



Isn't That Kind of Sexist? - The Role of Intent and Harm in Lay Judgements of Sexism

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Abstract

Previous research has shown that intent and harm play a significant role in judgements of sexism. The present study aims to extend these findings by investigating their effect on judgements of three types of sexism: hostile (HS), benevolent (BS) and implicit sexism (IS). Two studies were conducted using scenarios in which participants read about a potential HS, BS and IS encounter between a man and a group of women within an occupational setting. Study 1a ($N = 123$) used scenarios with no information on intent and harm. Intent and harm correlated with judgements of sexism. HS acts were judged as more harmful and intentional than the ones of BS or IS. Feminist attitudes correlated with harm, sexist behaviour and sexist character but not with perceived intent. In Study 1b ($N = 213$), the levels of intent and harm were manipulated. HS was judged more harmful than BS and IS but not as more intentional than IS. Intent, especially, played a crucial role in judgements of sexism. Harm was shown to affect participants' judgements on the actor's behaviour but not on their character. Feminist beliefs positively correlated with harm, intent and judgements of sexism in the HS and IS scenarios. However, intent did not significantly correlate with feminist beliefs in the BS scenario. Both studies showed that people distinguish between different types of sexism and highlighted the particularly important role of intent in sexism judgements. Finally, this research provides further insight into the pivotal factors involved in making judgements of sexism.

Keywords: benevolent sexism, hostile sexism, implicit sexism, intent, harm

Isn't That Kind of Sexist? – The Role of Intent and Harm in Lay Judgements of Sexism

At the US Open tennis game in 2018, pro-athlete Serena Williams received a point penalty from the umpire after being accused of coaching – an action not allowed during a match (Jurejko, 2018). Serena Williams denied the allegations and demanded an apology from the umpire, ultimately calling him a “thief” for taking a point from her. The umpire reacted by giving her a code violation and point penalty due to “verbal abuse”. After losing the game to Naomi Osaka, Serena Williams called the umpire’s reaction sexist and pointed out that male tennis players have called umpires worse terms than a “thief” and have never received a penalty (Jurejko, 2018). Within and outside the tennis community, opinions split between both sides of the argument, some agreeing with Serena Williams that the umpire’s reaction was sexist, and others disagreeing with Williams’ accusation and calling her a “bad loser” (Kelner, 2018).

Calling out a sexist act plays an essential role in combating gender discrimination and gender inequality (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2014; Becker et al., 2014; Becker & Swim, 2011). Especially within a workplace environment, confronting a person’s sexist behaviour can break misogynistic structures in organisations (European Union, 2021; Shaffer et al., 2020). Nonetheless, people’s opinions differ on what a sexist act precisely entails (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005a, 2005b, 2015; Brant et al., 1999; Swim et al., 2003). The 2018 US Open tennis game is a notable example within the professional environment that shows that there is still little consensus in society on whether sexism was present or not.

For years, questions have been raised within the academic field about what factors determine an action to be considered sexist. As a result, a considerable amount of literature has been published on this topic and showed that people, when making conclusions on sexism, first tend to evaluate the intention and harmfulness of a discriminatory action (e.g. Kupfer et al., 2020; Swim et al., 2003; Young & Saxe, 2011). Thus, Serena Williams assumed

that the umpire's reaction was sexist because she believed that he *intentionally* gave her a point penalty due to the reason that she was a woman. Further, the penalties may have caused her to lose the game, leading to detrimental consequences for her.

Even though studies have considered the effects of harm and intent on sexism judgements, many have failed to address that sexism can occur in various types and forms. Most studies in the field of morality and sexism judgements have only focused on a broad definition of sexism but did not consider the different types of sexism that can occur in everyday life (Cushman et al., 2013; Kupfer et al., 2020; Swim et al., 2003; Young & Saxe, 2011). Whilst some research has been carried out on the different types of sexism, there is still very little scientific understanding of what factors exactly determine someone to call a potential benevolent, hostile or implicit sexist act an act of sexism (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005a, 2015; Connelly & Heesacker, 2012; Glick & Fiske, 1996).

The current study aimed to investigate the process of labelling an act as sexist by considering the underlying mechanisms of perceived intent and harm in different work-related situations. The specific objective of this study was to explore three different types of sexism (i.e. hostile, benevolent and implicit sexism) while also considering the effect of harm and the effect of intent. The study's hypotheses were based on previous literature on sexism and moral judgements (e.g. Kupfer et al., 2020; Swim et al., 2003) and suggest that people tend to rely on their perception of whether intent and harm were present when making sexism judgements. Therefore, this research proposes that when laypeople conclude that sexism was indeed present, they believe that the actor intended to undermine the women as well as that his actions have also caused detrimental harm to them. Moreover, the current study also suggests that when people do not believe that the actor intended to be sexist, they still tend to judge an action as sexist when they think the target was harmed.

Judgements of Sexism and the Different Sexism Types

Laypeople often associate sexism with intentional and openly expressed hostility towards women. Still, this “prototype” of sexism only covers a minor part of the ways sexism against women can be defined (Barreto & Ellemers, 2015). Glick and Fiske (1996) focused on the actor’s personal attitudes towards women when differentiating between diverse forms of sexism. According to the authors, a man with sexist views can voice his personal attitudes by either expressing sexist antipathy or sexist favouritism towards women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Based on this hypothesis, researchers have defined three types of sexism (Barreto & Ellemers, 2015; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Swim et al., 1995; Swim et al., 2003).

Hostile forms of sexism (HS) fulfil the “classic definition” or “prototype” of prejudice, as the actor openly expresses his negative attitudes towards women (Barreto & Ellemers, 2015; Glick & Fiske, 1996). An example of HS would be a situation where a male employee openly refuses to accept a woman as a supervisor by indicating that “women are not capable of logical thinking” (e.g. Glick & Fiske, 1996; Swim et al. 1995). Here, the employee has sexist antipathy towards women and voices it explicitly. This explicit verbalisation of sexism is considered essential to the definition of HS (Swim et al., 1995).

Nowadays, such instances of HS are quickly recognised as discriminatory or prejudicial and are often followed by legal consequences or, at most, called out for being politically incorrect (Barreto & Ellemers, 2015). Consequently, some people with sexist views have adapted and now tend to express their prejudice in more subtle ways. Thus, instead of openly indicating that women lack logical thinking abilities, an employee could articulate his disbelief of gender inequality while working in a company with only men in superior positions. In scientific literature, these *implicit* sexist (IS) attitudes against women have also been referred to as “subtle” or “modern” forms of sexism (Barreto & Ellemers, 2015; Swim et al., 1995; Swim et al., 2003).

In opposition to IS and HS, Glick and Fiske (1996) have proposed *benevolent* sexism (BS) as another form of sexism. Instead of focusing on abilities a woman supposedly does not possess, people with BS beliefs idealise women and their (apparent) stereotypical abilities (Barreto & Ellemers, 2015; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Such seemingly flattering ideologies are expressed in a subjectively positive tone and celebrate traditional gender roles by viewing women as kind nurturer and men as strong protector (Connelly & Heesacker, 2012; Glick & Fiske, 1996). These beliefs may stem from subjectively positive attitudes towards women (i.e. seeing her as nurturing) but eventually lead to stereotyping and restricting women and their societal roles (Glick & Fiske, 1996). For instance, people with BS attitudes feel determined to help a female colleague with conventionally “manly tasks” or commenting on her “pretty” appearance. While the actor may not have intended to offend or hurt his colleague, his actions undermine the colleague’s abilities and her feelings of being taken seriously in her work-space (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005a; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Moreover, other studies have further highlighted the negative impact of BS and have demonstrated that BS has worse effects on women and gender equality than HS. For instance, a study by Dardenne et al. (2007) showed that women’s work performance worsened significantly more when confronted with BS than when confronted with HS. Other studies have revealed that BS inhibits women’s willingness to engage in actions that challenge gender discrimination, while HS promotes their willingness to engage in actions towards social change (Becker & Wright, 2011).

Nevertheless, questions have been raised about whether women are as likely to recognise BS as they recognise HS acts. Studies have compared women’s reactions towards implicit/subtle forms of sexism and explicit/hostile forms of sexism (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005b; Brant et al., 1999). Contrasted to HS, the results showed that women were less likely to recognise implicit sexism (IS) as prejudice or showed inconsistent judgements when determining whether an act was sexist or prejudicial (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005b; Brant et al.,

1999). Similarly to IS, scholars have argued that women are also less likely to recognise BS statements or do not consider them as “prejudiced” as they do not fit into the “classical prototype” of sexism (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005a; Barreto & Ellemers, 2015). By arguing that women are less likely to label subtle forms of sexism (i.e. BS and IS), the authors propose that women fail to see the undermining effects of BS and IS (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005a; Barreto & Ellemers, 2015; Connelly & Heesacker, 2012). However, these findings have recently been challenged by Gul and Kupfer’s (2019) study. Their results indicate that women do, indeed, recognise that BS can be undermining and harmful to women, but they still refrained from labelling the actors’ manners as patronising or undermining (Gul & Kupfer, 2019). These rather contradictory results may lie in the reasoning that people depend their judgement of sexism on whether they think that the actor intended to cause harm or to undermine women. However, little published data has investigated this reasoning; thus, the current study aims to test this hypothesis.

The Role of Intent and Harm in Judgements of Sexism: A Question of Morality

The argument that intent and harm play a central role in judgements of prejudice is based on the literature on moral judgements. Judgements of immorality or wrongness have often been found to rely on the actor’s intent to cause harm. In contrast, the conclusion of appropriate punishment, however, relies predominantly on whether the person is directly responsible for the negative consequences (Cushman, 2008; Kupfer et al., 2020; Young & Saxe, 2011). This idea can be found back in the current justice system in which the evaluation between *mens rea* (i.e. “guilty mind”) and *actus reus* (i.e. “guilty act”) has the influence to determine the difference between manslaughter and murder (Kupfer et al., 2020). The term *intent* is used here to refer to an actor’s desire and awareness of their discriminatory action (Swim et al., 2003). The term *harm* is here referred to the negative consequences followed by a behaviour mainly targeted towards a group of women (Swim et al., 2003).

Prior studies have noticed the importance of intent and harm in judgements of sexism and morality (Kupfer et al., 2020; Swim et al., 2003; Young & Saxe, 2011). For instance, a substantial analysis and discussion on intent and harm were presented by Swim et al. (2003), in which the authors studied the influence of perceived intent and harm on judgements of prejudice and discrimination. Across four experiments, participants read four scenarios that described a potential sexist interaction between a man and a woman or a group of women (Swim et al., 2003). In their research, Swim et al. (2003) hypothesised that both intent and harm would significantly affect participants' judgements on whether an actor and his behaviour were discriminatory. Moreover, they proposed that intent has a more substantial unique effect on people's judgements than harm. However, when the actor's intent was uncertain, the authors argued that participants would then base their judgement on their evaluation of how much harm was caused to the target (Swim et al., 2003). The more the respondents believed significant harm was caused, the more likely they would judge the actor's behaviour and his character as discriminatory. Lastly, Swim et al. (2003) hypothesised that when the actor showed a lack of intent or his intent was uncertain, participants' judgements would differentiate between the actor's character and behaviour. In turn, participants would be more likely to judge the actor's behaviour as discriminatory (i.e. the actor's behaviour is prejudiced behaviour) than his character (i.e. the actor is a prejudiced person). The extent (low, medium, high) and presence (vs absence) of harm and intent were manipulated by giving participants additional information in the scenarios (Swim et al., 2003).

The authors' findings were in line with all four hypotheses and, thus, showed that participants were more likely to judge an act as discriminatory when intent was perceived to be present in an actor's behaviour. Conversely, though, when the information on intent was ambiguous, participants relied on the information of harm before judging an actor's character and behaviour as discriminatory (Swim et al., 2003). Generally, participants were more

cautious about making sexism judgements about a person's character and were less hesitant when judging their behaviour (Swim et al., 2003).

