**Tesis Doctoral**

# EL PAPEL DE LOS HOMBRES COMO ALIADOS CONTRA EL SEXISMO

## THE ROLE OF MEN AS ALLIES AGAINST SEXISM

Programa de Doctorado en Psicología

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Overview / Resumen ..... 11

Introducción / Introduction ..... 19

1. Desigualdad de género y formas de resistencia.....21

1.1. Las ideologías en el mantenimiento y desmantelamiento de la desigualdad género.....23

1.2. Estrategias para el cambio social: acciones colectivas y confrontación del sexismo .....28

2. El papel de los hombres como aliados contra el sexismo. .....35

2.1. Los grupos aventajados en la lucha contra la desigualdad .....36

2.2. Diferentes aproximaciones al concepto de aliado.....44

2.3. Los hombres como aliados contra el sexismo: ideología y motivaciones.....47

2.4. Los aliados desde la perspectiva de las mujeres.....50

Referencias.....59

Capítulo 2. Objetivos / Aims ..... 71

Capítulo 3. Feminist or Paternalistic: Understanding Men's Motivations to Confront Sexism ..... 75

Abstract.....77

Study 1 .....83

Method .....83

Results.....88

Discussion .....92

Study 2 .....93

Method .....94

Results.....97

Discussion ..... 101

Study 3 ..... 102
Method ..... 102
Results ..... 105
Discussion ..... 109
Pooled Analyses ..... 109
General Discussion ..... 113
References ..... 119
Capítulo 4. Allies Against Sexism: The Impact of Feminist and Nonfeminist Male Confrontation on Women's Empowerment and Well-Being ..... 127
Abstract ..... 129
Pilot Study ..... 139
Study 1 ..... 140
Method ..... 141
Results ..... 144
Discussion ..... 148
Studies 2 and 3 ..... 150
Method ..... 151
Results ..... 154
Pooled Analyses of Studies 1, 2, and 3 ..... 161
General Discussion ..... 163
References ..... 170

Capítulo 5. What does it mean to be an ally from the target's perspective? Women's perception of men confronters of sexism ..... 177

Abstract ..... 179

Study 1 ..... 185

Method ..... 186

Results ..... 189

Discussion ..... 193

Study 2 ..... 194

Method ..... 195

Results ..... 198

Discussion ..... 207

General discussion ..... 208

References ..... 213

Capítulo 6: Discusión General / General Discussion ..... 217

Referencias ..... 231

# Overview

## Resumen

Gender inequality is still a pervasive problem in our societies; even though evident progress has been achieved, there is still a long way to go (Morgenroth & Ryan, 2018). The socio-psychological study of the fight against this and other inequalities has been traditionally focused on the targets of discrimination, because they are the ones concerned with improving their positions in society (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990). However, during the last decades the relevance of advantaged group members who fight against inequality is gaining attention in our field. In the context of gender inequality, more and more voices encourage men to become women's allies against sexism. But there are also voices that oppose it or express reluctance. Although confronting sexism offers men a good opportunity to become allies (Drury & Kaiser, 2014), intergroup relations literature confirms the need to be cautious when incorporating them in the fight against gender inequality. Although members of dominant groups can act on behalf of disadvantaged people, this intervention does not guarantee to achieve social change. On the contrary, they may even reinforce inequality and undermine disadvantaged group members resistance, especially when they ignore power asymmetries that define intergroup relations (Nadler, 2002; Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto 2009; Wright & Lubensky, 2008). Nevertheless, if advantaged groups members acknowledge the existence of power relations and clearly oppose to them, they can become supportive for disadvantaged groups and help to promote social change (Droogendyck, Louis, & Wright, 2016).

In this doctoral dissertation, we study which conditions must be fulfilled for men to become women's allies against sexism and promote real social change. To answer this question, we have set three specific objectives: (1) To understand why men get involved in confronting sexism; to this aim, we analyze different motivational processes that lead

men to confront a sexist situation. (2) To study the consequences of different types of male sexism confrontation for women's well-being and empowerment. (3) To analyze when women perceive men as allies, the implications of such perceptions in interpersonal and intergroup terms and their underlying mechanisms.

This thesis is structured in six chapters. The first introductory chapter (written in Spanish) provides a review of the most relevant theoretical concepts to contextualize the empirical work that we will develop later. Specifically, we contextualize gender inequality and analyze the most common forms of resistance against it. First of all, we review the role of sexism as an ideology that legitimizes inequality and feminism as a delegitimizing ideology that challenges it. Then we address the concept of social change by extending its limits beyond collective action and highlighting the importance of confronting sexism as a form of resistance.

In the second part of the introduction, we address the literature directly relevant to understand the role of men as women's allies against sexism, which is the aim of this thesis. First, we analyze how social psychology explains the involvement of members of privileged groups in the fight against inequality in general. Next, we review some of the risks of incorporating members of advantageous groups in this endeavor from the disadvantaged groups' perspective. We discuss the concept of "ally", highlighting the importance of uncovering the underlying motivations in order to distinguish allies that promote social change from those that perpetuate the status quo. Specifically, we review the role that ideologies can play in driving men to confront sexism (feminism and benevolent sexism) and we argue about the egalitarian and paternalistic motives that are triggered by such ideologies and promote reactions to sexism. Then, we highlight the

importance of knowing the consequences of different types of male sexism confrontation (feminist vs. non-feminist) on women, at the individual (empowerment and well-being) and interpersonal/intergroup level (future intentions to confront sexism). Finally, we discuss to what extent women perceive men as allies and its implications on interpersonal and intergroup gender relations, highlighting the role of motivations attributed to the confronters and perceived power difference as explanatory mechanisms.

Chapter 2 (in Spanish) summarizes the main goals of this thesis: *why* men confront sexism; *what* are the consequences of such male confrontation on women; and *when* do women perceive men as allies.

The empirical part of this thesis consists of eight studies organized in three papers. They conform Chapters 3-5, all written in English. Chapter 3 includes three studies conducted with men, that confirm the existence of two different paths that can lead them to be involved in sexism confrontation: a feminist and a paternalistic path. Men high in benevolent sexism are more willing to confront sexism for paternalistic reasons, whereas men high in feminist identification are more likely to confront sexism for egalitarian reasons. Further, in this paper we show the potential of the feminist path beyond the paternalistic one in predicting men's support for social change in terms of intentions to participate in collective actions, and interest and involvement in *Men for Equity* movement. These findings, therefore, show the importance of considering the underlying motivations of men to confront sexism in order to identify who are the true allies.

In Chapter 4, we report three empirical studies conducted in Spain, Germany and Mexico in order to know the consequences for women of men confronting sexism in a feminist vs. nonfeminist style. In these three different cultural contexts, female

participants experienced more empowerment and well-being (more happiness and less anger) after being exposed to men's feminist versus nonfeminist sexism confrontation. At the intergroup level, the more empowerment that women experienced after male feminist confrontation the more they express future intentions to confront sexism. We also found that women's anger after nonfeminist confrontation lead them to express greater intentions to confront in the future, what might be interpreted as resistance toward paternalism. So, after these three studies, we suggest that male feminist confronters are better allies for women, because they not only empower women but also motivate them to keep fighting.

Chapter 5 includes two empirical studies conducted with female participants to analyze when they perceive men as allies, depending on the type of confrontation. The results of both studies showed that women perceived feminist (vs. nonfeminist) men confronters as better allies. They also expressed more desire to be socially close to them and expect from them more collective action intentions against sexism. Besides, we showed that the perception of confronters as allies was driving these effects at the interpersonal and intergroup level. Further, this work revealed the prominent role of attributed egalitarian motivations and reduced power difference in the perception of feminist confronters as allies. Thus, we conclude that ally perception has important implications for gender relations not only at an interpersonal but also at an intergroup level. These findings also offer a new perspective from which intergroup allyship must be approached: the target's perspective.

Finally, in Chapter 6 we summarize the main findings of this thesis, we discuss them in the context of previous literature; we also make some reflections about the

implications of our findings, the limitations of our work, and propose some ideas for future research.

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# Capítulo 1:

## Introducción / Introduction

## 1. Desigualdad de género y formas de resistencia.

En las últimas décadas el movimiento feminista ha contribuido sustancialmente a mejorar la vida de las mujeres a través de la conquista de un conjunto amplio de derechos (derecho al sufragio, propiedad de la tierra, participación política, anticoncepción, independencia económica, trabajo remunerado, etc.). Sin embargo, todavía queda un largo camino por recorrer. Citaremos tan solo algunos ejemplos que lo ilustran. Según la Organización Mundial de la Salud, una de cada tres mujeres en el mundo ha sufrido violencia física o sexual por parte de algún compañero sentimental a lo largo de su vida (WHO, 2013). Aunque las mujeres se han incorporado al mercado laboral, ganan de media un 24% menos que sus compañeros por realizar el mismo trabajo (ONU Mujeres, 2015). Además dicha incorporación no ha ido acompañada de un reparto equitativo de las tareas domésticas en los hogares, como pone de manifiesto el hecho de que ellas sigan realizando 2,5 veces más trabajo doméstico que sus compañeros (ONU Mujeres, 2015). Si bien en los países occidentales la brecha de género en acceso a la educación prácticamente ha desaparecido, dos terceras partes de la población mundial que sigue sin alfabetizar son mujeres (UNESCO, 2016). Así mismo, el poder económico y político sigue estando mayoritariamente en manos de los hombres: menos del 15% de las mujeres poseen tierra en propiedad (FAO, 2018) y sólo el 24% de los escaños en los parlamentos están ocupados por mujeres (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019).

Más allá de los indicadores macro que nos permiten conocer el impacto de la desigualdad de género a nivel mundial, ésta también se expresa a través del sexismo que experimentan las mujeres en su vida diaria. Por ejemplo, Swim, Hyers, Cohen, y Ferguson (2001) en una serie de estudios con población universitaria, documentaron que las

mujeres sufrían una media de entre 1-2 situaciones sexistas a la semana, normalmente en forma de comentarios estereotípicos o sobre los roles que deberían desempeñar; actitudes degradantes y despectivas (bromas, chistes, lenguaje sexista, actitudes negativas hacia la igualdad); o cosificación sexual. Todas ellas pueden proceder tanto de personas con las que se tiene algún grado de familiaridad como de personas desconocidas (Ayres, Friedman, y Leaper, 2009). Si bien a menudo se les resta importancia, afectan negativamente al bienestar de las mujeres, provocando en ellas entre otras consecuencias, sentimientos de ira, depresión y baja autoestima (Swim et al., 2001).

Históricamente las mujeres han sido, sin duda, las protagonistas principales de la lucha frente a todas las desigualdades de género. Sin embargo, al igual que en otras desigualdades sociales, los miembros de los grupos aventajados pueden realizar acciones en beneficio o en nombre del grupo desaventajado. El papel de los hombres como aliados contra el sexismo es un tema que recientemente ha suscitado interés desde una perspectiva psicosocial (Cihangir, Barreto, y Ellemers, 20014; Drury y Kaiser, 2014), pero que también despierta suspicacias (Good, Sanchez, y Moss-Racusin, 2018; Radke, Hornsey, y Barlow, 2018; Shnabel, Bar-Anan, Kende, Bareket, y Lazar, 2016). Esta tesis doctoral aborda justamente este asunto, que será tratado con profundidad en la segunda parte de este Capítulo. Pero para llegar ahí, en primer lugar revisaremos la importancia de las ideologías como sustento o azote de las desigualdades de género. Hablaremos del papel de la identidad social en los procesos de cambio social y, en concreto, de la relevancia de la identidad feminista que, como identidad politizada, puede predecir la posición no solo de las mujeres sino también de los hombres ante la desigualdad intergrupal. Finalmente abordaremos la confrontación del sexismo y las acciones

colectivas contra la desigualdad de género, como herramientas que mujeres y también hombres pueden utilizar para conseguir ese cambio.

## 1.1. Las ideologías en el mantenimiento y desmantelamiento de la desigualdad de género

Pratto y Walker (2004) identificaron cuatro aspectos que contribuyen a explicar las relaciones de poder entre hombres y mujeres: la fuerza (el uso de la misma o la mera amenaza de ejercerla), el control sobre los recursos (materiales, económicos), las ideologías (que justifican la desigualdad y por tanto garantizan la perpetuación del status quo) y las obligaciones sociales (que incluyen entre otros aspectos el cuidado de menores y personas dependientes, las tareas domésticas y el mantenimiento de las relaciones interpersonales). Según estas autoras, las tres primeras bases de poder son comunes a otro tipo de relaciones de dominación. Mientras que las obligaciones sociales, en cambio, es una fuente de poder que emerge fruto de la interdependencia que define las relaciones de género. La desigualdad entre hombres y mujeres surge de la asimetría de poder que se establece en torno a cada una de estas bases y se mantiene gracias a la relación dinámica que existe entre ellas. Las cuatro bases de poder son socialmente construidas y se retroalimentan entre sí, contribuyendo a perpetuar la división sexual del trabajo (productivo vs. reproductivo) que constituye la base material sobre la que se ha sustentado históricamente la desigualdad entre hombres y mujeres. Sin embargo, desde el punto de vista de la Psicología Social, la ideología merece una mención especial.

La ideología se define como el conjunto de actitudes, creencias y valores compartidos por un grupo humano en un contexto cultural determinado (Sidanius y Pratto, 1999). La Teoría de la Dominancia Social diferencia entre las ideologías que

contribuyen a legitimar la desigualdad y las que contribuyen a atenuarla (Pratto, Sidanius, y Levin, 2006). Según esta teoría, en general, los grupos dominantes tienden a respaldar más las ideologías que legitiman la desigualdad como forma de conservar sur privilegios y los grupos subordinados las ideologías que tienden a desafiarla, como forma de mejorar su situación. Sin embargo, estas autoras y autores reconocen la ideología como una herramienta de control social en manos de los grupos poderosos, con lo que asumen que las ideologías que legitiman la desigualdad tienden a imponerse frente a las que tratan de combatirla. En este trabajo reconocemos la importancia de las primeras, pero también destacamos el papel de las segundas como herramienta para el cambio social.

En el caso del género, el patriarcado además de ser una estructura social basada en la dominación de los hombres sobre las mujeres, también es la ideología que sustenta dicha estructura (Puleo, 1995). En íntima relación con el concepto de patriarcado, el sexismo vendría definido por el conjunto de actitudes, creencias y comportamientos que promueven o perpetúan la desigualdad existente entre hombres y mujeres (Swim y Hyers, 2009). Por tanto, el sexismo funcionaría como un elemento importante de la ideología patriarcal que legitima la desigualdad. La Teoría del Sexismo Ambivalente (Glick y Fiske, 1996) entiende el sexismo como un tipo especial de prejuicio caracterizado por cierta ambivalencia que permite que las mujeres sean denostadas y admiradas al mismo tiempo. Por esta razón, esta teoría propone la coexistencia de dos formas de sexismo: el sexismo hostil y el sexismo benévolo. El *sexismo hostil* se relaciona con la visión tradicional del sexismo, caracterizada por una antipatía hacia las mujeres basada en el reconocimiento de éstas como inferiores (que se corresponde con la definición clásica de prejuicio; Allport, 1954), mientras que el *sexismo benévolo* se relaciona con una visión positiva de la mujer, aunque estereotipada y limitada a ciertos roles, que promueve

comportamientos típicamente categorizados como prosociales o de búsqueda de intimidad. Glick y Fiske (1996) diferencian tres aspectos que definen las relaciones asimétricas entre hombres y mujeres y en las que se evidencia la naturaleza ambivalente de las mismas. El primer aspecto es el poder social que ejercen los hombres sobre las mujeres, que se expresa a través del *paternalismo (dominante o protector)*. El segundo aspecto es la identidad de género, que permite la atribución de diferentes roles a hombres y mujeres en la sociedad y se basa en la existencia de *diferencias de género (competitivas o complementarias)*. Y el último aspecto tiene que ver con la sexualidad, manifestado a través de las relaciones heterosexuales (*hostilidad heterosexual o intimidad heterosexual*). De esta manera la teoría del Sexismo Ambivalente integraría la conocida diferenciación entre patriarcado de dominación o coerción y patriarcado de consentimiento (Puleo, 1995).

La prevalencia de ambas formas de sexismo así como la relación positiva entre ellas ha sido puesta de manifiesto en un amplio conjunto de países (Glick et al., 2000; 2004). Esta complementariedad constituye un potente sistema de recompensas y castigos que favorece la subordinación de las mujeres y el mantenimiento del status quo. Por ejemplo, estos sistemas complementarios garantizan que las mujeres se ajusten a los roles de género tradicionales. Las mujeres que respetan las relaciones de género tradicionales (amas de casa, esposas, madres, hijas) son tratadas con benevolencia (son protegidas, cuidadas y puestas en un pedestal) mientras que quienes desafían el poder de los hombres (feministas, mujeres trabajadoras, en puestos de liderazgo, lesbianas, seductoras) son tratadas con hostilidad (Glick y Fiske, 2001). La literatura ha puesto ampliamente de manifiesto la relación entre el sexismo benévolo y la justificación de diferentes formas de violencia contra las mujeres (e.g., Durán, Moya, y Megías, 2014;

Marques-Fagundes, Megías, García-García, y Petkanopoulou, 2015), así como el efecto pernicioso del sexismo benévolo comparado con el sexismo hostil en el mantenimiento de la desigualdad de género. Por ejemplo, sabemos que la exposición al sexismo benévolo en comparación con la exposición al sexismo hostil se relaciona en mayor medida con la justificación del sistema (Jost y Kay, 2005), con la aceptación de restricciones por parte de la pareja (Moya, Glick, Expósito, de Lemus, y Hart, 2007) y con una reducción de las intenciones de participar en acciones colectivas por parte de las mujeres (Becker y Wright, 2011). Sin embargo, las personas con creencias sexistas benévolas se perciben de manera más positiva que las personas con creencias hostiles, lo cual dificulta que se las identifique como sexistas (Barreto y Ellemers, 2005).

En clara oposición al sexismo que sostiene a la ideología patriarcal, la ideología feminista "plantea que las diferencias de género son fundamentalmente de carácter social y los roles, tareas y funciones que pueden desempeñar las mujeres son esencialmente las mismas que las de los varones" (Ferrer, 2017, p.167). El feminismo se erige como una teoría política y práctica social basada en la justicia, pero también como una forma de estar en el mundo, que implica tomar conciencia de las discriminaciones que sufren las mujeres y organizarse para acabar con ellas como forma de transformar la sociedad (Varela, 2008). Si bien el estudio del feminismo desde la psicología social no ha suscitado el mismo interés que el estudio del sexismo, algunas autoras han realizado importantes aportaciones en este sentido. Por ejemplo, a nivel individual se ha encontrado que las mujeres con moderados o fuertes valores feministas experimentan mayores niveles de bienestar en relación a la autonomía, el crecimiento personal y a tener un objetivo en la vida, que las que se adhieren a valores tradicionales (Yakushko, 2007). A nivel interpersonal, sabemos por ejemplo que una mayor identificación de las

mujeres con el feminismo, se relaciona con mayores expectativas de relaciones de pareja igualitarias, así como con mayor asertividad sexual entendida como menor probabilidad de verse implicadas en prácticas sexuales de riesgo o no deseadas (Yoder, Perry, y Saal, 2007).

Pero, sin duda, las mayores contribuciones de la psicología social al estudio del feminismo tienen que ver con el análisis de sus implicaciones en las relaciones intergrupales. Las líneas de investigación más fructíferas son dos: por un lado, la que ha tratado de entender el desarrollo de la identidad feminista y la conciencia de género y, por otro, la que ha abordado las diferencias entre adherirse a actitudes feministas e identificarse como tal. La primera línea ha puesto de manifiesto que el desarrollo de la identidad feminista es un proceso de toma de conciencia colectiva, en el que las experiencias individuales juegan un papel fundamental, que lleva en última instancia a las mujeres a implicarse en el cambio social (Downing y Rush, 1985; Duncan, 1999; Gurin, 1985; Nelson et al., 2008). La segunda línea de investigación, por su parte, señala que si bien las creencias y actitudes feministas han demostrado amortiguar los efectos negativos del sexismo en la vida de las mujeres, la identificación feminista constituye el mejor predictor del cambio social, incluso más allá del papel jugado por las experiencias individuales y la identidad de género (Liss, Crawford, y Popp, 2004; Nelson et al., 2008; Van Breen, Spears, Kuppens, y de Lemus, 2017; Zucker, 2004; Zucker y Bay-Cheng, 2010).

Esta capacidad notable de la identidad feminista para el cambio social posiblemente se deba a que se trata de una *identidad colectiva politizada*. Simon y Klandermans (2001) basándose en tres conceptos clave en el estudio de la psicología social en general y de la acción colectiva en particular (identidad colectiva, la lucha por el

poder y el contexto social), propusieron el Modelo Triangular de la Identidad Politizada. Según dicho modelo, la politización de la identidad se produce en un proceso gradual que incluye tres etapas. En primer lugar, se requiere una toma de conciencia sobre la situación de desventaja compartida entre los miembros de un grupo; en segundo lugar, la atribución de la responsabilidad de dicha situación a un enemigo externo (un grupo específico, la autoridad, el sistema); y por último, la implicación del resto de la sociedad en la lucha de poder, forzando a que se posicione con una de las dos partes. De acuerdo con estos autores, este último paso es importante, ya que la identidad colectiva politizada no sólo debe motivar la acción colectiva dirigida contra el grupo en conflicto, sino también implicar a otros sectores de la sociedad que a su vez pueden actuar como potenciales aliados.

Tanto el sexismo como el feminismo, en tanto que ideologías que legitiman o atenúan la desigualdad, pueden ser en mayor o menor medida aceptadas e interiorizadas por todas las personas, independientemente de su género. Por tanto, cabe pensar que el grado de adhesión al sexismo y la identificación de los hombres con el feminismo desempeñarán una función relevante a la hora de entender la implicación de los hombres en la lucha contra el sexismo.

### 1.2. Estrategias para el cambio social: acciones colectivas y confrontación del sexismo

Definimos cambio social como el conjunto de estrategias (individuales y colectivas) cuyo objetivo es alcanzar una mayor igualdad social, lo cual pasa necesariamente por desafiar las condiciones socioestructurales que mantienen las diferencias de poder/estatus entre diferentes grupos sociales (de Lemus y Stroebe, 2015). Por tanto, son varias las formas en las que mujeres y hombres pueden implicarse en la lucha contra la

desigualdad de género. Implicarse en acciones colectivas por los derechos de las mujeres y comprometerse activamente en la confrontación del sexismo en la vida cotidiana, son posiblemente las dos manifestaciones más evidentes en las que los hombres pueden actuar como aliados. A continuación introduciremos ambas estrategias como instrumentos para el cambio social desde el punto de vista de las mujeres. Posteriormente, en la segunda parte de este capítulo abordaremos su uso estratégico por parte de los hombres.

### *1.1.1. Breve aproximación al estudio de las acciones colectivas*

Se definen como acciones colectivas las llevadas a cabo bien por una persona o un grupo en favor de los intereses de un grupo determinado, para tratar de mejorar su situación (van Zomeren y Iyer, 2009; Wright, Taylor, y Moghaddam, 1990). Por tanto, la firma de peticiones, acciones de insumisión, autoinculpaciones, etc., también pueden ser consideradas acciones colectivas aunque sean llevadas a cabo de manera individual. Tras realizar un metaanálisis, van Zomeren, Postmes, y Spears (2008) identificaron tres variables fundamentales que predicen las intenciones de participar en acciones colectivas: la *injusticia percibida, la eficacia grupal y la identidad social.* Partiendo de estas tres variables recurrentes en el estudio de la acción colectiva, estos autores propusieron un modelo integrador: el Modelo de la Identidad Social de la Acción Colectiva (SIMCA). Poco tiempo después, incorporaron en el modelo las convicciones morales (van Zomeren, Postmes, Spears, y Bettache, 2011; van Zomeren, Postmes, y Spears, 2012), como un elemento importante a la hora de explicar la implicación en acciones colectivas como herramienta de cambio social, no sólo por parte de los grupos desaventajados sino también de los grupos aventajados.

El concepto de *injusticia percibida* procede de la Teoría de la Deprivación Relativa (para revisión, ver Walker y Smith, 2002). Según dicha teoría, para que la acción colectiva se produzca, en primer lugar tiene que percibirse la situación de desventaja. Esto permite entender por qué la existencia de la desigualdad en sí misma no desencadena de manera automática la acción. Y en segundo lugar, dicha desigualdad tiene que ser percibida como injusta; de hecho, justificar la desigualdad o aceptar ideologías que la legitiman, se relaciona con la perpetuación del status quo y por tanto con la inacción (Jost y Banaji, 1994; Sidanius y Pratto, 1999). Según la Teoría de la Deprivación Relativa, la experiencia subjetiva de desventaja que se percibe como injusta puede desencadenar la acción colectiva. Las teorías de la emoción basadas en el appraisal (Lazarus, 1991) destacan que la ira se relaciona con la percepción de injusticia, lo cual puede llevar a las personas a actuar (ruta de afrontamiento basada en la emoción). Así pues, la ira experimentada en términos grupales se ha estudiado como una variable que media la relación entre la injusticia percibida y la acción colectiva (van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, y Leach, 2004).

La *eficacia grupal* hace referencia a que las personas se implicarán en acciones colectivas si creen que esto les permitirá alcanzar sus objetivos (ruta de afrontamiento basada en el problema; Lazarus, 1991). La eficacia grupal se define como el conjunto de creencias según las cuales un grupo puede hacer frente a su situación de desventaja compartida uniendo sus esfuerzos (Bandura, 1995). La eficacia ha demostrado ser un importante predictor de la acción colectiva (van Zomeren et al., 2004) y a menudo se ha relacionado con el proceso de empoderamiento, ya que la eficacia grupal proporciona un sentimiento de fuerza o poder colectivo que hace creer a las personas que son capaces de transformar la situación y el destino del grupo (Drury y Reicher, 2005).

La *identidad social* es la parte del autoconcepto que nos define en función de los grupos sociales a los que pertenecemos (Tajfel y Turner, 1979). Dicha identidad grupal puede verse amenazada fruto de los procesos de comparación que se dan en la realidad social, en cuyo caso las estrategias de competición social (entre las que destacan como máximo exponente las acciones colectivas) pueden contribuir a restaurar una identidad grupal positiva. Además, cuando la identidad grupal es relevante, ésta va a influir en la forma en que las personas perciben el mundo (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher y Wetherell, 1987), lo cual puede llevar, por un lado, a aumentar la percepción de injusticia ante una situación de desventaja y, por otro, a experimentar una mayor sensación de eficacia colectiva (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Así, según el modelo SIMCA podemos predecir las acciones colectivas a partir de la identificación con el grupo a través de dos rutas: la primera basada en la ira grupal y la segunda basada en la eficacia colectiva (van Zomeren et al., 2008).

Finalmente, las *convicciones morales* se definen como fuertes posicionamientos concebidos en términos absolutos, de manera que cualquier violación de los mismos motiva a las personas a implicarse activamente para defenderlos (Skitka, Bauman, y Sargis, 2005). Van Zomeren y su grupo encontraron que las convicciones morales predecían la intención de participar en acciones colectivas tanto de manera directa como indirecta, a través de la ira y la eficacia grupal (van Zomeren et al., 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2012), jugando un papel similar al que previamente había demostrado la identidad social en el modelo SIMCA (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Además, estos autores han puesto de manifiesto que las convicciones morales ocupan una posición más relevante que otras creencias en el sistema de valores de la persona, que puede llevar incluso a traspasar los límites intergrupales. Las convicciones morales aumentan la identificación de los

miembros de grupos desaventajados con grupos politizados (van Zomeren et al., 2012), mientras que llevan a los miembros de grupos aventajados a identificarse con el grupo en desaventaja (van Zomeren et al., 2011). Así pues, la incorporación de las motivaciones morales permitió al modelo SIMCA explicar también la implicación de los grupos aventajados en acciones colectivas por los derechos de los grupos desaventajados, confirmando el papel central que tiene en el modelo la identificación con un grupo de relevancia. En relación a los objetivos de la presente tesis, estas convicciones morales tendrían un papel relevante para entender la implicación de los hombres como aliados de las mujeres para el cambio social.

### *1.1.2. La confrontación del sexismo como forma de resistencia*

Como ya hemos señalado, gran parte de la desigualdad de género que sufren las mujeres en su vida diaria se expresa a través de situaciones sexistas que se producen en contextos interpersonales (Swim et al., 2001) y a menudo adopta formas sutiles y socialmente toleradas (chistes, bromas, piropos…), por lo que parece poco probable que se lleven a cabo acciones colectivas para combatirlas. Ante este tipo de situaciones sexistas cotidianas hay diferentes modos posibles de responder, que podríamos resumir en: ignorar lo sucedido, evitar responder, mostrar acuerdo con el perpetrador, o confrontar (Becker, Barreto, Kahn, y de Oliveira Laux, 2015; Swim y Hyers, 1999). Mientras que aceptar pasivamente estas situaciones puede contribuir a reforzar la desigualdad, responder activamente a ellas puede ser una oportunidad para cuestionarla (Glick, 2014).

La confrontación consiste pues en mostrar desafección o expresar desacuerdo con la persona o grupo de personas responsables de esas conductas (Becker et al., 2015;

Kaiser y Miller, 2004). Ofrece potencialidades para el cambio social por varios motivos. En primer lugar, permite visibilizar formas sutiles de prejuicio, lo que puede hacer conscientes a los perpetradores de su conducta y posibilitar un cambio en ellos (Czopp, Monteith, y Mark, 2006; Mallett y Wagner, 2011). En segundo lugar, puede contribuir a modificar las normas sociales promoviendo una menor tolerancia al prejuicio (Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, y Vaughn, 1994). Y en tercer lugar, puede tener efectos positivos para la persona que confronta; por ejemplo, Gervais, Hillard, y Vescio (2010) encontraron que tras confrontar una situación sexista, las mujeres experimentaron un mayor nivel de competencia, autoestima, empoderamiento y satisfacción.

Sin embargo, la confrontación explícita y pública por parte de los grupos desaventajados es poco frecuente (Hyers, 2007; Swim y Hyers, 1999; Woodzicka y LaFrance, 2001). Una de las razones es debida a que los miembros de grupos desaventajados experimentan importantes costes cuando confrontan, especialmente si atribuyen la discriminación que sufren a la pertenencia a un grupo estigmatizado en lugar de a otro tipo de causas (Kaiser y Miller, 2001). De hecho, la literatura ha puesto de manifiesto que cuando una persona víctima de discriminación confronta es más probable que sea percibida como exagerada o quejica (Czopp y Monteith, 2003). En el caso concreto del sexismo, su confrontación por parte de las mujeres introduce algunos costes añadidos, tanto porque el sexismo es socialmente percibido como menos grave y más tolerable que otro tipo de prejuicios (Czopp y Monteith, 2003; Gulker, Mark, y Monteith, 2013), como porque las mujeres que confrontan están transgrediendo las normas prescriptivas asociadas a su rol de género, según las cuales la confrontación no sería la forma adecuada de resolver un conflicto (Eagly, 1987; Gervais y Hillard, 2014). Consistente con esta idea, investigaciones previas han puesto de manifiesto que los

hombres muestran mayor rechazo hacia las mujeres que confrontan el sexismo que hacia las que no confrontan (Dodd, Giuliano, Boutel, y Moran, 2002). De hecho, las mujeres confrontan el sexismo en mayor media cuanto menores sean los costes y mayores los beneficios asociados a ella (Good, Moss-Racusin, y Sanchez, 2012). Por tanto, la confrontación del sexismo por parte de las mujeres es una forma de lucha contra la desigualdad por partida doble: porque es una potente herramienta para conseguir un cambio social y porque se trata de una forma de resistencia ante los roles de género que las empujan a permanecer calladas.

Aunque la confrontación frecuentemente tiene lugar en contextos interpersonales, se enmarca en un contexto de conflicto intergrupal. Sin obviar las diferencias existentes entre las acciones colectivas y la confrontación, llama la atención la desconexión existente entre ambas en la literatura. Especialmente se manifiesta la complementariedad de ambas estrategias para promover el cambio social cuando la persona que confronta hace hincapié en las consecuencias negativas de una determinada actitud o comportamiento para todo un grupo en su conjunto (las mujeres; i.e., confrontación colectiva), situación en la que las intenciones de confrontar se relacionan estrechamente con las de participar en acciones colectivas (Becker et al., 2015). Por tanto, variables como la identidad social (politizada o no), la percepción de injusticia percibida y su expresión a través de la ira, la eficacia y las convicciones morales a favor de la igualdad, pueden también jugar un importante papel a la hora de entender el papel de los hombres como aliados de las mujeres, no solo en su compromiso con las acciones colectivas sino también en la confrontación del sexismo. Estas ideas serán desarrolladas con mayor profundidad y concreción en el siguiente apartado.

## 2. El papel de los hombres como aliados contra el sexismo.

Como señalamos más arriba, en los últimos tiempos el debate sobre el papel de los hombres en la lucha contra la desigualdad de género ha ido ganando relevancia social. Mientras que muchas mujeres se muestran optimistas ante la posibilidad de contar con los hombres en la lucha contra el patriarcado, algunas se muestran totalmente reacias y otras expresan reticencias. Lo cierto es que investigaciones recientes han puesto de relieve que los hombres pueden ser incluso más eficaces que las mujeres confrontando el sexismo (ver Drury y Kaiser, 2014). Entre otras cosas porque experimentan menos costes: por ejemplo, son percibidos como menos quejicas (Eliezer y Major, 2012) y exagerados (Czopp y Monteith, 2003) al confrontar. Pero también porque se les percibe como más persuasivos y convincentes (Gervais y Hillard, 2014). Estos resultados pueden explicarse por el hecho de que con la confrontación los hombres no parecen extraer ningún beneficio (a diferencia de lo que sucede cuando confronta una mujer, que pertenece al grupo estigmatizado; Kaiser y Miller, 2001), incluso se podría pensar que un hombre confrontando el sexismo están yendo en contra de sus propios privilegios. Por lo tanto, parece que incorporar a los hombres como aliados en la lucha contra el sexismo puede ser de gran utilidad. Sin embargo, como veremos más adelante, también puede convertirse en una forma de ahondar en la desigualdad de género.

Por tanto, a continuación analizaremos, en primer lugar, cómo y por qué los miembros de grupos aventajados pueden llegar a implicarse en la lucha contra la desigualdad, deteniéndonos especialmente en considerar algunas aportaciones teóricas recientes que profundizan en esta cuestión. Posteriormente, basándonos en la literatura sobre las relaciones intergrupales, revisaremos algunos de los riesgos que puede tener el

contacto entre grupos en los que existe una asimetría de poder. Más adelante, abordaremos el concepto de "aliado" y las tipologías propuestas. A partir de las luces y sombras que arroja la literatura sobre la incorporación de los grupos aventajados en la lucha contra la desigualdad, pensamos que hay tres elementos clave que pueden ayudarnos a entender cuándo los hombres pueden contribuir realmente a promover un cambio social y cuándo no: comprender los procesos motivacionales que subyacen a sus acciones; analizar las consecuencias que tienen estas acciones para las mujeres, y conocer en qué medida ellas perciben a los hombres que confrontan el sexismo como aliados.

