



INSTITUTO
UNIVERSITÁRIO
DE LISBOA

Making the Harmful Consequences of Workplace Benevolent
Sexism Salient: Effects on Bystander Intervention and Collective
Action Intentions Through Perceived Legitimacy in Pakistan

Maryam Javaid

Erasmus Mundus Master in the Psychology of Global Mobility,
Inclusion, and Diversity in Society

Supervisor:

Dr. Ricardo Borges Rodrigues, Associate Professor
Iscte – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

Co-Supervisor:

Professor Manuela da Costa Barreto,
University of Exeter

June, 2026



CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS
E HUMANAS

Department of Psychology

Making the Harmful Consequences of Workplace Benevolent Sexism Salient: Effects on Bystander Intervention and Collective Action Intentions Through Perceived Legitimacy in Pakistan

Maryam Javaid

Erasmus Mundus Master in the Psychology of Global Mobility, Inclusion, and Diversity in Society

Supervisor:

Dr. Ricardo Borges Rodrigues, Associate Professor
Iscte – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

Co-Supervisor:

Professor Manuela da Costa Barreto,
University of Exeter

June, 2026

Acknowledgement

I want to thank my supervisors, Ricardo and Manuela, for their support, patience, and guidance throughout my personal and academic journey. Ricardo, for the consistent meetings and many long discussions that shaped this work. Manuela, for her constant encouragement and faith in me at times when it was hard for me to believe in myself. I'm grateful to my fellow Global-MINDS and MPIR students for their companionship and warmth. Especially, I want to thank my girls: Alessia, for her wisdom and genuine light she shares with us; Delaney, for being a steadfast anchor who motivates me to swim forward; Gabriella, for making every place feel like home; Naara, for teaching me the joys of conversation; and Tamari, for being the best partner, whether it be in travel or life. Each of them inspires me every day and made every challenge seem a bit easier just by being there. I thank my parents whose support and courage in sending their daughter miles away made it possible for me to be strong enough in this journey. My sister, for always being there for me and being patient with me, from near and afar. I'd like to thank MM, my chosen family, for being a part of my life, creating a safe space for me, and making me feel at home wherever I am, through a screen. I thank my colleague, Falak Mohsin at the University of Exeter, for her pioneering efforts for gender equality in Pakistan, whose work largely inspired this thesis. Finally, I thank all the participants for their time, energy, and contribution to this study. I hope this work becomes a stepping stone in making the world a better and more tolerant place for everyone to live in.

Resumo

O sexismo no local de trabalho têm recebido uma atenção crescente na investigação sobre a igualdade de género. Contudo, o sexismo benevolente mostra-se resistente à mudança devido à sua natureza aparentemente positiva. O presente estudo analisa se a forma como o sexismo benevolente é apresentado – enquanto prejudicial ou benéfico – influencia as intenções de intervenção de observadores no local de trabalho e as suas intenções de ação coletiva, através da legitimidade percebida e da justificação do sistema. Realizámos uma experiência com participantes paquistaneses ($N = 313$; 18 a 67 anos de idade). Os participantes foram alocados a uma condição de "dano" ou de "benefício" e leram três cenários que retratavam o sexismo benevolente dirigido a uma funcionária, seguido de uma consequência prejudicial ou benéfica para a pessoa-alvo. Confirmando as hipóteses, os participantes expostos a consequências prejudiciais percecionaram as situações como menos legítimas e reportaram uma maior intenção de intervir. As análises de mediação mostraram que a legitimidade percebida explica esta relação, e as análises de mediação moderada que este efeito não varia de acordo com o género do participante. Ainda, a forma de apresentação da consequência não influenciou a justificação do sistema nem as intenções de ação coletiva. Os resultados sugerem que destacar as consequências prejudiciais do sexismo benevolente pode reduzir a sua legitimidade percebida e aumentar a sua contestação. O estudo contribui para a compreensão de quando e como o sexismo benevolente pode ser enfrentado e oferece pistas para futuras intervenções que visem a promoção da igualdade de género.

Palavras chave: Sexismo benevolente, justificação do sistema específica de género, legitimidade, intervenção dos espectadores, ação coletiva, Paquistão

Abstract

Sexism in the workplace and efforts to address it have gained increasing attention in gender equality research. However, benevolent sexism often remains resistant to challenge due to its seemingly positive nature, which can obscure its harmful consequences. The present study examined whether associating benevolent sexism with either harmful or beneficial consequences influences workplace bystander intervention intentions and broader collective action intentions through perceived legitimacy and gender-specific system justification. We conducted a between-subjects experimental vignette design with Pakistani participants ($N = 313$), aged 18–67 years. Participants were randomly assigned to a harm or benefit condition, and read three workplace scenarios depicting benevolent sexism toward a female employee, followed by either an objectively harmful or beneficial consequence for the target. Consistent with our expectations, participants exposed to harmful consequences perceived the situations as less legitimate and reported greater intentions to intervene as bystanders. Mediation analyses showed that perceived legitimacy fully explained this relationship, with moderated mediation analyses indicating that this effect did not differ by participant gender. In contrast, consequence framing did not significantly influence gender-specific system justification or collective action intentions, suggesting their stability to situational context framing. Our findings suggest that highlighting the harmful consequences of benevolent sexism can reduce its perceived legitimacy and increase willingness to challenge it. The study contributes to understanding when and how benevolent sexism may be resisted and informs future interventions aimed at promoting gender equality.

Keywords: Benevolent sexism, gender-specific system justification, legitimacy, bystander intervention, collective action, Pakistan

Table of Contents

Acknowledgement	i
Resumo	iii
Abstract	v
Table of Contents	vii
Introduction	1
Literature Review	5
1.1. Benevolent Sexism	5
1.1.1. Benevolent Sexism in the Workplace	5
1.1.2. Appeal and Consequences of Benevolent Sexism	6
1.2. Responses to Benevolent Sexism	7
1.3. Legitimacy of Benevolent Sexism	8
1.4. Gender Differences in Perceptions of Legitimacy and Action Intentions	10
1.5. The Pakistani Context	11
1.6. Overview and the Present Study	12
1.7. Hypotheses	13
Method	17
2.1. Study Design	17
2.2. Sample Size Calculation	17
2.3. Participants	17
2.4. Experimental Manipulations	20
2.5. Measures	21
2.5.1. Perceived Legitimacy of the Situation	21
2.5.2. Bystander Intervention Intentions	22
2.5.3. Gender-Specific System Justification	23
	vii

2.5.4.	Gender Equality Collective Action Intention	23
2.5.5.	Social Dominance Orientation	23
2.5.6.	Ambivalent Sexism Inventory Short Form	24
2.6.	Procedure	24
2.7.	Data Analysis	25
Results		27
3.1.	Missing Value Analysis	27
3.2.	Preliminary Results	27
3.3.	Psychometric Properties and Correlation Analyses	27
3.4.	Tests to Determine Covariates	31
3.5.	Manipulation Check	31
3.6.	Effects of Consequence Manipulation on Dependent Variables (H1)	33
3.7.	Gender Differences on Dependent Variables (H2)	35
3.8.	Mediating Role of Perceived Legitimacy on Bystander Intervention Intentions (H3a)	36
3.9.	Mediating Role of Gender-Specific System Justification on Collective Action Intentions (H3b)	39
3.10.	Conditional Indirect Effect of Experimental Manipulation on Bystander Intervention Intentions (H4a)	42
3.11.	Conditional Indirect Effect of Experimental Manipulation on Collective Action Intentions (H4b)	43
3.12.	Exploratory Analyses	44
3.12.1.	Moderated Mediation (Gender x SDO)	45
3.12.2.	Serial Mediation Analyses for Pathway to Collective Action Intentions	45
3.12.3.	Benevolent Sexism Subcomponent Differentiation	45
Discussion		48

4.1.	Theoretical Implications	52
4.2.	Practical Implications	53
4.3.	Limitations and Future Directions	53
4.4.	Conclusion	56
References		58
Annexes		72
Annex A		74
Annex B		78
Annex C		80
Annex D		84
Annex E		162

Introduction

Notable social movements, such as #MeToo, have substantially increased public awareness of sexism, particularly within workplace contexts. In response, many organizations have introduced initiatives to address sexism by promoting unbiased decision-making and strengthening reporting mechanisms (EIGE, 2020; Stamarski & Hing, 2015). Despite these efforts, gender inequality remains pervasive, affecting individuals of all genders, with women bearing a disproportionate share of its social and economic consequences. Globally, women remain underrepresented in leadership positions, overrepresented in lower-status occupations, and continue to earn less than men on average for comparable work (Bishu & Alkadry, 2016; ILO, 2016; United Nations, n.d.).

These dynamics may be especially consequential in contexts characterized by entrenched structural and cultural gender inequality, such as Pakistan. The country consistently ranks among the lowest globally on gender parity indicators, with women facing barriers to education, employment, mobility, and public participation (Ali et al., 2022; Bukhari et al., 2019; World Economic Forum, 2025). Traditional gender norms and sexist attitudes further shape expectations surrounding women's roles in the workplace, with many working women reporting harassment, stereotyping, workplace exclusion, and invalidation (Cheema & Baruch, 2024; Haider & Hayat, 2025; Khalil & Warner, 2025). In such contexts, subtle forms of sexism may be particularly difficult to recognize and challenge because they often align with culturally valued beliefs about protection and care. As a result, formal workplace policies may be insufficient to address discriminatory behaviours, requiring individual and collective responses.

One response to sexism that has recently received attention within organizations is bystander intervention, which refers to actions taken by witnesses who observe inappropriate, discriminatory, or harmful conduct (Nielsen et al., 2025; Rodenhizer-Stämpfli et al., 2018). Bystander intervention plays an important role in promoting workplace inclusion, and is critical for challenging workplace sexism before it becomes normalized within organizational environments, particularly because bystanders can often intervene with fewer personal and professional risks than targets themselves (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008; Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005; Cortina et al., 2011; Jennings et al., 2024; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010). Outside the workplace, individuals may also engage in

collective action, defined as efforts to challenge inequality through coordinated social or political action aimed at broader social change (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Although both responses involve opposing injustice, bystander intervention reflects an immediate reaction to a specific situation, whereas collective action reflects broader efforts to address systemic inequality.

However, individuals can only challenge discrimination when they recognize it as problematic. While research and interventions have traditionally focused on overt forms of sexism, many everyday expressions of gender bias are subtle and ambiguous. Particularly benevolent sexism, introduced within Ambivalent Sexism Theory (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001), consists of subjectively positive yet patronizing beliefs that portray women as warm, pure, and deserving of protection. In the workplace this can manifest through behaviours such as assigning women less challenging tasks, which may appear caring but reinforces traditional gender hierarchies by restricting women's opportunities and positioning them as dependent, less competent, and less suited for positions of authority (Barreto et al., 2009).

Importantly, benevolent sexism is often perceived as more socially acceptable than explicit hostility and fails to match common discrimination prototypes (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Zehner et al., 2021), even when women recognize its harm (Gul & Kepfer, 2019). Consequently, individuals may be less likely to identify it as worthy of intervention, even though benevolent sexism is linked to a plethora of negative outcomes for women's task performance, well-being, and career advancement (Dardenne et al., 2007; Moya et al., 2007; Rubin et al., 2019).

To date, research has primarily focused on documenting the harmful psychological and structural effects of benevolent sexism (Connelly & Heesacker, 2012; Cikara et al., 2009; Hideg & Ferris, 2016; Jones et al., 2014; Morando, 2023). Becker and Wright (2011) demonstrate how exposure to benevolent sexist ideology increases justification of unequal gender relations in society which consequently reduces collective action engagement. Interventions have subsequently examined how providing awareness of benevolent sexism's negative consequences influences participants' broader societal beliefs and endorsement of ambivalent sexism (Becker & Swim, 2012; Good & Woodzicka, 2010; Shimizu et al., 2024). However, such intervention strategies have rarely examined immediate intentions to intervene within a specific situation. Hall and Dhanani (2023) demonstrated how employees are less willing to intervene as bystanders for benevolent sexism than hostile sexism, encouraging further research on factors that increase willingness to challenge such behaviour.

The present thesis extends this research by positing that bystanders may have differential responses to benevolent sexism depending on which of its consequences are made salient. Specifically, we investigate whether portraying benevolently sexist behaviour as explicitly harmful or beneficial for a target who is a woman, influences immediate bystander intervention intentions and broader collective action intentions for gender equality, and whether this relationship can be explained by perceptions of legitimacy and gender-specific system justifying beliefs. We also investigate how participants' gender influences this relationship.

By focusing on reactions to concrete workplace scenarios, this research contributes to a growing body of experimental work on understanding when subtle forms of sexism are recognized, legitimized, and challenged, and how immediate responses to inequality may relate to broader intentions for social change. Organizational integration of this understanding is also important to design effective interventions that overcome barriers to bystander responses to benevolent sexism.

The remainder of this thesis is structured as follows. First, I outline the theoretical framework underpinning the study, along with a review of relevant literature on workplace benevolent sexism, legitimacy perceptions, ideological beliefs, and behavioural responses to inequality. Then I provide a description of the experimental study and present the results. Finally, I discuss the findings in relation to existing literature, considering their implications, limitations, and directions for future research.

Literature Review

1.1. Benevolent Sexism

Glick and Fiske's (1996, 2001) ambivalent sexism theory differentiates between two complementary dimensions of sexism - hostile and benevolent. Hostile sexism reflects traditional overtly negative attitudes towards women and adversarial views of gender relations. In contrast, benevolent sexism consists of subjectively positive yet patronizing beliefs that idolize, protect, and admire women (Glick & Fiske, 1997). Although these attitudes may appear favourable, they are often conditional upon women conforming to traditional gender roles. Women who challenge these expectations by pursuing power, autonomy, or authority are more likely to become targets of hostile sexism (Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2023).

Benevolent sexism comprises three interrelated components - protective paternalism, complementary gender differentiation, and heterosexual intimacy. Protective paternalism is characterized by beliefs that women ought to be protected and provided for by men. Complementary gender differentiation refers to the belief that women possess certain positive traits lacking in men such as warmth, morality, or elevated tastes. Heterosexual intimacy reflects the belief that women are essential to men's emotional and relational fulfilment, such that a man is incomplete without a woman's love. Together, these components perpetuate the view of women as a cherished but "weak" group dependent on men, while highlighting men's dependence on women for sexual intimacy and role differentiation. This makes women a valuable resource despite presuming their inferiority, making benevolent sexism a subjectively positive (for the perpetrator and most victims) ideology that seemingly respects women.

1.1.1. Benevolent Sexism in the Workplace

While hostile sexism is associated with overtly negative workplace behaviours such as demeaning jokes (Oktaviani et al., 2026), biased evaluations (Stamarski & Hing, 2015), discriminatory hiring practices (Johnson et al., 2014; Warren et al., 2020), and gender pay gaps (Connor & Fiske, 2019), benevolent sexism operates in more subtle ways (Bareket & Fiske, 2023).

Benevolent sexism has been associated with greater support for employment equity initiatives targeting women (Hideg & Ferris, 2016). Although such support may appear progressive, it can channel women into traditionally feminine occupations and reinforce occupational segregation. Similarly, women are often assigned less challenging tasks despite equal interest in career-advancing opportunities (King et al., 2012), are perceived as more suitable leaders primarily in struggling organizations (Acar & Sümer, 2018), and receive greater protection in employment decisions, such as opposition to job termination (Girvan et al., 2015). Women also report receiving more advice and assistance from colleagues, which may appear helpful but can undermine perceptions of competence and independence (King et al., 2012; Oliver et al., 2017). Benevolent sexism also promotes favourable evaluations of men and women who conform to traditional gender roles where women are better suited for caregiving and family roles, while eliciting backlash against those who violate them (Kahn et al., 2021; Salerno & Phalen, 2019). For example, women who display agentic behaviours such as expressing anger in professional settings are often judged as less effective and less employable (Mazzurega et al., 2019).

Importantly, some evidence suggests that benevolent sexism is associated with lower levels of workplace discrimination (Jones et al., 2017). However, this apparent contradiction only supports its subtle nature, with benevolent sexism operating through paternalistic practices and the emphasis of women's gendered traits that may not be immediately recognized as harmful.

1.1.2. Appeal and Consequences of Benevolent Sexism

A key reason benevolent sexism persists is that it can provide emotional, relational, and ideological rewards while obscuring its harmful consequences. Women often perceive benevolently sexist attitudes such as male partners paying for dates as signals of protection, commitment, and investment even when they recognize their restrictive nature (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Cross et al., 2016; Cross & Overall, 2018; Gul & Kupfer, 2019; Kilianski & Rudman, 1998; Lamont, 2013; Lever et al., 2015). This suggests that their appeal cannot be explained solely by a failure to recognize their harms, rather, the tangible and psychological rewards it appears to offer are sufficient to overcome such harms.

Connelly and Heesacker (2012) further demonstrated that benevolently sexist beliefs are associated with greater system justification and life satisfaction among both men and women, portraying gender relations as mutually beneficial. For women, these beliefs may provide a sense

of security and stability, particularly under conditions of vulnerability (Cross & Overall, 2018; Hammond et al., 2014; Li, 2016). For men, they may reinforce identities as providers and protectors while reducing the moral discomfort associated with overt prejudice (Jost & Hunyady, 2005).

Ironically, while benevolent sexism can lead to short-term interpersonal or subjective benefits, it is also associated with a range of short-term and long-term negative outcomes. Research has linked benevolent sexism to lower self-esteem, reduced well-being, self-objectification, and psychological distress among women (Alba et al., 2024; Calogero & Jost, 2010; Jones et al., 2014; Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Oswald et al., 2018). Since it is perceived to be harmless but conveys messages of women's incompetence and inferiority in the workplace, benevolent sexism can also undermine women's perceived competence more than hostile sexism, increase dependency on men, and reduce ambition and independent goal pursuit (Dardenne et al., 2007; Dumont et al., 2010; Fernández et al., 2006; Feather, 2004; Shnabel et al., 2016). At a broader societal level, endorsement of benevolent sexism has been associated with greater acceptance of gender inequality, victim blaming, and tolerance of discriminatory practices (Glick & Fiske, 1997; Glick et al., 2002; Viki & Abrams, 2002).

Recent research also suggests that benevolent sexism subcomponents may have distinct effects. While being faced with protective paternalism has been associated with poorer well-being, complementary gender differentiation and heterosexual intimacy can be linked to greater self-esteem and relationship satisfaction (Alba et al., 2024; Oswald et al., 2018).

Therefore, benevolent sexism carries numerous hidden personal and societal costs for women, however, experiencing these costs may encourage women to question gender norms and develop a greater awareness of and resistance to social injustice (Fischer & Good, 2004; Yoder et al., 2012). Such awareness has been linked to greater well-being and self-esteem (Moradi & Subich, 2002; Saunders & Kashubeck-West, 2006). Understanding how individuals perceive the benefits and harms of benevolent sexism is therefore critical for explaining when it is recognized as problematic, and challenged.

1.2. Responses to Benevolent Sexism

The present research focuses on two forms of action intentions: bystander intervention and collective action. Bystander intervention refers to individuals' situation-specific decisions to

instances of perceived wrongdoing or discrimination (Rodenhizer-Stämpfli et al., 2018). Bystanders are well-positioned to challenge workplace sexism as targets often fear negative consequences for confronting or reporting discrimination (Lee et al., 2019). Recent reviews also highlight its importance in preventing workplace mistreatment, fostering inclusive organizational cultures, and addressing gender-based violence at work (Jennings et al., 2024; Mainwaring et al., 2022; Nielsen et al., 2025), making it an important avenue of research. Collective action, in contrast, involves broader efforts to improve the conditions of disadvantaged groups and challenge systemic inequality (Becker & Tausch, 2015; van Zomeren et al., 2008). Although distinct, both forms of action depend on recognizing a situation as unfair and feeling motivated to respond (Gulliver et al., 2023).

Theories of collective action consistently identify perceptions of injustice and illegitimacy as key drivers of resistance to inequality. Relative deprivation theory proposes that individuals are more likely to act when they perceive their group as unfairly disadvantaged (Burns, 1966; Walker & Smith, 2001), while the Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA) highlights perceived illegitimacy, group identification, and group-based emotions as central predictors of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2004, 2008). Other factors that shape individuals' intentions to intervene include beliefs in a just world (Zhao & Sun, 2022, as cited in Jin & Phusee-Orn, 2024), self-efficacy (Parrott et al., 2019; Mujal et al., 2019), and identification with the target (Levine et al., 2002). Emotional processes also play an important role with individuals' being motivated to corrective action through empathy or anger when they perceive illegitimacy (Chen et al., 2023; Drury & Reicher, 2000; Rosenberg & Siegel, 2025).

