The Effect of Feminist Identification on the Perceived Authenticity of Male Allies

NATHALIA G. LEE, BA, PRISCILLA LOK-CHEE SHUM, MA, STEPHEN C. WRIGHT, PH.D, & MCKENZIE BAHRAMI, BA

Simon Fraser University

Male allies are often described as essential to reducing gender inequity. However, some men may become allies through benevolent sexist beliefs. While some women recognize this as a suboptimal form of allyship, others may interpret it as authentic. We investigated whether the type of allyship (egalitarian vs. benevolent sexist) influences women's perceptions of authenticity and whether women's feminist identification moderates this effect. Women ($N = 132$) undergraduate students completed a pre-screening survey including a measure of feminist identification. They read about and rated the authenticity of a male ally who exhibited egalitarianism or benevolent sexism in his effort to increase women representation in a male-dominated club. Women perceived the egalitarian ally as highly authentic regardless of their feminist identification. However, higher feminist identification was associated with higher perceived authenticity for the benevolent sexist ally. Results are discussed in terms of how feminist identification can influence women's perceptions of men who help.

Keywords: allyship, benevolent sexism, authenticity, feminist identification, gender equity

Les alliés masculins sont souvent décrits comme essentiels à la réduction des inégalités entre les sexes. Cependant, certains hommes sont motivés à devenir des alliés par des croyances sexistes bienveillantes. Certaines femmes considèrent cette forme d'alliance comme peu optimale alors que d'autres peuvent l'interpréter comme authentique. Nous avons étudié l'influence du type d'allié (égalitaire ou sexiste bienveillant) sur la perception d'authenticité et vérifié si l'identification féministe modère cet effet. Des étudiantes de premier cycle universitaire ($N = 132$) ont répondu à un sondage mesurant leur identification féministe. Elles ont ensuite lu et évalué l'authenticité d'un allié masculin faisant preuve d'égalitarisme ou de sexisme bienveillant dans ses efforts pour augmenter la représentation des femmes dans un club majoritairement masculin. Indépendamment de leur identification féministe, les femmes percevaient l'allié égalitaire comme hautement authentique. Cependant, une identification féministe plus élevée était associée à une perception d'authenticité plus élevée pour l'allié sexiste bienveillant.

Mots-clés : alliance, sexisme bienveillant, authenticité, identification féministe, équité de genre

Male allies are increasingly being recognized as helpful and effective supporters in women's efforts to reduce gender inequity. For example, there is some evidence that men are seen as more persuasive than women at challenging sexist behaviour, which can reduce the burden on women (Gervais & Hillard, 2014). Moreover, because men often hold leadership positions and have access to more resources, supportive men can facilitate women's career advancement by being mentors and advocates (Madsen et al., 2020).

However, there remains considerable ambiguity in the existing psychological literature about what makes a man a good ally and especially about the way women determine who are authentic allies. Despite good intentions, men can be unaware of how women perceive their help and the full consequences of their actions (Cheng et al., 2019). Furthermore, it appears that not all male allies or allyship behaviour are seen as helpful, even by the women who are receiving the male ally's help. Macomber (2018) describes the wariness some women have of men being involved in feminism because of their tendency to perpetuate male dominance within the movement. This might imply that women can be skeptical of a male ally's motivation and thus their authenticity, resulting in distrust. Thus, male allies are not always liked or accepted by the women they seek to support.

If perceptions of authenticity can lead to trust, acceptance, and to effective relationships between male allies and the women they seek to help, it is important to understand what leads to women perceiving authenticity from male allies. Therefore,

while the call for men to get involved in feminism and gender equity is growing, more research is needed to offer a fuller understanding of how women react and engage with male allies. A focus on women's attributions of authenticity will offer insights into how the two groups can work together to achieve gender equity. The current study contributes to a small but growing literature that focuses on allyship from the perspective of the non-dominant group (i.e., women) to better understand the relationship between allies and the group they seek to help.