### 2.1. Los grupos aventajados en la lucha contra la desigualdad

La visión predominante en el estudio del conflicto intergrupal se ha centrado casi exclusivamente en el análisis de los grupos desaventajados como agentes de cambio social. Según la Teoría de la Identidad Social (Tajfel y Turner, 1979), los grupos desaventajados son los principales interesados en luchar contra la desigualdad como forma de mejorar el estatus de su grupo, mientras que los grupos aventajados están más motivados en mantener la jerarquía social existente que les permita conservar sus privilegios. Sin embargo, esta lógica no siempre nos permite entender la compleja realidad social. Como ya hemos mencionado, los grupos desaventajados pueden justificar la desigualdad y asumir ideologías que contribuyen a perpetuarla (Jost y Banaji, 1994; Sidanius y Pratto, 1999). Así mismo, los miembros del grupo aventajado en ocasiones también pueden posicionarse a favor de la justicia social, aun cuando eso vaya en contra de sus propios intereses (McGarty, Bliuc, Thomas, y Bongiorno, 2009; Subašic, Reynolds, y Turner, 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2011). De hecho, no es extraño encontrar heterosexuales luchando por los derechos de personas LGBTIQ+, personas blancas

involucradas en el movimiento *Black Lives Matter*, ciudadanos/as europeos/as que se oponen a la deportación de refugiados/as u hombres defendiendo los derechos de las mujeres.

El análisis psicosocial de los intentos por parte de miembros de grupos aventajados de actuar en favor de los grupos desaventajados ha desvelado procesos muy diferentes, a menudo contradictorios, que suelen tener incluso consecuencias opuestas para el grupo en situación de desventaja (ver Wright y Lubensky, 2008). A continuación, expondremos en primer lugar los principales modelos explicativos que se han propuesto desde la Psicología Social para entender este hecho, y posteriormente, analizaremos los desafíos y contradicciones que implica la participación de los miembros aventajados en la lucha contra la desigualdad, así como algunas propuestas para superarlas.

### *2.1.1. Modelos explicativos*

Los desarrollos teóricos surgidos desde el paradigma de la identidad social para explicar el hecho de que los miembros de grupos aventajados se involucren en la lucha contra la desigualdad, han puesto el énfasis en la Teoría de la Categorización del Yo (Turner et al., 1987). El proceso de categorización hace referencia a los intentos de cada persona por identificar los grupos sociales que le son relevantes y antecede al desarrollo de una identidad social compartida. Este proceso puede darse a diferentes niveles de exclusividad y abstracción que se organizan jerárquicamente, y suele ser dependiente del contexto. De acuerdo con esta teoría, un grupo en términos psicológicos surge cuando dos o más personas se perciben o se definen a sí mismas en términos de una categoría social compartida (Turner et al., 1987), por lo que implica una dimensión subjetiva importante que puede ir más allá de las categorías sociológicas de referencia. Avala este

razonamiento el hecho de que la identificación con grupos de carácter activista o con identidades politizadas sea mejor predictor de la acción, que la identificación con categorías sociales más amplias o identidades no politizadas (Simon et al., 1998; Simon y Klandermans, 2001; Stürmer y Simon, 2004; van Zomeren et al., 2008). La incorporación de la identidad politizada y las convicciones morales al estudio de la acción colectiva permite en cierta medida incluir a miembros de grupos aventajados como agentes del cambio social (Simon y Klandermans, 2001; van Zomeren et al., 2011). Pero es preciso considerar también desarrollos teóricos recientes que se han dirigido específicamente a abordar esta cuestión.

McGarty et al., (2009) proponen el concepto de *grupos basados en la opinión* para referirse a los grupos cuya identidad social se establece en base a una serie de opiniones compartidas. Según estos/as autores/as, la naturaleza de estos grupos permite distinguirlos de las categorías sociales; de hecho, pueden configurarse por personas que pertenezcan a diferentes categorías, siempre y cuando compartan la opinión en torno a la que se configura el grupo. Desde un punto de vista empírico, la identificación con un grupo basado en la opinión ha demostrado ser un buen predictor de las intenciones de comportamiento político (Bliuc, McGarty, Reynolds, y Muntele, 2007).

El *Modelo de Solidaridad Política* de Subašic et al. (2008) entiende el cambio social y el mantenimiento del status quo como procesos interdependientes que emergen fruto de las dinámicas de categorización que se producen en el contexto de las relaciones de poder entre grupos. Huyendo de la dicotomía entre endogrupo y exogrupo, este modelo plantea asumir que los conflictos intergrupales tienen lugar en un contexto más amplio que puede influir enormemente en el desarrollo del conflicto, tanto para promover el

cambio como para garantizar la estabilidad social. Así pues, según esta propuesta, en las dinámicas del conflicto participan tres actores: la *minoría* (definida no necesariamente en términos numéricos, sino en términos de poder como el grupo desaventajado: en nuestro caso las mujeres); la *autoridad* (grupo aventajado que tiene capacidad de influir y ejercer poder y autoridad sobre alguna mayoría social relevante: hombres con una ideología de género tradicional); y la *mayoría* (el resto de la sociedad que no participa directamente en la lucha de poder pero que son la audiencia sobre la que las otras dos partes pretenden influir: otros hombres). Según este modelo, el cambio social sólo será posible cuando la mayoría desarrolle una identidad compartida con la minoría que le lleve a desafiar a la autoridad por solidaridad con la minoría. En esta línea, Subašic et al., (2018) han demostrado que los hombres experimentan mayores intenciones de participar en acciones colectivas dirigidas a acabar con la discriminación de las mujeres en el ámbito laboral y más solidaridad con el feminismo, cuando la lucha contra la desigualdad se plantea como un objetivo común para hombres y mujeres, en lugar de cuando se presenta como un objetivo sólo de mujeres, y esto sucedía especialmente cuando la fuente del mensaje era un hombre.

Asimismo, Louis et al., (2019) recientemente han propuesto que la conducta prosocial por parte de los grupos aventajados en relación a los desaventajados puede plantearse en términos de *benevolencia* o de *activismo*, y ambas tienen implicaciones diferentes para el cambio social. La *benevolencia* se define como una orientación comportamental dirigida a aliviar el sufrimiento de otros a través de una transferencia de tiempo, esfuerzo, simpatía o dinero. El *activismo,* en cambio, es una orientación comportamental dirigida a cambiar el sistema a través de la acción conjunta. Mientras que la benevolencia se centra en combatir los síntomas de la desigualdad, el activismo se

centra en combatir las causas de la misma. Estas dos orientaciones hacia la acción pueden ser realmente útiles para predecir diferentes comportamientos que favorezcan la estabilidad o el cambio social respectivamente, y pueden ayudarnos a entender cuándo los grupos aventajados desempeñan acciones realmente en favor de los grupos desaventajados.

### *2.1.2. Muchas sombras y algunas luces*

Así pues, las opiniones, convicciones morales, los valores y creencias pueden ser elementos que configuren identidades compartidas que lleven a miembros de grupos aventajados a implicarse en procesos de cambio social (McGarty et al., 2009; Simon y Klandermans, 2001; Subašic et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2011). Sin embargo, como veremos a continuación, esta implicación puede convertirse en un arma de doble filo para las personas que pertenecen a los grupos desaventajados. La literatura ha puesto de manifiesto que las relaciones intergrupales positivas que implican a grupos con intereses en conflicto, no siempre promueven el cambio social. Al contrario, advierten de que éstas pueden contribuir a perpetuar el statu quo, aun cuando supuestamente busquen luchar contra la desigualdad, especialmente cuando no tienen en cuenta el contexto de desigualdad de poder en el que las relaciones intergrupales se producen. En este sentido, Hasan-Aslih, Pliskin, Shuman, van Zomeren, Saguy, y Halperin (2020) han encontrado que si bien el hecho de percibir como instrumentales las acciones en las que participan conjuntamente miembros de grupos aventajados y desaventajados (acciones colectivas conjuntas) puede animar a los miembros de grupos desaventajados a implicarse en ellas sin las perciben como instrumentalmente útiles, también puede desanimarles si perciben que normalizan las relaciones de poder entre grupos.

Droogendyk, Wright, Lubensky, y Louis (2016) identifican también otros problemas potenciales que pueden surgir derivados de la implicación de los miembros de grupos aventajados en la lucha por el cambio social, entre los que destacan el desafío del contacto intergrupal positivo y el desafío de la ayuda malentendida. Además, proponen algunas soluciones para hacer frente a estos desafíos. A continuación se describen ambos:

a) *El desafío del contacto intergrupal positivo.* De acuerdo con la Hipótesis del Contacto (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew y Tropp, 2006), la implicación de los grupos aventajados en la lucha contra la desigualdad puede favorecer el desarrollo de actitudes positivas intergrupales. Este hecho, en apariencia positivo, puede tener un impacto negativo si socava las intenciones de los grupos desaventajados de implicarse en el cambio social. Por ejemplo, Wright y Lubensky (2008) encontraron que el contacto intergrupal positivo entre las minorías étnicas (afroamericanas o latinas) y el grupo dominante (blancos/as) redujo la identificación de los grupos minoritarios con su endogrupo y aumentó la percepción de las barreras grupales como permeables, lo que en ambos casos se relacionó con actitudes más positivas hacia el exogrupo, pero también con menos intenciones de implicarse en acciones colectivas. En el mismo sentido, Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, y Pratto (2009) en un estudio experimental encontraron que el contacto positivo llevó a los miembros de grupos desaventajados a sobrestimar la cantidad de recursos que iban a recibir por parte del grupo aventajado. Asimismo este trabajo demostró que el contacto grupal entre árabes y judíos/as en Israel se relacionó con un menor apoyo al cambio social por parte de los/as árabes, debido a que, por un lado, el contacto mejoró las actitudes de éstos/as hacia los judíos/as y esto les llevó a una mayor percepción de justicia y por otro, porque redujo la atención a la desigualdad existente en

la relación intergrupal. Esta paradoja se explica por la incompatibilidad existente entre las estrategias de reducción del prejuicio basadas en el fomento de la cohesión social y las estrategias de competición social basadas en la importancia del conflicto. De acuerdo con Wright y Lubensky (2008), mientras que las primeras promueven las relaciones positivas entre grupos y apelan a reducir la importancia de las categorías y de las diferencias de estatus entre ellos (o propone crear nuevas categorías incluyentes), las segundas, como hemos visto, promueven la importancia de la identificación grupal, el reconocimiento de las situaciones de desventaja y la identificación del adversario. Esto las hace altamente incompatibles.

Para hacer frente al desafío del contacto intergrupal positivo, Droogendyck, Louis y Wright (2016) destacaron la importancia de que los miembros de grupos aventajados reconozcan la desigualdad como ilegítima y expliciten su oposición a ella. En ese sentido, Becker, Wright, Lubensky, y Zhou (2013) encontraron que, en una situación de contacto intergrupal cuando los miembros de grupos aventajados expresaron claramente que la desigualdad era ilegítima, los miembros de grupos aventajados no redujeron sus intenciones de participar en acciones colectivas, algo que sí sucedió cuando manifestaron que la desigualdad era legítima o cuando mostraron una posición ambigua con respecto a la desigualdad. Yendo un paso más allá, Droogendyck, Louis y Wright (2016) encontraron que cuando los miembros de grupos aventajados hicieron claramente explícita su oposición a la desigualdad (lo que estos autores/as denominaron *contacto de apoyo*) no sólo no socavaron las intenciones de los miembros desaventajados de participar en acciones colectivas, sino que las fortalecieron. Por ello, el contacto de apoyo parece ser una alternativa interesante para hacer frente al desafío del contacto intergrupal positivo.

b) *El desafío de la ayuda malentendida.* Las buenas intenciones de los miembros de grupos aventajados que se implican en la lucha contra la desigualdad no son suficientes para promover un cambio social. Drogendyck et al., (2016a) apuntan la necesidad de considerar cómo se produce esa implicación y señalan que uno de los contextos en el que se concreta este desafío es en la forma de entender la ayuda, ya que incluso cuando es bienintencionada, puede ser perjudicial si refuerza las diferencias de poder entre quien ayuda (grupo aventajado) y quien es ayudado/a (grupo desaventajado). Nadler (2002), por su parte, plantea la importancia de considerar las relaciones intergrupales de ayuda como relaciones de poder. Este autor considera que las personas pueden aceptar, reafirmar o desafiar las relaciones de poder en el acto de dar, buscar o recibir ayuda. Así, el comportamiento de ayuda puede contribuir al mantenimiento de la desigualdad social porque al ofrecer ayuda, los grupos aventajados mantienen su propia superioridad y al aceptar dicha ayuda, los grupos desaventajados asumen su dependencia e inferioridad. Nadler define la *ayuda orientada a la dependencia* como una forma de ayuda que consiste en proporcionar a quien la recibe la solución completa al problema, asumiendo que es incapaz de resolverlo por sí mismo, lo que refuerza su dependencia. Investigaciones recientes han mostrado que se ofrece más ayuda orientada a la dependencia a las personas de bajo estatus, debido a que se les percibe como crónicamente dependientes y carentes de habilidades (Naddler y Chernyak-Hai, 2014).

Pero Nadler (2002) reconoce también la existencia de una *ayuda orientada a la autonomía*, consistente en ofrecer al receptor/a las herramientas para que pueda resolver el problema por sí mismo/a, asumiendo que la persona es competente, lo que refuerza su autonomía. De hecho Naddler y Chernyak-Hai (2014) encontraron que se

ofrece más ayuda orientada a la autonomía a personas de alto estatus porque se les percibire como competentes y con mayor motivación para superar las dificultades. En ese sentido, Droogendyck, Wright, Lubensky y Louis, (2016) proponen sustituir la ayuda orientada hacia la dependencia por la ayuda orientada hacia la autonomía, para evitar de esta manera que la ayuda por parte de los miembros de grupos aventajados socave la capacidad de los desaventajados de hacer frente por sí mismos a las dificultades. Investigaciones recientes han encontrado evidencia a favor de esta hipótesis. Por ejemplo, Becker, Ksenofontov, Siem, y Love, (2019) demostraron que tanto potenciales proveedores de ayuda (alemanes/as) como potenciales benefactores (refugiados/as) percibieron que la ayuda orientada a la autonomía tenía mayor potencialidades para el cambio social que la ayuda orientada a la dependencia. Asimismo, Wiley y Dunne (2019) encontraron que las mujeres que más se identificaron como feministas percibieron a los hombres que ofrecen ayuda orientada a la autonomía como mejores aliados que los que ofrecen ayuda orientada a la dependencia.

### 2.2. Diferentes aproximaciones al concepto de aliado

Broido (2000) definió como *aliados/as por la justicia social* a aquellas personas, que aun perteneciendo a grupos sociales dominantes[1], trabajan para abolir los sistema de opresión en los que se sustentan sus propios privilegios. Esta definición pone de manifiesto que los aliados/as están orientados hacia el cambio social, son conscientes de sus privilegios y están dispuestos a renunciar a ellos. Sin embargo, de acuerdo con la literatura revisada en la sección anterior, la definición que propone Broido no parece que

[1] Los aliados/as también pueden pertenecer a otros grupos desaventajados, pero en este trabajo, a menos que se explicite lo contrario, utilizaremos el término “aliado” para referirnos a los miembros de grupos aventajados que se implican en la lucha contra la desigualdad

sea aplicable a todos los miembros de grupos aventajados que se implican en acciones en nombre de los grupos desaventajados.

Para explicar por qué en muchas ocasiones la implicación de los aliados no promueve el cambio social e incluso, irónicamente, puede llegar a perpetuar los sistemas de opresión que supuestamente quieren combatir, Edwards (2006) propuso la importancia de considerar las motivaciones que subyacen al comportamiento de los aliados. Identificó tres tipos de motivaciones fundamentales: *propio interés, altruismo y justicia social*. Y con base en ellas reconoció la existencia de tres tipos de aliados:

a) Los *aliados/as por propio interés* tienen una motivación egoísta, solamente se preocupan y están dispuestos a actuar por la gente que conocen. Centran el problema en los individuos (perpetradores) y aunque son capaces de identificar situaciones concretas de discriminación, las perciben como casos aislados en un sistema que por lo general es justo. Saben que ellos ocupan una posición de poder, pero no reconocen los propios privilegios que ello les otorga, por lo que (consciente o inconscientemente) perpetúan el statu quo. Se identifiquen o no como aliados, asumen el papel de héroes, lo que a menudo les lleva a actuar sin considerar la opinión de la persona a la que pretenden ayudar y también a no reconocer los errores que puedan cometer como aliados/as. Incluso pueden justificar y verse implicados en situaciones de discriminación similares cuando no van dirigidas hacia personas de su entorno.

b) Los *aliados/as altruistas* están motivados para ayudar a los grupos estigmatizados (a quienes les otorgan el papel de víctimas) porque consideran que ayudar a los desaventajados es lo correcto. Centran el problema en el grupo aventajado al que pertenecen, pero se consideran a sí mismos como miembros excepcionales; como

consecuencia del esfuerzo que requiere esta posición es fácil que acaben quemados. Se sienten culpables por tener privilegios e intentan distanciarse de ellos, por lo que tratan de empoderar a los grupos desaventajados, pero siguen asumiendo que son dependientes de su ayuda y de esta forma acaban también perpetuando el statu quo. Presentan dificultades para admitir sus propios errores y se muestran muy a la defensiva cuando se les cuestiona.

c) Finalmente, los *aliados/as por justicia social* trabajan con (y no por) los miembros de grupos desaventajados para abolir los sistemas de opresión que perjudican a ambos (aunque indiscutiblemente en mayor medida a los grupos desaventajados), por lo que en ellos se combinan la motivación egoísta y la altruista. Para ellos/as, el problema es sistémico, asumen que los diferentes sistemas de opresión están conectados y el objetivo es empoderar a quienes luchan contra las desigualdades. Se reconocen como parte del problema, no como excepciones, son conscientes de sus privilegios y entienden la renuncia a ellos como una forma de liberarse a sí mismos. Reconocen los errores que puedan cometer y aceptan las críticas como una oportunidad para revisar sus privilegios.

Por tanto, la propuesta de Edwards enfatiza la importancia de analizar las razones que llevan a los miembros de grupos aventajados a actuar como aliados/as, para de esta forma entender cuándo pueden promover el cambio social y cuándo por el contrario perpetúan el statu quo. En el mismo empeño, Radke, Kutlaca, Siem, Wright, y Becker (2020) sugieren alejarse de las definiciones tradicionales que vinculan el concepto de aliado con una orientación exclusiva hacia el cambio social, y para ello proponen desligar las motivaciones de los comportamientos. Estas/os autoras/es definen a los aliados/as pertenecientes a grupos aventajados como personas que participan en acciones en

nombre del grupo en desventaja. Esta definición permite usar el concepto de aliado en un amplio espectro de relaciones intergrupales (ej. conducta de ayuda, contacto intergrupal, acción colectiva, etc.). Proponen cuatro motivaciones que subyacen a las acciones de los/as aliados/as: *motivaciones intrapersonales* que les empujan a establecer alianzas para ser fieles a sí mismos/as; *motivaciones interpersonales* que les impulsan a establecer alianzas pensando en familiares y amistades; *motivaciones centradas en el endogrupo* que les empujan a establecer alianzas para ofrecer ayuda de manera estratégica; y *motivaciones centradas en el exogrupo* que les llevan a establecer alianzas como una forma de altruismo intergrupal (Wright y Droogendyk, 2019). Esta aproximación puede permitirnos teorizar con más exactitud tanto sobre las variables psicosociales predictoras como sobre las consecuencias que tienen para los grupos en desventaja las acciones de los miembros de grupos aventajados. Por ejemplo, las convicciones morales contra la desigualdad social, la justicia y la conciencia de los propios privilegios pueden predecir acciones de los aliados cuya motivación esté centrada en el exogrupo, pero no acciones motivadas por razones inter o intra personales (Radke et al., 2020).

### 2.3. Los hombres como aliados contra el sexismo: ideología y motivaciones

Siguiendo el análisis que acabamos de hacer, podemos concluir que para conocer el papel que juegan los hombres como aliados de las mujeres en la lucha contra el sexismo, es imprescindible desentrañar los procesos motivacionales que les empujan a ello. Asimismo, dada la relevancia de las ideologías en el mantenimiento y desmantelamiento de la desigualdad, cabe pensar que éstas jueguen un papel clave a la hora de entender los procesos motivacionales que les llevan a actuar contra el sexismo.

Como mencionamos con anterioridad, la literatura ha mostrado ampliamente el efecto pernicioso del sexismo benévolo en el mantenimiento de la desigualdad de género (Barreto y Ellemers, 2005; Becker y Wright, 2011; Jost y Kay, 2005). Además, tal y como algunas investigaciones apuntan, el tono positivo del sexismo benévolo puede motivar algunos comportamientos por parte de los hombres que paradójicamente parecen estar dirigidos a reducir la desigualdad, pero que en realidad ayudan a mantenerla. Por ejemplo, Radke, Hornsey, y Barlow (2018) encontraron que el sexismo benévolo de los hombres se relaciona con su mayor apoyo a acciones protectoras (comportamientos dirigidos a proteger a las mujeres de la violencia ejercida por los hombres) pero no con el apoyo a acciones feministas (comportamientos dirigidos a desafiar la desigualdad). Así mismo, el sexismo benévolo lleva a los hombres a proporcionar a las mujeres ayuda orientada a la dependencia, en lugar de orientada a la autonomía (Shnabel, Bar-Anan, Kende, Bareket, y Lazar, 2016). Por su parte, Good et al., (2018) mostraron que el rol protector masculino (aspecto central de la masculinidad tradicional y componente de la cultura del honor; Saucier et al., 2016) es uno de los principales predictores de la confrontación del sexismo en defensa de mujeres socialmente cercanas (pareja, madre, hermana, amiga…) pero no de mujeres socialmente más distantes (conocidas o desconocidas).

En el extremo opuesto se encuentra la ideología feminista, que configura una clara identidad politizada. Como dijimos, las identidades politizadas o identificación con grupos de carácter activista, se relacionan estrechamente con el cambio social (Simon et al., 1998; Simon y Klandermans, 2001; Stürmer y Simon, 2004; van Zomeren et al., 2008). En relación a los hombres, diferentes trabajos muestran que el feminismo puede motivarlos para implicarse en la lucha contra la desigualdad. Por ejemplo, las creencias feministas en

ellos se han relacionado con su capacidad para identificar el sexismo en la vida cotidiana (Swim et al., 2001). Asimismo, cuando son expuestos a descripciones positivas de hombres feministas, aumenta su solidaridad hacia el feminismo, lo que a su vez les lleva a comprometerse en acciones colectivas en apoyo a las mujeres (Wiley, Srinivasan, Finke, Firnhaber, y Shilinsky, 2012). Por otra parte, Subašić et al., (2018) mostraron que el hecho de considerar tanto a hombres como mujeres como agentes de cambio, aumentaba la solidaridad de los hombres con el feminismo y sus intenciones de participar en acciones colectivas por la igualdad de género.

Si nos atenemos a estos hallazgos sobre el papel que pueden jugar sexismo benévolo y feminismo para movilizar a los hombres como aliados, podríamos esperar que tanto uno como otro promuevan la implicación éstos en la lucha contra el sexismo, aunque a través de motivaciones diferentes; no obstante, hasta donde conocemos, no existe evidencia clara de ello. Como tampoco conocemos con exactitud qué mecanismos podrían subyacer a esos procesos. La literatura aporta evidencias solamente de la relación entre el sexismo benévolo y los comportamientos de protección a las mujeres, así como de la identidad feminista y el las acciones colectivas. Pero no conocemos con precisión cómo sexismo y feminismo pueden llevar a los hombres a implicarse en distintas acciones en contra de la desigualdad de género. En concreto, en la presente Tesis nos interesa indagar acerca de cómo se relacionan las variables ideológicas con las intenciones de confrontación ante situaciones sexistas. Cabe esperar que dado que la confrontación puede considerarse tanto como una estrategia colectiva (busca mejorar la situación de las mujeres en general), como una estrategia interpersonal, existan mecanismos explicativos específicos de la relación entre sexismo benévolo y confrontación por un lado, y entre identidad feminista y confrontación por otro. De ahí

que propongamos el estudio de dos motivaciones diferentes (paternalista e igualitaria), entendidas como convicciones morales coherentes con la propia ideología, que actuarían como elementos que empujan a los hombres a actuar en una situación concreta. Aunque ambos procesos motivacionales puedan llevar a los hombres a implicarse en la confrontación de una determinada situación sexista, hipotetizamos que sólo el feminismo predecirá la implicación de los hombres en la lucha contra la desigualdad más allá de la confrontación. Así pues en los trabajos empíricos de esta tesis, exploraremos la existencia de estos dos procesos motivacionales, comprobaremos si ambos son complementarios o incompatibles y analizaremos en qué medida son válidos para entender la implicación de los hombres no solo en la confrontación del sexismo, sino también en otro tipo de acciones por el cambio social (como acciones colectivas por los derechos de las mujeres e implicación en grupos de hombres por la igualdad).

### 2.4. Los aliados desde la perspectiva de las mujeres

Como venimos repitiendo, el hecho de que los hombres puedan implicarse en la confrontación del sexismo e incluso en acciones colectivas por los derechos de las mujeres, no garantiza que ello contribuya a promover el cambio social. Al contrario, puede ser contraproducente si lleva a las mujeres a pensar que ya está todo conseguido y no queda nada por hacer (como pone de manifiesto el desafío del contacto interpersonal positivo) o si refuerza la idea de que las mujeres no son capaces de defenderse por sí mismas (desafío de la ayuda malentendida). Por tanto, para conocer si los hombres realmente contribuyen o no al cambio social es imprescindible considerar la perspectiva de las mujeres. Nos permitiría no solo conocer las consecuencias que tiene para ellas la participación de los hombres en la lucha contra la desigualdad en términos personales

(empoderamiento y bienestar) e intergrupales (intenciones futuras de las mujeres de resistir a la desigualdad), sino también saber cómo perciben ellas a esos potenciales aliados y qué factores determinan el que los consideren como tales.

En el contexto de la confrontación del sexismo, Cihangir, Barreto y Ellemers (2014) encontraron que cuando un hombre atribuyó la causa de un comportamiento discriminatorio al sexismo, las mujeres mostraron más confianza en sí mismas y menos confirmación del estereotipo, así como una mayor probabilidad de presentar una queja que cuando fue una mujer la que atribuyó la causa de la discriminación al sexismo. De manera similar, como ya hemos mencionado, se ha encontrado que el contacto intergrupal positivo basado en el apoyo y la confrontación por parte miembros de grupos aventajados puede animar a los grupos desaventajados a luchar contra la desigualdad (Droogendyck. Louis et al., 2016). Sin embargo, ninguna de estas investigaciones previas ha profundizado en los mecanismos subyacentes a dichos resultados. En esta tesis proponemos el empoderamiento y las emociones que experimentan las mujeres tras la implicación de los hombres en la confrontación del sexismo, como mecanismos explicativos clave parar entender dichos procesos. Nuestro planteamiento de partida es que los hombres serán verdaderos aliados para las mujeres cuando su implicación fomente en ellas procesos de empoderamiento que promuevan su compromiso en acciones futuras contra la desigualdad. Conocer en qué circunstancias esto es así, será uno de los objetivos principales de la tesis doctoral.

### *2.4.1. Empoderamiento, emociones y resistencia*

El empoderamiento es sin duda un concepto difícil de definir. Describe el proceso de pasar de no tener poder a tenerlo, e implica múltiples facetas (dimensión personal,

relacional y societal; Huis, Hansen, Otten, y Lensink, 2017). Yoder y Kahn (1992) plantean que el poder desde una perspectiva feminista puede entenderse de dos maneras: el poder basado en la dominación (que definen como poder "sobre") y el empoderamiento personal (poder "para") que se relaciona con el concepto de autoeficacia (Bandura, 1995). Según estas autoras, el empoderamiento tiene que ver con el control que una persona siente sobre sus propios pensamientos, sentimientos y comportamientos, en comparación con el poder sobre otras personas, que se basa en controlar a los demás. Por otro lado, Zimmerman (1995) señala que el empoderamiento psicológico es al mismo tiempo proceso (a través del cual las personas crean o reciben oportunidades para controlar su propio destino e influir en las decisiones que afectan sus vidas) y resultado (efecto de los procesos de empoderamiento). Según este último autor, el empoderamiento implica tres componentes: intrapersonal (cómo la gente piensa sobre sí misma), interaccional (comprensión que las personas tienen sobre su comunidad y los problemas sociopolíticos relacionados) y comportamental (acciones que se llevan a cabo para influir directamente en los resultados). Cada uno de estos componentes puede incluir a su vez diferentes constructos psicológicos que se han relacionado con el empoderamiento (autoeficacia, autoestima, competencia, poder, etc.).

Por todo ello, podemos considerar al empoderamiento como fin en su componente intrapersonal, o como proceso que lleva a la acción en su componente comportamental. Como proceso que lleva a la acción, el empoderamiento está profundamente conectado con el activismo. De hecho, en el contexto de la lucha contra la desigualdad se ha definido como un estado de confianza social y psicológico en la propia capacidad para desafiar las relaciones existentes de dominación (Drury y Reicher, 2005) y en la literatura sobre acción colectiva ha destacado de manera recurrente el

papel del poder subjetivo (Drury, Evripidou, & Van Zomeren, 2015), ya sea como predictor de la acción (eficacia percibida: ej. SIMCA: van Zomeren et al., 2008) o como resultado de ella, en cuyo caso puede motivar la participación en acciones futuras (i.e., empoderamiento: Drury y Reicher, 2005). Además, según Pratto (2016) el empoderamiento puede emerger de las relaciones interpersonales e intergrupales transformadoras que tienen como objetivo acabar con la desigualdad. El poder transformacional consiste en que la parte que tiene mayor poder, ayuda a la parte que tiene menos poder a aumentar su poder, y es según esta autora el único tipo de poder que emerge de las relaciones sociales que puede promover un cambio social. De ahí que pensemos que los hombres que actúan como aliados reales podrían empoderar a las mujeres, y esto a su vez podría contribuir a que las mujeres se comprometieran en mayor medida en la lucha contra la desigualdad en el futuro.

Pero la participación de los hombres como aliados no sólo puede influir sobre el empoderamiento de las mujeres, sino también sobre su propio bienestar emocional. Conocer qué consecuencias emocionales entrañan para las mujeres los comportamientos de los hombres, constituye otro de los objetivos importantes de la tesis. Generalmente, el bienestar se ha relacionado positivamente con las emociones agradables y positivas como la alegría, y negativamente con las emociones desagradables y negativas como la ira (Diener, Oishi, y Tay, 2018). Lazarus (1993) propone que la alegría es la emoción que emerge como consecuencia de progresar en el camino hacia alcanzar una meta, mientras que la ira surge tras una ofensa. A pesar de que la alegría pueda surgir como consecuencia de la implicación de los grupos aventajados en la lucha contra la desigualdad, parece poco probable que sea un mecanismo relevante a la hora de explicar cómo las acciones de los aliados pueden motivar a los grupos desaventajados a implicarse

en el cambio social. Y es que el papel de las emociones positivas como motivadoras del cambio social ha sido cuestionado. Por ejemplo, Becker, Tausch y Wagner (2011) encontraron que las emociones positivas experimentadas en términos personales no juegan un papel relevante como predictoras de la acción. En la misma línea, Hasan-Aslih, Pliskin, van Zomeren, Halperin, y Saguy (2019) destacaron que la esperanza en la armonía intergrupal en el contexto de conflictos reales (conflicto palestino-israelí y conflictos raciales en EEUU), se relacionó negativamente con la motivación de los grupos desaventajados por participar en acciones colectivas (al menos entre las personas con baja identificación con su grupo).

En cambio, la ira, como forma de expresión de la injusticia percibida, ha sido un predictor habitual en el estudio de la acción colectiva (van Zomeren et al., 2008; Iyer, Schamader y Likel, 2007). Cabe mencionar que si entendemos las relaciones intergrupales de ayuda como relaciones de poder, tal y como plantea Nadler (2002), los miembros/as de grupos de bajo estatus que ya no vean las jerarquías de poder como legítimas y estables pueden rechazar la ayuda orientada a la dependencia e incluso iniciar la búsqueda de ayuda orientada a la autonomía. De acuerdo con este razonamiento, en el contexto de nuestro trabajo la ira puede ayudarnos a identificar las acciones de los aliados orientadas a la dependencia (paternalismo), así como ser un mecanismo que impulse a las mujeres a llevar a cabo acciones compensatorias en un intento de recuperar su propia autonomía (como por ejemplo expresando mayores intenciones de confrontar).

### *2.4.2. La necesaria mirada de las mujeres*

Por último, además de analizar qué efecto tienen la confrontación del sexismo por parte de los hombres en el empoderamiento y bienestar de las mujeres y sus

implicaciones en el cambio social, es necesario conocer en qué medida las mujeres perciben a los confrontadores como verdaderos aliados, qué implicaciones tiene esto a nivel interpersonal e intergrupal, y cuáles son los mecanismos subyacentes. Dado que la literatura nos ha señalado la necesidad de valorar la existencia de diferentes tipos de aliados (p.e. en función del tipo de ayuda que ofrecen, de las consecuencias que tiene el contacto intergrupal, y de las motivaciones que subyacen a su implicación en la lucha contra la desigualdad) conocer la forma en que los miembros de grupos desaventajados perciben a esos potenciales aliados, puede aportar nuevas claves para entender cuándo, cómo y por qué contribuyen o no a promover el cambio social. Excepcionalmente, solo los trabajos de Brown y Ostrove (2013) se han centrado en analizar la percepción de los aliados desde la perspectiva de los desaventajados, en el contexto de las relaciones entre personas blancas y negras en EEUU.

Brown y Ostrove (2013) pidieron a estudiantes negros/as que identificaran en su entorno a una persona no perteneciente a su grupo racial y que pudieran considerar un aliado; a continuación les pidieron que describieran de qué manera esa persona les hacía sentir cómodos y cómo esa persona los/as apoyaría en caso de que tuvieran algún problema de discriminación racial. Los principales temas mencionados por los participantes fueron: que esa persona no las había tratado de manera diferente debido a su raza; compartían con ella experiencias o intereses; era una persona respetuosa y no prejuiciosa; y proponía acciones para hacer frente a la situación de discriminación racial. A continuación, preguntaron a todos/as los participantes (independientemente de que fueran capaces de identificar en su entorno un aliado o no) de qué forma pensaban que las personas que no pertenecían a su grupo racial podían contribuir a combatir la discriminación. Las principales respuestas giraron en torno a que esas personas podrían:

reconocer las diferencias de poder existentes entre diferentes grupos raciales y comprender los propios privilegios; mostrar interés por comunidades raciales y étnicas más allá de la suya propia; hacer frente a los prejuicios de miembros de su propio grupo racial y comportarse como amigas/os. A partir de la información extraída en este primer estudio, Brown y Ostrove crearon una escala cuantitativa para medir la percepción de los aliados desde la perspectiva de los grupos desaventajados, con dos dimensiones. La primera hacía referencia al reconocimiento de la iniciativa del aliado/a para abordar el problema social (acción/activismo), mientras que la segunda hacía referencia a la percepción de la relación con el/la aliado/a como positiva en términos personales (afirmación). Con esta escala, no encontraron diferencias significativas en la percepción de aliados/as blancos/as y negros/as en la subescala de afirmación, pero sí en la escala de acción, donde a los aliados/as negros/as se les atribuyó mayores intenciones de implicarse en asuntos raciales que a los aliados blancos.

