

When Do We Confront? Perceptions of Costs and Benefits Predict Confronting Discrimination on Behalf of the Self and Others

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Abstract

Across two studies, we tested whether perceived social costs and benefits of confrontation would similarly predict confronting discrimination both when it was experienced and when it was observed as directed at others. Female undergraduate participants were asked to recall past experiences and observations of sexism, as well as their confronting behaviors. Path modeling in Study 1 ($N = 148$) demonstrated that women were more likely to report confronting if they believed that the confrontation would make a difference (perceived benefits), or they were less concerned about social sanctions (perceived costs), and the prediction patterns were similar for both experienced and observed sexism. Study 2 ($N = 166$) replicated the results of Study 1, as well as tested the moderating influence of gender identification. In situations of higher perceived social costs, women who were less strongly identified with their gender group were more responsive to the perceived benefits of the confrontation when deciding whether to confront on behalf of the self. The results of the two studies suggest that researchers should investigate methods for enhancing perceived social benefits and reducing perceived social costs when designing intervention programs aimed at increasing confrontation and decreasing the prevalence of discrimination.

Keywords

sexism, sex discrimination, decision making, social identity, feminism, social change, social interaction, confrontation

Despite the fact that discrimination occurs regularly in the lives of women and minorities (Becker & Swim, 2011; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, & Bylsma, 2003) and is a source of considerable psychological stress (Fischer & Holz, 2010; Klonoff, Landrine, & Campbell, 2000; Szymanski & Stewart, 2010), very few targets of discrimination actually confront experienced discrimination. For example, women in particular report engaging in confrontation in only 46% of their sexism experiences (Ayres, Friedman, & Leaper, 2009). This lack of confrontation is unfortunate because research suggests that confronting discrimination may have positive effects for both the confronter (Gervais, Hillard, & Vescio, 2010) and the confronted (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). Indeed, confrontation may be one of the most effective weapons in the battle to end prejudice and discrimination (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006), and research suggests that confrontations by observers of discrimination may be particularly effective (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Mark, Monteith, & Oaks, 2007). Thus, it is of paramount importance to understand when individuals will confront discrimination. Moreover, confronting discrimination should be examined not only from the perspective of those who are the direct targets of discrimination but also among observers of discrimination. In the present studies, we specifically examine sexism, testing

predictors of women's sexism confrontation both when it is experienced personally and when it is observed as targeting others. Additionally, in Study 2 we investigate the role of women's gender identification in moderating the link between predictors and confrontation.

The Importance of Confrontation

Confronting discrimination can have important consequences for both the target of discrimination and the confronted perpetrator. For example, White participants who were confronted about their racially prejudiced inferences experienced negative self-directed affect, and they were subsequently less likely to provide racially stereotypic responses and report prejudicial attitudes (Czopp et al., 2006). Research has also

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shown that making people aware of a discrepancy between their discriminatory behavior and their egalitarian self-concept can lead to self-dissatisfaction and subsequent reductions in discriminatory responding (Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink, & Elliot, 1991; Monteith, Ashburn-Nardo, Voils, & Czopp, 2002; Monteith & Voils, 1998). Specifically examining confrontation of sexism, Mallett and Wagner (2011) found that men who were confronted by a female confederate later engaged in greater compensatory efforts, which increased mutual liking between the confronter and the confronted. This mutual liking, in turn, reduced men's use of sexist language. Thus, the interpersonal confrontation of discrimination is one route through which the expression of prejudice can be reduced.

Confrontation can also benefit the targets of discrimination. For targets, confronting has been associated with greater feelings of empowerment and closure, as well as less anger and regret (Haslett & Lipman, 1997; Hyers, 2007). Additionally, women's confrontation of sexism was associated with greater competence, self-esteem, and empowerment (Gervais et al., 2010). Conversely, failing to confront discrimination can have negative psychological consequences for members of stigmatized groups who may feel guilt over their inaction as well as experience subsequent distraction and performance decrements (Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Hill, 2006). Condoning discrimination or remaining silent in the face of discrimination can reinforce discriminatory social norms (Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, & Vaughn, 1994) and reduce observers' ability to recognize the situation as discriminatory (Czopp, 2011). For example, women who expected a female target to confront sexism but observed her fail to confront subsequently rated the perpetrator of sexism as less offensive than those who did not expect the target to confront (Czopp, 2011). Thus, by not confronting, targets not only experience greater negative self-directed affect but also fail to make observers aware of discrimination and potentially perpetuate its expression. A growing body of literature on confronting sexism suggests potential motivators for confrontation, but to our knowledge has not yet empirically tested whether the motivating factors for targets' confronting behavior are the same as those for observers' confronting behavior. Understanding the similarities and differences in these types of confronting is imperative for designing effective programs aimed at reducing the occurrence of prejudice and discrimination.

Why Women Confront Sexism

Although women are aware of sexism and often intend to confront it, actual confrontation is rare (Ayres et al., 2009; Swim & Hyers, 1999; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001). For example, 68% of women reading a sexually harassing interview transcript said they would refuse to answer at

least one of the inappropriate questions if the situation was real. When women were actually subjected to a sexually harassing interview however, none of the women refused to answer any of the inappropriate questions (Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). Research suggests that women's lack of confrontation is not an indication of complacency or approval but rather reflects a struggle between the desire to challenge sexism and concern over the consequences of confrontation (Swim & Hyers, 1999). Specifically, individuals may be hesitant to confront perpetrators of discrimination due to a fear of economic or social reprisal (Kaiser & Miller, 2001, 2004; Swim & Hyers, 1999). Indeed, these hesitations may be justified; women who confront sexism tend to be disliked and may be viewed as overreacting or oversensitive (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Dodd, Giuliano, Boutell, & Moran, 2001). Thus, women may express intent to confront gender discrimination, yet in reality remain silent for fear that others will treat them negatively (Shelton & Stewart, 2004).

Women may also be sensitive to potential positive outcomes, such that they may be more likely to confront sexism if they believe a positive outcome will ensue. For example, targets who viewed attitudes as more malleable were more likely to confront discrimination (Pearson, 2007; Rattan & Dweck, 2010). Similarly, women with a generally optimistic outlook were also more likely to confront sexism (Kaiser & Miller, 2004), partly because they expected successful outcomes as a result of the confrontation (e.g., education of the perpetrator; Sechrist, 2010). Thus, if women believe that their confrontation will be successful in changing the perpetrator's beliefs about women or potentially reducing future sexism, then they may be more likely to confront.

Much of the research on confronting sexism has examined why women confront sexism on behalf of the self, either through self-reported past experiences of sexism or hypothetical scenarios involving sexism. Indeed, Kaiser and Miller (2004) used retrospective reports of sexism confrontation to establish that women were motivated both by a fear of social reprisal (social cost) and a belief that they would reduce sexism by confronting (social benefit). Extending beyond the self, the confronting prejudiced responses (CPR) model is a theory that attempts to predict when and why individuals will confront discrimination on behalf of another person (i.e., when observers will step in; Ashburn-Nardo, Morris, & Goodwin, 2008). The proposed CPR model (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008) is based on the bystander intervention model (Latané & Darley, 1970), and it posits that when deciding whether to step in and confront, observers evaluate the costs and benefits of confronting. Although designed to illuminate the processes by which observers decide to take action in the face of discrimination, the CPR model applies to confrontation by both targets and observers of discrimination, suggesting similar processes in determining whether or not to confront experienced or observed discrimination. Indeed, confrontation by nontargeted observers may sometimes be more effective than confrontation by targets (Czopp &

Monteith, 2003; Mark et al., 2007). In particular, perpetrators of sexism and racism who were confronted by a nontargeted observer (as opposed to a targeted observer) reported greater guilt and self-criticism, as well as interpreted the confrontation as having more legitimacy (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Additionally, nontargeted confronters of racial bias, when physically present, were more persuasive, elicited more guilt, and were less likely to be perceived as complaining relative to targeted confronters (Mark et al., 2007). Therefore, it is important to consider when bystanders will step in and take action when witnessing a discriminatory event.