Defining Allies and Authenticity

Allies have been defined and conceptualized in different ways. For example, allies can generally be seen as members of dominant groups who engage in actions that improve the status of the non-dominant group (Droogendyk et al., 2016). On the other hand, a person may only be recognized as an ally if they have what is said to be the "right" motivation, such as being altruistic and focused on the needs and interests of the other group (Edwards, 2007). In addition, who is seen as a "real ally" or a "good ally" can vary between members of the non-dominant group and may depend on what kind of support they want from allies. A review of academic and public literature by Carlson and colleagues (2019) found distinct yet interrelated qualities of allies, such as being accountable to people they wish to support and being critical of oppressive structures that grant them privilege. The identity and goals of the non-dominant group can inform what qualities are desired and necessary to determine who is an ally. Thus, the definition of allies is fluid as the goals of the non-dominant group change.

Given the various ways that allies have been defined in the academic literature and by the general public, it is understandable that what constitutes an ally and allyship behaviour can be unclear. For the purposes of this paper, we will define a male ally as a man who seeks and engages in actions that could help improve the status of women. This allows the possibility of male allies to engage in actions that support women for numerous reasons (Estevan-Reina et al., 2020; Radke et al., 2020), where that allyship behaviour can result from multiple motivations (e.g., acting to help women but also to raise the image of one's own in-group by appearing supportive). It is also possible that a male ally's support can be motivated by paternalistic motives that equate paternalism with genuine respect towards women and their struggles. In fact, male allies can have good intentions but may be helping in ineffective or unfavourable ways (Macomber, 2018).

Furthermore, public discourse has suggested that some forms of allyship are fake or performative while others are true and authentic in their support for the non-dominant group. For example, article headlines such as "Performative Allyship: What Are the Signs and Why Leaders Get Exposed" (Morris, 2020) and "Authentic Allyship in the Workplace: How to" (Kalsi, 2020) suggest a dichotomy between fake and authentic allyship and extol the benefits of the latter and the failings of the former.

Some of these references to authenticity divulge the motivations to become an ally. For example, authenticity refers to the genuine desire to support and improve the non-dominant group's status, rather than pursuing self-interest or benefits for one's own dominant group. Radke and colleagues (2020) call this "outgroup-focused motivation" because the ally is focused on the needs of the out-group and their actions may even have a negative impact on their own in-group. Thus, perceived authenticity of a male ally in a woman's perspective is the thought that male allies are acting with the genuine motivation to improve women's status and to promote gender equity.

Benevolent Sexism from Male Allies

Some men become allies for egalitarian reasons. They genuinely want to improve women's status because they both acknowledge the injustices women face, thus rejecting the legitimacy of current gender inequalities (Drury & Kaiser, 2014). Other men become allies based on beliefs that men have both a duty and the capability to protect women which are rooted in *benevolent sexism*. While the premise of benevolent sexism can sound supportive, benevolent sexism is based on beliefs that women are weak and unable to succeed on their own or protect themselves (Glick & Fiske, 1996). This can lead men to be overprotective of women and offer them support that is patronizing, which does not directly challenge underlying gender inequity.

In addition, some motivations can influence the types of help male allies provide. For example, men who endorse more benevolent sexist beliefs give more dependency-oriented help, a type of help that solves the entire problem for the help-seeker rather than giving them the means to solve it themselves (Nadler & Halabi, 2006). This type of help leaves women dependent on men, thereby perpetuating stereotypes that women are incompetent (Shnabel et al., 2016). Although dependency-oriented help can sometimes be necessary and beneficial, the benefits are mostly short-term. Conversely, autonomy-oriented help gives women the resources needed to solve their own problems and acquire more resources for and by themselves. This type of help can challenge structural barriers and inequalities that disadvantage women by increasing women's agency. Thus, the benefits are

long-term. For example, male allies were seen to be more effective in supporting their women colleagues when they gave women opportunities to speak for themselves in meetings and directly show their competence, instead of the man speaking on their behalf (Cheng et al., 2019).

