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PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER NON-CONFORMING MEN: THE IMPACT OF PERCEIVER
GENDER, RELATIONSHIP STATUS, AND GENDER ROLE IDEOLOGY

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
graduation with Honors

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Abstract

Due to patriarchal gender role norms, the male gender has been historically afforded increased social status and prestige by way of social, political, and economic advantage. While men benefit from this privileged status, they experience many negative consequences from these norms as well. Male gender roles are more rigid than female gender roles, as demonstrated by previous research suggesting that men who deviate from prescribed gender roles are met with more social backlash than women (Siren, McCreary, & Mahalik, 2004). However, research on why this is the case is inconclusive.

Thus, the present study sought to examine variables associated with perceptions of gender non-conforming men, such as perceiver gender, relationship status, and gender role ideology. One hundred and thirty-five adults completed an online survey and were exposed to either a gender conforming or gender non-conforming target. Participants rated their perceptions of the target's warmth, competence, likability, and romantic partner suitability. The findings indicated that the gender conforming man was rated higher on dimensions of competence and lower on dimensions of warmth, while the gender non-conforming man was rated higher on dimensions of warmth and lower on dimensions of competence. Furthermore, participants rated the gender non-conforming man higher in romantic partner suitability than the gender conforming man. However, there were no significant interactions for perceptions of non-conforming men with regard to participant gender, relationship status, or gender role ideology.

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Perceptions of Gender Non-Conforming Men: The Impact of Perceiver Gender, Relationship
Status and Gender Role Ideology

Historically, psychological research on gender inequality in Western cultures has primarily focused on the barriers in place that prevent the advancement of women. This important work not only draws attention to the limitations women face due to patriarchal norms, but also calls restrictive, sexist stereotypes into question and works toward progressive social change. However, research in this area has really only examined a portion of the picture. For one, most of this research exclusively focuses on White, cisgender, heterosexual, college educated women, essentially ignoring the intersectional nature of oppression. Second, because the consequences of gender inequality are often only associated with women, men and the construct of masculinity are left underexamined. By only examining the consequences of gender roles faced by women, we ignore the way in which male gender role stereotypes contribute to the maintenance of patriarchal norms and inequality as a whole.

It is important to note that this is not an attempt to minimize or silence the sexism faced by women in our world today. The work toward gender equality for women is certainly not complete; women are still subject to sexist double standards and face several limitations in all facets of life due to restrictive gender norms (Hettinger, Hutchinson, & Bosson, 2015; Sanchez, Fetterolf, & Rudman, 2012). However, research on men and the construct of traditional masculinity suggests that men also experience consequences due to traditional gender role norms. Men who conform to traditional gender norms are more likely to have psychological health problems, decreased help-seeking behavior, and difficulty with interpersonal relationships than men who conform less to traditional gender norms (Wong, Ho, Wang, & Miller, 2016); men who hold more traditionally masculine gender role ideologies also report

more fear of intimacy and report lower relationship satisfaction (Levant & Richmond, 2007). Furthermore, men's close relationships suffer due to stereotypes that encourage independence and competitiveness, yet discourage intimacy and emotional disclosure (Croft, Schmader, & Block, 2015). Despite these consequences, men are discouraged from behaving otherwise because they experience more social backlash than women for deviating from traditional gender role norms (Siren, et al., 2004). While we understand a few of the negative consequences of traditional gender roles in the lives of men, we do not fully understand the factors contributing to their maintenance. For this reason, the purpose of the present study was to investigate the development and maintenance of male gender role stereotypes and to explore factors associated with negative perceptions of gender role deviance in men.

Origin and Content of Gender Role Stereotypes

Stereotypes about gender consist of accepted cultural rules describing the traits and behaviors that men and women should and should not have. Prescriptive stereotypes reflect the desirable traits and behaviors for men and women that should be present, while proscriptive stereotypes reflect the undesirable traits and behaviors for men and women that should be absent (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). For example, warmth and emotional expression is prescribed for women, while competence and rationality is prescribed for men. Moreover, dominance and aggression is proscribed for women, while weakness and insecurity is proscribed for men. Current gender stereotypes describe men as having more agentic qualities (e.g., competence, independence, ambition) than women, and describe women as having more communal qualities (e.g., warmth, interdependence, concern for others) than men (Croft et al., 2015; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Rudman & Mescher, 2013). While both agency and communality are valuable qualities and necessary components in the lives of both men and women, agency is

more often associated with men and masculinity, and communality is more often associated with women and femininity (Croft et al., 2015; Prentice & Carranza, 2002; Sanchez et al., 2012).

One theory about the origin of these stereotypic beliefs about gender takes an evolutionary approach, suggesting that gender roles originate from differences in evolved sex-specific characteristics and mate selection motivations (see Buss, 1995 or Kenrick & Keefe, 1992 for a review). Conversely, another theory suggests that these gender stereotypes are socially constructed and thus largely dependent on cultural norms. According to social role theory (Eagly, 1987), current gender stereotypes originate from the historic gender-based division of labor and traditional roles that men and women previously held in society. Because women historically held more communal, caretaker roles, and men historically held more agentic, provider roles, they are stereotyped as being more communal and agentic, respectively (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Wood, 1999). Although these roles have adjusted over time and are less rigid to some extent, for the most part, the stereotypes about how men and women are and should be still persist and remain quite powerful (Prentice & Carranza, 2002; Rudman & Phelan, 2008).

These gender stereotypes are learned and internalized by way of socialization, which begins to take full effect during infancy and early childhood with infants already developing gender schemas and showing preference for toys that align with their assigned gender (Campbell, Shirley, Heywood, & Crook, 2000; but see Lutchmaya & Baron-Cohen, 2002 for an evolutionary psychology explanation for gender differences in children). As children age, their interactions with same and cross-sex peers has a profound impact on their internalization of gender roles, teaching them how they should behave through observation of similar others and a growing desire to conform (Martin & Ruble, 2004). Furthermore, gender role norms are a way of interpreting behavior in early social interactions (Siren et al., 2004). Understanding what is

typical of men and women makes conversations with members of the opposite sex easier to understand as each participant knows what to expect. As a result, many grow to depend on these stereotypes as they help them make sense of the world by providing consistent, reliable cues and explanations for social interactions.

Ambivalent Sexism Theory

Although gender stereotypes are ubiquitous, belief in them is highly complex and consists of considerably ambivalent attitudes. Ambivalent sexism theory (AST) provides a framework under which two seemingly conflicting yet concurring attitudes of both hostility and benevolence toward men and women can be further understood (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1999). Hostile sexism relates to a strong dislike or aversion toward women who challenge men's dominance or deviate from traditional gender role norms, while hostility toward men relates to negative attitudes or resentment toward traditional men for their high status and power in society. In contrast, benevolent sexism views traditional women as admirable, but weak beings in need of the guidance and protection of men, while benevolence toward men relates to admiration for traditional men and their roles as providers and protectors (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1999). Despite appearing to be entirely at odds, hostile and benevolent attitudes toward men and women work together to maintain and reinforce traditional gender roles by creating a system of rewards for gender role adherence and punishments for gender role deviance (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1999; Sibley & Overall, 2011). Put simply, men and women who adhere to traditional gender role norms are rewarded with positive, benevolent attitudes, while men and women who deviate from traditional gender role norms are punished with negative, hostile attitudes.

Gender Role Transgression and Social Backlash

When men and women deviate from the traditional gender role expectations described above they are met with social backlash (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). This social backlash can result in the transgressor experiencing a multitude of social, psychological, and economic penalties. For instance, transgressors are likely to face financial and workplace penalties in the form of being disliked, underpaid, or not considered for high status promotions. Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, and Tamkins (2004) examined perceptions of successful, but gender deviant women in the workplace and found that when women were perceived to have been successful in tasks that are typically reserved for men (i.e., those that require high levels of competence), they were liked less relative to men who were equally successful in the same task. Interestingly enough, these negative reactions to successful women only occur when the task is gender-typed as male; women were perceived more favorably when they were successful in tasks that were gender-typed as female or neutral. These results suggest that women can be successful without consequence if the task requires skills that align with traits women are traditionally expected to have (Heilman et al., 2004).

Non-conformist men also experience social backlash. Modesty, although typically viewed as a positive attribute, is perceived differently in men and women. Moss-Racusin and colleagues (2010) examined the social backlash that modest men face due to violations of prescriptive and proscriptive gender stereotypes. Men who behave in a modest manner not only violate the prescriptive stereotype that men are supposed to be highly ambitious and self-promoting, but also the proscriptive stereotype that men are not supposed to be insecure or weak (Moss-Racusin et al., 2010). Modest women, however, behave in accordance with their prescriptive and proscriptive stereotypes and, therefore, avoid social backlash. Moreover, men

who advocate for others in the workplace, which demonstrates a concern for others and a lack of self-promotion, are perceived as lower in agency—and as a result lower in status—compared to women who advocate for other in the workplace (Bosak, Kulich, Rudman, & Kinahan, 2016).

Gender role transgressors can also experience backlash in the form of prejudice or identity misclassification (Bosson, Prewitt-Freilino, & Taylor, 2005; Bosson, Taylor, & Prewitt-Freilino, 2006; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004; Siren et al., 2004). Identity misclassification occurs when a member of a group deviates from their groups' specified norms, resulting in others misclassifying them into a different, more stigmatized group. For example, men who possess many feminine traits or behaviors are often misclassified as gay (Bosson et al., 2005; Bosson et al., 2006). As homosexuality is highly proscribed for traditional masculinity (Prentice & Carranza, 2002), these men are viewed negatively by peers and may be ostracized from their in-group (Bird, 1996; Corprew & Mitchell, 2014; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004).

Although it is becoming quite normative for women to move out of the domestic sphere and into the workforce, it is still relatively atypical for men to hold the communal, caretaker roles traditionally occupied by women (Croft et al., 2015). As a result, women are expected to balance both career and domestic responsibilities (Gaunt, 2013), and are often assumed to be the partner that takes a work leave when necessary to care for children or family (Rudman & Mescher, 2013). While the limitations women experience due to this societal expectation (e.g., sacrificing their career, decreased ability to move-up in their field, gender pay-gap) are of immense importance and have been heavily examined in previous research, the barriers in place that make men less likely to request a family leave are also important to examine. Through prescriptive gender role stereotypes, men are expected to be highly career-focused and ambitious (Prentice & Carranza, 2002; Rudman & Mescher, 2013). Requesting a family leave—although often done

with good intentions and an expression of love and commitment to one's family—communicates that one is willing to place their career on hold. As this is counter to everything men are expected to be, male leave requesters are met with social backlash. In fact, Rudman and Mescher (2013) found that, compared to controls, men who requested a family leave were rated as higher in weakness and uncertainty, and as lower in ambition and competitiveness. Men who requested a family leave were also more likely to be at risk for work penalties, such as a demotion, compared to controls. These differential reactions to male and female family leave requests are largely due to the different career and family expectations placed on men and women. Because women are expected to value family above career when it is time for them to fulfill their prescribed duty as mothers, it is not at all unexpected when they request a family leave. Men, however, do not have this parenting expectation placed on them to the same degree as women, and are thus not expected to make this family and career trade off. As a result, their requesting a family leave is viewed as less normative and is met with more social backlash (Rudman & Mescher, 2013).

Status Inequalities between Men and Women

As described above, both men and women are met with social backlash for gender role transgression, but men are met with more backlash than women (Siren et al., 2004). To a large extent, this increased social backlash is due to the high status afforded to men and masculinity. The differential status attributed to masculinity and femininity can be further understood using the Stereotype Content Model (SCM), which states that, in general, stereotype content consists of two dimensions: competence and warmth (Fiske et al., 2002; Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999). Competence traits are those associated with one's ability to succeed in high status tasks and typically require agentic traits, while warmth traits are those associated with one's socioemotional orientation toward others and typically require communal traits (Cuddy et al.,

2015). According to the SCM, perceptions of groups are determined based on the degree to which competence and warmth are exhibited (Cuddy et al., 2015; Eckes, 2002; Fiske et al., 2002). Groups can be perceived as high in one dimension and low in the other, low in both dimensions or high in both dimensions. For instance, feminists and the wealthy are typically perceived as being high in competence, but low in warmth, while housewives and the elderly are typically perceived as being high in warmth, but low in competence. Likewise, welfare recipients and the poor are viewed as low in both competence and warmth, while members of one's own in-group or close allies are viewed as high in both competence and warmth (Fiske et al., 2002).

While there are exceptions, with regard to gender, the SCM exists under the assumption that men and women are typically high in one dimension and low in the other (Fiske et al., 2002). That is, a group high in competence is likely to be low in warmth, and thus subject to envious stereotypes, and a group high in warmth is likely to be low in competence, and thus subject to paternalistic stereotypes (Eckes, 2002). Traditional women (i.e., communally oriented) are perceived as being high in warmth and low in competence, while traditional men (i.e., agency oriented) are perceived as being high in competence and low in warmth.