En un trabajo posterior, Brown (2015) afianzó la utilidad de las dimensiones de apoyo interpersonal (donde se incluye la afirmación) e intergrupal (donde se incluye la acción) para distinguir entre aliados, activistas y amistades. Según este trabajo, los activistas proporcionan más apoyo intergrupal y menos interpersonal que los aliados. Recientemente, Ostrove y Brown (2018) han encontrado que las personas negras atribuyeron a las personas que habían identificado como aliadas más características relacionadas con la afirmación y con la acción que a las personas que habían identificado sólo como amigas (pero no aliadas). Asimismo, en este trabajo mostraron que las personas que habían sido identificadas como aliadas por las personas negras, reportaron menores niveles de prejuicio, mayor motivación para evitar el prejuicio, mayor reflexión sobre los privilegios blancos y mayor activismo que las personas que habían sido

identificadas sólo como amigas. Por tanto, de estos trabajos se desprende la existencia de dos dimensiones fundamentales a la hora de entender qué implica ser un aliado desde la perspectiva de los grupos desaventajados: proporcionar apoyo interpersonal y proporcionar apoyo intergrupal.

Finalmente, en el contexto de la lucha contra la desigualdad de género, Wiley y Dunne (2019) analizaron en qué medida los hombres eran percibidos por las mujeres como aliados en función del tipo de ayuda que ofrecían. En dos estudios experimentales, encontraron que las mujeres que más se identificaron como feministas, percibieron a los hombres feministas que adoptaban una posición secundaria y que ofrecían ayuda parcial (i.e. ayuda orientada a la autonomía), como mejores aliados que aquellos que intentaban resolver los problemas por ellos mismos y que imponían su voluntad (i.e. ayuda orientada a la dependencia). De esta forma, llamaron la atención de nuevo sobre la posibilidad de que no todo apoyo aliado es querido o incluso útil. Sin embargo, Wiley y Dunne (2019) no analizaron las razones que llevan a las mujeres a percibir a los hombres que ofrecen ayuda orientada a la autonomía como mejores aliados que los que la ofrecen orientada a la dependencia. Descubrir las motivaciones subyacentes que desencadenan acciones de solidaridad por parte de los miembros del grupo con ventaja es un factor clave para identificar verdaderos aliados (Edwards, 2006; Radke et al., 2020). Por lo tanto, saber cuáles son las motivaciones que las mujeres atribuyen a los confrontadores, puede ser un mecanismo explicativo importante para entender si perciben a los hombres como aliados.

Más allá de las motivaciones, las mujeres pueden juzgar la relación con los hombres confrontadores en términos de la distancia de poder percibida con ellos. Como hemos dicho anteriormente, el comportamiento de ayuda se define como una relación de

poder porque sustenta las jerarquías sociales (Nadler, 2002). Sin embargo, el cambio social se logra cuando se reducen las diferencias de poder entre grupos (Stroebe, Wang y Wright, 2015). Por lo tanto, cuando los hombres que se enfrentan al sexismo logran reducir la distancia de poder entre ellos y las mujeres, pueden ser vistos por ellas como buenos aliados. En ese sentido, las acciones de grupos favorecidos que perpetúan el statu quo ampliarán las asimetrías de poder, mientras que las acciones de los aliados que promueven el cambio social las reducirán.

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# Capítulo 2:

## Objetivos / Aims

El objetivo general de esta tesis es analizar el papel que pueden jugar los hombres como aliados de las mujeres en la lucha contra la desigualdad de género. Para guiar nuestro trabajo planteamos una serie de preguntas que nos permiten enmarcar cada uno de los objetivos específicos de la presente tesis doctoral.

En primer lugar nos preguntamos: *¿por qué los hombres pueden implicarse en la lucha contra la desigualdad?* Para dar respuesta a esta pregunta, planteamos la necesidad de entender los procesos motivacionales que subyacen a la confrontación por parte de los hombres teniendo en cuenta el papel de las ideologías que legitiman y deslegitiman la desigualdad de género (sexismo benévolo e identidad feminista) y de las motivaciones que éstas activan (motivación paternalista e igualitaria) (Capítulo 3).

A continuación nos planteamos: *¿qué consecuencias tiene la implicación de los hombres en la lucha contra el sexismo para las mujeres?* Para abordar esta cuestión analizamos el impacto que tiene el tipo de confrontación (feminista vs. no-feminista) por parte de los hombres en el sentimiento de empoderamiento y el bienestar (alegría e ira) de las mujeres, así como las implicaciones en las futuras intenciones de confrontar por parte de éstas (Capítulo 4).

Por último, quisimos saber: *¿cuándo las mujeres perciben a los hombres como aliados?* Para ello propusimos conocer en qué medida las mujeres perciben a los hombres que confrontan el sexismo como aliados en función de su forma de confrontar, así como el impacto que ello tiene en las relaciones interpersonales e intergrupales con los confrontadores. Además, exploramos posibles mecanismos explicativos, entre los que destacamos las motivaciones que las mujeres atribuyen a los confrontadores y la diferencia de poder percibida con el confrontador (Capítulo 5).

# Capítulo 3:

## Feminist or Paternalistic:

## Understanding Men's Motivations to Confront Sexism

**Feminist or Paternalistic: Understanding Men's Motivations to Confront Sexism**[2]

**Abstract**

The role of men in fighting gender inequality is a controversial issue. Literature has shown that advantaged group members can promote social change but also perpetuate status quo. We conducted three studies to examine two motivational processes that may lead men to confront sexism: an egalitarian path and a paternalistic one. Studies 1–3 revealed that men high in benevolent sexism were more willing to confront sexism for paternalistic reasons, whereas Studies 2–3 found that men high in feminist identification were more likely to confront sexism for egalitarian reasons. Pooled analyses (Studies 1–3) supported the egalitarian and paternalistic paths underlying sexism confrontation. Moreover, Studies 2 and 3 extended these findings to collective action and engagement in the men's activist movement that aims to reflect on male privilege (i.e the Men for Equity movement). These results highlight the existence of various underlying motivations to confront sexism by men, as well as the limits of paternalism and the potential of feminism to motivate men to take part in other kinds of actions beyond confrontation to foster social change.

**Keywords:** feminist identification, benevolent sexism, egalitarian motivation, paternalistic motivation, sexism confrontation, collective actions, allies, social change.

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The fight against gender inequality has traditionally been seen exclusively as "a women's issue" due to the fact that women are the targets of discrimination. Thus, it has been assumed that they are the ones concerned with improving women's positions in society (Tajfel & Turner, 1978; Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990). However, the literature reflecting upon political solidarity and the role of advantaged group members as allies in promoting social change has gained wide attention in the last decade (McGarty, Bliuc, Thomas, & Bongiorno, 2009; Subašić, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2011). Scholars have recently studied the particular role of men in fighting gender inequality (Good, Sánchez, & Moss-Racusin, 2018; Radke, Hornsey, & Barlow, 2018). The aim of this paper is to extend these findings by examining the underlying motivational processes that lead men to confront sexism.

Members of privileged groups can be more effective in confronting prejudice compared to disadvantaged group members because they experience fewer costs and more benefits of confrontation (Kaiser & Miller, 2001). For instance, it is less probable that they are perceived as complainers (Gulker, Mark, & Monteith, 2013). However, whether confrontation by advantaged groups implies real social change remains an important research question. In fact, high-status groups' helping behavior may contribute in some cases to legitimizing the privileged status at the same time that the disadvantaged group feels grateful and legitimizes social inequality (Nadler, 2002). However, advantaged group members can also become allies and promote real social change (Subašić et al., 2018), but it seems that some conditions must be fulfilled for this to happen. For instance, Becker, Wright, Lubensky, and Zhou (2013) found that positive contact between advantaged and disadvantaged groups may undermine collective action among the disadvantaged unless the advantaged group has made explicitly clear that the

inequality being experienced is illegitimate. According to Drury and Kaiser (2014), for men to be deemed allies of women against sexism, they must work alongside rather than on behalf of women. The identification of ideological and motivational factors underlying confrontation of sexism may contribute to understanding when men are working alongside or on behalf of women. In this work, we aim to study how these factors behave in a situation where men confront a sexist comment. We specifically argue that men confronting sexism may be motivated by feminist reasons but also by paternalistic ones. Motivations mediate the relationship between attitudes and behaviors (Higgins & Kruglanski, 2000). We argue that endorsing egalitarian goals can lead men to confront sexism as a strategy to promote social change. However, paternalistic goals can also lead men to confront sexism. Good et al. (2018) found that the duty to protect women may be one of the motives that lead men to confront sexism, thus paradoxically reinforcing the status quo. Understanding the motivational processes underlying male confrontation of sexism is essential for determining when such confrontation may help or hinder gender inequality. Thus, the main purpose of this work is to test the existence of these two motivational processes—confrontation based on feminist versus paternalistic reasons—which could have very different implications for stability and social change.

**The Role of Feminist Identification and Egalitarianism in Promoting Social Change**

Men may promote social change by confronting sexism if they are actively committed to fighting gender inequality. In fact, the more men endorse feminist beliefs, the more aware of sexism they are (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001), the more they reject modern sexist beliefs (Swim, Mallett, & Stangor, 2004), and, in turn, the more incidents of sexism they report (Hyers, 2007; Swim et al., 2004). Wiley, Srinivasan, Finke, Firnhaber,

and Shilinsky (2012) found that positive portrayals of feminist men increased men's sense of solidarity with feminists, which leads to increasing their intentions to engage in collective action. Subašić et al. (2018) similarly found that considering men as agents of change toward gender equality increases men's collective action intentions, as well as feminist solidarity and the perceived illegitimacy of gender inequality. In addition, researchers recently showed a positive relationship between men's feminist identification and their willingness to take part in feminist actions (Radke et al., 2018), but evidence of the role of feminist identification in predicting sexism confrontation is still lacking. In the case of women, literature has shown that although holding feminist attitudes does not mean embracing the feminist label (Zucker, 2004; Zucker & Bay-Cheng, 2010), embracing the feminist label usually means having egalitarian attitudes (Duncan, 2010) and is positively related to confronting sexism (Weis, Redford, Zucker, & Ratliff, 2018). Ellemers, Spears, and Doosje (2002) suggested the importance of differentiating between identification (the strength of people's ties with a particular group) and social identity (nature or content of a particular identity). In this way, egalitarian attitudes, values, beliefs, and motivations should be part of the content of the feminist identity, and feminist identification should imply the strength with which a person embraces the label associated with such an identity. Therefore, we argue that the strength of feminist identification in men will predict their confrontation intentions (and other actions more related to social change) because it activates egalitarian motivations in men. We defined egalitarian motivation as the force that leads men to act in order to achieve the following goals: raising awareness of gender inequality (Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Swim et al., 2001), acknowledging that some attitudes and beliefs perpetuate and legitimize inequality (Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Gurin, 1985), promoting social change orientation (close to the

collective orientation component of gender awareness that Gurin [1985] proposed), and showing men's engagement in fighting gender inequality (Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Subašić et al., 2008). Thus, we hypothesized that egalitarian motivation will mediate the relationship between feminist identification and sexism confrontation.

**The Role of Benevolent Sexism and Paternalism in Perpetuating Inequality**

The literature has confirmed the idea that to maintain inequality, benevolence is more effective than hostility (Jackman, 1994). Glick and Fiske (1996) proposed that two coexisting forms of sexism are positively related and work together: hostile sexism (related to the traditional way of understanding prejudice as negative attitudes toward women) and benevolent sexism (prejudice expressed with a positive tone, with the assumption that women must be cherished and protected by men). Barreto and Ellemers (2005) revealed that the positive tone of benevolent sexism makes it difficult to recognize as a form of prejudice and might also have some apparently positive effects. For instance, Shnabel, Bar-Anan, Kende, Bareket, and Lazar (2016) and Radke et al. (2018) found that benevolent sexism may play an important role in promoting cross-gender helping relations and in promoting collective action intentions among men on behalf of women. However, these authors warned that benevolent sexism promotes dependency-oriented cross-gender helping relations but not autonomy-oriented ones (Shnabel et al., 2016) and protective collective actions but not feminist collective actions (Radke et al., 2018). Therefore, benevolent sexism may ironically promote some action against inequality while reinforcing sexist views of women as unable to stand up for themselves.

In fact, Glick and Fiske (1996) differentiated between dominative paternalism based on the idea that women are not fully competent adults and protective paternalism, which

is based on men's dyadic dependence on women as wives, mothers, and romantic objects, who should be loved, cherished, and protected by men. Good et al. (2018) found that this masculine protector role predicted confronting sexism, although only toward socially close women (e.g., a girlfriend, mother, or sister). However, we consider that it is important to disentangle the role of benevolent sexist beliefs and paternalistic motivations as predictors of sexism confrontation in general. Sexist beliefs are a more stable construct (Huang, Osborne, & Sibley, 2019) that may trigger specific paternalistic motivation in response to a given sexist situation and lead to confrontation responses. Whereas Good et al. (2018) emphasized the link between paternalism and confrontation, Radke et al. (2018) focused on the link between benevolent sexism and protective action. We propose an overall conjoint model that considers both the role of sexist attitudes and paternalistic motivations sequentially in predicting sexism confrontation. We hypothesized that paternalistic motivation specifically mediates the relationship between benevolent sexism and sexism confrontation. However, because the underlying principle of paternalism is that women are dependent on men, we expect that paternalistic motivations will not be related to actions with higher implications for social change (e.g., supporting feminist actions and engagement in groups that question male privileges).

**Current Studies**

In this work, we are interested in disentangling two motivational processes that might lead men to confront sexism. In doing so, it will be possible to understand the conditions in which men can be true allies of women in fighting against gender inequality (Drury & Kaiser, 2014). In Studies 1–3, we examine the role of sexism and feminism as ideological predictors that activate egalitarian versus paternalistic motivations and, in

turn, trigger sexism confrontation in men. Furthermore, we want to analyze the boundaries of paternalism in promoting social change compared to feminism. To achieve this goal in Studies 2 and 3, we examine whether the motivational processes proposed could be extended to understanding other responses of men against inequality (as collective action intentions in favor of women's rights and engagement in the Men for Equity movement). We expect that feminist identification and egalitarian motivation will also predict these types of actions, whereas benevolent sexism and paternalistic motivation will not. Finally, we conducted an Integrative Data Analysis with the three data sets pooled into one (Curran & Hussong, 2009) to increase statistical power and sample heterogeneity.

## Study 1

The goal of *Study 1* was to uncover the two motivational processes leading men to confront sexism. As explained previously, we expected the relation between feminist identification and sexism confrontation to be mediated by egalitarian motivation (Hypothesis 1). Furthermore, we expected the relation between benevolent sexism and confronting sexism to be mediated by paternalistic motivation (Hypothesis 2).

### Method

#### Participants

A total of 150 men completed the study. We detected four univariate outliers in the amount of time that they spent answering the survey. After we checked the cases, we decided to delete them because they spent more than one day with the survey open. Two multivariate outliers were detected, so we also excluded them. The final sample was 144 men. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 63 years, with a mean of 22.32 years (SD =

5.87). All of them were students from a university in southern Spain, and 96.5% were Spanish citizens. We conducted a sensitivity analysis using G*power (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) to determine the effect size the current study could detect. The results showed that with this sample size (N = 144), with $\alpha = 0.5$ and $1\text{-}\beta = .80$, the minimum effect size that we can detect for a multiple regression analysis with two predictors is $f^2 = .07$.

**Measures**

Unless differently specified, participants were asked to rate each measure on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The measures are described here in the same order as they appeared in the online survey. For exploratory purposes, we included a number of additional variables that are not described in the main text but have been listed and explained in more detail at https://osf.io/tdfmb/.

**Demographics**. We recorded participants' ages, nationality, and academic major.

**Gender and feminist identification**. We measured gender and feminist identification with the centrality and solidarity items of Leach et al.'s (2008) scale adapted to gender and identification with feminist people. Seven items made up the measure; three of them captured the idea of centrality (e.g., "The fact that I am a [man/feminist person] is an important part of my identity"), and three more captured the idea of solidarity (e.g., "I feel a bond with [men/feminist people]"). In addition, we included a general item in which we asked participants the extent to which they perceived themselves as feminists (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998; men: $\alpha = .97$; feminist people: $\alpha = .95$).

**Hostile and benevolent sexism**. We measured hostile and benevolent sexism using the Spanish version of Glick and Fiske's (1996) Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Expósito, Moya, & Glick, 1998). The scale included 11 hostile sexism items (e.g., "Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist"; $\alpha = .93$) and 11 benevolent sexism items (e.g., "Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess"; $\alpha = .85$) answered from 0 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

**Sexist situations.** Based on the descriptions that other university students (N = 19) provided in a qualitative pilot study and to increase the ecological validity of our research, we created three scenarios representing sexist situations that young women may suffer. One scenario was an episode of street harassment in which a young woman passes by a dark street and a man says: "Hi beautiful, where are you off to so alone? Why don't you hang out with me for a while?" Another scenario presented an insinuation to provide help in exchange for some kind of sexual contact—quid pro quo—in a bus station when a young woman asks the guard whether he can keep her luggage for a while and he answers: "If you behave well with me, I can also behave well with you." The third scenario involved a sexist comment at the entrance to a pub when a young woman asks some men for a lighter and one of them responds: "I will lend it to you, pretty girl, but if in return you come to sleep with me because tonight I don't want to sleep alone". Each participant received one of these randomly assigned scenarios (more information about scenarios may be found in https://osf.io/tdfmb/). Even when differences existed in how sexist, threatening, and insulting the scenarios were perceived to be, we found no significant effect of the type of scenario on the main dependent variables (paternalistic motivation, egalitarian motivation, and confrontation), therefore results were averaged across scenarios for the purpose of the analyses.

**Intentions of assertive sexism confrontation.** We measured intentions of assertive sexism confrontation with a pool of items based on previous literature (Becker, Barreto, Kahn, & de Oliveira Laux, 2015; Hyers, 2007; Swim & Hyers, 1999). After reading the sexist scenario, we asked participants to what extent they would react in different ways to the sexist comment. Following the distinction that Hyers (2007) proposed, we included five items to capture the goal of educating the perpetrator (e.g., "I would make him reflect upon his comment") and three items to capture the goal of self-validation (e.g., "I would tell him that I cannot keep silent in front of his comment"). In addition, we included five items to explicitly manifest the disagreement with the comment (e.g., "I would tell him that I disagree with his comment"). A factorial analysis conducted following the principal component method of extraction with oblimin rotation revealed a unidimensional structure, so we decided to unify all of these items in one scale that we labeled assertive confrontation according to the previous literature (Hyers, 2007; Swim et al., 1998). These 13 items comprised a reliable scale ($\alpha = .96$) and were answered from 1 (sure I would not act like that) to 7 (sure I would act like that).

**Motivations underlying assertive sexism confrontation.** These motivations were evaluated with a pool of items generated ad hoc for this study. We asked participants for the motives that would drive them to confront sexism in a situation such as that described in the scenario. Seven items assessed paternalistic motivations (e.g., "to show that a good man must protect women") and eight items assessed egalitarian motivations (e.g., "to try to end the discrimination women suffer in their daily lives"). Our motivational items were specifically designed to tap into the underlying motivations driving behavior (confrontation of sexism) in that situation. To make sure that paternalistic motivation is clearly distinguishable from benevolent sexism, we conducted

a factorial analysis including both paternalistic motivation and benevolent sexism items. Principal components analysis with varimax rotation (to avoid the factors to covary) extracted four factors with eigenvalues larger than one explaining 66.55% of variance. Paternalistic motivation items loaded on a separate factor (loadings .87–.63), including only one item of protective paternalism that loaded in both factors; the rest of the items were distributed among the three factors reproducing the tridimensional structure of benevolent sexism, namely: heterosexual intimacy, complementary gender differentiation and protective paternalism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Furthermore, we conducted another factorial analysis to confirm the distinction between paternalistic and egalitarian motivations. Principal components factor analysis with oblimin rotation extracted two factors with eigenvalues larger than one explaining 62.09% of variance. Paternalistic motivation (loadings .89–.67) and egalitarian motivation items (loadings .83–.69) loaded on the separate factors. We decided to exclude three items from further analyses because they showed high factorial loadings in both dimensions. The final set of items formed two reliable scales for measuring both paternalistic motivation (four items; $\alpha = .83$) and egalitarian motivation (eight items: $\alpha = .90$).

**Procedure**

We collected data online. Staff members distributed among their students the link to a survey (designed through the Qualtrics Platform) and encouraged them to participate in the research. In some cases, participants received extra credit courses as reward for their participation; when this was not possible, we offered them participation in a raffle for 30 euros. It took participants an average of 30 minutes to complete the study. At the end, we thanked the participants for their collaboration.

## Results

### Analytical Strategy

We conducted correlational analyses to test the relationship between our variables (coefficients are shown in Table 1). Then we did mediation analyses with PROCESS (Preacher & Hayes, 2011) to test the role of motivations as potential mediators of the relationships between feminist identification and benevolent sexism with assertive sexism confrontation. We used 5,000 bootstrap samples to estimate bias-corrected standard errors and 95% percentile confidence intervals for the indirect effects. To control for the possible effect of the different scenarios, we included them as covariates in the mediation analyses.

Table 1. *Means, standard deviations, and correlations for Study 1.*

| | Mean (SD) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Feminist Id. | 3.99 (1.77) | - | -.42** | -.24** | .50** | -.23** | .20* |
| 2. HS | 1.58 (1.13) | | - | .58** | -.47** | .48** | -.02 |
| 3. BS | 1.34 (.92) | | | - | -.14 | .60** | .05 |
| 4. Egalitarian Mot. | 5.57 (1.16) | | | | - | .02 | .22** |
| 5. Paternalistic Mot. | 3.72 (1.50) | | | | | - | .17* |
| 6. Assertive Confr. | 3.78 (1.71) | | | | | | - |

*Note.* Id. = Identification; HS = Hostile Sexism; BS= Benevolent Sexism; MRNS= Masculine Role Norm Scale; Mot. = Motivation; Confr. = Confrontation; *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$

**Feminist Identification Predicts Assertive Sexism Confrontation Through Egalitarian Motivation**

We conducted a mediation analysis to test whether men's feminist identification predicts sexism confrontation intentions via egalitarian motivation (Hypothesis 1). The total effect of feminist identification on sexism confrontation was significant (*b* = .20, 95% CI [.04, .35]). However, the direct effect was not significant when the egalitarian motivation was included as mediator (*b* = .12, 95% CI [-.06, .30]). The indirect effect via egalitarian motivation was also non-significant (*b* = .07, 95% CI [-.01, .19]) (see Figure 1 and Table 4). So Hypothesis 1 was not supported.

**Benevolent Sexism Predicts Assertive Sexism Confrontation Through Paternalistic Motivation**

Using the same analysis strategy, we examined whether the benevolent sexism of men predicts sexism confrontation intentions via paternalistic motivation (Hypothesis 2). As expected, benevolent and hostile sexism were correlated (*r* = .58, *p* < .01; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2000). Hence, we included hostile sexism as a covariate to be sure that the potential variance shared between benevolent sexism and hostile sexism did not account for the results. In the mediation analysis, the total effect was not significant (b = .17, 95% CI [-.21, .55]). However, as hypothesized the indirect effect via paternalistic motivation was significant (*b* = .22, 95% CI [.01, .47]). The direct effect of benevolent sexism on assertive sexism was nonsignificant when we included the mediator (*b* = -.05, 95% CI [-.46, .37]; see Figure 1 and Table 4). These results suggest that the effect of benevolent sexism on assertive sexism confrontation is mediated by paternalistic motivation. Thus Hypothesis 2 was supported.

*Figure 1.* Motivational processes underlying men's future intentions to confront Studies 1-3 and pooled analysis. Feminist path above and paternalistic path below.

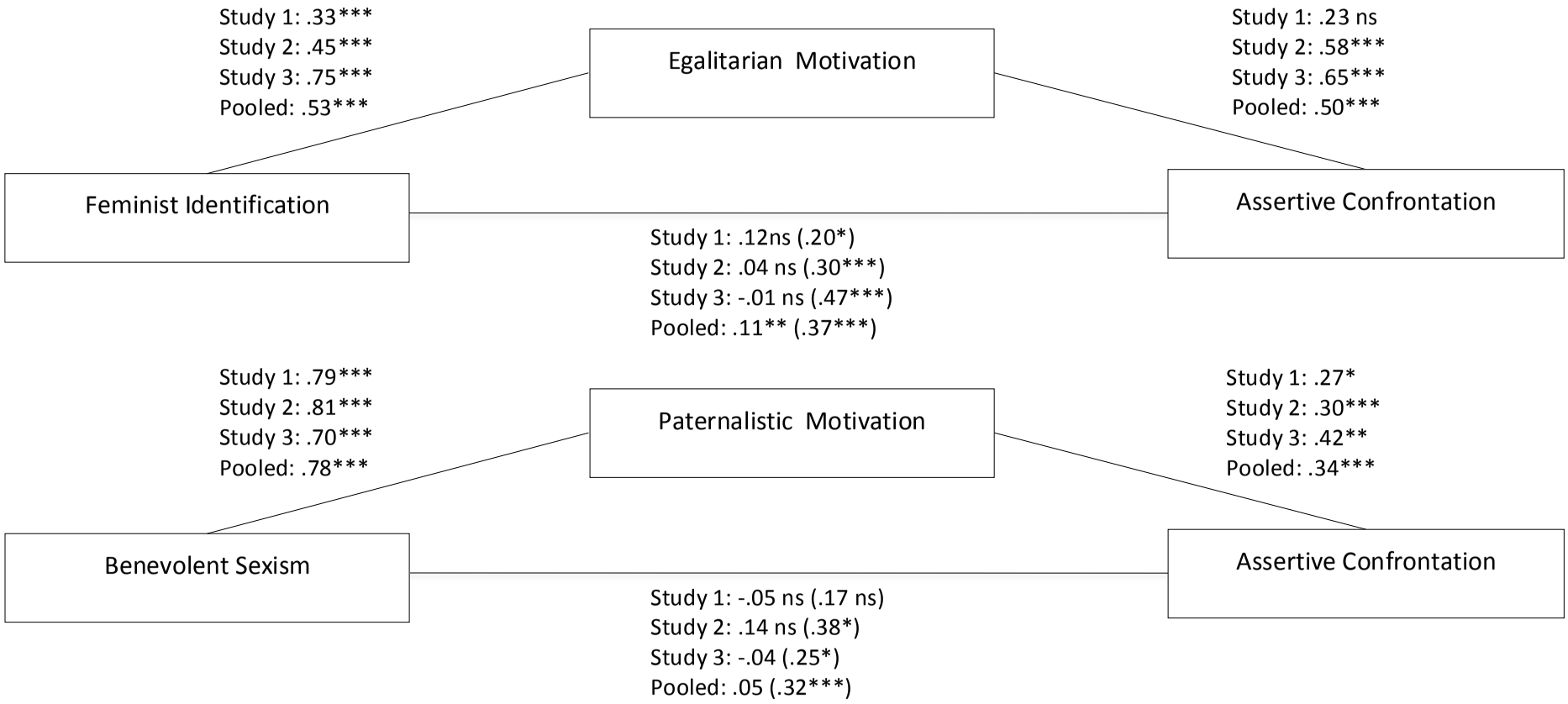


Table 4.

*Summary of total, direct and indirect effect of feminist identification and benevolent sexism on men's future intentions to confront Studies 1-3 and pooled analyses.*

| Relationship between Feminist Identification and men's future intentions to confront via egalitarian motivation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Study 1 (N=144) | | | | Study 2 (N=196) | | | | Study 3 (N=252) | | | | Pool analyses (N=592) | | | |
| | Effect | SE | LLCI | ULCI | Effect | SE | LLCI | ULCI | Effect | SE | LLCI | ULCI | Effect | SE | LLCI | ULCI |
| Total effect | .20 | .08 | .04 | .35 | .30 | .06 | .18 | .42 | .47 | .06 | .36 | .58 | .37 | .04 | .30 | .45 |
| Direct Effect | .12 | .09 | -.06 | .30 | .04 | .06 | -.08 | .15 | -.01 | .06 | -.14 | .11 | .11 | .04 | .03 | .19 |
| Indirect Effect | .07 | .07 | -.01 | .19 | .26 | .04 | .20 | .34 | .49 | .05 | .39 | .59 | .27 | .03 | .21 | .33 |
| Relationship between Benevolent Sexism and men's future intentions to confront via paternalistic motivation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Study 1 (N=144) | | | | Study 2 (N=196) | | | | Study 3 (N=252) | | | | Pool analyses (N=592) | | | |
| | Effect | *SE* | *LLCI* | *ULCI* | Effect | *SE* | *LLCI* | *ULCI* | Effect | *SE* | *LLCI* | *ULCI* | Effect | *SE* | *LLCI* | |
| Total effect | .17 | .19 | -.21 | .55 | .38 | .15 | .08 | .69 | .25 | .12 | .00 | .50 | .32 | .09 | .14 | .49 |
| Direct effect | -.05 | .21 | -.46 | .37 | .14 | .17 | -.19 | .47 | -.04 | .13 | -.30 | .21 | .05 | .09 | -.13 | .24 |
| Indirect effect | .22 | .12 | .01 | .47 | .24 | .08 | .11 | .42 | .29 | .08 | .16 | .47 | .27 | .05 | .18 | .38 |

## Discussion

These results did not support the existence of the feminist path (Hypothesis 1), because we found neither a direct effect of feminist identification on men's intentions to confront nor indirect effect via egalitarian motivation. However, the data supported the hypothesis that paternalistic motivation mediates the relationship between benevolent sexism and assertive confrontation intention (Hypothesis 2), although the total effect was not significant. Thus, this study provides preliminary evidence in favor of the paternalistic path underlying sexism confrontation by men but not in favor of the feminist path. The absence of significant results favoring the hypothesized feminist path may be related to two factors, one theoretical and another methodological: (a) this process might play a more relevant role in explaining other types of actions against inequality than confrontation, for instance, collective actions; (b) according to the Monte Carlo simulation approach to estimating statistical power in mediation models, based in the correlations among the variables, the statistical powers for both paths with this sample size were below .60. For these reasons we decided to conduct a second study, first to explore the possible differences between paternalism and feminism in predicting other actions against gender inequality, such as men's support for collective action for women's rights (a closer psychological proxy for social change; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008) and men's engagement in an activist movement aimed at reflecting on male privilege. The second purpose for Study 2 was to use a larger sample to increase the statistical power for these mediation analyses. In addition, we tried to increase the salience of feminist versus benevolent beliefs using an experimental manipulation.

## Study 2

In Study 2, we expected to find the two proposed paths underlying sexism confrontation among men with a larger sample, and we examined some potentialities of feminism and some boundaries of paternalism in promoting social change. To achieve our first aim, we hypothesized as in Study 1 that feminist identification predicts assertive confrontation through egalitarian motivation (Hypothesis 1a), whereas benevolent sexism predicts assertive confrontation through paternalistic motivation (Hypothesis 1b). Furthermore, we wanted to examine whether the motivational processes proposed may be extended so as to understand other kinds of responses against inequality, such as collective action in favor of women's rights and engagement in the Men for Equity activist movement. Men for Equity is a male profeminist movement that started in the 1970s in the Nordic countries and has spread to other countries. The first groups in Spain appeared in the late 1980s (more information can be found at https://ahige.org/). We expected that the feminist path should play an important role in predicting collective actions supporting women's rights, as well as interest in the Men for Equity movement, because these behaviors are directed to questioning the system and promoting social change (Radke et al., 2018). However, benevolent sexism and paternalism help to maintain the status quo and reinforce social hierarchies (Becker & Wright, 2011; Good et al., 2018; Jost & Kay, 2005; Moya, Glick, Expósito, de Lemus, & Hart, 2007; Radke et al., 2018; Shnabel et al., 2016). Thus, we hypothesized that the path based on feminist identification and egalitarian motivation may predict both support for collective action (Hypothesis 2a) and interest in the Men for Equity movement (Hypothesis 3a), whereas the path based on benevolent sexism and paternalistic motivation is not related to these outcomes (Hypotheses 2b & 3b). Finally, we analyzed whether these motivational

processes predicted not only interest in but also actual engagement in the Men for Equity movement. We expected that the feminist path (Hypothesis 4a) but not the paternalistic one (Hypothesis 4b) predicts it.

## Method

### Participants

A total of 204 men completed the survey. Participants' ages ranged from 17 to 46 years old with a mean of 21.86 years (SD = 4.51). A participant was excluded because he was younger than 17 and we did not have approval from his parents to take part in the study. Using the same criteria as in Study 1, we checked for the presence of outliers. We detected three univariate outliers and excluded them based on the survey completion time. We also detected four multivariate outliers and excluded them. The final sample comprised 196 men. They were students from a university in southern Spain, and 96.9% were Spanish citizens. We conducted a sensitivity analysis to determine the effect size that the current study could detect. The results showed that with this sample size (N = 196), with $\alpha$ = 0.5 and 1-$\beta$ = .80, the minimum effect size that we could detect for a multiple regression analysis with two predictors was $f^2$ = .05.

### Measures

Unless something different is stated, participants were asked to rate each measure on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The measures are described here in the same order as they appeared in the survey. We used the same measures as in Study 1 unless otherwise stated. In order to try to test experimentally our model we introduced a manipulation to increase the salience of feminist versus benevolent beliefs in men and two scenarios perceived as high or low in severity (based

on the results from Study 1). However, neither manipulations produced significant effects in our dependent variables, therefore we did not described them in the main text and did not take them into account in the analyses (more information about manipulations and other extra variables can be found at https://osf.io/hvebt/). However, to control for the possible effect of these manipulations we included them as covariates in the mediation analyses.

**Demographics**. We recorded the ages, nationality, and the college career areas of participants.

**Sexist situations**. We randomly assigned participants to one of two scenarios (both used in Study 1: an episode of street harassment—high severity—or a sexist comment at the entrance of a bar—low severity).

**Intentions of assertive confrontation**. We used the same scale as in Study 1, but in this case with 12 items ($\alpha$ = .95; due to a technical error we missed data from one of the items).

**Motivations underlying assertive sexist confrontation**. The set of items formed a reliable scale for measuring both paternalistic (four items; $\alpha$ = .81) and egalitarian motivations (eight items; $\alpha$ = .91).

**Collective action intentions**. We included six items to measure men's intentions to engage in collective action against gender inequality (e.g., "taking part in a strike for equal pay between women and men"; $\alpha$ = .79). Responses were recorded on a Likert scale from 1 (surely I would not support that action) to 7 (surely I would support that action).