Not only can benevolent sexism influence the types of help male allies give, it can also limit who benefits from that help. Benevolent sexism may motivate male allies to help specific women in their lives who they see as their responsibility to protect and support (Estevan-Reina et al., 2020). These men are less likely than men with egalitarian beliefs to engage in broader social action to promote more systemic changes that would contribute to gender equity. While this interpersonal level help may be beneficial to some women, it does not challenge gender inequity on a group nor on a structural level. Similarly, Hideg and Ferris (2016) found that men who endorse benevolent sexism supported employment policies to hire more women but mainly for roles that are traditionally feminine (e.g., teachers, nurses), many of which are not leadership positions. The continued funnelling of women into these positions serves to perpetuate gender stereotypes. Thus, men motivated by benevolent sexism are limited in the type, the scope, and the effectiveness of their allyship, and may even be counterproductive to the broader goals of gender equity.

Perceiving Benevolent Sexism from Male Allies

The idea that there are sexist male allies may seem counterintuitive. This may be because people often equate sexism with what Glick and Fiske (1996) refer to as *hostile sexism* – overtly discriminatory and disparaging attitudes towards women. Sexism of this type is more noticeable and more openly condemned. Men who enact this form of sexism are unlikely to ever be seen as allies. In contrast, because benevolent sexism appears positive and complimentary, the stereotyping and differential treatment of women is often more subtle, and thus can go undetected and unchallenged (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005). In this way, it is possible that while some women will detect and challenge a male ally who endorses and demonstrates benevolent sexism, others may not.

For example, research shows that women who experience benevolent sexism from men can feel anxious (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005) and incompetent (Kuchynka et al., 2018). Moreover, some women recognize that benevolent sexism is based on stereotypes that support women's lower status and thus find it problematic (van Breen et al., 2017). However, there is also evidence that some women perceive men who give patronizing and paternalistic

help to be warm because they appear kind and caring (Becker et al., 2011). Furthermore, some women find men who exhibit benevolent sexism to be more attractive and preferable as a romantic partner because it suggests that the man is more willing to protect and provide for the woman (Gul & Kupfer, 2019).

In some cases, exposure to men who endorse benevolent sexism can also make some women feel advantaged because of their gender, reducing their interest in and the perceived necessity of collective action to promote gender equity (Becker & Wright, 2011). Women may even perceive men who endorse benevolent sexism as more likely to support gender equity and less likely to hold strict beliefs about gender roles compared to men who openly reject benevolent sexism (Hopkins-Doyle et al., 2019). These examples suggest that benevolent sexism can at times be interpreted positively by some women, as in the contexts of interpersonal relationships and helping behaviours, and even in more politicized relationships such as between male allies and the women they support. If some women associate benevolent sexism with support for gender equity and progressive gender beliefs, it is possible that women may consider a male ally motivated by benevolent sexism to be motivated by egalitarian beliefs, and thus consider him an authentic male ally.

The Role of Feminist Identification

Why some women interpret benevolent sexism positively while others see it as patronizing may depend on how aware women are of the ways sexism can manifest and its consequences. Some women may understand sexism only in its hostile and overtly discriminatory form, while others are more aware and vigilant of more subtle forms of sexism. Conversely, some women may share men's benevolent sexist beliefs, agreeing that it is a man's duty to protect women, while others reject this view and see this protectiveness as paternalistic and undermining.