Within the workplace, barriers to action may be particularly pronounced due to anticipated social or professional costs, organizational norms, and diffusion of responsibility (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005; Henson et al., 2019; Latané & Darley, 1970; Madden & Loh, 2018). Therefore, understanding when individuals perceive benevolent sexism as illegitimate and worthy of challenge is critical for explaining both immediate bystander responses and broader support for gender equality.

1.3. Legitimacy of Benevolent Sexism

An explanation for why benevolent sexism often elicits acceptance despite its harmful consequences lies in the ideological processes through which unequal social arrangements come

to be perceived as natural, fair, and legitimate. Legitimacy more broadly refers to the perception that authorities, institutions, or social arrangements are appropriate and just (Tyler, 2005). Jost and Kay (2005) then extend this concept to gender-specific system justification where unequal gender relations are preserved through the acceptance of paternalistic beliefs and practices that place men in a dominant position, despite the obvious psychological and material harm they entail for the disadvantaged individuals and groups. Therefore, women come to learn and comply with these societal and cultural values, voluntarily accepting the discrepancy of gendered power structures as the status quo, increasing their perceived legitimacy.

Social Dominance Theory similarly argues that group-based hierarchies are maintained through legitimizing ideologies that justify unequal distributions of power and status (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Social dominance orientation (SDO) has been positively linked with endorsement of benevolent sexism and inhibition of bystander intervention in past research (Radke et al., 2018; Gkesoura, 2024; Gotdiner & Gumpel, 2024). Further, women higher in SDO have been found to legitimize unequal gender structures that place them in a subordinate position (Tesi et al., 2019, 2020).

Benevolent sexism may be particularly effective at fostering legitimacy of unequal gender relations because it masks inequality behind a veneer of care, morality, and protection. Rather than relying on overt hostility, it rewards conformity to traditional gender roles through affection, praise, and paternalistic support while discouraging resistance through the threat of hostile sexism (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Research also shows that discrimination framed in positive or favourable terms is perceived as less harmful and unjust than when its harms are highlighted (Phillips & Jun, 2022). Since benevolent sexism does come across as positive, as a result, gender hierarchy may be perceived not as discriminatory but as beneficial and socially appropriate, increasing gender-specific system justification and making social change seem unnecessary (Hammond & Sibley, 2011; Becker & Wright, 2011).

Importantly, these broad ideological beliefs about the legitimacy of gender relations may shape how individuals interpret specific instances of benevolent sexism. Research on system justification suggests that people use existing beliefs about the fairness of social arrangements when evaluating particular events and inequalities (Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Major et al., 2002). Consequently, individuals who perceive gender relations as generally fair may also be more likely to perceive benevolently sexist behaviour in a given situation as legitimate, exacerbated by its ambiguity

increasing reliance on social norms and existing beliefs to determine whether intervention is warranted (Latané & Darley, 1970).

1.4. Gender Differences in Perceptions of Legitimacy and Action Intentions

Extensive research demonstrates gender differences in responses to gender inequality. Men, particularly those who strongly identify with their gender group, report higher levels of gender-specific system justification and SDO than women (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Saguy & Szekeres, 2018; Schmitt et al., 2002; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). They are also more likely to perceive ambiguous forms of sexism as legitimate or non-problematic (Iyer & Ryan, 2009).

Research on bystander intervention shows that women, as the primary targets of sexism, report greater willingness to intervene in situations involving sexual harassment and gender bias (Martini & De Piccoli, 2020). According to defensive attribution theory (Shaver, 1970), women may identify more strongly with victims of gender-based mistreatment, leading to lower legitimacy perceptions, lower victim blaming, and greater sensitivity to subtle forms of discrimination (Chapleau & Oswald, 2014; Grubb & Harrower, 2008; Navarro & Tewksbury, 2017). Similarly, Shimizu and colleagues (2024) found that an intervention highlighting the harmful consequences of benevolent sexism was effective in reducing benevolent sexism only among female participants.

However, women may also be strongly influenced by traditional gender role expectations. Based on the role incongruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002), assignment to more complementary traits rather than agentic may be perceived as alignment with the status quo, inhibiting any form of intervention. Cha and colleagues (2023) found that women perceived themselves in leadership roles as less legitimate than in subordinate roles, whereas men's legitimacy perceptions of women remained unaffected regardless of their position.

It is also important to note that men and women may face different barriers and motivations for intervention. Women, who often occupy the dual role of bystander and potential target, may experience powerlessness and reduced self-efficacy (Bradley et al., 2015; Brinkman et al., 2015), whereas men may face fewer interpersonal costs when challenging sexism (Civile & Obhi, 2016). Some evidence also suggests that men who endorse traditional chivalrous norms may be motivated to intervene on behalf of women, although at times such responses may reflect paternalistic protection rather than egalitarian concerns (Leone et al., 2020). Therefore, men and women may

differ not only in how they perceive benevolent sexism, but also in their willingness to challenge it.

1.5. The Pakistani Context

As with adjacent fields, much of the current ambivalent sexism research is based on so-called WEIRD (Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic) populations. Moreover, research on ambivalent sexism in Pakistan has largely relied on cross-sectional and qualitative designs, limiting conclusions about causal effects on legitimacy perceptions and behavioural responses within the specific sociocultural context. Existing evidence consistently suggests that hostile and benevolent sexism are embedded within broader patriarchal structures in Pakistan that shape women's experiences. These hierarchical social structures are reinforced through family systems, religious beliefs, and community expectations (Jamshed et al., 2022). Within workplaces, such norms contribute to occupational segregation, restrictions on women's participation, and reduced willingness to report or challenge discrimination (Ali et al., 2021; Cheema & Baruch, 2024; Grünenfelder, 2012; Jafree et al., 2014). Consequently, behaviours that disadvantage women are often interpreted as protective or appropriate rather than discriminatory.

The three components of benevolent sexism also manifest differently in the Pakistani context. Protective paternalism appears particularly salient, with workplace research frequently highlighting concerns about women's safety, mobility, and protection (Grünenfelder, 2012; Jafree et al., 2015). Practices such as discouraging women from working late or excluding them from opportunities in the name of protection reflect assumptions that women require male guidance and care (Dardenne et al., 2007; Estevan-Reina et al., 2020). Complementary gender differentiation is expressed more indirectly in Pakistani workplace research, evident in beliefs that women are naturally better suited to caregiving, supportive, or aesthetic roles than technical or leadership positions (Shahid et al., 2025).

Heterosexual intimacy has received considerably less attention and is often perceived as less relevant in workplace research (Warren et al., 2023). However, in Pakistan's socio-cultural context, where marriage, family honour, and caregiving responsibilities remain highly valued, it may manifest through expectations that women prioritize relational and family obligations over career advancement (Daraz et al., 2023; Khan et al., 2023). In South Asian contexts, marriage is often understood as a stabilizing institution for men, with women undertaking the responsibilities for

caregiving, emotional labour, and household management for their husband's well-being or better task performance, often in addition to their paid work (Kandiyoti, 1988; Dube, 1997; Qureshi, 2020; Allendorf & Pandian, 2016; Ali et al., 2011). Within these patriarchal family structures, masculinity is typically associated with breadwinning, creating a system of gendered interdependence in which men rely on women's unpaid care work and nurturing for everyday functioning and social stability (Chopra, 2006; Jafree, 2017).

These dynamics make Pakistan an important yet underexplored sociocultural context for investigating how benevolent sexism influences perceptions and responses in workplace settings. In such settings, discriminatory practices framed as care, protection, or support may be less likely to be recognized as unjust, thereby reducing the likelihood of resistance.

1.6. Overview and the Present Study

A growing body of experimental research suggests that highlighting the harmful consequences of benevolent sexism can reduce its endorsement and increase recognition of sexism (Becker & Swim, 2012; Good & Woodzicka, 2010; Shimizu et al., 2024). However, most studies have focused on attitudinal and ideological outcomes (Becker & Wright, 2011; Hammond & Sibley, 2011), with relatively limited attention to whether such awareness translates into behavioural responses. Understanding this is important for informing workplace training and anti-discrimination interventions.

Research has also focused primarily on women as targets and participants, as they are the broader targets unlike men (Benatar, 2012). However, evidence suggests that men, as an advantaged group, may play an important role as bystanders (Leone et al., 2020; Yule et al., 2020). Finally, workplace contexts remain underexplored despite being a setting where intervention may be particularly consequential since organizational hierarchies and normative ambiguity can inhibit recognition of discrimination and discourage intervention (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005). Although workplace benevolent sexism has been linked to greater gender-specific system justification and lower support for collective action (Warren et al., 2023), the situational processes through which it shapes intervention intentions remain poorly understood.

The present study addresses these gaps by examining how individuals perceive and respond to benevolent sexism depending on whether its consequences are framed as beneficial or harmful for the target in ecologically valid vignettes situated within the Pakistani workplace context. The

study investigates three research questions: (1) Does making the harmful consequences of benevolent sexism salient influence bystander intervention intentions and collective action intentions for gender equality? (2) Are these effects mediated by situational legitimacy perceptions and gender-specific system justification? (3) Does participant gender moderate these indirect relationships?

The present research focuses on behavioural intentions because they represent one of the strongest proximal predictors of action and are widely used when observing actual behaviour is impractical or ethically challenging (Ajzen, 1985; Webb & Sheeran, 2006). Meta-analytic evidence also demonstrates a substantial association between intentions and subsequent behaviour across domains (Sheeran, 2002).

By investigating how consequence framing shapes legitimacy perceptions and behavioural responses, this study aims to clarify the psychological mechanisms through which benevolent sexism may inhibit resistance to gender inequality and inform the development of more effective anti-sexist interventions and workplace training initiatives.

1.7. Hypotheses

H1. Participants exposed to the harm (versus benefit) condition are likely to report,

- H1a. lower perceived legitimacy of the situation,
- H1b. lower gender-specific system justification,
- H1c. higher bystander intervention intentions, and
- H1d. higher collective action intentions.

H2. Men, as compared to women, are likely to report across both experimental conditions,

- H2a. higher perceived legitimacy of the situation,
- H2b. higher gender-specific system justification,
- H2c. lower bystander intervention intentions, and
- H2d. lower collective action intentions.

H3. Perceived legitimacy and gender-specific system justification are likely to act as mediators between consequence framing (harm versus benefit) and action intentions:

H3a. Perceived legitimacy of the situation is likely to mediate the effect of consequence framing on bystander intervention intentions, such that harm exposure decreases legitimacy, which in turn increases intervention, and

H3b. Gender-specific system justification is likely to mediate the effect of consequence framing on collective action intentions, such that harm exposure decreases justification, which in turn increases intervention.

H4. Participant gender will moderate the indirect effect of consequence framing (harm versus benefit) on action intentions through differential effects on the mediators such that:

H4a. The effect of consequence framing on perceived legitimacy of the situation will be stronger for women than for men (Model 1; see Figure 1.1), and

H4b. The effect of consequence framing on gender-specific system justification will be stronger for women than for men (Model 2; see Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.1

Conceptual Model 1 Predicting Bystander Intervention Intentions

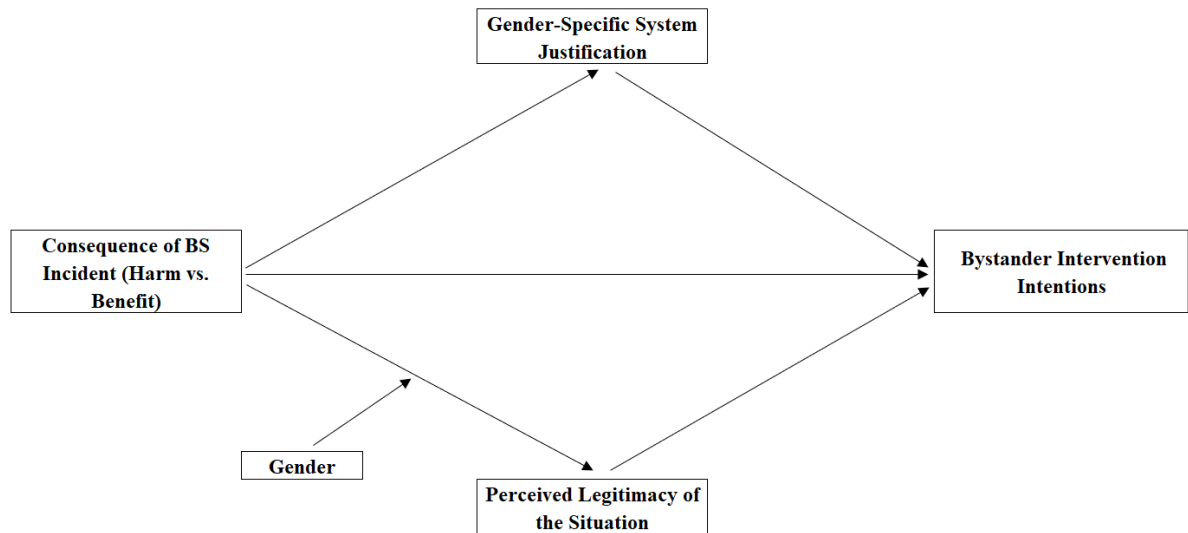
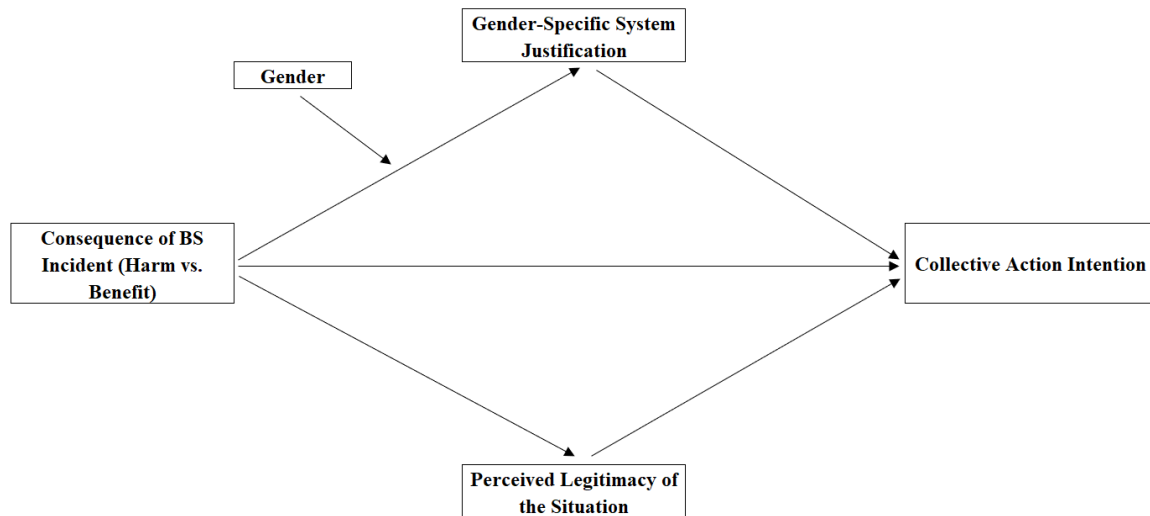


Figure 1.2

Conceptual Model 2 Predicting Collective Action Intentions



CHAPTER 2

Method

2.1. Study Design

The study employed a 2 (participant gender: man versus woman) $\times$ 2 (consequence framing: harm versus benefit) between-participants experimental design administered through Qualtrics. Using Experimental Vignette Methodology (EVM), an established approach for examining causal relationships through realistic scenarios (Atzmüller & Steiner, 2010; Hox et al., 1991), participants were presented with vignettes on workplace incidents depicting a benevolent sexism incident (see section 2.4).

2.2. Sample Size Calculation

A minimum sample size of 300 participants was determined using Monte Carlo power simulations for the proposed first-stage moderated mediation models in Figures 1.1 and 1.2 (Schoemann et al., 2017), which included four covariates - SDO, age, relationship status, and religion, based on past literature (Christopher & Mull, 2006; Glick et al., 2015; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014; Morando, 2023; Waddell et al., 2018). Medium effect sizes consistent with prior social psychological research were assumed (Cohen, 2013). Simulations with 500 replications indicated that a sample of 300 participants would provide approximately 80% power to detect the hypothesized moderated indirect effect while maintaining adequate power for the parallel indirect effect. The Monte Carlo simulation script is provided in Annex A.

2.3. Participants

Although the pre-registration (<https://osf.io/dxct5>) specified recruitment solely through convenience sampling, this plan was revised due to time constraints associated with completing the study as part of a Master's dissertation. Consequently, recruitment was conducted via both Positly (Positly, 2026), a paid research participant recruitment platform, and convenience/snowball sampling using academic and professional networks, university mailing lists, and social media. Eligibility criteria required participants to be at least 18 years old and currently residing in Pakistan.

Following the exclusion of participants who did not provide consent or failed to complete any dependent variable measures (Positly: $n = 13$; convenience: $n = 71$), the final sample consisted of $N = 313$ participants (Positly: $n = 164$; convenience: $n = 149$). Positly recruitment took place between April 13 and April 21, 2026, whereas convenience sampling occurred between March 26 and May 7, 2026. Prior to the main study, 20 Positly participants were recruited and compensated with \$0.26. Based on pilot feedback, the estimated survey duration was increased from 10 to 15 minutes, and compensation for the subsequent Positly participants was adjusted to \$0.39.

Participants ranged in age from 18 to 67 years ($M = 32.47$, $SD = 11.92$). The sample was relatively balanced in gender (51.1% men, 39.9% women), and most participants identified as Pakistani (90.1%), Muslim (87.9%), and heterosexual (67.1%). Approximately half were married or in a relationship (48.9%), over half were employed (53.0%), and most had completed an undergraduate degree or higher (67.4%). Missing demographic responses (8.9–10.9%) were retained as separate categories. Full sociodemographic characteristics are presented in Table 2.1, separately for the two different samples and combined.

Table 2.1

Sociodemographic Characteristics of Sample ($N = 313$)

Demographics	Categories	Sample	f	(%)
Gender	Women		125	39.9
		Positly	54	32.9
		Convenience	71	47.7
	Men		160	51.1
		Positly	110	67.1
		Convenience	50	33.6
	Missing		28	8.9
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual		210	67.1
		Positly	116	70.7
		Convenience	94	63.1
	Bi/Homosexual/Other		56	17.9

Relationship Status	Missing	Positly	41	25.0
		Convenience	15	10.1
			47	15.0
		Single/Widowed/Divorced/Sepa		
		rated	128	40.9
		Positly	76	46.3
		Convenience	52	34.9
		Married/In a relationship but not		
		married	153	48.9
Education Status	Missing	Positly	83	50.6
		Convenience	70	47.0
			32	10.2
		Pre-Bachelor's	68	21.7
		Positly	49	29.9
		Convenience	19	12.8
		Bachelor's	103	32.9
		Positly	56	34.1
Professional Status	Missing	Convenience	47	31.5
		Post-Bachelor's	108	34.5
		Positly	53	32.3
		Convenience	55	36.9
			34	10.9
		Employed (full/part-time)	166	53.0
		Positly	97	59.1
		Convenience	69	46.3
	Unemployed/Retired/Disabled/ Homemaker		47	15.0
		Positly	30	18.3
		Convenience	17	11.4

Religion	Student		65	20.8
		Positly	31	18.9
		Convenience	34	22.8
	Other		2	0.6
		Positly	1	0.6
		Convenience	1	0.7
	Missing		33	10.5
	Islam		275	87.9
		Positly	156	95.1
		Convenience	119	79.9
	Christianity/None		6	1.9
		Positly	4	2.4
		Convenience	2	1.3
	Missing		32	10.2

Note. Pre-Bachelor's: No formal education, Middle (Grade 8), Matriculation/Secondary (Grade 10/SSC), Intermediate/Higher Secondary (Grade 12/HSSC); Bachelor's degree: BA/BSc/BS/Bcom; Post-Bachelor's degree: Master's degree (MA/MSc/Mcom/MBA), Higher than Master's (MPhil/PhD).

2.4. Experimental Manipulations

A total of six vignettes, two per subcomponent, were developed using items from the Experiences with Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Salomon et al., 2020) and prior qualitative research on Pakistani women's experiences of sexism. Each vignette followed a standardized structure (70–110 words, English). One vignette per subcomponent was selected from this larger pool based on ratings from two Pakistani experts in ambivalent sexism research, recruited through convenience sampling, who evaluated the vignettes for alignment with the ambivalent sexism framework and cultural relevance to the Pakistani context.