**Interest in the Men for Equity movement**. We told participants about the existence in Spain of a Men for Equity movement and asked them if they were interested in

knowing more about this movement. Responses were recorded using a Likert scale from 0 (I am not interested) to 10 (I am interested).

**Intentions to engage in Men for Equity groups**. As stated in the literature, a significant gap between intentions and actions exists (Sheeran & Webb, 2016). Therefore, we included two more questions that offered participants opportunities to actively engage in this activist movement. The first one asked participants if they wanted to receive more information about the Men for Equity groups in Spain. We explicitly stated that if they selected "yes," we would provide them with brief information about the origin of Men for Equity groups, as well as the aims of this movement (an English translation version can be found at https://osf.io/hvebt/). However, if they selected "no," then they would move on to the next section of the survey. Participants who selected "yes" were codified as 1, and participants who selected "no" were codified as 0. Those who selected "yes" read an extract from the website of the Association of Men for Gender Equity, which provided the history and goals of this movement in Spain (an English translation is available in supplementary materials). Then, we offered them the possibility of getting in touch with a local group of this movement and asked them to provide their e-mail addresses (second question). Participants who wrote their e-mail addresses were codified as 1, and those who did not were codified as 0. The results showed that 51.8% of the participants were open to receiving more information about the groups in Spain, but only 22.5% of them left their e-mail addresses (11.7% of the total participants). With the information obtained in both items, we created a composite variable ranging from 0 (no engagement in these groups) to 2 (maximum engagement in these groups).

**Hostile and benevolent sexism**. Hostile and benevolent sexism were measured with the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Expósito et al., 1998; Glick & Fiske, 1996), (SHα = .94; SBα = .87).

**Feminist identification**. We used the same seven items from Study 1 (α = .95)

### Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to either the feminist or benevolence salience condition and to one of the two sexist scenarios used (high vs. low severity). They first read a text making salient a feminist or benevolent norm (available in supplementary materials), followed by the scenario and a questionnaire including the measures of interest.

## Results

### Analytical Strategy

We conducted correlational analyses to test the relationship between our variables (see Table 2). Then we ran mediational analyses with PROCESS macro to test the two paths leading to assertive confrontation as conducted in Study 1 (Hypotheses 1a and 1b), as well as to examine if the motivational processes proposed predicted men's support for collective action (Hypotheses 2a and 2b), interest in the Men for Equity movement (Hypotheses 3a and 3b), and engagement in Men for Equity groups (Hypotheses 4a and 4b). Because the experimental manipulations did not have an effect on the dependent variables, we included them as covariates in all the analyses.

### Motivational Processes Underlying Sexism Confrontation in Men

We conducted the same two mediational models as in Study 1 to test Hypotheses

1a and 1b. Benevolent and hostile sexism correlated ($r$ = .65 $p$ < .01), so we included hostile sexism as a covariate. The total effect was significant in both models (feminist identification: $b$ = .30, 95% CI [.18, .42]; benevolent sexism: $b$ = .38, 95% CI [.08, .69]), as well as the indirect effects on assertive confrontation of feminist identification via egalitarian motivation ($b$ = .26, 95% CI [.20, .34]) and of benevolent sexism via paternalistic motivation ($b$ = .24, 95% CI [.11, .42]). The direct effects were nonsignificant when the mediators were included in the models (feminist identification: $b$ = .04, 95% CI [-.08, .15]; benevolent sexism: $b$ = .14, 95% CI [-.19, .47]; see Figure 1 and Table 4). Thus, Hypotheses 1a and 1b were supported.

Table 2. *Means, standard deviations, and correlations for Study 2.*

| | Mean (SD) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Feminist Id. | 3.98 (1.72) | - | -.57** | -.34** | .52** | -.20** | .34** | .51** | .42** | .41** |
| 2. HS | 1.36 (1.17) | | - | .65** | -.25** | .50** | -.19** | -.42** | -.22** | -.30** |
| 3. BS | 1.11 (0.91) | | | - | -.06 | .61** | -.01 | -.17* | -.10 | -.15* |
| 4. Egalitarian Mot. | 4.73 (1.49) | | | | - | .18* | .60** | .48** | .42** | .22** |
| 5. Paternalistic Mot. | 2.83 (1.46) | | | | | - | .14 | -.04 | -.14 | -.21** |
| 6. Assertive Confr. | 3.97 (1.50) | | | | | | - | .35** | .28** | .16* |
| 7. Support CCA | 4.98 (1.34) | | | | | | | - | .37** | .25** |
| 8. Interest "MxEq Mov." | 6.86 (2.72) | | | | | | | | - | .48** |
| 9. Engagement "MxEq Mov." | 0.63 (0.68) | | | | | | | | | - |

*Note.* *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$; Id. = Identification; HS = Hostile Sexism; BS= Benevolent Sexism; MRNS= Masculine Role Norm Scale; Mot. = Motivation; Confr. = Confrontation ; CCA= Collective Actions; MxEq Mov. = Men for equity movement. The items in all scales ranged from 1 to 7, with the exception of Interest "MxEq Mov." that ranged from 0 to 10 and Engagement "MxEq Mov." that ranged from 0 to 2.

**Men's Support for Collective Action, Interest in Men for Equity Movement, and Engagement in the Movement**

To test Hypotheses 2a and 2b, we analyzed the role of feminist identification and benevolent sexism as predictors of collective action intentions in support of women's rights, mediated by egalitarian and paternalistic motivations. On the one hand, the total effect of feminist identification on collective action intentions was significant (*b* = .39, 95% CI [.29, .48]). As expected, there was an indirect effect of feminist identification on collective action intentions through egalitarian motivations (*b* = .13, 95% CI [.06, .21]). The direct effect of feminist identification remained significant (*b* = .26, 95% CI [.15, .36]). On the other hand, the total effect of benevolent sexism on collective action intentions was nonsignificant (*b* = .23, 95% CI [-.02, .49]). However, the indirect effect via paternalistic motivation was unexpectedly significant (*b* = .13, 95% CI [.01, .26]). The direct effect was nonsignificant (*b* = .11, 95% CI [-.17, .39]). Thus, Hypothesis 2a was confirmed with our data, but Hypothesis 2b was rejected.

We conducted the same analyses on men's interest in knowing more about the Men for Equity movement to test Hypotheses 3a and 3b. The total effect of feminist identification was significant (*b* = .64, 95% CI [.43, .86]), as well as the indirect effect via egalitarian motivation (*b* =.24, 95 % CI [.09, .42]). Direct effect remained significant when we included the mediator in the model (*b* = .40, 95% CI [.16, .64]). However, interest in the Men for Equity movement was not predicted by benevolent sexism (total effect: *b* = .15, 95% CI [-.45, .75]; indirect effect via paternalistic motivation: *b* = -.12 95% CI [-.40, .14]; direct effect: *b* = .27, 95% CI [-.40, .93]). Thus, Hypothesis 3a and 3b were supported.

Finally, we conducted two more mediational models to test the motivational processes with the true intentions to engage in Men for Equity groups (Hypotheses 4a

and 4b). In this case, the total effect of feminist identification on intentions to engage in the movement was significant (*b* = .16, 95% CI [.10, .22]), although the indirect effect through egalitarian motivation was not (*b* = .00, 95% CI [-.03, .04]). Direct effect remained significant when the mediator was included in the model (*b* = -.17, 95% CI [.11, .24]). Engagement in the activist movement was not predicted by benevolent sexism as expected (total effect: *b* = .07, 95% CI [-.07, .22]; indirect effect via paternalistic motivation: *b* = -.04, 95% CI [-.13, .03]; direct effect: *b* = .12, 95% CI [-.05, .28]). Thus, Hypothesis 4a was partially supported because feminist identification predicted engagement in the movement directly but not indirectly via egalitarian motivation, whereas Hypothesis 4b was supported.

## Discussion

The results of Study 2 supported most of our hypotheses, replicating the pattern found in Study 1 for the paternalistic path and giving empirical support to the egalitarian path. In this case, with a larger sample, we improved the statistical powers for both paths to a value higher than .75, according to the Monte Carlo simulation approach. In addition, our results also extended previous findings to actions more related to social change and actual behavior. The paternalistic path also unexpectedly predicted men's support for collective action. However, only the feminist path predicted involvement in actions that imply reconsidering their role in gender inequality directly. These results suggest that paternalistic motivations might sometimes promote men to at least declare having intentions to participate in collective action for women's rights (but see Radke et al., 2018), however, they do not motivate either their interest in or commitment to men's activism against gender inequality. Overall, the results of Study 2 support our proposed

two motivational paths to sexism confrontation and provide preliminary evidence suggesting that only the feminist path can promote social change. However, some of the results were unexpected and the statistical power did not reach the conventional .80 value (Fritz & MacKinnon, 2007). To overcome these limitations, we conducted Study 3 as a close conceptual replication; we also preregistered it in the Open Science Framework platform.

## Study 3

In this study, we expected to replicate the two motivational processes underlying sexism confrontation in men, as well as collective action intentions, interest in the Men for Equity movement, and willingness to engage in this movement. As in previous studies, we hypothesized that feminist identification predicts assertive confrontation via egalitarian motivation (Hypothesis 1a), whereas benevolent sexism predicts assertive confrontation via paternalistic motivation (Hypothesis 1b). To replicate Study 2, we hypothesized that feminist identification predicts both support for collective action (Hypothesis 2a), interest in the Men for Equity movement (Hypothesis 3a), and actual engagement in this movement (Hypothesis 4a) via egalitarian motivation, whereas benevolent sexism and paternalistic motivation are not related to these outcomes (Hypotheses 2b, 3b & 4b). The study hypotheses and methods were preregistered and are available at https://osf.io/euyfx.

### Method

#### Participants

A total of 253 men completed the survey. We excluded a multivariate outlier so the final sample comprised 252 men. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 46 years old

with a mean of 22.59 years (SD = 4.34). Of the sample, 84.9% were students from a university in southern Spain, whereas 15.1% were workers or were applying for a job in public administration; 96% were Spanish citizens. Based on the data from our previous studies, we calculated a priori the sample needed to obtain a power of .80. We use two different approaches: Monte Carlo simulation to estimate statistical power in mediation models (Schoemann, Boulton, & Short, 2017) and the recommendations of Fritz and Mackinnon (2007) regarding a bias-corrected bootstrapping approach in mediation analyses. Both approaches indicated that a sample size of 250 was adequate to raise a power of .80.

**Measures**

We mainly used the same measures as in Study 2 (unless otherwise specified), reducing the number of items when possible to shorten the questionnaire (the questionnaire is available at https://osf.io/xcae7/). The response scales were the same as in the previous studies.

**Demographics**. We recorded participants' ages, nationality, and career areas.

**Feminist identification**. We used the same seven items as in Studies 1 and 2 (α =.95).

**Hostile and benevolent sexism**. We used the short 12-item version of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Rollero, Glick, & Tartalia, 2014). Six items were used to measure hostile sexism (SHα = .86) and six items to measure benevolent sexism (SBα = .74).

**Sexist situation**. We only included one sexist situation using two comic vignettes developed for another set of studies (Estevan-Reina, de Lemus, Megías, Kutlaca,

Belmonte-García & Becker, 2020 – Chapter 4 this thesis). In the first vignette, a woman asked some men standing at the entrance of a club for a lighter. In the second vignette, one of the men said, "Of course I will lend it to you, pretty girl, but if in return you come to sleep with me tonight, because I don't want to sleep alone."

**Intentions of assertive confrontation**. We used the same 12 items as in Study 2 (α = .97).

**Motivations underlying assertive sexist confrontation.** We used the same four items used in previous studies to measure paternalistic motivation (α = .76) and four of the eight items used in previous studies to measure egalitarian motivation (α = .94). Since in this study we have a sufficient sample size to carry out a confirmatory factor analysis (Byrne, 2001), we decided to verify with this technique that the items used to measure paternalistic motivation constitute an independent factor of benevolent sexism. To this aim we tested two models with AMOS 25.0. Model A included two latent variables (benevolent sexism and paternalistic motivation) and Model B one single-factor. The goodness of fit showed a better adjustment of Model A ($\chi^2$ = 54.56, *df* = 26, *p* = .001; $\chi^2/df$ = 2.10; *RMSEA* = .07 (*PCLOSE* = .11), *CFI* = .97, *NFI* = .94) compared to Model B ($\chi^2$ = 93.38, *df* = 27, *p* = < .001; $\chi^2/df$ = 3.46; *RMSEA* = .10 (*PCLOSE* >. 001), *CFI* = .92, *NFI* = .90). A chi square different test ($\Delta\chi^2$=38.82, p = .05) and the comparison between the models using AIC (Akaike, 1974) (*AIC* Model A=132.56; *AIC* Model B= 169.38), confirmed that Model A had a better adjustment.

**Intentions of supporting collective actions**. We used the four items developed by Radke et al. (2018) to measure willingness to engage in feminist actions (e.g., "I will protest against sexism"; α =.87) and four more items (pretested by Estevan-Reina, de Lemus, Megías, Radke, & Becker, 2020 - Chapter 5 this thesis) that represented actions

aimed to question male privilege and to support redistribution of power and responsibilities between women and men (e.g., "Participate in activities in which male privileges in current society are questioned"). The response scale varied from 1 (very unlikely) to 7 (very likely).

**Interest in the Men for Equity movement**. We used the same single item as in Study 2.

**Intentions to engage in Men for Equity groups**. As in Study 2, this measure was composed of two items. The results showed that 25.9% of the participants were open to receiving more information about the Men for Equity movement in Spain, but only 62.5% of those who had shown interest in the movement agreed to provide their e-mail addresses to be directly contacted by the organization (16.6% of the total participants). With the information obtained for both items, we created a new variable ranging from 0 (no engagement in these groups) to 2 (maximum engagement in these groups).

### Procedure

We approached men at some university libraries and asked for their collaboration to complete a 10-minute paper-and-pencil questionnaire. After completion, we rewarded participants with a chocolate bar.

## Results

### Analytical Strategy

We conducted correlational analyses to test the relationships among our variables (see Table 3). Then we ran mediational analyses with the macro PROCESS to confirm the two motivational processes underlying sexism confrontation among men (Hypotheses 1a and 1b), as well as to examine the role of feminism and paternalism to motivate men in

fighting gender inequality through other types of behaviors such as supporting collective action (Hypotheses 2a and 2b), showing interest in the Men for Equity movement (Hypotheses 3a and 3b), or actively engaging in it (Hypotheses 4a and 4b).

**Motivational Processes Underlying Sexism Confrontation in Men**

We conducted the same two simple mediational models as in previous studies (see Figure 1 and Table 4). Regarding the feminist path, the total effect of feminist identification on men's future intentions to confront sexism was significant ($b$ = .47, 95% CI [.36, .58]) as well as the indirect effect via egalitarian motivation ($b$ = .49, 95% CI [.39, .59]). The direct effect was not significant when the egalitarian motivation was included as mediator ($b$ = -.01, 95% CI [-.14, .11]). Thus, Hypothesis 1a was supported.

Benevolent and hostile sexism correlated ($r$ =.55 $p$ < .01) so we included hostile sexism as a covariate. Regarding the paternalistic path, the total effect of benevolent sexism on men's future intentions to confront was significant ($b$ = .25, 95% CI [.00, .50]) as well as the indirect effect via paternalistic motivation: $b$ = .29, 95% CI [.16, .47]). The direct effect was not significant ($b$ = -.04, 95% CI [-.30, .21]). Thus, Hypothesis 1b was also supported.

Table 3. *Means, standard deviations, and correlations for Study 3.*

| | Mean (SD) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Feminist Id. | 4.55 (1.69) | - | -.62** | -.32** | .69** | -.18** | .47** | .72** | .45** | .39** |
| 2. HS | 1.06 (1.00) | | - | .55** | -.52** | .28** | -.29** | -.52** | -.24** | -.29** |
| 3. BS | 1.25 (.97) | | | - | -.19** | .48** | -.06 | -.22** | -.12 | -.21** |
| 4. Egalitarian Mot. | 5.21 (1.81) | | | | - | .14* | .70** | .77** | .44** | .34** |
| 5. Paternalistic Mot. | 3.28 (1.46) | | | | | - | .25** | -.05 | -.02 | -.14* |
| 6. Assertive Confr. | 4.73 (1.69) | | | | | | - | .63** | .37** | .28** |
| 7. Support CCA | 4.47 (1.39) | | | | | | | - | .53** | .44** |
| 8. Interest "MxEq Mov." | 5.51 (3.50) | | | | | | | | - | .47** |
| 9. Engagement "MxEq Mov." | 0.42 (.75) | | | | | | | | | - |

*Note.* *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$; Id. = Identification; HS = Hostile Sexism; BS= Benevolent Sexism; MRNS= Masculine Role Norm Scale; Mot. = Motivation; Confr. = Confrontation ; CCA= Collective Actions; MxEq Mov. = Men for equity movement. The items in all scales ranged from 1 to 7, with the exception of Interest "MxEq Mov." that ranged from 0 to 10 and Engagement "MxEq Mov." that ranged from 0 to 2.

**Men's Support for Collective action, Interest in the Men for Equity Movement, and Engagement in That Movement**

We conducted six more mediational analyses including men's support for collective action, interest in the Men for Equity movement, and intentions to engage in this movement as outcomes. Regarding the feminist path, the total effects of feminist identification on the three outcome variables were significant (support for collective actions: *b* = .60, 95% CI [.53, .67]; interest for the Men for Equity movement: *b* = .94, 95% CI [.71, 1.18]; intentions to engage in the movement: *b* = .18, 95% CI [.12, .23]), as well as the indirect effects via egalitarian motivation (support for collective action: *b* = .29, 95% CI [.23, .36]; interest in the Men for Equity movement: *b* = .36, 95% CI [.09, .62]; engagement in the movement: *b* = .06, 95% CI [.02, .11]). The direct effects remained significant in all cases (support for collective action: *b* = .31, 95% CI [.23, .40]; interest in the Men for Equity movement: *b* = .58, 95% CI [.27, .90]; engagement in the movement: .13, 95% CI [.05, .20]). Thus, Hypothesis 2a, 3a, and 4a were supported.

Further, as we expected, the total effects of benevolent sexism on the three outcome variables were not significant (support for collective actions: *b* = .15, 95% CI [-.03, .33]; interest in the Men for Equity movement: *b* =.06, 95% CI [-.46, .59]; engagement in the movement: *b* = -.06, 95% CI [-.17, .05]), and neither were the indirect effects via paternalistic motivation (support for collective actions: *b* = .06, 95% CI [-.02, .15]; men's interest in the Men for Equity movement: *b* = -.08, 95% CI [-.17, .33]; engagement in the movement: -.02, 95% CI [-.07, .03]) nor the direct effects (support for collective actions: *b* = .09, 95% CI [-.11, .29]; men's interest in the Men for Equity movement: *b* =-.02, 95% CI [-.59, .56]; engagement in the movement: -.04, 95% CI [-.17, .08]). Thus, Hypotheses 2b, 3b and 4b were also supported.

## Discussion

Results of Study 3 confirmed the existence of two different routes that lead men to confront sexism, a feminist path and an egalitarian path, but in this case using a larger sample that guaranteed sufficient statistical power and a preregistered conceptual replication of Study 2's findings. In Study 3, we also confirmed that although the paternalistic route predicts sexism confrontation among men it does not relate to the involvement in other types of outcomes against inequality (such as supporting collective action, interest in the Men for Equity movement, or engagement in this movement). Thus, in these last actions, only the feminist path played a significant role.

## Pooled Analyses

Whereas the results of Studies 2 and 3 are highly symmetrical, there were some discrepancies between the results from these two studies and Study 1. For this reason, to test our hypotheses considering all the evidence gathered and to seek convergence between studies, we conducted integrative data analysis (Curran & Hussong, 2009). This procedure allowed us to increase statistical power and sample heterogeneity. First we pooled the samples from the three studies into a single analysis to confirm both paths underlying sexism confrontation. Total sample included 592 participants (N1 = 144; N2 = 196; N3 = 252). Then, we pooled the samples of Studies 2 and 3 to confirm the relevance of the feminist path in predicting other types of actions beyond sexism confrontation (collective action, interest and engagement in an activist movement). The total sample included 448 participants (N2 = 196; N3 = 252).

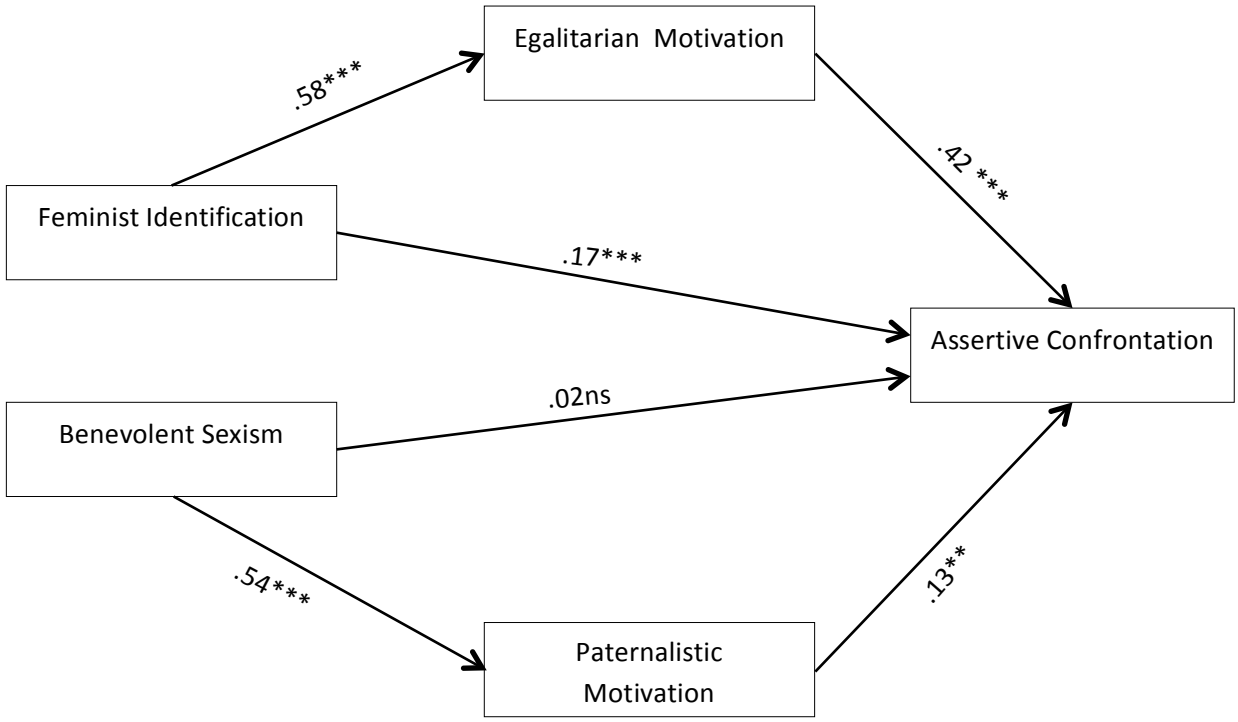
**Motivational Processes Underlying Sexism Confrontation in Men (Pooled Analysis of Studies 1–3)**

Integrative data analysis confirmed the paternalist and egalitarian paths underlying men's confrontation of sexism. The total effect of feminist identification on men's intentions to confront was significant (*b* = .37, 95% CI [.30, .45]), as well as the indirect effect via egalitarian motivation (*b* = .27, 95% CI [.21, .33]). The direct effect remained significant when egalitarian motivation was controlled for (*b* = .11, 95% CI [03, .19]). Further, the total effect of benevolent sexism on men's intentions to confront was significant (*b* = .32, 95% CI [.14, .49]), as well as the indirect effect via paternalistic motivation (*b* = .27, 95% CI [.18, .38]). The direct effect was nonsignificant (*b* = .05, 95% CI [-.13, .24]; see Figure 1 and Table 4).

Moreover, using the pooled data we conducted a path analyses (Byrne, 2001) with AMOS 25.0 to confirm that both processes occur independently when controlling for the other simultaneously (Model A, see Figure 2). The overall fit of Model A was excellent, the chi square was non-significant, the *RMSEA* is above the .06 cut off, and the *CFI* and *NFI* values are below .95, $\chi^2$ = 3.04, *df* = 2, *p* = .22; $\chi^2/df$ = 1.52; *RMSEA* = .03 (*PCLOSE* = .61), *CFI* = .99, *NFI* = .99. A modification of this model controlling for the effect of hostile sexism on paternalistic motivation (Model B) had also a good adjustment ($\chi^2$ = 17.52, *df* = 4, *p* = .002; $\chi^2/df$ = 4.38; *RMSEA* = .08 (*PCLOSE* = .10), *CFI* = .99, *NFI* = .99) although the Akaike information criterion (*AIC*; Akaike, 1974) is larger in Model B (*AIC*= 51.52) than Model A (*AIC*= 29.04) which implies a better fit of Model A. Finally, given that this was a correlational study and it was not possible to be certain about the direction of causality between the variables, one new model was tested inverting the direction of the predictive relationships between feminism/sexism and motivations. Model C tested the

hypothesis that egalitarian motivation influenced confrontation via feminist identification, whereas paternalistic motivation influenced confrontation via benevolent sexism. Model C presented inappropriate fit indexes, $\chi^2$ = 114. 05, *df* = 2, *p* = <.001; $\chi^2/df$ = 57.02; *RMSEA* = .310 (*PCLOSE* = <.001), *CFI* = .86, *NFI* = .86. A chi square different test, $\Delta\chi^2$= 111.01, *p* < .001, showed that Model A had better goodness-of-fit indexes than Model C. Both models were also compared by using the Akaike information criterion. Model A showed a smaller AIC than Model C (*AIC*=140.05), which also implies a better fit of the former.

*Figure 2.* Path analysis with pooled data of Studies 1-3 to test simultaneously the two motivational processes (feminist and paternalistic path) underlying men's future intentions to confront.




**p* < .05, ***p* < .01 ****p* < .001

**Men's Support for Collective Action, Interest in the Men for Equity movement, and Engagement in the Movement (Pooled Analysis of Studies 2–3)**

We tested the predictive models on collective action intentions and interest and engagement in the Men for Equity movement with the pooled sample of Studies 2–3. The results revealed that total effects of feminist identification on the three outcome variables were significant (support for collective actions: *b* = .47, 95% CI [.41, .53]; interest in the Men for Equity movement: *b* = .74, 95% CI [.58, .91]; engagement in the movement: *b* = .15, 95% CI [.12, .19]). The indirect effects via egalitarian motivation were significant on support for collective action (*b* = .21, 95% CI [.15, .26]) and on interest in the Men for Equity movement (*b* = .30, 95% CI [.15, .47]), but not significant on intentions to engage in the movement (*b* = .02, 95% CI [-.01, .05]). The direct effects remained significant in all cases (men's support for collective actions: *b* = .26, 95% CI [.19, .33]; interest in the Men for Equity movement: *b* =.44, 95% CI [.23, .65]; engagement in the movement: *b* = .14, 95% CI [.09, .19]). The results showed that feminist identification directly predicted engagement in the Men for Equity movement, as well as support for collective action and interest in the Men for Equity movement (both directly and indirectly through egalitarian motivation).

Regarding the paternalistic path, the total effects of benevolent sexism were nonsignificant in any of the three outcome variables (support for collective actions: *b* = .09, 95% CI [-.06, .25]; interest in the Men for Equity movement: *b* = -.08, 95% CI [-.48, .32]; engagement in the movement: *b* = -.04, 95% CI [-.13, .04]). The indirect effects via paternalistic motivation were nonsignificant on support for collective action (*b* = .06, 95% CI [-.02, .13]) and men's interest in the Men for Equity movement (*b* = -.04, 95% CI [-.25, .15]), but it was significant although negative on engagement in the movement: (*b* = -.04,

95% CI [-.09, -.00]). The direct effects were nonsignificant (support for collective actions: *b* = .04, 95% CI [-.13, .20]; men's interest in the Men for Equity movement: *b* = -.04, 95% CI [-.48, .41]; engagement in the movement: *b* = .00, 95% CI [-.10, .10]). These results showed that benevolent sexism not only did not predict collective actions, but it also inhibited engagement in the Men for Equity movement via paternalistic motivation.

## General Discussion

In recent years, thanks mainly to the Me Too movement, awareness about sexual harassment has grown worldwide. Although this and previous similar movements have been led by women, more and more consciousness is arising about the importance of encouraging men to join the fight against sexual harassment and gender discrimination more generally. But the implication of men in this endeavor merits some detailed analysis. Our studies have shown that when men face sexism, they can be motivated to confront it by different reasons, but they do not have the same impact in promoting other actions in fighting gender inequality. The results of this set of studies support the existence of two paths that lead men to confront sexism (specifically episodes of street sexual harassment): one of them mostly based on feminism and the other mostly based on paternalism. Feminist identification predicts sexism confrontation directly and indirectly via egalitarian motivation, whereas benevolent sexism predicts sexism confrontation indirectly via paternalistic motivation. However, only the feminist path consistently predicts men's support for collective action, interest in the Men for Equity movement, and actual engagement in that movement. Thus, these results confirm the boundaries of paternalism compared with feminism in promoting social change.

On the one hand, our results show that egalitarian motivation plays an important

role in explaining sexism confrontation, supporting collective action and interest in the Men for Equity movement. Confrontation is an individual action that takes place in the interpersonal context, and it refers to challenging a perceived injustice in how someone is treated due to his or her social background; whereas men's support for feminist actions and men's interest in the Men for Equity movement are actions that question the status quo to a greater extent. However, despite the differentiated nature of these actions, varying from the interpersonal to the intergroup level (see Stroebe, Wang, & Wright, 2015, for a reflection on collective and individual actions), our results show that they share the same underlying motivational mechanism. This may be due to the fact that confronting sexism, being an individual action, could be understood as a collective strategy in coping with daily prejudice that involves two processes: (a) not only emphasizing the inappropriateness of a comment in an interpersonal setting, but (b) improving the situation of women as a group (Becker et al., 2015). However, egalitarian motivation did not play such a relevant role in predicting men's engagement with the Men for Equity movement. The difference between intention and behavior (Sheeran & Webb, 2016) might account for this fact. Whereas motivations might be a closer predictor of behavioral intentions, other factors might explain the link to actual behavior. Besides, in the case of men as an advantaged group, the content of the feminist identity should also imply a deeper reflection on their own privileged position and a commitment to changing it (in-group focused), and this process seems different from the egalitarian motivation that can emerge in a specific situation (out-group focused). That is, the egalitarian motivation path is based on a reflection about intergroup relations and willingness to improve the out-group's disadvantaged position, whereas deciding to actively participate in a profeminist men's movement implies rethinking men's identity

and privileges. Although both aspects can be needed to balance the in-group–out-group disadvantage, they might be explained by different underlying motivational processes.

On the other hand, our work also highlights that the paternalistic motivation is the mechanism that explains the relationship between benevolent sexism and confrontation, and we suggest that it may be an important factor in order to understand the relationship found in some previous work between benevolent sexism and actions related to protecting women (e.g., dependency-oriented helping, Shnabel et al., 2016; protective collective action, Radke et al., 2018). Besides, the fact that the paternalistic path does not predict either collective action or interest in male activism confirms the limits of paternalism in promoting social change. In fact, pooled analyses showed that benevolent sexism via paternalistic motivation not only does not increase men's engagement with the Men for Equity movement, but it actually inhibits their participation. In some sense, these results are consistent with the idea that certain "egalitarian" narratives built by men do not promote social change unless these discourses are translated into practice (Lamont, 2015).

**Limitations and Future Research**

We are aware that this work also has some limitations. Our samples are limited to Spanish college students. In recent years, gender issues have become an important political agenda topic in Spain (Grodira, Borrás, Cela, & Albin, 2018), so despite the feminist stigma (Anastosopoulos & Desmarais, 2015; Anderson, 2009), feminist identification is rising in Spain (Álvarez, 2018; Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas [Sociological Research Center], 2018). Thus, it would be important to replicate these results in other countries, as well as to study these processes with the general population

to see if they can be generalized. In the same way, the sexist comments that we used in our scenarios described sexist situations based on sexual objectification of women or undesired sexual attention that happens in a leisure context. We chose this context because it is closer to college students' real experiences and because the previous literature showed that it is the type of sexist incident that only women suffer (compared with men) (Swim et al., 2001). Although analyzing the motivational process that leads men to face sexual harassment is important, future researchers should check whether the proposed motivational processes are also valid for explaining the assertive confrontation of other types of (nonsexual) sexist incidents. Another limitation of our work is the lack of experimental evidence to establish causality in the relationship among our variables. In Study 2, we tried to overcome this limitation, but we did not succeed. Perhaps future researchers should focus on manipulating the underlying motivations instead of attitudinal variables that can be more difficult to influence. Another factor that could be further explored is the moderating role of the severity of the sexist event. Previous research found that the likelihood to intervene in more severe sexist incidents was higher than in less severe ones **(**Chabot et al., 2009). Manipulating the severity of sexist situations may be a way to activate paternalistic motivation because the duty to protect women when they are at risk is a central aspect of traditional masculinity (Thompson & Bennet, 2015). Further, it should be interesting to test our hypotheses using community samples because older and less educated populations usually endorse more traditional gender attitudes than college students. Concerning the measures used in our studies, it is important to notice that some of them were not previously subjected to an exhaustive validation process. So to guarantee their ecological and construct validity more research is needed. Finally, we cannot ignore that intentions are often only weakly predictive of

actual behavior and particularly inconsistent when scenarios are threatening (for a related discussion in the context of real versus imagined gender harassment see Woodzicka and Lafrance, 2001). Future research should address this issue testing our predictions in a real confrontation context.

Overall, this work is a first step to understanding the ideological and motivational factors underlying men's confrontations of sexism. Future research should explore the implications for women (as targets of discrimination) of men's confrontations of sexism guided by paternalistic or feminist paths, as well as whether these motivations affect women's perception of confronters as allies. Further, future research should examine if paternalistic confrontation actually perpetuates inequality. Paternalistic motivation is a way in which the masculine belief (Saucier et al., 2016) in the "duty to protect women" (Good et al., 2018) is expressed. Thus, confrontation motivated by paternalistic reasons may allow men to project the image of being nonsexist, at the same time that it reinforces their masculinity, allowing them to appear as chivalrous men. In a similar way, confronting sexism based on paternalistic reasons can allow men to use "egalitarian" arguments as a way of constructing the understanding of themselves as progressive, caring, and respectful of women, in contrast to the majority of men (Lamont, 2015), at the same time that they are reinforcing traditional gender roles. In addition, future researchers should analyze the role of reflection about male privilege as a mediator between feminist identification and out-group-focused actions (such as engagement in the Men for Equity movement), as well as the role that it can play in men becoming genuine allies of women in fighting gender inequality.