Similar to Swim and colleagues' (2003) research, this study investigates the role of intent and harm on judgements of sexism. However, in contrast to Swim et al. (2003), the current research aims to imitate real-life scenarios by giving participants no additional information on the actor's thought processes, intention or potential negative consequences. In addition to that, this study examines the influence of the three types of sexism on judgements of sexism. Contrary to Barreto & Ellemers (2015), the present study argues that BS and IS will be recognised as sexist acts. However, their recognition will depend on the perception of whether the actor intended to be sexist (i.e. high-intent vs no-intent) and whether his actions have caused substantial harm to the target (i.e. high-harm vs no-harm).

This research proposes that one possible explanation to why laypeople do not label BS or IS as sexist, even though they recognise its potential harm, may lie in the person's understanding that the actor did not intend to undermine women. The present study also suggests that recognising the immediate consequences of an action plays a significant role in judgements of sexism. Thus, similar to the findings of Swim et al. (2003), this research proposes that when the actor is perceived to have behaved rather accidentally (vs intentionally) in a discriminatory manner, people rely on their evaluation on whether the actor's behaviour has caused harm to the women. When neither harm nor discriminatory intent is identified, this study claims that participants will refrain from judging the actor's behaviour and his character as sexist.

Sexist Person vs Sexist Behaviour

Research has investigated and supported the influence of intent and harm in immoral actions (Cushman et al., 2013; Kupfer et al., 2020; Young & Saxe, 2011). However, Swim and colleagues (2003) suggested that judgements on the person versus judgement on

behaviour need to be differentiated. Their findings showed that, generally, laypeople are more likely to judge a person's *action* as sexist or discriminatory than judging the actor *himself* as a sexist man. However, participants were more likely to also judge the actor's character as sexist when they believed that he intended to behave discriminatory (Swim et al., 2003).

When participants were uncertain if the actor intended to discriminate, they based their judgement of the actor's character on whether they believe that his actions have caused harm to the target. The higher participants' perception of caused harm, the more likely they judged the actor's character as sexist (Swim et al., 2003). These findings suggest that judgement of immorality and prejudice is not a straightforward process but instead differentiates between action and actor when referring to intent and harm (Cushman et al., 2013; Swim et al., 2003). This study aims to build on these findings by investigating the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1. Acts of hostile sexism are judged as more harmful, intentional, and sexist than acts of benevolent and implicit sexism.

Hypothesis 2. The more an actor is perceived as intending to undermine women, the more likely the actor and his behaviour are perceived as sexist.

Hypothesis 3. The more an actor is perceived as having caused harm to the group of women, the more likely the actor and his behaviour are perceived as sexist. The effect of harm is expected to be most evident when the actor does not appear to have discriminatory intent.

The Moderating Role of Feminist Attitudes

Judgements of sexism also differ based on individuals' own beliefs and values. Mitamura et al. (2017) studied the effect of moral values on human behaviour and judgements of behaviour. The results showed that people with strong feminist beliefs tend to behave consistently with their own set standard. Moreover, participants with strong feminist values showed coherent and stringent assessment when evaluating potential sexist behaviour. People who did not hold these values steadily recognised overt or explicitly sexist behaviour but were

less consistent and stringent when judging ambiguous or moderately sexist behaviour (Mitamura et al., 2017). This study, therefore, suggests that people's feminist beliefs act as an additional potential predictor for judgements of harm, intent and sexism. Such as individuals with strong feminist views are more likely to judge a person and their behaviour as more harmful, intentional and sexist than people with less feminist attitudes, independent of the type of sexist behaviour. The following hypothesis was formed:

Hypothesis 4. People with strong feminist beliefs are especially likely to perceive higher harm, intent, and sexism.

The Present Study

The present study investigated the process of judging an act as sexist by considering the underlying mechanisms of perceived intent and harm in different work-related situations. This research discussed each effect of intent and harm on judgements of sexism and sought to show that both intent and harm play a predicting role in people's decision to judge an act or an actor as sexist. Nevertheless, the present research suggests that intent plays a more significant role in people's judgements of sexism than harm. Specifically, the study proposes that the reason why people refrain from attributing "sexism" to certain behaviours may lie in the belief that the actor did not *intend* to discriminate against women even though they have recognised the behaviour as harmful towards women.

Across two studies, using scenario manipulations, the four hypotheses were tested. Three scenarios were used that covered the three types of sexism (HS, BS, IS), respectively. Study 1a followed a more straightforward design and investigated participants' judgements using scenarios that keep intent and harm ambiguous. Study 1b built on Study 1a and used an experimental design to investigate participants' judgements when the actor's intent and the caused harm were manipulated. In both studies, the moderating effect of feminist beliefs was investigated.

Study 1a

Study 1a aimed to examine participants' attribution of intent, harm and sexism to scenarios that describe a man demonstrating a behaviour towards women while keeping the man's intent and the action's outcome ambiguous. Ambiguity was ensured by giving participants no explicit information about the intent and harm in these scenarios. With this design, the present research aimed to simulate a real-life situation in which observers generally have to rely on their own judgements regarding the presence or absence of intent and harm. Study 1a tested all hypotheses; however, Hypothesis 3 was only partially tested, and the effect of harm in the absence of intent was further investigated in Study 1b.

Method

Participants

A total of 131 respondents participated in the survey. Eight participants were excluded due to failing the attention checks. A post-hoc analysis showed that the sample size was powerful enough to detect a small to medium effect size, $f = .09$ ($d = .18$). Out of the 123 participants, 38 identified as male, 83 as female and two as non-binary. Ages ranged from 18 to 85 ($M = 25.20$, $SD = 11.85$). The majority of the participants identified as heterosexual. Participants were predominantly from the Netherlands and Germany, with 85% of the total sample being White-European. All demographic characteristics, their frequencies and percentages are demonstrated in Table 1.

Respondents were recruited via social media, survey portals such as on SurveySwap (public), or via the SONA platform (for University of Groningen students) and were asked to follow a link to the online questionnaire. First-year psychology students received SONA course credits as an incentive. Participants on the SurveySwap platform received 12 points as an incentive for taking part in the research. Except for SONA and SurveySwap respondents, respondents participated voluntarily and did not receive any compensation. Sixty-eight of the

123 participants were first-year psychology students from the SONA platform at the University of Groningen. Ethical approval was received by the Faculty of Ethics Committee for the present study.

Table 1

Study 1a: Demographic Characteristics of the Participants (N = 123)

Sample Characteristics	Mean (SD)	Frequency	%
Age (in years)	25.20 (11.85)		
18-23		86	69.9
24-35		23	18.7
36-50		5	4.1
51-69		8	6.5
85		1	0.8
Sex			
Male		39	31.7
Female		83	67.5
Prefer Not to Say		1	0.8
Gender Identity			
Male		38	30.9
Female		83	67.5
Non-Binary		2	1.6
Sexual Orientation			
Heterosexual		98	79.7
Homosexual		6	4.9
Bisexual		12	9.8
Other		3	2.4
Prefer not to say		2	1.6
Asexual		2	1.6
Nationality			
Netherlands		65	52.8
Germany		35	28.5
United Kingdom		3	2.4
United States		1	0.8
China		1	0.8
India		4	3.3
Other		14	11.4
Country of residence			
Netherlands		88	71.5
Germany		21	17.1
United Kingdom		4	3.3
United States		1	0.8
China		1	0.8
India		2	1.6
Other		6	4.9
Ethnicity			
White-European		105	85.4

White-UK/Irish		4	3.3
White-Other		1	0.8
Black-African		2	1.6
Hispanic/Latino(a)		2	1.6
Indian		3	2.4
Pakistani		2	1.6
Chinese		1	0.8
Mixed Race		3	2.4
Education			
Less than high school		1	0.8
High school graduate		62	50.4
Bachelor's degree		44	35.8
Master's degree		15	12.2
Doctorate		1	0.8
Occupation			
Employed full-time		13	10.6
Employed part-time		14	11.4
Unemployed looking for work		1	0.8
Unemployed not looking for work		2	0.8
Retired		3	2.4
Student		90	73.2
Level of English			
≥ B2		116	94.3
≤ B1		7	5.7
Political Orientation	2.78 (1.32)		
Strongly – slightly progressive		88	71.5
Moderate		21	17.1
Slightly – strongly conservative		14	11.4
Religiosity	2.03 (1.56)		
Not at all – slightly religious		103	83.7
Somewhat religious		10	8.1
A little – very religious		10	8.2
Socioeconomic status (SES)	7.20 (1.18)		
Lower – lower-middle class		2	1.6
Middle class		9	7.3
Upper-middle – upper class		113	91.1

Note. This table shows the demographic information for all participants from Study 1b. Political orientation ranged from 1 (= *strongly progressive*) to 7 (= *strongly conservative*), and religiosity ranged from 1 (= *not at all religious*) to 7 (= *very religious*). SES ranged from 1 (= *worst off*) to 10 (= *best off*).

Design and Procedure

A cross-sectional self-report questionnaire was designed that used a within-subjects design with one factor (sexism type: BS/HS/IS); thus, all participants read all three scenarios. Participants read three different baseline scenarios that described a potentially BS, HS or IS incident between one man and a group of women in a work-related context. The order of the presented scenarios was completely randomised between individuals. After each scenario, respondents were asked to report their judgements of harm, intent, sexist behaviour and sexist character. Afterwards, respondents' feminist beliefs were measured, followed by demographic information (i.e. age, sex, gender identity, sexual orientation, nationality, country of residence, ethnicity, educational level, occupation, level of English, political orientation, religiosity, socioeconomic status).

Measures

For a comprehensive overview of the measures used in Study 1a, please refer to Appendix A.

Scenarios

The scenarios were inspired by the studies from Brant et al. (1999) and Swim et al. (2003) but were slightly adapted to resemble a representative workplace situation. Similarly to Brant et al.'s (1999) and Swim et al.'s (2003) studies, three baseline scenarios were developed based on the BS, IS and HS definitions. Each scenario described a potentially sexist interaction between a man and a group of women in an occupational setting. In all scenarios, one man performed the potentially discriminatory act, which was directed towards women. For instance, the baseline HS scenario read:

“Bob, a human resources manager at a big company, sends out an email inviting talented new employees for a training camp to help them become more eligible for

promotion to senior management jobs in the company. He sends the email to the male employees by using a mailing list that only includes the male employees.“

After each scenario, participants were asked to judge the actor's character and behaviour regarding perceived intent, harm, and sexism.

Judgements of Intent, Harm and Sexism

Participants were asked to indicate their *perceived intent* by one item (i.e. “To what extent was the actor's behaviour/action intentional) and to indicate their *perceived harm* by one item (i.e. “To what extent was the actor's behaviour/action harmful”). Further, when making their judgement on sexism, participants were asked to differentiate between *perceived sexist character* by one item (“To what extent was the actor a sexist man”) and *perceived sexist behaviour* by two items (i.e. “To what extent was the actor's behaviour/action morally wrong” and “To what extent was the actor's behaviour/action sexist”). Answers were rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (= *not at all*) to 6 (= *very much*). No definition of sexism was provided. The scores on the two items of perceived sexist behaviour were averaged across the three types of sexism before conducting a Spearman's correlation between the items, $r = .81$ (Eisinga et al., 2013).

Feminist Beliefs

Participant's feminist beliefs were measured with the 18-item short version of the Liberal Attitudes and Ideology Scale (LFAIS; Koyama et al., 2004). The scale measured liberal feminist beliefs relating to feminist views in the general population, and items addressed topics of autonomy and equality. Example items were “It is insulting to the husband when his wife does not take his last name” or “Men and women should be able to freely make choices about their lives without being restricted by gender” (reverse-coded). Ratings were done on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). Finally, items were averaged to create a scale of feminist beliefs ($\alpha = .85$).

Results Study 1a

Participant Gender Differences in Judgements

An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare the scores of men and women on harm, intent, sexist character, sexist behaviour and feminist beliefs. In Table 2, the means and standard deviations of these variables are separated by gender (men and women, for non-binary, please see Tables 2b and 2c in Appendix B) and sexism scenario (HS, BS, IS).