To our knowledge, however, researchers have not yet empirically tested whether similar evaluations of the costs and benefits of confronting sexism predict confronting behavior for both targets and observers. In the present research, we seek to replicate Kaiser and Miller's (2004) findings and determine whether observers utilize a similar decision process, assessing costs and benefits of confronting, as is predicted by the CPR model (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008).

The Impact of Gender Identification

An additional factor that may affect confronting behavior is strength of identification with women as a group. Individuals who more strongly identify with a group are more likely to make attributions to discrimination relevant to their group membership (Major, Quinton, & McCoy, 2002; Major, Quinton, & Schmader, 2003) and thus may be more likely to confront in response to those attributions. Women who are identified with their gender group and hold more progressive attitudes about women and women's rights tend to reject sexism and participate in gender-related collective action to a greater extent than low-identified or traditionally identified women (Becker & Wagner, 2009). Similarly, research has found that women who identify to a greater extent as feminist (Ayres et al., 2009) or express a commitment to fighting sexism (Swim & Hyers, 1999) are more likely to confront sexism. Women may not need to express an explicitly feminist or activist identity in order to confront sexism, however. Indeed, simply identifying with the group being targeted with discrimination predicts endorsement of collective action (Liss, Crawford, & Popp, 2004; Wright & Tropp, 2002). Moreover, the less women identify with their gender group, the more negatively they evaluate women who confront sexism compared to women who do not confront sexism (Kaiser, Hagiwara, Malahy, & Wilkins, 2009). Thus, it appears that women's identification with their gender group may play an important role in their decisions about whether to confront sexism.

Indeed, researchers have also proposed a more complex relationship between gender identification and sexism confrontation, suggesting that identification plays a greater role when the potential costs of confronting discrimination are high (Milford, 2010). According to social identity theory, a stronger evaluative and emotional connection to the group

should positively predict collective self-esteem (Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Stronger group identification has also been shown to predict greater desire for and commitment to achieving positive group outcomes (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997; Tropp & Wright, 1999). In contrast, low-identifying group members tend to be less committed to group goals and more externally motivated to engage in collective action (Doosje, Spears, & Ellemers, 2002; Sturmer & Simon, 2004). Thus, women who do not identify strongly with their gender group may be more likely to consider potential costs and benefits (external motivations) of confronting when deciding whether to confront, whereas high-identifying women may be more committed to improving conditions for their in-group regardless of situational factors. Additionally, according to the CPR model, when making a final decision about whether to act, both targets and nontargets weigh the potential costs and benefits of confronting. If the costs are low or the benefits are high, individuals should be more likely to confront. Synthesizing these two lines of research, we predict that women who are low identified with their gender group will be more sensitive to external factors within the prejudicial situation (perceived costs and benefits) in deciding whether or not to confront, whereas highly gender-identifying women will weigh external factors to a lesser extent. In other words, women who are highly invested in their gender group may be unlikely to allow a poor cost/benefit analysis to deter them from confronting sexism.

The Present Research

Across two studies, we assessed women's motivations for confronting sexism. In order to examine confronting behavior for both targets and observers of sexism, we asked women to recall past instances of sexism. This method allowed us to examine actual confronting behavior (rather than intent to confront) and real-world instances of sexism (rather than laboratory scenarios). Consistent with past research and theory (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008; Kaiser & Miller, 2004), we predicted that participants would be more likely to confront sexism when costs were low and perceived benefits were high. The present research is the first known to test whether perceived costs and benefits predict confronting on behalf of the self in the same manner as confronting on behalf of others. Although there are several potential costs (e.g., job loss, physical danger) and benefits of confronting sexism (e.g., personal satisfaction, monetary remuneration), we chose to focus on social costs and benefits. In particular, we operationalized perceived costs as women's beliefs that social sanction or disparagement would result from confrontation. In comparison, benefits were operationalized as women's belief that confrontation would be effective at reducing future instances of sexism (benefitting society, other women). We chose to examine social costs and benefits because we believed them to be most relevant in situations of both target

and observer confrontation. Certain intrapersonal costs and benefits may be less relevant in situations of observed sexism.

In Study 1, we predicted that both when women experienced and observed sexism, concern about social reprisal would predict less confronting, and belief that confronting would reduce sexism or effect a change would predict greater confronting. In Study 2, we extended this work to consider the moderating effect of gender identification in predicting sexism confrontation. Specifically, we predicted that low-identified women would be more likely to weigh possible costs and benefits of confronting (external motivations), whereas highly identified women would confront regardless of external factors. Study 2 therefore represents an extension of work examining only the main effects of gender identification (Ayres et al., 2009; Becker & Wagner, 2009).

Study 1

Method

Participants

The participants were 148 undergraduate women enrolled in a large state university located in the Northeastern United States. Ages ranged from 18 to 46 years ($M = 19.95$, $SD = 3.46$). Participants' ethnicities were as follows: 62 (41.9%) White, 47 (31.8%) Asian, 13 (8.8%) African American, 10 (6.8%) Hispanic/Latino, 9 (6.1%) Other, 5 (3.4%) biracial/multiracial, and 2 (1.4%) did not indicate race. Participant race (coded 1 = *White*, 0 = *Minority*) was not a significant predictor of frequency of confronting sexism for the self or others in either study, nor did the results of the studies differ as a function of race.

Materials and Procedure

Participants completed a stapled packet of paper-and-pencil questionnaires in the laboratory in groups ranging from 1 to 6 people. Several scales were created for the present research in order to most directly compare across both experiences and observations of sexism and because we could not locate any previously well-validated measures of those constructs. Materials included in the packet were presented in the following order.

Frequency of experienced and observed sexism. To assess how often participants experienced and observed sexism in their daily lives, we adapted previously validated measures of daily experiences of racism (Brondolo et al., 2005; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Participants indicated how often they experienced seven different instances of sexism (e.g., "How often have you been treated rudely or disrespectfully because of

your gender?") on a scale of 1 (*never*) to 7 (*every day*). Additionally, participants completed two items assessing their general experience of sexism (e.g., "In the past year, how often have you experienced sexism?") rated on the same response scale. A mean score was computed from the nine items such that higher scores indicated greater experienced sexism.

To assess frequency of observed sexism, participants completed nine items very similar to those used to assess frequency of experienced sexism. Seven items assessed specific instances of sexism (e.g., "How often have you observed someone being treated rudely or disrespectfully because of their gender?"), and two items assessed more general observations of sexism (e.g., "In the past year, how often have you observed sexism directed toward another person?"). All responses were indicated on a scale of 1 (*never*) to 7 (*every day*); a mean score was computed such that higher scores indicated more frequently observed sexism. See the Appendix for all scale items.

Motivations for confronting sexism. Participants were asked to indicate their perceptions of the social benefits and costs in their past experiences and observations of sexism. Before completing the self-targeted items, participants were given the following instructions: "Think about a specific time when you confronted sexism or stood up for yourself when you were the recipient of sexist comments or actions." Before completing the other-targeted items, participants were given the following instructions, "Think about a specific time when you confronted sexism directed toward another person or stood up for someone else when they were the recipient of sexist comments or actions." Thus, the following scales (perceived costs and benefits) assess participants' motivation to confront sexism, but they may not fully capture motivations for not confronting.

