

**Confronting Sexism as a Bystander: Comparing Male and Female Confronters to Unveil
Sexism's Veiled Power Dynamics**

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Abstract

Assertively responding to sexism through interpersonal confrontation can reduce sexism and its corresponding consequences. This study explored whether different ways of responding to sexism and the fact that the confronter is a male or female would lead to different relational outcomes in status and respect, and therefore in the social standing of the confronter. One hundred and thirty male participants were asked to watch a video in which a man makes a sexist remark among three other friends, and in which either a man or a woman responds to this sexist remark. As part of a 2 x 3 between-subjects design, with feminism as an additional moderator, the responses were divided into direct confrontation, humorous confrontation or to just laugh and go along with the sexist remark. The results showed that women who ignore the remark are not respected more when they do not speak up, than when they do confront. The gender of the confronter was of less importance than anticipated. It is therefore important that not only men, but also women keep confronting sexist remarks to try and reduce sexism and its corresponding consequences. In order to confront sexism more effectively, confronters should prefer using direct or blatant confrontation over using humour as a confrontation.

Keywords: gender differences, sexism, confrontation, feminism

Confronting Sexism as a Bystander: Comparing Male and Female Confronters to Unveil Sexism's Veiled Power Dynamics

The Netherlands, as a country, seems progressive when it comes to gender equality. Countless mothers have told their daughters that they have the right to grow up to be anything they wish, and they emphasize the fortunate circumstances of living in a country that enables such possibilities. Yet, there are more CEOs of important Dutch company's named Peter than there are CEO's that are women (Sterk, 2022). Moreover, in the top 10 most asked guests for Dutch talk shows, only 1 is a woman (Takken, 2021). Even the Dutch pay gap between men and woman has barely decreased: men still make 13 percent more money than women (Goudsmit, 2022). Although women have come a long way in the battle for equality, instances of sexism exist, nonetheless.

Women report explicit incidents of sexism as frequently as once or twice a week (Swim & Hyers, 1998). Although women on a daily basis may not experience more blatant forms of sexism or sexual harassment, they are frequently faced with more subtle instances of sexism, such as being the recipient of sexist remarks. Examples of sexist remarks are sentences like: 'Since you're a woman, why don't you take care of the cooking?', 'Women generally drink wine' or 'Is there a male manager of your department present?'. More ambiguous forms like 'I'll take care of the tent, why don't you handle the cooking?' count as sexist remarks also (Swim & Hyers, 1998).

While these may seem innocent, they underline and reinforce the gender inequality in our current society. Gender inequality generally refers to "the greater status and power of men than women that often emerges in the control of women's sexuality and other aspects of their behavior". Attitudes and stereotypes justifying gender inequality and traditional gender roles, are referred to as sexism (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Sexism involves discrimination and/or prejudice based on gender or sex, typically against women. The term has origins in the

feminist movement and refers to the incorrect belief that men are inherently more valuable than women or superior in some way (Glick et al., 2004).

Consequences of this discrimination against women are reported in several studies. There are adverse effects on the health of women and their children in societies with profound sexism (Pennington, 2018). Moreover, sexism causes women to experience increased thoughts of incompetence and decreased feelings of control compared to men (Dardenne et al., 2007; Gervais and Vescio, 2010). It also causes more negative emotions for women than men, including increased anxiety (Spencer et al., 1999) as well as increased anger and decreased hope (Vescio et al., 2005).

Confronting sexism

Assertively responding to sexism through interpersonal confrontation can reduce sexism and its corresponding consequences. Confrontation involves expressing disapproval toward the source of the prejudicial remark (Kaiser & Miller, 2004). Research suggests that confrontations can reduce subsequent gender bias and stereotype framing, commonly found in the social psychology (Burns & Granz, 2021). Furthermore, Czopp, Monteith and Mark (2006) demonstrated that individuals who were confronted about a prejudicial comment were less likely to make a future prejudicial comment (Czopp et al., 2006).

When deciding whether to confront sexism on behalf of themselves, women weigh the perceived costs and benefits (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). For example, Swim and Hyers (1998) found that a woman who confronts an instigator of a sexist remark will have a more positive self-image because she stood up for what she believes in. However, she does risk the chance of being viewed negatively by others (Swim and Hyers, 1998). The women confronting the perpetrator by indicating they find the remark offensive or sexist, risk being labeled as “complainers” or “troublemakers”. This fear may be warranted, as target

individuals who confront prejudice tend to be evaluated negatively by those they confront (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Czopp et al., 2006; Shelton & Stewart, 2004).