Table 2

Study 1a: Descriptives for Male and Female Participants

Variables	Male	Female	Total	Sex Differences	
	(<i>n</i> = 38)	(<i>n</i> = 83)	(<i>n</i> = 123)	(Men – Women)	
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
HS Scenario					
Intent	4.55 (1.47)	4.76 (1.33)	4.72 (1.37)	-.77	.445
Harm	4.29 (1.52)	5.01 (1.36)	4.80 (1.44)	-2.62	.100*
Sexist Behaviour	4.51 (1.61)	5.33 (1.02)	5.09 (1.28)	-2.86	.006**
Sexist Character	3.50 (1.75)	4.31 (1.57)	4.09 (1.67)	-2.55	.012*
BS Scenario					
Intent	4.05 (1.87)	4.51 (1.59)	4.39 (1.69)	-1.38	.171
Harm	3.58 (1.87)	4.60 (1.34)	4.30 (1.61)	-3.38	.004**
Sexist Behaviour	4.12 (1.81)	4.97 (1.29)	4.72 (1.51)	-2.61	.012*
Sexist Character	3.08 (1.94)	3.84 (1.78)	3.63 (1.86)	-2.07	.043*
IS Scenario					
Intent	2.63 (1.65)	2.92 (1.62)	2.85 (1.64)	-.89	.375
Harm	3.21 (1.73)	4.35 (1.26)	4.02 (1.52)	-3.64	.000***
Sexist Behaviour	3.33 (1.64)	4.52 (1.31)	4.17 (1.52)	-4.30	.000***
Sexist Character	2.21 (1.61)	3.06 (1.52)	2.84 (1.62)	-2.80	.006*
Feminist Beliefs					
LFAIS	5.08 (0.88)	5.88 (0.56)	5.65 (0.77)	-5.16	.000***

Note. **p* < .05. ***p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

The results showed a significant effect of gender on perceived harm, sexist behaviour and sexist character in all three scenarios, with men indicating lower scores than women. However, no significant gender difference was found for perceived intent. Furthermore, results showed a significant difference between men and women in feminist beliefs (LFAIS), with women, on average, reporting higher scores than men.

Hypothesis 1 - Are Hostile Sexist Acts Judged as More Harmful and Intentional?

Table 2 also demonstrates the means and standard deviations for the total sample for each sexism scenario. To test whether acts of HS will be judged as more harmful, more intentional and more sexist than acts of BS and IS (Hypothesis 1), a one-tailed paired sample t-test was conducted. The results revealed that the HS scenario was significantly judged as more intentional compared to the BS scenario ($t(122) = 3.05, p = .002$) and compared to the IS scenario ($t(122) = 11.31, p < .001$). Furthermore, the HS scenario was significantly judged as more harmful than the BS scenario ($t(122) = 5.49$) and the IS scenario ($t(122) = 6.28$), $ps < .001$. Participants judged the actor's behaviour as significantly more sexist in the HS scenario than in the BS ($t(122) = 4.75$) and in the IS scenarios ($t(122) = 7.93$), $ps < .001$. Lastly, actor's character was judged as significantly more sexist in the HS scenario than in the BS ($t(122) = 4.35$) and IS scenarios ($t(122) = 8.69$), $ps < .001$. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 was fully supported.

Test of Hypotheses 2 and 3 - The Role of Intent and Harm

The current study suggested that the more an actor is perceived as intending to undermine women, the more likely his character and behaviour are judged as sexist (Hypothesis 2). Furthermore, the more he is perceived as having caused harm to the women (Hypothesis 3), the more likely his character and behaviour are judged as sexist. Therefore, to test Hypotheses 2 and 3, Pearson bivariate correlation tests were conducted between the study's variables for each sexism scenario (HS, BS, and IS; see Table 3). In addition, multiple

linear regression investigated the unique effects of harm and intent on judgements of sexism (see Tables 4a and b).

Table 3

Pearson Correlation Coefficients Between Intent, Harm, Judgements of Sexism and Feminist Beliefs (N = 123)

	1	2	3	4	5
Hostile Sexism					
1. Intent	1	.283**	.364**	.484**	.172
2. Harm		1	.764**	.606**	.466**
3. Sexist Behaviour			1	.705**	.510**
4. Sexist Character				1	.471**
5. Feminist Beliefs					1
Benevolent Sexism					
1. Intent	1	.322**	.470**	.505**	.196*
2. Harm		1	.735**	.552**	.487**
3. Sexist Behaviour			1	.609**	.508**
4. Sexist Character				1	.433**
5. Feminist Beliefs					1
Implicit Sexism					
1. Intent	1	.437**	.473**	.465**	.123
2. Harm		1	.762**	.617**	.553**
3. Sexist Behaviour			1	.727**	.574**
4. Sexist Character				1	.477**
5. Feminist Beliefs					1

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Results showed that harm and intent positively correlated with judgements of sexist behaviour and sexist character. Multiple linear regression analysis indicated that harm and intent each made a significant contribution to the change of judgements of sexism. Semi-partial correlation coefficients (see Part in Tables 4a and b) suggested that harm was a significantly more important predictor for judgements of sexism than intent. Hypotheses 2 and 3 were, therefore, fully supported for all three scenarios.

Table 4a

Coefficients Table and Model Summary for Sexist Behaviour as Dependent Variable

		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients			Correlation		
Model		B	SE	Beta	t	Sig.	Zero-order	Partial	Part
HS	Intent	.15	.06	.16	2.70	.008	.36	.24	.15
	Harm	.64	.05	.72	12.04	.000	.76	.74	.69
BS	Intent	.23	.06	.26	4.28	.000	.47	.36	.25
	Harm	.61	.06	.65	10.69	.000	.74	.70	.62
IS	Intent	.16	.06	.17	2.71	.008	.47	.24	.16
	Harm	.69	.06	.69	10.77	.000	.76	.70	.62
Model Summary	R ^a	R Square	Adj. R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	df1	df2	Sig. F Change		
HS	.78	.61	.60	.81	2	120	<.001		
BS	.78	.60	.59	.96	2	120	<.001		
IS	.78	.62	.60	.96	2	120	<.001		

Note. ^a. Predictors: (Constant), harm, intent.

Table 4b

Coefficients Table and Model Summary for Sexist Character as Dependent Variable

		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients			Correlation		
Model		B	SE	Beta	t	Sig.	Zero-order	Partial	Part
HS	Intent	.42	.08	.34	4.92	.000	.48	.41	.33
	Harm	.59	.08	.51	7.33	.000	.60	.56	.49
BS	Intent	.40	.08	.37	5.00	.000	.51	.42	.35
	Harm	.50	.09	.43	5.93	.000	.55	.48	.41
IS	Intent	.24	.08	.24	3.14	.002	.47	.28	.22
	Harm	.55	.08	.51	6.67	.000	.62	.52	.46
Model Summary	R ^a	R Square	Adj. R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	df1	df2	Sig. F Change		
HS	.69	.47	.46	1.22	2	120	<.001		
BS	.65	.42	.42	1.42	2	120	<.001		
IS	.65	.43	.42	1.23	2	120	<.001		

Note. ^a. Predictors: (Constant), harm, intent.

Hypothesis 4 - Investigating the Role of Feminist Beliefs

To investigate whether participants with strong feminist beliefs were more likely to report higher scores on perceived harm, intent and sexism (Hypothesis 4), a Pearson

correlation was calculated (see Table 3). Feminist beliefs positively correlated with perceived harm and perceived sexist behaviour in all three scenarios. Perceived intent was not positively correlated with feminist beliefs in the HS and IS scenarios. Therefore, Hypothesis 4 was fully supported for the BS scenario and only partially supported for the HS and IS scenarios.

Discussion Study 1a

Study 1a investigated the role of intent and harm on judgements of sexism in a workplace setting. Three hypotheses investigated the relationship of perceived intent and judgements of sexism as well as perceived harm and judgements of sexism. A fourth hypothesis was included that explored the role of feminist beliefs. The results indicated that people judged an act of HS as more harmful, intentional and more sexist than acts of BS or IS (Hypothesis 1). Furthermore, the findings showed that both intent and harm played an essential individual role in judging sexism for all three types of sexism (Hypotheses 2 and 3). Interestingly, harm played a more important contribution to the change of judgements of sexism than intent. Another important finding was that people with stronger feminist beliefs were more likely to judge an actor and his behaviour as more harmful and sexist. However, only in the BS scenario, feminist participants were also more likely to report higher scores of perceived intent than participants with less strong feminist beliefs (Hypothesis 4).

Study 1b

Study 1b aimed to test the four hypotheses by directly manipulating the actor's intent and harm instead of presenting ambiguous scenarios as it was done in Study 1a. This design intended to show directly the role of intent and harm and how they affect judgements of sexism.

Method

Participants

A total of 225 participants initially participated in the study. Twelve participants were excluded due to failing the attention checks or being younger than 18 years old, leading to the current sample size of $N = 213$. Participants were recruited from social media ($n = 58$), the online platform SurveySwap ($n = 28$) or were SONA first-year psychology students from the University of Groningen ($n = 127$). A post-hoc analysis showed that the sample size was powerful enough to detect a small to medium effect size, $f = .20$ ($d = .40$). All participants were asked to follow a link to the online questionnaire. First-year psychology students received 0.6 SONA course credits as an incentive for participating in the study. Respondents on the SurveySwap platform received 12 points as an incentive for taking part in the research. Other participants did not receive any compensation. Ethical approval was received from the Faculty of Ethics Committee for the present study.

Respondents' average age was 23.80 years ($SD = 8.58$) and ranged from 18 to 66 years. Participants identified mainly within the binary gender categories (i.e. male and female) and as heterosexual. Most of the participants had a Dutch or German nationality and identified as White-European. For a complete overview of participants' demographics, see Tables 5a and 5b.

Table 5a

Study 1b: Demographic Characteristics of the Participants (N = 213)

Sample Characteristics	Mean (SD)	Frequency	%
Age (in years)	23.83 (8.59)		
18-23		155	72.7
24-30		33	15.3
31-50		16	7.5
51-66		8	4.0
Missing		1	0.5
Sex			
Male		64	30.0
Female		146	68.5
Prefer Not to Say		3	1.4
Gender Identity			
Male		64	30.0
Female		143	67.1

Non-Binary	3	1.4
Prefer Not to Say	3	1.4
Sexual Orientation		
Heterosexual	171	80.3
Homosexual	8	3.8
Bisexual	23	10.8
Other	3	1.4
Prefer not to say	4	1.9
Asexual	4	1.9
Nationality		
Netherlands	109	51.2
Germany	63	29.6
United Kingdom	11	5.2
United States	2	0.9
Canada	1	0.5
China	1	0.5
India	1	0.5
Other	25	11.7
Country of residence		
Netherlands	144	67.6
Germany	43	20.2
United Kingdom	10	4.7
United States	2	0.9
Canada	1	0.5
Other	13	6.1
Ethnicity		
White-European	168	78.9
White-American	1	0.5
White-UK/Irish	9	4.2
White-Other	3	1.4
Black-African	2	0.9
Black-Other	2	0.9
Hispanic/ Latino(a)	2	0.9
Indian	1	0.5
Chinese	2	0.9
Asian-Other	6	2.8
Mixed Race	14	6.6
Prefer Not to Say	3	1.4
Education		
Less than high school	3	1.4
High school graduate	113	53.1
Bachelor's degree	72	33.8
Master's degree	21	9.9
Doctorate	3	1.4
Missing	1	0.5

Note. This table shows the demographic information for all participants from Study 1b.

Table 5b*Study 1b: Demographic Characteristics of the Participants (N = 213)*

Sample Characteristics	Mean (SD)	Frequency	%
Occupation			
Employed full-time		18	8.5
Employed part-time		30	14.1
Unemployed looking for work		3	1.4
Unemployed not looking for work		1	0.5
Student		160	75.1
Missing		1	0.5
Level of English			
≥ B2		199	93.4
≤ B1		14	6.6
Political Orientation			
	2.80 (1.32)		
Strongly – slightly progressive		155	72.8
Moderate		32	15.0
Strongly – slightly conservative		25	11.7
Missing		1	0.5
Religiosity			
	2.16 (1.51)		
Not at all religious – slightly religious		171	80.3
Somewhat religious		18	8.5
A little religious – very religious		23	10.7
Missing		1	0.5
Socioeconomic status (SES)			
	7.19 (1.43)		
Lower – lower-middle class		9	4.2
Middle class		16	7.5
Upper-middle – upper class		188	88.3

Note. This table shows the demographic information for all participants from Study 1b. Political orientation ranged from 1 (= *strongly progressive*) to 7 (= *strongly conservative*), and religiosity ranged from 1 (= *not at all religious*) to 7 (= *very religious*). SES ranged from 1 (= *worst off*) to 10 (= *best off*).