To measure the *perceived benefits* of confronting sexism, we created three items to assess the extent to which participants felt their confrontation would have a positive effect: "Did you feel that confronting the sexist person would make a difference?", "Did you think you would stop the person from acting sexist in the future?", and "Did you want to make sure that person wouldn't act sexist again?". Participants completed the three items once regarding confronting for the self and again regarding confronting for another person. Responses were indicated on a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). Mean scores were computed, with higher scores indicating greater perceived benefits. Internal consistency reliabilities were acceptable for other-benefits ratings ($\alpha = .82$) but marginal for the self-benefits ratings ($\alpha = .68$), possibly restricting the latter measure's ability to correlate with other scales (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003).

To measure the *perceived costs* of confronting sexism, we created another three items to measure the extent to

Table 1. Study I Means and Standard Deviations for All Variables

	Self-Targeted Experiences		Other-Targeted Observations		Paired <i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>			
Frequency experienced/observed	3.47	1.06	4.09	1.15	-9.10	<.001	-.56
Perceived benefits	4.09	1.32	3.76	1.44	3.37	<.001	.24
Perceived costs	2.56	1.46	2.35	1.38	2.11	.04	.15
Frequency confront	3.67	1.02	3.14	0.96	7.44	<.001	.54

Table 2. Study I Bivariate Correlations Among All Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Frequency experienced sexism	(.89)							
2. Perceived self-benefits	.07	(.68)						
3. Perceived self-costs	.15	.08	(.86)					
4. Frequency confront for self	.11	.43**	-.18*	(.78)				
5. Frequency observed sexism	.72**	.18*	.22**	.11	(.92)			
6. Perceived other-benefits	.12	.67**	.03	.38**	.23**	(.82)		
7. Perceived other-costs	.13	.19*	.62**	-.07	.24**	.09	(.89)	
8. Frequency confront for others	.14	.41**	-.14	.62**	.18*	.53**	-.10	(.84)

Note. Cronbach's α s for each scale are presented in parentheses along the diagonal.

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

which participants were concerned about others' negative reactions if they confronted sexism: "Did you worry that the sexist person would make fun of you or dislike you if you stood up for yourself?", "Did you worry that other people would make fun of you or dislike you if you stood up for yourself?", and "Did you worry about how the sexist person would react (e.g., get angry, upset)?" Participants completed the three items once regarding confronting for the self and again regarding confronting for another person. Responses were indicated on a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). Mean scores were computed, with higher scores indicating greater perceived costs.

Frequency of confronting sexism. To assess how frequently participants confronted sexism when they experienced it, we created eight items (e.g., "When you have experienced sexism, how often have you stood up for yourself?" and "How often have you ignored it when someone has made a sexist comment toward you?" reversed scored). Participants responded on a scale of 1 (*never*) to 7 (*every time*). A mean score was computed, with higher scores representing more confronting.

To measure how frequently participants confronted sexism when they observed it directed toward another person, we used eight items similar to those used to measure confronting for the self (e.g., "When you have observed sexism directed toward another person, how often have you stood up for the victim?" and "How often have you ignored it when you have heard someone make a sexist comment to another person?" reverse scored). Responses were indicated on a

scale of 1 (*never*) to 7 (*every time*). A mean score was computed, with higher scores reflecting more confrontation. See the Appendix for all scale items.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Means and standard deviations for all study variables can be found in Table 1 and correlations and α s in Table 2. Because several of the variables measuring confronting for the self were highly correlated with variables measuring confronting on behalf of others, we used confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to determine whether these variables were indeed measuring separate constructs (i.e., self and others). The samples from both studies were combined ($N = 314$), and CFA models were constructed for each of the variables assessed in both studies (experience/observation of sexism, perceived benefits, perceived costs, and confronting). For each variable, we compared the fit of a 2-factor model (self as one factor, others as a second factor) to that of a 1-factor model (self and other combined). In all cases, the 2-factor model demonstrated superior fit, $\chi^2\Delta > 40.92$, $df = 1$, $ps < .01$. Therefore, we concluded that the variables measuring confronting for the self and for others were assessing related but distinct constructs.

As can be seen in Table 1, women reported observing sexism directed at others more frequently than they experienced sexism themselves. However, women reported confronting sexism for themselves more often than they confronted on

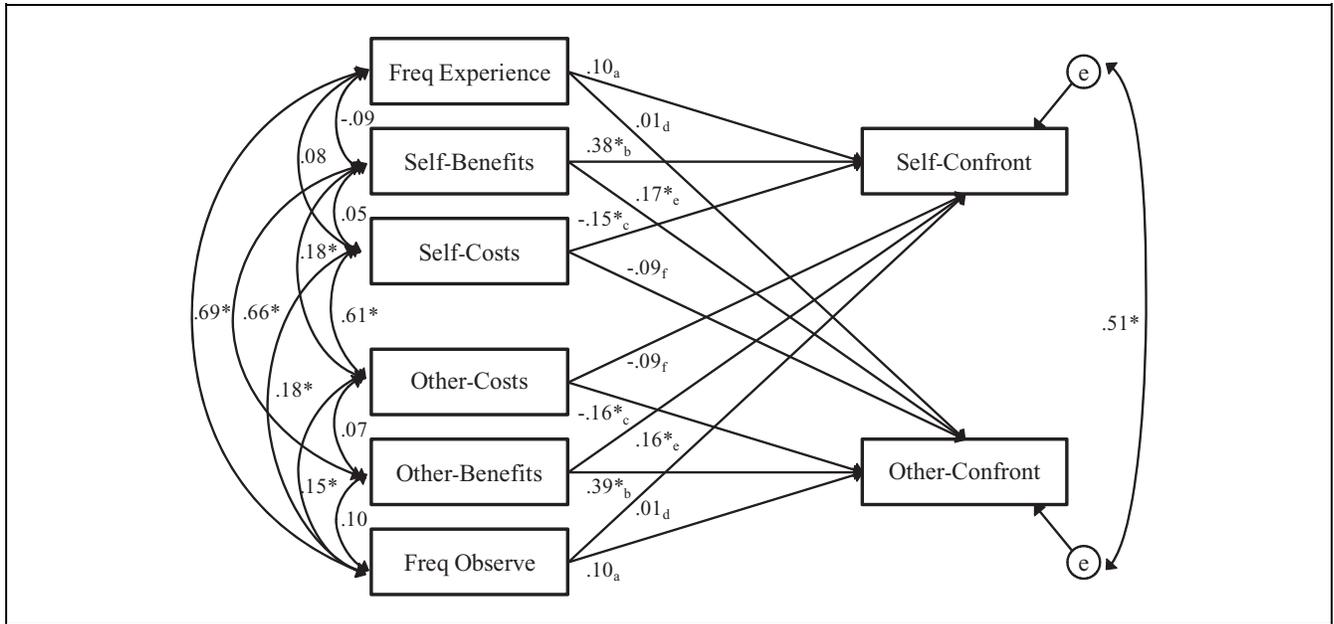


Figure 1. Results of the constrained model tested in Study 1. Standardized coefficients are presented. Paths sharing the same subscript were constrained to be equal. * $p < .05$.

behalf of another person. Additionally, women reported greater perceived benefits and perceived costs when personally experiencing sexism versus observing sexism directed toward others. Table 2 reveals that self-confronting was positively correlated with perceived self-benefits and perceived other-benefits, and negatively correlated with perceived self-costs. Other-confronting was positively correlated with frequency of observing sexism, perceived other-benefits, and perceived self-benefits. Additionally, women who reported greater self-confronting tended to also report greater other-confronting.