The support for this tendency raises the question whether these findings are transferrable to non-target individuals who confront prejudice. Are bystanders also evaluated negatively by those they confront? Little research has examined how other people can be agents of change in prejudice reduction endeavors by confronting people about their prejudiced responses (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). This approach, conforming the bystander effect, shifts the focus of prevention efforts to peers and community members, suggesting that these members can intervene in helpful or prosocial ways as “engaged bystanders” when faced with situations involving sexism (Banyard et al., 2010).

Male or female confronter

An important detail of shifting the confrontation of sexism from the target individuals to bystanders, is the fact that bystanders could also be male. The difference between the confrontation being executed by a male or by a female is therefore important to highlight. From a social identity approach (Tajfel and Turner 1979) we assume that confrontation enacted by an advantaged group member, being men, can be considered as a form of intergroup behavior, which will benefit the case of gender inequality found in sexism. When men, as the advantaged group members, involve themselves in actions against inequality, women not only feel better but also feel empowered to keep fighting against sexism (Estevan-Reina et al., 2021).

Research on men’s confrontations of sexism against women suggests that men experience fewer costs of confronting than women do. Where Czopp and Monteith (2003) found out women weigh the perceived costs and benefits when deciding whether to confront sexism on behalf of themselves or other women, the research also revealed that men, on the other hand, were motivated by the perceived benefit, but not the perceived cost, when

deciding whether to confront sexism (Good et al., 2018). In one study (Eliezer & Major, 2012), male and female participants read about a man or a woman who either expressed sympathy for a female coworker who failed to get funding for a project or claimed that her lack of funding was the result of sexism. In the study, the female coworker didn't get the funding because she, 'like most women', was not assertive enough and may have gotten too emotionally involved. Both men and women who confronted the sexism were seen as complainers to a certain extent, compared to their male and female counterparts who did not confront the sexism. However, men who confronted the sexism were less likely to be perceived as complainers than women who confronted. This result suggests that men's confrontations are perceived more positively than the exact same confrontation delivered by women (Drury and Kaiser, 2014).

Status and Respect

A form of perceived cost or perceived benefit could be the difference in relational outcomes resulting from the confrontation, for example changes in status and respect. Research showed that women respected other women more if they confronted rather than ignored a sexist remark (Dodd et al., 2002). Perhaps when the target of the sexist remark chose to react to the remark, female participants respected her more because she stood up for what she believed in and refused to be taken advantage of, consistent with the conclusions of Swim and Hyers (1998). However, Dodd et al.'s (2002) research also showed that male participants reacted less positively to this behaviour. They presented an unfortunate paradox for women: When faced with sexist remarks, they must choose between being liked and respected by women (by confronting such remarks) or being liked and respected by men (by ignoring such remarks). Other psychological research also states that confronting sexism is difficult because of the dual goals of would-be confronters to reduce sexism while also being liked and respected (Connor et al. 2017; Mallett and Melchiori 2019).

Feminism

In the context of perceiving sexism, feminism is the status delegitimizing ideology that has been examined most frequently (Drury & Kaiser, 2014). Feminism involves ideologies that disavow sexist beliefs and strive to establish equal rights for women (Swim et al., 2001). Swim et al. (2001) demonstrated that men who endorsed feminist beliefs were more aware of sexism. Specifically, the more men recognized that society is biased toward supporting a patriarchy, the more incidents of sexism they reported (Hyers, 2007). In order to confront sexism, it is crucial that a potential confronter first recognizes an action as discriminatory (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008). It could therefore be expected that when men who identify as a feminist to a certain extent, recognize sexism and sexist behaviors and remarks sooner, which could influence their perceptions of confronting sexism or the resulting perceived status and social standing of the person confronting the sexism.