Design and Procedure

A 3 (sexism type: BS/HS/IS; within-subjects) x 2 (intent: no/high; between-subjects) x 2 (harm: no/high; between-subjects) mixed-design was created. Participants were randomly

assigned to one of the four conditions [no-intent – high-harm ($n = 54$), no-intent – no-harm ($n = 55$), high-intent – high-harm ($n = 50$), high-intent – no-harm ($n = 54$)] and read all three sexism scenarios in the condition they were assigned to. The order of the sexism scenarios was counterbalanced to control for order effects. After reading each scenario, respondents were asked to report their judgements of the actor and his behaviour. Lastly, participants answered questions regarding their feminist beliefs before being asked about their demographic information.

Measures

For a complete overview of the measures, please see Appendix A. All scenarios from Study 1b are presented in Appendix C.

Scenarios

Participants read a potentially sexist encounter between a man and a group of women in a work-related setting with the same baseline scenarios as in Study 1a. However, this time participants were given explanations for the actor's intent and the consequences of his behaviour. In the high-intent condition, the actor's deliberate desire and awareness to discriminate against the group of women was described (Swim et al., 2003). In the no-intent condition, the information pointed out that the actor behaved accidentally and unintentionally. In the high-harm condition, the information explained the negative consequences for the women in the scenario. In the no-harm condition, no negative consequences followed the actor's behaviour. The following example describes the HS scenario in the no-intent – high-harm condition:

„Bob, a human resources manager at a big company, sends out an email inviting talented new employees for a training camp to help them become more eligible for promotion to senior management jobs in the company. He accidentally sends the email to the male employees by unintentionally using a mailing list that only includes the

male employees. Female employees end up being excluded from the invitation and not having the opportunity to go to the management training.”

Note that participants in the no-harm condition were informed that Bob’s assistant had noticed the mistake and could correct it by sending the email to everyone, men and women. The scenarios were inspired by Brant et al. (1999) and Swim et al. (2003) but were further adjusted to match this study’s design.

Manipulation Checks

As manipulation checks, participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they believe the actor’s behaviour was intentional and to what extent they believe the actor’s behaviour was harmful by one item, respectively (0 = *not at all*, 6 = *very much*).

Judgements of Sexism

Following each scenario, participants were asked about their sexist behaviour judgements by the same two items ($r = .90$, averaged across the sexism types and conditions) and sexist character by the same one item from Study 1a. Again, answers were rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (= *not at all*) to 6 (= *very much*).

Feminist Attitudes

The same short version of the Liberal Attitudes and Ideology Scale (LFAIS; Koyama et al., 2004) as in Study 1a was used to measure participants’ feminist attitudes. Cronbach’s alpha was .85.

Results Study 1b

Manipulation Check

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to test whether the manipulations were successful. For the descriptives and difference of means for each scenario, see Table 6. As expected, in the high-intent conditions, participants perceived higher intent than in the no-intent condition in all three sexism scenarios, $F(1, 212) = 546.01$ (HS), $F(1, 212) = 386.80$ (BS), $F(1, 212) =$

121.54 (IS), $ps < .001$. In the high-harm conditions, participants perceived higher harm than in the no-harm condition in all three sexism scenarios, $F(1, 212) = 84.58$ (HS), $F(1, 212) = 58.47$ (BS), $F(1, 212) = 127.16$ (IS), $ps < .001$. Thus, it can be concluded that the manipulations of harm and intent were successful.

Table 6

Descriptives and Difference of Means for High- vs No-Intent and High- vs No-Harm

	Hostile Sexism			Benevolent Sexism			Implicit Sexism		
	Mean differences (No vs High)			Mean differences (No vs High)			Mean differences (No vs High)		
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Perceived Intent									
No-Intent	1.22 (1.55)	-23.29	<.001	1.22 (1.55)	-19.58	<.001	2.10 (1.70)	-11.07	<.001
High-Intent	5.46 (1.05)			5.13 (1.35)			4.66 (1.69)		
Perceived Harm									
No-Harm	3.64 (2.08)	-5.20	<.001	3.13 (2.05)	-4.19	<.001	2.90 (1.77)	-6.71	<.001
High-Harm	4.89 (1.41)			4.17 (1.52)			4.44 (1.83)		

Note. For no-intent/-harm, $n = 109$; high-intent/-harm, $n = 105$.

Participant Gender Differences in Judgements

Gender differences in judgements were examined in each condition and sexism scenario. The results showed that scores significantly differed between men and women for only certain scenarios in some conditions (see Tables 7a and 7b; for descriptives of non-binary participants, see Table 7c in Appendix D). For an overview of the total means, please refer to Table 8.

Table 7a

Independent Sample t-Test Comparing Men and Women’s Scores for Each Condition.

Male ($n = 14$)	Female ($n = 40$)	Gender Differences (Men-Women)	
<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>

No-Intent – High-Harm				
Hostile Sexism				
Intent	0.57 (0.76)	1.55 (1.62)	-3.00	.004**
Harm	1.55 (1.62)	4.70 (1.51)	-1.88	.065
SC	0.79 (1.05)	1.60 (1.61)	-2.15	.039*
SB	2.43 (1.94)	3.09 (1.94)	-1.09	.279
Benevolent Sexism				
Intent	0.79 (1.58)	1.73 (1.59)	-1.91	.062
Harm	2.50 (1.56)	4.10 (1.30)	-3.77	.000***
SC	0.64 (1.08)	1.55 (1.32)	-2.31	.025*
SB	1.82 (1.79)	2.95 (1.81)	-2.95	.049*
Implicit Sexism				
Intent	1.64 (1.74)	2.42 (1.81)	-1.41	.166
Harm	3.29 (1.49)	4.33 (1.44)	-2.31	.025*
SC	1.57 (1.40)	2.53 (1.72)	-1.86	.068
SB	2.68 (1.59)	3.88 (1.67)	-2.33	.023*
	Male (n = 18)	Female (n = 34)	Gender Differences (Men-Women)	
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
No-Intent – No-Harm				
Hostile Sexism				
Intent	0.28 (0.46)	1.50 (1.78)	-3.77	.000***
Harm	1.67 (1.88)	2.88 (2.01)	-2.12	.039*
SC	0.50 (1.34)	1.82 (1.93)	-2.89	.006**
SB	1.25 (1.99)	2.88 (1.97)	-2.83	.007**
Benevolent Sexism				
Intent	0.33 (0.84)	1.18 (1.57)	-2.53	.015**
Harm	1.28 (1.53)	2.15 (1.73)	-1.80	.079
SC	0.33 (0.97)	1.47 (1.58)	-3.21	.002**
SB	1.31 (2.17)	2.34 (1.82)	-1.85	.071
Implicit Sexism				
Intent	1.89 (1.71)	1.91 (1.53)	-0.05	.961
Harm	1.39 (1.38)	2.79 (1.70)	-3.02	.004**
SC	0.94 (1.39)	2.26 (1.60)	-2.95	.005*
SB	1.81 (1.78)	3.21 (1.63)	-2.85	.006**

Note. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001. SC = Sexist character, SB = Sexist Behaviour.

Table 7b

Independent Sample t-Test Comparing Men and Women’s Scores for Each Condition

	Male (n = 11)	Female (n = 37)	Gender Differences (Men-Women)	
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
High-Intent – High-Harm				
Hostile Sexism				
Intent	5.82 (0.41)	5.57 (0.96)	.84	.405
Harm	5.55 (1.21)	5.24 (1.21)	.726	.471
SC	5.09 (0.94)	4.95 (1.22)	.361	.478

	Male (<i>n</i> = 21) <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Female (<i>n</i> = 33) <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Gender Differences (Men-Women)	
			<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
SB	5.95 (0.15)	5.64 (0.75)	2.43	.019*
Benevolent Sexism				
Intent	5.36 (1.29)	5.22 (1.21)	.35	.727
Harm	4.82 (1.33)	4.65 (1.38)	.361	.720
SC	4.36 (2.11)	4.38 (1.36)	-.028	.978
SB	5.45 (0.79)	5.15 (1.19)	.80	.428
Implicit Sexism				
Intent	4.18 (2.36)	4.86 (1.42)	-.91	.379
Harm	4.64 (1.50)	4.89 (1.50)	-.49	.629
SC	4.00 (1.73)	4.24 (1.62)	-.43	.669
SB	4.91 (1.28)	4.93 (1.27)	-.05	.958
High-Intent – No-Harm				
Hostile Sexism				
Intent	5.29 (1.19)	5.27 (1.21)	.04	.969
Harm	4.33 (1.21)	4.94 (1.22)	-1.39	.174
SC	3.76 (1.61)	4.36 (1.39)	-1.46	.150
SB	4.55 (1.92)	5.17 (1.04)	-1.36	.186
Benevolent Sexism				
Intent	4.90 (1.58)	5.03 (1.45)	-0.30	.765
Harm	3.90 (1.90)	4.42 (1.42)	-1.08	.288
SC	3.33 (1.74)	4.21 (1.36)	-2.07	.043*
SB	4.33 (1.89)	4.97 (1.13)	-1.40	.174
Implicit Sexism				
Intent	4.43 (1.60)	4.73 (1.79)	-0.62	.536
Harm	3.05 (1.83)	3.58 (1.52)	-1.15	.256
SC	3.00 (1.82)	4.27 (1.53)	-2.77	.008**
SB	3.81 (1.90)	4.70 (1.21)	-1.91	.066

Note. **p* < .05. ***p* < .01. SC = Sexist character, SB = Sexist Behaviour.

Table 8

Descriptives of the Total Sample in Each Condition

	No-Intent – High-Harm (<i>n</i> = 54)			No-Intent – No-Harm (<i>n</i> = 55)		
	Hostile Sexism	Benevolent Sexism	Implicit Sexism	Hostile Sexism	Benevolent Sexism	Implicit Sexism
Intent	1.30 (1.50)	1.48 (1.62)	2.22 (1.81)	1.15 (1.60)	0.96 (1.44)	1.98 (1.59)
Harm	4.48 (1.48)	3.69 (1.53)	4.06 (1.51)	2.55 (2.04)	2.00 (1.80)	2.38 (1.72)
SC	1.39 (1.52)	1.31 (1.32)	2.28 (1.69)	1.40 (1.83)	1.15 (1.51)	1.84 (1.61)
SB	2.92 (1.94)	2.66 (1.86)	3.56 (1.72)	2.35 (2.13)	2.06 (2.02)	2.80 (1.80)
	High-Intent – High-Harm (<i>n</i> = 50)			High-Intent – No-Harm (<i>n</i> = 55)		
	Hostile Sexism	Benevolent Sexism	Implicit Sexism	Hostile Sexism	Benevolent Sexism	Implicit Sexism

Intent	5.64 (0.85)	5.28 (1.20)	4.68 (1.70)	5.29 (1.18)	5.00 (1.48)	4.64 (1.70)
Harm	5.34 (1.19)	4.70 (1.34)	4.86 (1.50)	4.73 (1.46)	4.25 (1.62)	3.42 (1.67)
SC	4.94 (1.17)	4.38 (1.54)	4.16 (1.68)	4.16 (1.50)	3.91 (1.58)	3.82 (1.75)
SB	5.71 (0.66)	5.21 (1.12)	4.92 (1.26)	4.95 (1.46)	4.75 (1.48)	4.38 (1.56)

Note. SC = Sexist character, SB = Sexist Behaviour.

In Table 9, the descriptives for men and women are presented (for descriptives of non-binary participants, see Table 9b in Appendix D). Results from the independent samples t-test indicated that the mean for LFAIS significantly differed between men and women. Women reported significantly higher feminist beliefs than men. In Table 8, the descriptives for men, women and non-binary people are presented.