Predictors of Confronting

In order to test the extent to which participants' ratings of perceived costs and benefits predicted confronting, we computed a path model that simultaneously estimated the relationships between predictors of confronting (perceived self-costs, self-benefits, other-costs, other-benefits) and frequency of confronting for both the self and others. Frequencies of experiencing and observing sexism were included as control variables. We chose to use path modeling for two distinct reasons. First, by including all variables in the same model, we could assess the unique ability of each self-related variable to predict confronting for the self and of each other-related variable to predict confronting for others. That is, although perceived costs and benefits regarding the self and others are correlated, we sought to demonstrate that perceived costs and benefits for the self uniquely predict confronting for the self, and perceived costs and benefits

regarding others uniquely predict confronting for others. In other words, the path model would allow us to assess whether the self and other variables were measuring related but distinct constructs. Second, we chose to use path modeling so that we could directly test whether the confronting process was the same or different for confronting for the self and others.

We first tested an unconstrained model allowing all paths to vary. Next we tested a constrained model (see Figure 1) with six equality constraints imposed: (a) the path between frequency of experiencing sexism and self-confronting was constrained to equal the path between frequency of observing sexism and other-confronting, (b) the path between self-benefits and self-confronting was constrained to equal the path between other-benefits and other-confronting, (c) the path between self-costs and self-confronting was constrained to equal the path between other-costs and other-confronting, (d) the path between frequency of experiencing sexism and other-confronting was constrained to equal the path between frequency of observing sexism and self-confronting, (e) the path between self-benefits and other-confronting was constrained to equal the path between other-benefits and self-confronting, and (f) the path between self-costs and other-confronting was constrained to equal the path between other-costs and self-confronting. If the constrained model fit the data better than the unconstrained model, it would suggest that the motivations for confronting for self and others are similar.

We conducted all path analyses using EQS 6.1 software, utilizing maximum likelihood estimation. Listwise deletion was specified, resulting in four cases being

removed due to partial missing data. In both models tested, exogenous variables were allowed to co-vary such that correlations were specified between perceived benefits and costs regarding self, perceived benefits and costs regarding others, perceived benefits regarding self and others, and perceived costs regarding self and others. Frequencies of experiencing and observing sexism were allowed to co-vary with other exogenous variables as suggested by Lagrange modification indices. The error terms for frequency of confronting for self and others were also allowed to co-vary. According to past research on model fit (see Hu & Bentler, 1999), good fitting models have comparative fit index (CFI) and nonnormed fit index (NNFI) values that exceed .95. Good practice is to include at least five cases per estimated model parameter (Bentler & Chou, 1987). The models tested involved 19 total parameter estimates (8 paths, 6 error variances, and 5 covariances), necessitating a sample of at least 95 participants. The unconstrained model demonstrated good fit, $\chi^2 = 5.47$, $df = 4$, $p = .24$, CFI = 1.0, NNFI = .98, Aikake Information Criterion (AIC) = -2.53 , $R^2 = .59$. The constrained model also demonstrated good fit, $\chi^2 = 6.97$, $df = 10$, $p = .73$, CFI = 1.0, NNFI = .98, AIC = -13.03 , $R^2 = .59$. Although the χ^2 difference test was not significant, $p > .05$, the lower AIC value associated with the constrained model suggested that it was a better fit to the data than the unconstrained model (Kline, 2010). Thus, the process regarding confronting for the self is similar to that of confronting for others.

As can be seen in Figure 1 and consistent with predictions, perceived costs regarding self-confronting negatively predicted frequency of self-confronting, and perceived costs regarding other-confronting negatively predicted frequency of other-confronting. The same pattern, although positive in valence, was found for perceived benefits. Frequency of experiencing and observing sexism did not significantly predict confronting on behalf of the self or others. Unexpectedly, perceived self-benefits also positively predicted frequency of other-confronting, and perceived other-benefits positively predicted frequency of self-confronting. It is possible that participants who believe to a greater extent that confronting discrimination can have beneficial social outcomes such as reducing future instances of discrimination may perceive confronting in both experienced and observed situations of sexism to be similarly beneficial.

Discussion

In Study 1, women reported past experiences and observations of sexism in an effort to determine whether perceived social costs and benefits of confrontation would similarly predict confronting both as targets and as observers. Consistent with predictions, women were more likely to confront sexism when they believed the confrontation would be beneficial (i.e., prevent future occurrences of sexism) and when

they believed it would not be costly (i.e., were not concerned about negative reactions from others). Importantly, these two factors predicted confronting for both the self and for others, suggesting that the motivation to act when experiencing sexism is similar to the motivation to intervene on behalf of another person who is targeted with sexism. These results empirically demonstrate the claims of the CPR model (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008) and provide unique insight into the motivations behind confronting for others, which until now had not been investigated.

Study 1 replicated results from past research (Kaiser & Miller, 2004) as well as demonstrated parallel predictors regarding confrontation for the self and others, but it did not consider the role of gender identification. Past research however, would suggest that feminist orientation (Ayres et al., 2009) or a commitment to fighting sexism (Swim & Hyers, 1999) would play a key role in confronting. Because many people express a reticence to declare a feminist identity and accept the label of "feminist" (Williams & Wittig, 1997; Zucker, 2004), in Study 2 we chose to use a more global measure of gender identification. Leach and colleagues (2008) developed and validated a scale of in-group identification, demonstrating both convergent (collective self-esteem, ethnic group identification) and discriminant validity (group attachment avoidance). Although this construct differs from that used in previous research (i.e., gender identification is not the same as feminist identification; see Yoder, Snell, & Tobias, in press, for a detailed review), we believed that how strongly women felt a bond with their gender in-group would impact responses to gender-related discrimination. Because we were interested in confronting on behalf both of the self and for other members of the in-group, we chose to use a measure more rooted in social identity rather than activist identity.

Consistent with Study 1, we predicted that lower perceived costs and higher perceived benefits would predict greater confronting for both the self and others. However, we expected that these relationships would be moderated by gender identification, such that women who identified with the gender in-group to a lesser extent would be more likely to weigh potential costs and benefits when deciding whether to confront experienced and observed sexism. Phrased the opposite way, greater gender identification should predict a lesser relationship of perceived costs and benefits with confronting.

Study 2

Method

Participants

The participants were 166 undergraduate women enrolled in a large state university located in the Northeastern United States. Ages ranged from 18 to 27 years ($M = 18.56$, $SD = 1.23$). Participant ethnicities were as follows: 72 (43.4%) White, 50

Table 3. Study 2 Means and Standard Deviations for All Variables

	Self-Targeted Experiences		Other-Targeted Observations		Paired <i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>d</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>			
Frequency experienced/observed	3.52	1.20	3.87	1.29	-5.23	< .001	-.28
Perceived benefits	3.90	1.49	3.40	1.49	3.54	< .001	.34
Perceived costs	2.50	1.44	2.07	1.25	3.83	< .001	.32
Frequency confront	3.53	1.02	2.90	0.93	8.27	< .001	.65
Gender identification	5.03	.88					

Table 4. Study 2 Bivariate Correlations Among All Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Gender identification	(.91)								
2. Frequency experienced sexism	-.04	(.91)							
3. Perceived self-benefits	.03	-.11	(.68)						
4. Perceived self-costs	.02	.30**	.09	(.77)					
5. Frequency confront for self	.07	.08	.32**	-.21**	(.74)				
6. Frequency observed sexism	.01	.77**	.11	.26**	.14	(.94)			
7. Perceived other-benefits	.11	-.00	.35**	.03	.24**	.16*	(.78)		
8. Perceived other-costs	-.10	.19*	.03	.45**	-.02	.17*	.17*	(.87)	
9. Frequency confront for others	.12	.16*	.17*	-.05	.49**	.30**	.34**	.01	(.79)

Note. Cronbach's α s for each scale are presented in parentheses along the diagonal.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

(30.1%) Asian, 12 (7.2%) Biracial/multiracial, 11 (6.6%) Other, 10 (6.0%) African American, 8 (4.8%) Hispanic/Latino, 1 (0.6%) Native American, and 2 (1.2%) did not indicate race.