As traits associated with competence typically correspond with those who are high status, the agentic traits associated with the male gender and masculinity are highly respected and valued (Fiske et al., 1999). In fact, even when a trait is unknown, both men and women perceive it as having increased utility or value simply because men, or any other high status group, score higher on it (Schmader, Major, Eccleston, & McCoy, 2001). Historically, the roles men traditionally occupied held higher social status and prestige than the roles women traditionally occupied (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Wood, 1999; Siren et al., 2004), making things associated with men (e.g., traits, careers) have higher prestige. As a result, men have been and still are afforded

immense privilege relative to women by way of economic advantage and increased access to high status, powerful position in fields like politics or business (Rudman & Mescher, 2013).

Therefore, when men and women deviate from traditional gender roles, their status goes in opposite directions. On one hand, non-conformist women who engage in high status agentic roles increase in status because these roles hold higher status and prestige (Fiske et al., 2002). Although perceived negatively for holding more agentic and less communal qualities, women's transgressions make sense as they gain access to more resources and opportunities. On the other hand, non-conformist men who engage in low status communal roles are not only perceived negatively for their transgression, but are also perceived negatively for their lost status (Fiske et al., 2002). As a result, they experience more social backlash for their gender deviance (Siren et al., 2004).

Construction and Maintenance of Traditional Masculinity

Although this level of privilege suggests favorable outcomes for men, this is not necessarily the case. Masculinity is a facet of men's identities that is particularly precarious. Manhood, unlike womanhood, is seen as something that men must earn and constantly maintain as it is an aspect of their identity that can be lost (Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, & Weaver, 2008). In a series of studies, Vandello and colleagues (2008) demonstrate that reaching manhood is not something that is simply given to men via biological changes or aging. Rather, it is something that must be actively earned, and when obtained, continually defended. If men fail to adhere to traditional male gender role norms, they risk losing their status as "man" and may be potentially reduced to lower, subordinate masculinities (Connell, 1987; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). To a great extent, this is precisely why men are more likely than women to engage in high risk, violent, and aggressive behaviors; when successful, these behaviors are an

effective way to demonstrate and prove men's status as men (Bosson & Vandello, 2011; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Conversely, womanhood is not typically viewed as something that women must earn or could potentially lose; they simply achieve it with time. While women may face social backlash for deviating from traditional gender role norms by being perceived as less likeable (Heilman et al., 2004; Siren et al., 2004), their status as "woman" is rarely called into question. In fact, even when women fail at tasks that are viewed as essential to the female experience, such as childrearing (by choice or due to infertility) they do not lose their status as "woman"; rather, they are described negatively in other ways, such as being perceived as unattractive or less likable (Vandello et al., 2008).

As stated previously, some lines of research suggest that the rigid maintenance of traditional masculinity is due to the high status roles men are stereotyped to hold. Because men benefit from the increased status they receive due to being men, they appear to have little incentive to engage in lower status, proscribed communal roles that are likely to result in social backlash (Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Rudman, 2010; Siren et al., 2004). Other research suggests that it is the peer relationships men share with other men that contribute to the maintenance of traditional masculinity. Rigid male gender role adherence is policed by peers throughout childhood and early adulthood, with school aged boys already experiencing more backlash from their peers for deviating from traditional gender role norms in the form of teasing and admonishment than school aged girls (Blakemore, 2003; Levy, Taylor, & Gelman, 1995). This gender role policing continues into adulthood in men's same-sex relationships, evident in the competitive, approval seeking way in which men relate to one another (Flood, 2008). Although men hold higher status relative to women simply for being men, they do not necessarily hold higher status within the hierarchy of masculinity (Bartholomeaus & Tarrant, 2016). Because

masculinity is precarious, men must publicly demonstrate their masculinity to other men in order to obtain the culturally significant title and benefits that come with manhood (Vandello et al., 2008). Men who fail to earn this title are viewed as subordinate men, at risk for social punishment and ridicule from other men (Bird, 1987; Connell, 1987; Corprew & Mitchell, 2014; Flood, 2008; Morgan & Davis-Delano, 2016). The status and prestige associated with men and masculinity is rigidly upheld by way of a hierarchy of masculinities, with femininity and untraditional masculinities devalued and subordinated, and hegemonic, dominant masculinity highly valued and powerful (Connell, 1987; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Because this system strongly values and promotes what is traditionally masculine (e.g., tough, competitive, agentic) and distances itself from what is otherwise (e.g., feminine, non-heterosexual, weak, communal) by way of social punishment, it creates an inflexible, narrow definition of masculinity (Bird, 1996). Men are thus given two options: either adhere to these traditional male norms and experience the benefits of the in-group, such as acceptance and protection, or deviate from these traditional male norms and risk losing status and power, and face ostracization from the in-group (Corprew & Mitchell, 2014). Because abiding by the groups' norms provides a sense of inclusion and acceptance, many men are likely to adhere to traditional norms.

Maintenance of Traditional Masculinity in Romantic Relationships

Despite advances toward gender egalitarianism, gender role expectations in the world of early dating and close relationships are still quite traditional (Serewicz & Gale, 2008). These expectations, known as dating scripts, are easily recalled sets of established rules and behaviors that men and women follow during the initial stages of romantic relationships (Eaton & Rose, 2011). Early dating scripts contain several behavioral double standards for men and women, with

many indicating that it is appropriate for men (but not women) to take on an active role in the relationship, such as initiating and paying for the date. To many, it would appear inappropriate or unattractive if men failed to take on these active roles, and instead had more passive, feminine roles in the dating script (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Eaton & Rose, 2011; Paynter & Leaper, 2016; Serewicz & Gale, 2008). As a whole, dating scripts are resistant to change because they are rooted in rigid gender role stereotypes about men and women; they are also beneficial to some and frequently utilized as they ease the anxiety and discomfort many feel during initial dating by offering social cues and explanations for ambiguous situations (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Eaton & Rose, 2011).

Although dating scripts are influenced by traditional gender roles, the motivation for the relationship and its context may also influence the content of these scripts, and thus the behaviors desired of men and women. Bradshaw and colleagues (2010) examined the differences between traditional dating scripts and hook-up scripts. Although traditional dating is still a practice that exists, many young adults more commonly engage in casual, non-committal hook-ups. As the context and expectations of these two encounters differ, so too do their rules for desirable traits and behaviors. In order to examine the differences between dating and hook-up scripts, researchers assessed men and women's dating and hook-up preferences, experiences, and perceived risks and costs. With regard to perceived risks and costs, women appear to benefit more from traditional dating, while men appear to benefit more from hooking-up (Bradshaw et al., 2010). Likewise, women also prefer traditional dating to hooking-up, while men prefer hooking-up to traditional dating. Of particular interest, the results suggest that the contents of hook-up scripts are more gender egalitarian than the contents of traditional dating scripts. In hook-up relationships, women are able to hold more agentic power than they hold in traditional

dating, because unlike in the early stages of traditional dating—where initiating sex is highly proscribed for women—it is viewed as less gender deviant when women initiate sex in hook-up relationships (Bradshaw et al., 2010). So, while women appear to benefit more from traditional dating, they also appear to hold more power and agency in hook-up relationships.

While dating and hook-up scripts provide rules for social behavior in already established relationships between men and women, they do not necessarily describe the factors associated with traits and behaviors men and women look for in an ideal romantic partner. Cultural influence is often cited as a significant influencing factor. Eastwick and colleagues (2006) examined men and women's romantic partner preferences across nine nations, including Germany, Mexico, Taiwan, and Singapore among others. Despite cultural differences, across all cultures men placed more importance on a potential mate's ability to perform caretaker roles successfully, while women placed more importance on a potential mate's ability to perform provider roles successfully. In addition, across all cultures men preferred mates younger than themselves, while women preferred mates older than themselves (Eastwick et al., 2006).

Individual gender role ideologies may also influence partner ideals. Women who identify as feminists are less likely to have traditional dating scripts and are more likely to endorse egalitarian gender role expectations (Backus & Mahalik, 2011). Unsurprisingly, these women are less likely to seek a traditionally masculine romantic partner, but instead will seek a romantic partner who shares their same gender role ideals. Women who do not identify as feminists, however, are more accepting of patriarchal cultural and are likely to select more traditionally masculine romantic partners (Backus & Mahalik, 2011). Moreover, women who are high in benevolence toward men tend to prefer more traditional men as romantic partners compared to women who are low in benevolence toward men (Thomae & Houston, 2016). Women have also

reported higher preference for non-conformist men as romantic partners compared to conformist men (Hornsey, Wellauer, McIntyre, & Barlow, 2015).

Romantic partner ideals are not always clear cut, however, and the literature on traits women find attractive in male partners is often quite mixed. Women have reported higher preference for non-conformist men as romantic partners compared to conformist men (Hornsey, Wellauer, McIntyre, & Barlow, 2015), and it is not uncommon for many women to express their attraction to and desire to date less traditional, nice, sensitive men (Urbaniak & Kilmann, 2003, 2006). However, despite their stated preference for the “nice guy”, women in actuality tend to more often pick traditional, “macho”, and dominant men for real-life romantic partners. Factors associated with this phenomenon, known as the nice guy stereotype, have been extensively researched (Ahmetoglu & Swami, 2012; McDaniel, 2005; Urbaniak & Kilmann, 2003). Urbaniak and Kilmann (2006) extended research on the nice guy stereotype by examining it with regard to relationship duration and women’s romantic partner preferences. Specifically, they examined if there were differences in women’s mate preferences in short versus long-term relationships. They operationalized this by assessing men’s prior dating success (determined via a dating history questionnaire), and then had female participants rate their perceived attractiveness of the male targets. Counter to their prediction, nice, agreeable men, did not report more success with women in long-term relationships than they did in short-term relationships. However, the researchers did find that physically attractive, less agreeable, traditional men reported more success with women in short-term, non-committal relationships (e.g., casually dating, one-time sexual encounters) as opposed to long-term relationships. Because men likely observe women’s tendency to go for more traditional men regardless of what their stated

preferences are, they are less motivated to adhere to the “nice guy” roles and behaviors as it decreases their odds of dating success.

As demonstrated above, many of the barriers men face in their engagement with communal roles has to do with the perceived desirability of these traits in men as romantic partners. Emotional responsiveness, defined as responding to and caring for a partner’s needs and wishes, is perceived as more attractive when it is expressed by women than when it is expressed by men (Birnbaum, Ein-Dor, Reis, & Segal, 2014). In an experimental study, Birnbaum and colleagues (2014) found that men perceived responsive female strangers as being more feminine and higher in sexual desirability than women perceived responsive male strangers. In fact, the relationship between responsiveness and increased perceptions of masculinity or sexual desirability were entirely absent in women’s ratings of responsive men.

Birnbaum and colleagues (2014) suggest that the reason why this relationship is present in men, but absent in women, is due largely to different motivations in mate selection. Men prefer responsive women because women high in responsiveness are likely to be highly emotionally responsive toward their offspring. Offspring raised by responsive, communal women are likely to be better cared for and more successful than offspring raised by women who are not responsive or communal. Thus, in order to ensure reproductive viability, men are sexually attracted to mates who will be most likely to be responsive toward their offspring which will ensure the success of subsequent generations.

While an evolutionary approach to understanding why responsiveness is attractive in women (but not in men) certainly makes sense, it may also be of some benefit to examine it using social role theory (Eagly, 1987). Because women historically held roles that required communal traits and men historically held roles that required agentic traits, they are now both

stereotyped as being more inherently communal and agentic, respectively. As a result, normative femininity is associated with a communal orientation, of which responsiveness is encouraged, while normative masculinity is associated with an agentic orientation, of which responsiveness is discouraged (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). Perhaps the differences in perceptions of responsive men and women are merely a result of responsive women being rewarded for adhering to traditional gender role expectations (i.e., being perceived as more attractive and feminine than unresponsive women), and responsive men being punished for deviating from traditional gender role expectations (i.e., being perceived as less attractive and masculine than unresponsive men). Because unattractive and unmasculine men are less likely to have romantic partners, it would make sense for men who are looking for a romantic partner to avoid traits and behaviors not typically associated with what is considered normative masculinity.

The Present Study

Although the previous research described above displays the methods by which traditional masculinity is maintained through rigid stereotypes, status inequalities, and the influence of same and cross-sex peers, we do not fully understand how factors associated with the perceiver may impact their perceptions of male gender role deviance. While we know that male gender role transgressors are met with more social backlash than female gender role transgressors (Siren et al., 2004), in the present study, I examine perceiver variables that may influence perceptions of male gender role transgression. In particular, I examine the effects of perceiver gender, perceiver relationship status and duration, and perceiver gender role ideology on evaluations of gender conforming and non-conforming men.