Although there have been studies investigating how women respond to benevolent sexism, to our knowledge these studies do not focus on benevolent sexism in male allies and how this might influence a woman's perceptions of the male ally's authenticity. We propose that one factor that may influence whether women will recognize and reject benevolent sexism from a male ally is their level of feminist identification. Feminist identification is the extent to which women consider themselves to be a feminist and see support for women's issues as part of their identity. Women with high feminist identification are more likely than women with low feminist identification to be aware of injustices against women and see benevolent sexism as both the result and the

source of negative stereotypes about women (van Breen et al., 2017; Shnabel et al., 2016). Not surprisingly, Wiley and Dunne (2019) have shown that women with high feminist identification prefer male allies who give autonomy-oriented help over male allies who offer dependency-oriented help. However, this research did not investigate whether women made inferences about the male ally's intentions or whether they believed those intentions represented an authentic effort to advance women's equity. Thus, the question of whether feminist identification will influence how women will perceive the authenticity of a given male ally remains uninvestigated. The current study was designed to investigate specifically whether women with high feminist identification are more likely to find a male ally who exhibits benevolent sexism as inauthentic compared to women with low feminist identification.

The Current Study

This study explored women's perceptions of authenticity from a male ally who either exhibited benevolent sexist or egalitarian behaviours. A STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Maths) setting was used because there remains a gender gap in participation in STEM that has led to calls for more men to act as allies for their women colleagues in these settings (Dubow & Ashcraft, 2016). Specifically, the study involves a fictional article about a university robotics club open to women but which might be understood to be a STEM setting. This experimental study investigated whether feminist identification moderated the relationship between the type of male allyship behaviour (egalitarian vs. benevolent sexist) and the woman's perceived authenticity of the male ally. Women read about a male ally who was trying to engage and recruit more women into the robotics club that he was leading. He was described as either an egalitarian male ally (e.g., he understands the importance of male allies taking a supportive role, he emphasizes collaboration among men and women, and recognizes women's competence and skills) or a benevolent sexist male ally (e.g., he implies that men are more capable than women, that men need to lead and look out for women and describes the benefits of women in terms of being nurturing rather than competent). It was predicted that the egalitarian male ally would generally be perceived as more authentic than the benevolent sexist male ally. However, feminist identification was also measured to test for moderation of this effect. It was predicted that women with higher feminist identification would show a wider gap in their perception of the authenticity of these two types of male allies than women lower in feminist identification, because women with higher identification should see the benevolent sexist male ally as particularly inauthentic.

Methods

The study received approval from Simon Fraser University's Research Ethics Board and was conducted using Qualtrics software.

Participants

Participants were students enrolled in introductory psychology classes at a large university in Western Canada. The focal study was preceded by a pre-screening survey that was completed at least a day before participation in the focal study itself. This pre-screening was used to select participants for other studies as well. Thus, participants would unlikely be able to tie the content of the pre-screening survey to any particular study. This procedure allowed for the exclusive recruitment of women as only those identifying as women on the pre-screening survey were contacted, but it also allowed us to measure feminist identification in a way that did not make gender or feminist identification salient when participants completed the focal study. Participants were entered into a $100 draw for completing the pre-screening survey and received a course credit for completing the focal study.

Using the pre-screening survey respondents, 162 women were recruited to the focal study. However, 30 participants were excluded from data analysis because of missing data, extremely high or low response times (± 2 SDs from the mean), or withdrawal of consent to their data being included following a debriefing. The final sample included 132 women (M_{age} = 20.3 years, SD = 5.25) with a variety of self-reported ethnic identities: 28.8% Caucasian, 27.3% East Indian/South Asian, 22% East Asian, 12.9% self-identified "other", 5.3% Middle Eastern, 2.3% Latin/x, and .8% Black/African. Those who self-identified as "other" indicated mixed backgrounds or more specific ethnic identities (e.g., Chinese). A power analysis determined that 77 participants were needed to detect a medium effect size with a power of .80.

Procedure

Pre-screening Survey. An announcement was given during undergraduate psychology classes in Simon Fraser University about the pre-screening survey. Participants were also able to sign up directly through the Psychology Department's Research Participation System. Participants accessed the pre-screening survey through a Qualtrics link that was either posted on their course webpage or sent to them via email. The pre-screening survey included demographic items including gender and a measure of feminist identification.