Materials and Procedure

Participants completed a stapled packet of paper-and-pencil questionnaires in the laboratory in groups ranging from 1 to 6 people. Materials included in the packet were presented in the following order. First, to assess participants' identification with their gender group, we used a previously validated scale of in-group identification (Leach et al., 2008) worded to reflect membership in the gender group. The scale contained 20 items (e.g., "I feel a bond with my gender group" and "I often think about the fact that I am a member of my gender group"). Responses were indicated on a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*) and a mean score was computed, such that higher scores indicated greater gender identification. Next, the same items as in Study 1 were used to assess frequency of experienced and observed sexism, motivations for confronting sexism targeting the self or others, and frequency of confronting experienced and observed sexism.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Means and standard deviations for all study variables can be found in Table 3, as well as correlations in Table 4. As in

Study 1, women reported observing sexism more often than they personally experienced sexism; however, they reported confronting sexism more often for themselves than on behalf of another person. Additionally, women reported greater perceived benefits and costs when they personally experienced sexism as compared to observing sexism directed toward others. Consistent with Study 1, Table 4 shows that self-confronting was positively correlated with perceived self-benefits and perceived other-benefits, and negatively correlated with perceived self-costs. Other-confronting was positively correlated with perceived self-benefits, perceived other-benefits, and frequency of observing sexism. As in Study 1, self-confronting was positively correlated with other-confronting. New to Study 2, other-confronting was positively correlated with frequency of experiencing sexism. Overall, the correlation matrices (Tables 2 and 4) reveal very similar relationship patterns across the two studies.

Replicating Study 1

One goal of the present study was to replicate the results found in Study 1 with regard to cost and benefit motivations for confronting sexism. Therefore, we used path analysis to test the same models tested in Study 1, one unconstrained and one constrained. Listwise deletion resulted in seven cases being removed from analysis due to partial missing data. The unconstrained model demonstrated less than adequate fit, $\chi^2 = 8.38$, $df = 4$, $p = .08$, CFI = .98, NNFI = .88, AIC = .38,

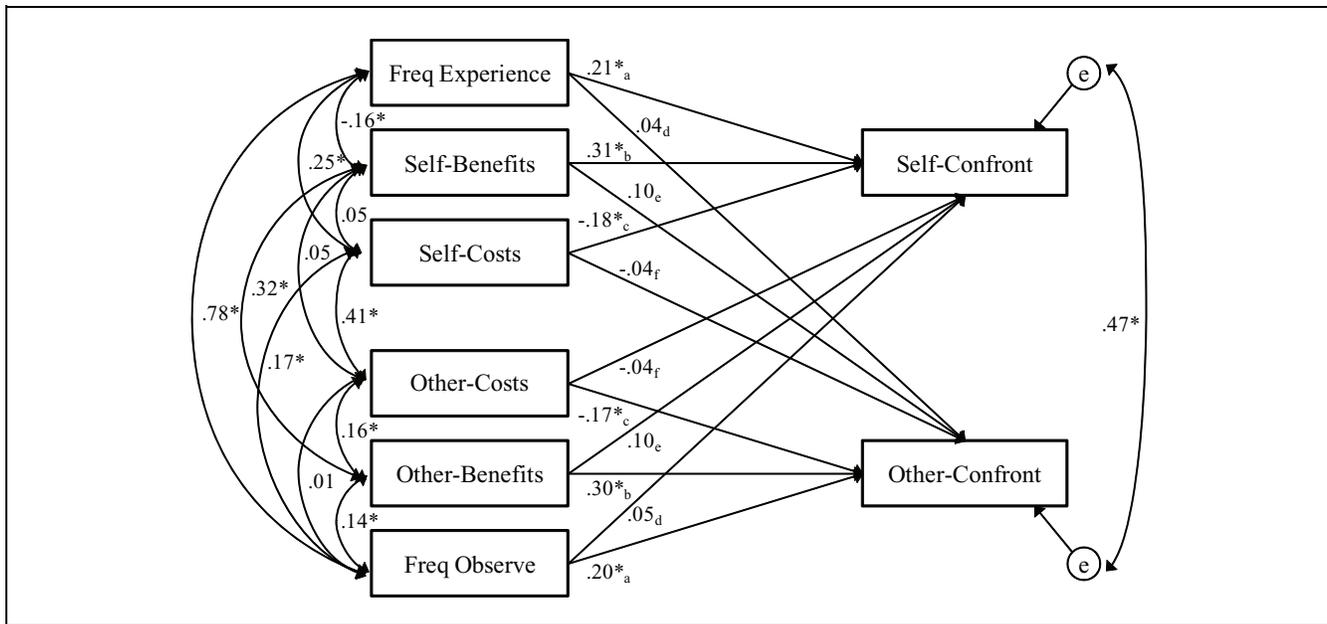


Figure 2. Results of constrained model tested in Study 2. Standardized coefficients are presented. Paths sharing the same subscript were constrained to be equal.

* $p < .05$.

$R^2 = .41$. We next tested the constrained model and found adequate fit, $\chi^2 = 16.04$, $df = 10$, $p = .10$, CFI = .98, NNFI = .93, AIC = -3.96, $R^2 = .37$. As in Study 1, the χ^2 difference test was not significant, however the lower AIC value found for the constrained model suggested a better fit to the data.

Results of the constrained model are shown in Figure 2. As in Study 1, perceived self-costs negatively predicted frequency of self-confronting, and perceived other-costs negatively predicted frequency of other-confronting. The same pattern was found for perceived benefits, although paths were positive in valence. Again perceived self-benefits positively predicted other-confronting, and perceived other-benefits positively predicted self-confronting. In Study 2, frequency of experiencing sexism positively predicted confronting for the self and not others, and frequency of observing sexism positively predicted confronting for others and not the self. Overall however, Study 2 replicated the results found in Study 1, again showing that the processes involved in confronting for both the self and others are similar.

Moderation by Gender Identification

New to Study 2, we included a measure of gender identification. Testing an expanded model similar to the models presented above but with the addition of gender identification interaction terms would have required at least 48 parameter estimates, which would necessitate a minimum of 240 participants. Because our sample size did not meet that requirement, and because the initial models suggested that the self and other processes were similar, we chose to compute the

moderation models separately for confronting for the self and for confronting for others.

We first tested whether the relationships between perceived costs and benefits and confronting for the self were moderated by gender identification. We computed a path model in which the three predictor variables (costs, benefits, and gender identification), all possible 2-way interactions and the 3-way interaction were entered as predictors of self-confronting. Frequency of experienced sexism was also included as a control. The model fit the data well, $\chi^2 = 5.87$, $df = 14$, $p = .97$, CFI = 1.0, NNFI = 1.62, AIC = -22.13, $R^2 = .26$. See Figure 3 for the model results and Table 5 for all parameter estimates (paths, error variances, and covariances). As shown previously, perceived self-costs negatively predicted and perceived self-benefits positively predicted self-confronting. A 2-way interaction of gender identification and perceived self-benefits and a 3-way interaction of gender identification, perceived self-benefits, and perceived self-costs were found.