As outlined above, traditional masculinity is maintained largely by way of men's peer relationships, with gender role adherence heavily policed throughout childhood and into early

adulthood (Blakemore, 2003; Flood, 2008; Levy et al., 1995). These pressures are likely to continue into dating scripts, with men feeling pressures to conform to romantic partner preferences outlined by women. However, research is mixed on women's preferences in men as romantic partners; studies suggest that women prefer nonconformist romantic partners, but this is not always in line with their actions as women tend to actually date traditional men regardless of their stated preferences (Urbaniak & Kilmann, 2003, 2006). Perhaps it is not only women's preferences that are shaping men as romantic partners, but it is men's relationships with their same-sex peers that are shaping these ideals as well. The current study examines this notion by assessing how heterosexual men view other heterosexual men as potential romantic partners for women they know. On the one hand, if men are indeed motivated to protect the construct of masculinity by keeping other, gender deviant men in line (Bartholomeaus & Tarrant, 2016; Bird, 1987; Connell, 1987; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Flood, 2008), we can predict that they will prefer gender conforming men as potential romantic partners for women they know. On the other hand, men who are already in a long-term, committed relationship may not have the same degree of influence from same-sex peers as single men do, and may have more relaxed gender role expectations. In fact, these men may see the appeal of more communal, gender non-conforming men as romantic partners and will thus prefer him as a potential romantic partner for women they know. Previous research suggests that gender role expectations—especially male gender role norms—relax with age so perhaps this notion is true as relationship duration increases as well (Guttman, 1987; Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson & McKee, 1978).

Of course, all of these predictions may be impacted by the perceiver's gender ideology, as reflected by their ambivalent attitudes toward men and women. If participants hold more hostile and benevolent attitudes toward men and women, they are likely to hold more traditional

gender role ideologies, and will thus prefer the gender conforming man as a potential romantic partner (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1999; Thomae & Houston, 2016). Besides ratings of romantic partner suitability, I also expect that participants will accurately perceive the gender non-conforming man as higher in warmth than the gender conforming man, and the gender conforming man as higher in competence than the gender non-conforming man (Fiske et al., 2002; Glick et al., 2004).

With this taken into consideration, the hypotheses for the present study are:

Hypothesis 1A. All participants, regardless of gender and relationship status, will rate the gender non-conforming man higher on warmth items and lower on competence items.

Hypothesis 1B. All participants, regardless of gender or relationship status, will rate the gender conforming man higher on competence items and lower on warmth items.

Hypothesis 2A. Single participants will rate the gender non-conforming man lower in romantic partner suitability than the gender conforming man. They will also express more social backlash by rating the non-conforming man as lower in competence and likability than paired participants. I expect all these effects to be stronger in male participants than female participants.

Hypothesis 2B. Paired participants will rate the gender non-conforming man higher in romantic partner suitability than the gender conforming man. They will express less backlash and rate him higher in competence and likability than single participants. I expect all these effects to be stronger in female participants than male participants.

Hypothesis 3A. Participants high in hostility and benevolence toward men and/or women will have more traditional gender role ideologies, and will thus rate the gender conforming man higher in likability and romantic partner suitability than the gender non-conforming man.

Hypothesis 3B. Participants low in hostility and benevolence toward men and/or women will have less traditional gender role ideologies, and will thus rate the gender non-conforming man higher in likability and romantic partner suitability than the gender conforming man.

Method

Participants

One hundred thirty-five adults (58 male, 77 female) ranging in age from 18 to 25 years ($M = 19.92$) were recruited for the present study in exchange for either course credit or a \$5 Amazon gift card. All participants self-identified as heterosexual and reported their current relationship status (73 single, 62 paired). Paired participants had relationship durations ranging from two weeks to six years. Participant gender and relationship status distributions are located in Table 1. A total of twenty participants were excluded from the study for not meeting selection criteria.

Procedure and Measures

The study occurred in an online survey format. Participants were told the study aimed to examine traits associated with successful college students. Before data collection began, approval was sought and granted from the Otterbein Institutional Review Board (Appendix A). Once consent was obtained (Appendix B), participants were randomly assigned to a vignette condition and then completed a questionnaire. Upon completion, participants were thanked for their participation and informed when and how they could access the results of the study.

Vignettes. A total of four vignettes created by the researcher were used in the study. Each vignette depicted a current male college student in his junior year and described his academic endeavors, career/professional goals, extra-curricular activities, and future marriage/family aspirations. There were two vignette conditions: gender conforming and gender non-conforming. The gender conforming condition described a traditional, stereotypically masculine man, while the gender non-conforming condition described an untraditional, gender deviant man. Participants were randomly assigned to a condition and read one vignette. All vignettes are located in Appendix C.

Of the four total vignettes, two were in the gender conforming condition and two were in the gender non-conforming condition. An independent samples t-test displayed no significant differences in participants' ratings of the two gender conforming vignettes or the two gender non-conforming vignettes. Thus, the results from them were combined; results from the two gender non-conforming vignettes were combined into a unified gender non-conforming condition and results from the two gender conforming vignettes were combined into a unified gender conforming condition.

Before data collection began, a pilot study was administered to ensure the vignettes utilized in the study had the desired effect. Specifically, I tested to see if the gender conforming men were rated higher in masculinity and lower in femininity, and the gender non-conforming men were rated as higher in femininity, and lower in masculinity.

Manipulation Check. A manipulation check was administered to ensure participants read and understood the assigned vignette. Participants were asked to provide a brief written summary of the hypothetical college student they read about. All participants were able to accurately identify what they read and passed the manipulation check.

Warmth, Competence, Likability, and Romantic Partner Suitability. A 16-item questionnaire created by the researcher based on Fiske et al. (1999) assessed participant perceptions of the target's warmth and competence (Appendix D). To assess warmth, statements like, "This student seems like a good-natured person" and, "This student seems like a kind person" were presented. Competence was assessed using statements like, "This student seems like an independent person" and, "This student seems like a competitive person". Likability and romantic partner suitability were also assessed using this questionnaire. Statements like, "I could imagine being friends with this person" and, "This person is well-liked by their peers" were used

to assess likability, while statements like, “If this person were single, I would recommend them to a female friend to date” and, “In general, this person would make a good romantic partner” were used to assess romantic partner suitability. Filler questions about the target’s college experience were also administered to conceal the true purpose of the study. Participants used a 6-point Likert scale (0 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree) to rate their perceptions of the target on each item.

The three items on the questionnaire pertaining to warmth were combined to create a single score; this scale had good internal reliability, with a Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.86. The two items on the questionnaire pertaining to likability were also combined to create a single likability score, with a Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.58. Competence and romantic partner suitability were assessed individually because they were not highly correlated with one another. A table of the correlations between the dependent variables is located in Table 2.

Ambivalent Sexism. Hostile and benevolent sexism were measured using the 22-item Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996; see Appendix E). Participants were presented with statements regarding their hostile and benevolent attitudes toward women and used a 6-point Likert scale (0 = disagree strongly, 5 = agree strongly) to rate their responses. Cronbach alpha coefficients for the hostile and benevolent sexism subscales were acceptable at 0.91 and 0.81, respectively.

Ambivalence toward Men. Hostile and benevolent attitudes toward men were measured using the 20-item Ambivalence toward Men Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1999; see Appendix E). Participants were presented with statements regarding their hostile and benevolent attitudes toward men and used a 6-point Likert scale (0 = disagree strongly, 5 = agree strongly) to rate

their responses. Cronbach alpha coefficients of the hostility and benevolence toward men subscales were acceptable at 0.81 and 0.88, respectively.

Life Role Salience Scales. Select items from the Life Role Salience Scales (Amatea, Cross, Clark, & Bobby, 1986; see Appendix E) were used to examine men's and women's occupational and marital role expectations. Specifically, items from the occupational role reward, occupational role commitment, and marital role reward subscales were used in the present study. The data collected from these subscales were not used in the analyses, and, as a result, will not be discussed further.

Demographics. Participants completed a demographic questionnaire which asked for their age, gender, sexual orientation, and relationship status, duration, and history (located in Appendix F).

Results

Before data analysis began, participants were categorized based on their relationship status. On the demographic questionnaire, participants reported their current relationship status as either being single, casually dating non-monogamous, casually dating monogamous, in a serious relationship, married, divorced or widowed. They were also asked to indicate the duration of their current relationship, if applicable. Participants were further categorized by the researcher as being single or paired; those who indicated a relationship (casually dating monogamous or in a serious relationship) of over six months were classified as paired, while those who indicated a relationship (casually dating monogamous or in a serious relationship) of under six months were classified as single. Single participants and those casually dating non-monogamous were always categorized as single and married participants were always categorized as paired.

A three-way between-subjects multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed to investigate factors associated with perceptions of gender conforming and gender non-conforming men. Three independent variables were used: gender of the participant (male or female), relationship status of the participant (single or paired), and vignette condition exposed to the participant (gender conforming man or gender non-conforming man). Four main dependent variables were used: competence ratings (competent, competitive, independent, success in workplace, and success in major), warmth ratings (kind, nice, good-natured), likability ratings (well-liked by peers, imagine being friends), and romantic partner suitability (likely to recommend to female friend to date, good romantic partner in general, likely to be a good parent). In the following analyses, items pertaining to warmth and likability were combined into their respective scales.

As expected, there was a significant multivariate main effect for condition, $F(10, 117) = 31.297, p < 0.001$; Wilks' Lambda = 0.272, and no significant multivariate main effects for participant gender or participant relationship status, $F(10, 117) = 1.107, p = 0.36$; $F(10, 117) = 1.715, p = 0.09$, respectively. Counter to my predictions, there were no significant multivariate interactions for condition and relationship status or for condition and gender, $F(10, 117) = 0.94, p = 0.24$; $F(10, 117) = 0.659, p = 0.76$, respectively. In other words, participant gender or participant relationship status did not appear to moderate perceptions of the gender conforming and gender non-conforming target; thus, hypotheses 2A and 2B were not supported. However, an unexpected significant multivariate interaction was found for participant gender and relationship status, $F(10, 117) = 2.995, p < 0.05$; Wilks' Lambda = 0.796.

Given the significance of the main effect for condition and the interaction for participant gender and relationship status, the univariate main effects and interactions were examined.

Condition. In support of hypothesis 1A, a significant main effect for condition was obtained for perceptions of warmth, such that participants rated the gender non-conforming man as higher in warmth ($M = 5.03$, $SD = 0.54$) than the gender conforming man ($M = 4.42$, $SD = 0.70$), $F(7, 126) = 11.982$, $p < 0.001$.

Hypothesis 1B was partially supported. Although participants did not significantly differ in their ratings of competence for the gender conforming or gender non-conforming target, there were significant differences in perceptions of other competence items, such as independence, competitiveness, success in major and success in workplace. Participants rated the gender conforming man as being more independent and competitive ($M_{independent} = 5.38$, $SD_{independent} = 0.82$; $M_{competitive} = 5.12$, $SD_{competitive} = 1.045$) than the gender non-conforming man ($M_{independent} = 4.28$, $SD_{independent} = 1.34$; $M_{competitive} = 2.68$, $SD_{competitive} = 1.06$), $F(7, 126) = 44.126$, $p < 0.001$; $F(7, 126) = 194.404$, $p < 0.001$, respectively. Furthermore, participants rated the gender conforming man as being more successful in his major and in the workplace ($M_{success\ in\ major} = 5.11$, $SD_{success\ in\ major} = 1.34$; $M_{success\ in\ workplace} = 5.21$, $SD_{success\ in\ workplace} = 0.73$) than the gender non-conforming man ($M_{success\ in\ major} = 4.72$, $SD_{success\ in\ major} = 1.02$; $M_{success\ in\ workplace} = 3.93$, $SD_{success\ in\ workplace} = 1.15$), $F(7, 126) = 9.075$, $p < 0.01$; $F(7, 126) = 51.479$, $p < 0.001$, respectively. Means for significant competence items can be seen in Figure 2.

There was a main effect for likelihood to recommend the target to a female friend to date such that participants were more likely to recommend the gender non-conforming man to a female friend to date ($M = 3.68$, $SD = 1.12$) than the gender conforming man ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 1.24$), $F(7, 126) = 61.107$, $p < 0.001$. In addition, there were significant main effects for condition found for ratings of being a good romantic partner and likelihood of being a good parent. Participants rated the gender non-conforming man as being a better romantic

partner in general and more likely to be a good parent ($M_{\text{good romantic partner}} = 4.15$, $SD_{\text{good romantic partner}} = 1.06$; $M_{\text{good parent}} = 4.66$, $SD_{\text{good parent}} = 1.09$) than the gender conforming man ($M_{\text{good romantic partner}} = 2.79$, $SD_{\text{good romantic partner}} = 1.07$; $M_{\text{good parent}} = 3.88$, $SD_{\text{good parent}} = 1.12$), $F(7, 126) = 61.107$, $p < 0.001$; $F(7, 126) = 21.102$, $p < 0.001$, respectively. Means for ratings of romantic partner suitability can be seen in Figure 1. Although hypotheses 2A and 2B were not supported, the main effects reported do indicate that the gender non-conforming target was perceived as higher in romantic partner suitability than the gender conforming target.