Each vignette depicted a female protagonist with a Pakistani-typical name in a workplace setting, with names varied across subcomponents to reduce carryover effects. Scenarios described benevolent sexism by a male colleague or supervisor, with participants instructed to imagine witnessing the event. Each vignette ended with a harmful or beneficial consequence that was standardized as objective across both conditions and subcomponents, reflecting tangible outcomes

for the protagonist (e.g., being denied a promotion or receiving criticism from colleagues). Temporal framing of outcomes was also controlled (short-term versus longer-term/indefinite). All vignettes are provided in Annex D within the survey however, a sample is shown below.

(Complementary Gender Differentiation, Benefit Condition)

Fatima is a young journalist working in the current affairs department, where she covers topics such as state affairs, international relations, and politics. One day, she met Ali, a new male recruit. Upon being introduced, Ali smiled and said, “Oh, I assumed you worked in the culture department since women usually have a great eye for design and good taste.” Afterwards, Ali would often ask Fatima for advice on improving the aesthetics and layout of his article, praising her for having a natural sense of aesthetics.

(Complementary Gender Differentiation, Harm Condition)

Fatima is a young journalist working in the current affairs department, where she covers topics such as state affairs, international relations, and politics. One day, she met Ali, a new male recruit. Upon being introduced, Ali smiled and said, “Oh, I assumed you worked in the culture department since women usually have a great eye for design and good taste.” Afterwards, Fatima noticed that Ali would often approach his male seniors to ask work-related questions and that she was rarely included in their discussions about political pieces, even though she was equally qualified.

2.5. Measures

2.5.1. Perceived Legitimacy of the Situation

To assess participants’ justification of benevolent sexism within the specific situation, we used an adapted legitimacy scale (Thomas & Louis, 2013). This scale consists of two items assessing the degree to which participants perceived an issue as legitimate. We modified these items to fit the current research (“The way the protagonist was treated in this situation is unjust”; “The way the protagonist was treated in this situation is fair”).

Participants were asked to indicate their agreement with the statements using a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree). The two items were averaged to create a composite measure after reverse coding the first item, such that higher scores indicate a greater perceived legitimacy of the situation. In line with recommendations on the limitations of two-item scales, internal consistency was assessed with the Spearman-Brown correlation coefficient (Eisinga et al., 2012), yielding an acceptable correlation ($r = .69, p < .001$). Reliability estimates also suggest good internal consistency ($\alpha = .82$).

2.5.2. Bystander Intervention Intentions

To assess bystander intervention intentions, we developed items using a typology of bystander intervention behaviours in sexual harassment (Bowes-Sperry & O’Leary-Kelly, 2005). They conceptualize bystanders as those who witness the behaviour, consistent with past literature on bystander intervention (Latane & Darley, 1970). This typology characterizes bystander intervention along two dimensions: (1) immediacy of intervention, and (2) level of involvement.

Using this, we developed five items aligning with actions undertaken by a bystander: (a) If I witnessed this event, I would speak up to challenge the person responsible (high immediacy; high involvement); (b) If I witnessed this event, I would ask someone else for help (high immediacy; low involvement); (c) If I witnessed this event, I would privately challenge the person responsible later on (low immediacy; high involvement); (d) If I witnessed this event, I would offer emotional support to the protagonist (low immediacy; low involvement); (e) If I witnessed this event, I would not do anything. Participants were asked to rate their level of agreement with the items on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree). A composite measure was developed after reverse coding the fifth item, such that higher scores indicate a higher intention for bystander intervention. This scale yielded good internal consistency in our study ($\alpha = .81$).

We also ran an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) using principal axis factoring to examine the latent structure of the scale and assess whether the items loaded onto a single factor. Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity was significant, $\chi^2(10) = 557.27, p < .001$, indicating that the correlation matrix was suitable for factor analysis. The Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy was .80 which is above the recommended threshold of .60, suggesting good sampling adequacy. One factor had an eigenvalue over 1, with 58.2% of the variance accounted for in the model. The scree plot also showed the point of inflection occurring at one factor (Field, 2023). All factor

loadings were equal to or above .49 and loaded onto a single factor, suggesting a one-factor scale (Shultz et al., 2020). The factor loadings and scree plot are included in Annex B.

2.5.3. Gender-Specific System Justification

This was measured using the gender-specific system justification scale (Jost & Kay, 2005) that comprises eight items and assesses perceptions of the fairness of gender relations in society. The word ‘the United States’ was replaced with ‘Pakistan’ in the fourth item - “For women, Pakistan is the best country in the world to live in” to fit the current research. Participants were asked to indicate the strength of agreement or disagreement with the items regarding Pakistani society, on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree). The third and seventh items were reverse coded and an overall average was calculated such that higher scores indicate greater support for the status quo. There was acceptable internal consistency between the gender-specific system justification scale and the sample in our study ($\alpha = .70$).

2.5.4. Gender Equality Collective Action Intention

To measure this variable, we used the gender equality collective action intention (GECAI) scale (Besta et al., 2024) which consists of six items describing actions undertaken to support gender equality such as participating in an educational event related to gender equality or using online tools (e.g. Instagram, YouTube) to raise awareness about gender equality. The original paper tested the measurement invariance of GECAI across 60 countries, including Pakistan where the scale depicted excellent reliability ($\omega = .90$).

Participants rated their intention to engage in the listed activities on a 7-point scale (1 = not likely at all; 7 = very likely). A composite measure was developed by taking the mean of responses to all six items, such that higher scores indicate a greater intention to engage in solidarity-based collective action for gender equality. In this study, there was excellent internal consistency between GECAI and our sample ($\alpha = .90$).

2.5.5. Social Dominance Orientation

SDO was measured as a control variable before exposure to the experimental manipulation. The short form social dominance orientation scale, SDO-7 (Ho et al., 2015) was used due to survey length constraints. The scale consists of eight items across four factors: Pro-Trait Dominance

(items 1 and 2), Con-Trait Dominance (items 3 and 4), Pro-Trait Antiegalitarianism (items 5 and 6), and Con-Trait Antiegalitarianism (items 7 and 8). The four-factor structure of SDO-7 is based on two subdimensions of SDO: SDO-Dominance and SDO-Egalitarianism. SDO-Dominance is characterized by a preference for systems of group-based dominance (high status groups oppress low status groups) whereas SDO-Egalitarianism is characterized by a preference for systems of group-based equality. Participants marked the extent to which they favour or oppose the items on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly oppose) to 7 (strongly favour). The con-trait items were reverse scored before a composite scale mean was computed with higher scores indicating a greater preference for group-based hierarchy and inequality. We obtained borderline internal consistency for the scale in our sample ($\alpha = .65$).

2.5.6. Ambivalent Sexism Inventory Short Form

The ambivalent sexism inventory (ASI) short form taken from Glick and Whitehead (2010) was included at the end of the study as a measure of participant's beliefs regarding men and women in contemporary society. The scale consists of 12 items across two factors - hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. Participants rated the extent to which they agree or disagree with items related to hostile sexism (items 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 12) and benevolent sexism (items 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, and 11) on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The items were used to create composite scales for hostile sexism ($\alpha = .87$), benevolent sexism ($\alpha = .74$), and ambivalent sexism ($\alpha = .84$) yielding good reliability.

2.6. Procedure

The study was approved by the Ethics Committee of ISCTE-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (PSI_154/2025B) and was administered online in English using Qualtrics. Participants first read an information sheet describing the study as one examining people's thoughts and feelings about women in contemporary Pakistani society, and provided informed consent before proceeding.

Participants completed SDO-7 and were randomly assigned to either the harm or benefit condition. They read three vignettes depicting either of the three benevolent sexism subcomponents (protective paternalism, complementary gender differentiation, and heterosexual intimacy) in randomized order. Following each vignette, participants completed manipulation checks assessing their recognition of the benevolent sexism subcomponent measured using three

items, one per subcomponent, where participants rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) the extent to which the vignette aligned with the main tenet of each subcomponent. They also rated whether the scenario reflected a beneficial or harmful situation for the main character on the same 7-point scale.

Subsequently, participants responded to the bystander intervention intentions and perceived legitimacy of the situation measures after each vignette. After completing all three vignettes, participants completed measures for gender-specific system justification, collective action intentions for gender equality, and ambivalent sexism. Finally, participants provided demographic information and were debriefed regarding the study's aims. The informed consent form, survey materials, and debriefing documents are provided in Annexes C, D, and E respectively.

2.7. Data Analysis

We analysed the data using IBM SPSS Version 30.0.0 (IBM Corp., 2024). Preliminary analyses included checks for missing data, outliers, and normality. To test H1, we conducted independent samples t-tests with condition (benefit = 0; harm = 1) as the grouping variable and perceived legitimacy, gender-specific system justification, bystander intervention intentions, and collective action intentions as outcomes. H2 was tested similarly using participant gender (man = 0; woman = 1) as the grouping variable.

H3 was tested using two parallel mediation analyses (PROCESS Model 4; Hayes, 2013) with perceived legitimacy and gender-specific system justification as parallel mediators to control for their unique contributions, and bystander intervention intentions and collective action intentions as separate outcomes. Based on their conceptual focus, perceived legitimacy was expected to be more strongly associated with bystander intervention intentions, whereas gender-specific system justification was expected to be more strongly associated with collective action intentions. H4 was tested using first-stage moderated mediation (PROCESS Model 7), examining whether participant gender moderated the effect of condition on the mediators. All models used 5,000 bootstrap samples and 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals. Significant effects were identified when confidence intervals did not include zero. Data from Positly and convenience/snowball samples were combined for primary analyses, with exploratory analyses conducted separately by sample type.

CHAPTER 3

Results

3.1. Missing Value Analysis

Data were screened for missing values and patterns. Missing data were minimal for the study variables ranging from no missing values to 9.3% missing values for collective action intentions. Little's MCAR test indicated that data were missing completely at random, $\chi^2(9) = 11.32, p = .25$, and missingness did not differ by condition. Although multiple imputation was explored, stable imputations could not be generated due to the small sample and sparse missingness. Therefore, analyses were conducted using available cases, with listwise or pairwise deletion as appropriate.

3.2. Preliminary Results

Assumptions of normality for demographic and dependent variables were assessed using skewness, kurtosis, histograms, Q-Q plots, and Shapiro–Wilk tests. Although Shapiro–Wilk tests were significant, visual inspection and skewness/kurtosis values indicated approximate normality for the study variables. Religion and sexual orientation showed non-normal distributions, reflecting expected demographic patterns in Pakistan. A small number of outliers were identified across the dependent variables but retained, as responses passed manipulation checks and showed consistent response patterns.

Hostile and benevolent sexism were also examined descriptively as they were measured at the end of the survey and based on independent samples t-tests, were not impacted by the experimental conditions. Participants reported high levels of both forms of sexism (Shahid et al., 2025), with men scoring higher than women (Ijaz & Butt, 2026).

3.3. Psychometric Properties and Correlation Analyses

A summary of psychometric properties, reliability estimates, and intercorrelations is presented in Table 3.1. Most variables in the hypothesised model were significantly correlated. Perceived legitimacy was positively associated with gender-specific system justification and negatively associated with both bystander intervention intentions and collective action intentions. Bystander

intervention intentions were positively correlated with collective action intentions, while gender-specific system justification was not significantly related to either outcome variable.

SDO and ambivalent sexism were generally positively associated with the study variables, although hostile sexism was not significantly correlated with collective action intentions. Age was unrelated to the primary outcomes but was significantly associated with ambivalent sexism and its subcomponents.

Table 3.1*Psychometric Properties and Bivariate Correlations Among Main Study Variables*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	α	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. PERCLEGIT	3.70	1.56	1 - 7	0.82	-								
2. BYSTINTER	4.47	1.12	1 - 7	0.81	-.67**	-							
3. SYSJUST	3.76	1.00	1 - 6	0.70	.33**	-0.11	-						
4. COLLECT	5.05	1.38	1 - 7	0.90	-.14*	.32**	-0.05	-					
5. BS	4.84	1.14	1 - 7	0.74	.19**	0.01	.35**	.29**	-				
6. HS	3.86	1.40	1 - 7	0.87	.23**	0.00	.51**	-0.06	.38**	-			
7. AS	4.34	1.06	1 - 7	0.84	.25**	0.00	.53**	.12*	.79**	.87**	-		
8. SDO	2.58	1.02	1 - 6	0.65	.14*	-0.07	.33**	-.16**	0.11	.31**	.26**	-	
9. Age	32.47	11.77	18 - 67	-	0.06	-0.06	0.11	0.01	.15*	.12*	.16**	-0.06	-

Note. *N* = 313. *M* = Mean, *SD* = Standard Deviation, α = Cronbach's alpha, PERCLEGIT = Perceived Legitimacy, BYSTINTER = Bystander Intervention

Intentions, SYSJUST = Gender-Specific System Justification, COLLECT = Collective Action Intentions, BS = Benevolent Sexism, HS = Hostile Sexism, AS = Ambivalent Sexism, SDO = Social Dominance Orientation.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

3.4. Tests to Determine Covariates

Preliminary analyses examined whether the pre-registered variables, SDO, religion, relationship status, and age, were associated with the main study variables to determine covariates. Independent samples t-tests and one-way ANOVAs showed no significant differences in the dependent variables across religious groups or relationship status.

Simple linear regressions indicated that SDO significantly predicted perceived legitimacy, collective action intentions, and gender-specific system justification, whereas age was not a significant predictor in any model. Therefore, only SDO was included as a covariate in the confirmatory analyses.

3.5. Manipulation Check

Participants completed three items after each vignette assessing whether they correctly identified the intended benevolent sexism subcomponent. This was particularly important for exploratory analyses examining whether the effects of the experimental manipulation differed across subcomponents. To test this, we computed discrimination scores for each subcomponent within each condition. For instance, to assess whether participants correctly identified the protective paternalism vignette in the benefit condition, we calculated the following difference score:

$$\text{PPB item} - ((\text{CDB item} + \text{HIB item})/2)$$

We then conducted one-sample t-tests against a test value of 0, where all mean differences were positive and significant, indicating that participants rated the intended subcomponent higher than the other subcomponents, suggesting that the manipulation was successfully perceived as intended (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2*Results of One-Sample t-tests Assessing ASI Subcomponent Differentiation*

	<i>M</i> /Mean Difference	<i>SD</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Two-sided p</i>	Cohen's <i>d</i>
PPH Mani Check	1.11	2.16	0.18	6.287	150	<.001	0.51
PPB Mani Check	2.64	2.14	0.17	15.147	150	<.001	1.23
CDH Mani Check	0.76	1.92	0.16	4.864	150	<.001	0.40
CDB Mani Check	1.13	1.89	0.15	7.301	150	<.001	0.59
HIH Mani Check	1.34	2.35	0.19	7.011	149	<.001	0.57
HIB Mani Check	1.20	2.29	0.19	6.448	150	<.001	0.53

Note. Test value = 0. *M* = Mean, *SD* = Standard Deviation, *SE* = Standard Error, PPH = Protective Paternalism

Harm, PPB = Protective Paternalism Benefit, CDH = Complementary Gender Differentiation Harm, CDB =

Complementary Gender Differentiation Benefit, HIH = Heterosexual Intimacy Harm, Heterosexual Intimacy

Benefit.

An independent samples t-test was also conducted to check the success of the harm versus benefit manipulation. Participants rated on a 7-point scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) after each vignette whether the story showed a beneficial or harmful situation for the main character. Levene's test for equality of variances indicated the assumption of homogeneity of variance was met for harm perceptions, $F(2, 311) = 1.14$, $p = .29$, whereas it was violated for benefit perceptions, $F(305.89) = 6.57$, $p = .01$. The t-test results are shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3*T-test Results Assessing Benefit/Harm Perceptions*

	Condition	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Two-sided p</i>
Benefit Perceptions	Benefit	4.65	1.33	0.11	8.93	<.001
	Harm	3.21	1.53	0.12		
Harm Perceptions	Benefit	2.91	1.37	0.11	-13.56	<.001
	Harm	4.97	1.32	0.11		

Note. $n_{\text{benefit}} = 156$, $n_{\text{harm}} = 157$, *M* = Mean, *SD* = Standard Deviation, *SE* = Standard Error.

Consistent with our expectations, participants in the benefit condition reported significantly higher benefit perceptions (Mean difference = 1.45), while those in the harm condition reported significantly higher harm perceptions (Mean difference = -2.06), indicating successful manipulation.

3.6. Effects of Consequence Manipulation on Dependent Variables (H1)

An independent samples t-test tested H1 (see Table 3.4). It was hypothesised that participants in the harm condition would report lower perceived legitimacy and gender-specific system justification, and higher bystander intervention and collective action intentions.

Table 3.4*T-test Results Assessing Experimental Manipulation Impact on Study Variables*

	Condition	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Two-sided p</i>
PERCLEGIT	Benefit	155	4.64	1.24	0.10	1.45	0.23	13.27	310	<.001
	Harm	157	2.76	1.27	0.10					
BYSTINTER	Benefit	156	3.94	1.08	0.09	5.79	0.02	-9.33	300.24	<.001
	Harm	157	4.99	0.89	0.07					
SYSJUST	Benefit	143	3.75	1.03	0.09	0.28	0.60	-0.12	285	0.908
	Harm	144	3.76	0.97	0.08					
COLLACT	Benefit	142	4.97	1.37	0.11	0.10	0.75	-1.01	282	0.311
	Harm	142	5.13	1.39	0.12					

Note. *n* = subsample size, PERCLEGIT = Perceived Legitimacy, BYSTINTER = Bystander Intervention Intentions, SYSJUST = Gender-Specific System Justification, COLLACT = Collective Action Intentions, *M* = Mean, *SD* = Standard Deviation, *SE* = Standard Error, *F* = Levene's test F-statistic, *Sig.* = Levene's test Significance.

The results showed that participants in the benefit condition reported significantly higher perceived legitimacy (Mean difference = 1.88) and lower bystander intervention intentions (Mean difference = -1.04) than those in the harm condition, supporting H1a and H1c.

No significant differences emerged for gender-specific system justification, $t(285) = -0.12$, $p = .91$, or collective action intentions, $t(282) = -1.01$, $p = .31$, although means were in the expected direction for collective action. These findings reject H1b and H1d, however preregistered mediation models were still tested to examine potential indirect effects.

3.7. Gender Differences on Dependent Variables (H2)

An independent samples t-test tested H2 (see Table 3.5). It was hypothesised that men would report higher perceived legitimacy and gender-specific system justification, and lower bystander intervention intentions and collective actions, across experimental conditions.

Table 3.5

T-test Results Comparing Men and Women on Study Variables

	Gender	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Two-sided p</i>
PERCLEGIT	Men	3.86	1.62	0.13	0.11	0.75	2.08	283	0.038
	Women	3.46	1.54	0.14					
BYSTINTER	Men	4.44	1.15	0.09	1.83	0.18	-0.68	283	0.494
	Women	4.53	1.08	0.10					
SYSJUST	Men	3.95	0.93	0.07	3.43	0.07	3.91	281	<.001
	Women	3.49	1.04	0.09					
COLLACT	Men	5.05	1.40	0.11	0.19	0.67	-0.14	279	0.890
	Women	5.07	1.35	0.12					

Note. $N_{\text{men}} = 160$, $N_{\text{women}} = 125$, PERCLEGIT = Perceived Legitimacy, BYSTINTER = Bystander Intervention Intentions, SYSJUST = Gender-Specific System Justification, COLLACT = Collective Action Intentions, *M* = Mean, *SD* = Standard Deviation, *SE* = Standard Error, *F* = Levene's test F-statistic, *Sig.* = Levene's test Significance.

The t-test results show that men reported significantly higher perceived legitimacy (Mean difference = 0.39) and gender-specific system justification (Mean difference = 0.46) than women, supporting H2a and H2b.

Further, men reported lower bystander intervention intentions, $t(283) = -0.68$, $p = .49$, and collective action intentions, $t(279) = -0.14$, $p = .89$, than women, however these differences were not significant, thereby rejecting H2c and H2d.

3.8. Mediating Role of Perceived Legitimacy on Bystander Intervention Intentions (H3a)

We conducted a parallel mediation analysis (PROCESS Model 4; Hayes, 2013) testing perceived legitimacy and gender-specific system justification as mediators of the relationship between the experimental condition and bystander intervention intentions, controlling for SDO and gender ($N = 283$; listwise deletion). We expected perceived legitimacy to mainly mediate the relationship between exposure to harm and bystander intervention intentions. Table 3.6 shows the mediation analysis results, and Table 3.7 shows the unstandardized total, direct, and indirect effects.