To investigate the 2-way interaction, we followed recommended procedures for calculating simple slopes (Aiken & West, 1991). Perceived self-benefits more strongly predicted self-confronting when participants reported a lower degree of gender identification (-1 SD below the mean), $\beta = .51$, $p < .001$, than when participants reported a higher degree of gender identification (+1 SD above mean), $\beta = .24$, $p = .02$. Thus, women who were more highly gender-identified weighed the perceived benefits of confronting less strongly when deciding whether to confront, whereas women who were less gender identified tended to weigh the benefits of confronting more heavily (see Figure 4).

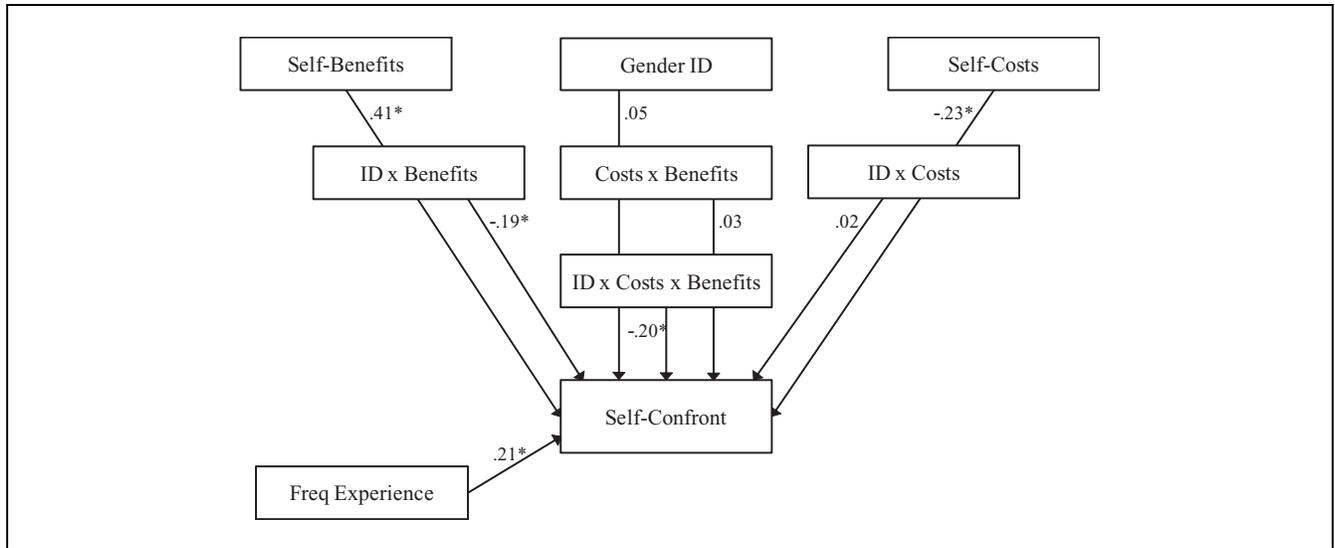


Figure 3. Study 2 path model testing moderating effect of gender identification on confronting for the self. Standardized coefficients are presented. For simplicity of presentation, covariances have been omitted from the model shown above. See Table 5 for correlation coefficients.
* $p < .05$.

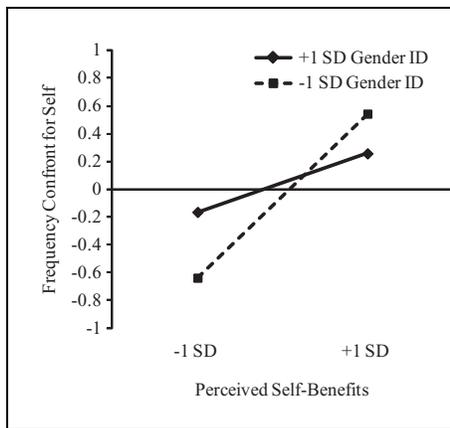


Figure 4. Two-way interaction of gender identification and perceived self-benefits on confronting for the self in Study 2. All variables were standardized.

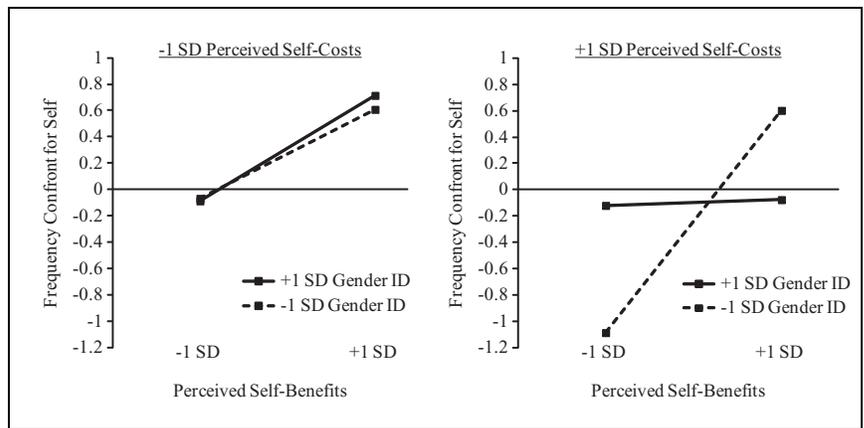


Figure 5. Three-way interaction of gender identification, perceived self-cost, and perceived self-benefits on confronting for the self in Study 2. All variables were standardized.

To investigate the 3-way interaction, we again followed recommended procedures for calculating simple slopes (Aiken & West, 1991); see Figure 5 for a graphical representation of the 3-way interaction. When perceived costs of confronting were lower, perceived self-benefits positively predicted self-confronting by both higher gender-identified women, $\beta = .40, p = .01$ and lower gender-identified women, $\beta = .34, p = .01$. The slopes of these two lines did not differ, $p = .74$. When perceived self-costs were higher, however, there was an interaction of gender identification and perceived self-benefits. Perceived self-benefits positively predicted confronting for the self by lower gender-identified women, $\beta = .84, p < .001$, but did not significantly predict

confronting by higher gender-identified women, $\beta = .02, p = .89$. The slopes of the two lines differed significantly, $p = .002$. In other words, when perceived self-costs were higher, lower identified women were particularly influenced by perceived self-benefits, but higher identified women's confronting behavior remained the same regardless of perceived self-benefits.

We next tested the same moderation model using the perceived costs and benefits of confronting for others, predicting the frequency of confronting for another person. As with the self-moderation model, the other-moderation model included the three predictor variables (costs, benefits, and gender identification), all possible 2-way interactions, and the 3-way

Table 5. Parameter Estimates for Study 2 Moderation Model: Self-Targeted Experiences

Parameter	Unstandardized	SE	Standardized
Paths			
Gender ID → confront for self	.05	.07	.05
Benefits → confront for self	.40	.08	.41*
Costs → confront for self	-.23	.08	-.23*
Gender ID × Benefits → confront for self	-.19	.07	-.19*
Gender ID × Costs → confront for self	.03	.08	.02
Costs × Benefits → confront for self	.03	.07	.03
Gender ID × Costs × Benefits → confront for self	-.22	.08	-.20*
Freq Experience → confront for self	.21	.07	.21*
Variances			
Gender ID	.99*	.11	
Benefits	1.06*	.12	
Costs	.98*	.11	
Gender ID × Benefits	1.02*	.12	
Gender ID × Costs	.90*	.10	
Costs × Benefits	1.03*	.12	
Gender ID × Costs × Benefits	.82*	.09	
Freq experience	.98*	.11	
Error _{Confront for Self}	.75	.09	.86*
Covariances			
Gender ID ↔ Gender ID × Benefits	-.09	.08	-.09
Gender ID ↔ Gender ID × Costs	.01	.07	.01
Gender ID ↔ Costs × Benefits	.23	.08	.23*
Gender ID ↔ Gender ID × Costs × Benefits	.02	.07	.02
Benefits ↔ Gender ID × Benefits	.10	.08	.10
Benefits ↔ Gender ID × Costs	.26	.08	.27*
Benefits ↔ Costs × Benefits	-.24	.08	-.23*
Benefits ↔ Gender ID × Costs × Benefits	.12	.07	.13
Benefits ↔ Freq Experience	-.17	.07	-.16*
Costs ↔ Gender ID × Benefits	.21	.08	.21*
Costs ↔ Gender ID × Costs	-.11	.07	-.12
Costs ↔ Gender ID × Costs × Benefits	.10	.07	.11
Costs ↔ freq experience	.27	.08	.27*
Gender ID × Benefits ↔ Gender ID × Costs × Benefits	-.20	.07	-.22*