Current study

Our current study aims to examine Dodd et al.'s paradox, namely that men like and respect women who confront sexist remarks less than those who ignore such remarks, with our first hypothesis, H1, being: 'Participants respect women more and perceive women's social standing as higher when they ignore a sexist remark, opposed to when they confront the sexist remark'. The suggestion that men's confrontations are perceived more positively than the exact same confrontation delivered by women is also being investigated in terms of status and respect, with our second hypothesis, H2, being: 'When a man confronts a sexist remark made by another man, he gains more respect and status and his standing is perceived as higher by the participants than when a woman confronts a sexist remark made by a man'. Our third hypothesis, H3, is: 'When participants identify themselves more as a feminist, they will respect women more after confrontation than participants that do not identify themselves as a feminist'. In our current study we will only focus on confrontation by bystanders. The

purpose of the present work was to examine whether the different ways of responding to sexism and the fact that the confronter is a male or female will lead to different relational outcomes in status and respect.

Methods

Participants

The participants in this study were all men above the age of sixteen. Participants that did not finish the questions relevant to our study were excluded. Overall, there was an attrition rate of 0.43 (43%), with 71 participants not finishing the study but dropping out. Participants ranged in age from 17 to 72 years ($M = 25.83$, $SD = 10.44$). The nationality of the participants varied, but most of the participants were either Dutch ($n = 84$) or German ($n = 31$). The final sample of 130 participants ($n = 130$) were either recruited through an online platform called SONA, which is a platform for psychology students on which they can sign up for research studies and earn research participation credits as part of their coursework, or snowballing via social media, online forums and our personal network. The participants recruited through snowballing were given the opportunity to be compensated with the possibility of winning a 15 Euro bol.com voucher. All participants provided informed consent prior to participation in the study.

Design

A 3 (Confrontation: direct confrontation, humorous confrontation, or no confrontation) x 2 (gender of the responder to the sexist remark) between-subject design, with feminism as an additional moderator, was used to explore the social standing of confronters as a function of their response to a sexist remark. The condition in which a humorous confrontation takes place, was used for other intentions. In this study, we will therefore mostly disregard it.

However, considering confronting with humour is still confronting to a certain extent, we checked if our effects were transferrable to the humorous confrontation condition.

In the study, they were asked to watch a video of a group of four young adults, two males and two females, having a conversation about their holidays. Then, one of the two men makes a sexist remark after one of the women mentioned having had a female pilot: “A woman? Most women can’t even drive a car, why is she allowed to fly a plane?”. After they watched the video with the sexist remark, they were distributed in the following different conditions, with the different responses being: (1) a man confronted the sexist comment with humour, (2) a man confronted the sexist comment more directly, (3) a man did not confront the sexist comment but changed the topic, (4) a woman confronted the sexist comment with humour, (5) a woman confronted the sexist comment more directly, or (6) a woman did not confront the sexist comment but changed the topic. The participants were randomly assigned to one of the six experimental conditions. With this, we manipulated the response type and gender of the responder to examine the effects on perceptions of sexism and relational outcomes.

Procedure

Participants were told that the current study was an investigation of ‘communication between young adults’. They were also informed that their participation was voluntary and that their responses would be kept confidential. The participants were asked to complete the study online on their device of choice, in their own personal setting (not in a lab). The study was in English, and it was recommended to use headphones for optimal sound. First, they watched the video in which a man makes a sexist remark. They were instructed to imagine they were the person making that comment. The video lasted for 22 seconds, after which participants were asked to answer questions about the norms and disapproval surrounding the comment and whether they believed the man expressed his true beliefs. Next, the participants

were randomly assigned to the different reactions as experimental conditions (See Appendix A). This was followed by a series of questions about their approval, norms, feminism, personality traits, standing in the group, recognition of sexism, and plausible deniability. The study was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. Participants provided informed consent prior to participation in the study and were debriefed upon completion. The videos of the different responses to the sexist remark can be found here:

Tom joking: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3SFpOrhFWSE&feature=youtu.be>

Tom confronting: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iLZbmC-iJnM>

Tom ignoring: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2X4X2EnkHv0>

Lucy joking: <https://youtu.be/uohxdl-k91g>

Lucy confronting: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XjumQM2ZUnI>

Lucy ignoring: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MqiqWKgJ04o>

Measures

The way the status and respect of the people in the video was measured was based on previous studies from Koudenburg et al. (2013). We combined the status and the respect of the people in the video into one label, namely their social standing in the group. We assessed whether the standing of the person making the sexist comment or hearing/responding to the sexist comment changed during the conversation by means of a 7-point Likert scale. The items were formulated as ‘During the conversation, Lucy’s standing in the group...’, for every person included in the video. So, in this case, not only Lucy’s, but also Paul, Emma and Tom’s changes in their social standing were assessed, where 1 meant the standing had decreased and 7 meant the standing had increased. To examine the differences in the perceived social standing of the confronter, the items about Lucy’s standing in the group and

Tom's standing in the group were combined into the social standing of the confronter. This made it possible to assess the difference in gender.