## Conclusion

These three studies have added some relevant knowledge to the current literature on the role played by men in confronting sexism and its implication in different collective actions in favor of gender equality. The results confirm the importance of men's feminist identification in promoting social change through confronting sexism, in line with findings in the literature on collective action (Radke et al., 2018; Wiley et al., 2012). We have identified two motivational paths in men fighting gender inequality. Our results confirm that both feminist identification via egalitarian motivation and benevolent sexism via paternalistic motivation may help to explain men's attempts to confront sexism. In addition, this work highlights the potentialities of feminism compared to paternalism to promote social change. Taking these results into account, considering these different motivations underlying actions against inequality may be helpful to understanding when men could be true allies of women in promoting social change, or on the contrary when they could contribute to perpetuating the status quo. From an applied point of view, we emphasize that the social interventions aimed at combating gender inequality should be focused on the development of feminist identity in men, and on the promotion of egalitarian motivations instead of paternalistic ones.

## Data and Materials Availability

The datasets generated for pooled analyses can be found in the Open Science Framework: https://osf.io/fjbk4/. The raw data supporting the conclusions of Studies 1-3 will be made available by the authors, without undue reservation, to any qualified researcher.

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# Capítulo 4:

## Allies Against Sexism: The Impact of Feminist and Nonfeminist Male Confrontation on Women's Empowerment and Well-Being

# Allies Against Sexism: The Impact of Feminist and Nonfeminist Male Confrontation on Women's Empowerment and Well-Being[3]


## Abstract

The issue of solidarity by advantaged group members is a hot topic in current social psychology, but there is still doubt about whether it promotes social change or perpetuates the status quo. To clarify this, we propose considering the impact of advantaged group members' type of confrontation on targets of discrimination. In three different countries (Spain, Germany, and Mexico), using hypothetical scenarios, we analyzed the consequences of male feminist versus nonfeminist confrontations on women's empowerment and well-being as well as their implications in women's future intentions to confront. The results show that women experienced more empowerment and well-being (more happiness and less anger) after feminist confrontation than after nonfeminist confrontation. Empowerment (but not happiness) made them express greater future intentions to confront; further, anger also made women express their greater future intentions to confront. Thus, our results confirm that in different cultural contexts, feminist confronters are good allies for women not only because they make them feel better, and empowered to keep fighting. Also, our results suggest that women react to nonfeminist confronters as an act of resistance.


**Keywords***:* men as allies, sexism confrontation, feminism, paternalism, empowerment, anger

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You're partying with your friends. A man approaches you with the intention of flirting with one of you. You and your friends look at each other because this is not the first time that this has happened to you and you are tired of it. One of your male friends approaches the man and says, "Hey! Don't be such a male chauvinist!" Another one says, "You should not bother the ladies." How would you feel about each of these reactions? Would you feel equally happy and grateful for your friends' interventions or annoyed because they assumed that you needed their protection? Apparently, they are doing something positive for women in both cases (and this is rarely observed), but though the first one is acknowledging the perpetrator's attitude as sexist, the second one is acting in a sexist way by using a paternalistic argument. The main aim of the present research is to test the effects of two forms of ally confrontation (feminist vs. nonfeminist) on women's empowerment and well-being as well as their implications in women's future intentions to confront sexism. The issue of solidarity by advantaged group members is a hot topic in current social psychology, but there is still doubt about whether it promotes social change or perpetuates the status quo. Over the last few years, due to the rise of feminist claims ("Me Too movement", women's marches, feminist strikes), the role of men in fighting gender inequality has become a relevant issue. In this work, we propose the importance of considering how advantaged group members are involved in actions against inequality and what consequences their involvement has on targets of discrimination.

**Sexism Confrontation as a Strategy for Fighting Against Gender Inequality**

Sexism confrontation by women is a useful tool to promote social change in their daily lives not only because it can reduce the future sexist behaviors of perpetrators

(Mallett & Wagner, 2011) but also because it is positively associated with a sense of competence, self-esteem, and empowerment among women (Gervais, Hillard, & Vescio, 2010; Hyers, 2007). However, explicit and public confrontation of sexism by women is infrequent (Hyers, 2007; Mallett & Melchiori, 2014; Swim & Hyers, 1999), which is mainly due to the fact that women confronters face several risks. For example, previous literature has shown that women confronters are more disliked by men than women who do not confront (Dodd, Giuliano, Boutel, & Moran, 2002) and that they are more negatively evaluated than men who confront, even if they are both confronting on someone else's behalf (Eliezer & Major, 2012). In fact, many women consider confrontation unhelpful and aversive (Czopp & Monteith, 2003).

Some studies suggest that men may be more effective than women in confronting sexism because they are taken more seriously and are less likely to experience social costs as well as the fact that their confrontation is more persuasive and convincing (Drury & Kaiser, 2014; see also Kutlaca, Becker, & Radke, 2019). Furthermore, male confrontation of sexism may have benefits for women because women increase their self-confidence when men describe discriminatory situations as sexist (Cihangir, Barreto, & Ellemers, 2014). However, male confrontation of sexism may also have potential costs for women. Current literature on intergroup helping relations has assumed that advantaged group members offer help as a way to maintain their own superiority; additionally, by accepting help, disadvantaged groups may also be assuming their dependency and inferiority to the high status group, so helping behavior may perpetuate social hierarchies (Nadler, 2002). Similarly, intergroup contact literature has highlighted that positive contact may undermine collective action by the disadvantaged group (Wright & Lubensky, 2008). In

fact, positive contact produces false expectations for equality and reduces support for social change (Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009).

We argue that to understand whether targets of discrimination (disadvantaged group members) perceive their ally's confrontation as beneficial or costly depends on the allies' (advantaged group members) underlying motivation (see also Louis, Thomas, Chapman et al., 2019; Radke, Kutlaca, Siem, Wright, & Becker, 2019). In the following section, we distinguish between two types of male confrontation (feminist vs. nonfeminist) depending on whether the motivations underlying the allies' actions are to promote social change or perpetuate the status quo.

**Feminist Versus Nonfeminist Confrontation: Changing Versus Maintaining the Status Quo**

Literature has consistently shown the positive effect of the endorsement of a feminist identity on women (Yakushko, 2007), not only because it is a politicized collective identity aimed at ending gender inequality (Simon & Klandermans, 2001) but because it allows them to attribute the discrimination to external causes (Foster & Matheson, 1999). Although feminist identification, attitudes, beliefs, motives, and the fight to end gender inequality have almost exclusively been considered "women's issues," in recent years, there has been more and more research studying its extension to men. For instance, men's feminist beliefs are related to sexism awareness (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001), and presenting positive portrayals of feminist men increases men's sense of solidarity with feminism, which leads men to engage in collective action in support of women (Wiley, Srinivasan, Finke, Firnhaber, & Shilinsky, 2012). Similarly, recent work has shown that considering men and women together as agents of change increases men's

solidarity with feminist and collective action intentions toward gender equality (Subašić et al., 2018).

On the other hand, sexism helps maintain the status quo and has pervasive effects for women. Glick and Fiske (1996) proposed two coexisting forms of sexism: hostile (the traditional way of understanding prejudice that is characterized as negative attitudes toward women) and benevolent (which is defined as a positive view of women that is still prejudiced because it assumes that women are weak, so they must be cherished and protected by men). The existing literature has widely shown the relationship between benevolent sexism and the justification of different forms of violence against women (e.g., Durán, Moya, & Megías, 2014; Marques-Fagundes, Megías, García-García, & Petkanopoulou, 2015) as well as the pernicious effect of benevolent sexism in perpetuating gender inequality (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Becker & Wright, 2011; Jost & Kay, 2005). This is because, to maintain the status quo, "honey is typically more effective than vinegar" (Jackman, 1994; Jost & Kay, 2005). The positive tone of benevolent sexism may ironically motivate some behaviors on the behalf of women that seem to be aimed toward reducing inequality but that actually help maintain it, reinforcing power asymmetries between men and women. For instance, benevolent sexism promotes men's dependency-oriented help toward women (instead of autonomy-oriented; Shnabel, Bar-Anan, Kende, Bareket, & Lazar, 2016). One of the core beliefs of benevolent sexism and masculinity, the belief that men have a duty to protect women (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Saucier et al., 2016), has predicted the frequency of confronting sexism on behalf of socially close women but not on behalf of distant ones (Good, Sanchez, & Moss-Racusin, 2018). Likewise, women's endorsement of benevolent sexist beliefs is related to a preference for dependency-oriented help (Shnabel et al., 2016) as well as protective

restrictions of their behaviors from their romantic partners (Moya, Glick, Expósito, de Lemus, & Hart, 2007).

Consistent with the idea that male actions motivated by a feminist ideology promote social change but behaviors motivated by a sexist ideology perpetuate the status quo, Radke, Hornsey, and Barlow (2018) found that the endorsement of benevolent sexism in men (but not in women) was positively related to protective actions (behavior designed to guard women against presumably male violence) but not to feminist collective actions (behaviors that challenge gender inequality). In contrast, feminist identification was related more to the willingness to engage in feminist actions both in women and in men. Similarly, Estevan-Reina, de Lemus, and Megías (in press - Chapter 3 this thesis) found that there are at least two different paths that explain men's sexism confrontations: a feminist path and a paternalistic one. Men's endorsement of feminist identification leads them to confront sexism with egalitarian motivation, whereas the endorsement of benevolent sexism leads men to confront sexism with paternalistic motivations. Importantly, only the feminist path predicted men's collective actions and actual engagement in social movements designed to question male societal privileges.

However, little is known about the consequences of men's sexism confrontations on women. In this research, we aimed to reduce this knowledge gap by analyzing the impact of men's feminist versus nonfeminist sexism confrontation on women's empowerment and well-being (i.e., happiness and anger). We define feminist confrontation as a behavior triggered by egalitarian motivation (beliefs about gender inequality that push someone to act against discriminatory situations) and nonfeminist confrontation as a behavior triggered by paternalistic motivation (beliefs about the duty

to protect women that push someone to act against discriminatory situations). Furthermore, in this work, we examined whether the affective reactions after male feminist and nonfeminist confrontations elicit women's future intentions to confront.

**Women's Empowerment and Well-Being as a Consequence of Sexism Confrontation**

Empowerment is the process of going from not being empowered to being empowered, and it is a multifaceted concept that includes personal, relational, and societal dimensions (Huis, Hansen, Otten, & Lensink, 2017). Being empowered is a state in which one's goals can be fulfilled (Pratto, 2016). Previous literature has shown that women's sexism confrontation is positively associated with competence, self-esteem, and empowerment (Gervais et al., 2010). Empowerment can be achieved through transformational cross-group relationships, the purpose of which is for advantaged group members to help disadvantaged groups develop their capacity and to help set and achieve their goals by nurturing instead of opposing or overriding their agency, goals, and capacity (Pratto, 2016). Consistent with this reasoning, we think that men confronting sexism might also empower women. Some indirect evidence for this argument has been provided by previous literature. For example, Cihangir et al. (2014) found that in a sexist situation in which men suggested that sexism had taken place, women felt more self-confident and less stereotyped and that they were more likely to file a complaint against sexism than when it was suggested by women. Whether male confrontation demonstrates personal engagement in opposing inequality could be conceptualized as a supportive cross-group contact (Droogendyk, Wright, Lubensky & Louis, 2016), and it may increase women's empowerment by acting as a transformational relationship (Pratto, 2016) that advances toward the goal of social change. However, to ensure that male

actions do not reduce the agency of disadvantaged groups, the advantaged group members need to explicitly recognize inequality as illegitimate (Becker, Wright, Lubensky, & Zhou, 2013). Thus, we argue that considering the underlying motivations for male confrontation is necessary to determine whether male confrontation empowers women. As we described feminist confrontation as a supportive contact, we hypothesized that male feminist confrontation would empower women more than nonfeminist confrontation (Hypothesis 1).

Subjective well-being has been positively associated with pleasant and positive emotions (popularly referred as happiness) and negatively associated with unpleasant and negative emotions (Diener, Oishi, & Tay, 2018). Lazarus (1993) proposed that happiness' core relational theme is about making reasonable progress toward the realization of a goal, whereas anger emerges after a demeaning offense. We expected that men's feminist confrontation would increase well-being in women (increased happiness, decreased anger) compared to nonfeminist confrontation. However, this effect could also be explained as a function of the paternalistic motives underlying nonfeminist confrontation. In fact, disadvantaged group members who do not perceive the hierarchy as legitimate or stable might reject the help (Nadler, 2002). Thus, if women perceive men's confrontation as a form of sexist behavior motivated by paternalistic beliefs, they might feel negatively about it and thus experience decreased well-being (less happiness, more anger) compared to feminist confrontation (Hypotheses 2 and 3).

**Two Routes That May Enhance Women's Intentions to Confront: Empowerment and Anger**

Empowerment and anger are emotions that women might experience after ally confrontation that might lead them to engage or disengage in social change behaviors (Becker et al., 2013; Cihangir et al., 2014; Hasan-Aslih, Pliskin, Shuman, van Zomeren, Saguy, & Halperin, 2020). As far as we know, however, the process underlying this effect has not been sufficiently explored.

Intergroup conflict literature has repeatedly pointed out the role of subjective power (labeled efficacy; Drury, Evripidou, & van Zomeren, 2015) in motivating social change (Hornsey et al., 2006; van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004; van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012). Thus, the expected positive effects of feminist confrontation on empowerment may enhance women's future intentions to confront, similarly to the way that efficacy predicts collective action (Social Identity Model of Collective Action: SIMCA; van Zomeren et al., 2008). On the other hand, the role of positive emotions in promoting social change has been questioned. Self-directed positive emotions do not play an important role in predicting collective actions (Becker et al., 2011), and hope for harmony in intergroup conflicts is negatively associated with the disadvantaged group members' motivation for collective action (among the low identifiers; Hasan-Aslih, Pliskin, van Zomeren, Halperin, & Saguy, 2019). Thus, we hypothesized that the empowerment (but not happiness) that women experienced after feminist confrontation would predict women's future intentions to confront (Hypothesis 4).

Similarly, anger has been strongly related with collective actions triggered by perceived injustice (Iyer, Schmader, & Lickel, 2007; van Zomeren et al., 2008). In this work, however, we focused on the role of anger triggered by men's nonfeminist confrontation. We argue that nonfeminist confrontation based on paternalistic

arguments might trigger more opposition than feminist confrontation because paternalism is still a sexist attitude (Glick & Fiske, 1996) that maintains the status quo and reinforces social hierarchies (Becker & Wright, 2011; Jost & Kay, 2005), so women might be motivated to resist it. Recent literature has shown that even subtle discrimination cues can trigger resistance responses in women, which include reporting more anger (de Lemus, Spears, Lupiáñez, Bukowski, & Moya, 2019). Thus, we hypothesized that nonfeminist confrontation might trigger anger in women as a form of resistance against a sexist "ally" that might increase their future intentions to confront (Hypothesis 5).

**Current Studies**

The goal of this research is to examine the effects of men's sexism confrontation on women's empowerment, well-being, and intentions to engage in collective action for social change as a function of the underlying motives that lead men to confront sexism (Studies 1, 2, and 3). In Studies 2 and 3, we included a target confrontation condition in which sexism is confronted by the woman herself to analyze the effects of target confrontation on women's empowerment and well-being compared to men's feminist and nonfeminist confrontations. We also wanted to analyze whether these processes were consistent across different cultural contexts. For this reason, the studies were conducted in the following different countries: Spain (Study 1), Germany (Study 2; preregistered study), and Mexico (Study 3; preregistered study). According to the Gender Inequality Index of the United Nations Development Programme (*2017*), Germany and Spain have similar levels of gender inequality, and both countries have a lower level of gender inequality than Mexico. In less egalitarian countries, women endorse more benevolent sexist beliefs (Glick et al., 2000); thus, paternalism might be more accepted in

Mexico than in Spain and Germany. Although we expected that the main results would be consistent among the countries, it was possible that some differences would emerge as a consequence of differing levels of inequality. Finally, we conducted an integrative data analysis with the three data sets pooled into one (Curran & Hussong, 2009), which allowed us not only to test the possible differences among countries but to check the main results of Studies 1–3 with more statistical power and sample heterogeneity.

## Pilot Study

Before conducting our main studies, we tested our manipulation of the different types of men's confrontation in a pilot study. We recruited 60 participants to take part in this pilot study on the campuses of a Spanish university ($N$ = 30) and a German university ($N$ = 30) in exchange for a chocolate bar. Half of the participants read the feminist confrontation scenario and the other half read the nonfeminist one. They then completed 14 items that included questions about the confronter: Four items measured the extent to which they perceived the confronter as a paternalist (e.g., "he is protecting women"; α = .77 after deleting one item whose item-total correlation was -.05), three items measured the extent to which they perceived the confronter as sexist (e.g., "he is macho"; α = .80), and the other seven items measured the extent to which they perceived the confronter as feminist (e.g., "he is fighting against gender inequality"; α = .91). The participants rated their opinions from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 7 (*totally agree*).

We conducted a MANOVA on the perceptions of the confronter with type of confrontation (feminist vs. nonfeminist) and country (Spain vs. Germany) as between-subject factors. Wilks's lambda = .700, $F(3, 54) = 22.42$ $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .300$ revealed that the manipulation had a significant multivariate effect. As expected, the women perceived

the feminist confronter as more feminist (*M* = 4.55, *SE* = .26) than the nonfeminist confronter (*M* = 3.10; *SE* = .26), *F*(1, 56) = 15.11, *p* < .001, $\eta_p^2$ = .213. They also perceived the non-feminist confronter as more sexist (*M* = 4.02; *SE* = .33) than the feminist confronter (*M* = 2.82; *SE* = .33), *F*(1, 56) = 6.70, *p* = .012, $\eta_p^2$ = .107. However, although the women showed a tendency to perceive the nonfeminist confronter as more paternalistic (*M* = 4.49; *SE* = .31) than the feminist confronter (*M* = 4.31; *SE* = .31), the differences in perceived paternalism between conditions were nonsignificant, *F*(1, 56) = .18, *p* < .673, $\eta_p^2$ = .003. Neither a univariate main effect of country (*F* < .60) nor an interaction between the type of confrontation and country *(F* < .98) was found. Thus, feminist confrontation is perceived as pro-gender equality, whereas nonfeminist confrontation is seen as sexist in both Spain and Germany.

## Study 1

We tested whether men's nonfeminist and feminist confrontations had different consequences for women. We hypothesized that after men's feminist confrontation, women would be more likely to feel empowered (Hypothesis 1) and experience more well-being (i.e., more happiness [Hypothesis 2] and less anger [Hypothesis 3]) than after men's nonfeminist confrontation. Furthermore, we analyzed the implications of empowerment, happiness, and anger on women's future intentions to confront. We hypothesized an indirect effect of men's confrontation via empowerment (Hypothesis 4) and anger (Hypothesis 5) on women's future intentions to confront. Specifically, we expected that feminist confrontation would increase women's empowerment, which would increase their future intentions to confront. However, the anger women feel toward nonfeminist confronters may also motivate them to confront themselves because

they feel that the confronter did not treat them as equals. Aside from this, we also wanted to explore the role of happiness in predicting women's future intentions to confront.

## Method

### Participants

A total of 200 Spanish women took part in the study. One participant was excluded because she did not finish the questionnaire. The final sample consisted of 199 women. The participants' ages ranged from 18 to 33 years, with a mean age of 22.03 years (*SD* = 2.73). Most of them were students (97%) from a university in the south of Spain, and 97.5% of the participants were Spanish citizens. We conducted a sensitivity analysis using G*power (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) to determine the effect size that the current study could detect. The results showed that with this sample size (*N* = 199) and with $\alpha$ = 0.5 and 1-$\beta$ = .80, the minimum effect size that we could detect for an ANOVA unifactorial was $f$ = 0.20, and the minimum effect size we could detect for a multiple regression with two predictors was $f^2$ = 0.05.

### Measures

First, we recorded participant's ages, nationtality and occupation. The rest of the measures are described in the same order as they appeared in the survey unless specified otherwise. Supplementary materials for all studies can be accessed at https://cutt.ly/Qro6hmv

**Men's confrontation manipulation.** All participants viewed a hypothetical scenario presented in the style of a comic that represented a social interaction in which a man makes a sexist comment to a woman. We asked participants to imagine that they

were the targets of the sexist comment. The first vignette depicted a woman asking two men on the street for a lighter. The second vignette depicted one of the men's responses to her: "Of course I will lend it to you, pretty, if in return you come to sleep with me, because I don't want to sleep alone tonight." A third vignette included the confrontation manipulation depending on the experimental condition. Under the feminist condition, the male bystander says, "Hey! What's wrong? That comment is sexist. I don't think that it's fair to treat women like this. Men should fight against inequality". Under the nonfeminist condition, the other man in the scene (a male bystander) confronts the sexist comment by saying, "Hey! What's wrong? That comment is rude. I don't think that it's appropriate to treat women like this. Men should care for and protect women." The vignettes are provided in the supplementary materials.

**Empowerment**. We measured empowerment with eight items adapted from Moya-Garófano, Rodríguez-Bailón, Moya, and Megías (2018), namely "powerful," "full of energy," "stimulated," "empowered," "without control of the situation," "weak," "inferior," and "defenseless." We assessed participants' happiness and anger, asking them how they would feel after hearing the confronter's comment. Responses were recorded on a Likert scale ranging from 0 (*nothing*) to 10 (*very much*). Scores on the items designed to measure low empowerment were reversed, and a total score was calculated, with higher scores indicating greater empowerment ($\alpha = .83$).

**Emotions.** We assessed participants' happiness and anger, asking them how they would feel after hearing the confronter's comment. We used the Escala de Valoración del Estado de Animo (EVEA) Scale for Mood Assessment (Sanz, 2001), which measures the following traits: happiness (happy, optimistic, joyful, and cheerful), hostility (irritated, angry, annoyed, and displeased), sadness, and anxiety (more information in

supplementary materials). Additionally, based on literature that highlights the role of anger in promoting collective actions (Van Zomeren et al., 2004; Van Zomeren et al., 2012), we decided to include five more anger-related items ("with rage," "outraged," "insulted," "offended," and "humiliated"). It is important to note that these adjectives measure emotions toward the confronter's rather than the perpetrator's comment, which is why we evaluated interpersonal rather than intergroup anger. We also included four items measuring the feeling of gratitude ("respected," "comfortable," "relaxed," and "grateful"). Responses were recorded on a Likert scale ranging from 0 (*nothing*) to 10 (*very much*). We conducted a principal components analysis with varimax rotation; it extracted four factors with eigenvalues higher than 1 that explained 68.84% of the variance. Anger items were loaded together with the EVEA hostility items, whereas the gratitude items were loaded on the happiness factor. Therefore, these items were averaged across two dimensions (anger, 9 items: $\alpha = .96$; and happiness, 8 items: $\alpha = .90$). We conducted the main analyses using the aggregated score as well as the separate scores for hostility and happiness (from EVEA) and gratitude and anger; because no differences were found, for simplicity in the presentation, the results are presented for the aggregated score. We calculated the mean scores for each subscale, with higher scores indicating stronger experiences of each emotion.

**Confrontation intentions.** They were measured by asking participants what they thought that they would do in the future if they experienced a similar sexist situation. We selected two items ("I would tell him that he has no right to treat women like this" and "I would let him know that it does not seem right to me to have this kind of attitude toward women") from a broader set of items used in previous studies (Estevan-Reina et al., in press). The reliability coefficient was adequate ($\alpha = .85$). We included additional items to

assess aggressive confrontation, denigratory confrontation, and avoidance responses. More information about these items can be consulted in the supplementary materials.

**Manipulation check.** We used the same items as in the pilot study to measure the perceived paternalism (3 items, α = .83) and feminism (8 items, α = .93) of the confronter. Evaluations of both the perpetrator's and the confronter's comment were measured with two items ("To what extent do you consider the comment of the [white/black shirt] guy to be sexist?" and "To what extent do you consider the comment of the [white/black shirt] guy to be very negative/very positive?"). The format of responses was from −3 to +3.

In addition, participants rated their political orientation, endorsement of benevolent sexism, feminist identification, postural measure of submission or dominance, self-description as agentic or communal, and awareness of gender inequality. These additional measures are described in detail in the supplementary materials.

**Procedure**

We approached students at the university library to encourage them to take part in a 15-minute paper-and-pencil survey. At the end, participants were debriefed and rewarded with chocolate bars to thank them for their contributions.

## Results

### Manipulation Check

We conducted a MANOVA including the type of confrontation (feminist vs. nonfeminist) as the independent variable and perceptions of the confronter as feminist or paternalistic as dependent variables. Wilks's lambda = .518, $F(2, 196) = 91.27$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .482$ revealed a significant multivariate effect. A significant univariate effect of the

type of confrontation emerged on perceived feminism, $F(1, 197) = 141.25$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .418$. Women perceived the confronter in the feminist condition as more feminist ($M = 5.03$, $SD = 1.35$) than the confronter in the nonfeminist condition ($M = 2.71$, $SD = 1.41$). There was no significant effect on paternalism, $F(1, 197) = .96$, $p = .329$, $\eta_p^2 = .005$.

We conducted a second MANOVA including the type of confrontation (feminist vs. nonfeminist) as the independent variable and women's perceptions of the perpetrator's and confronter's comments as dependent variables. Wilks's lambda = .682, $F(4, 192) = 22.42$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .318$ revealed a significant multivariate effect. As we expected, univariate analyses showed no significant differences in how women evaluated the perpetrator's comment (perceived sexism: $F(1, 195) = .02$, $p = .89$, $\eta_p^2 = .000$; negative/positive valence: $F(1, 195) = .34$, $p = .56$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$) but significant differences in how they perceived the confronter's comment (perceived sexism: $F(1, 195) = 81.96$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .296$; negative/positive valence: $F(1, 195) = 63.87$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .247$). Specifically, women perceived the nonfeminist confronter as more sexist ($M = 1.15$, $SE = .18$) and negative ($M = .26$, $SE = .18$) than the feminist confronter ($M = -1.23$, $SE = .19$ and $M = 1.80$, $SE = .18$, respectively).

**Women's Empowerment and Well-Being**

To check Hypotheses 1 through 3, we conducted a univariate MANOVA including the type of confrontation (feminist vs. nonfeminist) as the independent variable. The empowerment and the two emotions representing well-being (anger and happiness) were dependent variables. Means and standard errors of these variables can be found in Table 1, Panel A. Wilks's lambda = .844, $F(3, 195) = 11.98$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .156$ revealed a significant multivariate effect of the type of confrontation. As predicted, the type of confrontation had a significant effect on empowerment, $F(1, 197) = 12.52$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 =$

.060; happiness, $F(1, 197) = 29.50$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .130$; and anger, $F(1, 197) = 31.91$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .139$. The results showed that women experienced more empowerment and happiness as well as less anger after feminist confrontation than after nonfeminist confrontation. Thus, Hypotheses 1, 2 and 3 were supported.

Table 1. *Main effect of type of confrontation on women´s empowerment, well-being and future intentions to confront by country. Means and Standard Errors*

Study 1 (Spain) *N*=198[1]

| | | Empowerment | Happiness | Anger | Confrontation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Type of confrontation | *n* | *M (SE)* | *M (SE)* | *M (SE)* | *M (SE)* |
| Male feminist | 97 | 5.68a (.19) | 4.96a (.21) | 3.67a (.25) | 5.68a (.20) |
| Male non-feminist | 101 | 4.72b (.18) | 3.22b (.20) | 5.84b (.25) | 5.61a (.19) |

Study 2 (Germany) *N*=223

| | | Empowerment | Happiness | Anger | Confrontation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Type of confrontation | *n* | *M (SE)* | *M (SE)* | *M (SE)* | *M (SE)* |
| Male feminist | 76 | 5.46a (.21) | 4.53a (.23) | 3.82a (.28) | 5.47a (.22) |
| Male non-feminist | 69 | 4.18b (.22) | 3.50b (.25) | 5.43b (.30) | 6.42b (.23) |
| Target | 78 | 6.01c (.21) | 1.38c (.23) | 6.99c (.28) | 6.29ab (.22) |

Study 3 (Mexico) *N*=170[1]

| | | Empowerment | Happiness | Anger | Confrontation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Type of confrontation | *n* | *M (SE)* | *M (SE)* | *M (SE)* | *M (SE)* |
| Male feminist | 55 | 5.67a (.25) | 5.28a (.27) | 2.72a (.33) | 5.64a (.26) |
| Male non-feminist | 58 | 4.41b (.24) | 3.78b (.27) | 4.52b (.32) | 5.87a (.25) |
| Target | 57 | 5.44a (.24) | 1.49c (.27) | 8.15c (.33) | 5.71a (.26) |

Pool analyses (Studies 1, 2 & 3) *N*=456[1]

| | | Empowerment | Happiness | Anger | Confrontation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | *M (SE)* | *M (SE)* | *M (SE)* | *M (SE)* |
| Male feminist | 228 | 5.61a (.13) | 4.92a (.15) | 3.40a (.18) | 5.60a (.13) |
| Male non-feminist | 228 | 4.44b (.13) | 3.50b (.15) | 5.26b (.18) | 5.96a (.13) |

[1]Discrepancies between *N* in the participants section and in the table are due to missing values
Different letters denotes significant differences in Post Hoc Sidak analyses at **p < .05, **p < .01 ***p < .001*

**Women's Future Intentions to Confront Sexism via Empowerment and Anger**

To test whether the empowerment and anger that women experienced in response to the confrontation led them to express greater future intentions to confront sexism (Hypotheses 4 and 5), as well as to explore the role of happiness in predicting confrontation, we conducted a multiple mediation model with the macro PROCESS (Hayes, 2013), using 5,000 bootstrap samples to estimate bias-corrected standard errors and 95% confidence intervals. We performed a parallel mediational model (Model 4 in PROCESS) that included empowerment, happiness, and anger as mediators (see Figure 1). The total effect of type of confrontation on women's future intentions to confront sexism was not significant (*b* = .07, 95% CI [-.39, .54]). Means and standard errors are shown in Table 1, Panel A. The indirect effects of type of confrontation through empowerment (*b* = .22, 95% CI [.07, .46]) and anger (*b* = -.30, 95% CI [-.63, -.07]) were significant, but not the indirect effect through happiness (*b* = .02, 95% CI [-.23, .29]). The direct effect remained nonsignificant when the mediators were included in the model (*b* = .13, 95% CI [-.36, .62]). In line with Hypotheses 4 and 5, these results showed that higher levels of empowerment and anger (but not of happiness) predicted higher intentions to confront sexism.

## Discussion

This study provides the first evidence that women perceive male feminist confrontation to be more favorable to them than male nonfeminist confrontation. First, it shows that men's feminist confrontation made women feel more empowered and happy.

Second, the results indicate that this increase in empowerment (but not in happiness) pushes women to express more intentions to act against sexism in the future.

Additionally, we found that women experience more anger after nonfeminist than after feminist confrontation. This effect may be due to male feminist confrontation reducing women's anger (increasing their well-being), as well as to negative reactions of female participants to the nonfeminist confrontation. Consistent with previous literature about the role of anger in predicting action, the results suggest that increases in anger lead women to express greater future intentions to confront sexism. Thus, the results confirm that male feminist confrontation increases women's future intentions to confront sexism through a process of empowerment, whereas male nonfeminist confrontation indirectly increases women's confrontation intentions through anger, which can be seen as a form of resistance against "bad" allies.

Although in this and the pilot study the feminist confronter was perceived as more feminist than the nonfeminist confronter, both were perceived as paternalistic to the same extent. These results suggest that when a man confronts sexism on a woman's behalf, even if he is guided by feminist attitudes, he may still be perceived as paternalistic because he is not allowing the woman to act by herself. Therefore, it is important to compare male feminist confrontation with a situation confronted by a female target of sexism. To our knowledge, there is no previous research comparing the effects of female versus male confrontation of sexism on women's empowerment and well-being. We incorporated this third condition in Studies 2 and 3. Another potential limitation of this study could be that during the months previous to data collection, massive demonstrations took place in Spain demanding gender equality (Gómez, 2019; Grodira Borrás, Cela, & Albin, 2018). Therefore, we cannot rule out that our results could be very dependent on the Spanish context, nor can we be sure that they could be generalized to

countries with different levels of equality. To overcome this potential limitation, we decided to run two new studies in different cultural contexts (Germany and Mexico).

**Studies 2 and 3**

Our main goal in Studies 2 and 3 was to ascertain if the pattern of results found in Study 1 could be replicated in other cultural contexts, such as Germany (Study 2) and Mexico (Study 3). Our hypothesis was that the general pattern of results would be consistent across countries, but that some particularities might emerge, especially in Mexico, a country higher on the Gender Inequality Index (76th) than Spain (15th) and Germany (14th*;* United Nations Development Programme, 2017).

In this study, we included a new experimental condition (target confrontation): ***U***nder this condition, participants were exposed to a confrontation made by the target and were asked to imagine that they were this female confronter. As in Study 1, we hypothesized that women would be more likely to feel empowered (Hypothesis 1a) and experience more well-being (more happiness –Hypothesis 2a-, and less anger –Hypothesis 3a) after a male feminist confrontation than after a male nonfeminist one. We further hypothesized that women would feel more empowered after target confrontation than after a male feminist (Hypothesis 1b) or nonfeminist confrontation (Hypothesis 1c), because confrontation by women is positively associated with their sense of competence, self-esteem, and empowerment (Gervais et al., 2010; Hyers, 2007). Because previous literature has documented that confrontation implies important emotional costs for women (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Dodd et al., 2002; Eliezer & Major, 2012; Gervais & Hillard, 2014), we also hypothesized that women would experience less well-being after target confrontation than after feminist and nonfeminist confrontation by men. Thus,

after target confrontation, women would feel less happiness and more anger than after male feminist (Hypotheses 2b and 3b) or nonfeminist confrontation (Hypotheses 2c and 3c). However, it is important to note that the emotions experienced by women in confronting a sexist situation have different meanings than when a man engages in such confrontation. Emotions that women experience after male confrontation may reflect agreement or disagreement with the male confronter, whereas emotions experienced after a confrontation of their own (as a target of a sexist comment) may reflect them facing a threatening situation by themselves.

Regarding indirect effects of confrontation on future intentions to confront sexism, we expected to replicate the results found in Study 1 of men's types of confrontation (feminist vs. nonfeminist) on women's future intentions to confront sexism via empowerment (Hypothesis 4) and anger (Hypothesis 5). Although in Study 1 this indirect effect through happiness was not significant, we explored it again in Studies 2 and 3 in different cultural contexts.

## Method

### Participants

In Study 2, 315 German women started the online survey. However, 79 were excluded because they did not finish it, eight because they did not answer the manipulation check correctly, three because they self-identified as men, and two because the time they spent answering the survey exceeded the total average time by more than two standard deviations. The final sample comprised 223 women. Participants' ages ranged between 17 and 45 years, with a mean age of 23.59 years (*SD* = 4.30). Most were

students (98.2%) from a northern university in Germany, and 97.3% were German citizens.

In Study 3, 180 Mexican women answered the questionnaire. Four participants were excluded because they did not answer the manipulation check, another four because they failed the manipulation check question, and one more because she did not complete the questionnaire. The final sample consisted of 171 women. Participants' ages ranged between 18 and 36 years, with a mean age of 21.26 years (*SD* = 2.65). All were Mexican students from a southeast university in Mexico.