Table 9

Descriptives and Sex Differences Between Men and Women for the LFAIS for Study 1b

	Male (<i>n</i> = 64)	Female (<i>n</i> = 143)	Sex Differences (Men- Women)	
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
LFAIS	5.23 (0.79)	5.88 (0.59)	-6.03	<.001

Note. This table shows the mean scores for men and women from the participant pool from Study 1b.

Testing Hypothesis 1 – Is HS judged as More Harmful and More Intentional?

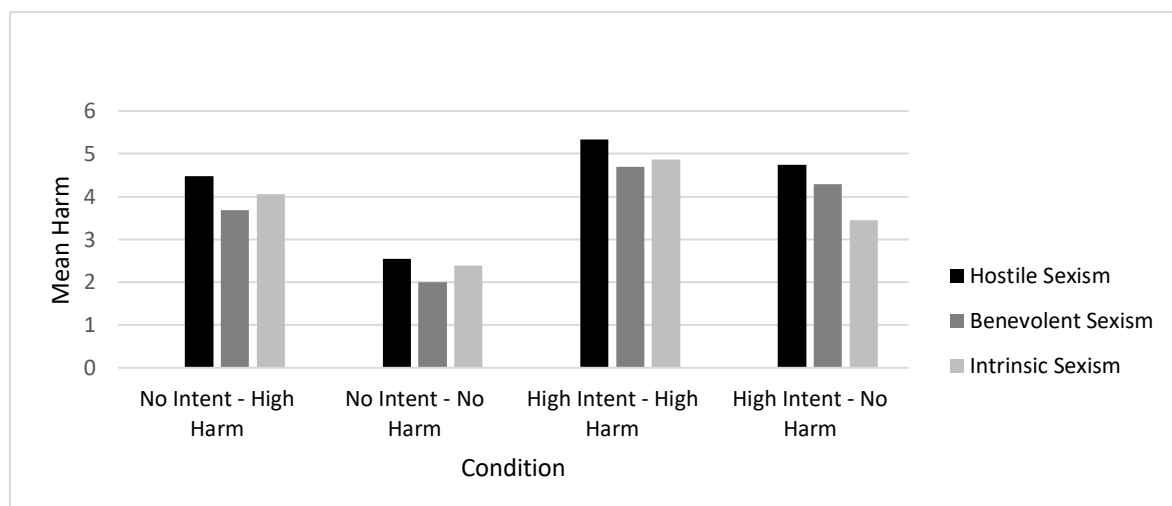
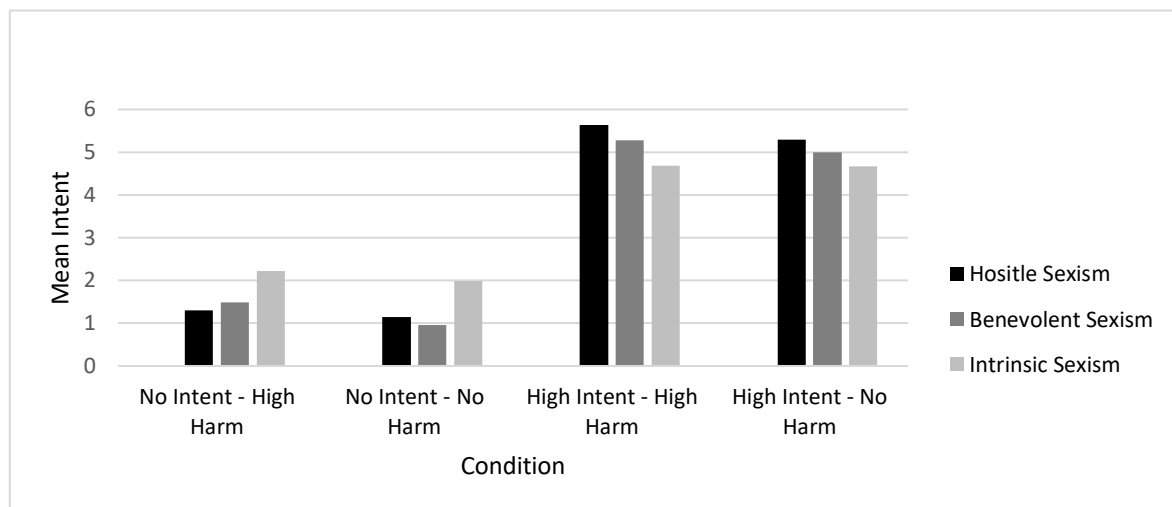
To test whether acts of HS are judged as significantly more harmful, more intentional and more sexist than acts of BS and acts of IS, a one-tailed paired samples t-test was conducted across the four conditions. Figure 1 presents an overview of the total means for each condition and sexism type.

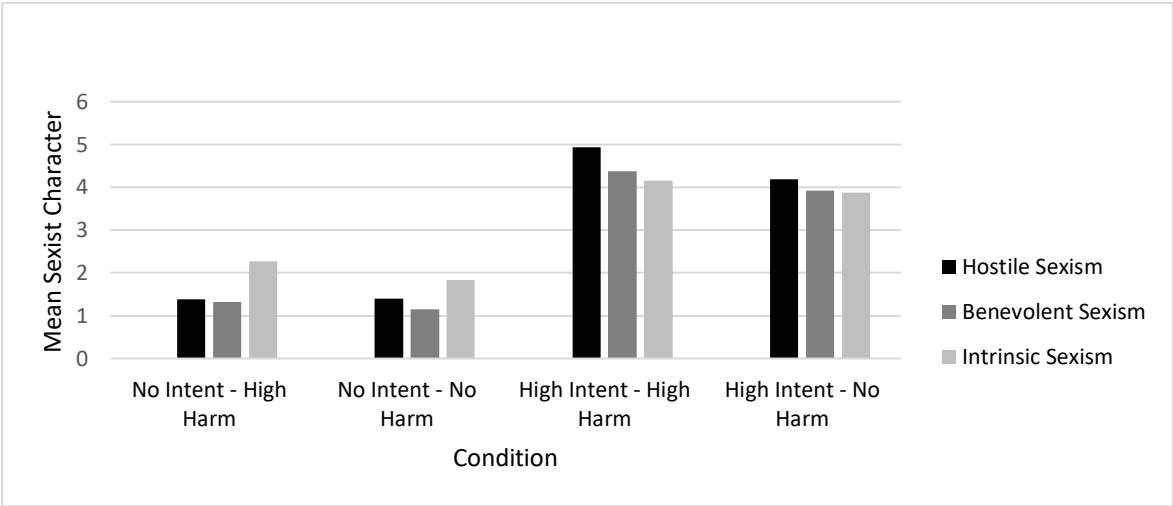
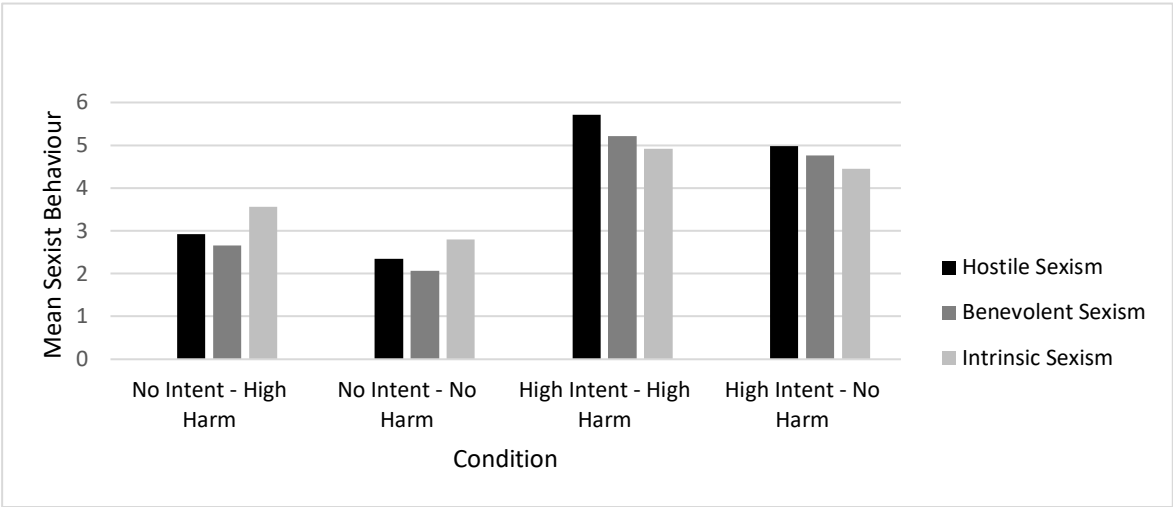
Results from the one-tailed paired samples t-test indicated that HS was judged as significantly more intentional ($M = 3.29$, $SD = 2.51$) than BS ($M = 3.13$, $SD = 2.44$), $t(212) = 2.02$, $p = .023$. There was no significant difference for the average scores of judgements of intent between HS and IS ($M = 3.36$, $SD = 2.13$, $t(212) = -0.52$, $p = .301$). Regarding judgements of harm, participants significantly judged acts of HS ($M = 4.25$, $SD = 1.89$) as

more harmful than acts of BS ($M = 3.64, SD = 1.88, t(212) = 7.97$) and as more harmful than acts of IS ($M = 3.66, SD = 1.83, t(212) = 5.31$), $ps < .001$. Lastly, the actor’s behaviour in HS acts ($M = 3.95, SD = 2.16, t(212) = 4.33$) as well as his character ($M = 2.93, SD = 2.21, t(212) = 3.64$) were judged as significantly more sexist than in BS acts (sexist behaviour: $M = 3.64, SD = 2.13$; sexist character: $M = 2.65, SD = 2.09$), $ps < .001$. No significant difference was found between HS and IS acts regarding judgements of sexist behaviour (IS: $M = 3.91, SD = 1.77, t(212) = 0.36, p = .359$) and sexist character (IS: $M = 3.01, SD = 1.94, t(212) = -0.67, p = .251$). Hypothesis 1 was, therefore, partially supported: HS was judged as more harmful than BS and IS, but not as more intentional and sexist than IS.

Figure 1

Total Means of the Sample for Each Condition Separated by Type of Sexism and Condition





Testing Hypothesis 2 and 3 – The Role of Intent and Harm on Judgements of Sexism

A series of 2 (high- vs no-intent) x 2 (high- vs no-harm) ANOVAs were conducted to examine the effect of intent and harm on judgements of sexist behaviour and sexist character, respectively (Hypotheses 2 and 3). Additionally, to thoroughly investigate whether the effect of harm was most evident in the absence of intent, a series of simple main effect analyses were conducted (Hypothesis 3).

Hostile Sexism

There was no significant interaction effect between the level of harm and intent on judgements of sexism in the HS scenario. Nevertheless, there was a significant main effect of

intent on sexist behaviour and sexist character for the HS scenario (see Table 10). There was also a significant main effect of harm on sexist behaviour; however, the main effect was not significant on sexist character. Figure 2 presents the means of sexist behaviour and sexist character for each condition.

Simple main effect analysis indicated that participants in the high-intent condition judged the actor's character and his behaviour as significantly more sexist than participants in the no-intent condition, $ps < .001$. This effect was evident in both the high-harm and no-harm condition. Hypothesis 2 was, therefore, fully supported for the HS scenario.