Feminism was measured by asking to what extent the participant identified as a feminist, with a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = not at all to 7 = very much. Another scale checked if our manipulation worked and if the remarks and reactions were perceived the way it was intended. We compared if the mean of the question 'Lucy confronted/objected to the remark made by Paul' was higher in the confrontation condition compared to our control condition in which they changed the topic after the sexist remark was made. We also compared if the mean of the question 'Lucy changed the topic after the remark Paul made' was higher in the control condition compared to our confrontation condition.

Analysis Plan

The program we used to analyze our data is IBM SPSS Statistics 27. The Likert-scales of the items important for our study were used to analyze the data. Descriptive statistics are provided. The analysis we used is a two-way ANOVA of the gender of the responder and the different response conditions on the social standing of the confronter, with a significance level of $p < 0.05$ and the corresponding 95% CI intervals. A formal power analysis was conducted prior to the study to estimate the required sample size, taking into account the anticipated effect sizes, significance level and desired power level, indicating that we needed 269 participants ($n = 269$). We checked the assumption of normality, independence and homogeneity and they were only partly met. Normality was not met. However, the two-way ANOVA is considered "robust" to violations of normality. This means that some violation of this assumption can be tolerated, so we continued with the analysis to see potential effects. Independence was ensured because we had random sample allocation. Homogeneity was met. The sample was equally distributed to all six conditions ($n = 24, n = 21, n = 22, n = 20, n = 21, n = 22$).

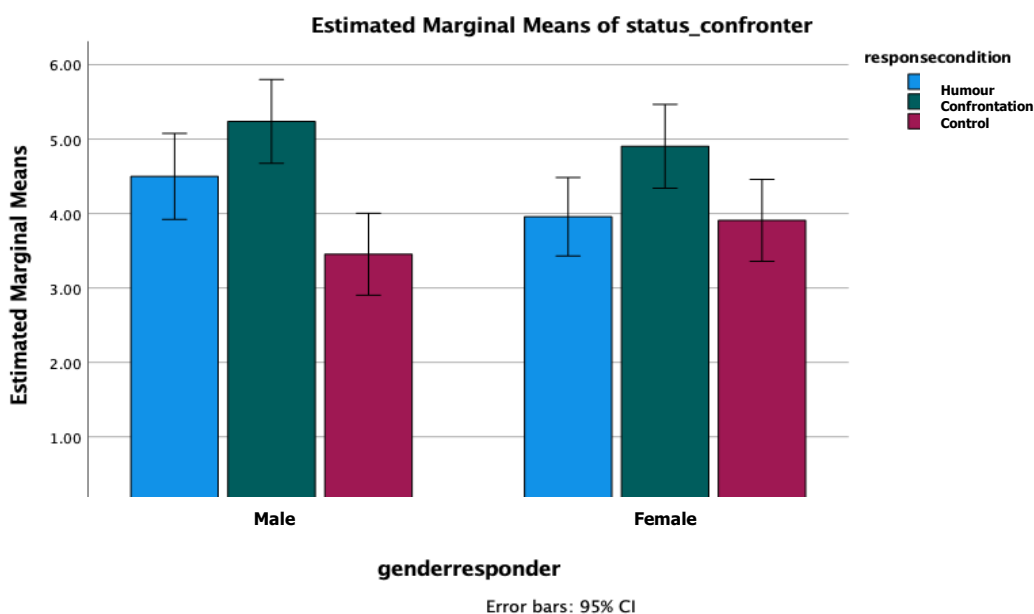
Results

The gender of the responder to the sexist remark was dummy coded into 0 = man and 1 = woman. Some descriptive statistics about the social standing perceived in both male and female confronters are found in table 1. These results are graphically visualized in figure 1.

Table 1 Means and Standard Deviations of the Dependent Variable Social Standing for either Tom or Lucy Confronting.