Relationship Status and Gender. There was a univariate interaction for relationship status and gender on ratings of warmth such that single men rated the targets as higher in warmth ($M = 4.93$, $SD = 0.59$) than did single women ($M = 4.67$, $SD = 0.70$), paired men ($M = 4.46$, $SD = 0.70$), or paired women ($M = 4.82$, $SD = 0.59$); $F(7, 126) = 6.971$, $p < 0.05$. There was also a significant interaction for relationship status and gender on ratings of independence such that paired women ($M = 5.15$, $SD = 1.05$) and single men ($M = 5.14$, $SD = 0.99$) rated the targets as higher in independence than did single women ($M = 4.79$, $SD = 1.17$) and paired men ($M = 4.14$, $SD = 1.53$); $F(7, 126) = 14.931$, $p < 0.001$. Finally, there was a significant interaction for relationship status and gender for participants' ratings of how likely they would be to recommend the target to a female friend to date, such that single men ($M = 3.59$, $SD = 1.18$) and paired women ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 1.26$) were more likely to recommend the target to a female friend to date than paired men ($M = 3.11$, $SD = 1.42$) and single women ($M = 3.02$, $SD = 1.12$); $F(7, 126) = 4.043$, $p < 0.05$.

However, as these interactions do not include condition, they do not describe differences in the participants' ratings of the gender conforming or gender non-conforming targets. Thus, they will not be discussed further.

Ambivalence toward Men and Ambivalent Sexism

Ambivalence toward Men. Ambivalence toward men was examined using the hostility and benevolence toward men subscales of the AMI (Glick & Fiske, 1999). In the following multivariate analyses, men and women were considered separately. A median split was also performed for both hostility and benevolence toward men, creating two distinct groups: high in hostility toward men versus low in hostility toward men, and high in benevolence toward men versus low in benevolence toward men. These distributions can be seen in Table 4.

A three-way between-subjects MANOVA was performed to assess how condition, relationship status, and hostility toward men impacted men's perceptions gender conforming and gender non-conforming men. There was not a significant multivariate main effect for hostility toward men, $F(10, 39) = 0.628, p > 0.05$. There was also not a significant multivariate interaction for condition and hostility toward men, $F(10, 39) = 1.929, p > 0.05$. Thus, hypotheses 3A and 3B were not supported. However, there was a significant multivariate interaction for relationship status and hostility toward men, $F(10, 39) = 2.361, p < 0.05$; Wilks' Lambda = 0.623. There was also a significant multivariate three-way interaction for condition, relationship status, and hostility toward men, $F(10, 39) = 2.400, p < 0.05$; Wilks' Lambda = 0.619. Therefore, the univariate interactions were examined.

Relationship Status and Hostility toward Men. There was a significant univariate interaction for relationship status and hostility toward men for perceptions of warmth and likelihood to recommend the target to a female friend to date such that single men low in hostility toward men rated the targets as warmer and were more likely to recommend them to a friend to date ($M_{warmth} = 5.10, SD_{warmth} = 0.38$; $M_{recommend\ to\ friend} = 3.94, SD_{recommend\ to\ friend} = 1.06$) than did single men high in hostility toward men ($M_{warmth} = 4.72, SD_{warmth} = 0.73$; $M_{recommend\ to\ friend} = 3.15, SD$

recommend to friend = 1.21), paired men high in hostility toward men ($M_{warmth} = 4.70$, $SD_{warmth} = 0.66$; $M_{recommend\ to\ friend} = 3.70$, $SD_{recommend\ to\ friend} = 1.64$) or paired men low in hostility toward men ($M_{warmth} = 4.35$, $SD_{warmth} = 0.72$; $M_{recommend\ to\ friend} = 2.76$, $SD_{recommend\ to\ friend} = 1.25$), $F(1, 126) = 6.467$, $p < 0.05$; $F(1, 126) = 6.963$, $p < 0.05$, respectively.

However, these interactions do not include condition so they do not describe differences in the participants' ratings of the gender conforming or gender non-conforming targets. Thus, they are not relevant to the current study and will not be discussed further.

Condition, Relationship Status, and Hostility toward Men. There was a significant three-way univariate interaction for condition, relationship status, and hostility toward men for men's ratings of independence such that single men high in hostility toward men rated the gender conforming man as being highest in independence ($M = 5.83$, $SD = 0.408$), while paired men low in hostility toward men rated the gender non-conforming man as being lowest in independence ($M = 2.67$, $SD = 1.00$); $F(1, 126) = 7.54$, $p < 0.05$. However, this interaction is irrelevant to the hypotheses of the current study so it will not be analyzed further.

An additional three-way between-subjects MANOVA was performed to examine how condition, relationship status and benevolence toward men impacted men's perceptions of gender conforming and gender non-conforming men. There was not a significant main effect for benevolence toward men, $F(10, 39) = 0.966$, $p = 0.487$. There were also no significant interactions. Finally, two between subjects MANOVAs were conducted to examine how condition, relationship status, hostility or benevolence toward men impacted women's perceptions of gender conforming and gender non-conforming men. There were no significant main effects for either benevolence or hostility toward men; $F(10, 59) = 0.955$, $p = 0.14$, $F(10, 59) = 1.348$, $p = 0.23$. There were also no significant interactions.

Ambivalent Sexism. Ambivalent sexism was examined using the hostile and benevolent sexism subscales of the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Similar to the previously mentioned multivariate analyses with the AMI, men and women were considered separately. A median split was also performed for both hostile and benevolent sexism, creating two distinct groups: high in hostile sexism versus low in hostile sexism, and high in benevolent sexism versus low in benevolent sexism. These distributions can be seen in Table 4.

Three-way between-subjects MANOVAs were performed to examine how condition, participant relationship status, and hostile or benevolent sexism influenced men's or women's perceptions of gender conforming and gender non-conforming men. There were no significant main effects for hostile or benevolent sexism for either men, $F(10, 38) = 1.066, p = 0.41$; $F(10, 39) = 1.164, p = 0.34$, or women, $F(10, 59) = 0.561, p = 0.08$, $F(10, 59) = 1.399, p = 0.192$. There were also no significant interactions.

Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to examine how perceptions of gender role deviance in men is impacted by the perceiver's gender, relationship status and duration, and gender role ideology. It was hypothesized that participants would rate the gender conforming man higher on dimensions of competence and lower on dimensions of warmth, and that participants would rate the gender non-conforming man higher on dimensions of warmth and lower on dimensions of competence. The data partially supported these hypotheses. Of the competence items assessed, participants rated the gender conforming man as more independent and competitive, and as more likely to be successful in the workplace and in their major. Furthermore, participants rated the gender non-conforming man higher in warmth than the gender conforming man. These findings are in accordance with the SCM, which states that

traditional men are stereotypically perceived as higher in competence and lower in warmth than women (Fiske et al., 2002). Because the gender non-conforming man had future aspirations that are stereotypically associated with women, it makes sense that he was perceived as higher in warmth and lower in competence, much like women.

These findings also show support for the notion that gender role deviants will be met with social backlash (Bosson et al., 2006; Bosson et al., 2005; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004; Siren et al., 2004). The social backlash expressed toward the gender non-conforming man was noted in participants' perceiving him as lower in two competence items (independence and competitiveness) and as less likely to succeed than the gender conforming man.

Perceiver Gender and Relationship Status

It was hypothesized that paired men and women would prefer the gender non-conforming man by rating him as higher in romantic partner suitability, and would express less social backlash toward the gender non-conforming man by rating him higher in competence and likability than single participants. However, the data did not support these hypotheses. There appear to be no differences between single or paired men and women with regard to perceptions of competence, likability, or romantic partner suitability for gender conforming and gender non-conforming men. Both single and paired men and women rated the gender non-conforming man higher in romantic partner suitability than the gender conforming man.

Although my hypotheses regarding the impact of gender on perceptions of gender conforming and gender non-conforming men were not supported, these lack of findings may still shed some light on the way in which traditional male gender roles are maintained in society. Perhaps men and women both play roles with equal impact in policing male gender role adherence. Because masculinity is precarious men are motivated to keep other men in line when

they are gender deviant by expressing social backlash toward them in order to protect the construct of masculinity (Vandello et al, 2008). However, women also play a role in the policing of male gender roles. Because heterosexual men want to behave in ways that will increase their odds of attracting a partner, they may adjust their behavior in order to fit the traits that women find desirable. Although the literature on traits and behaviors women find attractive in men is inconsistent, some of it does suggest that women prefer a traditional mate. In fact, according to the nice guy stereotype, while women report that they prefer nice, sensitive men as romantic partners, few actually date these types of men; their actions suggest that women typically date more traditional men (Urbaniak & Kilmann, 2006). When men observe the type of men that women actually date, it may motivate their behavior by making them adhere to more traditional gender role norms in order to attract a female romantic partner. Thus, it appears that there are more similarities between men and women than differences in how they perceive gender non-conformity.

The lack of findings with regard to relationship status and perceptions of the gender conforming and gender non-conforming target is disappointing, but perhaps not surprising since there has been minimal previous research on the effects of participant relationship status on perceptions of gender non-conforming men. While Urbaniak and Kilmann (2006) examined traits that women found attractive in men as romantic partners with regard to relationship type and duration, their study did not necessarily examine how women's own relationship status may have influenced these preferences. It could be that relationship status does not have an effect on influencing perceptions of gender non-conforming men, but rather it is some other variable, such as age. Previous research suggests that as men and women age their gender role ideologies begin to change, becoming less rigid and more accepting of transgressions (Bartholomaeus & Tarrant,

2016; Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995; Guttman, 1987; Levinson et al., 1978). In fact, as men age they become able to express stereotypically feminine traits and behaviors, such as nurturance, with less penalties (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995).

Cournoyer & Mahalik (1995) suggest that this shift in men's ideologies occurs because they become less concerned with obtaining power, success, or being in competition with others. As men age, they also become less threatened by femininity and begin to see the benefit of engaging in traditionally feminine behaviors such as interpersonal sharing and emotional intimacy with others (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995). Moreover, due to ageism, men also begin to lose status as they grow older due to lost competence (Bartholomeaus & Tarrant, 2016; Fiske et al., 2002). The current study had a limited sample that did not allow for exploration of this hypothesis, but it would be interesting to examine in future research.

Participant Gender Role Ideologies

I predicted that participants high in hostile and benevolent attitudes toward men and women would rate the gender non-conforming man lower in likability and romantic partner suitability, while participants low in hostile and benevolent attitudes toward men and women would rate the gender non-conforming man as higher in likability and romantic partner suitability. However, the data did not support these hypotheses, showing no significant differences in perceptions of either the gender conforming or gender non-conforming man in relation to high or low hostile and benevolent attitudes toward men and women.

This result is curious because it is contrary to what the literature would suggest. Because those high in hostile or benevolent attitudes toward men and women have more traditional gender role ideologies and more traditional mate preferences, one should expect that these attitudes would be reflected in their judgments of gender non-conforming men as romantic

partners (Thomae & Houston, 2016; Lee et al., 2010; Travaglia, Overall, & Sibley, 2009). In fact, previous research displays that high hostile and benevolent attitudes toward men and women are positively related to traditional gender role ideologies, and thus negatively correlated with gender equality (Glick et al., 2004). Taking this into consideration, one would expect that this measure would interact with participants' differing perceptions of the gender conforming and non-conforming targets, but perhaps this was not the case due to limitations in the study design.

Limitations

Like all experimental studies, the present study contained several limitations and the results should be evaluated with these taken into consideration. First, the current study was restricted due to a smaller than desired sample size, particularly with regard to male participants. As there were several variables examined at the same time, the cell sizes were smaller than what was planned, thus not allowing for enough power to fully test the hypotheses. The range in relationship status and duration was also a limitation to the present study. Although a considerable number of participants indicated that they were in a serious relationship, many of these relationships were not substantially long. Perhaps this limitation could be addressed in future research by examining older participants in combination with younger participants. Older participants, just by virtue of living longer, are more likely to be in longer relationships than younger participants. We don't necessarily know if relationship status and duration even have an effect on perceptions of gender conforming and non-conforming men, but if it is to be examined it should be done by utilizing a sample with a wide range of relationship durations.

Another significant design limitation in the present study was the way in which the perceived romantic partner suitability of gender conforming and non-conforming men was

assessed. Although one of the goals of this study was to further examine the ways in which men's same-sex peers police traditional gender role adherence, perhaps the questions asked did not adequately touch on these judgments. Because I anticipated that many heterosexual men would feel uncomfortable judging the attractiveness of other heterosexual men as potential romantic partners, these questions instead assessed the degree to which participants felt that the target was attractive for women they know. However, what participants think would be attractive for a friend may be different than what participants think is attractive themselves. Perhaps I found no differences in men and women's perceptions of the conforming and non-conforming man because of the way in which these questions were phrased. Or perhaps there were simply no differences between men and women on these measures.

Implications and Future Directions

Although several of my hypotheses were not supported in the present study, the data do replicate the finding that men who fail to conform to prescriptive gender role stereotypes are met with social backlash (Bosson et al., 2006; Bosson et al., 2005; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004; Siren et al., 2004). While previous research suggests that men experience more backlash for gender role transgression than women (Siren et al., 2004), it is quite mixed with regard to why this is the case. Some lines of research suggest this is due to the differential status afforded to men and women. When women deviate and possess high status agentic traits they experience backlash, but they also increase in status. When men deviate and possess low status communal traits they experience backlash in addition to their decreased status (Fiske et al., 1999).