Table 3.6*Mediation Analysis Results of Condition on Bystander Intervention Intentions*

Predictor	PERCLEGIT			SYSJUST			BYSTINTER		
	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Boot CI</i>	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Boot CI</i>	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Boot CI</i>
Constant	4.20***	0.21	[3.78, 4.62]	3.14***	0.17	[2.81, 3.46]	5.70***	0.24	[5.21, 6.18]
Condition	-2.04***	0.14	[-2.32, -1.76]	-0.01	0.11	[-0.23, 0.20]	0.17	0.13	[-0.09, 0.42]
Gender	-0.34*	0.14	[-0.63, -0.06]	-0.43***	0.11	[-0.65, -0.21]	-0.04	0.10	[-0.24, 0.15]
SDO	0.26***	0.07	[0.12, 0.40]	0.32***	0.05	[0.21, 0.43]	0.02	0.05	[-0.08, 0.12]
PERCLEGIT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-0.48***	0.04	[-0.57, -0.40]
SYSJUST	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.12*	0.06	[0.01, 0.23]
R^2	0.442			0.156			0.501		
F	73.64*** (3, 279)			17.18*** (3, 279)			55.59*** (5, 277)		

Note. $N = 283$. Condition (Benefit = 0, Harm = 1), Gender (Man = 0, Woman = 1). SDO = Social Dominance Orientation, PERCLEGIT = Perceived

Legitimacy, BYSTINTER = Bystander Intervention Intentions, SYSJUST = Gender-Specific System Justification, *Coeff.* = Unstandardized regression coefficient, *SE* = Standard error, *Boot CI* = Bootstrap Confidence interval.

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

Table 3.7

Total, Direct, and Indirect Effects for Perceived Legitimacy and Gender-Specific System Justification as Mediators for Bystander Intervention Intentions

Predictor	<i>Effect</i>	<i>BootSE</i>	<i>Boot CI</i>
Total effect of X on Y	1.15	0.12	[0.92, 1.38]
Direct effect of X on Y	0.17	0.13	[-0.09, 0.42]
Total indirect effect of X on Y	0.98	0.12	[0.75, 1.23]
Indirect effect via perceived legitimacy	0.98	0.12	[0.75, 1.23]
Indirect effect via gender-specific system justification	0.00	0.02	[-0.03, 0.03]

Note. X = Condition (Benefit = 0, Harm = 1), Y = Bystander Intervention Intentions, *Effect* = Unstandardized regression coefficient, *BootSE* = Bootstrap Standard Error, *BootCI* = Bootstrap Confidence Interval.

Exposure to the harm of benevolent sexism significantly decreased perceived legitimacy ($a1: \beta = -1.28, SE = 0.14, 95\% CI [-2.32, -1.76]$), which in turn increased bystander intervention intentions ($b1: \beta = -0.69, SE = 0.04, 95\% CI [-0.57, -0.40]$). The direct effect of consequence manipulation on bystander intervention intentions was insignificant however, the indirect effect via perceived legitimacy was significant ($a1b1: B = 0.98, SE = 0.12, 95\% CI [0.75, 1.23]$), indicating full mediation and supporting H3a.

Gender-specific system justification was not significantly affected by the manipulation ($a2: \beta = -0.01, SE = 0.11, 95\% CI [-0.23, 0.20]$), although it positively predicted bystander intervention

intentions ($b_2: \beta = 0.11, SE = 0.06, 95\% CI [0.01, 0.23]$). However, it did not emerge as a significant mediator supporting full mediation through perceived legitimacy.

3.9. Mediating Role of Gender-Specific System Justification on Collective Action Intentions (H3b)

We conducted a parallel mediation analysis (PROCESS Model 4; Hayes, 2013) testing perceived legitimacy and gender-specific system justification as mediators of the relationship between the experimental condition and collective action intentions, controlling for SDO and gender¹ ($N = 281$; listwise deletion). We expected gender-specific system justification to mainly mediate the relationship between exposure to harm and bystander intervention intentions. Table 3.8 shows the mediation analysis results, and Table 3.9 shows the unstandardized total, direct, and indirect effects.

¹ When we controlled for participants' own hostile and benevolent sexism in exploratory analyses, the direct effect from experimental condition to collective action became significant.

Table 3.8*Mediation Analysis Results of Condition on Collective Action Intentions*

Predictor	PERCLEGIT			SYSJUST			COLLACT		
	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Boot CI</i>	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Boot CI</i>	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Boot CI</i>
Constant	4.23***	0.22	[3.80, 4.66]	3.13***	0.17	[2.80, 3.46]	5.86***	0.42	[5.04, 6.68]
Condition	-2.05***	0.14	[-2.34, -1.77]	0.00	0.11	[-0.22, 0.22]	-0.07	0.22	[-0.51, 0.36]
Gender	-0.35*	0.14	[-0.63, -0.07]	-0.43***	0.11	[-0.65, -0.21]	-0.02	0.17	[-0.35, 0.31]
SDO	0.25***	0.07	[0.11, 0.39]	0.32***	0.05	[0.21, 0.43]	-0.22*	0.09	[-0.39, -0.05]
PERCLEGIT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-0.13	0.07	[-0.27, 0.02]
SYSJUST	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.07	0.10	[-0.11, 0.26]
R^2	0.444			0.157			0.042		
F	73.71*** (3, 277)			17.19*** (3, 277)			2.43* (5, 275)		

Note. $N = 281$. Condition (Benefit = 0, Harm = 1), Gender (Man = 0, Woman = 1). SDO = Social Dominance Orientation, PERCLEGIT = Perceived

Legitimacy, COLLACT = Collective Action Intentions, SYSJUST = Gender-Specific System Justification, *Coeff.* = Unstandardized regression coefficient, *SE* = Standard error, *Boot CI* = Bootstrap Confidence interval.

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

Table 3.9

Total, Direct, and Indirect Effects for Perceived Legitimacy and Gender-Specific System Justification as Mediators for Collective Action Intentions

Predictor	Effect	BootSE	Boot CI
Total effect of X on Y	0.19	0.16	[-0.13, 0.51]
Direct effect of X on Y	-0.07	0.22	[-0.51, 0.36]
Total indirect effect of X on Y	0.26	0.15	[-0.02, 0.58]
Indirect effect via perceived legitimacy	0.26	0.15	[-0.02, 0.58]
Indirect effect via gender-specific system justification	0.00	0.02	[-0.03, 0.03]

Note. X = Condition (Benefit = 0, Harm = 1), Y = Collective Action Intentions, *Effect* = Unstandardized regression coefficient, *BootSE* = Bootstrap Standard Error, *BootCI* = Bootstrap Confidence Interval.

Gender-specific system justification was not significantly associated with collective action intentions ($b_2: \beta = 0.05, SE = 0.10, 95\% CI [-0.11, 0.26]$), indicating that beliefs about the gender status quo did not predict collective action intentions in this study. Similarly, perceived legitimacy was not significantly related to collective action intentions ($b_1: \beta = -0.15, SE = 0.07, 95\% CI [-0.27, 0.02]$). The indirect effect of exposure to harm on collective action intentions via gender-specific system justification (a_2b_2) was also not significant, rejecting H3b.

3.10. Conditional Indirect Effect of Experimental Manipulation on Bystander Intervention Intentions (H4a)

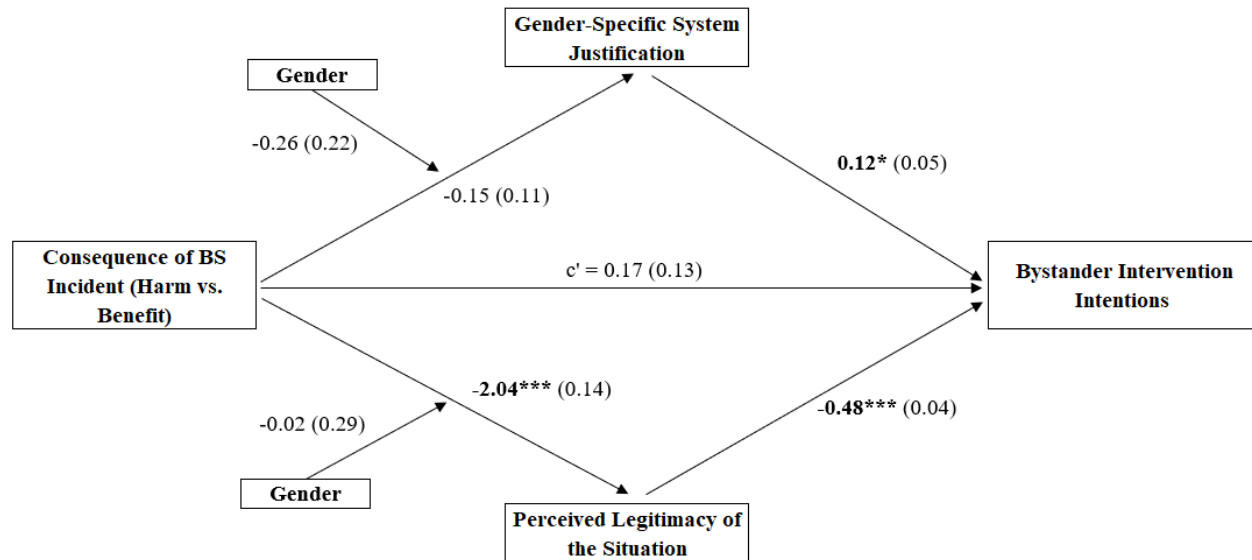
To test whether the indirect effect of consequence framing on bystander intervention intentions via perceived legitimacy differed by participant gender, we conducted a parallel first-stage moderated mediation analysis using PROCESS Model 7 that tests a moderator on path a for both mediators (Hayes, 2013), with SDO as a covariate and mean-centred variables. We expected the effect of consequence framing on perceived legitimacy of the situation to be stronger for women than men.

Results showed that gender did not moderate the effect of consequence framing on perceived legitimacy. The index of moderated mediation was not significant ($b = 0.01$, $SE = 0.14$, 95% CI [-0.27, 0.28]), indicating that the indirect effect of exposure to the harm of benevolent sexism on bystander intervention intentions via perceived legitimacy was similarly effective for both men and women, rejecting H4a (see Figure 3.1).

We also conducted additional exploratory analyses using PROCESS Model 59 testing gender's moderation across all paths as gender differences may theoretically emerge at multiple stages of the mediation process (e.g. Becker & Swim, 2011; Iyer & Ryan, 2009), however this analysis yielded non-significant interactions.

Figure 3.1

Unstandardized Effects of Moderated Mediation Model for Bystander Intervention Intentions (Model 1)



Note. $N = 283$. Benefit = 0, Harm = 1. Numbers within parentheses report the respective standard errors.

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

3.11. Conditional Indirect Effect of Experimental Manipulation on Collective Action Intentions (H4b)

To test whether the indirect effect of consequence framing on collective action intentions via gender-specific system justification differed by participant gender, we conducted a parallel first-stage moderated mediation analysis using PROCESS Model 7 (Hayes, 2013), with SDO as a covariate and mean-centred variables. We expected the effect of consequence framing on gender-specific system justification to be stronger for women than for men.

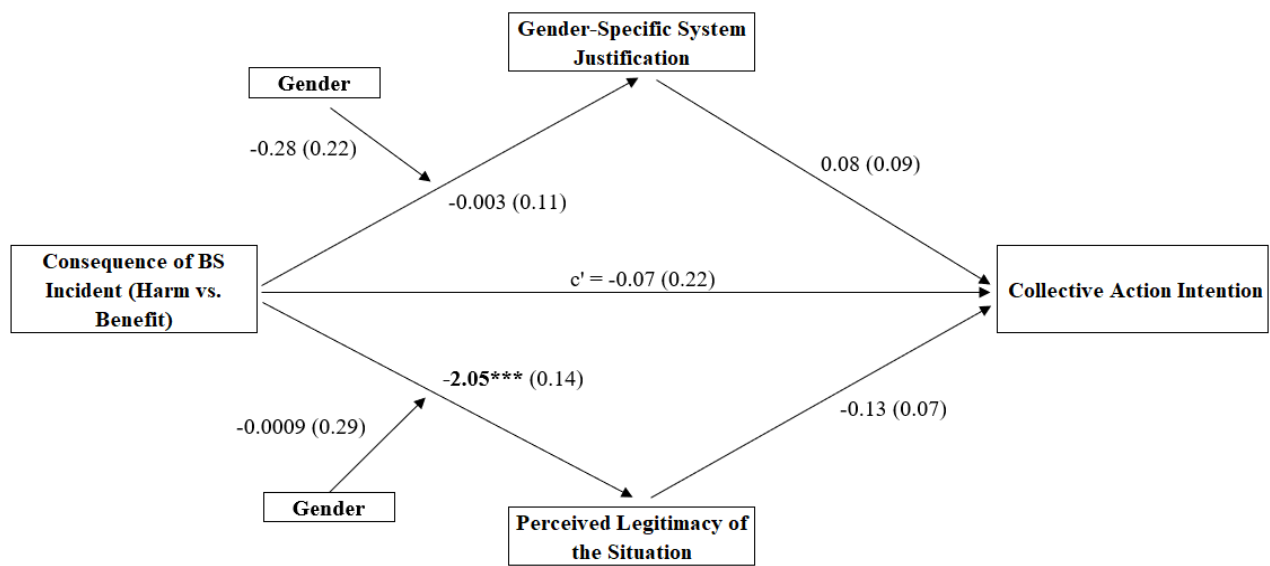
Results showed that gender did not moderate the effect of consequence framing on gender-specific system justification. The index of moderated mediation was not significant ($b = -0.02$, $SE = 0.04$, 95% CI $[-0.12, 0.05]$), indicating that the indirect effect of exposure to the harm of

benevolent sexism on collective action intentions via gender-specific system justification was similarly ineffective for both men and women, rejecting H4b (see Figure 3.2).

We also conducted additional exploratory analyses using PROCESS Model 59 testing gender's moderation across all paths, however this analysis yielded non-significant interactions.

Figure 3.2

Unstandardized Effects of Moderated Mediation Model for Collective Action Intentions (Model 2)



Note. $N = 281$. Benefit = 0, Harm = 1. Numbers within parentheses report the respective standard errors.

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

3.12. Exploratory Analyses²

In addition to preregistered analyses, we tested exploratory models using PROCESS (Hayes, 2013). These findings should be interpreted with caution.

² The two samples (Positly versus convenience sampling) were tested separately for the hypothesized analyses and important results differentiating them from the combined sample were as follows: in the Positly sample, no gender differences emerged across the study variables and gender-specific system justification had a positive and significant relationship with collective action intentions; in the convenience sample, gender differences for bystander intervention intentions became significant (women

3.12.1. Moderated Mediation (Gender x SDO)

Given SDOs' established links to hierarchy maintenance, gender inequality attitudes, and ambivalent sexism (Pratto et al., 1994), in our exploratory analyses of the hypothesized moderated mediation models we included it as a moderator along with gender, rather than a covariate.

The indirect effect of consequence framing on bystander intervention intentions via perceived legitimacy was significant across all gender and SDO groups, indicating a robust pathway. In contrast, gender-specific system justification as a pathway from the consequence manipulation to bystander intervention intentions showed limited effects, with significant associations only among women low in SDO, where higher system justification predicted lower intervention intentions.

Gender-specific system justification emerged as a significant predictor of collective action intentions among men high in SDO, predicting a positive relationship, whereas among women low in SDO, greater system justification was associated with lower collective action intentions. In contrast, perceived legitimacy was a more consistent mediator for collective action intentions, with significant indirect effects primarily among women low and moderate in SDO.

3.12.2. Serial Mediation Analyses for Pathway to Collective Action Intentions

We conducted a serial mediation model showing a significant indirect effect of exposure to the harm of benevolent sexism on collective action intentions via perceived legitimacy and subsequently bystander intervention intentions. This pathway was robust across all gender and SDO levels, suggesting that recognising benevolent sexism in a situation as illegitimate may first motivate immediate interpersonal intervention, which may then generalise into broader intentions to engage in collective action for gender equality.

3.12.3. Benevolent Sexism Subcomponent Differentiation

We conducted two repeated-measures general linear models examining whether the effect of the consequence manipulation on perceived legitimacy and bystander intervention intentions differentiated by benevolent sexism subcomponents. Mauchly's test indicated that sphericity assumptions were met.

scored higher) and the relationship between gender-specific system justification and bystander intervention intentions became insignificant.

For perceived legitimacy, there was a significant main effect of the subcomponents, $F(2, 576) = 5.40, p = .005$, and an interaction with the experimental condition, $F(2, 576) = 9.36, p < .001$. In the benefit condition, protective paternalism was rated most legitimate, whereas harm condition ratings were uniformly low across subcomponents, suggesting that participants differentiated between subcomponents primarily when the behaviours were framed positively, and highlighting harm may reduce the perceived legitimacy of benevolent sexism more generally regardless of its specific form.

For bystander intervention intentions, subcomponents did not differ significantly, $F(2, 578) = 2.17, p = .115$, but there was a significant interaction with condition, $F(2, 578) = 5.08, p = .006$. Benefit condition ratings were lowest for protective paternalism, while harm condition ratings were consistently high across subcomponents, suggesting that protective paternalism may be particularly resistant to intervention when framed positively, however, highlighting harm may increase willingness to challenge benevolent sexism across subcomponents.

We also conducted the hypothesized moderated mediation analyses for the subcomponents separately, showing consistent indirect effects via perceived legitimacy across subcomponents. However, the effects were stronger for protective paternalism among women and for the other subcomponents among men, with attenuation at higher levels of SDO.

CHAPTER 4

Discussion

Despite growing evidence that benevolent sexism contributes to gender inequality, identifying ways to increase resistance to it remains a challenge due to the interpersonal and ideological benefits it appears to offer. The present study examined whether highlighting the harmful versus beneficial consequences of benevolent sexism influences bystander and collective action intentions through perceived legitimacy and gender-specific system justification. Using culturally tailored workplace vignettes depicting the three benevolent sexism subcomponents - protective paternalism, complementary gender differentiation, and heterosexual intimacy, Pakistani participants were exposed to either harmful or beneficial outcomes for a female protagonist. Overall, the findings suggest that highlighting the harmful consequences of benevolent sexism reduced perceptions of legitimacy and increased bystander intervention intentions among both men and women. However, effects on gender-specific system justification and collective action intentions were weaker and less consistent.

Consistent with our predictions, participants were responsive to the explicit framing of benevolent sexism as harmful, which reduced perceptions of legitimacy and increased intentions to intervene as bystanders. These findings extend the work of Hall and Dhanani (2023), who found that benevolent sexism is less likely than hostile sexism to elicit bystander intervention, by suggesting that responses to benevolent sexism depend not only on the behaviour itself but also on how its consequences are highlighted and perceived. The results further indicate that perceptions of benevolent sexism as positive and socially acceptable, despite its role in maintaining gender inequality (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001), are not fixed. Rather, they can be altered through contextual framing that highlights its harmful implications, even if broader beliefs about benevolent sexism remain unchanged.

These findings are also consistent with broader literature on moral and social framing effects, which demonstrates that emphasizing negative consequences can alter judgments of fairness and acceptability, even for socially normative or previously accepted practices (Gamliel & Peer, 2006; McDonald et al., 2021). Similarly, past intervention studies have shown that increasing awareness of the harmful consequences of benevolent sexism reduces its endorsement and increases recognition of gender discrimination (Becker & Swim, 2012; Good & Woodzicka, 2010; Shimizu

et al., 2024). The present study extends this literature by demonstrating that harm-focused framing may also influence responses to benevolent sexism in a specific workplace context by reducing perceived legitimacy and increasing willingness to intervene as a bystander.

The workplace context may have also contributed to these effects. Organizational settings often contain formal norms, anti-harassment policies, and reporting procedures that make discriminatory behaviour easier to identify and challenge (Jacobson & Eaton, 2017; Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015). However, subtle forms of sexism such as benevolent sexism are still frequently more difficult to recognize and less likely to induce moral reactions than overt hostility, which may reduce intervention unless their harmful consequences are explicitly highlighted (Hall & Dhanani, 2023). In this sense, the present findings suggest that organizational workshops or interventions making the harms of benevolent sexism visible may help disrupt its perceived legitimacy within workplace environments.