* $p < .05$.

interaction as predictors of other-confronting. Again, we included frequency of observing sexism as a control. The model fit the data well, $\chi^2 = 12.17$, $df = 16$, $p = .73$, CFI = 1.0, NNFI = 1.09, AIC = -19.84. See Table 6 for parameter estimates (paths, error variances, and covariances). Only perceived other-benefits and frequency of observing sexism significantly positively predicted other-confronting. Gender identification did not directly predict nor interact with costs or benefits to predict other-confronting.

Discussion

Study 2 demonstrated findings that were consistent with those obtained in Study 1. Both perceived costs and benefits significantly predicted the frequency with which women confronted sexism on behalf of themselves and others. The constrained model demonstrated better fit to the data than the unconstrained model, indicating that perceived costs and

benefits predict confronting for the self in the same way as they predict confronting for others.

Importantly, Study 2 tested the role of gender identification in predicting women's confrontation behaviors. Examining confronting for the self, we found that the perceived benefits of confronting were a stronger predictor of women's self-confronting for women with a lower degree of gender identification. In other words, the confronting behavior of more highly gender-identified women was not as strongly influenced by perceived benefits, compared to that of less gender-identified women. Less identified women were more likely to confront experienced sexism if they perceived the confrontation to be highly beneficial. Moreover, this pattern was especially pronounced when perceived costs (social sanction or reprisal) were high. The 3-way interaction among gender identification, costs, and benefits showed that when perceived costs were lower, gender identification did not play much of a role in determining confrontation. Indeed, when costs were lower, women were more likely to confront when

Table 6. Parameter Estimates for Study 2 Moderation Model: Other-Targeted Observations

Parameter	Unstandardized	SE	Standardized
Paths			
Gender ID → confront for other	.09	.07	.09
Benefits → confront for other	.29	.08	.29*
Costs → confront for other	-.08	.08	-.08
Gender ID × Benefits → confront for other	-.08	.11	-.09
Gender ID × Costs → confront for other	-.12	.08	-.12
Costs × Benefits → confront for other	.01	.09	.01
Gender ID × Costs × Benefits → confront for other	-.07	.14	-.06
Freq observe → confront for other	.26	.07	.26*
Variations			
Gender ID	1.02	.12	
Benefits	1.00	.11	
Costs	1.02	.12	
Gender ID × Benefits	1.04	.12	
Gender ID × Costs	1.05	.12	
Costs × Benefits	.99	.11	
Gender ID × Costs × Benefits	.83	.09	
Freq observe	.97	.11	
Error Confront for Other	.81	.09	.91*
Covariances			
Gender ID ↔ Gender ID × Benefits	-.07	.08	-.07
Gender ID ↔ Gender ID × Costs	-.05	.08	-.05
Gender ID ↔ Gender ID × Costs × Benefits	.16	.07	.17*
Benefits ↔ Gender ID × Benefits	.01	.08	.01
Benefits ↔ Costs	.15	.08	.15
Benefits ↔ Costs × Benefits	-.35	.08	-.35*
Benefits ↔ Gender ID × Costs × Benefits	-.06	.07	-.07
Costs ↔ Gender ID × Costs	-.16	.08	.15
Costs ↔ Gender ID × Costs × Benefits	.18	.05	.20*
Gender ID × Benefits ↔ Gender ID × Costs × Benefits	-.69	.09	-.74*
Gender ID × Costs ↔ Costs × Benefits	.18	.08	.18*
Gender ID × Costs ↔ Gender ID × Costs × Benefits	-.14	.05	-.16

* $p < .05$.

they also perceived benefits to be higher. When women perceived the costs of confronting for the self to be higher however, gender identification moderated the relationship between perceived benefits and confrontation. Highly gender-identified women were not strongly influenced by perceptions of benefits in higher cost situations. Less identified women however, were more likely to confront under situations of higher costs if they perceived there to be higher benefits as well.

General Discussion

Overall, Studies 1 and 2 demonstrated results consistent with past research and theory (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008; Kaiser & Miller, 2004) and extended this work to directly compare predictors of women's confronting on behalf of themselves and others. Both studies showed that perceived benefits positively predicted confronting for the self, and a concern over others' reactions negatively predicted confronting for the self. This is consistent with work suggesting that greater optimism or the belief that people can change their prejudicial

beliefs predicts greater confronting (Kaiser & Miller, 2004; Rattan & Dweck, 2010; Sechrist, 2010) and that fear of social reprisal inhibits confronting (Kaiser & Miller, 2001, 2004; Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Swim & Hyers, 1999). Both studies also demonstrated that perceived social costs and benefits predicted confronting for other individuals, supporting the CPR model (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008). To our knowledge, the present research was the first to empirically test predictors of confronting for both the self and others, utilizing a theoretical framework of confronting discrimination research as well as classic bystander intervention research.

Much research has suggested that group identification plays an important role in discrimination detection and confrontation (Ayres et al., 2009; Major et al., 2003; Operario & Fiske, 2001). However, Study 2 is the first known to show that gender identification may interact with predictors of confronting sexism. When women in Study 2 believed that their confrontation would have lower costs, they were more likely to report confronting personally experienced sexism when they perceived higher benefits (greater belief that confrontation would reduce sexism). When women perceived higher costs,

however, gender identification moderated the predictive ability of perceived benefits. Thus, when women feared social sanction for their confrontation to a greater extent, the behavior of lower gender-identified women was particularly predicted by the extent to which they believed the confrontation would reduce future instances of sexism. Highly gender-identified women, however, confronted at the same rate during situations of higher perceived costs and were unaffected by perceived benefits. In placing greater emphasis on potential costs and benefits (external motivations for collective action), lower identified women may be focused less on the benefits for the in-group and more on the outcomes for the self (Doosje et al., 2002; Sturmer & Simon, 2004).

Limitations and Future Directions

Primary limitations of the present studies are their use of retrospective reports and correlational methods. Consistent with previous research (Kaiser & Miller, 2004), we chose to use a self-report method in order to measure naturally occurring sexism. However, participants' reports of past experiences and their corresponding behaviors may not be entirely accurate. Indeed, retrospective report measures are subject to bias and may not accurately reflect participant's experiences (Wheeler & Reis, 1991). Future research should utilize a standard laboratory experience of sexism to control for variability of recalled experiences as well as collect accurate in-the-moment data about women's responses to sexism. A laboratory experiment would also allow for causal testing of the hypotheses presented in the current research. Although the present results are consistent with predictions that perceived costs and benefits predict confronting behavior, the reverse relationship is also possible. For example, women may selectively recall confrontation experiences that were positive or successful in some fashion, leading them to appraise the situation as high in benefits and low in costs. Correlational research such as that presented here often forms the basis for future experimental work. In order to show definitive causal explanation, future experimental research manipulating costs and benefits and measuring confrontation is necessary.