Previous research also suggests that the perceivers' own gender role ideologies influence these perceptions, with those holding more traditional ideologies likely to express backlash toward gender deviants who challenge traditional gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1999;

Thomae & Houston, 2016). However, this research does not tell us why male deviants experience more backlash than female deviants. Although the present study examined perceiver gender and relationship status as potential moderators, there may be other factors not examined that have an effect. Perhaps examining the perceiver's own relationship ideals or future goals would be of some benefit. The degree to which one finds a potential romantic partner attractive may have a lot to do with their own future career or family goals. It is likely that in looking for a partner, many want one who shares the same goals and is also willing to be accommodating toward those goals. For instance, women who want a career and family may be attracted to men who are willing to take on more domestic responsibilities than what is traditionally prescribed for men. In addition, asking the participant about their own romantic relationship ideals would tell us whether or not they want a more traditional or less traditional romantic partner. It is possible that the participant's own mate preferences would influence their judgments about the attractiveness of gender conforming or gender non-conforming targets. Finally, it may also be beneficial to examine perceptions of attractiveness as a romantic partner in men who are already in these roles, rather than merely aspiring to be in them. The present study described college students and their future goals, but these students were not in these roles yet. Perhaps reading about an individual already enacting a traditional or egalitarian romantic relationship would result in participant attitudes being less subtle.

It is imperative that psychological research continue examining the barriers in place that prevent men from engaging in traditionally feminine, communal roles. Current male gender roles are highly restrictive and contain many consequences for both men and society as a whole. Because of the social backlash men are certain to face in failing to conform to these traditional gender roles, many men strictly avoid deviating from them in order to maximize social rewards

and minimize social punishments (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). It is also important to note that men benefit from traditional male gender role norms. Traditional masculinity and the male gender are afforded high status and prestige, granting them increased access to positions with social, political and economic power (Rudman & Mescher, 2013).

As men benefit from this system to some degree, they have less of an incentive to challenge it. However, men are necessary to challenge traditional gender role norms and the current status quo. Feminist men are perceived as more likable and warm than feminist women by both men and women (Anderson, 2009). Male feminists are also perceived as more reasonable, and, as a result, are more likely to have a stronger influence on others than female feminists. Yet, men who outwardly express gender egalitarian beliefs are met with social backlash (Rudman, Mescher, & Moss-Racusin, 2012). In particular, men who self-identify as feminists or promote egalitarian gender ideologies are more likely to be stigmatized as feminine, weak, and gay (Rudman et al., 2012; Anderson, 2009). Male feminists are also likely to be perceived as less in line with male gender role stereotypes (e.g., tough, strong, dominant, unemotional) by both men and women, and are rated as less confident than female feminists by women (Anderson, 2009). Due to fear of social backlash and identity misclassification, men are discouraged from expressing egalitarian beliefs about gender that would benefit both men and women. This works to create a system of rigid adherence to traditional gender role norms which does nothing to challenge the status quo and only maintains these restrictive stereotypes (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004).

As a whole, future societal changes with regard to traditional gender roles in all domains is largely dependent on gender role deviance no longer being met with social backlash. Future research should continue to examine issues related to the maintenance of traditional gender role

stereotypes, especially with regard to traditional masculinity. This research should also consider the intersectional nature of oppression by looking at the ways in which gender interacts with class, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and gender identity. By examining many of the elements at play, we can further understand the mechanisms by which gender role adherence is maintained and may uncover ways in which we as a society can move closer toward gender equality.

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Table 1

Distributions of condition, participant gender, and relationship status

Condition	Male		Female	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Gender Conforming	14	14	22	16
Gender Non-Conforming	16	14	21	18

Table 2

Correlations for dependent variables

	Warmth	Likability	Good Romantic Partner	Recommend to Friend	Good Parent	Success in Major	Success in Workplace	Competent	Competitive	Independent
Warmth	1									
Likability	0.522**	1								
Good Romantic Partner	0.388**	0.407**	1							
Recommend to Friend	0.463**	0.458**	0.577**	1						
Good Parent	0.590**	0.485**	0.594**	0.484**	1					
Success in Major	-0.027	0.071	-0.145	-0.186*	-0.003	1				
Success in Workplace	0.055	0.104	-0.288**	-0.050	0.049	0.344**	1			
Competent	0.263**	0.322**	0.162	0.182*	0.375**	0.227**	0.467**	1		
Competitive	-0.315**	0.050	-0.376**	-0.183*	-0.173*	0.299**	0.608**	0.269**	1	
Independent	-0.075**	0.060	-0.123	-0.091	0.050	0.267**	0.381**	0.425**	0.414**	1

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 3

Distributions of high/low ASI/AMI subscales, gender, and relationship status

	Male		Female	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Low Hostile Sexism (≤ 1.91)	11	6	27	24
High Hostile Sexism (1.92 +)	19	20	15	10
Low Benevolent Sexism (≤ 2.27)	14	10	23	19
High Benevolent Sexism (2.28 +)	16	17	19	15
Low Hostility toward Men (≤ 1.80)	16	17	19	22
High Hostility toward Men (1.81 +)	14	10	23	12
Low Benevolence toward Men (≤ 1.60)	14	8	25	20
High Benevolence toward Men (1.61 +)	16	19	17	14

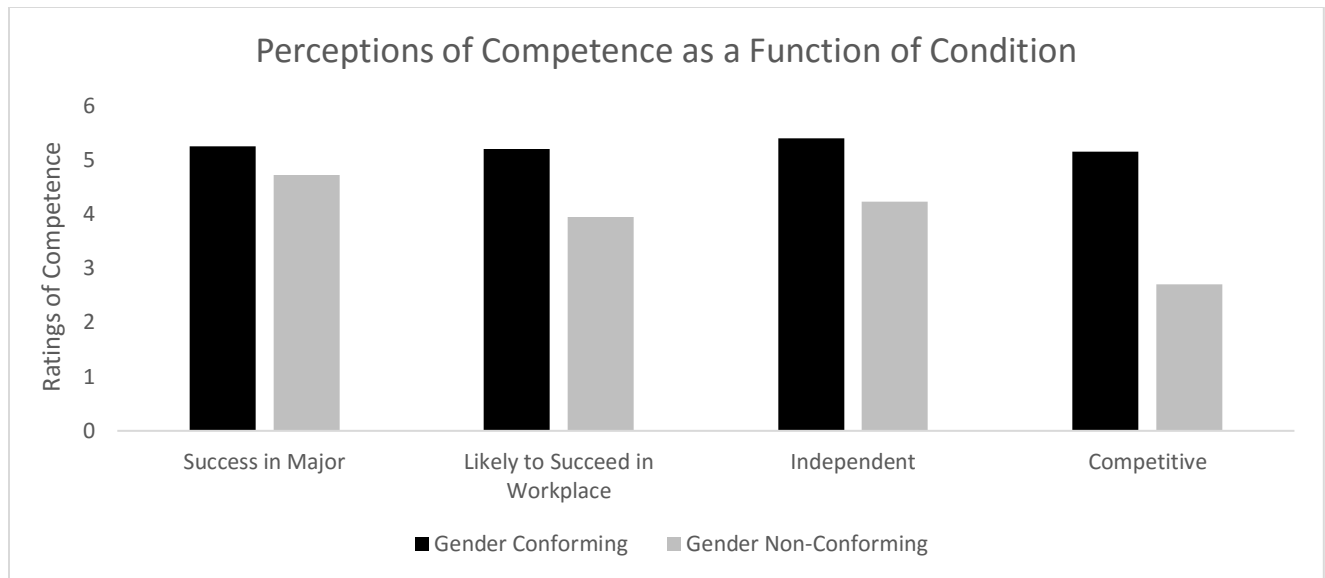


Figure 1. Means for ratings of competence items (success in major, success in workplace, competitive, independent) as a function of condition. All pairs are statistically significant at $p < 0.01$.

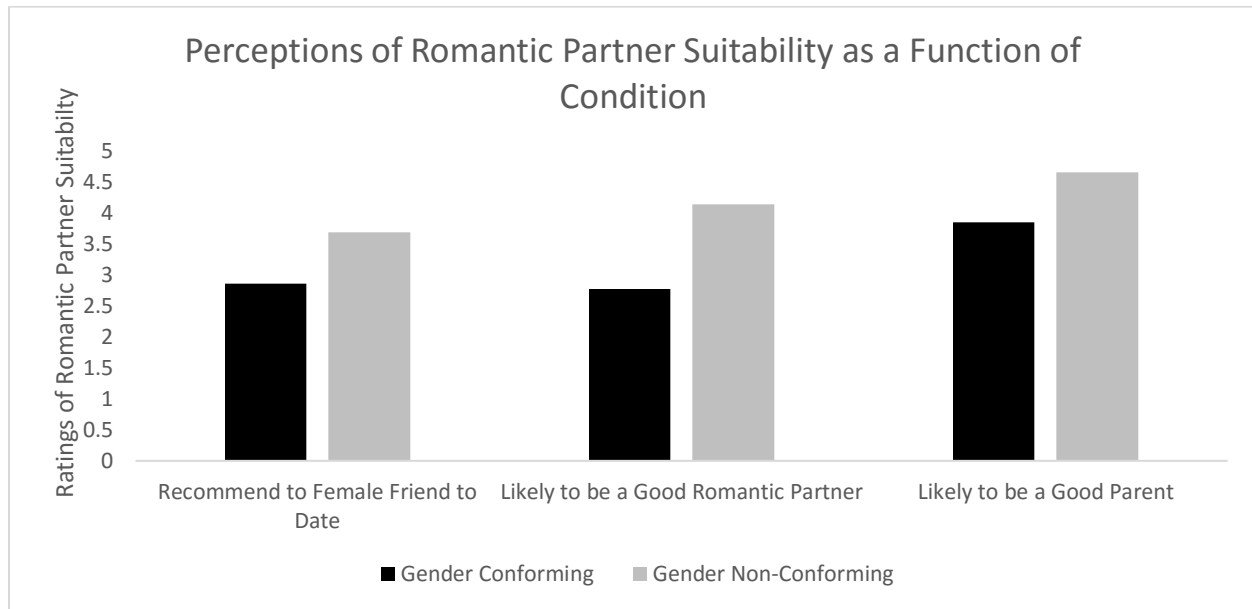


Figure 2. Means for ratings of romantic partner suitability items (recommend to female friend to date, good romantic partner, good parent) as a function of condition. All pairs are statistically significant at $p < 0.001$.

Appendix A IRB

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS
OTTERBEIN UNIVERSITY

☒ Original Review
☐ Continuing Review
☐ Five-Year Review
☐ Amendment

ACTION OF THE INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

With regard to the employment of human subjects in the proposed research:

HS # 16/17-09

Acker & Atkinson: The Effects of Gender and Relationship Status on Perceptions ...

THE INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD HAS TAKEN THE FOLLOWING ACTION:

☒ Approved ☐ Disapproved
☐ Approved with Stipulations* ☐ Waiver of Written Consent Granted
☐ Deferred

*Stipulations stated by the IRB have been met by the investigator and, therefore, the protocol is APPROVED.

It is the responsibility of the principal investigator to retain a copy of each signed consent form for at least four (4) years beyond the termination of the subject's participation in the proposed activity. Should the principal investigator leave the college, signed consent forms are to be transferred to the Institutional Review Board for the required retention period. This application has been approved for the period of one year. You are reminded that you must promptly report any problems to the IRB, and that no procedural changes may be made without prior review and approval. You are also reminded that the identity of the research participants must be kept confidential.

Date: 27 September 2016

Signed: _____

Chairperson

OC HS Form AF

Appendix B
Consent and Written Instructions to Participants

Consent Form

The Department of Psychology at Otterbein University supports the practice of protection for human subjects participating in research. The following information is provided for you to decide whether you wish to participate in the present study. You should be aware that even if you agree to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without penalty.

We are interested in studying perceptions of students' commitment to their major. You will be participating in a study that will involve reading three vignettes and completing a questionnaire. It is estimated that this will take no more than twenty minutes of your time. Although participation will not directly benefit you, we believe that the information will be useful in evaluating the traits of students who have a high dedication to their field of study and an overall desire to succeed in college and beyond.

Your participation is solicited although strictly voluntary. We assure you that your name will not be associated in any way with the research findings. The information will be identified only by a code number. If you would like additional information concerning this study before or after it is complete, please feel free to contact me by phone or mail.

Sincerely,
Dr. Michele Acker, Principal Investigator
1 S. Grove St, Westerville, OH 43081
614-823-1635
macker@otterbein.edu

Ciara Atkinson, Researcher
ciara.atkinson@otterbein.edu

By clicking on the ">>" below, I consent to participate in the study and affirm that I am at least 18 years of age.