Importantly, perceived legitimacy emerged as a significant mediator between consequence framing and bystander intervention intentions. This finding aligns with classic bystander intervention research proposing that individuals are more likely to intervene when situations are perceived as unfair, problematic, or norm-violating (Thornberg et al. 2012; Latané & Darley, 1970). The present findings therefore suggest that legitimacy perceptions may function as a proximal cognitive mechanism through which awareness of harm motivates interpersonal intervention against benevolent sexism.

In contrast, consequence framing did not significantly influence gender-specific system justification or collective action intentions. These findings differ from prior research demonstrating that exposure to benevolent sexism can strengthen system-justifying beliefs which then reduces support for collective action (Becker & Wright, 2011). One possible explanation is that the present manipulation was situated within a specific workplace vignette, which may have encouraged participants to interpret the behaviour as context-specific rather than representative of broader structural gender inequality. Indeed, within past interventional research exposing participants to the harm of benevolent sexism which showed changes in their beliefs about the equality and legitimacy of gender relations in society, interventions depicted women as a social group being broadly impacted rather than a specific individual (Good & Woodzicka, 2010; Shimizu et al., 2024). In our study therefore, participants may have recognized the unfairness of

the immediate situation without substantially altering their broader ideological beliefs about gender relations in society.

The absence of significant effects on gender-specific system justification is also consistent with system justification theory, which proposes that beliefs supporting existing social arrangements are relatively stable and resistant to short-term situational influence (Jost, 2018). While consequence framing altered participants' immediate appraisals of the workplace situation, it may not have been sufficient to shift broader beliefs regarding gender hierarchy and social systems. Similarly, the lack of significant effects on collective action intentions aligns with dual-pathway models of collective action, which suggest that perceptions of injustice alone are often insufficient to motivate collective action without factors such as group identification, collective efficacy, and moral outrage (Shi et al., 2015; van Zomeren et al., 2008), which may be difficult to evoke through brief hypothetical workplace scenarios focused on an individual target. Past literature guided by the theories of reasoned action and planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991; Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005) has also suggested a distinction between general attitudes and specific attitudes towards a behaviour, where general attitudes are poor predictors of single behaviours. This may explain why perceptions of the legitimacy of the situation were a stronger predictor of action intentions in our study than fairness perceptions of gender relations in society.

Cultural context may also partially explain these findings. In contexts such as Pakistan, where traditional gender hierarchies and authority structures remain strongly embedded, individuals may recognize unfairness within broader social systems, but still perceive them to be relatively stable or difficult to change. Research further suggests that perceiving the status quo as inevitable or inescapable may inhibit motivation for system-challenging action (Jost et al., 2017; van der Toorn et al., 2014). Social identity theory explains this through the idea that when group boundaries and status relations are seen as fixed or unchangeable, inequality is less likely to translate into mobilization, as it is seen ineffective and not worthwhile (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In Pakistan, where there are low levels of institutional trust and dependence on authorities, and high feelings of powerlessness in changing the system (Minhas et al., 2025; Danish & Nawaz, 2021), such perceptions may reduce willingness to engage in collective action despite awareness of gender-based harms.

Contrary to our expectations, participant gender did not significantly moderate the indirect effects of consequence framing on bystander intervention intentions or collective action intentions.

Although men reported significantly higher levels of perceived legitimacy and gender-specific system justification overall, the consequence manipulation was similarly effective for both men and women in reducing legitimacy perceptions and increasing bystander intervention intentions. Another explanation is that the harmful consequences depicted in the workplace vignette were sufficiently explicit and concrete that both men and women similarly recognized the unfairness of the situation. This may have reduced the gender differences in sensitivity to subtle sexism observed in prior research (Iyer & Ryan, 2009; Grubb & Harrower, 2008; Shimizu et al., 2024).

Finally, exploratory analyses suggested that the relationships between consequence framing, perceived legitimacy, and intervention intentions were generally consistent across the three benevolent sexism subcomponents, with protective paternalism being slightly more resistant to intervention (Bareket & Fiske, 2023). This may be because protective paternalism offers a sense of protection and security which may be particularly valued in settings with high hostile sexism such as Pakistan. This directly relates to the tenets of ambivalent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 2001), suggesting the complementary nature of benevolent and hostile sexism. Overall, the subcomponents demonstrated similar patterns in influencing perceived legitimacy and bystander intervention intentions, supporting their aggregation into a broader benevolent sexism consequence manipulation construct.

Exploratory serial mediation analyses additionally suggested that changes in collective action intentions may occur more indirectly through shifts in legitimacy perceptions and bystander intervention intentions. This is consistent with work proposing that proximal behavioural responses can serve as a bridge between individual-level appraisals of injustice and broader collective action intentions (van Zomeren et al., 2008). However, these findings should be interpreted cautiously given their exploratory nature and require replication in future research.

Given the established links between SDO, gender inequality, and ambivalent sexism (Pratto et al., 1994), we also explored SDO as a moderator alongside gender. Here, the indirect effect of consequence framing through perceived legitimacy remained largely consistent, whereas pathways involving gender-specific system justification were more context-dependent on SDO and gender. Specifically, among women low in SDO, lower gender-specific system justification was associated with greater collective action intentions, suggesting that both the ideological preference for equality and system justification may be important for influencing action. In contrast, among men high in SDO, greater gender-specific system justification was unexpectedly associated with

stronger collective action intentions. Although this finding contrasts with research linking hierarchy-enhancing beliefs to lower support for equality-focused action (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), it may reflect allyship signalling or perceptions that gender equality efforts do not threaten existing status hierarchies. Given the exploratory nature of these analyses, the borderline reliability of the SDO-7 scale, and the absence of measures assessing motivations for collective action, these interpretations should be treated with caution.

Overall, the present findings suggest that situational legitimacy appraisals may play a more central role in motivating responses to benevolent sexism than broader ideological beliefs about gender relations. These findings therefore suggest that interventions emphasizing the harmful consequences of benevolent sexism may be particularly effective for encouraging interpersonal behavioural responses to benevolent sexism within workplace contexts.

4.1. Theoretical Implications

The present findings contribute to the ambivalent sexism literature in several ways. First, to our knowledge, this is among the first studies to experimentally test whether making the harm of benevolent sexism salient influences behavioural intentions particularly within an organizational context. It also establishes perceived legitimacy of a situation as the central mechanism linking the recognition of benevolent sexism's harm to bystander intervention intentions, supporting models that emphasise situational appraisal as a proximal determinant of action (Latané & Darley, 1970; Vázquez-González et al. 2026). In contrast, broader ideological outcomes such as gender-specific system justification were comparatively stable in our study, suggesting a distinction between immediate situational cognition and more entrenched belief systems in response to benevolent sexism interventions.

Second, we developed a scale to assess bystander intervention intentions based on the typology of bystander intervention behaviours in sexual harassment suggested by Bowes-Sperry and O'Leary-Kelly (2005). Although future research should expand upon this scale and conduct a confirmatory factor analysis to assess its structure, and test the validity and reliability of the scale in different populations, our exploratory factor analysis sets up a strong foundation for this work.

Last, the present findings highlight the importance of culturally sensitive approaches in future intervention research. In contexts like Pakistan where gender norms are more strongly embedded or where institutional trust is lower, societal beliefs and broader engagement in collective action

for gender equality may be more resistant. Therefore, the effectiveness of existing harm-focused framing interventions on behavioural intentions or actual behaviours may differ depending on the sociocultural background.

4.2. Practical Implications

The current results are especially relevant for workplace settings, where ambiguous or subtle forms of discrimination often persist due to normalisation and inaction. The finding that perceived legitimacy is a key predictor of bystander intervention suggests that training programs should not only highlight that benevolent sexism is harmful, but also explicitly target how such behaviours may be misinterpreted as acceptable or “beneficial” in everyday interactions. Interventions that disrupt this legitimacy appraisal may therefore be particularly effective in encouraging employees to challenge subtle forms of sexism before they become institutionalised.

More broadly, these findings can inform organisational policies, anti-discrimination training, and educational campaigns aimed at improving bystander responsiveness. Training programmes could help employees, managers, and leaders recognise benevolent sexism in everyday workplace interactions, understand why seemingly positive stereotypes may offer short-term interpersonal benefits while producing long-term harms, and develop strategies for challenging such behaviours constructively. Workshops could incorporate real-world workplace scenarios illustrating how benevolent sexism can contribute to women's exclusion from leadership opportunities, limit access to challenging assignments, reinforce traditional gender roles, and negatively affect promotion and career progression. Training could also highlight the broader organisational costs of these dynamics, including reduced diversity in decision-making, lower employee engagement, talent loss, and decreased organisational effectiveness. Given that intervention in the moment may prevent the normalisation of sexist behaviour and encourage its translation into broader collective action for gender equality, identifying factors that promote immediate action is crucial for fostering inclusive workplace environments.

4.3. Limitations and Future Directions

Several limitations of the present study should be acknowledged when interpreting the findings. First, the study relied on self-report behavioural intentions rather than actual intervention behaviour. Although intentions are theoretically important proximal indicators of action, they may

not always translate into real-world behaviour due to factors such as fear of retaliation, social costs, low intervention efficacy, or failure to recognize subtle discrimination (Kawakami et al., 2019; Haynes-Baratz, 2021). Future research should therefore examine whether awareness-based interventions targeting benevolent sexism produce observable behavioural change in naturalistic or experimentally simulated workplace contexts.

Second, the present manipulation focused on explicit harmful versus beneficial consequences within workplace scenarios involving a male colleague. However, benevolent sexism often operates through ambiguity, with short-term benefits masking longer-term harmful consequences. Future studies should therefore examine more ecologically valid situations, such as vignettes simultaneously depicting both positive and harmful consequences, or varying the source of benevolent sexism (e.g., ingroup versus outgroup members, men versus women). Such variations may help clarify the conditions under which individuals recognize benevolent sexism as harmful and choose to intervene.

The workplace context itself may also have shaped the findings. Organizational environments often contain formal anti-discrimination norms and reporting structures that may make sexist behaviour easier to identify and challenge compared to family or broader social contexts. Future research should therefore investigate whether similar effects emerge in more informal interpersonal settings where benevolent sexism may be more normalized and difficult to contest.

Several methodological limitations should also be considered. There were two types of samples recruited in the study - from Positly and convenience sampling, which consisted of different demographic variations. Although current report results in the study are for the combined sample, the two samples were also tested separately and showed minor variations in the study variables.

Further, we did not include a control condition, as the study focused on comparing harm versus benefit framing rather than solely the existence of consequences or lack thereof. This limits causal interpretation, as it is unclear whether effects reflect the specific framing conditions or deviations from a baseline condition. While we assumed that benevolent sexism scenarios without explicit consequences would already be perceived as relatively positive, with the benefit condition reinforcing existing perceptions and the harm condition making negative implications more salient, we cannot determine how participants would have responded in a true baseline condition.

Future research should therefore include a neutral or no-consequence control condition to better isolate framing effects.

In addition, consequences were standardized and focused on individual-level outcomes for the protagonist. Future studies could examine more varied consequence framings, including individual versus group-level outcomes, to better understand how different levels of impact shape responses to benevolent sexism.

Additionally, the sample was drawn from a Pakistani population, however due to non-randomized recruitment, it may not fully represent the broader population in terms of socioeconomic background or ethnicity, demographics which we did not measure. The use of English-language measures may have further restricted participation to relatively educated groups, limiting generalizability. Furthermore, although widely used measures such as the ASI have demonstrated strong psychometric properties across many cultural contexts, they have not been comprehensively validated in Pakistan. As a result, the ways in which benevolent sexism is conceptualized and experienced within this sociocultural context may not be fully captured by existing measures. Future research should therefore recruit larger and more demographically diverse samples, include translated versions of the survey (e.g., in Urdu, Punjabi etc.), and employ qualitative and mixed-methods approaches to examine the culturally specific manifestations of benevolent sexism in the workplace. Nevertheless, the present study contributes to a relatively limited body of experimental research on interventions targeting benevolent sexism in non-Western settings.

Relatedly, political factors may shape responses to benevolent sexism differently across societies. Political orientation, for instance, is relevant to understanding responses to gender hierarchy and inequality (De Geus et al., 2022; Seitova et al., 2023), however operationalizing political ideology within the Pakistani context remains complex due to the prominence of party-based rather than clearly left–right ideological identification (Dalton, 2006). Future research should therefore explore culturally appropriate ways of assessing political ideology and broader sociopolitical attitudes in relation to benevolent sexism.

To properly assess the complexities of human behaviour, it is also important to integrate findings derived from qualitative methods such as interviews with employees as participants to assess factors related to resistance to intervention or perceptions of the situation. This allows us to account for specific organizations' norms that might impact participants' behaviours. Future work

can therefore build upon this study by conducting organization specific qualitative research that would allow the design of personalized workshops to also assess long-term changes in attitudes and behaviours.

Finally, future intervention research may benefit from integrating both situational and broader societal approaches to awareness-building. The present findings suggest that harm-focused framing effectively shifts situational legitimacy perceptions and bystander intervention intentions, while broader ideological beliefs such as gender-specific system justification appeared more resistant to change. Combining immediate situational awareness with broader awareness of harms for men and women both as social groups may therefore represent a more effective strategy for promoting both interpersonal intervention and long-term collective engagement against sexism. Longitudinal research would further help determine whether such changes persist over time and translate into sustained behavioural and attitudinal change.

4.4. Conclusion

The present study contributes to ambivalent sexism literature by demonstrating that highlighting the harmful consequences of benevolent sexism can reduce perceived legitimacy and increase bystander intervention intentions in workplace situations, with these effects being largely consistent across men and women. In contrast, collective action intentions appeared more resistant to short-term situational framing through gender-specific system justification, however our findings suggest indirect pathways impacting collective action intentions through perceived legitimacy and bystander intervention intentions encouraging future confirmatory work. This work highlights the distinction between immediate situational perceptions and more stable societal beliefs about gender relations. To our knowledge, this is among the first studies to experimentally examine the causal impact of situational consequence framing of benevolent sexism on both immediate bystander and collective action outcomes.

Overall, the study emphasizes the importance of perceived legitimacy as a mechanism underlying response to benevolent sexism and suggests that situational, awareness-based interventions may be particularly useful for encouraging bystander intervention in workplace contexts. These findings provide a foundation for future research examining how interventions can promote both immediate interpersonal action and broader social change against subtle forms of sexism.

References

- Acar, F. P., & Sümer, H. C. (2018). Another test of gender differences in assignments to precarious leadership positions: examining the moderating role of ambivalent sexism. *Applied Psychology*, 67(3), 498–522. <https://doi.org/10.1111/apps.12142>
- Ajzen, I. (1985). From Intentions to Actions: A Theory of Planned Behavior. In: Kuhl, J., Beckmann, J. (eds) *Action Control. SSSP Springer Series in Social Psychology*. Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-69746-3_2
- Ajzen, I. (1991). The theory of planned behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 50(2), 179–211. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-5978\(91\)90020-t](https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-5978(91)90020-t)
- Ajzen, I., & Fishbein, M. (2005). The influence of attitudes on behavior. In: Albarracin, D., Johnson, B.T., Zanna, M.P. (eds), *The handbook of attitudes* (pp.173-221). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/264000974_The_Influence_of_Attitudes_on_Behavior
- Alba, B., Cross, E. J., & Hammond, M. D. (2024). Women's experiences of benevolent sexism in intimate relationships with men are associated with costs and benefits for personal and relationship wellbeing. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 15(7), 802–811. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506241256695>
- Ali, R. N., Wajahat, J., & Jan, M. (2021). Combating the harassment of women at workplace: An analysis of legislation in Pakistan. *Journal of Social Sciences Review*, 1(1), 72–93. <https://doi.org/10.54183/jssr.2021.1.1.72>
- Ali, T. S., Ali, S. S., Nadeem, S., Memon, Z., Soofi, S., Madhani, F., Karim, Y., Mohammad, S., & Bhutta, Z. A. (2022). Perpetuation of gender discrimination in Pakistani society: results from a scoping review and qualitative study conducted in three provinces of Pakistan. *BMC Women S Health*, 22(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12905-022-02011-6>
- Ali, T. S., Krantz, G., Gul, R., Asad, N., Johansson, E., & Mogren, I. (2011). Gender roles and their influence on life prospects for women in urban Karachi, Pakistan: a qualitative study. *Global Health Action*, 4(1), 7448. <https://doi.org/10.3402/gha.v4i0.7448>
- Allendorf, K., & Pandian, R. K. (2016). The Decline of Arranged Marriage? Marital change and continuity in India. *Population and Development Review*, 42(3), 435–464. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1728-4457.2016.00149.x>
- Ashburn-Nardo, L., Morris, K. A., & Goodwin, S. A. (2008). The Confronting Prejudiced Responses (CPR) model: Applying CPR in organizations. *Academy of Management Learning and Education*, 7(3), 332–342. <https://doi.org/10.5465/amle.2008.34251671>
- Atzmüller, C., & Steiner, P. M. (2010). Experimental vignette studies in survey research. *Methodology European Journal of Research Methods for the Behavioral and Social Sciences*, 6(3), 128–138. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1614-2241/a000014>
- Bareket, O., & Fiske, S. T. (2023). A systematic review of the ambivalent sexism literature: Hostile sexism protects men's power; benevolent sexism guards traditional gender roles. *Psychological Bulletin*, 149(11–12), 637–698. <https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000400>

- Barreto, M., & Ellemers, N. (2005). The burden of benevolent sexism: how it contributes to the maintenance of gender inequalities. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 35(5), 633–642. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.270>
- Barreto, M., Ryan, M. K., & Schmitt, M. T. (Eds.). (2009). *The glass ceiling in the 21st century: Understanding barriers to gender equality*. American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/11863-000>
- Becker, J. C., & Swim, J. K. (2012). Reducing endorsement of benevolent and modern sexist beliefs. *Social Psychology*, 43(3), 127–137. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000091>
- Becker, J. C., & Tausch, N. (2015). A dynamic model of engagement in normative and non-normative collective action: Psychological antecedents, consequences, and barriers. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 26(1), 43–92. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2015.1094265>
- Becker, J. C., & Wright, S. C. (2011). Yet another dark side of chivalry: Benevolent sexism undermines and hostile sexism motivates collective action for social change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 101(1), 62–77. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022615>
- Benatar, D. (2012). *The second sexism*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118192337>
- Besta, T., Jurek, P., Olech, M., Włodarczyk, A., Kosakowska-Berezecka, N., Bosson, J. K., Bender, M., Vandello, J. A., Abuhamdeh, S., Agyemang, C. B., Akbaş, G., Albayrak-Aydemir, N., Ammirati, S., Anderson, J., Anjum, G., Ariyanto, A., Aruta, J. J. B. R., Ashraf, M., Bakaitytė, A., . . . Żadkowska, M. (2024). Measuring collective action intention toward gender equality across cultures. *European Journal of Psychological Assessment*. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1015-5759/a000857>
- Bishu, S. G., & Alkadry, M. G. (2016). A systematic review of the gender pay gap and factors that predict it. *Administration & Society*, 49(1), 65–104. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095399716636928>
- Bowes-Sperry, L., & O’Leary-Kelly, A. M. (2005). To Act or Not to Act: The Dilemma Faced by Sexual Harassment Observers. *The Academy of Management Review*, 30(2), 288–306. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20159120>
- Bradley-Geist, J. C., Rivera, I., & Geringer, S. D. (2015). The collateral damage of ambient sexism: Observing sexism impacts bystander Self-Esteem and career aspirations. *Sex Roles*, 73(1–2), 29–42. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0512-y>
- Brinkman, B. G., Dean, A. M., Simpson, C. K., McGinley, M., & Rosén, L. A. (2015). Bystander intervention during college Women’s experiences of gender prejudice. *Sex Roles*, 72(11–12), 485–498. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0485-x>
- Bukhari, M. A. H. S., Gaho, M. G. M., & Soomro, M. K. H. (2019). Gender inequality: problems & its solutions in Pakistan. *The Government-Annual Research Journal of Political Science.*, 7(7). <https://sujo.usindh.edu.pk/index.php/THE-GOVERNMENT/article/view/212>
- Burns, T. (1966). [Review of *Relative Deprivation and Social Justice. A Study of Attitudes to Social Inequality in Twentieth-Century England*, by W. G. Runciman]. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 17(4), 430–434. <https://doi.org/10.2307/589189>