According to effect sizes detected in Study 1 for ANOVA (*f* = .25; medium effect) using G*Power, we estimated a minimum sample of *N* = 154 to obtain a power 1 − β = .80. For the same power standard, a minimum sample of *N* = 156 was needed according to Monte Carlo simulation for indirect effects.

**Measures**

The measures used in Studies 2 and 3 were the same as those used in Study 1 with the exceptions that in Study 2 we employed scales validated in German (or translated to German when no validations were available) and in Study 3 we adapted some items to the Mexican context. Both Study 2 (https://cutt.ly/KroHsTf) and Study 3 (https://cutt.ly/NroHz2x) were preregistered in the Open Science Framework platform.

**Confrontation manipulation.** In Studies 2 and 3, we used the same vignettes described in Study 1. As in the previous study, we asked participants to imagine that they were the woman in that story. A third experimental condition was incorporated in which the woman herself confronted the sexist comment. The content of the target confrontation was the same as in the male feminist condition, but in this case, the woman

gave the feminist argument. The participants were randomly assigned to the three experimental conditions (feminist vs. nonfeminist vs. target confrontation).

**Empowerment.** We measured empowerment with the same eight items as in Study 1, either translated into German (Study 2: α = .84) or adapted to the Mexican context (Study 3: α = .78). In Study 3, we culturally adapted one item, replacing *estimulada* (i.e., stimulated) with *activada* (i.e., activated).

**Emotions.** In Studies 2 and 3, we measured happiness and anger with the same items used in Study 1. In Study 2, for translation reasons, we included four items to measure anger instead of five because we did not find distinctive equivalent words for all of them. In Study 3, one item, *alicaída* (i.e., downcast), was culturally adapted, replaced by *desanimada* (i.e., disheartened). The main components of factor analysis with varimax rotation extracted two factors with eigenvalues larger than 1, which explained 67.32% of the variance in Study 2 and 71.55% of the variance in Study 3. The reliability coefficients were strong for happiness (Study 2: α = .93; Study 3: α = .90) and anger (Study 2: α = .92; Study 3: α = .96).

**Confrontation intentions.** We measured future intentions to confront with the same two items as in Study 1, with the addition of two more items ("I would try to make the guy sees that his attitude is offensive" and "I would try to explain to the guy that his comment bothered me"). The reliability coefficient for the set of four items was acceptable in Study 2 (α = .85) and in Study 3 (α = .75).

**Manipulation checks.** We asked participants to remember the social interaction described in the vignettes and select the option that best summarized it (attention check). We offered them four possible options, one for each experimental condition and one additional in case they did not remember well what they had previously read.

Because materials for experimental manipulation had not been validated previously in a Mexican context, we also included in Study 3 the items used to validate the scenarios in the pilot study: four items to measure the perception of the confrontation as paternalistic ($\alpha = .67$) and seven to measure the perception as feminist ($\alpha = .89$).

In addition, participants rated their political orientation, endorsement of benevolent sexism, feminist identification, and self-description as agentic or communal, as well as answered a modern sexism scale.

**Procedure**

To collect the data for Study 2, three research assistants approached students who were on the university campus and encouraged them to take part in the study, offering sweets as an incentive. If they accepted, the students provided their e-mail addresses and were later sent an e-mail with a link to the 15-minute online survey. At the end of the survey, participants were debriefed and asked again for their e-mail addresses (stored separately from their answers) in case they wanted to participate in a raffle for one of five €20 Amazon vouchers. Participants in Study 3 were approached by one female researcher, who asked them to take part in a 15-minute paper-and-pencil survey. At the end, participants were thanked and debriefed.

## Results

**Manipulation Check**

Most participants selected the correct attention check options in Study 2 (97.5% in the target confrontation condition, 96.2% in the male feminist confrontation, and 95.8% in the male nonfeminist confrontation) and in Study 3 (100% in the target confrontation

and male nonfeminist confrontation conditions and 93.2% in the male feminist condition).

Because materials had not been piloted in Study 3, we conducted a MANOVA to check that women perceived the confronter in a feminist or a paternalistic way. Wilks's lambda = .659, $F(2, 111) = 28.68$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .341$ revealed a significant multivariate effect. A significant univariate effect of condition emerged on the set of feminist items, $F(1, 112) = 34.33$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .235$. Women perceived the confronter in the feminist condition as more feminist ($M = 4.84$, $SE = .19$) than the confronter in the nonfeminist condition ($M = 3.27$, $SE = .19$). However, we did not find an effect of condition on paternalistic items, $F(1, 112) = .63$, $p = .43$, $\eta_p^2 = .006$. Thus, these results replicate the findings in the Spanish and German pilot studies.

**Women's Empowerment and Well-Being**

As in Study 1, we conducted a MANOVA to test if there were differences in the empowerment and well-being (happiness and anger) that women experienced as a function of the scenario that they had previously read (target confrontation vs. feminist confrontation by man vs. paternalistic confrontation by man). Means and standard errors of these variables can be found in Table 1, Panels B and C.

In Study 2, Wilks's lambda = .373, $F(6, 436) = 46.30$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .389$ revealed a significant multivariate effect of type of confrontation. A significant univariate effect of confrontation emerged on empowerment, $F(2, 220) = 19.94$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .153$; happiness, $F(2, 220) = 57.53$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .343$; and anger, $F(2, 220) = 43.97$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .286$. Post hoc analyses (Sidak) revealed that participants felt more empowered after man's feminist confrontation than after a nonfeminist confrontation, as in Study 1.

Moreover, they experienced even more empowerment after target confrontation than after both types of men's confrontations. Concerning well-being, participants felt more happiness and less anger when men confronted in a feminist versus nonfeminist way, as we found in Study 1. Additionally, participants felt more anger and less happiness after target confrontation than after men's (feminist and nonfeminist) confrontations (see Panel B in Table 1). Thus, in Germany, Hypotheses 1a–c, 2a–c, and 3a–c were supported.

In Study 3, Wilks's lambda = .367, $F(6, 332) = 36.06$ $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .395$ revealed a significant multivariate effect of type of confrontation. A significant univariate effect of confrontation emerged on empowerment, $F(2, 168) = 8.81$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .095$; happiness, $F(2, 168) = 53.44$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .389$; and anger, $F(2, 168) = 68.79$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .450$. Post hoc (Sidak) analyses revealed that participants felt more empowered after men's feminist than nonfeminist confrontations and more empowered after target confrontation than after nonfeminist men's confrontation. There were no significant differences between target confrontation and men's feminist confrontation on empowerment, contrary to Study 2. Concerning well-being, as in Studies 1 and 2, participants felt more happiness and less anger when men confronted in a feminist versus nonfeminist way. Also as in Study 2, participants felt more anger and less happiness after target confrontation than after men's (feminist and nonfeminist) confrontations (see Panel C in Table 1). Thus, in Mexico, Hypotheses 1a and 1c, 2a–c, and 3a–c were supported, but Hypothesis 1b was not supported.

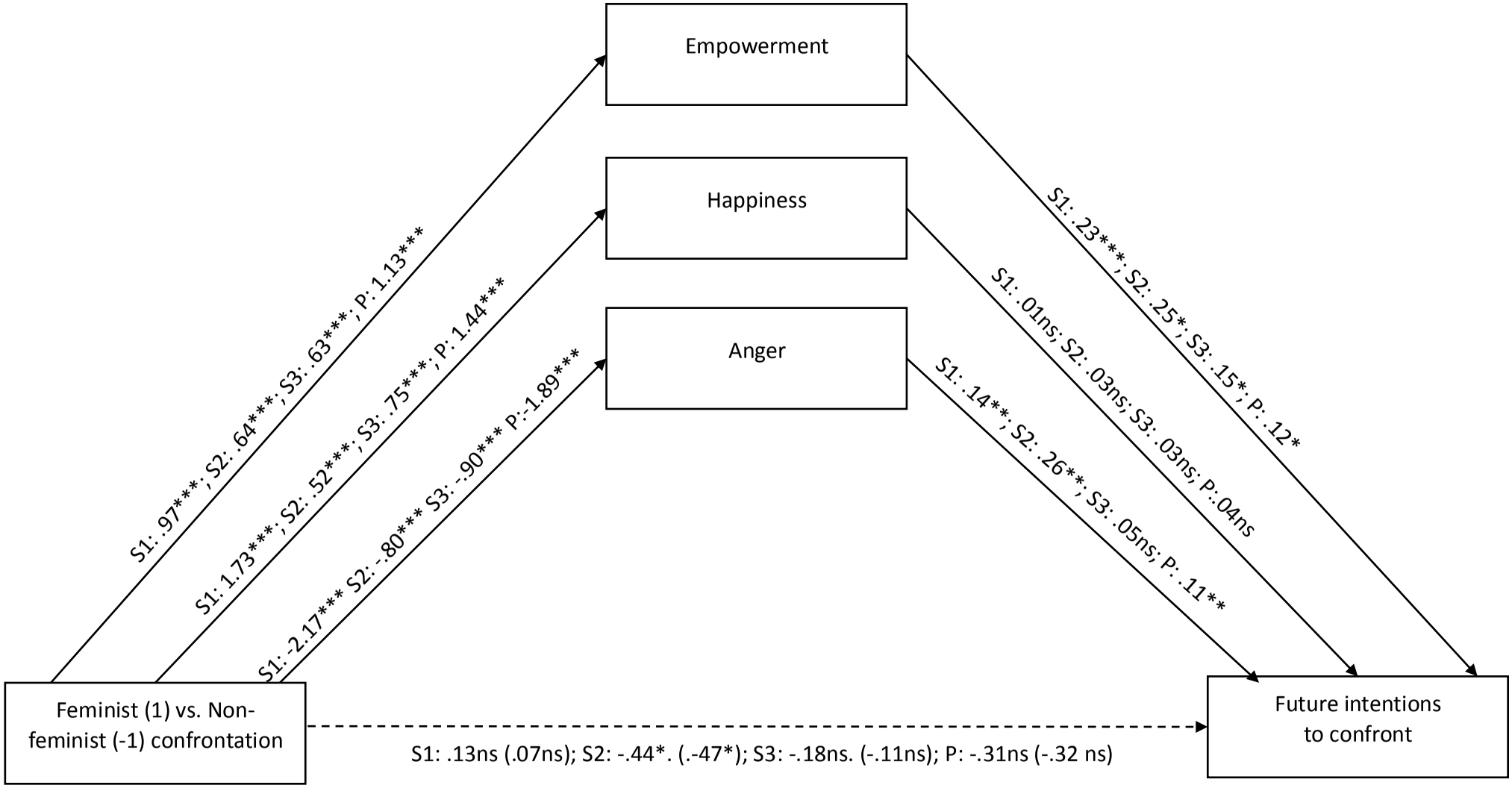


*Figure 1.* Parallel mediation model for the relationship between type of confrontation and women's future intentions to confront.

[1] S1=Study 1 (Spain); S2= Study 2 (Germany); S3= Study 3 (Mexico); P= Pool analyses

*$p$ < .05, **$p$ < .01 ***$p$ < .001

Table 2. *Total, direct and indirect effect of type of confrontation (feminist vs. paternalistic) on women's intentions to confront via feeling of power, happiness and anger*

| | Study 1 (Spain) | | | | Study 2 (Germany) | | | | Study 3 (Mexico) | | | | Study 4 (Pool) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Effect | *SE* | *LLCI* | *ULCI* | Effect | *SE* | *LLCI* | *ULCI* | Effect | *SE* | *LLCI* | *ULCI* | Effect | *SE* | *LLCI* | *ULCI* |
| Total effect | .07 | .24 | -.39 | .54 | -.47 | .21 | -.88 | -.06 | -.11 | .12 | -.35 | .13 | -.32 | .18 | -.66 | .03 |
| Direct effect | .13 | .25 | -.36 | .62 | -.44 | .22 | -.86 | -.01 | -.18 | .13 | -.43 | .07 | -.31 | .19 | -.68 | .06 |
| Indirect effect: empowerment | .22 | .10 | .07 | .46 | .16 | .09 | .02 | .37 | .09 | .05 | .02 | .22 | .14 | .06 | .03 | .28 |
| Indirect effect: happiness | .02 | .13 | -.23 | .29 | .01 | .06 | -.11 | .16 | .02 | .05 | -.09 | .13 | .06 | .08 | -.10 | .22 |
| Indirect effect: anger | -.30 | .14 | -.63 | -.07 | -.21 | .09 | -.44 | -.06 | -.05 | .05 | -.17 | .03 | -.21 | .08 | -.39 | -.06 |

**Women's Future Intentions to Confront via Empowerment and Anger**

As in Study 1, to know whether empowerment, anger, and happiness induced by the manipulation led women to express greater future intentions to confront, we conducted process analyses (Hayes, 2013) using 5,000 bootstrap samples to estimate bias-corrected standard errors and 95% percentile confidence intervals. We used a parallel mediational model (Model 4 in PROCESS) including empowerment, happiness, and anger as mediators (Figure 1). Because the independent variable had three levels, to run these analyses, we created two contrasts. To replicate the results of Study 1, in Contrast 1, we compared men's feminist confrontation (coded 1) versus men's nonfeminist confrontation (coded -1; target confrontation coded 0). In Contrast 2, we compared target confrontation (coded 2) to men's confrontations (feminist -1; nonfeminist = -1). All the analyses were conducted including one contrast as the main predictor and the second one as a covariate to control for it.

In Study 2 (Germany), the total effect of Contrast 1 (feminist vs. nonfeminist confrontation) on future intentions to confront was significant ($b$ = -.47, 95% CI [-.88, -.06]), as well as the indirect effect through empowerment ($b$ = .16, 95% CI [.02, .37]) and anger ($b$ = -.21, 95% CI [-.44, -.06]), but not through happiness ($b$ = .01, 95% CI [-.11, .16]). Direct effect was significant ($b$ = -.44, 95% CI [-.86, -.01]). However, in Study 3 (Mexico), the total effect of this contrast was not significant ($b$ = -.11, 95% CI [-.35, .13]), but the indirect effect via empowerment was significant ($b$ = .09, 95% CI [.02, .22]). No other indirect effects were found in Study 3 (anger: $b$ = -.05, 95% CI [-.17, .03]; happiness: $b$ = .02, 95% CI [-.09, .13]). Direct effect was nonsignificant ($b$ = -.18, 95% CI [-.43, .07]). Thus,

Hypothesis 4 was supported in Germany and Mexico, whereas Hypothesis 5 was supported in Germany but not in Mexico.

**Summary of the Results**

The effects of type of men's confrontation on women's empowerment and well-being found in Study 1 were replicated in two different cultural contexts (Study 2: Germany, and Study 3: Mexico). Men's feminist confrontation had beneficial effects on women compared to nonfeminist confrontation because it made women feel more empowered, happier, and less angry. Concerning the expected differences between target confrontation and men's (feminist and nonfeminist) confrontations, in Germany and Mexico, participants felt more empowered after target confrontation than after nonfeminist men's confrontation, in line with our hypotheses. However, whereas in Germany participants also felt more empowered after target confrontation than after male feminist confrontation, this was not the case in Mexico. That is, Mexican women were equally empowered by target confrontation and men's feminist confrontation. Both in Germany and in Mexico, we found that when women imagined that they were the confronters (target confrontation condition), they experienced less happiness and more anger than after men's feminist and nonfeminist confrontations. This is consistent with the fact that women consider confrontation aversive (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Dodd et al., 2002; Eliezer & Major, 2012). Regarding the indirect effects of type of confrontation on women's future intentions to confront, the results in Germany and Mexico confirmed that empowerment experienced after men's feminist (vs. nonfeminist) confrontation led women to express greater future intentions to confront. However, the more anger women experienced after nonfeminist (vs. feminist) confrontation also pushed them to

confront in Germany (but not in Mexico). Thus, in Study 2, we replicated the results of Study 1 with a German sample, but some differences emerged in Mexico (Study 3). To check the stability of the results with a larger sample, we decided to conduct an integrative data analysis with three data sets pooled into one (Curran & Hussong, 2009), taking in consideration only the two experimental conditions present in the three studies (men's feminist vs. nonfeminist confrontations).

## Pooled Analyses of Studies 1, 2, and 3

The total sample included 457 participants (*N*1 = 198; *N*2 = 145; *N*3 = 114). Note that the difference in sample size of Study 2 (N = 223) and Study 3 (N = 171) is due to the fact that in the pool analyses, we did not include the target confrontation condition. First, we tested if men's feminist confrontation increased women's empowerment and happiness (Hypotheses 1 and 2) and decreased anger (Hypothesis 3) compared to men's nonfeminist confrontation. Then, we conducted a parallel mediation model (Model 4 in PROCESS; Hayes, 2013) to test the effect of male feminist confrontation in predicting women's future intentions to confront via empowerment and anger (Hypothesis 4 & 5), and we also explored the role of happiness. We conducted a sensitivity analysis using G*power (Faul et al., 2007) to determine the effect size the current study could detect. Results showed that with $\alpha$ = 0.5 and 1-$\beta$ = .80, for a sample size of *N* = 592, the minimum effect size that we could detect for a unifactorial ANOVA was *f* = 0.15, and for a multiple regression with four predictors, it was $f^2$= 0.03.

### Women's Empowerment and Well-Being

We conducted a MANOVA to compare if there were differences in empowerment, anger, and happiness that women experienced based on type of confrontation (men's

feminist vs. nonfeminist) by country (Spain vs. Germany vs. Mexico). We found significant multivariate effects of type of confrontation (Wilks's lambda = .859, $F(4, 447) = 18.41$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .141$), country (Wilks's lambda = .944, $F(8, 894) = 3.25$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .028$), but interaction between type of confrontation by country was not significant (Wilks's lambda = .970, $F(8,894) = 1.69$, $p < .096$, $\eta_p^2 = .015$).

A significant univariate effect of type of confrontation emerged on empowerment, $F(1, 450) = 42.72$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .087$; happiness, $F(1, 450) = 44.16$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .089$; and anger, $F(1, 450) = 53.27$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .106$. Participants felt significantly more empowered after male feminist confrontation than after nonfeminist confrontation. Likewise, participants felt more happiness and less anger after male feminist versus nonfeminist confrontation. Thus, Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 were supported. Means and standard errorsof these results can be found in Table 1, Panel D. A significant univariate effect of country also emerged on anger, $F(2, 450) = 7.13$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .031$. Post hoc Sidak analyses revealed that in Spain ($M = 4.75$; $SE = .19$) and Germany ($M = 4.62$; $SE = .22$), women experienced significantly more anger than in Mexico ($M = 3.62$; $SE = .25$). No other significant differences among countries were found, $F < 1.97$, nor was an interaction effect between type of confrontation and country found, $F < 1.03$.

**Women's Future Intentions to Confront via Empowerment and Anger**

Total effect of type of confrontation on women's future intentions to confront was not significant ($b = -.32$, 95% CI [-.66, .03]). The indirect effect through empowerment was significant ($b = .14$, 95% CI [.03, .28]), as well as through anger ($b = -.21$, 95% CI [-.39, -.06]), but not through happiness ($b = .06$, 95% CI [-.10, .22]). The direct effect was nonsignificant ($b = -.31$, 95% CI [-.68, .06]). These results confirmed that the more

empowerment women experienced after feminist (vs. nonfeminist) confrontation and the more anger they felt after nonfeminist (vs. feminist) confrontation, the greater future intentions to confront they expressed. On the other hand, the happiness women experienced after feminist (vs. paternalistic) confrontation did not lead them to express higher future intentions to confront. Thus, when we pooled the results of Studies 1–3, the results confirmed Hypotheses 4 and 5.

## General Discussion

Our main aim in the present research was to investigate the effects of male feminist versus nonfeminist sexism confrontation on women, as well as to analyze their implications for women's willingness to confront sexism in the future to derive further insights in terms of the debate about how men should be involved in the fight against gender inequality. We conducted three studies in three different cultural contexts (Spain, Germany, and Mexico) to replicate and test the generalizability of our findings. The results of integrative data analyses (Curran & Hussong, 2009) confirmed that male feminist confrontation made women felt significantly more empowered, happier, and less angry compared to male nonfeminist confrontation. Additionally, the results highlight that male confrontation not only affects women on a personal level but also indirectly impacts their future intentions to confront. Interestingly, the results showed two pathways: If men confront in a feminist way, women experience more empowerment and are therefore more willing to engage in sexism confrontation in the future. Second, if men confront in a nonfeminist way, women experience anger, which increases their interest in confronting in the future as well. Thus, our results suggest that to consider men good allies in fighting inequality, it is important that their actions promote women's

empowerment because increasing well-being does not guarantee engagement in confronting sexism in the future. However, women can also resist sexism when they experience anger as a reaction against bad allies.

**Feminist Allies Increase Women's Empowerment and Well-Being**

Male confrontation of sexism can create an anti-sexist atmosphere where men can be seen as allies against sexism (Cihangir et al., 2014) instead of hostile toward women (Adams, Garcia, Purdie-Vaughns, & Steele, 2006). Social support is a key factor in promoting social change (Van Zomeren et al., 2004); thus, men's confrontation of sexism could be seen as a form of supportive intergroup contact (Droogendyck, Louis, & Wright, 2016). Our results show that the underlying motivations need to be taken into account in order to consider an advantaged group action supportive. Specifically, men's confrontation might be driven by paternalistic or egalitarian motives (Estevan-Reina et al., in press), which can differently impact women as the target group. In fact, literature has also shown that in some circumstances, intergroup helping relations can reinforce social hierarchies (Nadler, 2002), even when helping is well intentioned. Our results confirmed that in Spain, Germany, and Mexico, male feminist confrontation increases women's empowerment and well-being when compared to nonfeminist confrontation. Interestingly, men's confrontation of sexism can be as empowering as when women themselves confront sexism, as our results from Mexico show. However, target confrontation made women feel more empowered than men's feminist confrontation in Germany. These results are consistent with literature that shows that women's confrontation increases their sense of competence, self-esteem, and empowerment (Gervais et al., 2010; Hyers, 2007).

Regarding well-being, our results clearly showed that male feminist confrontation made women feel happier and less angry than male nonfeminist confrontation. When the target confrontation condition was included (Studies 2 and 3), it was the most aversive type of confrontation (it made women feel more anger and less happiness than male confrontation) both in Germany and Mexico. This result is consistent with previous literature that showed the costs of confrontation for targets of prejudice in general (Kaiser & Miller, 2001) and women in particular (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Dodd et al., 2002; Eliezer & Major, 2012; Gervais & Hillard, 2014). However, despite the fact that male confrontation reduces women's well-being, this cannot be interpreted as a justification to prevent women from confronting sexism themselves, as the results on empowerment show. Future researchers should explore differences between target confrontation motivated by feminist and paternalistic reasons, as well as whether target and male paternalistic confrontation has the same negative effects on women.

**Empowerment (Not Happiness) Encourages Women to Keep Fighting**

The positive effects of men's confrontation on women's well-being and empowerment are no guarantee that these will translate into future actions to resist sexism. Literature on prejudice reduction has evidenced positive effects of intergroup contact on attitudes and emotions toward the out-group on an interpersonal level (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), whereas collective action literature has shown that this improvement in intergroup relations may undermine social change (Hasan-Aslih et al., 2020; Saguy et al., 2009; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). In line with this argument, our results showed that improved happiness after feminist confrontation did not increased women's future intentions to confront.

Subtyping advantaged group members who show a commitment to fighting inequality as allies (or not) might be a useful strategy to manage positive intergroup relations without undermining social change (Wright & Lubensky, 2008). In fact, advantaged group members' actions do not undermine social change if they recognize the inequality as illegitimate (Becker et al., 2013), and they can even promote it if they offer disadvantaged group members supportive contact (Droogendyck, Louis, & Wright, 2016). We suggest that for men become good allies of women in fighting sexism, they should not oppose or override their agency, goals, and capacity (consistent with the definition of transformational relationship; Pratto, 2016) but empower women. In the three countries, our results showed that feminist confrontation empowered women more than nonfeminist confrontation, and this empowerment in fact encouraged them to keep fighting against sexism in the future. Moreover, we went one step further in uncovering the underlying mechanism of this positive effect by highlighting the role of empowerment in promoting social change, over and above positive emotions.

**Women's Resistance to Nonfeminist Allies**

Women are not passive recipients of discrimination (Swim & Hyers, 1999). On the contrary, they develop their own strategies (subtle or explicit) to resist inequality. Previous researchers have widely pointed out the pernicious effects of benevolent sexism compared to hostile sexism in perpetuating inequality (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Becker & Wright, 2011; Jost & Kay, 2005). However, our work showed that women are opposed to men's behaviors that could be motivated by paternalistic factors (Estevan-Reina et al., in press). Previous research showed that college-educated men try to appear nonprejudiced and progressive, caring, and respectful of women (Lamont, 2015), but still

many of them may be perpetuating inequality when they are not involved in actions aimed at changing gender power asymmetries in society. Our results showed that women felt angrier after nonfeminist confrontation than after feminist confrontation, which suggests that women felt less comfortable with confrontations motivated by paternalistic factors than with feminist confrontations (even when they did not report perceiving them as significantly more paternalistic). This is consistent with research showing that even subtle forms of discrimination can trigger resistance responses in women (de Lemus et al., 2019), even when they are not consciously aware of it if they have internalized egalitarian norms (van Breen, Spears, Kuppens, & de Lemus, 2018). The increase in anger after nonfeminist confrontation was found not only in more egalitarian countries (Germany and Spain), but also in less egalitarian ones (as Mexico), where support for benevolent sexism is higher (Glick et al., 2000).

Furthermore, in Spain and Germany, nonfeminist (vs. feminist) confrontation leads women to express greater future intentions to confront via anger. Although in Mexico, we did not find this result, when we pooled the data sets, the indirect effect via anger remained significant. These findings can be interpreted as a way to resist paternalism. Sexism may threaten women's freedom, but male nonfeminist confrontation may strengthen this threat, activating the idea that women are not capable of standing up for themselves. However, to explore this hypothesis in depth, future researchers should compare confrontation motivated by paternalistic reasons with a sexist situation in which there is no confrontation at all. Likewise, it would be interesting to analyze whether nonfeminist confrontation might have an accumulative effect that makes women perceive the sexist comment not as an isolated act but as a pervasive reality (i.e.,

double threat) because pervasiveness of discrimination enhances women's endorsement of confrontation (Garcia, Schmitt, Branscombe, & Ellemers, 2009).

**Limitations**

Despite the fact that we collected data in three different countries, we are aware that our samples are not very heterogeneous because they are composed of college students. Another limitation of this study is that we did not include measures to explicitly differentiate group anger (against the perpetrator of the sexist comment or gender inequality in general) and interpersonal anger (toward the confronter). It is possible that women experience anger toward nonfeminist allies (interpersonal anger) at the same time that feminist allies trigger more anger toward gender inequality (intergroup anger), so future researchers should explore this hypothesis. Finally, more research is needed to know if our results can be generalized to other intergroup relations and solidarity actions beyond gender inequality and confrontation.

**Conclusions**

The rise of women's movements for gender equality in the last years has been accompanied by an increase (although still modest) in support by men in this endeavor. However, whereas some of them have a real egalitarian motivation, others may be motivated by paternalistic reasons. Our research conveyed that advantaged group members' actions motivated by genuine egalitarian reasons empower women, which encourages them to keep fighting (feminist confronters are good allies). However, nonfeminist confronters make women feel anger, which pushes them to not keep quiet, perhaps as an act of resistance against bad allies.

**Data and Materials Availability**

Pre-registration of Studies 2 and 3 as well as supplementary materials of Studies 1-3, the datasets generated for pooled analyses of Studies 1-3 and a English translation of the main measures used in the three studies can be found in the Open Science Framework: https://cutt.ly/wroJEmv The raw data supporting the conclusions of Studies 1–3 and the original version of measures used in Studies 1-3 will be made available by the authors, without undue reservation, to any qualified researcher.

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# Capítulo 5:

## What does it mean to be an ally from the target's perspective? Women's perception of men confronters of sexism

# What does it mean to be an ally from the target's perspective? Women's perception of men confronters of sexism[4]


## Abstract

Despite of the study of intergroup solidarity is gaining more and more attention in current social psychology, the perspective of targets of discrimination concerning this topic is still lacking. In this work we addressed this question. Focusing in gender relations, we examine women's perception of feminist and non-feminist male confronters as allies, the implications of such perceptions in gender interpersonal and intergroup relations and the underlying mechanisms. We conducted two experimental studies using hypothetical scenarios. As we expected, Study 1 revealed that women express greater social closeness and attribute more collective actions intentions to the feminist (vs. non-feminist) confronter. These results are partially explained by the perception of the confronter as an ally. Study 2 replicated these results and extended them by showing that women perceive feminist confronters as better allies because they attribute to them more egalitarian motivation and less perceived power difference than non-feminist confronters. We discuss that in order to understand the impact of men's solidarity on maintaining or dismantling gender inequality, women's voices need to be considered.


**Keywords**: Men as allies, target perspective, motivations, perceived power-difference, sexism confrontation

[4] Estevan-Reina, L., de Lemus, S., Megías J.L., Radke, H., & Becker, J. *What does it mean to be an ally from the target's perspective? Women's perception of men confronters of sexism*. Manuscript in preparation.

Traditionally, allies have been defined as members of dominant social groups who are working to end the system of oppression that gives them privileges and power over others (i.e. Broido, 2000). The category of ally has been used, for example, to refer to heterosexual people who fight for LGBTIQ rights, white people involved in Black Lives Matter movement, Europeans who oppose deportation of refugees, supporters of people with disabilities, or men who confront sexism. Paradoxically, although advantaged group members can be involved in actions on disadvantaged's behalf they not always promote social change and even they can reinforce social inequalities (Nadler, 2002; Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio & Pratto, 2009; Wright & Lubensky, 2008). We argue that we need to consider the target perspective in order to understand these paradoxical consequences of allyship for social change. Thus, focusing on gender relations, we examine women's perception of feminist and non-feminist male confronters as allies, the implications of such perceptions in interpersonal and intergroup terms and the underlying mechanisms that explain women's perception of men as allies.

**The role of advantaged group members in fighting inequality: lights and shadows**

In the last decades the literature on social change has extended its focus towards advantaged group members, suggesting that they may promote social change if they have strong moral convictions against inequality (van Zomeren, Postmes & Spears, 2011), identify with a social cause (McGarty, Thomas, Bliuc & Bongiorno, 2009) or develop a shared identity with disadvantaged groups and challenge the authority (Subašić, Reynolds & Turner, 2008). However, advantaged group members who act on behalf of the minority group do not always promote social change. They may undermine disadvantaged groups' resistance and consequently reinforce social hierarchies (Saguy, et al., 2009; Wright &

Lubensky, 2008) if they do not explicitly recognize that the inequality is illegitimate (Becker, Wright, Lubensky & Zhou, 2013), when they provide dependency-oriented help (Nadler, 2002), or adopt a leadership position (instead of a secondary one) that do not allow disadvantaged people to lead their own fight (Droogendyk, Wright, Lubensky & Louis, 2016).

On the contrary, providing supportive contact and autonomy oriented help may be aspects who define allies who truly promote social change. Supportive contact in which advantaged group members explicitly oppose inequality, strengthens support for collective action compared to other types of positive inter-group contact (Droogendyck, Louis & Wright, 2016). Likewise, autonomy-oriented help has shown more potential for social change than dependency-oriented help both from Germans (advantaged group) and refugees (disadvantaged group) perspectives (Becker, Ksenofontov, Siemb & Love, 2019). Apart from this evidence, little is known about how the disadvantaged group perceives the role of potential allies to their cause. Focusing on gender relations, and considering that women have a vested interest in detecting real allies (Wiley & Dunne, 2019), we analyze the perspective of the disadvantaged, its antecedents and consequences at the interpersonal and intergroup level.

**Men as allies against sexism**

Men as an advantaged group can be involved as women's allies in the fight against sexism. During the last years the reflection about which role men should have in this endeavor has gained increased attention. Although men often fail to recognize sexism (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001), they are perceived as more persuasive and convincing when they confront it (Gervais y Hillard, 2014), and are less derogated than

female confronters (Eliezer & Major, 2012). According to Drury and Kaiser (2014), this offers a good opportunity for men to become allies against sexism. Consistently, when men attribute the cause of a discriminatory situation to sexism, women show more self-confidence, less self-stereotyping and they are more likely to file a complaint against sexism than when a woman makes the same attribution (Cihangir, Bareto & Ellemers, 2014). However, men's confrontation of sexism does not always have positive consequences for women. Recent evidence has shown that when men confront in a feminist way, women's willingness to confront sexism in the future increases via empowerment. However, when men confront in a non-feminist way, women feel more anger, and less empowerment and happiness (Estevan-Reina, de Lemus, Megías, Belmonte-García, Kutlaca, & Becker, 2020 - Chapter 4, this thesis).

In line with these findings, one of the keys to understanding when men can be considered true allies of women is unrevealing their underlying motivation to confront sexism. Men may confront sexism for two different underlying reasons: a feminist motivational path and a paternalistic one (Estevan-Reina, de Lemus & Megías, in press - Chapter 3, this thesis). Men's feminist identification may lead them to confront sexism through an egalitarian motivation; whereas men benevolent sexism may lead them to confront via a paternalistic motivation. However, only men who followed the feminist path expressed their intentions to commit with collective actions and showed actual engagement in a social movement aimed to question male privileges (Estevan-Reina et al., in press - Chapter 3, this thesis). But are these motivations also perceived by women themselves as targets of sexism?

**Women's perception of men as allies**

Previous research has shown that even when advantaged group members are well intentioned, they can make mistakes that hurt disadvantaged groups (see Conley, Calhoun, Evett, & Devine, 2002, in the context of disabilities; and Ostrove, Oliva & Katowitz, 2009, in the context of race). In order to fully understand the implications of advantaged groups actions for disadvantaged groups, the perspective of the latter needs to be considered. However, of the research on allies has often ignored the target perspective. Exceptionally, Brown and Ostrove (2013) asked students of color to describe the most appreciated characteristics of a White ally and concluded with two defining dimensions: promoting social justice (at the intergroup level) and relation orientation, that is the desire to offer support to specific members of the disadvantaged group (at the interpersonal level). More related to our work, a recent study found that women strongly identified as feminist viewed men who offered them autonomy-oriented help as better allies than those who offered them dependency-oriented help (Wiley & Dunne, 2019). Still, little is known about what exactly means to be an ally from women's point of view and how does it affect their interpersonal and intergroup relationships. We argue that only analyzing women's perception of men as allies we can get a full understanding of when does intergroup allyship lead to social change.

As previously stated, uncovering the underlying motivations that trigger solidarity actions by advantaged group members is a key factor to identify true allies (Edwards, 2006; Estevan-Reina et al., in press - Chapter 3, this thesis; Radke et al., 2020). Thus analyzing the underlying motivations that women attribute to confronters may be an important explanatory mechanism to understand whether women perceive men as allies.

Beyond motivations, women might judge the relation with the confronter in terms of the perceived power distance between them. Helping behavior is defined as a power relation because it underpins social hierarchies (Nadler, 2002). However, social change is achieved when the advantaged and disadvantaged are evaluated more equally (Stroebe, Wang & Wright, 2015). Thus, the extent to which men confronting sexism manage to reduce the perceived power distance between them and women as targets might contribute to the fact that women perceive them as good allies. We argue that advantaged groups actions that perpetuate status quo will broaden power asymmetries whereas ally actions that promote social change will narrow them.