Written Instructions to Participants

Thank you for agreeing to participate in our study. This study is designed to examine traits associated with college students' dedication to their major and overall desire to succeed both academically and professionally. The college years act as a formative time for young adults to learn and grow in an environment designed to aid them in becoming better academics and professionals within their discipline, which is why we feel this is an important subject to study further.

In this study, you will read about three hypothetical college students and their current academic and professional endeavors, as well as their future aspirations. You will complete a questionnaire regarding your perceptions of these college students. Specifically, you will be asked to rate your general impressions of their levels of success as both a student and a graduate of the institution.

It is estimated that this will take no more than twenty minutes of your time. Please answer as honestly as possible. All responses will be entirely anonymous. You will not be penalized for leaving questions blank.

Appendix C Normative and Non-Normative Vignettes

Normative Male 1: John is a current junior studying political science. He works hard and gets good grades. He is also involved in several organizations on campus, a few of which are the debate team and a pre-law club. During his free time, John enjoys playing basketball with friends. John plans to attend law school after graduation and ultimately plans to become a lawyer. Most of John's friends would agree that his education and professional career are very important to him. He is still able to find time for a social life with friends, but because of his dedication to school work, John is not interested in seriously dating during college. He has had casual relationships with girls here and there, but nothing too serious. John would say that his career goals prevent him from becoming too weighed down by a serious relationship. He would rather use his energy and time working towards his future career at this stage of life. John envisions himself getting married later in life, but his career goals and desire to succeed take precedence over this aspect of life.

Normative Male 2: Tim is a current junior studying biochemistry. He is highly involved in many activities, a few of which include working as a Research Assistant in a professor's lab and volunteering at a local hospital. Tim also enjoys playing sports and going to the gym during his free time. Tim works hard in school and gets good grades because he wants to go to medical school after graduation to become a surgeon. Tim is very busy, but he makes time for friends. He isn't interested in serious romantic relationships though. He doesn't seriously date anyone because he thinks it will take crucial time away from his academic and professional endeavors. It is true that he has had "flings" with girls in the past, but they have been nothing serious or worth labeling as significant. He imagines that he will have a serious relationship and maybe even get married someday, but he isn't so concerned about that right now. His desire to have a successful career are more of a pressing priority than the future of his love life.

Non-Normative Male 1: Steve is a current junior studying English. He recently got engaged to his long term college girlfriend and is planning to marry the fall after graduation. On campus he is involved in a book club and works at the writing center. During his free time, he enjoys reading classic literature books. He works hard in school and is a good student. Steve generally enjoys his major, especially his literature classes. Despite this, he is unsure of what career he would like to pursue upon graduation. He is interested in the field of English and likes several aspects of some careers within the field, like writing, but he hasn't looked into these professions too seriously. However, Steve isn't too concerned about this uncertainty, even in light of graduation being in the near future. He is really looking forward to marriage and is excited for the life changing experiences that come with it, like becoming a father someday.

Non-Normative Male 2: Kevin is a current junior studying psychology. He is not very outgoing and tends to keep to himself most of the time. He enjoys art and paints during his free time, although it is just a hobby. He is an overall good student and enjoys his classes and major. Kevin also works outside of class as a student assistant in the psychology department and does after school childcare. He really enjoys children so he likes working with them. He looks forward to becoming a father someday. Kevin also has a serious girlfriend who he hopes to become engaged to in the near future. He feels very sure about this relationship and believes he will be quite happy. Although he is quite confident in his romantic and future goals, Kevin is not at all sure about his professional goals. He likes psychology and finds it interesting, but isn't sure what career he would like to pursue. This does not really bother him at this point.

Appendix D
Vignette Questionnaire

1. This person seems to be succeeding in their major.
 - a. 0 = strongly disagree
 - b. 1 = disagree
 - c. 2 = slightly disagree
 - d. 3 = slightly agree
 - e. 4 = agree
 - f. 5 = strongly agree
2. This person will make a good alumnus of the university.
 - a. 0 = strongly disagree
 - b. 1 = disagree
 - c. 2 = slightly disagree
 - d. 3 = slightly agree
 - e. 4 = agree
 - f. 5 = strongly agree
3. This person will succeed in the workplace post-graduation.
 - a. 0 = strongly disagree
 - b. 1 = disagree
 - c. 2 = slightly disagree
 - d. 3 = slightly agree
 - e. 4 = agree
 - f. 5 = strongly agree
4. This person is likely to be active in their community in the future.
 - a. 0 = strongly disagree
 - b. 1 = disagree
 - c. 2 = slightly disagree
 - d. 3 = slightly agree
 - e. 4 = agree
 - f. 5 = strongly agree
5. This person seems to be having a worthwhile college experience.
 - a. 0 = strongly disagree
 - b. 1 = disagree
 - c. 2 = slightly disagree
 - d. 3 = slightly agree
 - e. 4 = agree
 - f. 5 = strongly agree
6. This student seems like a competent person.
 - a. 0 = strongly disagree
 - b. 1 = disagree
 - c. 2 = slightly disagree
 - d. 3 = slightly agree
 - e. 4 = agree
 - f. 5 = strongly agree

7. This student seems like a competitive person.
 - a. 0 = strongly disagree
 - b. 1 = disagree
 - c. 2 = slightly disagree
 - d. 3 = slightly agree
 - e. 4 = agree
 - f. 5 = strongly agree
8. This student seems like an independent person.
 - a. 0 = strongly disagree
 - b. 1 = disagree
 - c. 2 = slightly disagree
 - d. 3 = slightly agree
 - e. 4 = agree
 - f. 5 = strongly agree
9. This student seems to be a good-natured person.
 - a. 0 = strongly disagree
 - b. 1 = disagree
 - c. 2 = slightly disagree
 - d. 3 = slightly agree
 - e. 4 = agree
 - f. 5 = strongly agree
10. This student seems like a nice person.
 - a. 0 = strongly disagree
 - b. 1 = disagree
 - c. 2 = slightly disagree
 - d. 3 = slightly agree
 - e. 4 = agree
 - f. 5 = strongly agree
11. This student seems like a kind person.
 - a. 0 = strongly disagree
 - b. 1 = disagree
 - c. 2 = slightly disagree
 - d. 3 = slightly agree
 - e. 4 = agree
 - f. 5 = strongly agree
12. This person is well-liked by their peers.
 - a. 0 = strongly disagree
 - b. 1 = disagree
 - c. 2 = slightly disagree
 - d. 3 = slightly agree
 - e. 4 = agree
 - f. 5 = strongly agree

13. I could imagine being friends with this person.
- a. 0 = strongly disagree
 - b. 1 = disagree
 - c. 2 = slightly disagree
 - d. 3 = slightly agree
 - e. 4 = agree
 - f. 5 = strongly agree
14. If this person were single, I would recommend this person to a female friend to date.
- a. 0 = strongly disagree
 - b. 1 = disagree
 - c. 2 = slightly disagree
 - d. 3 = slightly agree
 - e. 4 = agree
 - f. 5 = strongly agree
15. In general, this person would make a good romantic partner.
- a. 0 = strongly disagree
 - b. 1 = disagree
 - c. 2 = slightly disagree
 - d. 3 = slightly agree
 - e. 4 = agree
 - f. 5 = strongly agree
16. This person is likely to have a family in the future.
- a. 0 = strongly disagree
 - b. 1 = disagree
 - c. 2 = slightly disagree
 - d. 3 = slightly agree
 - e. 4 = agree
 - f. 5 = strongly agree
17. This person would make a good parent if they decided to have children in the future.
- a. 0 = strongly disagree
 - b. 1 = disagree
 - c. 2 = slightly disagree
 - d. 3 = slightly agree
 - e. 4 = agree
 - f. 5 = strongly agree

Appendix E
Additional Questionnaire Measures

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
2. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for “equality.”
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
3. In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
4. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
5. Women are too easily offended.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly

6. People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
7. Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
8. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
9. Women should be cherished and protected by men.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
10. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
11. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly

12. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
13. Men are complete without women.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
14. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
15. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
16. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly

18. There are actually few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.
- 0 = disagree strongly
 - 1 = disagree somewhat
 - 2 = disagree slightly
 - 3 = agree slightly
 - 4 = agree somewhat
 - 5 = agree strongly
19. Women compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.
- 0 = disagree strongly
 - 1 = disagree somewhat
 - 2 = disagree slightly
 - 3 = agree slightly
 - 4 = agree somewhat
 - 5 = agree strongly
20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.
- 0 = disagree strongly
 - 1 = disagree somewhat
 - 2 = disagree slightly
 - 3 = agree slightly
 - 4 = agree somewhat
 - 5 = agree strongly
21. Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.
- 0 = disagree strongly
 - 1 = disagree somewhat
 - 2 = disagree slightly
 - 3 = agree slightly
 - 4 = agree somewhat
 - 5 = agree strongly
22. Women as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.
- 0 = disagree strongly
 - 1 = disagree somewhat
 - 2 = disagree slightly
 - 3 = agree slightly
 - 4 = agree somewhat
 - 5 = agree strongly

Ambivalence toward Men Inventory

1. Even if both members of a couple work, the woman ought to be more attentive to taking care of her man at home.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
2. A man who is sexually attracted to a woman typically has no morals about doing whatever it takes to get her in bed.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
3. Men are less likely to fall apart in emergencies than women are.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
4. When men act to “help” women, they are often trying to prove they are better than women.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
5. Every woman needs a male partner who will cherish her.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly

6. Men would be lost in this world if women weren't there to guide them.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
7. A woman will never be truly fulfilled in life if she doesn't have a committed, long-term relationship with a man.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
8. Men act like babies when they are sick.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
9. Men will always fight to have greater control in society than women.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
10. Men are mainly useful to provide financial security for women.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
11. Even men who claim to be sensitive to women's rights really want a traditional relationship at home, with the woman performing most of the housekeeping and child care.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly

12. Every woman ought to have a man she adores.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
13. Men are more willing to put themselves in danger to protect others.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
14. Men usually try to dominate conversations when talking to women.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
15. Most men pay lip service to equality for women, but can't handle having a woman as an equal.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
16. Women are incomplete without men.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
17. What it comes down to it, most men are really like children.
 - a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly

18. Men are more willing to take risks than women.
- a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
19. Most men sexually harass women, even if only in subtle ways, once they are in a position of power over them.
- a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly
20. Women ought to take care of their men at home, because men would fall apart if they had to fend for themselves.
- a. 0 = disagree strongly
 - b. 1 = disagree somewhat
 - c. 2 = disagree slightly
 - d. 3 = agree slightly
 - e. 4 = agree somewhat
 - f. 5 = agree strongly

The Life Role Salience Scale

1. Having work/a career that is interesting and exciting to me is my most important life goal.
 - a. 1 = Disagree
 - b. 2 = Somewhat disagree
 - c. 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. 4 = Somewhat agree
 - e. 5 = Agree
2. I expect my job/career to give me more real satisfaction than anything else I do.
 - a. 1 = Disagree
 - b. 2 = Somewhat disagree
 - c. 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. 4 = Somewhat agree
 - e. 5 = Agree
3. Building a name and reputation for myself through work/a career is not one of my life goals
 - a. 1 = Disagree
 - b. 2 = Somewhat disagree
 - c. 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. 4 = Somewhat agree
 - e. 5 = Agree
4. It is important to me to feel successful in my work/career.
 - a. 1 = Disagree
 - b. 2 = Somewhat disagree
 - c. 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. 4 = Somewhat agree
 - e. 5 = Agree
5. I want to work, but I do not want to have a demanding career.
 - a. 1 = Disagree
 - b. 2 = Somewhat disagree
 - c. 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. 4 = Somewhat agree
 - e. 5 = Agree
6. I expect to make as many sacrifices as are necessary in order to advance in my work/career.
 - a. 1 = Disagree
 - b. 2 = Somewhat disagree
 - c. 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. 4 = Somewhat agree
 - e. 5 = Agree

7. I value being involved in a career and expect to devote the time and effort needed to develop it.
 - a. 1 = Disagree
 - b. 2 = Somewhat disagree
 - c. 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. 4 = Somewhat agree
 - e. 5 = Agree
8. I expect to devote a significant amount of time to building my career and developing the skills necessary to advance in my career.
 - a. 1 = Disagree
 - b. 2 = Somewhat disagree
 - c. 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. 4 = Somewhat agree
 - e. 5 = Agree
9. I expect to devote whatever time and energy it takes to move up in my job/career field.
 - a. 1 = Disagree
 - b. 2 = Somewhat disagree
 - c. 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. 4 = Somewhat agree
 - e. 5 = Agree
10. My life would seem empty if I never married.
 - a. 1 = Disagree
 - b. 2 = Somewhat disagree
 - c. 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. 4 = Somewhat agree
 - e. 5 = Agree
11. Having a successful marriage or long term relationship is the most important thing in life to me.
 - a. 1 = Disagree
 - b. 2 = Somewhat disagree
 - c. 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. 4 = Somewhat agree
 - e. 5 = Agree
12. I expect marriage or a long term relationship to give me more real personal satisfaction than anything else in which I am involved.
 - a. 1 = Disagree
 - b. 2 = Somewhat disagree
 - c. 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. 4 = Somewhat agree
 - e. 5 = Agree