- Calogero, R. M., & Jost, J. T. (2010). Self-subjugation among women: Exposure to sexist ideology, self-objectification, and the protective function of the need to avoid closure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 100(2), 211–228. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0021864>
- Cha, H., Uchida, Y., & Choi, E. (2023). Gender differences in perceived legitimacy and status perception in leadership role. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 14, 1088190. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2023.1088190>
- Chapleau, K. M., & Oswald, D. L. (2013). A system justification view of sexual violence: legitimizing gender inequality and reduced moral outrage are connected to greater rape myth acceptance. *Journal of Trauma & Dissociation*, 15(2), 204–218. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15299732.2014.867573>
- Cheema, S. N., & Baruch, Y. (2024). Impediments to progress toward discrimination-free workplaces: the overlooked causes of gender-based discrimination in the Pakistan and UK contexts. *Equality Diversity and Inclusion an International Journal*, 45(1), 17–42. <https://doi.org/10.1108/edi-09-2023-0305>
- Chen, T., Liu, J., & Zhang, L. (2023). The role of empathy in bullying prevention: Evidence from a school-based intervention. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 52(4), 792–809.
- Chopra, R. (2006). *Reframing Masculinities: Narrating the Supportive Practices of Men*. Orient Longman Private Limited. <https://dokumen.pub/reframing-masculinities-8125031588-9788125031581.html>
- Christopher, A. N., & Mull, M. S. (2006). Conservative ideology and ambivalent sexism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30(2), 223–230. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2006.00284.x>
- Cikara, M., Lee, T. L., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2009). Ambivalent Sexism at Home and at Work: How Attitudes Toward Women in Relationships Foster Exclusion in the Public Sphere. In *Social and Psychological Bases of Ideology and System Justification* Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195320916.003.018>
- Civile, C., & Obhi, S. S. (2015). Power, objectification, and recognition of sexualized women and men. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 40(2), 199–212. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684315604820>
- Cohen, J. (2013). *Statistical Power Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203771587>
- Connelly, K., & Heesacker, M. (2012). Why Is Benevolent Sexism Appealing? Associations With System Justification and Life Satisfaction. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 36(4), 432–443.
- Connor, R. A., & Fiske, S. T. (2019). Not minding the gap: How hostile sexism encourages choice explanations for the gender income gap. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 43(1), 22–36. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684318815468>
- Cortina, L. M., Kabat-Farr, D., Leskinen, E. A., Huerta, M., & Magley, V. J. (2011). Selective incivility as modern discrimination in organizations. *Journal of Management*, 39(6), 1579–1605. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206311418835>
- Cross, E. J., & Overall, N. C. (2018). Women's attraction to benevolent sexism: Needing relationship security predicts greater attraction to men who endorse benevolent sexism. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 48(3), 336–347. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2334>

- Cross, E. J., Overall, N. C., & Hammond, M. D. (2016). Perceiving partners to endorse benevolent sexism attenuates highly anxious women's negative reactions to conflict. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 42(7), 923–940. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167216647933>
- Dalton, R. J. (2006). Social Modernization and the End of Ideology Debate: Patterns of Ideological Polarization. *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 7(1), 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1468109905002045>
- Danish, M. H., & Nawaz, S. M. N. (2021). Does institutional trust and governance matter for multidimensional well-being? Insights from Pakistan. *World Development Perspectives*, 25, 100369. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wdp.2021.100369>
- Daraz, U., Khan, Y., Alnajdawi, A. M., & Alsawalqa, R. O. (2023). Empowering hearts and shaping destinies: unveiling the profound influence of education on women's mate selection in Pakistan – a comprehensive mixed-methods study. *Frontiers in Sociology*, 8, 1273297. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2023.1273297>
- Dardenne, B., Dumont, M., & Bollier, T. (2007). Insidious dangers of benevolent sexism: Consequences for women's performance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93(5), 764–779. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.93.5.764>
- De Geus, R., Ralph-Morrow, E., & Shorrocks, R. (2022). Understanding Ambivalent Sexism and its Relationship with Electoral Choice in Britain. *British Journal of Political Science*, 52(4), 1564–1583. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0007123421000612>
- Drury, J., & Reicher, S. (2000). Collective action and psychological change: The emergence of new social identities. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 39(4), 579–604. <https://doi.org/10.1348/014466600164642>
- Dube, L. (1997). *Women and kinship : perspectives on gender in South and South-East Asia / by Leela Dube*. United Nations Digital Library System. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/442703?ln=en&v=pdf>
- Dumont, M., Sarlet, M., & Dardenne, B. (2010). Be too kind to a woman, she'll feel incompetent: benevolent sexism shifts self-construal and autobiographical memories toward incompetence. *Sex Roles*, 62(7–8), 545–553. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9582-4>
- Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, 109(3), 573–598. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295x.109.3.573>
- Eisinga, R., Grotenhuis, M. T., & Pelzer, B. (2012). The reliability of a two-item scale: Pearson, Cronbach, or Spearman-Brown? *International Journal of Public Health*, 58(4), 637–642. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00038-012-0416-3>
- Estevan-Reina, L., De Lemus, S., Megías, J. L., Kutlaca, M., Belmonte-García, M., & Becker, J. (2020). Allies Against Sexism: The impact of Men's egalitarian versus Paternalistic confrontation on Women's Empowerment and Well-Being. *Sex Roles*, 84(9–10), 536–553. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01184-4>
- European Institute of Gender Equality (EIGE). (2020). Sexism at work: How can we stop it? Handbook for the EU institutions and agencies. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. https://eige.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/mh0220657enn_002_0.pdf

- Feather N. T. (2004). Value correlates of ambivalent attitudes toward gender relations. *Personality & social psychology bulletin*, 30(1), 3–12. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167203258825>
- Fernández, M. L., Castro, Y. R., Otero, M. C., Foltz, M. L., & Lorenzo, M. G. (2006). Sexism, vocational goals, and motivation as predictors of men's and women's career choice. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 55(3-4), 267–272. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-006-9079-y>
- Fischer, A. R., & Good, G. E. (2004). Women's Feminist Consciousness, Anger, and Psychological Distress. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 51(4), 437–446. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.51.4.437>
- Galsanjigmed, E., & Sekiguchi, T. (2023). Challenges Women Experience in Leadership Careers: An Integrative review. *Merits*, 3(2), 366–389. <https://doi.org/10.3390/merits3020021>
- Gamliel, E., & Peer, E. (2006). Positive versus Negative Framing Affects Justice Judgments. *Social Justice Research*, 19(3), 307–322. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11211-006-0009-5>
- Girvan, E. J., Deason, G., & Borgida, E. (2015). The generalizability of gender bias: Testing the effects of contextual, explicit, and implicit sexism on labor arbitration decisions. *Law and Human Behavior*, 39(5), 525–537. <https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000139>
- Gkesoura, P. (2024). *Deconstructing Sexism: Examining the role of social dominance orientation in the relationship between agency and sexism in India and Mexico*. [Master's thesis, Utrecht University]. <https://studenttheses.uu.nl/handle/20.500.12932/46807>
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70(3), 491–512. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.70.3.491>
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1997). Hostile and benevolent sexism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 21(1), 119–135. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1997.tb00104.x>
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2001). An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality. *American Psychologist*, 56(2), 109–118. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.56.2.109>
- Glick, P., & Whitehead, J. (2010). *Ambivalent Sexism Inventory—Short Form (ASI)* [Database record]. APA PsycTests. <https://doi.org/10.1037/t00701-000>
- Glick, P., Sakallı-Uğurlu, N., Akbaş, G., Orta, İ. M., & Ceylan, S. (2015). Why do women endorse honor beliefs? Ambivalent sexism and religiosity as predictors. *Sex Roles*, 75(11–12), 543–554. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0550-5>
- Glick, P., Sakallı-Uğurlu, N., Ferreira, M. C., & de Souza, M. A. (2002). Ambivalent sexism and attitudes toward wife abuse in Turkey and Brazil. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26(4), 292–297. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1471-6402.t01-1-00068>
- Good, J. J., & Woodzicka, J. A. (2010). Reducing Approval of Benevolent Sexism: an educational intervention. *New School Psychology Bulletin*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/259569398_Reducing_Approval_of_Benevolent_Sexism_An_Educational_Intervention

- Godiner, V., & Gumpel, T. P. (2023). Bystander intervention style and motivational factors influencing behavior in bullying situations. *Psychology in the Schools*, 61(2), 631–646. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pits.23075>
- Grubb, A., & Harrower, J. (2008). Attribution of blame in cases of rape: An analysis of participant gender, type of rape and perceived similarity to the victim. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 13(5), 396–405. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2008.06.006>
- Grünenfelder, J. (2012). *Gender, work and development in northwest Pakistan: working environments of Pakistani female development practitioners*. [Dissertation, University of Zurich]. Zurich Open Repository and Archive. <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-63450>
- Gul, P., & Kupfer, T. R. (2019). Benevolent Sexism and Mate Preferences: Why Do Women Prefer Benevolent Men Despite Recognizing That They Can Be Undermining? *Personality & social psychology bulletin*, 45(1), 146–161. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167218781000>
- Gulliver, R. E., Chan, C. S., Chan, W. W. L., Tam, K. Y. Y., & Louis, W. R. (2023). Bystanders, protesters, journalists: A qualitative examination of different stakeholders' motivations to participate in collective action. *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, 17. <https://doi.org/10.1177/18344909231187018>
- Haider, S., & Hayat, A. (2025, November 7). CIVIL SERVICE OF PAKISTAN: OSTRACISM OF WOMEN IN DECISION MAKING. *Pakistan Journal of Social Science Review*, 4(6), 138-166. Retrieved from <https://pjsrjournal.com/index.php/Journal/article/view/294>
- Hall, T. K., & Dhanani, L. Y. (2023). Cloaked in Kindness: bystander responses to witnessed benevolent and hostile sexism. *Sex Roles*, 89(11–12), 658–669. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-023-01431-4>
- Hammond, M. D., & Sibley, C. G. (2011). Why are Benevolent Sexists Happier? *Sex Roles*, 65(5–6), 332–343. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-011-0017-2>
- Hammond, M. D., Sibley, C. G., & Overall, N. C. (2014). The Allure of Sexism: Psychological Entitlement Fosters Women's Endorsement of Benevolent Sexism Over Time. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 5(4), 422-429. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550613506>
- Hayes, A. F. (2013). *Introduction to Mediation, Moderation, and Conditional Process Analysis: A Regression-Based Approach* (pp. 34-40). London & New York: Guilford Press.
- Haynes-Baratz, M. C., Bond, M. A., Allen, C. T., Li, Y. L., & Metinyurt, T. (2021). Challenging gendered microaggressions in the academy: A social–ecological analysis of bystander action among faculty. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 15(4), 521-535. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000315>
- Henson, B., Fisher, B. S., & Reynolds, B. W. (2019). There is virtually no excuse: the frequency and predictors of college students' bystander intervention behaviors directed at online victimization. *Violence Against Women*, 26(5), 505–527. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801219835050>
- Hideg, I., & Ferris, D. L. (2016). The compassionate sexist? How benevolent sexism promotes and undermines gender equality in the workplace. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 111(5), 706–727. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000072>

- Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., Kteily, N., Sheehy-Skeffington, J., Pratto, F., Henkel, K. E., Foels, R., & Stewart, A. L. (2015). The nature of social dominance orientation: Theorizing and measuring preferences for intergroup inequality using the new SDO7 scale. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 109(6), 1003-1028. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000033>
- Hox, J. J., Kreft, I. G., & Hermkens, P. L. (1991). The analysis of factorial surveys. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 19(4), 493-510. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0049124191019004003>
- IBM Corp. (2024) *IBM SPSS Software*. <https://www.ibm.com/products/spss?lnk=flatitem>
- Ijaz, S., & Butt, M. M. (2026). Ambivalent sexism, objectification and justification of intimate partner violence in a patriarchal, collectivist society. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 8862605261435915. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605261435915>
- International Labour Organization (ILO). (2016). Women at work: Trends 2016. *International Labour Office*. <https://www.ilo.org/publications/major-publications/women-work-trends-2016>
- Iyer, A., & Ryan, M. K. (2009). Why do men and women challenge gender discrimination in the workplace? The role of group status and in-group identification in predicting pathways to collective action. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65(4), 791–814. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2009.01625.x>
- Jacobson, R. K., & Eaton, A. A. (2017). How organizational policies influence bystander likelihood of reporting moderate and severe sexual harassment at work. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, 30(1), 37–62. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10672-017-9309-1>
- Jafree, S. R. (2017). *Women, healthcare and violence in Pakistan*. Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press. ISBN: <https://global.oup.com/academic/product/women-healthcare-and-violence-in-pakistan-9780199406067?cc=us&lang=en&>
- Jafree, S. R., Zakar, R., & Zakar, M. Z. (2014). Gender segregation as a benefit - a qualitative study from Pakistan. *Journal of Nursing Management*, 23(8), 983–993. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jonm.12244>
- Jamshed N., Stewart A. L., Overstreet N. M. (2022). Social dominance, sexual double standards, and violence against women in tight and loose cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 53(9), 1145–1165. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00220221221104950>
- Jennings, L., Zhao, K., Faulkner, N., & Smith, L. (2024). Mapping bystander intervention to workplace inclusion: A scoping review. *Human Resource Management Review*, 34(2), 101017. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.hrmr.2024.101017>
- Jin, S., & Phusee-Orn, S. (2024). Exploring the influential factors on positive bystander behavior in school bullying among middle school students in Chongzuo, China. *Journal of Education and Learning*, 14(2), 239. <https://doi.org/10.5539/jel.v14n2p239>
- Johnson, S. K., Sitzmann, T., & Nguyen, A. T. (2014). Don't hate me because I'm beautiful: Acknowledging appearance mitigates the "beauty is beastly" effect. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 125(2), 184–192. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2014.09.006>

- Jones, K. P., Sabat, I. E., King, E. B., Ahmad, A., McCausland, T. C., & Chen, T. (2017). Isms and schisms: A meta-analysis of the prejudice-discrimination relationship across racism, sexism, and ageism. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 38(7), 1076–1110. <https://doi.org/10.1002/job.2187>
- Jones, K., Stewart, K., King, E., Morgan, W. B., Gilrane, V., & Hylton, K. (2014). Negative consequence of benevolent sexism on efficacy and performance. *Gender in Management an International Journal*, 29(3), 171–189. <https://doi.org/10.1108/gm-07-2013-0086>
- Jost, J. T. (2018). A quarter century of system justification theory: Questions, answers, criticisms, and societal applications. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 58(2), 263–314. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12297>
- Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 33(1), 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1994.tb01008.x>
- Jost, J. T., & Hunyady, O. (2005). Antecedents and Consequences of System-Justifying Ideologies. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 14(5), 260–265. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0963-7214.2005.00377.x>
- Jost, J. T., & Kay, A. C. (2005). Exposure to benevolent sexism and complementary gender stereotypes: consequences for specific and diffuse forms of system justification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88(3), 498–509. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.88.3.498>
- Jost, J. T., Becker, J., Osborne, D., & Badaan, V. (2017). Missing in (Collective) action. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 26(2), 99–108. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721417690633>
- Kahn, K. B., van Breen, J. A., Barreto, M., & Kaiser, C. R. (2021). When is women's benevolent sexism associated with support for other women's agentic responses to gender-based threat? *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 60(3), 786–807. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12441>
- Kandiyoti, D. (1988). BARGAINING WITH PATRIARCHY. *Gender & Society*, 2(3), 274–290. <https://doi.org/10.1177/089124388002003004>
- Kawakami, K., Karmali, F., & Vaccarino, E. (2019). Confronting intergroup bias. In *Elsevier eBooks* (pp. 3–28). <https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-0-12-814715-3.00001-1>
- Khalil, S., & Warner, A. (2025, August 20). *Invisible labor, Visible barriers: The socioeconomic realities of women's work in Pakistan*. arXiv.org. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2508.16664>
- Khan, S. U., Goldsmith, A. H., & Rajaguru, G. (2023). The dynamics of traditions and women's employment: Evidence from a developing country. *Economic Analysis Letters*, 2(4). <https://doi.org/10.58567/eal02040006>
- Kilianski, S. E., & Rudman, L. A. (1998). Wanting it both ways: Do women approve of benevolent sexism? *Sex Roles*, 39(5–6), 333–352. <https://doi.org/10.1023/a:1018814924402>
- King, E. B., Botsford, W., Hebl, M. R., Kazama, S., Dawson, J. F., & Perkins, A. (2012). Benevolent sexism at work: Gender differences in the distribution of challenging developmental experiences. *Journal of Management*, 38(6), 1835–1866. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206310365902>
- Lamont, E. (2013). Negotiating courtship. *Gender & Society*, 28(2), 189–211. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243213503899>

- Latané, B., & Darley, J. M. (1970). *The unresponsive bystander: Why doesn't he help?* Appleton-Century-Croft.
- Lee, S. Y., Hanson, M. D., & Cheung, H. K. (2019). Incorporating bystander intervention into sexual harassment training. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, 12(01), 52–57. <https://doi.org/10.1017/iop.2019.8>
- Leone, R. M., Schipani-McLaughlin, A. M., Haikal, M., & Parrott, D. J. (2020). The "White Knight" effect: Benevolent sexism accounts for bystander intervention in party situations among high status men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 21(4), 704–709. <https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000314>
- Lever, J., Frederick, D. A., & Hertz, R. (2015). Who pays for dates? Following versus challenging gender norms. *SAGE Open*, 5(4), 2158244015613107. doi: 10.1177/2158244015613107
- Levine, M., Cassidy, C., Brazier, G., & Reicher, S. (2002). Self-Categorization and Bystander Non-intervention: two experimental studies1. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 32(7), 1452–1463. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2002.tb01446.x>
- Li, Zheng. (2016). *The effects of control threat on women's acceptance of benevolent sexism and traditional gender roles*. [Dissertation, University of Northern Iowa]. Open Access Thesis. 318. <https://scholarworks.uni.edu/etd/318>
- Madden, C., & Loh, J. (2018). Workplace cyberbullying and bystander helping behaviour. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 31(19), 2434–2458. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2018.1449130>
- Mainwaring, C., Gabbert, F., & Scott, A. J. (2022). A Systematic review exploring variables related to bystander intervention in sexual violence contexts. *Trauma Violence & Abuse*, 24(3), 1727–1742. <https://doi.org/10.1177/15248380221079660>
- Major, B., Gramzow, R. H., McCoy, S. K., Levin, S., Schmader, T., & Sidanius, J. (2002). Perceiving personal discrimination: the role of group status and legitimizing ideology. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 82(3), 269–282. Retrieved from <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/11902616/>
- Martini, M., & De Piccoli, N. (2020). Predicting bystander intention to intervene: The role of Gender-Specific System justification and rape myth acceptance for men and women. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 11, 326. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.00326>
- Mazzurega, M., Paladino, M. P., Bonfiglioli, C., & Timeo, S. (2019). Not the right profile: Women facing rightward elicit responses in defence of gender stereotypes. *Research Padua Archive (University of Padua)*, 1, 57–72. <https://doi.org/10.1482/92927>
- McDonald, K., Graves, R., Yin, S., Weese, T., & Sinnott-Armstrong, W. (2021). Valence framing effects on moral judgments: A meta-analysis. *Cognition*, 212, 104703. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2021.104703>
- Mikołajczak, M., & Pietrzak, J. (2014). Ambivalent sexism and religion: connected through values. *Sex Roles*, 70(9–10), 387–399. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-014-0379-3>
- Minhas, S., Magocha, B., & Molohe, M. (2025). Democratic instability in post-colonial Zimbabwe and Pakistan: a comparative analysis. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 11(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2025.2496439>