**Current Studies**

In two preregistered studies (Preregistration Study 1: https://cutt.ly/WroLpoL; Preregistration Study 2: https://cutt.ly/ProLfhB) we analyze women's perceptions of men as allies against gender inequality. Specifically, we compare to what extent they perceive two types of confronters (feminist vs. non-feminist) as allies, and the interpersonal (in terms of social distance) and intergroup (anticipated collective actions) consequences of such perceptions. Thus, we examined women's attitudes towards men confronters at the cognitive level (i.e., if they are perceived as allies) and at the behavioral level (i.e., if they attribute them future collective actions intentions, and whether they want them close in interpersonal terms). Further, we analyze two underlying processes that could explain the perception of men as allies, namely, their perceived motivations (egalitarian vs. paternalistic) and intergroup power distance.

Specifically, in Study 1 we analyze not only the perception that women have of men as allies based on how they confront sexism, but also the perceived social distance

with them (interpersonal level) and to what extent they considered that they would be involved in collective actions in favor of women (intergroup level). In Study 1, we also verified whether confronter's perception as an ally mediated the influence of the type of confrontation on perceived social distance and collective actions. In Study 2, we replicated the results of Study 1 and went one step further by examining two underlying processes leading women to perceiving men as allies: attributed underlying (egalitarian vs. paternalistic) motivations and perceived power distance.

## Study 1

The goal of Study 1 was to reveal women's perception of men confronters as allies depending on whether they confronted in a feminist or non-feminist way. For this purpose we used a sexist scenario manipulation with a bystander confrontation. That is, a male bystander confronts a sexist comment made by another man towards a female target. We also examined women's social closeness intention with the male confronter and whether they consider him as willing to be involved in collective actions for women in the future (i.e., 'anticipated collective actions'). We included a control condition in which the male bystander did not confront at all. According to previous literature, we hypothesized that women would perceive the feminist confronter as a better ally than the non-feminist confronter, and the non-feminist confronter as a better ally than the non-confronter (Hypothesis 1). We also expected the same pattern of results regarding social closeness (Hypothesis 2) and anticipated collective actions (Hypothesis 3). Finally, we expected that the effects of type of confrontation on women's social closeness towards the confronter and anticipated collective action would be mediated by women's perception of him as an ally (Hypotheses 4 & 5).

## Method

### Participants

A total of 251 women participated in this study. Fourteen participants were excluded based on the preregistered criteria (failing the manipulation check question). Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 51 years, with a mean of 22.63 years (*SD* = 5.88). Most of them (93.2%) were students from a southern university in Spain, and 90.7% were Spanish citizens.

### Measures

Participants gave their answers in a survey including different measures and scenarios. Below they are described in the same order as they appeared in the survey. Unless differently specified, participants were asked to rate each measure on a scale from 1 (*nothing)* to 7 (*a lot*).

**Demographics variables** were included to evaluate age, nationality and occupation of participants.

**Confrontation manipulation.** Participants viewed a hypothetical scenario presented in a style of a comic that represented a social interaction where a man made a sexist comment to a woman. We asked participants to imagine that they were the targets of the sexist comment. In the first picture a woman asks for a lighter to two men. Then, one of the guys responds to her with a sexist comment: "Of course I will lend it to you, pretty. But if in return you come to sleep with me, because I don't want to sleep alone tonight". In the next vignette the woman confronted the perpetrator labelling his comment as sexist (she said: "*Hey! What's wrong? That comment is sexist")*. Finally, in the last picture the manipulation was included. In the feminist confrontation condition, a

second man confronts the sexist comment saying: "*I agree with her. I don't think that it´s fair to treat women like this. Men should fight against inequality*". In the non-feminist condition, he says: "*I don't think that it's appropriate to treat women like this. Men should care and protect women*". In the control condition the guy witnesses the scene without intervening.

**Ally perception.** We created a scale with 10 items where we asked participants to evaluate the male bystander (confronter or not). They rated to what extent they think that he endorses ally features such as, commitment to gender equality (two items; e.g. he might be "an ally of women in the fight against inequality"); feminist identification (two items; e.g. "a man who defines himself as feminist"); privilege awareness (two items; e.g. "a man who is willing to give up his male privileges"); questioning traditional masculinity (two items: e.g. "a man who questions traditional masculinity"); intergroup alliance (one item: "an ally of women in fighting inequality") and recognizing their secondary position in the movement (one item; "a man who understands that men should not be protagonists in the fight against gender inequality"). After removing three items with corrected item-scale correlations lower than .40, we averaged the remaining seven items to create a single scale ($\alpha$=.93; *M*= 3.22; *SD*=1.75).

**Anticipated collective actions intentions.** We translated into Spanish the four items used by Radke et al., (2018) to measure feminist collective actions but in this case we used them to ask women to what extent they think that the bystander would be willing to take part in such actions (e.g., "He will challenge sexism when he see it", "He will protest against sexism"). Besides we created four additional items to capture to what extent participants thought that the bystander could participate in actions challenging

male privileges and promoting power redistribution between men and women (e.g., “He will participate in activities that question the privileges of men in today's society”, “He will engage with an equal distribution of domestic tasks”). We conducted a factorial analysis including the 8 items, following the principal component method of extraction with oblimin rotation that revealed a unidimensional structure, accounting for 74.08% of the variance; so we decided to average all the items as a single measure to account for this factor ($\alpha$=.95; *M*= 3.11; *SD*=1.66).

**Social closeness.** Based on the social distance items used by Zaal et al., (2017; taken from Stitka et al., 2005) we built a measure of five items to assess social closeness towards bystanders. Participants indicated on a 7-point scale (from nothing to a lot) to what extent they would like that the confronter plays several roles in their lives (neighbor, coworker/colleague, family, friend and couple). The scale had a good reliability ($\alpha$=.98) (*M*= 3.57; *SD*=2.21).

**Manipulation Check.** In order to check that participants attended to the manipulation, we asked them to remember the social interaction described in the vignettes and to select the option which best summarized it. We offered them four possible options, three of them summarize the content of each experimental conditions and one additional in case they do not remember well what they had read previously.

In addition, participants also rated their political orientation, endorsement of benevolent sexism and feminist identification. Since these measures were not considered in the analyses presented, they are described in detail in the supplementary materials at https://cutt.ly/rroLvJh

### Procedure

We asked students from different undergraduate psychology courses to take part in a 10-minutes paper-pencil survey offering them credit points in exchange. We also approached students who were studying in the university library to ask for their participation; in this case when they finished we offered a chocolate bar to thank them for their collaboration.

## Results

### Manipulation Check

Most participants selected the manipulation check correctly (96.4% in the feminist confrontation and 90.5% in the non-feminist confrontation condition). Fourteen participants who did not answer the manipulation check appropriately were excluded from the analyses.

### Ally Perception, Social Closeness and Anticipated Collective Action Intentions

We conducted a MANOVA in order to test the effect of type of bystander confrontation (feminist confronter vs. non-feminist confronter vs. non-confronter) on women's perception of him as an ally, how socially close they would like to have him and whether they anticipated that he would support collective actions in the future, Wilks' Lambda = .341, $F$ (6, 464) = 55.05 $p$ < .000, $\eta_p^2$ = .416. As expected, a significant effect of condition emerged on: perception of confronters as allies, $F$ (2, 234) = 155.82, $p$ <.001, $\eta_p^2$ = .571; social closeness, $F$ (2, 134) = 207.42, $p$ < .001, $\eta_p^2$ = .639; and anticipated collective action intentions, $F$ (2, 234) = 114.52, $p$ < .001, $\eta_p^2$ = .495. Post hoc analysis (Sidak) revealed significant differences among the three experimental conditions for each dependent variable (all $p_s$ < .001). Our Hypothesis 1 was supported: women perceived the

feminist confronter as a better ally (*M* = 4.84, *SE* = .13) than the non-feminist confronter (*M* = 3.17, *SE* = .13), and the non-feminist confronter as a better ally than the non-confronter (*M* = 1.64, *SE* = .13). Congruently, results also confirmed our Hypothesis 2, showing that women expressed more social closeness towards the feminist confronter (*M* = 5.79, *SE* = .15) than the non-feminist confronter (*M* = 3.38, *SE* = .15), and the least social closeness towards the non-confronter (*M* = 1.51, *SE* = .15). Finally, our Hypothesis 3 was also supported: participants attributed more collective action intentions to the feminist confronter (*M* =4.56, *SE* =.13) than to the non-feminist confronter (*M* =2.99, *SE* = .14), and the least action intentions to the non-confronter (*M* = 1.74, *SE* = .13) (see Figure 1).

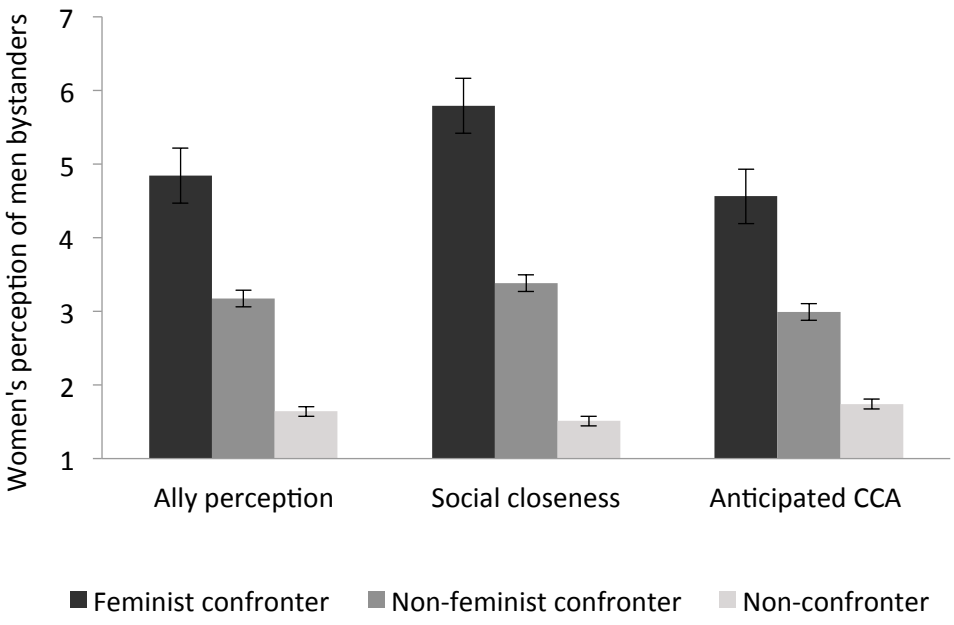
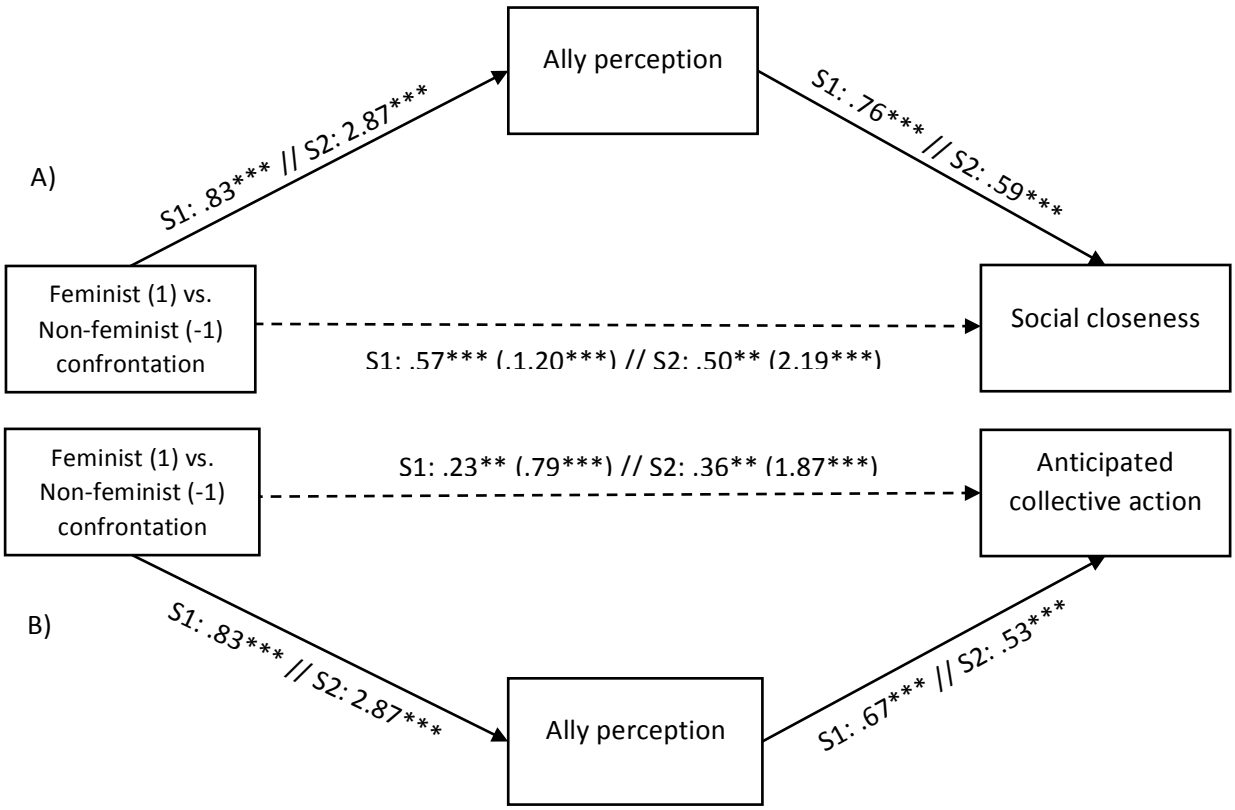



*Figure 1*. Mean women's perception of men bystanders as a function of the response to the sexist comment (Study 1). *Note:* error bars represent standard errors.

**Social Closeness and Anticipated Collective Actions via Perception of Confronters as Allies**

In order to know if ally perception mediated the relationship between type of confrontation and social closeness, we conducted a mediational analysis with the macro PROCESS (Hayes, 2013) using 5000 bootstrap samples to estimate bias-corrected standard errors and 95% percentile confidence intervals. We created two contrast variables. In Contrast 1, we compared feminist confronter (coded 1) versus non-feminist confronter (coded -1) (non-confronter coded 0). In Contrast 2, we compared confronters (feminist: coded 1; non-feminist: coded 1) versus non-confronter (coded -2). The analyses were conducted including Contrast 1 as the main predictor and Contrast 2 as a control variable (analyses with Contrast 2 as the main predictor can be found in the supplementary materials). Total effect of Contrast 1 (feminist vs. non-feminist confronter) on social closeness was significant ($b$ = 1.20, 95% CI [.99; 1.42]), as well as the indirect effect via ally perception ($b$ = .64, 95% CI [.48; .83]). Direct effect was reduced but still remained significant when the mediator was included ($b$ = .57, 95% CI [.38; .75]). Results confirmed our Hypothesis 4 suggesting that one of the reasons why women express greater social closeness towards feminist (vs. non-feminist) confronters is because they perceived them as better allies (see Figure 2, Panel A).

*Figure 2.* Effect of type of confrontation on social closeness (Panel A) and anticipated collective actions (Panel B) via ally perception




*Note*. ***p* < .05, ***p* < .01 ****p* < .001; S1=Study 1; S2= Study 2

We repeated the same process model using as outcome variable the anticipated collective action intentions instead of social closeness. The analyses were conducted including Contrast 1 as the main predictor and Contrast 2 as a control (analyses with Contrast 2 can be found in the supplementary materials). Total effect of Contrast 1 (feminist vs. non-feminist confronter) on anticipated collective action intentions was significant (*b* = .79, 95% CI [.60; .97]), as well as the indirect effect via ally perception (*b* = .56, 95% CI [.40; .75]). Direct effect was reduced but still remained significant when the mediator was included (*b* = .23, 95% CI [.06; .39]). Results confirmed Hypothesis 5 suggesting that women attribute more future collective action intention to feminist (vs.

non-feminist) confronters partly because they perceive them as better allies (see Figure 2, Panel B).

## Discussion

These results confirmed that women perceive feminist men confronting sexism as better allies, show more social closeness and attribute more collective action intentions to them than to non-feminist confronters. This finding is consistent with a recent research that found that men who offer autonomy-oriented help are perceived as better allies than those who offer dependency-oriented help (Wiley & Dunne, 2019). Moreover, it goes one step further analyzing the implications of bystander actions against sexism at the interpersonal (social closeness) and intergroup (attributions of collective action) level, and comparing them with an additional control condition where a man does not confront. In this regard, our results show that women still perceive a non-feminist confronter as a better ally, express more social closeness and attribute more collective action intentions to him compared to a man who does not confront at all.

Besides, these results confirmed that perception of confronters as allies may be one of the causal links that explains why women express more social closeness and attribute more collective action intentions to feminist than non-feminist confronters. Also, these findings shed light on the two dimensions that, according to Brown and Ostrove (2013), define allies from the target's perspective: orientation towards relations offering interpersonal support (social closeness) and orientation towards social justice offering intergroup commitment (collective action attributions).

However, empirical evidence about the mechanisms underlying targets perception as allies is still lacking. As previous theoretical works have highlighted, motivations and

power relations distinguish different types of allies (Edwards, 2006; Radke et al., 2019). In Study 2, we decided to examine the role of these two factors, perceived underlying motivations of confronters (egalitarian versus paternalistic) as well as perceived power difference between target and confronter, as possible mechanisms involved in women's perception of men as allies.

**Study 2**

In Study 2, we replicated the main findings of Study 1 (Hypothesis 1-5), and also extended them by examining the perceived underlying motivations and power difference between the confronter and target, as possible mechanisms explaining women's perception of confronters as allies. Previous research showed that male sexism confrontation may be motivated by both egalitarian and paternalistic reasons (Estevan-Reina et al., in press – Chapter 3, this thesis). Based on these findings as well as on theoretical postulates about advantaged group allies (Edwards, 2006; Radke et al., 2020), we hypothesized that women would attribute more egalitarian motivation (Hypothesis 6), less paternalistic motivation (Hypothesis 7) and less perceived power difference (Hypothesis 8) to the feminist than the non-feminist confronter. Further, we expected that perceived egalitarian (but not paternalistic) motivation and power difference would explain the relation of type of confrontation (feminist vs. non-feminist) with women's perceptions of men as allies (Hypothesis 9). Finally, using serial mediational models, we will test conjointly all the previously hypothesized effects: we expect that the tendency of women to express more social closeness (Hypothesis 10) and to attribute more anticipated collective action intentions (Hypothesis 11) to the feminist (vs. non-feminist)

confronter will be serially mediated by egalitarian motivation/power difference and ally perception.

Moreover, in an exploratory manner, we studied if these effects could be moderated by whether the target woman had explicitly confronted the sexist comment herself before the bystander man did it. We considered that women might perceive male confronters (even the feminist ones) as more motivated by paternalistic reasons if they think that they are acting on women's behalf, without considering their own opinion.

## Method

### Participants

A total of 339 valid cases were recruited after excluding 12 participants who spent fewer than 5 minutes or more than two hours to complete the study (this criteria of exclusion was preregistered) and thirty-three participants for not fulfilling the manipulation check question[5]. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 57 years, with a mean of 22.73 years (SD = 4.50). Most of them (90.9%) were students from a southern university in Spain, and 91.5% were Spanish citizens.

### *Measures*

**Demographics variables** were included to evaluate age, nationality and occupation of the sample.

**Confrontation manipulation.** We used a similar methodology as the one followed in Study 1, excluding the control condition. In this case we manipulated not only men's type of confrontation (feminist vs. non-feminist) but also whether the target confronted

[5] We forgot to include this exclusion criterion in the preregistration, but we decided to apply it to be consistent with Study 1. Anyway, the results were the same including or excluding these participants.

herself in the first place or not (target's confrontation: present vs. absent). The first two pictures were the same as those used in Study 1: a woman asks for a lighter and a man responds with a sexist comment. In the experimental conditions where the woman confronts, the third vignette was the same as in Study 1 (the woman confronts the man's comment labeling it as sexist), whereas in the conditions of non-confronting target this vignette was excluded. Next, the bystander man confronted the sexist comment in a feminist or non-feminist way by saying: "(*I agree with her) that comment is sexist /unsuitable. I don't think that it´s fair/appropriate to treat women like this. Men should fight against gender inequality/ take care and protect women*". In the condition where the target did not confront, the confrontation by the bystander man took place right after the sexist comment and it did not include the words in brackets.

**Paternalistic and egalitarian motivation.** We asked women to assess from 1 (totally disagree) to 7 (totally agree) what they thought are the reasons that lead the confronter to act like this. We selected a set of 8 items (based in a measure developed by Estevan-Reina et al., in press- Chapter 3, this thesis) to evaluate paternalistic motivations (4 items, e.g. "show that all good men must care for women") and egalitarian motivation (4 items, e.g. "highlight that women suffer many sexist behaviours and attitudes"). With these items, we conducted a principal components analysis with Varimax rotation; it extracted two factors with eigenvalues higher than one that explained 78.78% variance. Paternalistic and egalitarian items loaded in two different dimensions. After we deleted one paternalistic motivation item which showed an item-total correlation below .40, good reliability coefficients were found both for paternalistic ($\alpha$=.83) and egalitarian motivation items ($\alpha$=.96).

**Perceived power difference.** We created three items to assess participants' perceived power difference between target and confronter ("The man is adopting a powerful/superiority/privileged position regarding women"). We asked participants to what extent they agreed with them. The response format for these three items ranged from 1 (totally disagree) to 7 (totally agree) and their reliability coefficient was good ($\alpha$=.94).

**Manipulation Check.** In order to check that participants attended to the manipulation, we asked them at the end of the survey to remember the social interaction described in the vignettes and select the option that best summarized it. We offered them five possible options, one for each experimental condition and one additional in case they do not remember well what they had read previously.

**Perception of confronter as ally** (7 items; $\alpha$=.94), confronter's **anticipated collective actions** (8 items; $\alpha$=.96) and **social closeness** towards confronter (5 items; $\alpha$=.97) were measured using exactly the same items as in Study 1.

In addition, participants also rated their political orientation, endorsement of benevolent sexism and feminist identification, a pictorial measure to assess perceived status difference between target and confronter, and women's perception of confronters as agentic and communal. Effect of type of confrontation emerged both on perceived pictorial status difference measure as well as on agentic and communal traits; these results as well as more details concerning these additional measures are described in supplementary materials.

**Procedure**

We distributed the link to the online survey by the students' distribution list of the university. First participants completed demographic variables, benevolent sexism scale and feminist identification. Then they read the comic scenarios and later we asked them to answer the motivations scale, power difference between target and confronter items, and perception of confronter in terms of agency and communion. Finally they completed the same dependent variables included in Study 1 (ally perception, anticipated collective action intentions and social closeness). When participants finished the survey they were debriefed and offered the opportunity to take part in a raffle of 50 euros or to gain credits course (if they attended certain undergraduate courses) to thank them for their collaboration.

## Results

**Manipulation Check**

As in Study 1 most of participants selected the manipulation check correctly (90.7% in the feminist confrontation condition and 91.6% in the non-feminist confrontation condition, regardless of whether the woman confronted or not). Thirty-three participants who did not answer the manipulation check appropriately were excluded.

**Ally Perception, Social Closeness, Anticipated Collective Action Intentions, Attributed Underlying Motivations and Perceived Power Difference**

We conducted a MANOVA 2 (type of confrontation: feminist vs. non-feminist) x 2 (target's confrontation: present vs. absent) to analyze the effect of experimental conditions on women's perception of confronters as allies, anticipated collective actions

of confronters and social closeness towards confronters, Wilks' Lambda = .652, $F$ (3, 334) = 59.46, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .321$. As in Study 1, the effect of type of confronter emerged on: perception of allies, $F$ (1,336) = 158.70, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .321$; social closeness, $F$ (1, 336) = 142.23, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .297$; and anticipated collective action intentions, $F$ (1, 336) = 151.52, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .311$. As it can be seen in Figure 3, women perceived the feminist confronter as a better ally ($M$ = 6.49, $SE$ = .16) than the non-feminist confronter ($M$ = 3.62, $SE$ = .16). Congruently, women showed more social closeness towards the feminist confronter ($M$ = 5.68, $SD$ = .13), than to the non-feminist confronter ($M$ = 3.49, $SE$ = .13). Finally, they attributed more collective actions intentions to the feminist confronter ($M$ =4.97, $SE$=.10) than to the non-feminist confronter ($M$ =3.11, $SE$ = .11). Thus, Hypothesis 1-3 were supported. As expected, women perceived the feminist confronter as a better ally (Hypothesis 1), expressed more social closeness towards him (Hypothesis 2) and attributed to him greater collective actions intentions (Hypothesis 3) compared to the non-feminist confronter. Neither multivariate nor univariate effect of target confrontation (present vs. absent) nor its interaction with type of confrontation (feminist vs. non-feminist) were significant in any dependent variable (all $Fs$= < 2.98, ns).

Besides, we conducted a second MANOVA to test if there were differences on the motivations that women attributed to confronters as well as on power difference between target and confronter as a function of the experimental manipulations, Wilks' Lambda = 605, $F$ (3, 333) = 72.34 $p$ < .001, $\eta_p^2$ = .395. Effect of type of confrontation emerged on: egalitarian motivation, $F$ (1, 335) = 170.41, $p$ < .001, $\eta_p^2$ = .337; paternalistic motivation, $F$ (3, 335) =103.75, $p$ <.001, $\eta_p^2$ = .236; and power difference between target and confronter, $F$ (3, 335) = 103.99, $p$ < .001, $\eta_p^2$ = .237. As it can be seen in Figure 3, women perceived the feminist confronter to be more motivated by egalitarian reasons ($M$ = 5.95, $SE$ = .13) than the non-feminist confronter ($M$ = 3.54, $SE$ = .13), whereas they perceived the non-feminist confronter to be more motivated by paternalistic reasons ($M$ = 4.25, $SE$ = .12) than the feminist confronter ($M$ = 2.50, $SE$= .12). As we hypothesized, women perceived lower power difference between the target and the feminist confronter ($M$ = 2.61, $SE$ = .13) than between the target and the non-feminist confronter

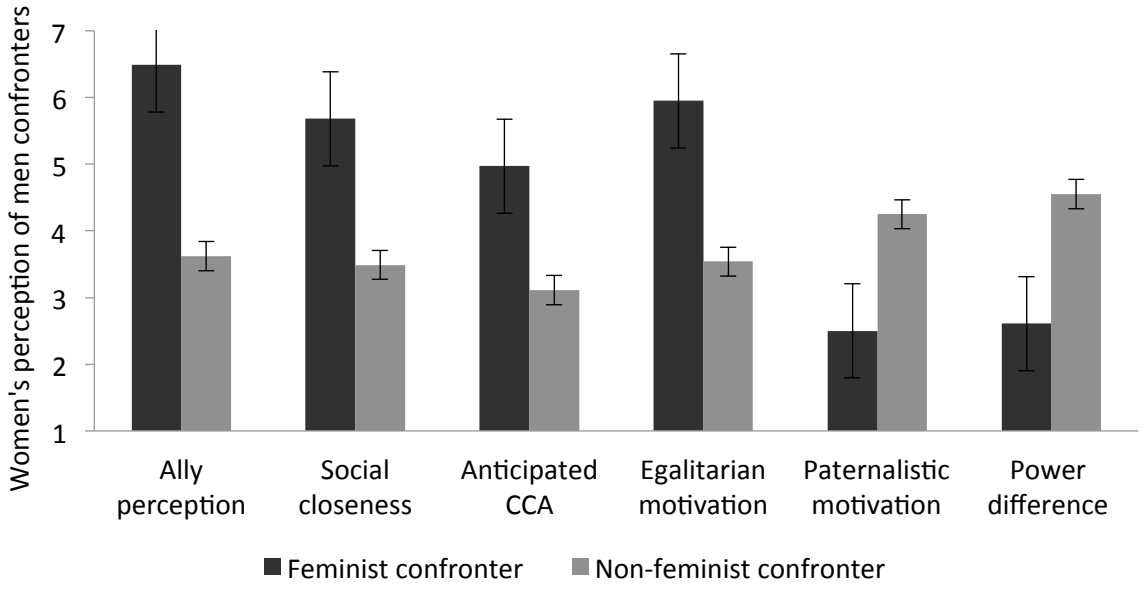



*Figura 3.* Mean women's perception of men confronters as a function of type of confrontation (Study 2). *Note*. Error bars represent standard errors

(*M* = 4.55, *SE* = .14). Thus, Hypotheses 6-8 were also supported. As expected, women perceived the feminist confronter more motivated by egalitarian reasons (Hypothesis 6) and less motivated by paternalistic reasons (Hypothesis 7) than the non-feminist confronter. Likewise, as expected, women perceived less power difference between the target and the feminist confronter (Hypothesis 8) than between the target and the non-feminist confronter. Again, neither multivariate nor univariate effects of target confrontation (present vs. absent) nor its interaction with type of confrontation (feminist vs. non-feminist) were significant in any dependent variable (all *Fs*= < 3.45, ns).

**Social Closeness and Anticipated Collective Actions via Perception of Confronters as Allies**

We conducted a simple mediational model (PROCESS Model 4; Hayes, 2013) in order to replicate whether the perception of confronters as allies mediated the relationship between type of confrontation and women social closeness towards confronters (see Figure 2, Panel A). We used 5000 bootstrap samples to estimate bias-corrected standard errors and 95% percentile confidence intervals. In this and the rest of mediational analyses, we included the experimental manipulation of target confrontation (present vs absent) as a covariate to control for it. As in Study 1, total effect of type of confronter (feminist vs. non-feminist) on social closeness was significant (*b* = 2.19, 95% CI [1.83; 2.55]), as well as the indirect effect via ally perception (*b* = 1.70, 95% CI [1.41; 1.99]). Direct effect was reduced but still remained significant when the mediator was included (*b* = .50, 95% CI [.20; .79]). This result supports Hypothesis 4, replicating the findings of Study 1, showing that women express greater social closeness towards feminist (vs. non-feminist) confronters partly because they perceived them more as allies.

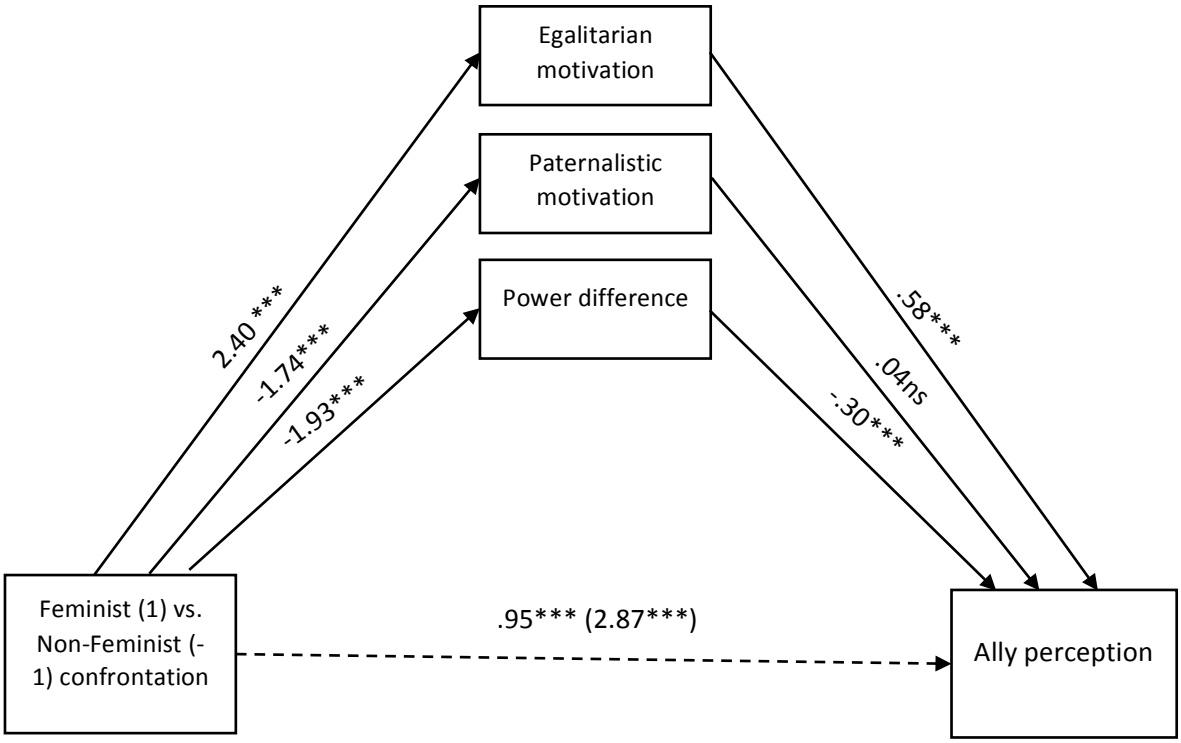
We repeated the mediational analysis using anticipated collective action intentions as outcome variable instead (see Figure 2, Panel B). As in Study 1, total effect of type of confronter (feminist vs. non-feminist) on anticipated collective action intentions was significant (*b* = 1.87, 95% CI [1.57; 2.16]), as well as the indirect effect via ally perception (*b* = 1.51, 95% CI [1.26; 1.78]). Direct effect was reduced but still remained significant when the mediator was included (*b* = .36, 95% CI [.14; .58]). This result supports our Hypothesis 5, replicating the findings of Study 1 and providing additional evidence showing that women attribute more anticipated collective action intentions to feminist (vs. non-feminist) confronters because they perceived them more as allies.

**Perception of Confronters as Allies: Attributed Underlying Motivations and Perceived Power Difference Between Target and Confronter as Mediational Processes**

We conducted a parallel mediation model (PROCESS Model 4; Hayes, 2013) with 3 mediator variables in order to analyze whether the (egalitarian and paternalistic) motivations that women attributed to male confronters, and the perceived power difference between target-confronter, explained the relationship between type of confronters and perception of them as allies (see Figure 4). The total effect of type of confrontation (feminist vs. non-feminist) on ally perception was significant (*b* = 2.87, 95% CI [2.42; 3.32]), as well as the indirect effect via egalitarian motivation (*b* = 1.39, 95% CI [.99; 1.82]) and perceived power difference (*b* = .59, 95% CI [.33; .90]), but not through paternalistic motivation (*b* = -.07, 95% CI [-.30; .16]). Direct effect was reduced but remained significant when the mediators were included (*b* = .95, 95% CI [.50; 1.40]). These results show that women perceived the feminist confronter as a better ally because

they attributed to him more egalitarian motivation and perceive less power difference between the target and confronter. Thus, Hypothesis 9 was supported.