Table 10

Test of Between-Subject Effects for HS

Source	dfs	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Sexist Behaviour				
Level Harm	1, 213	8.12	.005	.04
Level Intent	1, 213	141.62	<.001	.40
Level Harm * Level Intent	1, 213	.12	.731	.00
Sexist Character				
Level Harm	1, 213	3.13	.078	.02
Level Intent	1, 213	227.32	<.001	.52
Level Harm * Level Intent	1, 213	3.32	.070	.02

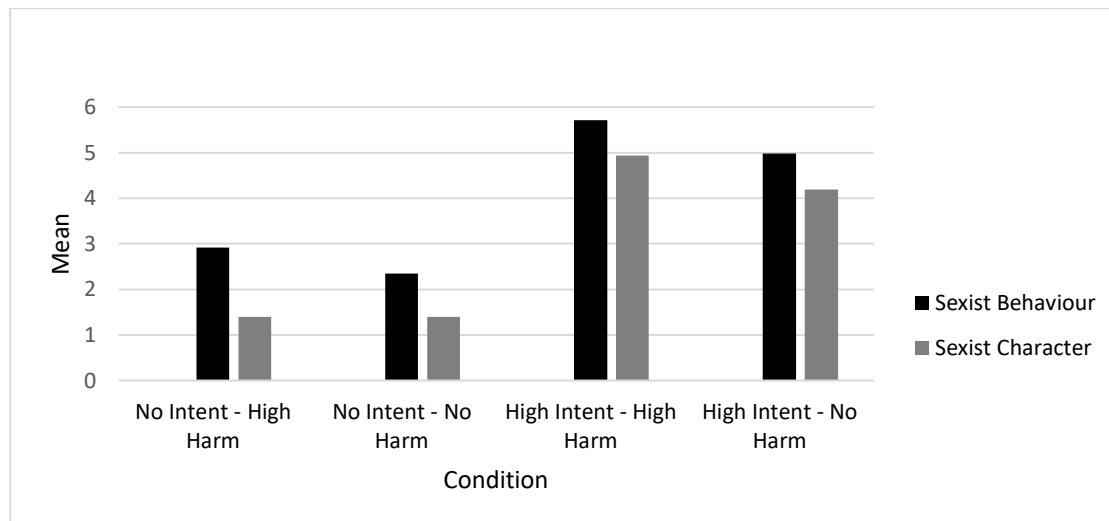
Note. This table shows the results of the ANOVA for the HS scenario.

Further, simple main effect analysis showed that judgements of sexist behaviour ($p = .027$) and sexist character ($p = .013$) differed between high- versus no-harm conditions in the high-intent condition. However, in the no-intent condition, sexist behaviour and character judgements did not significantly differ between the high- versus no-harm conditions. To conclude, harm showed a significant main effect on sexist behaviour judgements but not on sexist character. However, findings from the simple main effect analysis concluded that harm

(high vs no) had a significant effect on both sexist character and sexist behaviour in the high-intent rather than in the no-intent condition. Therefore, the findings only partially supported Hypothesis 3 for the HS scenario.

Figure 2

Means of Sexist Behaviour and Sexist Character for Hostile Sexism Separated by Condition



Benevolent Sexism

There was a significant main effect of harm and intent on sexist behaviour for the BS scenario (see Table 11). However, there was no significant main effect of harm on sexist character. There was also no significant interaction effect between the level of harm and intent on judgements of sexist behaviour or sexist character. Figure 3 summarises the total means of sexist behaviour and sexist character for each condition.

Simple main effect analysis indicated that scores on judgements of sexist behaviour and sexist character in the no- and high-intent group significantly differed ($ps < .001$), independent of whether participants were in the high- or no-harm condition. Thus, when intent was perceived to be present, participants judged the actor's character and behaviour as more sexist, regardless of whether they believed that the act was harmful. Therefore, the findings fully supported Hypothesis 2.

Table 11

Test of Between-Subject Effects for Benevolent Sexism

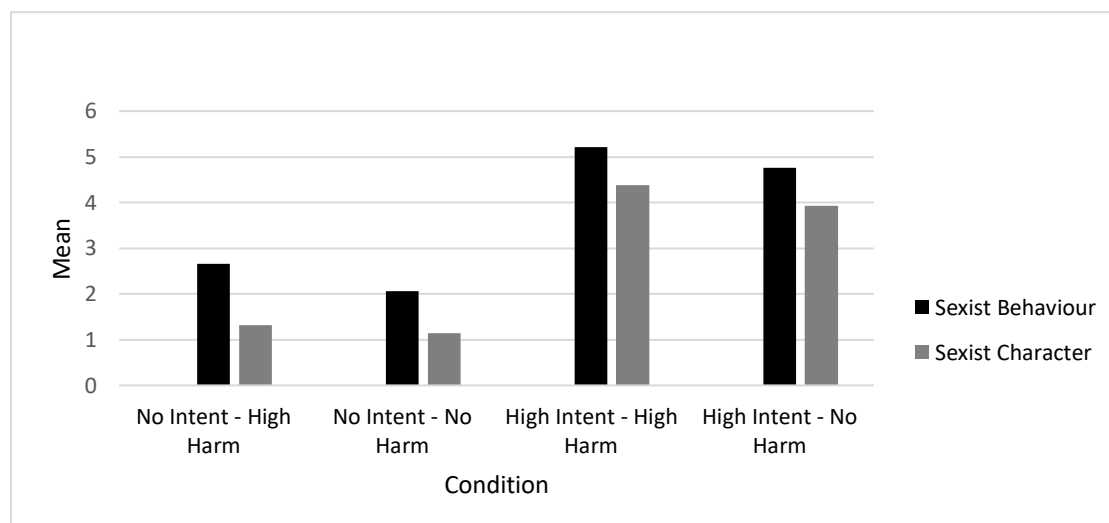
Source	dfs	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Sexist Behaviour				
Level Harm	1, 213	5.22	.023	.024
Level Intent	1, 213	131.76	<.001	.387
Level Harm * Level Intent	1, 213	.10	.755	.000
Sexist Character				
Level Harm	1, 213	2.33	.129	.011
Level Intent	1, 213	204.64	<.001	.495
Level Harm * Level Intent	1, 213	.49	.487	.002

Note. This table shows the results of the ANOVA for the BS scenario.

The results further showed that participants' scores did not significantly differ between the high- versus no-harm condition, regardless of the information on intent (high- vs no-intent). To conclude, harm showed to have a significant main effect on judgements of sexist behaviour, but not on sexist character. However, the effect of harm was not most evident in the no-intent condition. Hypothesis 3 was, thus, only partially supported for the BS scenario.

Figure 3

Means of Sexist Behaviour and Sexist Character for Benevolent Sexism Separated by Condition



Implicit Sexism

There was no significant interaction effect between the level of harm or the level of intent on judgements of sexist behaviour or sexist character. However, there was a significant main effect of harm and intent on sexist behaviour for the IS scenario. Further, there was a significant main effect of intent on sexist character, but no significant main effect of harm on sexist character (see Table 12). Figure 4 presents the means of sexist behaviour and sexist character for each condition.

Table 12*Test of Between-Subject Effects for IS*

Source	dfs	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Sexist Behaviour				
Level Harm	1, 213	8.06	.005	.04
Level Intent	1, 213	47.14	<.001	.18
Level Harm * Level Intent	1, 213	.44	.509	.00
Sexist Character				
Level Harm	1, 213	2.53	.113	.01
Level Intent	1, 213	72.58	<.001	.26
Level Harm * Level Intent	1, 213	.11	.742	.00

Note. This table shows the results of the ANOVA for the IS scenario.

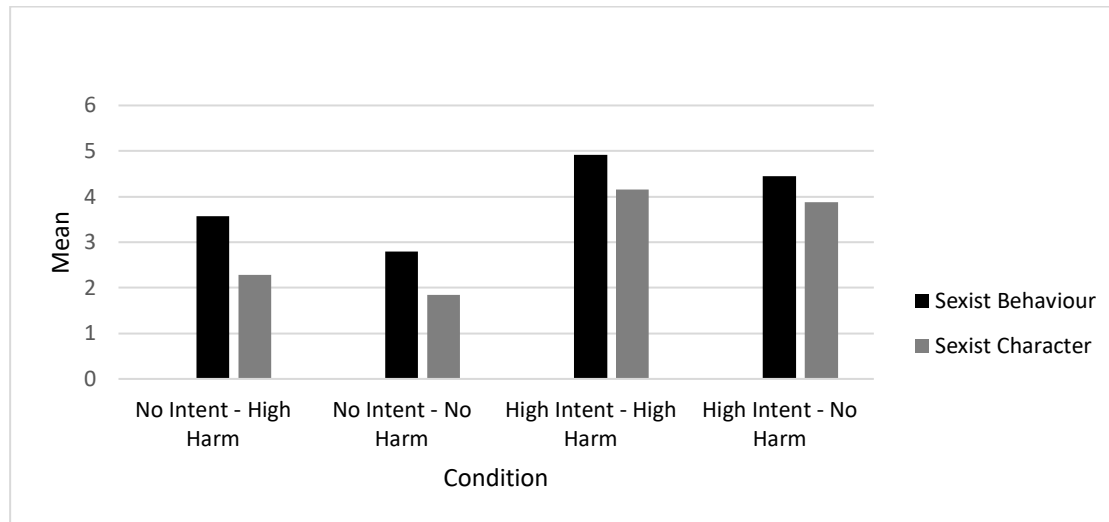
The simple main effect analysis showed that participants in the high-intent condition judged both the actor's character and behaviour as significantly more sexist than participants in the no-intent condition. This effect appeared to be independent of whether participants were in the high- or no-harm condition, $ps < .001$. Therefore, Hypothesis 2 was fully supported.

Further, the findings indicated that participants in the no-intent condition judged the actor's behaviour as significantly more sexist when in the high-harm condition than participants in the no-harm condition. Thus, the effect of (high-)harm was most evident in the no-intent condition. Therefore, Hypothesis 3 was supported for sexist behaviour in the IS

scenario. However, harm did not have a significant main effect on sexist character, and thus, Hypothesis 3 was not supported for sexist character in the IS scenario.

Figure 4

Means of Sexist Behaviour and Sexist Character for Implicit Sexism Separated by Condition



Hypothesis 4: The Role of Feminist Beliefs

To test whether participants with higher feminist beliefs were more likely to report higher scores of perceived harm, intent and sexism, a Pearson correlation was conducted (see Table 13). The mean score for feminist beliefs was 5.68 (*SD* = 0.73). Results showed that feminist beliefs positively correlated with harm, sexist behaviour and sexist character for all three types of sexism. Intent did not significantly correlate with feminist beliefs in the BS scenario. Hypothesis 4 was, therefore, fully supported for the HS and IS scenarios but only partially supported for the BS scenario.

Table 13

Pearson Correlation Coefficients Between Intent, Harm, Judgements of Sexism and Feminist Beliefs (N = 213)

	1	2	3	4	5
Hostile Sexism					
1. Intent	1	.557**	.776**	.856**	.145*
2. Harm		1	.688**	.593**	.372**

3. Sexist Behaviour			1	.827**	.290**
4. Sexist Character				1	.280**
5. Feminist Beliefs					1
Benevolent Sexism					
1. Intent	1	.554**	.693**	.781**	.131
2. Harm		1	.736**	.633**	.368**
3. Sexist Behaviour			1	.806**	.266**
4. Sexist Character				1	.272**
5. Feminist Beliefs					1
Implicit Sexism					
1. Intent	1	.384**	.560**	.645**	.133
2. Harm		1	.730**	.615**	.504**
3. Sexist Behaviour			1	.822**	.453**
4. Sexist Character				1	.356**
5. Feminist Beliefs					1

Note. **Significant difference < .01.

Discussion Study 1b

Study 1b aimed to replicate the results of Study 1a by using a different design. The present study was designed as an experimental study to examine how intent and harm play a role in participants' judgements of sexism in the workplace. First, in line with Hypothesis 1, participants judged HS acts as more harmful than BS and IS acts. However, participants judged acts of HS as more intentional and sexist than BS, but no difference was found between HS and IS acts. Second, the results supported Hypothesis 2: when intent was perceived to be high, participants were more likely to judge an actor's character and behaviour as sexist. Third, the current findings partially supported Hypothesis 3: participants were more likely to judge an actor's behaviour as sexist when they perceived harm as high rather than low. However, no effect of harm on sexist character was found. Further, when examining the combined effect of intent and harm, it only showed in the IS scenario that the impact of harm was most evident when participants believed that the actor did not have the intention to discriminate. In the other scenarios, perceived intent did not influence the effect of harm on judgements of sexist behaviour or character. Fourth, the results fully supported Hypothesis 4 for the HS and IS scenario: participants with higher feminist beliefs reported

higher scores of intent, harm, sexist behaviour and sexist character than participants with lower feminist beliefs. In the BS scenario, participants with higher feminist beliefs did not report higher scores of intent than participants with lower feminist beliefs. Hypothesis 4 was, therefore, only partially supported for the BS scenario.