- Moradi, B., & Mezydlo Subich, L. (2002). Perceived sexist events and feminist identity development attitudes: Links to women's psychological distress. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 30(1), 44–65. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000002301003>
- Morando, M. (2023). Disentangling Workplace Sexism in Age Generations: A Multi-Group Analysis on the effects on job satisfaction and task performance. *Administrative Sciences*, 13(9), 210. <https://doi.org/10.3390/admsci13090210>
- Moya, M., Glick, P., Expósito, F., De Lemus, S., & Hart, J. (2007). It's for your own good: benevolent sexism and women's reactions to protectively justified restrictions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 33(10), 1421–1434. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167207304790>
- Mujal, G. N., Taylor, M. E., Fry, J. L., Gochez-Kerr, T. H., & Weaver, N. L. (2019). A Systematic Review of Bystander Interventions for the Prevention of Sexual Violence. *Trauma Violence & Abuse*, 22(2), 381–396. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838019849587>
- Navarro, J. C., & Tewksbury, R. (2017). Mythbusters: Examining rape myth acceptance among U.S. university students. *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*, 54(4), 343–356. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19496591.2017.1289094>
- Nielsen, K. S., Hansen, M., & Mikkelsen, E. G. (2025). Bystander interventions against gender-based violence and harassment in the workplace: a scoping review. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 16, 1570812. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2025.1570812>
- Oktaviani, H. R., Santoso, E., Novianti, W., Prastyanti, S., & Setiansah, M. (2026). Symbolic Violence in the Practice of Sexist Jokes against Female Workers in the Workplace. *International Journal of Social Science Research and Review*, 9(6), 153–168. <https://doi.org/10.47814/ijssrr.v9i6.3365>
- Oliver, A. G., Krause, R., Busenbark, J. R., & Kalm, M. (2017). BS in the boardroom: Benevolent sexism and board chair orientations. *Strategic Management Journal*, 39(1), 113–130. <https://doi.org/10.1002/smj.2698>
- Oswald, D. L., Baalbaki, M., & Kirkman, M. (2018). Experiences with Benevolent Sexism: Scale Development and Associations with Women's Well-Being. *Sex Roles*, 80(5–6), 362–380. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-0933-5>
- Parrott, D. J., Swartout, K. M., Tharp, A. T., Purvis, D. M., & Topalli, V. (2019). Speak up! Prosocial intervention verbalizations predict successful bystander intervention for a laboratory analogue of sexual aggression. *Sexual Abuse*, 32(2), 220–243. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1079063218821121>
- Phillips, L. T., & Jun, S. (2022). Why benefiting from discrimination is less recognized as discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 122(5), 825–852. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000298>
- Positly. (2026, March 4). *Positly: Study participant recruitment for research, surveys, experiments*. <https://www.positly.com/>
- Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Stallworth, L. M., & Malle, B. F. (1994). Social dominance orientation: A personality variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67(4), 741–763. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.67.4.741>

- Qureshi, K. (2020). Transnational divorce and remarriage between Pakistan and Britain: Intersectionality, harmful immigration rules and internal racism. *Population Space and Place*, 28(5). <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2396>
- Radke, H. R. M., Hornsey, M. J., Sibley, C. G., & Barlow, F. K. (2018). Negotiating the hierarchy: Social dominance orientation among women is associated with the endorsement of benevolent sexism. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 70(2), 158–166. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajpy.12176>
- Rasinski, H. M., & Czopp, A. M. (2010). The Effect of Target Status on Witnesses' Reactions to Confrontations of Bias. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 32(1), 8–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01973530903539754>
- Rodenhizer-Stämpfli, K. A., Eckstein, R. P., & Edwards, K. M. (2018). Bystander Action. In R.J.R. Levesque (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Adolescence*. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-33228-4_803
- Rosenberg, B. D., & Siegel, J. T. (2025). Psychological reactance theory: An introduction and overview. *Motivation Science*, 11(2), 133–138. <https://doi.org/10.1037/mot0000376>
- Rubin, M., Paolini, S., Subašić, E., & Giacomini, A. (2019). A confirmatory study of the relations between workplace sexism, sense of belonging, mental health, and job satisfaction among women in male-dominated industries. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 49(5), 267–282. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12577>
- Saguy, T., & Szekeres, H. (2018). Changing minds via collective action: Exposure to the 2017 Women's March predicts decrease in (some) men's gender system justification over time. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 21(5), 678–689. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430217750475>
- Salerno, J. M., & Phalen, H. J. (2019). Traditional gender roles and backlash against female attorneys expressing anger in court. *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 16(4), 909–932. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jels.12238>
- Salomon, K., Bosson, J. K., El-Hout, M., Kiebel, E., Kuchynka, S. L., & Shepard, S. L. (2020). The Experiences with Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (EASI). *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 42(4), 235–253. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01973533.2020.1747467>
- Saunders, K. J., & Kashubeck-West, S. (2006). The Relations Among Feminist Identity Development, Gender-Role Orientation, and Psychological Well-Being in Women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30(2), 199–211. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2006.00282.x>
- Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., Kobrynowicz, D., & Owen, S. (2002). Perceiving Discrimination Against One's Gender Group has Different Implications for Well-Being in Women and Men. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28(2), 197–210. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167202282006>
- Schoemann, A. M., Boulton, A. J., & Short, S. D. (2017). Determining power and sample size for simple and complex mediation models. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 8(4), 379–386. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550617715068>
- Seitova, D., Nariman, H. S., & Kovacs, M. (2023). Cosmopolitanism and social dominance orientation mediate relationship between political orientation and sexism. *Acta Psychologica*, 240, 104037. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.actpsy.2023.104037>

- Shahid, S., Shahid, S., Noguchi, K., Bishop, R., Shahid, S., Shahid, S., & Stepanova, E. V. (2025). Role of hostile and benevolent sexism in shaping prejudice against working women in the United States and Pakistan. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 56(5), 511–527. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00220221251320353>
- Shaver, K. G. (1970). Defensive attribution: Effects of severity and relevance on the responsibility assigned for an accident. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 14(2), 101–113. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0028777>
- Sheeran, P. (2002). Intention—Behavior Relations: A Conceptual and Empirical Review. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 12(1), 1–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14792772143000003>
- Shi, J., Hao, Z., Saeri, A. K., & Cui, L. (2014). The dual-pathway model of collective action: Impacts of types of collective action and social identity. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 18(1), 45–65. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430214524288>
- Shimizu, Y., Komoto, S., Manome, Y., & Karasawa, K. (2024). Reducing benevolent sexism: Focusing on its harm against women and pervasiveness. *International journal of psychology: Journal internationale de psychologie*, 59(6), 1208–1216. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.13251>
- Shnabel, N., Bar-Anan, Y., Kende, A., Bareket, O., & Lazar, Y. (2015). Help to perpetuate traditional gender roles: Benevolent sexism increases engagement in dependency-oriented cross-gender helping. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 110(1), 55–75. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000037>
- Shultz, K. S., Whitney, D. J., & Zickar, M. J. (2020). *Measurement theory in action* (3rd Edition). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003127536>
- Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Stamarski, C. S., & Hing, L. S. S. (2015). Gender inequalities in the workplace: the effects of organizational structures, processes, practices, and decision makers' sexism. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 6, 1400. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.01400>
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin, & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-37). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Tesi, A., Aiello, A., Morselli, D., Giannetti, E., Pierro, A., & Pratto, F. (2019). Which people are willing to maintain their subordinated position? Social dominance orientation as antecedent to compliance to harsh power tactics in a higher education setting. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 151, 109390. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2019.04.045>
- Tesi, A., Pratto, F., Pierro, A., & Aiello, A. (2020). Group dominance in hierarchy-attenuating and hierarchy-enhancing organizations: The role of social dominance orientation, need for cognitive closure, and power tactics in a person–environment (mis)fit perspective. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 24(2), 102–114. <https://doi.org/10.1037/gdn0000117>
- Thomas, E. F., & Louis, W. R. (2013). When will collective action be effective? Violent and Non-Violent protests differentially influence perceptions of legitimacy and efficacy among sympathizers. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 40(2), 263–276. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167213510525>

- Thornberg, R., Tenenbaum, L., Varjas, K., Meyers, J., Jungert, T., & Vanegas, G. (2012). Bystander motivation in bullying incidents: to intervene or not to intervene?. *The Western Journal of Emergency Medicine*, 13(3), 247–252. <https://doi.org/10.5811/westjem.2012.3.11792>
- Tyler, T. R. (2005). Psychological perspectives on legitimacy and legitimation. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 57(1), 375–400. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.57.102904.190038>
- United Nations. (n.d.). International Equal Pay Day. *United Nations*. <https://www.un.org/en/observances/equal-pay-day>
- van der Toorn, J., Feinberg, M., Jost, J. T., Kay, A. C., Tyler, T. R., Willer, R., & Wilmoth, C. (2014). A sense of powerlessness fosters system justification: implications for the legitimation of authority, hierarchy, and government. *Political Psychology*, 36(1), 93–110. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12183>
- van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2008). Toward an integrative social identity model of collective action: a quantitative research synthesis of three socio-psychological perspectives. *Psychological Bulletin*, 134(4), 504–535. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.134.4.504>
- van Zomeren, M., Spears, R., Fischer, A. H., & Leach, C. W. (2004). Put your money where your mouth is! Explaining collective action tendencies through group-based anger and group efficacy. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87(5), 649–664. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.87.5.649>
- Vázquez-González, L. I., Nardi-Rodríguez, A., Sánchez-Prada, A., Delgado-Álvarez, C., Ferreiro-Basurto, V., & Ferrer-Pérez, V. A. (2026). Bystanders' intention to intervene in a street harassment scenario: the effects of personal and situational factors. *Behavioral Sciences*, 16(2), 209. <https://doi.org/10.3390/bs16020209>
- Viki, G. T., & Abrams, D. (2002). But she was unfaithful: Benevolent sexism and reactions to rape victims who violate traditional gender role expectations. *Sex Roles*, 47(5-6), 289–293. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1021342912248>
- Waddell, N., Sibley, C. G., & Osborne, D. (2018). Better off alone? Ambivalent sexism moderates the association between relationship status and life satisfaction among heterosexual women and men. *Sex Roles*, 80(5–6), 347–361. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-0935-3>
- Walker, I. and Smith, H.J. (2001) *Relative Deprivation: Specification, Development, and Integration*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511527753>
- Warren, C. R., Zanhour, M., Washburn, M., & Odom, B. (2020). Helping or hurting? Effects of sexism and likeability on third party perceptions of women. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 48(10), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.2224/sbp.9315>
- Warren, C., Wax, A., Brush, O. T., Magalona, J., & Galvez, G. (2023). Development and validation of the Benevolent Sexism in the Workplace scale. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 96(3), 473–502. <https://doi.org/10.1111/joop.12435>
- Webb, T. L., & Sheeran, P. (2006). Does changing behavioral intentions engender behavior change? A meta-analysis of the experimental evidence. *Psychological Bulletin*, 132(2), 249–268. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.132.2.249>
- World Economic Forum. (2025). Gender Gap Report 2025. *World Economic Forum*. <https://www.weforum.org/publications/global-gender-gap-report-2025/in-full/key-findings-3902497c1d/>

- Yoder, J. D., Snell, A. F., & Tobias, A. (2012). Balancing multicultural competence with social justice. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 40(8), 1101–1132. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000011426296>
- Yule, K., Hoxmeier, J. C., Petranu, K., & Grych, J. (2020). The Chivalrous Bystander: The role of Gender-Based Beliefs and Empathy on bystander behavior and perceived barriers to intervention. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 37(1–2), 863–888. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260520916277>
- Zehnter, M. K., Manzi, F., Shrout, P. E., & Heilman, M. E. (2021). Belief in sexism shift: Defining a new form of contemporary sexism and introducing the belief in sexism shift scale (BSS scale). *PLoS ONE*, 16(3), e0248374. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0248374>

Annexes

Annex A

Chat History With ChatGPT (OpenAI, 2024) for Monte Carlo Sample Size Power Analysis

Command for Monte Carlo Sample Size Power Analysis:

Can you please make a Monte Carlo power analysis script for me to run in R that can calculate the minimum sample size required to achieve .80 power in a model where the IV is experimental conditions (binary - benefit and harm), DV is continuous, there are two mediators for parallel mediation which are both continuous. This will be a moderated mediation with gender (binary - men, women) moderating just the path a for one mediator. There will be four covariates, sdo, religion, age, and relationship status. Assume medium effect sizes.

Answer:

```
library(lavaan)
set.seed(1234)
#####
# SETTINGS
#####
nRep <- 500
alpha <- 0.05
# Medium effect sizes
a1 <- 0.30    # X -> M1 (main effect)
a1W <- 0.15   # X*W -> M1 (moderation)
b1 <- 0.30    # M1 -> Y
a2 <- 0.25    # X -> M2 (main effect)
b2 <- 0.30    # M2 -> Y (no moderation)
c_prime <- 0.10 # direct X -> Y
cov_eff <- 0.20 # effect of covariates
#####
# FUNCTION TO ESTIMATE POWER
#####
```

```

estimate_power <- function(n){
  sig_indirect <- numeric(nRep)
  for(rep in 1:nRep){
    # Predictors
    X <- rbinom(n, 1, 0.5) # IV
    W <- rbinom(n, 1, 0.5) # Gender moderator
    XW <- X*W           # interaction for M1
    # Covariates
    SDO <- rnorm(n)      # continuous
    Age <- rnorm(n, mean=30, sd=8) # continuous
    RelStatus <- rbinom(n, 1, 0.5) # categorical
    Religion <- rbinom(n, 1, 0.5) # categorical
    # Mediators
    M1 <- a1*X + a1W*XW + cov_eff*SDO + cov_eff*Age + cov_eff*RelStatus +
cov_eff*Religion + rnorm(n)
    M2 <- a2*X + cov_eff*SDO + cov_eff*Age + cov_eff*RelStatus + cov_eff*Religion +
rnorm(n)
    # Outcome
    Y <- c_prime*X + b1*M1 + b2*M2 + cov_eff*SDO + cov_eff*Age + cov_eff*RelStatus
+ cov_eff*Religion + rnorm(n)
    dat <- data.frame(X, W, XW, M1, M2, Y, SDO, Age, RelStatus, Religion)
    model <- '
    # a-paths
    M1 ~ a1*X + a1W*XW + SDO + Age + RelStatus + Religion
    M2 ~ a2*X + SDO + Age + RelStatus + Religion
    # b-paths
    Y ~ c_prime*X + b1*M1 + b2*M2 + SDO + Age + RelStatus + Religion
    # moderated mediation for W=1 (M1 only)
    indirect_M1_W1 := (a1 + a1W)*b1
    indirect_M1_W0 := a1*b1
    # indirect for M2 (no moderation)

```

```

    indirect_M2 := a2*b2
  ,

fit <- try(sem(model, data=dat, meanstructure=TRUE), silent=TRUE)
if(class(fit) != "try-error"){
  pe <- parameterEstimates(fit)
  # significance for moderated mediation (M1, W=1)
  p <- pe$pvalue[pe$label=="indirect_M1_W1"]
  sig_indirect[rep] <- ifelse(!is.na(p) & p < alpha, 1, 0)
}
}
return(mean(sig_indirect))
}

#####
# SEARCH FOR MINIMUM N
#####
N_values <- seq(100, 500, 50)
results <- data.frame(
  N = N_values,
  Power = NA
)
for(i in 1:length(N_values)){
  cat("Running N =", N_values[i], "\n")
  results$Power[i] <- estimate_power(N_values[i])
}
print(results)

#####
# MINIMUM N FOR .80 POWER
#####
minN <- min(results$N[results$Power >= .80])
if(is.finite(minN)){
  cat("\nMinimum N to reach ~0.80 power for M1 moderated mediation:", minN, "\n")
}

```

```
} else {  
  cat("\nEven at maximum N tested, power < .80\n")  
}
```

Annex B

Bystander Intervention Intentions Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) Factor Loadings and Scree Plot

Table A1

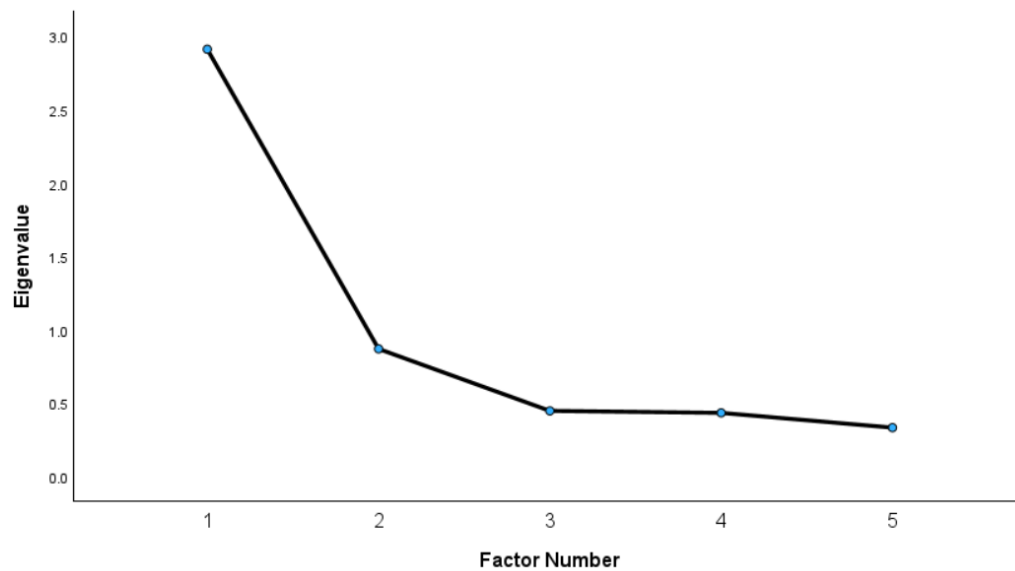
Factor Loadings for Items of the Bystander Intervention Intentions Scale

Factor Matrix^a	
	Factor
	1
BYSTINTER_1	0.822
BYSTINTER_2	0.772
BYSTINTER_3	0.614
BYSTINTER_4	0.745
BYSTINTER_5	0.490

Note. Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

Figure A1

Scree Plot for the Exploratory Factor Analysis



Annex C

Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent

This study is part of a research project being carried out at **Iscte – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa**.

The study aims to understand people's thoughts and feelings about women in modern Pakistani society. The study is intended for individuals who meet the following criteria: are above 18 years and are currently living in Pakistan. You are invited to participate if this description applies to you.

The study is being carried out by researchers from ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (University Institute of Lisbon) - Maryam Javaid (mjdma@iscte-iul.pt) and Ricardo Borges Rodrigues (rfprs@iscte-iul.pt), whom you can contact if you have any questions or comments.

What will I be asked to do?

Your participation in the study is highly valued, as it will contribute to advancing knowledge in the field of gender relations in Pakistan. In this study, you will be asked to rate your perceptions of yourself and other groups in society along several dimensions. You will then be asked to read three short stories about a situation in the work context, and provide your thoughts about each story using a series of rating scales. Then, you will be asked to provide some sociodemographic information, such as age, gender, and employment status.

How much of my time will I need to give?

It is estimated that participation in the study will take approximately 10-15 minutes.

Will the study involve any risk or discomfort for me? If so, what will be done to rectify it?

No significant risks are expected in association with participation in the study however, some of the topics addressed in this study relate to gender discrimination and may lead to temporary

emotional discomfort. If you do experience any discomfort and wish to withdraw, you may choose not to answer these questions, and the answers you have provided up until that point will be deleted and will not be included in the study. You may also contact the research team using the details provided above or seek support from professional support services listed at the end of this form.

Participation in the study is strictly **voluntary**: You can freely choose whether to participate or not to participate. If you have chosen to participate, you can interrupt your participation at any time without having to provide any justification. Choosing to interrupt your participation or to withdraw from the study will not result in any consequences for you. In addition to being voluntary, participation is also **anonymous**, and you will not, at any point, be asked to provide your identity.

How do you intend to store or disseminate the data I provide?

Your responses will be saved online on a platform that only the research team has access to. Upon study completion (which usually takes a few weeks), we will download the responses to a file that will be stored on a secure and encrypted drive. The data will be stored and kept for a minimum period of 3 years after the publication of the study after which it will be deleted. The data collected will be used exclusively for statistical analyses and will not be reported individually. In case of publication, to adhere to open science practices, we plan to make the anonymous data available in public repositories. As no personal data are collected, the data we share will not allow you to be identified.

[Additional Paragraph for Positly Participants]

If you wish to withdraw your data after completing the study, please contact the research team via Positly and provide your unique **Positly ID** and we will delete it. If we do not receive your request for withdrawal within one week after participation, we will retain your data in our dataset, and it will no longer be possible to delete it. All Positly IDs will be deleted as soon as the data is downloaded for analysis.

This study is conducted in **English**. To participate, you must have sufficient proficiency in English to understand the information provided in this consent form and the procedures involved

in the study. If you have any questions or require clarification about any aspect of the study, you are encouraged to contact the research team before deciding whether to participate.

I declare that I have understood the objectives of what has been proposed to me and explained by the researcher. I have been given the opportunity to ask all the questions about this study, and that all of them have received an enlightening/satisfactory answer.

- I agree to participate in the study and confirm that I understand the procedures of my voluntary participation.
- I do not agree to participate.

Annex D

Survey

Start of Block: SDO

Show how much you favor or oppose each idea below by selecting a number from 1 to 7 on the scale below. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best:

SDO1 An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.

- ☐ (1) Strongly Oppose (1)
- ☐ (2) Somewhat Oppose (2)
- ☐ (3) Slightly Oppose (3)
- ☐ (4) Neutral (4)
- ☐ (5) Slightly Favor (5)
- ☐ (6) Somewhat Favor (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly Favor (7)

SDO2 Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.