*Figure 4.* Effect of type of confrontation on ally perception via men's motivations and perceived power difference between target and confronter

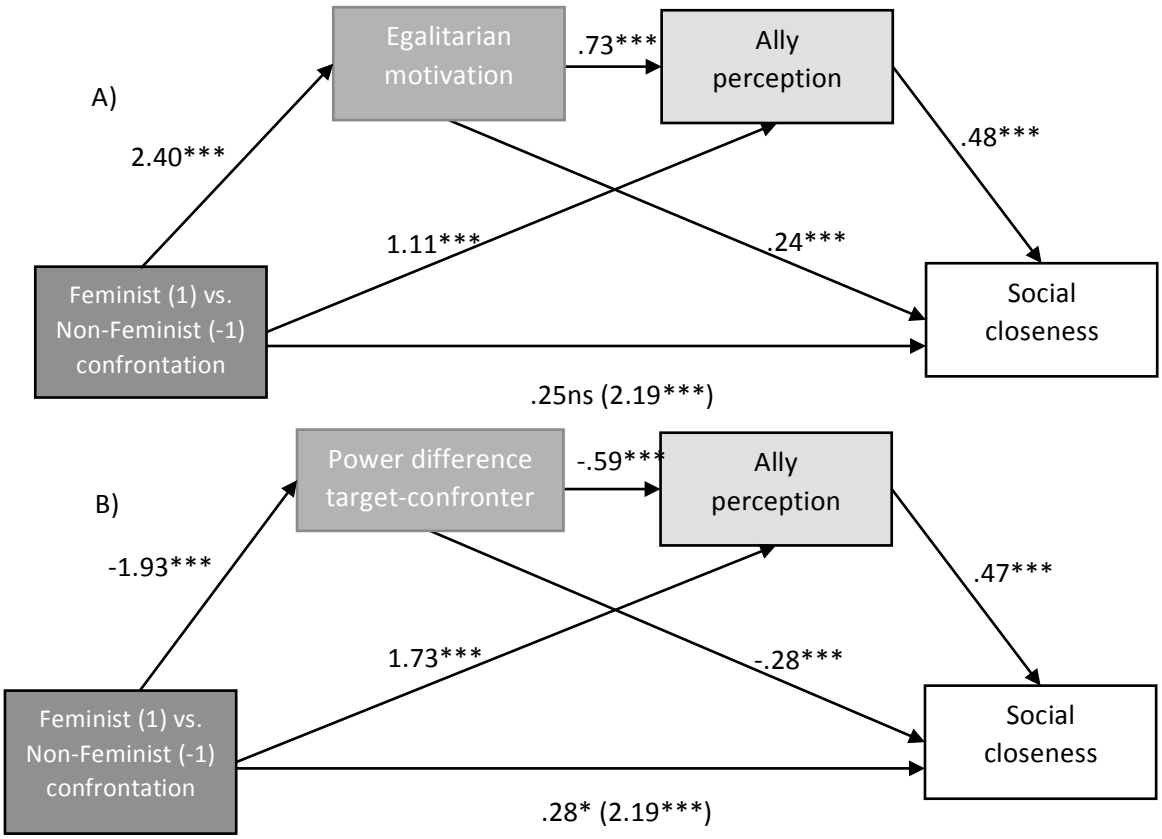



**From Confrontation to Social Closeness: Serial Mediations via Egalitarian Motivation or Perceived Power Difference and Perception of Confronters as Allies**

We conducted two serial mediational models (PROCESS Model 6; Hayes, 2013) to examine whether the effect of type of confrontation on social closeness was explained via egalitarian motivation/perceived power difference and perception of confronters as allies (see Figure 5). We used 5000 bootstrap samples to estimate bias-corrected standard errors and 95% percentile confidence intervals for the indirect effects. As it can be seen in Figure 5 (Panels A), total effect of type of confrontation on social closeness was significant (*b* =2.19, 95% CI [1.83; 2.55]). The indirect effect via egalitarian motivation and ally

perception was also significant (*b* = .84, 95% CI [.67; 1.05]). Direct effect became non significant when the mediators were included in the model (*b* = .25, 95% CI [-.05; .48]). This result indicates that women showed greater social closeness towards feminist (vs. non-feminist) confronter because they attributed to him more egalitarian motivation, which directly increased social closeness as well as indirectly, because women then see him as a better ally. Likewise, as can be seen in Figure 5 (Panel B) the indirect effect via perceived power difference between target and confronter and ally perception was also significant (*b* = .49, 95% CI [.36; .64]). Direct effect was reduced but still significant when the mediators were included in the model (*b* = .28, 95% CI [.00; .57]). This result shows that women manifest greater social closeness towards feminist (vs. non-feminist) confronter because they perceived less power difference between target and confronter, which predicts social closeness both directly, and indirectly via ally perception.

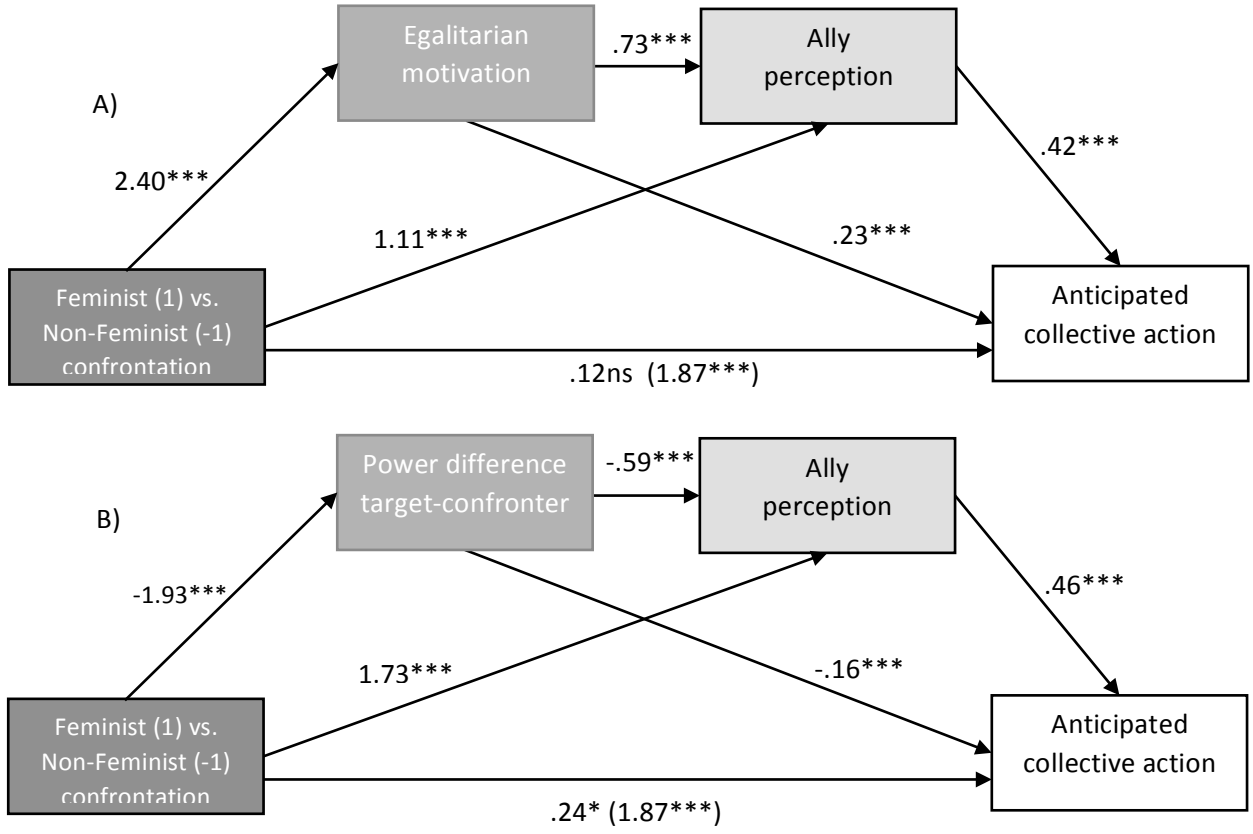
*Figure 5.* Egalitarian motivation/perceived power difference and ally perception mediated the relationship between type of confrontation and social closeness



**From Confrontation to Anticipated Collective Actions: Serial Mediations via Egalitarian Motivation or Perceived Power Difference and Perception of Confronters as Allies**

We repeated the previous serial mediation analyses but using anticipated collective action intentions as the outcome variable instead of social closeness (see Figure 6). Total effect of type of confrontation on social closeness was significant (*b* =1.87, 95% CI [1.57; 2.16]). As can be seen in Figure 6 (Panel A), the indirect effect via egalitarian motivation and ally perception was also significant (*b* = .73, 95% CI [.58; .91]). Direct effect became non significant when the mediators were included in the model (*b* = .12, 95% CI [-.09; .34]). This result evidences that women attributed more intentions to engage in collective actions to feminist (vs. non-feminist) confronter, because they

*Figure 6.* Egalitarian motivation/perceived power difference and ally perception mediated the relationship between type of confrontation and anticipated collective action



inferred the confronter had higher egalitarian motivation which directly predicts collective actions intentions and indirectly via ally perception. Likewise, as it can be seen in Figure 6 (Panel B), the indirect effect via power difference and ally perception was also significant (*b* = .52, 95% CI [.39; .69]). Direct effect was reduced but still significant when the mediators were included in the model (*b* = .24, 95% CI [.02; .45]). Thus, this result suggest that one of the reasons why women attribute greater anticipated collective action intentions to feminist (vs. non-feminist) confronter is because they perceived less power difference between target and confronter which in turn predicts more collective actions both directly, and indirectly via ally perception.

## Discussion

The results of Study 2 replicated those of Study 1 showing that women perceive a male feminist confronter as a better ally, express more social closeness towards him and attribute to him more collective action intentions compared to a non-feminist confronter. Again, ally perception contributes to explaining the effect of type of confrontation on social closeness and anticipated collective actions intentions, highlighting the implications of ally behaviour at the interpersonal and intergroup level. Further Study 2 evidences that women attribute different underlying motives to feminist and non-feminist confronters. Specifically women attribute higher egalitarian motivation to the feminist than the non-feminist confronter, and higher paternalistic motivation to the non-feminist than the feminist confronter. Besides, results showed that women perceived less power difference with the feminist confronter than with the non-feminist confronter.

Results of Study 2 also allow us to deepen our knowledge about the mechanisms underlying ally perception from the target's perspective, highlighting that some of the

reasons why feminist confronters are perceived as allies are that women attribute to them higher egalitarian motivation and a lower power asymmetry. This work confirms that, from the target perspective, egalitarian motivations (but not paternalistic ones) are an important aspect to consider advantaged group members as allies. Similarly, it implies that allies must narrow the power differences if they want to be perceived as such by the targets of sexism. Last, this work shows that such inferred egalitarian motivation and reduced power difference have a direct and indirect (via perception of confronters as allies) impact on gender relations both at the interpersonal (social closeness) and intergroup (anticipated collective actions) levels.

In conclusion, these results contribute to the literature in three different ways: showing that women perceived feminist confronters as better allies than non-feminist confronters; revealing that this is partly explained by inferred underlying egalitarian motives and reduced power asymmetry; and highlighting the implications of male sexism confrontation for women both at the interpersonal and intergroup level.

## General discussion

In order to know if the advantageous groups can be considered allies in the fight against inequality, it is important to take into account the opinion of the disadvantaged. However, the research that has adopted this perspective is scarce (for exceptions, see Brown & Ostrove, 2013; Wiley & Dunne, 2019). Therefore, the main objective of this work was to analyze how women (disadvantaged group) perceive men (advantaged group) who are involved in the fight against gender inequality through the confrontation of a sexist episode. First, the results show that women perceive feminist confronters as better allies than non-feminist confronters and this explains to some extent that women express

greater desire for social proximity with them and attribute them more intentions to participate in collective actions. Secondly, the results deepen the mechanisms that explain these effects, showing that women perceive feminist confronters as better allies because they attribute to them more egalitarian motivations and because they perceive a smaller power difference with them.

**Feminist confronters as allies: implications at the interpersonal and intergroup level**

This work shows that women perceived feminist confronters as better allies than non-feminist confronters. This result is in line with a recent research that founds that feminist women saw men who offered help based on autonomy as better allies than those who offered help based on dependence (Wiley & Dunne, 2019). In addition, feminist confrontation can be understood as a form of supportive contact (cf. Droogendyk et al, 2016; Estevan-Reina et al., 2020- Chapter 3, this thesis), confirming, from the point of view of women, the importance of supportive contact for men to be considered as good allies.

But in addition, this work goes a step further highlighting the implications that male sexism confrontation have on women, both at the interpersonal and at the intergroup level. At an interpersonal level, our results show that women experience a greater desire for social closeness towards feminist than to non-feminists confronters. At the intergroup level, they point out that women attribute greater intentions to participate in collective actions for women's rights to feminist than to non-feminists confronters. Both implications correspond to the dimensions that according to Brown & Ostrove (2013) define allies from the disadvantaged groups' perspective. In line with this idea, we find that the perception of feminist confronters as allies is one of the elements

that explain that women express greater desire for social closeness to them, at the same time that they attribute to them greater intentions to participate in collective actions.

**Mechanisms underlying allies perception from the target's perspective: endorsing egalitarian motivation and narrowing power differences**

This work also deepens in the mechanisms that underlie the fact of perceiving someone as an ally from the perspective of the target. Specifically, we find that women perceive feminist confronters as better allies than non-feminist confronters because they attribute them more egalitarian motivations and perceive less power distance with them.

These results confirm the importance of motivations in identifying allies (Edwards, 2006; Radke et al., 2020), showing that despite the fact that men can act against sexism for paternalistic and egalitarian reasons (Estevan-Reina et al., in press - Chapter 3, this thesis), only if women attribute to them egalitarian motivations they will perceive them as good allies. This result complements previous research that found that male feminist confrontation empowers women, which in turn leads them to express more intentions to confront in the future (Estevan-Reina et al., 2020 - Chapter 4, this thesis). Current research focus exclusively on women's interpretation of the confrontation, which implies that sometimes men may think that they are acting in an egalitarian way whereas women can still perceive them as paternalistic. In these cases women might resist and react against that kind of support. These and other possible combinations should be examined in future investigations.

This work also highlights the role of perceived asymmetry of power when identifying men as allies. According to Stroebe, Wang and Wright (2015), one of the aspects that defines inequality is the differences in status between groups, according to

which the groups that have power –advantaged- occupy a higher position in the social hierarchy, while the groups that do not have power - disadvantaged - occupy a lower position. Some types of intergroup relationships seemingly helpful may contribute to perpetuating the status quo, keeping social hierarchies intact or even strengthening them (dependency-oriented help: Nadler, 2002; positive intergroup contact: Saguy et al., 2009; Wright and Lubensky, 2008), while intergroup relations that really promote social change should reduce this power asymmetry. Our work shows that the perception of this asymmetry of power between target and confronter narrows when the confronter acts like a feminist compared to when he does not. This result is consistent with the literature that indicate that awareness of privileges by the dominant group is a key aspect in differentiating allies that promote social change from those who perpetuate the status quo (Edwards, 2006; Radke et al., 2020). Further, disadvantaged groups have pointed out that one of the things that members of advantageous groups can do to fight against inequality is to recognize their own privileges (Brown & Ostrove, 2013). However, this issue has not been directly addressed in the present research, so future work should analyze it.

**Conclusion**

These two studies highlight the so far understudied fact that, in order to understand the role of advantaged group members in fighting inequality, the perspective of the target group needs to be considered. Only looking through the eyes of women as political subjects, we can fully understand and properly establish the role that men can play in fighting against gender inequalities in order to achieve significant social change.

**Data and Materials Availability**

Pre-registration of Studies 1 and 2 as well as supplementary materials can be found in the Open Science Framework: https://cutt.ly/sroKPup The raw data supporting the conclusions of Studies 1 and 2 and the original version of measures used will be made available by the authors, without undue reservation, to any qualified researcher.

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# Capítulo 6:

## Discusión General / General Discussion

El principal objetivo de esta tesis es analizar el papel que pueden jugar los hombres como aliados de las mujeres en la lucha contra la desigualdad de género. Para ello, nos hemos hecho tres preguntas: ¿*Por qué* los hombres pueden implicarse en la lucha contra la desigualdad? ¿*Qué* consecuencias tiene esta implicación de los hombres para las mujeres? ¿C*uándo* las mujeres perciben a los hombres como aliados? En los capítulos empíricos de este trabajo hemos tratado de ir respondiendo a cada una de ellas. A continuación presentamos las principales conclusiones.

**1. ¿*Por qué* los hombres pueden implicarse en la lucha contra la desigualdad?**

Los resultados de nuestros tres primeros estudios confirmaron que podemos diferenciar dos procesos motivacionales que llevan a los hombres a confrontar el sexismo. Uno que hemos llamado "ruta feminista" y otro "ruta paternalista". Así pues, por un lado encontramos que la identificación feminista de los hombres predijo su implicación en la confrontación del sexismo tanto directa como indirectamente a través de una motivación igualitaria. Por otro lado, la adhesión de los hombres a creencias sexistas benévolas también predijo sus intenciones de confrontar, pero en este caso solamente de manera indirecta a través de una motivación paternalista. Además dos de estos estudios confirmaron también las potencialidades de la ruta feminista frente a la paternalista a la hora de predecir otro tipo de acciones de los hombres relacionadas con el cambio social, como son las intenciones de participar en acciones colectivas por los derechos de las mujeres o implicarse en el Movimiento de Hombres por la Igualdad.

Estos hallazgos son consistentes con la literatura, todavía incipiente, que apunta a la identificación de los hombres con el feminismo como un importante predictor de su implicación en la lucha contra la desigualdad de género. Así pues, en este trabajo

encontramos que la identificación feminista de los hombres no solo se relacionó con su intención de confrontar el sexismo, sino también con la intención de participar en acciones colectivas por los derechos de las mujeres (Subašić et al., 2018; Wiley, Srinivasan, Finke, Firnhaber y Shilinsky, 2012), y con el interés e implicación en un grupo de hombres por la igualdad, dos aspectos que no habían sido evaluados en la literatura hasta el momento.

Así mismo, los resultados de esta investigación son coherentes con el paradójico hecho de que el sexismo benévolo (Glick y Fiske, 1996) pueda también llevar a los hombres a implicarse en determinado tipo de acciones en nombre de las mujeres (acciones protectoras: Radke, Hornsey y Barlow, 2018; comportamiento de ayuda orientado a la dependencia: Shnabel, Bar-Anan, Kende, Bareket y Lazar, 2016) e identifica un mecanismo explicativo que puede ayudar a entender mejor esta relación: el paternalismo, expresado a través de motivaciones paternalistas o mediante el "deber de proteger a la mujer" (Good, Sanchez y Moss-Racusin, 2018).

Aunque tanto la ruta feminista como la paternalista encuentran justificación en la literatura previa, ningún trabajo previo había demostrado la existencia de ambas rutas de acción en paralelo, ni había puesto de manifiesto las mayores potencialidades del feminismo para el cambio social, en comparación con el paternalismo. Pero sin duda la contribución más importante de esta investigación es haber demostrado que un mismo comportamiento (confrontación del sexismo por parte de los hombres) puede estar desencadenado por procesos motivacionales muy diferentes, lo que ofrece apoyo empírico a los desarrollos teóricos que han señalado la importancia de las motivaciones a la hora identificar diferentes tipos de aliados (Edwards, 2006; Radke, Kutlaca, Siem,

Wright y Becker, 2020), así como su relación con las ideologías que legitiman o deslegitiman la desigualdad.

Aunque nuestro trabajo aporta evidencia preliminar sobre las mayores potencialidades del feminismo, en comparación con el paternalismo, para promover un cambio social, las conclusiones no pueden ser del todo definitivas, tanto porque la metodología empleada es correlacional como porque no tuvimos en cuenta la perspectiva de las mujeres como grupo desaventajado. Como hemos ido repitiendo a lo largo de esta tesis, conocer los procesos motivacionales que llevan a los grupos aventajados a implicarse en la lucha contra la desigualdad es, sin duda, un elemento necesario para saber cuándo pueden contribuir a promover un cambio social real o cuándo por el contrario contribuyen a perpetuar el statu quo. Pero no es suficiente. La implicación de los grupos aventajados en la lucha contra la desigualdad tiene importantes riesgos (Droogendyk, Wright, Lubensky y Louis, 2016; Nadler, 2002; Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio y Pratto, 2009; Wright y Lubensky, 2008); sin embargo, si se da en los términos adecuados puede ser realmente útil (Droogendyck, Louis y Wright, 2016). Reflexionar sobre esta cuestión dio pie a que nos hiciéramos la segunda pregunta.

**2. ¿*Qué* consecuencias tiene para las mujeres la implicación de los hombres en la lucha contra la desigualdad?**

Para responder a esta segunda pregunta llevamos a cabo tres estudios en tres contextos culturales diferentes (España, Alemania y México). Sus resultados mostraron que cuando los hombres confrontan el sexismo motivados por razones igualitarias y explicitan su oposición a la desigualdad (confrontación feminista), las mujeres experimentaron más empoderamiento, más alegría y menos enfado que cuando los

hombres confrontaron el sexismo de manera no-feminista. Además, este trabajo puso de relieve que la confrontación por parte de los hombres no sólo tiene impacto en las mujeres a nivel personal, sino que también encierra implicaciones importantes para sus intenciones futuras de confrontar el sexismo. Así pues, los resultados revelaron que la confrontación feminista por parte de los hombres empodera a las mujeres para seguir luchando, mientras que la confrontación no-feminista las enfada, lo que también las lleva a confrontar, en este caso quizá como una forma de resistencia ante una actuación que identifican como inaceptable en un verdadero aliado.

No encontramos un claro precedente de este trabajo en la literatura; hasta donde sabemos, el impacto que tienen para los grupos desaventajados las diferentes formas de confrontación por parte de miembros de grupos dominantes, no ha sido apenas investigado con anterioridad. Excepcionalmente, Cihangir, Barreto y Ellemers (2014) mostraron que cuando un hombre identificaba públicamente una actitud discriminatoria como sexista, aumentaba la autoestima de las mujeres y las intenciones de éstas de formular una queja, en comparación a cuando era una mujer quien lo hacía. Otro trabajo llevado a cabo por Droogendyck, Louis y Wright (2016) señaló que el contacto de apoyo (en el que los miembros de grupos aventajados claramente se posicionan en contra de la desigualdad), en comparación con otros tipos de contacto intergrupal positivo, fortalece las intenciones de participar en acciones colectivas por parte de los grupos desaventajados. Aunque ambas investigaciones explican sus resultados apelando al hecho de que la implicación del grupo aventajado empodera a los desaventajados, ninguna de ellas evaluó directamente los mecanismos subyacentes a este efecto. Así pues, nuestro trabajo va un paso más allá planteando el empoderamiento como el mecanismo que puede explicar dichos resultados. Además nuestro trabajo muestra que el

empoderamiento se relaciona con respuestas de resistencia, mientras que la alegría no. Esto es coherente con la literatura que recoge que las emociones positivas no solo no juegan un papel relevante a la hora de predecir la acción colectiva, sino que pueden incluso llegar a ser contraproducentes (Becker, Tausch y Wagner, 2011; Hasan-Aslih et al., 2019).

Por otra parte, el hecho de que la ira que experimentan las mujeres tras la confrontación no-feminista las lleve a expresar mayores intenciones futuras de confrontar, nos hace pensar en un posible proceso de resistencia ante conductas inadecuadas en los supuestos aliados. Esta hipótesis es compatible con el modelo de la ayuda intergrupal como relación de poder planteado por Nadler (2002), según el cual cuando las diferencias de poder/estatus entre grupos se perciben como ilegítimas e inestables, los miembros de grupos desaventajados pueden rechazar la ayuda orientada a la dependencia y en su lugar buscar ayuda orientada a la independencia o la autonomía. Así pues, aplicando estos supuestos a nuestros resultados, si las mujeres perciben las diferencias de poder con respecto a los hombres como inestables e ilegítimas, podrían rechazar la confrontación de los hombres motivada por razones paternalistas (experimentar ira) e implicarse en mecanismos compensatorios como forma de restaurar su autonomía (mostrar mayores intenciones de confrontación futuras).

Aunque en base a los resultados descritos podríamos interpretar que los aliados feministas son mejores aliados que los aliados no-feministas, lo cierto es que en nuestro trabajo no preguntamos directamente a las mujeres si percibían a los confrontadores como aliados. Pensamos que esta perspectiva no sólo es necesaria sino imprescindible para tratar de entender qué papel juegan los hombres como aliados contra el sexismo. Y

es que, demasiado a menudo, tanto en las relaciones intergrupales que se dan en la realidad social (incluso en los contextos activistas y de cooperación), como en el estudio de esos procesos psicosociales desde un punto de vista académico, podemos caer en querer "todo por los desaventajados, pero sin los desaventajados". La reflexión sobre este riesgo, nos condujo a hacernos la tercera pregunta.

**3. ¿*Cuándo* las mujeres perciben a los hombres como aliados?**

Los dos últimos estudios empíricos de la tesis muestran que las mujeres perciben más como aliados a los confrontadores feministas que a los confrontadores no-feministas, lo que les lleva a su vez a expresar mayor deseo de proximidad social hacia ellos (nivel interpersonal) y a atribuirles más intenciones de participar en acciones colectivas (nivel intergrupal). Además, en este último trabajo abordamos los mecanismos que subyacen a estos efectos y encontramos que las mujeres perciben como aliados a los confrontadores feministas porque les atribuyen más motivaciones igualitarias y porque perciben una menor distancia de poder con ellos. Así mismo, atribuyen mayores motivaciones paternalistas a los confrontadores no-feministas, lo que por ende les lleva a verlos como peores aliados.

La investigación previa a esta tesis sobre la percepción que tienen los miembros de grupos desaventajados de sus potenciales aliados es escasa, y en el contexto de las relaciones de género prácticamente inexistente. Tan solo hemos identificado el trabajo reciente de Wiley y Dunne (2019), en el que demostraron que las mujeres feministas vieron como mejores aliados a los hombres que ofrecieron ayuda basada en la autonomía que a los que ofrecieron ayuda basada en la dependencia. Nuestro trabajo encuentra resultados similares, pero en este caso en el contexto de la confrontación y para todas las

mujeres en general, no sólo para las que más se identifican como feministas. Pero en ambos casos las mujeres consideran mejores aliados a los hombres que no las tratan de manera paternalista.

Por otro lado, algunas investigaciones previas se han ocupado de analizar las características que definen a los aliados desde la perspectiva de los desaventajados, encontrando dos dimensiones relevantes: el apoyo en términos interpersonales (afirmación) y en términos intergrupales (acción) (Brown y Ostrove, 2013). Nuestros resultados apoyan empíricamente la importancia de estas dos dimensiones, al mostrar que cuanto más se percibe a un confrontador como aliado, mayor es el deseo de proximidad social con él y mayores las intenciones que se le atribuye de participar en acciones colectivas.

Además, nuestra investigación profundiza en los elementos que explican que las mujeres puedan percibir a los confrontadores como aliados, identificando dos aspectos importantes a tener en cuenta: las motivaciones que les atribuyen y la diferencia de poder percibida. Algunos trabajos previos se han centrado en analizar los errores que a menudo cometen los miembros de grupos aventajados en su interacción con los grupos estigmatizados, entre los que reiteradamente aparecen el paternalismo y la condescendencia (Conley, Calhoun, Evett, y Devine, 2002; Ostrove, Oliva y Katowitz, 2009). Como alternativa, nuestros resultados confirman la importancia de sustituir las motivaciones paternalistas por las igualitarias (destacando una vez más la importancia de las motivaciones, Edwards, 2006; Radke et al., 2020) para que los hombres puedan convertirse en mejores aliados contra el sexismo. Con respecto a la diferencia de poder percibido con el hombre confrontador, las mujeres experimentan menor diferencia de

poder con el confrontador feminista que con el no-feminista. Si entendemos la desigualdad como una diferencia de poder/estatus entre grupos (Sidanius y Pratto, 1999; Tajfel y Turner, 1979), podemos considerar como cambio social todo aquello que contribuya a reducir dicha asimetría (Stroebe, Wang y Wright, 2015). De acuerdo con este razonamiento, el confrontador feminista va en la dirección correcta para promover un cambio social. Es más, el hecho de que las mujeres perciban una menor asimetría de poder con respecto a los confrontadores feministas parece que es uno de los elementos que las lleva a ver a estos hombres como aliados en su lucha por el cambio social.

**4. Limitaciones y futuras investigaciones**

A pesar de que pensamos que nuestro trabajo supone un buen punto de partida para entender cuál debe ser el papel de los hombres como aliados en la lucha contra la desigualdad de género, somos conscientes de que presenta algunas limitaciones relacionadas con la metodología empleada y las características de la muestra. A continuación señalamos las más relevantes y proponemos algunas alternativas a considerar en futuras investigaciones que podrían ayudar a superarlas.

La metodología de escenarios tiene muchas potencialidades, entre ellas destacamos que permiten recrear situaciones concretas que reúnan las características que se desean estudiar, y que serían difíciles de recrear de otra manera tanto desde un punto de vista económico como ético (Bieneck, 2009). Sin embargo, por esta misma razón a menudo adolecen de validez ecológica. Para tratar de superar esta limitación diseñamos un escenario muy vinculado a la muestra con la que esperábamos trabajar a partir de un primer estudio piloto cualitativo: un comentario sexista que puede ser interpretado como acoso sexual en un contexto de ocio. No obstante, hay que mostrar cierta cautela en la

generalización de nuestros resultados a otro tipo de situaciones. Los comentarios sexistas que sufren las mujeres en su vida cotidiana también pueden estar relacionados con estereotipos y roles de género, así como con actitudes negativas hacia la igualdad, y pueden expresarse a través de bromas y chistes o con mayor hostilidad (Swim, Hyers, Cohen y Ferguson, 2001), por lo que investigaciones futuras deberían examinar si el patrón de resultados encontrado en nuestro trabajo se replica para otro tipo de comentarios sexistas.

Otra posible limitación relacionada con la metodología utilizada es la brecha existente entre actitudes y comportamiento. A pesar de que las intenciones sean un buen predictor de la conducta (Azjen y Fishbein, 1980), las personas no siempre hacemos lo que tenemos intención de hacer (Sheeran y Webb, 2016); en el contexto de la confrontación del sexismo, esto se ha puesto de manifiesto en múltiples ocasiones (Hyers, 2007; Swim y Hyers, 1999; Woodzicka y LaFrance, 2001). Para tratar de superar esta limitación, en el Capítulo 3 introdujimos una variable comportamental: el compromiso con el movimiento de Hombres por la Igualdad, operacionalizada mediante la petición a los participantes de su correo electrónico para ser contactados por este grupo. Sin embargo, la confrontación real por parte de los hombres y de las mujeres participantes no fue evaluada en ningún estudio. Futuras investigaciones podrían explorar esta posibilidad empleando paradigmas similares a los usados por estudios previos (Czopp y Monteith, 2003; Czopp, Monteith y Mark, 2006; Mallett y Wagner, 2011).

Otra limitación de nuestro trabajo es la escasa diversidad de las muestras de participantes. El hecho de acudir solo a población universitaria introduce importantes condicionantes (edad, nivel de estudios, ideología política, conciencia de género) que

llaman también a la precaución al generalizar los resultados a otras poblaciones. Las personas mayores y con menor nivel de estudios pueden tener actitudes de género más tradicionales (Garaigordobil y Aliri, 2013; Lameiras, Rodríguez y González, 2004). Así mismo las mujeres con valores feministas es más probable que posean estudios universitarios (Yakushko, 2007). De hecho, las mujeres españolas que participaron en nuestras investigaciones mostraron niveles de sexismo benévolo bajos (en una escala de 0-5: *Ms*< 1.00) y altos de identificación feminista (en una escala de 1-7: *Ms*> 5.00), en consonancia con el incremento de la aceptación del feminismo en el Estado Español en los últimos años (Álvarez, 2018; Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 2018). Para intentar paliar esta circunstancia, en los estudios 2 y 3 del Capítulo 4 decidimos recopilar datos en otros países (Alemania y México), replicándose en ambos casos el patrón de resultados, si bien la muestra nuevamente estuvo compuesta por población universitaria. Así que tratar de replicar nuestros resultados con muestras de población general sigue siendo una asignatura pendiente para futuras investigaciones.

**5. Conclusiones e implicaciones prácticas**

Como hemos repasado en el Capítulo 1 de esta tesis, el papel de los miembros de grupos aventajados en la promoción del cambio social es controvertido. Nuestro trabajo contribuye a dicho debate poniendo de manifiesto la necesidad de tener en cuenta dos perspectivas diferentes a la hora de analizar el papel de los grupos aventajados en la lucha contra la desigualdad: la de los grupos aventajados y la de los desaventajados. Al analizar cuál es el rol de los *hombres* en la lucha contra la desigualdad, en esta tesis hemos destacado, por un lado, la importancia de las ideologías y las motivaciones subyacentes al comportamiento de confrontación, y por otro, la necesidad de considerar

las consecuencias que tiene para las mujeres la implicación de los hombres en la confrontación. En este sentido, nuestro trabajo subraya la importancia de que las acciones de los aliados promuevan el empoderamiento de las mujeres que las empuje a seguir luchando. Asimismo, en esta tesis hemos puesto especial atención a cómo las mujeres perciben a los potenciales aliados, lo que confirma por una parte la importancia que tiene para ellas que los hombres se impliquen en la lucha contra la desigualdad por razones igualitarias (no paternalistas); y por otra, la necesidad de que esta implicación no refuerce las asimetrías de poder entre hombres y mujeres, sino que contribuya a reducirlas.

Desde un punto de vista aplicado, nuestro trabajo tiene también importantes implicaciones prácticas, especialmente a la hora de desarrollar intervenciones sociales dirigidas a combatir la lucha contra la desigualdad (talleres, campañas de sensibilización etc.), que pongan el foco en los hombres. Pero también los resultados de nuestras investigaciones pueden ser de utilidad para los y las activistas que debaten sobre la conveniencia de incorporar a los hombres como aliados en las movilizaciones feministas. Por último, nuestro trabajo puede invitar a reflexionar a aquellos hombres que quieren convertirse en aliados de las mujeres sobre cuál es la mejor forma de hacerlo. Permite reemplazar el debate sobre si los hombres deben o no implicarse en la lucha contra la desigualdad, por el de cómo debe producirse esta implicación para que contribuya realmente a promover el cambio social. A continuación señalamos algunas claves que pueden ser de utilidad a profesionales de la intervención social, activistas y potenciales aliados para dar respuesta a esa pregunta:

- Promover la identificación de los hombres con el feminismo, rechazando el hecho de que el feminismo sea solo “cosa de mujeres”.
- Fomentar las motivaciones igualitarias frente a las paternalistas, enfatizando la diferencia entre ellas.
- Animar a que los hombres confronten comentarios y actitudes sexistas por parte de otros hombres, insistiendo en que esa confrontación, por un lado, es importante que explicite su oposición contra la desigualdad, y por otro, que evite argumentos paternalistas.
- Insistir en la importancia de llevar a cabo acciones de confrontación que empoderen a las mujeres, no que limiten su agencia.
- Reflexionar sobre si el tipo de confrontación reduce o aumenta la diferencia de poder entre el hombre que confronta y la mujer víctima del comentario/actitud sexista.

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