Interestingly, the impact of gender identification described in Study 2 was only found for confronting for the self and not for others. This result was unexpected but perhaps is due to the operationalization of our variables. In particular, the costs that we utilized were being disparaged or sanctioned by others as a consequence of confronting. Although social in nature, that particular cost may be more salient for the self (e.g., "I will be made fun of if I confront) than for the group (e.g., "Women will be made fun of if I confront). Perhaps utilizing costs and benefits specific to the group would allow for demonstration of an interaction with gender identification on confronting for others. On the contrary, it may be that as part of one's social identity, gender identification better predicts behaviors relevant to group membership than behaviors directed at other group members. Future research should

consider the impact of gender identification on confronting discrimination for others in order to elucidate an answer to these questions.

The present research addressed only one part of the CPR model (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008), specifically the cost and benefit analysis that may predict confrontation *once confrontation is deemed necessary*. Much of the remainder of the model attempts to predict under what circumstances individuals will interpret an act as discriminatory, identify it as an emergency situation that requires confrontation, assume responsibility for taking action, and decide what type of confrontation strategy to use. Thus, there is a great deal of research left to be done in order to test all aspects of the theoretical model. The present research supports the CPR hypothesis that once victims and observers have decided how to confront the prejudicial situation in which they find themselves, a weighing of the potential costs and benefits will predict whether or not individuals actually take action (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008). Notably, the present studies operationalize costs and benefits by considering two potential social or interpersonal costs or benefits. Other potential risks and rewards of confronting exist, both interpersonally and intrapersonally, and it is possible that these different types of costs and benefits predict confronting for the self and others in different ways. Future research should address other types of costs and benefits and assess whether the predictive patterns for confronting for the self and others remain similar or diverge.

Future research should also consider how to increase women's assessments of the benefits of confronting. The present research, as well as past research (Kaiser & Miller, 2004), demonstrated that believing that confrontation would make a difference or would stop future acts of sexism increased women's likelihood of confronting sexism for themselves and others. What makes women believe their confronting will make a difference? It could be simply that women who are more optimistic about life feel more optimistic about confronting sexism as well (Kaiser & Miller, 2004). Perhaps it is also women's past experiences of confronting that play a role in determining perceived outcomes. If women have previously confronted and experienced a positive outcome, their sense of perceived confrontation benefits in future situations of sexism may be boosted. Research on intervention programs should therefore test whether role-playing or witnessing confrontations with positive outcomes increases women's and girls' assessment of positive confrontation outcomes and likelihood of confronting in future sexist situations.

The present research recruited an undergraduate sample of all women, all of whom reported past experiences with sexism and confrontation. Because we asked participants to recall a specific instance of experienced or observed sexism and then report on their perceptions of social costs and benefits, we do not know whether the same factors completely inhibit confronting or whether some other motivation is responsible in situations where women decide not to

confront. Future research should attempt to study when women *do not* confront as indicators of when women will choose to confront. We chose to include only women in the present research because men's experience of sexism may be qualitatively different than women's; for example, men tend to be penalized for different types of behaviors (Heilman & Wallen, 2010; Moss-Racusin, Phelan & Rudman, 2010). Indeed, our own pilot work suggested that men's reported experiences of sexism often included an aspect of homophobia, whereas women reported strictly gender discrimination without a sexual orientation component. Thus, it is unclear from the present studies what effect having a stigmatized identity had on motivations to confront discrimination. Would non-stigmatized or high-status targets (e.g., men) report similar processes in confronting on behalf of the self and others?

Additionally, the present studies focused on confronting on behalf of others who share in-group membership with the target of discrimination. Future research should also examine when men confront observed sexism on behalf of women, or when White individuals confront observed racism on behalf of African American individuals, etc. Observers whose social group is not being targeted by the discriminatory remark or act may not feel that their confrontation will be beneficial. Thus, research should investigate strategies to make men feel that their actions can be effective at reducing future instances of sexism especially because confrontation from nontargets may be particularly effective at reducing future instances of discrimination. Nontarget confronters are less likely to be labeled as complaining or overreacting and are more likely to induce perpetrators to feel guilt and self-criticism (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Mark et al., 2007). If our overarching goal is to reduce prejudice and discrimination, we certainly must involve both targets and observers in this effort.

Conclusions

The present studies test women's motivations for confronting sexism both when it is experienced and when it is observed as targeting others. Results from two correlational studies showed that women who believed to a greater extent that their confrontation would make a difference or were less concerned about others' reactions were more likely to report confronting for themselves and others. Training programs aimed at reducing discrimination should consider ways to improve felt efficacy or the belief that confrontation can have social benefits as methods for increasing sexism confrontation among women. The present research is the first known to show that in situations of experienced sexism, lower gender-identified women are particularly responsive to perceptions of social benefits when confronting experiences carry a higher level of perceived costs. Research on confronting discrimination therefore must consider the role of social identities as well as situational constraints in predicting when individuals will confront experienced and observed situations of discrimination.

Appendix

Frequency of Experienced Sexism

1. In the past year, how often have you experienced sexism?
2. In your lifetime, how often have you experienced sexism?
3. How often have you been insulted or called a name because of your gender?
4. How often has someone told you a sexist joke or made fun of you because of your gender?
5. How often have you been ignored or overlooked because of your gender?
6. How often have you been treated rudely or disrespectfully because of your gender?
7. How often have you been treated as if you were "stupid" or been "talked down to" because of your gender?
8. How often have your ideas been minimized, ignored, or devalued because of your gender?
9. How often have you been harassed because of your gender?

Frequency of Observed Sexism

1. In the past year, how often have you observed sexism directed toward another person?
2. In your lifetime, how often have you observed sexism directed toward another person?
3. How often have you heard someone being insulted or called a name because of their gender?
4. How often have you overheard someone tell a sexist joke or make fun of someone because of their gender?
5. How often have you observed someone being ignored or overlooked because of their gender?
6. How often have you observed someone being treated rudely or disrespectfully because of their gender?
7. How often have you observed someone being treated as if they were "stupid" or being "talked down to" because of their gender?
8. How often have you observed someone's ideas being minimized, ignored, or devalued because of their gender?
9. How often have you observed someone being harassed because of their gender?

Frequency Confront Sexism for Self

1. When you have experienced sexism, how often have you confronted the sexist person?
2. When you have experienced sexism, how often have you stood up for yourself?
3. How often have you ignored it when someone has made a sexist comment toward you?*
4. How often have you said nothing when someone calls you a negative slang term for your gender?*

5. How often have you told someone to stop when they are telling a sexist joke or making fun of you because of your gender?
6. How often have you complained to a person in authority when someone has acted prejudiced toward you because of your gender?
7. How often have you yelled at someone when they have harassed or mistreated you because of your gender?
8. How often have you use physical force against someone when they have harassed or mistreated you because of your gender?

Frequency Confront Sexism for Others

1. When you have observed sexism directed toward another person, how often have you confronted the sexist person?
2. When you have observed sexism directed toward another person, how often have you stood up for the victim?
3. How often have you ignored it when you have heard someone make a sexist comment to another person?*
4. How often have you said nothing when you have heard someone call another person a negative slang term for their gender?*
5. How often have you told someone to stop when they are telling a sexist joke or making fun of another person because of their gender?
6. How often have you complained to a person in authority when you have seen someone act prejudiced toward another person because of their gender?
7. When you have seen someone being harassed or mistreated because of their gender, how often have you yelled at the sexist person?
8. When you have seen someone being harassed or mistreated because of their gender, how often have you used physical force against the sexist person?

*Reverse scored.

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