General Discussion

Across two studies, the effect of intent and harm on laypeople's judgements of sexism was investigated. Four hypotheses proposed the role of intent and harm when judging an actor's character and behaviour as sexist. Further, the study investigated the influences of intent and harm for different types of sexism identified by previous sexism literature: hostile sexism (HS), benevolent sexism (BS), and implicit sexism (IS; Barreto & Ellemers, 2015; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Swim et al., 1995; Swim et al., 2003).

Hostile Sexism – The Worst of Them All?

The results obtained from Study 1a supported Hypothesis 1 by showing that acts of HS were judged as more harmful, intentional and sexist than BS and IS acts. Study 1b yielded partially supportive results for Hypothesis 1, as it was found that participants judged HS acts as more harmful, intentional and sexist than BS acts. HS acts were also considered more harmful than IS acts; they were not considered more intentional and sexist than IS. These findings suggest that people differentiate between HS and BS but see more similarities between HS and IS.

The pattern of results from both studies is consistent with the previous literature that showed that people tend to judge HS as more sexist than BS and IS (e.g. Barreto & Ellemers, 2005a, Swim et al., 2005). HS is defined as openly expressing prejudicial views and attitudes and therefore fits into the prototypical expectation of sexism (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005a). It may be, thus, not surprising that people judged HS's direct and expressive tone as more harmful than the subtle forms of sexism. It is important to point out that one should not

conclude that HS is “the worst” form of sexism, as then one would need to see one form of sexism as “better” than another. Rather, other literature on sexism has shown that subtle forms of sexism contribute to gender stereotypes and gender discrimination – if not even more than hostile forms (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005a).

An unexpected finding in Study 1b was that HS acts were not judged as more intentional and sexist than IS acts. One reason for these results may be the rise of gender-neutral language and its awareness (Bonnin & Coronel, 2021). In the IS scenario, a manager (accidentally vs intentionally) refers to his employees as “he/him”. One could argue that using solely the masculine form for their employees is nowadays less accepted, especially by younger and academic individuals, whom the current samples for the studies had, and thus, seen as more intentional (Bem, 1974; Bonnin & Coronel, 2021; Gustafsson et al., 2015; Parks & Robertson, 1998). However, further investigation of this argument is needed.

The Role of Intent in Sexism

The results of both studies, Study 1a and Study 1b, supported Hypothesis 2 and showed that the more an actor is perceived as intending to undermine women, the more he and his behaviour are considered sexist. These findings are consistent with the claims from previous research on moral judgements, which identified intent as an essential component when judging potential immoral actions and the actor’s character (Cushman, 2008; Kupfer et al., 2020). Intent has been identified as a “pivotal factor” in moral judgements, as individuals judge an intentional action as more immoral than an accidental action (Kupfer et al., 2020). Furthermore, the results are also in agreement with Swim et al.’s (2003) findings which showed that the perception of high intent increased people’s likelihood to judge an actor’s behaviour as sexist. Thus, the current findings suggest that people deem any type of sexist act as sexist when they believe that the actor has acted with the intention to undermine women.

When people believe an action was done without the intention to discriminate, they are more cautious about calling someone's behaviour or character sexist.

The Role of Harm in Sexism

Hypothesis 3 claimed that the more an actor was perceived as having caused harm to the women, the more likely participants would consider his behaviour and character as sexist. Additionally, it was proposed that the effect of harm was strongest when participants perceived intent to be low/absent rather than high/present. The results from Study 1a fully supported Hypothesis 3. However, in Study 1b, the effect of harm was not as straightforward as the effect found in Study 1a, and Hypothesis 3 was only partially supported. The results from Study 1b further showed that in all three scenarios, participants were more likely to judge an actor's *behaviour* as sexist when high harm was perceived. However, in the BS and IS scenarios, the perception of harm did not affect judgements on the actor's *character*. In the HS scenario, harm also had an effect on judgements on the actor's character but only for participants in the high-intent condition rather than in the no-intent condition. This finding contradicts Hypothesis 3, which claimed that the effect of harm on participant's judgements would be most evident in the absence of intent. However, in the IS scenario, this effect was most evident in the absence of intent and, therefore, in line with Hypothesis 3.

This inconsistency reflects the existing conflict between the literature on moral judgements and the literature on sexism. On the one hand, authors in the field of moral judgements have found that both intent and harm play an interacting role when making judgements on morality (Cushman, 2008, 2013; Kupfer et al., 2020). In his dual-process model for moral judgements, Cushman (2008, 2013) suggested that people's judgements on morality rely on their perception of intent. In contrast, their judgements on adequate punishment rely on both perceived intent and perceived harm. Cushman's (2008, 2013) hypothesis would align with the current findings for the HS scenario in Study 1b but differs

from the findings for the IS scenario in the same study. On the other hand, Swim et al. (2003) showed that when people believed that an actor's behaviour was unintentionally discriminatory, they were more likely to base their judgement of sexist behaviour on their perception of harm. Their findings confirm the association found in Study 1b for the IS scenario but do not support the findings for the HS scenario. This found discrepancy is an important issue for future research to consider and further investigate.

Overall, the current findings highlight the idea that harm generally affects a person's judgement of sexism. The results from Study 1b specifically show that people are more likely to perceive an actor's behaviour as sexist when they believe that his actions have caused harm to the target. However, people tend to be more reluctant when judging a person's character. These results are consistent with data found in Swim et al.'s (2003) study. The author's findings indicate that people are more cautious when judging a person's character as sexist than when judging his behaviour, in the argument that judging on someone's behaviour may be less cruel than on the person themselves (Swim et al., 2003). Another possible explanation for the current findings might be drawn from the American philosopher Dr David Kelly (2000). He suggests that people might be more hesitant to judge someone's character rather than their actions, as they believe a person could always act "out of character" (Kelly, 2000; Salsman et al., 2011). Thus, if the actor is not a well-known friend, it will always be uncertain whether an immoral action was an abnormal behaviour for the actor or part of their character trait. Often one single action does not determine someone's whole character framework (Kelly, 2000; Salsman et al., 2011). Nevertheless, more research is needed to investigate these ideas further.

Feminist Beliefs

Lastly, Hypothesis 4 suggested that participants with higher feminist beliefs would report higher scores of perceived harm, intent and sexism than participants with lower

feminist beliefs. The results from Study 1a partially supported Hypothesis 4. For the BS scenario, stronger feminist beliefs were associated with a higher likelihood to judge an actor's character and behaviour as more harmful, intentional and sexist. This finding supported Study 1a's hypothesised results. Surprisingly, in the HS and IS scenarios, participants with stronger feminist beliefs were only more likely to report higher scores on perceived harm, sexist behaviour and sexist character but not on perceived intent. A possible explanation for this may be that, for laypeople, BS is often more difficult to recognise (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005a, 2005b, 2015; Brant et al., 1999). It may be that feminist people educate themselves to a greater extent about different forms of sexism and thus, see BS as more intentional than less informed and less feminist people. However, this is contrary to Gul & Kupfer's (2019) findings which showed that women do recognise BS and, paradoxically, tend to rate men with BS attitudes as more attractive than men without BS attitudes. Further, these findings pertained to women with low- and high-feminist beliefs (Gul & Kupfer, 2019). A study with more focus on feminist ideologies is suggested to investigate these discrepancies further.

Results from Study 1b were partially in line with Hypothesis 4. As expected, participants with higher feminist beliefs reported higher scores for harm, intent and sexism in the HS and IS scenario. However, in the BS scenario, feminist participants did not report higher scores on perceived intent than participants with less feminist beliefs. Although this was not in line with Hypothesis 4, these results are not surprising when reflecting on previous literature on BS (Barreto, & Ellemers, 2005a; Glick & Fiske, 1996). The core definition of BS lies in the idea that people can act in a sexist manner even without the intention to do so (Glick & Fiske, 1996). According to the data from Study 1b, it can be inferred that people with feminist attitudes do realise this notion. People with feminist ideologies do not differentiate between different types of sexism when deciding whether something could be considered sexist or not. These findings raise intriguing questions regarding the relationship

between feminism and judgements of sexism. Even more, it could be hypothesised that feminist people make judgements of sexism without too much reliance on intent and harm; however, future research should investigate this question more.

Significance of the Study

Women frequently have to face sexist interactions that are often left unchallenged by supervisors or colleagues (Sojo et al., 2016). Examples of sexist interactions involve unwanted touches, unwelcomed jokes of sexual nature or receiving comments of sexual nature about one's appearance (Trades Union Congress, 2016, as cited in Rubin et al., 2019). Nevertheless, labelling, and thus challenging, a sexist act as prejudice is essential for reducing sexism and achieving gender equality within and outside the workplace environment (e.g. Dardenne et al., 2007; Glick & Fiske, 2001; Pryor & Whalen, 1996). However, people's opinions often differ on whether sexism was even present, leading to questioning the target's accuracy or leaving the situation as settled (Trades Union Congress, 2016). Predominantly, targets do not report sexist encounters as they fear that they are not believed, lose their job or that others disagree about the sexist nature of the accused (Johnson et al., 2016; Trades Union Congress, 2016). Unchallenged sexism in the workplace has been shown to diminish targets' work performance, mental health and job satisfaction (Dardenne et al., 2007; Rubin et al., 2019). Even though prevalently targets of sexism suffer from its consequences, it is also important to point out that inconsistencies in judgements of sexism can also have harmful consequences for wrongfully accused men. Accusations of sexism can lead to unrepairable reputation damage, exclusion from social circles and job loss (Swim et al., 2003). Thus, a greater comprehension of the influential factors involved in judgements of sexism may be of importance for all genders.

This study aimed to contribute to the growing research on gender discrimination by demonstrating the importance of intent and harm in judgements of sexism specifically

appearing in workplace settings. It is hoped that the present research has added to a deeper understanding of the different factors involved when making judgements of sexism. Having a greater understanding of people's thought processes when making judgements about sexism may help to come closer to a consensus on what sexist acts entail. Further, it may help in developing programmes to train employees to recognise or respond to sexism they witness at the workplace (Johnson et al., 2016).

Strengths, Limitations and Future Directions

Two different designs were used for the present research, which could be considered one essential strength of this study. Studies from the social and behavioural sciences are often criticised for being incomparable to real-life situations (Holleman et al., 2020; Osborne-Crowley, 2020; Shamay-Tsoory & Mendelsohn, 2019). With a simulation of real-life scenarios (Study 1a) and an experimental design (Study 1b), the underlying mechanisms of the relationship between intent, harm and judgements of sexism could be systematically investigated. Moreover, instead of relying on one general definition of sexism, three different types of sexism were considered in three different scenarios. For both studies, the sample sizes were powerful enough to detect a small to medium effect size, which means that these results were credible.

Nevertheless, the present research still showed to have some limitations. First, this study only looked at sexist acts that were targeted towards women. It is important to note that diminishing discrimination against men was not intended with this research and that objects of gender discrimination can be of any gender. Future research could replicate the present study by adding scenarios that show the treatment of men as unequal. Not only could these findings be compared to scenarios with women as a target, but they could also start a conversation about sexism against men. Second, our sample showed little diversity, and participants arguably belonged to relatively privileged categories (Western, White, upper-class,

academic). Future research may consider conducting studies on sexism with less-privileged participants, for example, in rural areas or non-Western countries, to understand the influence of other factors such as education and social surroundings in the judgements of sexism. Third, in the current research, feminist attitudes were investigated as one measure of ideological beliefs. However, there are still many unanswered questions about whether other individual differences, such as political orientation or religiosity, influence people's judgements on sexism. Further studies, which take other ideological beliefs into account, need to be undertaken to fully understand the role of individual differences. Lastly, Swim et al.'s (2003) study included a laboratory study to investigate participants' reactions in actual real-life settings. In the present research, participants relied on their imagination and feelings of empathy to make their judgements on the actor and his behaviour instead. To potentially draw more accurate conclusions to real-life scenarios, future researchers could conduct a laboratory study in which participants experience an actual potential sexist encounter, similar to Swim et al.'s (2002) experiment.