Focal Study. Participants who self-identified as women on the pre-screening survey and consented to being invited to another study were sent an email containing the Qualtrics link to the focal study. After providing consent, all participants read a fictitious article about a male ally. He was the president of a robotics club who was trying to recruit more women into the club, which had previously included mostly men. The content of the article was manipulated to create two conditions and participants were randomly assigned to one of these conditions. In the Egalitarian Male Ally condition, the male ally described himself as taking a supportive role and spoke about engaging women in a way that emphasized collaboration between all club members. He also focused on women's competence and commented that women contributed skills that benefited the club (see Appendix A for complete version of the article). In the Benevolent Sexist Male Ally condition, he described himself as a leader for women. He spoke about helping women in paternalistic ways, suggesting that men need to look out for and teach women to be successful in the club. He commented that women contributed to giving a welcoming and warm feeling to the club, reflecting stereotypes that women have caring and nurturing qualities that men lack (see Appendix B for complete version of the article).

After reading the article, participants completed a measure of their perceptions of authenticity of the male ally. The final page included a debriefing, describing the fictitious nature of the article, the general goals of the study, and offering participants the option of withdrawing their consent to include their data in the analysis.

Measures

Pre-screening Survey.

Demographics. Participants indicated their gender, ethnicity, and age. Only gender was used as an inclusion criterion to select only those who self-identified as women.

Feminist Identification. Participants reported the degree to which they identified as a feminist using a 12-item version of Cameron's (2004) *In-Group Identification Measure* adapted to target the group "feminist". "Feminist" and "feminism" were not defined for participants as we felt it important to allow them to represent this group in whatever manner they understood it and to reflect the many ways that women engage with feminism. Participants responded to each item on a 7-point Likert scale anchored by 1 (*disagree strongly*) and 7 (*agree strongly*). Example items included *I have a lot in common with other feminists, Overall, being a feminist has very little to do with how*

I feel about myself (reverse coded), and *In general, I'm glad to be a feminist* ($\alpha = .91$).

Focal Study.

Perceived Authenticity. Participants indicated the extent to which they perceived the male ally as authentic using a 21-item scale created for this study. They responded to each item on a 7-point Likert scale anchored by 1 (*disagree strongly*) and 7 (*agree strongly*). Items were developed based on the allyship literature. Based on Radke et al. (2020), there are items that reflected perceptions of the ally's motivations to improve women's status (e.g., outgroup-focused motivation), or for self-interest. Based on McShane and Cunningham (2012), items about honesty, trust, and consistency between statement and behaviour were also included.

The original scale included 36 items. An initial exploratory factor analysis yielded 7 factors that did not offer an interpretable set of subscales. Thus, 15 items were dropped because they did not appear to focus on the core elements of authenticity (e.g., *I would consider joining the club*), focused on the respondent as the target of the question (e.g., *I would be willing to forgive mistakes he makes* [*e.g., saying something sexist*] *because he is still making positive impacts as an ally*), or consistently loaded alone on their own factors. Although the final 21 items produced a 2-factor solution, it was still difficult to determine a meaningful interpretation of these two factors. Thus, the 21 items were collapsed to create a single scale measuring *Perceived Authenticity* ($\alpha = .96$).

Results & Discussion

The hypothesis that feminist identification would moderate the effect of the type of male ally on ratings of women's perceived authenticity was tested using Hayes' (2017) PROCESS Macro on SPSS. The effect of condition was not significant ($b = .15$, $t(128) = .96$, $p = .34$). Thus, while women did perceive the egalitarian male ally ($M = 5.28$, $SD = 0.88$) to be somewhat more authentic than the benevolent sexist male ally ($M = 5.12$, $SD = 0.92$), this difference was not statistically significant. The main effect of feminist identification was significant ($b = .26$, $t(128) = 2.82$, $p = .01$), showing that high identifying women found the male allies to be more authentic than low identifying women.