13. Being married to or partnered with a person I love is more important to me than anything else.
- a. 1 = Disagree
 - b. 2 = Somewhat disagree
 - c. 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. 4 = Somewhat agree
 - e. 5 = Agree
14. I expect the major satisfactions in my life to come from my marriage or long term relationship.
- a. 1 = Disagree
 - b. 2 = Somewhat disagree
 - c. 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. 4 = Somewhat agree
 - e. 5 = Agree

Appendix F
Demographic Questionnaire

1. What is your age? _____
2. What is your gender?
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
 - c. Non-binary
3. What is your sexual orientation?
 - a. Predominantly heterosexual
 - b. Predominantly non-heterosexual
4. What is your relationship status?
 - a. Single
 - b. Casually dating (non-monogamous)
 - c. Casually dating (monogamous)
 - d. In a serious relationship
 - e. Married
 - f. Divorced
 - g. Widowed

****If casually dating (non-monogamous and monogamous), in a serious relationship or married****

5. What is the duration of the relationship? _____

****If single****

6. Have you ever been in a relationship before?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

****If been in a relationship before****

7. What was the duration of your most recent relationship? _____
8. How long has it been since the relationship ended?
 - a. 1 month
 - b. 2-6 months
 - c. more than 6 months

Appendix G
Means and Standard Deviations for Dependent Variables

2 (gender: male, female) x 2 (relationship status: single, paired) x 2 (condition: conforming, non-conforming)

Male Participants	Gender Conforming		Gender Non-Conforming	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Warmth	$M = 4.79, SD = 0.74$	$M = 4.05, SD = 0.63$	$M = 5.07, SD = 0.38$	$M = 4.88, SD = 0.50$
Competent	$M = 5.07, SD = 0.48$	$M = 4.79, SD = 1.05$	$M = 4.80, SD = 0.62$	$M = 4.71, SD = 0.99$
Competitive	$M = 5.43, SD = 0.85$	$M = 5.07, SD = 1.14$	$M = 3.13, SD = 1.25$	$M = 2.79, SD = 0.89$
Independent	$M = 5.57, SD = 0.51$	$M = 5.14, SD = 1.10$	$M = 4.73, SD = 1.16$	$M = 3.14, SD = 1.23$
Success in Major	$M = 4.71, SD = 1.68$	$M = 5.50, SD = 0.76$	$M = 4.73, SD = 0.80$	$M = 4.79, SD = 0.89$
Success in Workplace	$M = 5.29, SD = 0.61$	$M = 5.14, SD = 0.86$	$M = 4.13, SD = 0.83$	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.24$
Good Parent	$M = 3.93, SD = 1.07$	$M = 3.57, SD = 1.45$	$M = 4.67, SD = 1.11$	$M = 4.43, SD = 1.22$
Good Romantic Partner	$M = 2.93, SD = 0.92$	$M = 2.43, SD = 1.22$	$M = 4.33, SD = 0.90$	$M = 3.93, SD = 1.21$
Recommend to Friend	$M = 3.43, SD = 1.28$	$M = 2.50, SD = 1.29$	$M = 3.73, SD = 1.10$	$M = 3.71, SD = 1.33$
Likability	$M = 4.57, SD = 0.68$	$M = 3.82, SD = 0.85$	$M = 4.33, SD = 0.92$	$M = 4.32, SD = 1.03$

Female Participants	Gender Conforming		Gender Non-Conforming	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Warmth	$M = 4.47, SD = 0.67$	$M = 4.38, SD = 0.63$	$M = 4.94, SD = 0.62$	$M = 5.22, SD = 0.55$
Competent	$M = 5.23, SD = 0.97$	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.73$	$M = 4.76, SD = 0.63$	$M = 4.89, SD = 1.02$
Competitive	$M = 4.91, SD = 1.23$	$M = 5.19, SD = 0.83$	$M = 2.62, SD = 0.92$	$M = 2.28, SD = 1.07$
Independent	$M = 5.18, SD = 0.91$	$M = 5.69, SD = 0.48$	$M = 4.38, SD = 1.28$	$M = 4.67, SD = 1.19$
Success in Major	$M = 5.18, SD = 1.30$	$M = 5.63, SD = 0.81$	$M = 4.67, SD = 1.11$	$M = 4.72, SD = 1.23$
Success in Workplace	$M = 5.32, SD = 0.78$	$M = 5.06, SD = 0.68$	$M = 3.81, SD = 1.17$	$M = 3.83, SD = 1.34$
Good Parent	$M = 4.05, SD = 1.09$	$M = 3.88, SD = 0.89$	$M = 4.38, SD = 1.07$	$M = 5.17, SD = 0.86$
Good Romantic Partner	$M = 2.86, SD = 0.94$	$M = 2.88, SD = 1.26$	$M = 4.10, SD = 1.14$	$M = 4.22, SD = 1.00$
Recommend to Friend	$M = 2.59, SD = 0.91$	$M = 2.94, SD = 1.44$	$M = 3.48, SD = 1.17$	$M = 3.83, SD = 0.92$
Likability	$M = 4.07, SD = 1.00$	$M = 4.13, SD = 0.87$	$M = 4.48, SD = 0.72$	$M = 4.36, SD = 0.84$

2 (hostility toward men: high, low) x 2 (relationship status: single, paired) x 2 (condition: conforming, non-conforming)

Low Hostility toward Men (≤ 1.80) for Male Participants	Gender Conforming		Gender Non-Conforming	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Warmth	$M = 5.04, SD = 0.42$	$M = 3.88, SD = 0.73$	$M = 5.17, SD = 0.36$	$M = 4.78, SD = 0.37$
Competent	$M = 5.13, SD = 0.35$	$M = 4.75, SD = 1.28$	$M = 4.75, SD = 1.04$	$M = 4.56, SD = 1.13$
Competitive	$M = 5.63, SD = 0.52$	$M = 5.50, SD = 0.54$	$M = 3.00, SD = 0.93$	$M = 2.56, SD = 0.88$
Independent	$M = 5.38, SD = 0.52$	$M = 5.75, SD = 0.46$	$M = 4.50, SD = 1.41$	$M = 2.67, SD = 1.00$
Success in Major	$M = 4.75, SD = 1.67$	$M = 5.63, SD = 0.52$	$M = 4.75, SD = 0.71$	$M = 4.89, SD = 0.93$
Success in Workplace	$M = 5.25, SD = 0.46$	$M = 5.50, SD = 0.54$	$M = 4.00, SD = 0.76$	$M = 3.78, SD = 1.09$
Good Parent	$M = 3.88, SD = 1.13$	$M = 3.38, SD = 1.60$	$M = 4.75, SD = 1.39$	$M = 3.89, SD = 1.05$
Good Romantic Partner	$M = 2.88, SD = 0.99$	$M = 2.25, SD = 1.04$	$M = 4.25, SD = 1.04$	$M = 3.44, SD = 1.13$
Recommend to Friend	$M = 3.75, SD = 1.04$	$M = 2.13, SD = 0.99$	$M = 4.13, SD = 1.13$	$M = 3.33, SD = 1.23$
Likability	$M = 4.69, SD = 0.65$	$M = 3.81, SD = 0.92$	$M = 4.31, SD = 1.00$	$M = 4.33, SD = 1.11$

High Hostility toward Men ($1.81 +$) for Male Participants	Gender Conforming		Gender Non-Conforming	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Warmth	$M = 4.44, SD = 0.96$	$M = 4.33, SD = 0.41$	$M = 4.95, SD = 0.41$	$M = 5.07, SD = 0.68$
Competent	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.63$	$M = 4.80, SD = 0.84$	$M = 4.86, SD = 0.69$	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.71$
Competitive	$M = 5.17, SD = 1.17$	$M = 4.60, SD = 1.68$	$M = 3.29, SD = 1.60$	$M = 3.20, SD = 0.84$
Independent	$M = 5.83, SD = 0.41$	$M = 4.20, SD = 1.30$	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.82$	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.23$
Success in Major	$M = 4.67, SD = 1.86$	$M = 5.20, SD = 1.10$	$M = 4.71, SD = 0.95$	$M = 4.60, SD = 0.89$
Success in Workplace	$M = 5.33, SD = 0.82$	$M = 4.60, SD = 1.14$	$M = 4.29, SD = 0.95$	$M = 4.40, SD = 1.52$
Good Parent	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.10$	$M = 3.60, SD = 1.34$	$M = 4.57, SD = 0.79$	$M = 5.40, SD = 0.89$
Good Romantic Partner	$M = 3.00, SD = 0.89$	$M = 2.20, SD = 1.10$	$M = 4.43, SD = 0.79$	$M = 4.80, SD = 0.84$
Recommend to Friend	$M = 3.00, SD = 1.55$	$M = 3.00, SD = 1.73$	$M = 3.29, SD = 0.95$	$M = 4.40, SD = 1.34$
Likability	$M = 4.42, SD = 0.74$	$M = 3.80, SD = 0.91$	$M = 4.36, SD = 0.90$	$M = 4.30, SD = 0.97$

2 (hostility toward men: high, low) x 2 (relationship status: single, paired) x 2 (condition: conforming, non-conforming)

Low Hostility toward Men (≤ 1.80) for Female Participants	Gender Conforming		Gender Non-Conforming	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Warmth	$M = 4.47, SD = 0.74$	$M = 4.33, SD = 0.82$	$M = 5.11, SD = 0.69$	$M = 5.20, SD = 0.65$
Competent	$M = 5.43, SD = 0.54$	$M = 4.92, SD = 0.67$	$M = 4.67, SD = 0.65$	$M = 5.10, SD = 0.99$
Competitive	$M = 4.57, SD = 1.51$	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.85$	$M = 2.67, SD = 0.89$	$M = 2.20, SD = 1.23$
Independent	$M = 5.14, SD = 0.69$	$M = 5.67, SD = 0.50$	$M = 4.17, SD = 1.53$	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.67$
Success in Major	$M = 5.29, SD = 1.11$	$M = 5.50, SD = 0.91$	$M = 4.42, SD = 1.38$	$M = 4.90, SD = 1.10$
Success in Workplace	$M = 5.29, SD = 0.76$	$M = 4.92, SD = 0.67$	$M = 3.92, SD = 1.31$	$M = 4.10, SD = 0.99$
Good Parent	$M = 4.14, SD = 0.69$	$M = 3.75, SD = 0.62$	$M = 4.17, SD = 1.27$	$M = 5.00, SD = 1.05$
Good Romantic Partner	$M = 3.43, SD = 0.79$	$M = 3.00, SD = 1.13$	$M = 3.83, SD = 1.34$	$M = 4.10, SD = 1.10$
Recommend to Friend	$M = 3.14, SD = 1.07$	$M = 3.17, SD = 1.47$	$M = 3.58, SD = 1.38$	$M = 3.80, SD = 0.63$
Likability	$M = 4.50, SD = 0.82$	$M = 4.25, SD = 0.72$	$M = 4.63, SD = 0.86$	$M = 4.25, SD = 0.72$

High Hostility toward Men ($1.81 +$) for Female Participants	Gender Conforming		Gender Non-Conforming	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Warmth	$M = 4.48, SD = 0.69$	$M = 4.33, SD = 0.83$	$M = 4.70, SD = 0.45$	$M = 5.25, SD = 0.43$
Competent	$M = 5.07, SD = 1.14$	$M = 5.25, SD = 0.96$	$M = 4.89, SD = 0.60$	$M = 4.63, SD = 1.06$
Competitive	$M = 5.00, SD = 1.11$	$M = 5.75, SD = 0.50$	$M = 2.56, SD = 1.01$	$M = 2.38, SD = 0.92$
Independent	$M = 5.14, SD = 1.03$	$M = 5.75, SD = 0.50$	$M = 4.67, SD = 0.87$	$M = 4.25, SD = 1.58$
Success in Major	$M = 5.07, SD = 1.44$	$M = 6.00, SD = 0.00$	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.50$	$M = 4.50, SD = 1.41$
Success in Workplace	$M = 5.29, SD = 0.83$	$M = 5.50, SD = 0.58$	$M = 3.67, SD = 1.00$	$M = 3.50, SD = 1.69$
Good Parent	$M = 4.21, SD = 0.98$	$M = 4.25, SD = 1.50$	$M = 4.67, SD = 0.71$	$M = 5.38, SD = 0.52$
Good Romantic Partner	$M = 2.71, SD = 0.83$	$M = 2.50, SD = 1.73$	$M = 4.44, SD = 0.73$	$M = 4.38, SD = 0.92$
Recommend to Friend	$M = 2.43, SD = 0.65$	$M = 2.25, SD = 1.26$	$M = 3.33, SD = 0.87$	$M = 3.88, SD = 1.25$
Likability	$M = 3.93, SD = 0.82$	$M = 3.75, SD = 1.26$	$M = 4.28, SD = 0.44$	$M = 4.50, SD = 1.00$