Conclusion

The main goal of the current research was to determine the role of intent and harm in laypeople's judgements of sexism, specifically in a work-related context. This study has shown that people distinguish between different types of sexism and consistently judge HS as more harmful, intentional and sexist than BS. The research has also shown that people rather consider an actor as sexist when they believe that he acted with the intention to undermine women than when they believed that he acted without the intention to undermine. The investigation of harm has shown that the perception of harm plays a substantial role in people's judgements of sexist behaviour and less of a role than expected in people's judgements of sexist character. Lastly, this study has found that people with feminist ideologies are generally more likely to judge an actor and his behaviour as harmful or sexist.

However, people with high feminist beliefs also tend to differentiate between different types of sexism and do not always perceive higher intent than low-feminist people. Taken together, the findings of this study suggest that perceived intent and harm play a significant role in the decision making on the presence of sexism. Thus, the current results shed new light on the different types of sexism and people's underlying mechanisms to judge them as such. It was beyond the scope of this research to fully investigate other individual differences; therefore, it is unknown whether other ideological factors such as political orientation play a role in the judgements of sexism. Despite its limitations, this study certainly adds to the understanding of the key factors involved in judging sexism and its perception and hopes to help in advancing training programmes for recognising sexism in the workplace.

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Appendix A

Scenarios and Structure of Study 1a

Hostile Sexism

„Bob, a human resources manager at a big company, sends out an email inviting talented new employees for a training camp to help them become more eligible for promotion to senior management jobs in the company. He sends the email to the male employees by using a mailing list that only includes the male employees.“

Benevolent Sexism

„Tom, a training officer at a big company, sends out an email inviting employees for an extra training course for a new computer program the employees have been briefly shown to use. He thinks that some employees might not have fully understood how to use the program and he wants to help them with some extra guidance. He sends the email to the female employees by using a mailing list that only includes the female employees.“

Implicit Sexism

“John, a counsellor at a big company, puts together a speech for the employees where he is supposed to inform the staff about potential promotions to the manager position. He includes some quotations in his speech. The quotations refer to employees as “he” and having wives rather than the employees as “he or she” and having spouses.“

Measures of Intent, Harm, Moral, Sexist Character and Sexist Behaviour

0 = *not at all* to 6 = *very much*

Please indicate to what extent you think that...

1. Bob's behaviour/action was intentional
2. Bob's behaviour/action was harmful
3. Bob's behaviour/action was morally wrong
4. Bob's behaviour/action was sexist

5. Bob is a sexist man

Shortened Version of the Liberal Attitudes and Ideology Scale (Koyama et al., 2004)

1 = *strongly agree* to 7 = *strongly disagree*, reverse-scored items are denoted with an asterisk (Koyama et al., 2004).

- (1) It is insulting to the husband when his wife does not take his last name.
- (2) If the husband is the sole wage earner in the family, the financial decisions should be his.
- (3)* When they go out, a man and a woman should share dating expenses if they both have the same income.
- (4) As head of the household, the father should have final authority over his children.
- (5)* Both husband and wife should be equally responsible for the care of your children.
- (6) The first duty of a woman with young children is to home and family.
- (7)* A man who has chosen to stay at home and be a house-husband is not less masculine than a man who is employed full time.
- (8)* An employed woman can establish an as warm and secure relationship with her children as a mother who is not employed.
- (9)* A woman should not let bearing and rearing children stand in the way of a career if she wants it.
- (10) Women should be more concerned with clothing and appearance than men.
- (11)* Men and women should be able to freely make choices about their lives without being restricted by gender.
- (12)* Abortion is an issue of women's rights.
- (13)* If men were the sex who got pregnant, more reliable and convenient birth control would be available.
- (14)* It is reasonable to boycott a company's product if you think that their commercials are sexist.

(15) There is no such thing as rape between a man and his wife.

(16) People who complain that pornography treats women like objects are overreacting.

(17)* Men still don't take women's ideas seriously.

(18)* All men receive economic, sexual, and psychological benefits from male domination.

Demographic Information

1. What is your age in full years (e.g. 24)?

2. What is your assigned sex?

- a. Male
- b. Female
- c. Intersex
- d. Prefer not to say

3. What is your gender identity?

- a. Male
- b. Female
- c. Non-binary/third gender
- d. Prefer not to say

4. What is your sexual orientation?

- a. Heterosexual
- b. Homosexual
- c. Bisexual
- d. Other
- e. Prefer not to say

5. What is your nationality (i.e. the country you were born in)?

- a. Netherlands
- b. Germany

c. United Kingdom

d. United States

e. Canada

f. China

g. India

h. Other, please indicate:

6. What is your current country of residence (i.e. the country you have lived in the most for the past 12 months)?

a. Netherlands

b. Germany

c. United Kingdom

d. United States

e. Canada

f. China

g. India

h. Other, please indicate:

7. What is your ethnicity?

a. White-European

b. White-American

c. White-UK/Irish

d. White-Other

e. Black-Caribbean

f. Black-African

g. Black-other

h. Hispanic/Latino(a)

- i. Native American/Native Hawaiian/Alaskan Native
 - j. Indian
 - k. Pakistani
 - l. Bangladeshi
 - m. Chinese
 - n. Asian-Other
 - o. Mixed Race
 - p. Prefer not to say
8. What is your level of education?
- a. Less than high school
 - b. High school graduate
 - c. Bachelor's degree
 - d. Master's degree
 - e. Doctorate
9. What is your occupation?
- a. Employed full-time
 - b. Employed part-time
 - c. Unemployed looking for work
 - d. Unemployed not looking for work
 - e. Retired
 - f. Student
10. What is your level of English?
- a. \geq B2 (in the Netherlands, you have earned at least B2 level by either of the following: you are a native speaker, you passed a language certificate such as TOEFL, you studied on VWO/HAVO/Abitur level, or you follow(ed) an international program)

b. ≤ B1

11. How would you describe your political orientation?

1 = strongly progressive (left-oriented)

2 = moderately progressive (left-oriented)

3 = slightly progressive (left-oriented)

4 = moderate (neutral)

5 = slightly conservative (right-oriented)

6 = moderately conservative (right-oriented)

7 = strongly conservative (right-oriented)

12. How religious do you consider yourself to be?

0 = not at all religious to 6 = very religious

13. Think of this ladder as representing where people stand in the country you have grown up.



At the top of the ladder (10) are the people who are the best off - those who have the most money, the most education, and the most respected jobs.

At the bottom (1) are the people who are the worst off - those who have the least money, the least education, and the least respected jobs or no job.

The higher up you are on this ladder, the closer you are to the people at the very top; the lower you are, the closer you are to the people at the very bottom.

Where would you put yourself on the ladder?

Appendix B

Table 2b

Study 1a: Descriptives for Non-Binary Participants (n = 2)

	HS Scenario	BS Scenario	IS Scenario
Variables	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Intent	6.00 (0.00)	6.00 (0.00)	2.85 (1.64)
Harm	6.00 (0.00)	5.50 (0.71)	4.02 (1.52)
Sexist Behaviour	6.00 (0.00)	5.75 (0.35)	4.17 (1.52)
Sexist Character	6.00 (0.00)	5.50 (0.71)	2.84 (1.62)

Table 2c

Study 1a: Feminist Beliefs for Non-Binary Participants (n =2)

Feminist Beliefs	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
LFAIS	5.65	0.77

Appendix C

Scenarios Study 1b

Hostile Sexism

„Bob, a human resources manager at a big company, sends out an email inviting talented new employees for a training camp to help them become more eligible for promotion to senior management jobs in the company.”

No-Intent – No-Harm. „He accidentally sends the email to the male employees by unintentionally using a mailing list that only includes the male employees. The manager’s assistant notices that the email was only directed to male employees and changes the mailing list to all employees. Female employees end up being included in the invitation and having the opportunity to go to the management training.“

No-Intent – High-Harm. „He accidentally sends the email to the male employees by unintentionally using a mailing list that only includes the male employees. Female employees end up being excluded from the invitation and not having the opportunity to go to the management training.“

High-Intent – No-Harm. „He deliberately sends the email to the male employees by intentionally using a mailing list that only includes the male employees. The manager’s assistant notices that the email was only directed to male employees and changes the mailing list to all employees. Female employees end up being included in the invitation and having the opportunity to go to the management training.“

High-Intent – High-Harm. „He deliberately sends the email to the male employees by intentionally using a mailing list that only includes the male employees. Female employees end up being excluded from the invitation and not having the opportunity to go to the management training.“

Benevolent Sexism

„Tom, a training officer at a big company, sends out an email inviting employees for an extra training course for a new computer program the employees have been briefly shown to use. He thinks that some employees might not have fully understood how to use the program, and he wants to help them with some extra guidance.”

No-Intent – No-Harm. „He accidentally sends the email to the female employees by unintentionally using a mailing list that only includes the female employees. The training officer’s assistant notices that the email was only directed to female employees and changes the mailing list to all employees. All the employees receive the email from the training officer. People know that all employees get invited for the extra training.“

No-Intent – High-Harm. „He accidentally sends the email to the female employees by unintentionally using a mailing list that only includes the female employees. Only female employees receive the email from the training officer. People know that only female employees get invited for the extra training.“

High-Intent – No-Harm. „He deliberately sends the email to the female employees by intentionally using a mailing list that only includes the female employees. The training officer’s assistant notices that the email was only directed to female employees and changes the mailing list to all employees. All the employees receive the email from the training officer. People know that all employees get invited for the extra training.”

High-Intent – High-Harm. „He deliberately sends the email to the female employees by intentionally using a mailing list that only includes the female employees. Only female employees receive the email from the training officer. People know that only female employees get invited for the extra training.“

Implicit Sexism

„John, a counsellor at a big company, puts together a speech for the employees where he is supposed to inform the staff about potential promotions to the manager position. He includes

some quotations in his speech. The quotations refer to employees as “he” and having wives rather than the employees as “he or she” and having spouses.”

No-Intent – No-Harm. „John wants to include everyone in his speech (male and female employees), and he didn’t deliberately refer only to men. The female employees don’t notice him using male pronouns. They feel included by what he said and that they should apply for promotion.“

No-Intent – High-Harm. „John wants to include everyone in his speech (male and female employees), and he didn’t deliberately refer only to men. The female employees notice him using male pronouns. They feel excluded by what he said and that they shouldn’t apply for promotion.“

High-Intent – No-Harm. „John doesn’t want to include everyone in his speech (male and female employees), and he deliberately referred only to men. The female employees don’t notice him using male pronouns. They feel included by what he said and that they should apply for promotion.“

High-Intent – High-Harm. „John doesn’t want to include everyone in his speech (male and female employees), and he deliberately referred only to men. The female employees notice him using male pronouns. They feel excluded by what he said and that they shouldn’t apply for promotion.“

Appendix D

Table 7c

Descriptives of Non-Binary Participants for Each Condition

	No-Intent – High-Harm (<i>n</i> = 0)		No-Intent – No-Harm (<i>n</i> = 1)		High-Intent – High Harm (<i>n</i> = 1)		High-Intent – No-Harm (<i>n</i> = 1)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Hostile Sexism								
Intent	–	–	0.00	–	6.00	–	6.00	–
Harm	–	–	5.00	–	6.00	–	6.00	–
Sexist C	–	–	0.00	–	5.00	–	6.00	–
Sexist B	–	–	0.00	–	5.50	–	6.00	–
Benevolent Sexism								
Intent	–	–	1.00	–	6.00	–	6.00	–
Harm	–	–	5.00	–	4.00	–	6.00	–
Sexist C	–	–	1.00	–	6.00	–	6.00	–
Sexist B	–	–	1.00	–	4.00	–	6.00	–
Implicit Sexism								
Intent	–	–	2.00	–	2.00	–	6.00	–
Harm	–	–	5.00	–	5.00	–	6.00	–
Sexist C	–	–	2.00	–	1.00	–	6.00	–
Sexist B	–	–	3.50	–	3.50	–	6.00	–

Note. Sexist C = Sexist character, Sexist B = Sexist Behaviour.

Table 9b

Descriptives of Non-Binary Participants for the LFAIS

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
LFAIS	6.02	0.23

Note. *n* = 3 preferred not to indicate their gender.