However, this main effect was qualified by a significant 2-way interaction between type of male ally and feminist identification ($b = -.28$, $t(128) = -2.00$, $p = .05$). The pattern of this interaction is shown in Figure 1. For women low in feminist identification, the benevolent sexist ally was seen as significantly

less authentic than the egalitarian ally ($b = .45$, $t(128) = 2.06$, $p = .04$). However, for women high in feminist identification, the ratings of authenticity for benevolent sexist male ally were not significantly different from those of the egalitarian male ally condition ($b = -.17$, $t(128) = -.77$, $p = .44$).

Figure 1

The pattern of the interaction was inconsistent with

Effect of Feminist Identification on Perceived Authenticity by Type of Male Ally Condition
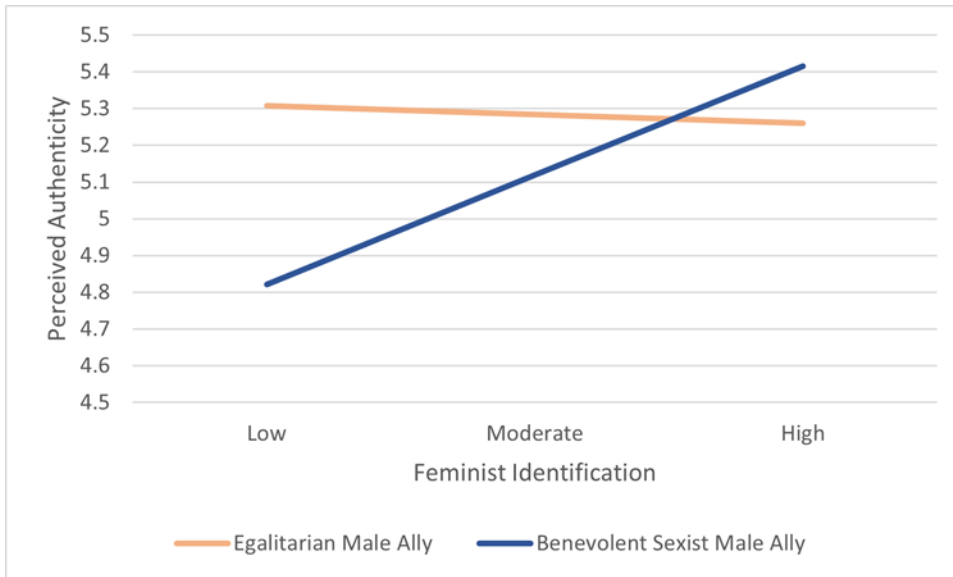
Note. Moderate level of Feminist Identification represents the mean. Low and high levels represent -1 *SD* and +1 *SD* from the mean, respectively.

However, the observed positive relationship between feminist identification and perceived authenticity in the benevolent sexist male ally condition was highly consistent across almost all the 21 items. This appeared to be a stable effect. Thus, among the current sample, it appears that as feminist identification increases the benevolent sexist male ally is seen as increasingly authentic.

One possible interpretation for these findings is

our predictions. High feminist identification was predicted to result in lower perceived authenticity of a benevolent sexist male ally, but the entirely opposite effect emerged. The more a woman identified as a feminist, the more authenticity she ascribed to the benevolent sexist male ally, to the point that those highest in feminist identity perceived the benevolent sexist male ally to be just as authentic as the egalitarian male ally.

To test the generality of this unexpected finding and to shed light on the reasons for it, a series of separate tests for the effect of type of male ally and feminist identification was performed for each of the 21 items in the *Perceived Authenticity Scale*. There was considerable variation in the pattern of results across these 21 tests in the egalitarian male ally condition. Thus, the apparent lack of a meaningful relationship between feminist identification and perceived authenticity shown in Figure 1 is likely to be the best interpretation of these results.