Gender Confronter	Tom (male)		Lucy (female)	
Response Condition	M	SD	M	SD
Humour	4.50	1.43	3.96	1.27
Confrontation	5.24	1.26	4.90	1.30
Control	3.45	1.41	3.91	1.15

Figure 1 Estimated marginal means for the social standing of the male and female responder to sexism, per response condition



We conducted a manipulation check, which confirmed the effectiveness of our manipulation. Across all conditions, the mean responses for the respective question were consistently higher compared to the other conditions. The results revealed the highest mean response in the confrontation condition ($M = 5.10$), while the mean responses for the humour condition and the control condition showed a lower mean ($M = 2.90$, $M = 2.38$). This also shows that the humorous confrontation may not be manipulated correctly.

We submitted the different responses and the gender of the responder to a univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA). The ANOVA, as well as a simple contrast analysis showed that there was a significant difference between the conditions ($F(2) = 12.348$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.166$), meaning the changes in the social standing of the confronter were significantly different across all the different responses. The simple contrast analysis also shows that the difference between the confrontation condition and the control condition is significant ($p < 0.001$), where the difference between the humour condition and the control condition is only marginally significant ($p = 0.052$). Direct confrontation therefore has a bigger impact on the social standing of the responder than humorous confrontation. There was no significant effect for the gender of the responder ($F(1) = 0.374$, $p = 0.542$, $\eta^2 = 0.003$), indicating that the gender of the responder does not influence the perceived social standing enough to lay out a significantly different pattern. The interaction effect between the gender of the responder and the response condition is also not significant ($F(2) = 1.776$, $p = 0.174$, $\eta^2 = 0.028$). The impact of the response condition on the social standing of the confronter does therefore not vary significantly based on the gender of the responder.

To test our first hypothesis, we also conducted an ANOVA with only Lucy's perceived social standing as the dependent variable ($F(2) = 4.412$, $p = 0.016$, $\eta^2 = 0.121$). A simple contrast analysis showed that the difference between the confrontation condition and the control condition is significant ($p = 0.011$), but in the other direction than we expected

($M_{\text{confrontation}} = 4,90$, $M_{\text{control}} = 3,91$). This indicates that men view the social standing of women who confront sexism as higher than women who ignore sexism.

For examining the moderating role of feminism, we used the PROCESS macro mediation procedure for SPSS by A.F. Hayes (version 4.2). The interaction effect between the different response conditions and feminism was examined, with the social standing of the confronter as outcome variable. For our analysis we used those who scored low in feminism (-1 SD) and those who scored high in feminism (+1 SD), which is provided by the Hayes Macro. There was no interaction effect found between the different response conditions and the resulting social standing of the confronter, with feminism as a moderator ($R^2 = 0,4411$, $F(2,121) = 0,7590$, $p = 0,4703$), for both male confronters ($p = 0,2688$) and female confronters ($p = 0,3341$).

Discussion

Findings

The goal of this study was to examine how men perceive bystanders as a function of their reactions to sexist remark and in what way the gender of the bystander influenced their judgement. The moderating role of feminism was also examined. Taking Dodd et al.'s (2001) paradox into account, we hypothesized that male participants would probably perceive women's social standing as higher when they ignored a sexist remark, opposed to when they confronted a sexist remark. This hypothesis was, however, not supported. The anticipated effect of gender on the perceived social standing of the confronter was also not supported. When a man confronts a sexist remark made by another man, he does not gain more respect or status and his standing is not perceived as higher by the participants than when a woman confronts a sexist remark made by a man. We also didn't find an effect in the moderating role of feminism, which means that when participants identify themselves more as a feminist, they

will not respect women more after confrontation than participants that do not identify themselves as a feminist.

Hypothesis 1 was not supported, because women who ignore the remark are not respected more when they do not speak up, than when they do confront, which refutes the paradox Dodd et al. presented (Dodd et al., 2001). In fact, we found that it is the other way around, women gain status increases from confronting compared to ignoring the sexist remark. Even though it is not what we expected to find, it is a hopeful suggestion, because it contributes to our understanding of the social backlash and perceived costs of confronting sexism for women. A possible explanation for this can be found in Cialdini et al. (1990)'s findings, which found that participants' responses may be driven by injunctive norms about socially appropriate behaviour, in which you *should* confront sexism (Cialdini et al., 1990). Especially after the #MeToo movement and the forthcoming relevancy of sexism, the prevalence of confronting sexism may have increased, which encourages greater support for confrontation (Kawakami et al., 2019). The perceived costs of confronting sexism may therefore, in our current society, be lower than women might expect.