- ☐ (1) Strongly Oppose (1)

☐ (2) Somewhat Oppose (2)

☐ (3) Slightly Oppose (3)

☐ (4) Neutral (4)

☐ (5) Slightly Favor (5)

☐ (6) Somewhat Favor (6)

☐ (7) Strongly Favor (7)

SDO3 No one group should dominate in society.

☐ (1) Strongly Oppose (1)

☐ (2) Somewhat Oppose (2)

☐ (3) Slightly Oppose (3)

☐ (4) Neutral (4)

☐ (5) Slightly Favor (5)

☐ (6) Somewhat Favor (6)

☐ (7) Strongly Favor (7)

SDO4 Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top.

☐ (1) Strongly Oppose (1)

☐ (2) Somewhat Oppose (2)

☐ (3) Slightly Oppose (3)

☐ (4) Neutral (4)

☐ (5) Slightly Favor (5)

☐ (6) Somewhat Favor (6)

☐ (7) Strongly Favor (7)

SDO5 Group equality should not be our primary goal.

☐ (1) Strongly Oppose (1)

☐ (2) Somewhat Oppose (2)

☐ (3) Slightly Oppose (3)

☐ (4) Neutral (4)

☐ (5) Slightly Favor (5)

☐ (6) Somewhat Favor (6)

☐ (7) Strongly Favor (7)

SDO6 It is unjust to try to make groups equal.

☐ (1) Strongly Oppose (1)

☐ (2) Somewhat Oppose (2)

☐ (3) Slightly Oppose (3)

☐ (4) Neutral (4)

☐ (5) Slightly Favor (5)

☐ (6) Somewhat Favor (6)

☐ (7) Strongly Favor (7)

SDO7 We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.

- ☐ (1) Strongly Oppose (1)
- ☐ (2) Somewhat Oppose (2)
- ☐ (3) Slightly Oppose (3)
- ☐ (4) Neutral (4)
- ☐ (5) Slightly Favor (5)
- ☐ (6) Somewhat Favor (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly Favor (7)

SDO8 We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed.

- ☐ (1) Strongly Oppose (1)
- ☐ (2) Somewhat Oppose (2)
- ☐ (3) Slightly Oppose (3)
- ☐ (4) Neutral (4)
- ☐ (5) Slightly Favor (5)

☐ (6) Somewhat Favor (6)

☐ (7) Strongly Favor (7)

End of Block: SDO

Start of Block: Intro Text

Intro Text

You will now read some short stories that are fictitious but are based on women's experiences at the workplace in Pakistan. Please read the stories carefully since you will be asked to answer questions related to them.

Imagine that you are **witnessing** this situation.

End of Block: Intro Text

Start of Block: VIGNETTE - PP.H

PP.H Sara is a young woman who recently joined a company. During a late meeting, her male supervisor noticed she looked tired and told her, “Don’t worry about staying late, I’ll have Ali finish the report for you. You shouldn’t overwork yourself or stay too late at the office.” Sara was excused while her colleague, Ali stayed back. The next day, when promotions were discussed, her supervisor said she wasn’t considered because “she isn’t able to handle the same workload as the men.”

MANICHECK Please answer the following questions about the story you just read.

PPHMANI1 The story described someone acting protective towards the main character

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

PPHMANI2 The story showed someone suggesting the main character is more warm and caring than men

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)

- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

PPHMANI3 The story showed someone suggesting that the main character needs a romantic partner to complete her

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

PPHMANI4 The story described a beneficial situation for the main character

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

PPHMANI5 The story described a harmful situation for the main character

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: VIGNETTE - PP.H

Start of Block: PPHPERCLEGIT

PERCLEGIT1 Thinking about the story you just read, please indicate your agreement with the following statements:

The way the main character was treated in this situation is unjust

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

PERCLEGIT2 The way the main character was treated in this situation is fair

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: PPHPERCLEGIT

Start of Block: PPHBYSTINTER

BYSTINTER1 Thinking about the story you just read, please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

If I witnessed this event, I would speak up to express my disagreement with what was said or done

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

BYSTINTER2 If I witnessed this event, I would ask someone else for help

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

BYSTINTER3 If I witnessed this event, I would privately express my disagreement with what was said or done, later on

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

BYSTINTER4 If I witnessed this event, I would offer emotional support to the main character

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

BYSTINTER5 If I witnessed this event, I would not do anything

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: PPHBYSTINTER

Start of Block: VIGNETTE - CD.H

CD.H Fatima is a young journalist working in the current affairs department, where she covers topics such as state affairs, international relations, and politics. One day, she met Ali, a new male recruit. Upon being introduced, Ali smiled and said, “Oh, I assumed you worked in the culture department since women usually have a great eye for design and good taste.” Afterwards, Fatima noticed that Ali would often approach his male seniors to ask work-related questions and that she was rarely included in their discussions about political pieces, even though she was equally qualified.

Page
Break

MANICHECK Please answer the following questions about the story you just read.

CDHMANI1 The story described someone acting protective towards the main character

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

CDHMANI2 The story showed someone suggesting the main character is more warm and caring than men

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

CDHMANI3 The story showed someone suggesting that the main character needs a romantic partner to complete her

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

CDHMANI4 The story described a beneficial situation for the main character

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

CDHMANI5 The story described a harmful situation for the main character

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: VIGNETTE - CD.H

Start of Block: CDHPERCLEGIT

Q412 Thinking about the story you just read, please indicate your agreement with the following statements:

The way the main character was treated in this situation is unjust

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q413 The way the main character was treated in this situation is fair

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: CDHPERCLEGIT

Start of Block: CDHBYSTINTER

Q422 Thinking about the story you just read, please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

If I witnessed this event, I would speak up to express my disagreement with what was said or done

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q423 If I witnessed this event, I would ask someone else for help

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q424 If I witnessed this event, I would privately express my disagreement with what was said or done, later on

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q425 If I witnessed this event, I would offer emotional support to the main character

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q426 If I witnessed this event, I would not do anything

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: CDHBYSTINTER

Start of Block: VIGNETTE - HI.H

HI.H Ayesha is a single working woman who has been in her current organization for several years. Recently, she shared her personal struggles with her boss about how she's been feeling unfulfilled in her work. Her boss, Ali, tells her that she can't depend on work to feel happiness. He says, "Career success is important but at the end of the day real happiness comes from having a partner in life." Later, Ali rejected Ayesha from a managerial position in an important project with the reasoning that she shouldn't use work to distract herself from feeling unhappy.

MANICHECK Please answer the following questions about the story you just read.

HIHMANI1 The story described someone acting protective towards the main character

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

HIHMANI2 The story showed someone suggesting the main character is more warm and caring than men

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

HIHMANI3 The story showed someone suggesting that the main character needs a romantic partner to complete her

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

HIHMANI4 The story described a beneficial situation for the main character

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

HIHMANI5 The story described a harmful situation for the main character

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: VIGNETTE - HLH

Start of Block: HIHPERCLEGIT

Q414 Thinking about the story you just read, please indicate your agreement with the following statements:

The way the main character was treated in this situation is unjust

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q415 The way the main character was treated in this situation is fair

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: HIHPERCLEGIT

Start of Block: HIHBYSTINTER

Q427 Thinking about the story you just read, please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

If I witnessed this event, I would speak up to express my disagreement with what was said or done

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q428 If I witnessed this event, I would ask someone else for help

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q429 If I witnessed this event, I would privately express my disagreement with what was said or done, later on

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q430 If I witnessed this event, I would offer emotional support to the main character

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q431 If I witnessed this event, I would not do anything

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: HIBYSTINTER

Start of Block: VIGNETTE - PP.B

PP.B Sara is a young woman who recently joined a company. During a late meeting, her male supervisor noticed she looked tired and told her, “Don’t worry about staying late, I’ll have Ali finish the report for you. You shouldn’t overwork yourself or stay too late at the office.” Sara was excused while her colleague, Ali stayed back. The next day, Sara’s colleagues told her that she was lucky since her office always cared about her well-being as an employee.

Page

Break

MANICHECK Please answer the following questions about the story you just read.

PPBMANI1 The story described someone acting protective towards the main character

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

PPBMANI2 The story showed someone suggesting the main character is more warm and caring than men

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

PPBMANI3 The story showed someone suggesting that the main character needs a romantic partner to complete her

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

PPBMANI4 The story described a beneficial situation for the main character

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

PPBMANI5 The story described a harmful situation for the main character

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: VIGNETTE - PP.B

Start of Block: PPBPERCLEGIT

Q416 Thinking about the story you just read, please indicate your agreement with the following statements:

The way the main character was treated in this situation is unjust

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q417 The way the main character was treated in this situation is fair

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: PPBPERCLEGIT

Start of Block: PPBBYSTINTER

Q432 Thinking about the story you just read, please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

If I witnessed this event, I would speak up to express my disagreement with what was said or done

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q433 If I witnessed this event, I would ask someone else for help

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q434 If I witnessed this event, I would privately express my disagreement with what was said or done, later on

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q435 If I witnessed this event, I would offer emotional support to the main character

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q436 If I witnessed this event, I would not do anything

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: PPBBYSTINTER

Start of Block: VIGNETTE - CD.B

CD.B Fatima is a young journalist working in the current affairs department, where she covers topics such as state affairs, international relations, and politics. One day, she met Ali, a new male recruit. Upon being introduced, Ali smiled and said, “Oh, I assumed you worked in the culture department since women usually have a great eye for design and good taste.” Afterwards, Ali would often ask Fatima for advice on improving the aesthetics and layout of his article, praising her for having a natural sense of aesthetics.

MANICHECK Please answer the following questions about the story you just read.

CDBMANI1 The story described someone acting protective towards the main character

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

CDBMANI2 The story showed someone suggesting the main character is more warm and caring than men

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

CDBMANI3 The story showed someone suggesting that the main character needs a romantic partner to complete her

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

CDBMANI4 The story described a beneficial situation for the main character

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

CDBMANI5 The story described a harmful situation for the main character

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: VIGNETTE - CD.B

Start of Block: CDBPERCLEGIT

Q418 Thinking about the story you just read, please indicate your agreement with the following statements:

The way the main character was treated in this situation is unjust

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q419 The way the main character was treated in this situation is fair

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: CDBPERCLEGIT

Start of Block: CDBBYSTINTER

Q437 Thinking about the story you just read, please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

If I witnessed this event, I would speak up to express my disagreement with what was said or done

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q438 If I witnessed this event, I would ask someone else for help

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q439 If I witnessed this event, I would privately express my disagreement with what was said or done, later on

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q440 If I witnessed this event, I would offer emotional support to the main character

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q441 If I witnessed this event, I would not do anything

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: CDBBYSTINTER

Start of Block: VIGNETTE - H.I.B

H.I.B Ayesha is a single working woman who has been in her current organization for several years. Recently, she shared her personal struggles with her boss about how she's been feeling unfulfilled in her work. Her boss, Ali, tells her that she can't depend on work to feel happiness. He says, "Career success is important but at the end of the day real happiness comes from having a partner in life." Later, when Ayesha distributed her wedding cards in the office, Ali praised Ayesha for having a good work-life balance, saying that it's important to know that work shouldn't be the first priority in life for women.

Page

Break

MANICHECK Please answer the following questions about the story you just read.

HIBMANI1 The story described someone acting protective towards the main character

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

HIBMANI2 The story showed someone suggesting the main character is more warm and caring than men

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

HIBMANI3 The story showed someone suggesting that the main character needs a romantic partner to complete her

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

HIBMANI4 The story described a beneficial situation for the main character

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

HIBMANI5 The story described a harmful situation for the main character

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: VIGNETTE - HL.B

Start of Block: HIBPERCLEGIT

Q420 Thinking about the story you just read, please indicate your agreement with the following statements:

The way the main character was treated in this situation is unjust

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q421 The way the main character was treated in this situation is fair

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: HIBPERCLEGIT

Start of Block: HIBBYSTINTER

Q442 Thinking about the story you just read, please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

If I witnessed this event, I would speak up to express my disagreement with what was said or done

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q443 If I witnessed this event, I would ask someone else for help

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q444 If I witnessed this event, I would privately express my disagreement with what was said or done, later on

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q445 If I witnessed this event, I would offer emotional support to the main character

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

Q446 If I witnessed this event, I would not do anything

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: HIBBYSTINTER

Start of Block: SYSJUST

SYSJUST1 Please indicate your agreement with the following statements regarding Pakistani society.

In general, relations between men and women are fair

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

SYSJUST2 The division of labor in families generally operates as it should

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

SYSJUST3 Gender roles need to be radically restructured

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

SYSJUST4 For women, Pakistan is the best country in the world to live in

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

SYSJUST5 Most policies relating to gender and the gendered division of labor for gender equality serve the greater good

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

SYSJUST6 Everyone (man or woman) has a fair shot at wealth and happiness

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

SYSJUST7 Sexism in society is getting worse every year

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

SYSJUST8 Society is set up so that men and women usually get what they deserve

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: SYSJUST

Start of Block: COLLECTINT

COLLACTINT1 How likely is it that you would:

become involved with a group (or political party) focused on gender equality (e.g., volunteer, summer job, etc.)?

☐ (1) Extremely unlikely (1)

☐ (2) Moderately unlikely (2)

☐ (3) Slightly unlikely (3)

☐ (4) Neither likely nor unlikely (4)

☐ (5) Slightly likely (5)

☐ (6) Moderately likely (6)

☐ (7) Extremely likely (7)

COLLACTINT2 consciously make time to be able to support gender equality (e.g., working part time for an organization, contribute to raise awareness about gender issues, choosing activities focused on gender issues over other leisure activities)?

☐ (1) Extremely unlikely (1)

☐ (2) Moderately unlikely (2)

- ☐ (3) Slightly unlikely (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither likely nor unlikely (4)
- ☐ (5) Slightly likely (5)
- ☐ (6) Moderately likely (6)
- ☐ (7) Extremely likely (7)

COLLACTINT3 participate in a community event which focused on gender equality?

- ☐ (1) Extremely unlikely (1)
- ☐ (2) Moderately unlikely (2)
- ☐ (3) Slightly unlikely (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither likely nor unlikely (4)
- ☐ (5) Slightly likely (5)
- ☐ (6) Moderately likely (6)
- ☐ (7) Extremely likely (7)

COLLECTINT4 use online tools (e.g., Instagram, YouTube, Facebook, Wikipedia, Blogs) to raise awareness about gender equality?

☐ (1) Extremely unlikely (1)

☐ (2) Moderately unlikely (2)

☐ (3) Slightly unlikely (3)

☐ (4) Neither likely nor unlikely (4)

☐ (5) Slightly likely (5)

☐ (6) Moderately likely (6)

☐ (7) Extremely likely (7)

COLLECTINT5 participate in an educational event (e.g., workshop) related to gender equality?

☐ (1) Extremely unlikely (1)

☐ (2) Moderately unlikely (2)

☐ (3) Slightly unlikely (3)

☐ (4) Neither likely nor unlikely (4)

☐ (5) Slightly likely (5)

☐ (6) Moderately likely (6)

☐ (7) Extremely likely (7)

COLLACTINT6 spend time working with a group/organization that deals with the connection of gender equality to other societal issues such as justice or inequality?

☐ (1) Extremely unlikely (1)

☐ (2) Moderately unlikely (2)

☐ (3) Slightly unlikely (3)

☐ (4) Neither likely nor unlikely (4)

☐ (5) Slightly likely (5)

☐ (6) Moderately likely (6)

☐ (7) Extremely likely (7)

End of Block: COLLECTINT

Start of Block: ASI

ASI1 Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement:

Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

ASI2 Women should be cherished and protected by men.

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

ASI3 Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

ASI4 Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

ASI5 Men are incomplete without women.

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

ASI6 Women exaggerate problems they have at work.

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

ASI7 Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

ASI8 When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

ASI9 Many women get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

ASI10 Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

ASI11 Men should be willing to sacrifice their own wellbeing in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.

☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)

☐ (2) Disagree (2)

☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)

☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)

☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)

☐ (6) Agree (6)

☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

ASI12 Feminists are making unreasonable demands of men.

- ☐ (1) Strongly disagree (1)
- ☐ (2) Disagree (2)
- ☐ (3) Somewhat disagree (3)
- ☐ (4) Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- ☐ (5) Somewhat agree (5)
- ☐ (6) Agree (6)
- ☐ (7) Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: ASI

Start of Block: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

DEMO Now you will see some questions about your sociodemographic information like age, and gender. Please answer as honestly as you can.

Age What is your age (in years, e.g., 18)?

Gender Regarding your gender, how do you identify?

☐ Male (1)

☐ Female (2)

☐ Non-binary / third gender (3)

☐ Other (please specify) (4)

Nationality What is your nationality?

☐ Pakistani (1)

☐ Other (please specify) (2)

Sexual Orientation What is your sexual orientation?

☐ Heterosexual (1)

☐ Homosexual (2)

☐ Bisexual (3)

☐ Other (please specify) (4)

RELATSTAT What is your relationship status?

☐ Single (1)

☐ In a relationship but not married (2)

☐ Married (3)

☐ Widowed (4)

☐ Divorced (5)

☐ Separated (6)

☐ Other (please specify) (7)

Edu Level What is the highest level of education you have completed?

☐ No formal education (1)

☐ Primary (Grade 5) (2)

- ☐ Middle (Grade 8) (3)
- ☐ Matriculation/Secondary (Grade 10/SSC) (4)
- ☐ Intermediate/Higher Secondary (Grade 12/HSSC) (5)
- ☐ Bachelor's degree (BA/BSc/BS/BCom) (6)
- ☐ Master's degree (MA/MSc/MCom/MBA) (7)
- ☐ Higher than Master's (MPhil/PhD) (8)

PROFSTAT What is your current professional status?

- ☐ Employed full-time (1)
- ☐ Employed part-time (2)
- ☐ Unemployed looking for work (3)
- ☐ Unemployed not looking for work (4)
- ☐ Retired (5)
- ☐ Student (6)

☐ Disabled (7)

☐ Other (please specify) (8)

RELIGION What is your religion?

☐ None (1)

☐ Christianity (2)

☐ Islam (3)

☐ Judaism (4)

☐ Hinduism (5)

☐ Buddhism (6)

☐ Sikhism (7)

☐ Other (please specify) (8)

End of Block: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Annex E

Debriefing

Thank you very much for taking part in this study.

This study examined people's reactions to sexist incidents faced by women in modern Pakistani society. You were asked to read three hypothetical scenarios where a female protagonist experienced types of benevolent sexism - a form of sexism that comes across as protective and caring for women but instead reinforces traditional gender expectations and gender inequality.

Benevolent sexism can be in the form of:

1. **Protective Paternalism** - the belief that men ought to protect and provide for women
2. **Complementary Gender Differentiation** - the belief that women possess positive traits lacking in men such as warmth and empathy
3. **Heterosexual Intimacy** - the belief that men and women complete each other romantically

Though the stories you read were fake, they are based on real-life incidents women face in their daily working life that although seem positive, violate their autonomy and perpetuate the view of women as incompetent.

We were unable to reveal the true aims of the study at the beginning because we did not want this information to influence your responses. We were most interested in your organic and immediate reactions to the information we presented you with, and we did not want to bias your responses by pre-emptively telling you what we were interested in looking at. We apologize if this has caused you any discomfort or inconvenience.

There were no right or wrong answers; we were just interested in your thoughts and feelings.

We would like to reinforce the contact details you can use should you have any questions, wish to share any comments, or signal your intention to receive information about the main results and conclusions of the study: Maryam Javaid (mjdma@iscte-iul.pt), and Ricardo Borges Rodrigues (rfprs@iscte-iul.pt).

If you are experiencing any emotional distress following your participation, please remember that such reactions are valid and understandable. We encourage you to reach out to the research team for further information or support. Additionally, you may wish to contact one of the professional support services listed below.

Professional Support Services:

- **Rozan** - an NGO working on emotional and health related to gender equality, violence against women, and reproductive health of adolescents, contact at +923041111741 or email yhl@rozan.org
- **Taskeen** - an NPO providing free mental health support, contact at +923168275336 or email hello@taskeen.org

If you are interested in accessing more information about the subject of the study, you can also consult the following sources:

1. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7vIUhAtapzM>
2. <https://oxford-review.com/the-oxford-review-dei-diversity-equity-and-inclusion-dictionary/benevolent-sexism-definition-and-explanation/>

Thank you again for your participation.

For Positly participants, please select 'Next page' to be paid for the activity.