that women with higher feminist identification may be more familiar with the ways that male allies can help promote gender equity and their perceptions of authenticity may be based on a comparison to a much broader array of possible behaviours. For women with higher feminist identification, the benevolent sexist male ally's behaviour may not seem to be harmful to the cause because they know men are trying to help. For example, benevolent sexist male allies may still support women by being mentors and advocates, by providing resources, and by offering emotional support (Cheng et al., 2019). In the current study, women with higher feminist identification may recognize that paternalistic comments may not be empowering to individual women, but at the same time recognize that this helping behaviour could be beneficial in recruiting more women into the robotics club. More women in the robotics club could signal a shift in a positive direction as more women are entering a male-dominated environment. Thus, women with higher feminist identification may recognize a benevolent sexist male ally's pragmatic value and not automatically label their actions as performative or

fake. Instead, they may contrast this less than desirable help with experience they have had with hostile sexism or with men who take no action at all. For example, Wiley and Dunne (2019) found that women with high feminist identification preferred a male ally who offered autonomy-oriented help. They perceived him to be a good ally, but they also did not see a man as a bad ally when he offered dependency-oriented help.

However, it must be recognized that the current findings are clearly inconsistent with the existing literature on how women generally respond to benevolent sexism. In general interactions, stronger endorsement of feminism is usually associated with increased vigilance, a higher detection, and a stronger rejection of benevolent sexism. Perhaps highly identified feminist women are less motivated to condemn benevolent sexism when the general intent of the man is to create real opportunities for women. In other words, perhaps women with higher feminist identification may be highly motivated to detect and reject benevolent sexism from a man who appears discriminatory and is undermining opportunities for women but are less motivated to do so when evaluating men who are clearly supportive. If this is true, this may help explain why some men are "put on a pedestal" when they get involved in feminist and gender equity work (Macomber, 2018).

Research Limitations & Future Directions

Nonetheless, given the unexpected nature of these findings, replication is needed. In addition, future attempts to replicate could also offer insights into the reliability and validity of our measure of perceived authenticity. Our sample was limited to university women, and although the sample was quite diverse in terms of ethnic background, it was a young and highly educated sample. Thus, the generalizability to other subgroups of women may be limited. Subsequent studies should include a more diverse sample of women. Participants in this study were undergraduate psychology students who likely hold more positive views of feminism and may have more progressive views of male allies and the cause for gender equity. Indeed, women's feminist identification in this study was quite high. In addition, it might be interesting to further explore what specific aspects of feminist identification influences perceived authenticity. The current study measured engagement with feminism as an identity. There are, of course, other ways to conceptualize feminism and our operationalization may obscure other feminist values that may be important for feminist women when judging male allies' authenticity. Additional measures of feminist values and opinions about the group and the cause might shed more light on why strong feminist identity

was associated with more positive evaluations of a benevolent sexist male ally. For example, it would be helpful to know whether women are open to or consider it beneficial to include men in the feminist movement. This might affect their leniency towards men when they exhibit benevolent sexism.

To our knowledge, this is the first study to focus on women's perceptions of authenticity in the context of male allyship. Thus, it would also be beneficial to further elaborate the concept of authenticity. For example, rather than focusing on motivation alone, women may also consider the male ally's effectiveness and the outcomes of his actions, whether they can trust and rely on the male ally, and whether they feel like they can turn to the male ally for support. While this study did have items about effectiveness, trust, and support, the information in the articles used to manipulate the type of male ally may not have provided enough details to allow women to make clear judgments on each of these unique elements of authenticity. Similarly, perceptions of authenticity may be informed by other factors not accounted for in the current study, and it might be more informative to measure other attributions women may be making about the male ally, including his likability, or morals and strength of character. These attributions may be related to what has been called "the pedestal effect" on male allies in which male allies are glorified despite doing less or the same actions as women in the movement (Macomber, 2018). As a result, women may not detect benevolent sexism or perhaps respond to it with more lenience. It is this general positive response to male allies that may lead to perceived authenticity despite their benevolent sexism. Measuring positive and negative evaluations beyond the authenticity of his allyship might offer a fuller understanding of attributions that drive perceived authenticity of a male ally.