Our second hypothesis was also not supported, because our interaction effect of gender between the different responses and the social standing of the responder is not significant. The different responses were, however, significantly different, so direct confrontation, humorous confrontation and no confrontation all result in different relational outcomes involving status and respect. However, no difference could be based on the gender of the responder. Where other researchers revealed that men's confrontations are perceived more positively than the exact same confrontation delivered by women (Drury and Kaiser, 2014; Eliezer & Major, 2012; Dodd et al., 2002), this was not the case in our study. Our research didn't replicate the effect we hypothesized based on what other studies suggested, namely that men may have viewed men who confronted as more legitimate and higher in their

social standing than women (Drury and Kaiser, 2014). Once again, even though it is not what we expected to find, it is another hopeful suggestion. Women commonly feel like they need men to fight their battles because of the feelings of incompetence resulting from sexist endeavors (Gervais et al., 2010). Our findings, however, suggest that women, when faced with a sexist remark, do not have to choose between being respected by women (by confronting such remarks) or being respected by men (by ignoring such remarks), because men respect them all the same, if not more highly after confronting a sexist remark.

Surprisingly, the effect between a humorous confrontation and ignoring the sexist remark was only marginally significant. It therefore suggests that there may be some evidence of an effect in the social standing of the responder, but it does not meet the conventional threshold for statistical significance. Using a humorous confrontation or ignoring the sexist remark may therefore not differ enough to report a different effect in the social standing of the responder. Woodzicka et al. (2020) already revealed that humorous confrontation is not nearly as effective as more direct challenges of sexism (Woodzicka et al., 2020). Saucier et al. (2020) even found that women, but also men, perceived responders as more sexist when they responded with amusement to hearing sexist jokes. In expressing amusement in the form of a humorous reaction, the responder's reaction may have conveyed that they did not perceive prejudice (Saucier et al., 2020). In order to confront sexism more effectively, confronters therefore should prefer using direct or blatant confrontation over using humour as a confrontation. This could possibly, according to our findings, result in a higher social standing. However, our manipulation check revealed that our humorous confrontation may not be manipulated correctly, which could dilute or amplify the effect that we found, considering it is only marginally significant. Future research should further explore this effect, in order to make concrete statements about the potential application of our research.

According to our third hypothesis, it was expected that when participants identify more as a feminist, they will respect women more after confrontation than participants that do not identify themselves as a feminist. Once again, the interaction effect was not significant, which indicates that men don't necessarily have to identify as a feminist to view women confronting sexism as high in her social standing, or to respect her as a woman who stands up for herself. A sidenote that could be made here is that there also may be certain groups of men who are more likely to reject legitimizing beliefs and thus perceive the social standing of female confronters as higher, even though they do not identify as a feminist. For example, men who experience unfair treatment as a result of another social identity (e.g., race, sexual orientation, etc.) may be more attuned to differential treatment of groups and thus more likely to reject legitimizing beliefs (Drury & Kaiser, 2014). This phenomenon troubles the moderating effect of our moderator feminism. For the time being, we can conclude that feminism does not moderate the effect between our different responses and the social standing of the responder.

Strengths, limitations and future research

Altogether, our findings are promising when it comes to fighting sexism and its corresponding consequences. Where other studies suggested that men's confrontations are perceived more positively than the exact same confrontation delivered by women, we found that this was not the case in the perceived social standing examined in our study. In the battle against sexism women are therefore more powerful in confronting than they may have previously thought. Our study could therefore be viewed as a critical claim against the already existing literature, as it provides support for more power, status and respect in women who confront sexism. In addition to examining the relationship between gender and the different responses to a sexist remark, this study also incorporated a moderating variable. This represents a step towards investigating potential factors that could influence this relationship,

facilitating and understanding of the relationships and the processes involved. Identifying these factors is crucial for the understanding of interventions when it comes to a societal problem like sexism. Finally, this research contributes to raising awareness about sexism and its corresponding consequences and implications. Informing people about these topics promotes increased attention, understanding, acceptance and ultimately, more research and education about the relevant topic of sexism.

