, it is concluded that most men, who can affirm their social identity through competence, reveal negative attitudes towards these women due to the threat of their high competency, in line with the predictions of Social Identity Theory. In order to explain the negative attitudes of women, who have advantaged status, toward their fellows who are incompatible with gender stereotypes, identity management strategies defined within the theory should be understood. Women, who adopt the social creativity strategy, define their social identities through stereotypes unrelated to status, such as warmth. They are expected to adopt negative attitudes towards in-group members with a low level of the characteristics they care about (Marques and Yzerbyt 1988, Marques et al. 1988). Because of the complementarity effect regarding stereotypes, a woman perceived as high in competence will also be perceived

as low in warmth. Based on past studies, it can be concluded that the social creativity strategy is related to defining herself with the warmth stereotype (Abele 2003, Guimond et al. 2006). Therefore, explaining why women have negative attitudes toward their highly competent (and low-warm) fellows becomes easier. Individuals who have adopted the individual mobility strategy differentiate themselves from their in-groups while adopting traditional stereotypes toward in-groups (Derks et al. 2011a, Derks et al. 2011b). In addition, for some women who adopt individual mobility, their competent fellows threaten these women (Parks-Stamm et al. 2008). Whether it is because of incompatibility with the expectable stereotypes or perceiving the competent woman as threatening, a woman who has adopted individual mobility will reveal negative attitudes towards her competent fellow. The social competition strategy is a strategy that aims to ensure equality between groups and actively takes action for this purpose (Ouwerkerk et al. 2000, Verkuyten and Reijerse 2008). Due to its egalitarian nature, women who adopt this strategy are expected to adopt positive attitudes towards their competent counterparts. However, its adoption level is low compared to the other two strategies since the relevant strategy requires a high behavioral effort and can bring more harm than good to the individual. When all the transferred information is gathered, it can be understood why negative attitudes towards women who are incompatible with gender stereotypes continue worldwide. After all, the main reason is that both men and women adopt gender stereotypes at a high level and construct their social identities based on these stereotypes. There is a need for empirical studies that directly examine the relationships between the identity management strategies adopted by women and their negative attitudes towards their fellow who is incompatible with gender stereotypes.

One of the ways to reduce stereotypical thinking is possible by reconstructing women's social identities. For this, first of all, women must increase their awareness that being excluded from the field of competence puts us socially disadvantage status. With this awareness, it will be possible for women to both educate themselves and create social change by supporting other women. Another way to reduce stereotypical thinking would be by reconstructing men's social identities. A social acceptance seems necessary that status-related features such as competence are the right of women as well as men and that women's competence is not a threat to men's identity. A social-level change in both men's and women's social identities can be achieved with informative discourses in media (such as the media, public spots, and conscious presentations in content such as movies and TV series that appeal to society).

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