Conclusion

As male allies are being recognized for their potential usefulness in improving women's status and promoting gender equity, there are growing conversations about authenticity to ensure that men are supporting the cause appropriately. While some male allies seem to be motivated by a genuine egalitarian orientation, others may be more motivated by benevolent sexism. However, it is not always easy to recognize these different motivations. The current study showed that a male ally who appeared to be motivated by and exhibited behaviours consistent with egalitarianism was seen as highly authentic regardless of women's feminist identification. Interestingly, a male ally who appeared to be motivated by, and exhibited behaviours consistent with benevolent sexism was increasingly described as authentic as

women's feminist identification increased. This makes the meaning of the growing calls for authentic male allies somewhat unclear and may complicate the meaning of authenticity when it comes to male allyship. However, it also clearly points to a need for continued investigations of these complications and on the need to focus on the perceptions of the women who are evaluating the authenticity of their male allies.

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Appendix A

Type of Male Ally Condition: Egalitarian Male Ally

With only 19% of engineering and engineering technology comprising women, the field is making strides to address this disparity. The Engineers Canada Board has made it one of their top priorities in their Engineers Canada Strategic Plan 2019-2021 to not only recruit more women in engineering, but to prevent "leaks" from the STEM "pipeline".

Such efforts are also happening at a more local level in SFU with their own robotics club, driven by club president, Greg Gonzalez. In 2019, he became the new club president and his first order was to address this gender gap in STEM, particularly in engineering.

When asked why he began these efforts, Greg explains, "From learning about women's experiences and from my own experience with the engineering program, I began to see the gender differences in the field. There were fewer women in my classes and in clubs. As president, I'd have the authority and resources to support women in STEM wherever they may need it."

"We need to change the way we run things 'cause women shouldn't have to deal with this," says Greg when referring to sexism in STEM. One of these changes is making sure struggles women face in the club are addressed, whether that's about understanding how to build the robot or communicating with the other members about the project. "I emphasize to everyone in the club that collaboration is important so they can learn from each other when they come across problems."

As a result of Greg's efforts, there are currently 15 women in the club, making up half of the total membership. This is a significant jump from the three members they had before Greg became president. "It's really great 'cause they each bring in unique skills and creative ideas to the projects. It's more fun building the robots and the robots themselves are really impressive. It's really helped to make the club qualify and win more competitions."

Because of the impressive growth in membership, other clubs are taking notice. Greg's robotics club is setting an example for how other clubs in the STEM programs might want to tackle gender gaps in their membership.

Appendix B

Type of Male Ally Condition: Benevolent Sexist Male Ally

With only 19% of engineering and engineering technology comprising women, the field is making strides to address this disparity. The Engineers Canada Board has made it one of their top priorities in their Engineers Canada Strategic Plan 2019-2021 to not only recruit more women in engineering, but to prevent "leaks" from the STEM "pipeline".

Such efforts are also happening at a more local level in SFU with their own robotics club, driven by club president, Greg Gonzalez. In 2019, he became the new club president and his first order was to address this gender gap in STEM, particularly in engineering.

When asked why he began these efforts, Greg explains, "From learning about women's experiences and from my own experience with the engineering program, I began to see the gender differences in the field. There were fewer women in my classes and in clubs. As president, I'd have the authority and resources to pave the way for women to get more involved in STEM."

"We need to change the way we run things 'cause men are so much better than this," says Greg when referring to sexism in STEM. One of these changes is making sure struggles women face in the club are addressed, whether that's about understanding how to build the robot or communicating with the other members about the project. "I emphasize to the other guys in the club that it's important we look out for them and help out as much as possible."

As a result of Greg's efforts, there are currently 15 women in the club, making up half of the total membership. This is a significant jump from the three members they had before Greg became president. "It's really great 'cause they add a balance to the group dynamic of the club. Less of that macho stuff you always get from having just guys. It's really helped to make the club as whole feel more welcoming."

Because of the impressive growth in membership, other clubs are taking notice. Greg's robotics club is setting an example for how other clubs in the STEM programs might want to tackle gender gaps in their membership.