It should, however, be acknowledged that although the results of the present study are promising, there are limitations that could profitably be addressed in future research. Firstly, it is important to note that the use of our limited SONA-pool and snowball sampling method potentially limits the generalizability of our findings. This approach resulted in a relatively young and homogeneous sample, which limits our ability to draw conclusions that apply to a broader population. A more diverse sample with different racial and ethnic groups could, for example, lay out the interaction effect of feminism better, considering there might be participants who experience unfair treatment themselves because of their racial and ethnic group, whom may be more attuned to differential treatment of groups altogether (Drury and Kaiser, 2014). It is also commonly known that individuals of different generations, have different perspectives on societal problems like sexism. Our young sample may therefore give a distorted picture on how sexism is commonly perceived. However, our young sample can also possibly give a modern view of sexism, considering they might be the “new generation” when it comes to socially relevant themes like sexism. Moreover, the video that we used in the study included four relatively young people talking about their holiday, which may be more relevant to younger participants than older participants in terms of applicability. However, to enhance the external validity of future studies, it is advisable to include participants from different racial and ethnic groups, as well as a more diverse age range.

Secondly, self-reports on how the participant perceived things and their corresponding beliefs and ideology's do not necessarily predict actual behaviour. Additionally, the use of a video-scenario may not have fully captured the intricacies and complexities of real-world social interactions involving sexist remarks. For example, the setting between four friends discussing their holiday may not be applicable to all participants, which affects the generalizability to real life scenarios. Also, after conducting the sample for relevant data for our research, many participants needed to be excluded. The exclusion of participants due to missing or incomplete data resulted in a smaller sample size, which may have compromised the statistical power of the research. Our initial power analysis indicated that we needed 269 participants, but after attrition only 130 participants remained. Marginal significant findings, for example on the difference between our humorous condition and our control condition, might have gotten significance if the study's power was higher.

Future research could try and take the limitations of our study into account. Including members of other racial and ethnic groups and a more diverse age group could give more insight into the different demographics influencing confronting sexism. Moreover, future research could dive into using humour as confrontation and its differences in effects on the social standing of the responder. This was not something we focused on in our study, but it has promising indications for future research. Future research could furthermore explore the different moderating variables that influence confronting sexism, in order to make concrete statements about the potential application of our research.

In closing, it is imperative that men as well as women keep on confronting sexist remarks as a first step toward ending sexism, even just as a bystander. Women who ignore the remark are not respected more when they do not speak up, than when they do confront. It is the other way around, indicating that the end of the Dodd paradox has come. More specifically: women gain status increases from confronting compared to ignoring sexism.

There is greater support for confrontation and the perceived costs of confronting sexism may therefore be lower than women expect. Moreover, men's confrontations are not perceived more positively than the exact same confrontation delivered by women. However, in order to effectively confront sexism, women should prefer using direct confrontation over using humour as a confrontation. Feminism did not play a moderating role in understanding the relationship between our different responses and the social standing of the responder. Future research could try to find other moderating variables to better understand the link between confronting sexism and its corresponding consequences for the power dynamics involved in sexist remarks.

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Appendix A

Conversation in Which the Sexist Remark was Confronted by either Lucy (woman) or Tom (man):

Lucy: So, how was your trip back home?

Emma: It was good, actually. The pilot told us that we were, at that moment, flying in the fastest passenger plane that ever existed. She told us that we were flying 930 kilometers per hour.

Paul: She? A woman? Most women can't even drive a car, why is she allowed to fly a plane?

Lucy or Tom: That is such an old stereotype. Yes, there are female pilots.

Conversation in Which the Sexist Remark was Confronted with Humour by either Lucy (woman) or Tom (man):

Lucy: So how was your trip back home?

Emma: It was good, actually. The pilot told us that we were, at that moment, flying in the fastest passenger plane that ever existed. She told us that we were flying 930 kilometers per hour.

Paul: She? A woman? Most women can't even drive a car, why is she allowed to fly a plane?

Lucy or Tom: (in a sarcastic tone) Whoa, a female pilot? And somehow, they all survived.

Conversation in Which the Sexist Remark was Ignored by the Other People Involved in the Conversation (control condition):

Lucy: So how was your trip back home?

Emma: It was good, actually. The pilot told us that we were, at that moment, flying in the fastest passenger plane that ever existed. She told us that we were flying 930 kilometers per hour.

Paul: She? A woman? Most women can't even drive a car, why is she allowed to fly a plane?

Lucy/Tom/Emma: *ignore the remark/laugh along/change the subject*