2 (benevolence toward men: high, low) x 2 (relationship status: single, paired) x 2 (condition: conforming, non-conforming)

Low Benevolence toward Men (≤ 1.60) for Male Participants	Gender Conforming		Gender Non-Conforming	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Warmth	$M = 4.89, SD = 0.27$	$M = 4.20, SD = 0.65$	$M = 5.12, SD = 0.35$	$M = 4.67, SD = 0.58$
Competent	$M = 5.17, SD = 0.41$	$M = 4.80, SD = 1.30$	$M = 4.50, SD = 1.07$	$M = 4.33, SD = 2.08$
Competitive	$M = 5.17, SD = 1.17$	$M = 5.40, SD = 0.55$	$M = 3.00, SD = 0.93$	$M = 2.00, SD = 1.00$
Independent	$M = 5.67, SD = 0.52$	$M = 5.20, SD = 1.30$	$M = 4.25, SD = 1.28$	$M = 3.00, SD = 2.00$
Success in Major	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.00$	$M = 5.60, SD = 0.55$	$M = 4.50, SD = 0.93$	$M = 5.00, SD = 1.00$
Success in Workplace	$M = 5.17, SD = 0.41$	$M = 5.40, SD = 0.55$	$M = 4.00, SD = 0.76$	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.10$
Good Parent	$M = 4.17, SD = 0.75$	$M = 3.40, SD = 1.52$	$M = 4.38, SD = 1.30$	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.73$
Good Romantic Partner	$M = 3.00, SD = 0.89$	$M = 2.20, SD = 1.30$	$M = 4.25, SD = 1.04$	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.00$
Recommend to Friend	$M = 3.17, SD = 1.17$	$M = 2.40, SD = 1.14$	$M = 4.00, SD = 0.93$	$M = 3.67, SD = 1.53$
Likability	$M = 4.67, SD = 0.41$	$M = 4.00, SD = 0.71$	$M = 4.56, SD = 0.86$	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.00$

High Benevolence toward Men ($1.61 +$) for Male Participants	Gender Conforming		Gender Non-Conforming	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Warmth	$M = 4.70, SD = 0.97$	$M = 3.96, SD = 0.68$	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.43$	$M = 4.94, SD = 0.49$
Competent	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.54$	$M = 4.75, SD = 1.04$	$M = 5.14, SD = 0.38$	$M = 4.82, SD = 0.60$
Competitive	$M = 5.63, SD = 0.52$	$M = 5.00, SD = 1.41$	$M = 3.29, SD = 1.60$	$M = 3.00, SD = 0.78$
Independent	$M = 5.50, SD = 0.54$	$M = 5.13, SD = 1.13$	$M = 5.29, SD = 0.76$	$M = 3.18, SD = 1.08$
Success in Major	$M = 4.50, SD = 2.27$	$M = 5.38, SD = 0.92$	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.58$	$M = 4.73, SD = 0.91$
Success in Workplace	$M = 5.38, SD = 0.74$	$M = 5.00, SD = 1.07$	$M = 4.29, SD = 0.95$	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.10$
Good Parent	$M = 3.75, SD = 1.28$	$M = 3.50, SD = 1.51$	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.82$	$M = 4.55, SD = 1.13$
Good Romantic Partner	$M = 2.88, SD = 0.99$	$M = 2.25, SD = 0.89$	$M = 4.43, SD = 0.79$	$M = 3.91, SD = 1.30$
Recommend to Friend	$M = 3.63, SD = 1.41$	$M = 2.50, SD = 1.51$	$M = 3.43, SD = 1.27$	$M = 3.73, SD = 1.35$
Likability	$M = 4.50, SD = 0.41$	$M = 3.69, SD = 1.00$	$M = 4.07, SD = 0.98$	$M = 4.14, SD = 1.10$

2 (benevolence toward men: high, low) x 2 (relationship status: single, paired) x 2 (condition: conforming, non-conforming)

Low Benevolence toward Men (≤ 1.60) for Female Participants	Gender Conforming		Gender Non-Conforming	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Warmth	$M = 4.31, SD = 0.82$	$M = 4.30, SD = 0.60$	$M = 5.11, SD = 0.66$	$M = 5.04, SD = 0.56$
Competent	$M = 5.23, SD = 1.17$	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.63$	$M = 4.75, SD = 0.62$	$M = 4.67, SD = 1.00$
Competitive	$M = 5.08, SD = 1.32$	$M = 5.18, SD = 0.87$	$M = 2.75, SD = 0.97$	$M = 2.11, SD = 0.78$
Independent	$M = 5.15, SD = 1.14$	$M = 5.64, SD = 4.08$	$M = 1.44, SD = 1.44$	$M = 4.67, SD = 0.71$
Success in Major	$M = 5.23, SD = 1.09$	$M = 5.73, SD = 0.47$	$M = 4.50, SD = 1.45$	$M = 4.67, SD = 1.00$
Success in Workplace	$M = 5.08, SD = 0.86$	$M = 4.91, SD = 0.70$	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.35$	$M = 3.67, SD = 0.87$
Good Parent	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.00$	$M = 3.73, SD = 0.79$	$M = 4.33, SD = 1.23$	$M = 4.67, SD = 0.87$
Good Romantic Partner	$M = 2.92, SD = 0.76$	$M = 2.73, SD = 1.27$	$M = 4.25, SD = 0.97$	$M = 3.78, SD = 1.09$
Recommend to Friend	$M = 2.54, SD = 0.88$	$M = 2.64, SD = 1.50$	$M = 3.75, SD = 1.29$	$M = 3.56, SD = 0.88$
Likability	$M = 5.15, SD = 1.05$	$M = 4.14, SD = 0.78$	$M = 4.67, SD = 0.69$	$M = 4.22, SD = 0.51$

High Benevolence toward Men ($1.61 +$) for Female Participants	Gender Conforming		Gender Non-Conforming	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Warmth	$M = 4.31, SD = 0.24$	$M = 4.53, SD = 0.73$	$M = 4.70, SD = 0.51$	$M = 5.41, SD = 0.49$
Competent	$M = 5.13, SD = 0.64$	$M = 5.00, SD = 1.00$	$M = 4.78, SD = 0.67$	$M = 5.11, SD = 1.05$
Competitive	$M = 4.50, SD = 1.07$	$M = 5.20, SD = 0.84$	$M = 2.44, SD = 0.88$	$M = 2.44, SD = 1.33$
Independent	$M = 5.13, SD = 0.35$	$M = 5.80, SD = 0.45$	$M = 4.78, SD = 0.97$	$M = 4.67, SD = 1.58$
Success in Major	$M = 5.00, SD = 1.69$	$M = 5.40, SD = 1.34$	$M = 4.89, SD = 0.33$	$M = 4.78, SD = 1.48$
Success in Workplace	$M = 5.63, SD = 0.52$	$M = 5.40, SD = 0.55$	$M = 3.56, SD = 0.88$	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.73$
Good Parent	$M = 4.50, SD = 0.54$	$M = 4.20, SD = 1.10$	$M = 4.44, SD = 0.88$	$M = 5.67, SD = 0.50$
Good Romantic Partner	$M = 3.00, SD = 1.07$	$M = 3.20, SD = 1.30$	$M = 3.89, SD = 1.36$	$M = 4.67, SD = 0.71$
Recommend to Friend	$M = 2.88, SD = 0.84$	$M = 3.60, SD = 1.14$	$M = 3.11, SD = 0.93$	$M = 4.11, SD = 0.93$
Likability	$M = 4.06, SD = 1.05$	$M = 4.10, SD = 1.14$	$M = 4.22, SD = 0.71$	$M = 4.50, SD = 1.09$

2 (hostile sexism: high, low) x 2 (relationship status: single, paired) x 2 (condition: conforming, non-conforming)

Low Hostile Sexism (≤ 1.91) for Male Participants	Gender Conforming		Gender Non-Conforming	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Warmth	$M = 4.78, SD = 0.38$	$M = 4.08, SD = 0.69$	$M = 5.25, SD = 0.39$	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.00$
Competent	$M = 5.33, SD = 0.58$	$M = 4.50, SD = 1.29$	$M = 4.75, SD = 1.17$	$M = 5.50, SD = 0.71$
Competitive	$M = 5.00, SD = 1.73$	$M = 5.50, SD = 1.32$	$M = 3.13, SD = 1.25$	$M = 2.50, SD = 0.71$
Independent	$M = 6.00, SD = 0.00$	$M = 5.00, SD = 1.41$	$M = 4.63, SD = 1.30$	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.41$
Success in Major	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.00$	$M = 5.50, SD = 0.58$	$M = 4.88, SD = 0.99$	$M = 5.50, SD = 0.71$
Success in Workplace	$M = 5.33, SD = 0.58$	$M = 5.25, SD = 0.50$	$M = 4.25, SD = 0.89$	$M = 5.00, SD = 1.41$
Good Parent	$M = 4.67, SD = 0.58$	$M = 3.00, SD = 1.41$	$M = 4.75, SD = 1.49$	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.00$
Good Romantic Partner	$M = 3.33, SD = 1.16$	$M = 1.75, SD = 0.96$	$M = 4.50, SD = 0.93$	$M = 4.50, SD = 0.71$
Recommend to Friend	$M = 3.00, SD = 1.73$	$M = 2.25, SD = 1.26$	$M = 4.13, SD = 0.99$	$M = 4.50, SD = 0.71$
Likability	$M = 4.83, SD = 0.29$	$M = 3.88, SD = 0.75$	$M = 4.75, SD = 0.80$	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.00$

High Hostile Sexism ($1.92 +$) for Male Participants	Gender Conforming		Gender Non-Conforming	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Warmth	$M = 4.79, SD = 0.82$	$M = 4.03, SD = 0.68$	$M = 4.86, SD = 0.26$	$M = 4.85, SD = 0.56$
Competent	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.45$	$M = 4.89, SD = 1.05$	$M = 4.86, SD = 0.38$	$M = 4.45, SD = 0.93$
Competitive	$M = 5.55, SD = 0.52$	$M = 5.00, SD = 1.32$	$M = 3.14, SD = 1.35$	$M = 2.91, SD = 0.94$
Independent	$M = 5.45, SD = 0.52$	$M = 5.22, SD = 1.09$	$M = 4.86, SD = 1.07$	$M = 3.00, SD = 1.27$
Success in Major	$M = 4.64, SD = 1.91$	$M = 5.44, SD = 0.88$	$M = 4.57, SD = 0.54$	$M = 4.55, SD = 0.82$
Success in Workplace	$M = 5.27, SD = 0.65$	$M = 5.11, SD = 1.05$	$M = 4.00, SD = 0.82$	$M = 3.82, SD = 1.25$
Good Parent	$M = 3.73, SD = 1.10$	$M = 3.67, SD = 1.50$	$M = 4.57, SD = 0.54$	$M = 4.36, SD = 1.36$
Good Romantic Partner	$M = 2.82, SD = 0.87$	$M = 2.44, SD = 1.01$	$M = 4.14, SD = 0.90$	$M = 3.73, SD = 1.27$
Recommend to Friend	$M = 3.55, SD = 1.21$	$M = 2.56, SD = 1.42$	$M = 3.29, SD = 1.11$	$M = 3.55, SD = 1.44$
Likability	$M = 4.50, SD = 0.74$	$M = 3.78, SD = 0.97$	$M = 3.86, SD = 0.85$	$M = 4.09, SD = 1.04$

2 (hostile sexism: high, low) x 2 (relationship status: single, paired) x 2 (condition: conforming, non-conforming)

Low Hostile Sexism (≤ 1.91) for Female Participants	Gender Conforming		Gender Non-Conforming	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Warmth	$M = 4.31, SD = 0.53$	$M = 4.33, SD = 0.63$	$M = 5.03, SD = 0.66$	$M = 5.21, SD = 0.59$
Competent	$M = 5.21, SD = 1.12$	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.63$	$M = 4.85, SD = 0.56$	$M = 4.77, SD = 1.09$
Competitive	$M = 4.93, SD = 1.00$	$M = 5.09, SD = 0.83$	$M = 2.77, SD = 0.93$	$M = 2.38, SD = 1.12$
Independent	$M = 5.07, SD = 1.07$	$M = 5.64, SD = 0.51$	$M = 4.15, SD = 1.46$	$M = 4.54, SD = 0.97$
Success in Major	$M = 5.07, SD = 1.93$	$M = 5.73, SD = 0.47$	$M = 4.62, SD = 1.39$	$M = 4.54, SD = 1.33$
Success in Workplace	$M = 5.21, SD = 0.89$	$M = 4.91, SD = 0.70$	$M = 3.85, SD = 1.28$	$M = 3.92, SD = 1.26$
Good Parent	$M = 4.14, SD = 0.86$	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.00$	$M = 4.38, SD = 1.12$	$M = 4.92, SD = 0.86$
Good Romantic Partner	$M = 2.93, SD = 0.73$	$M = 3.09, SD = 1.30$	$M = 4.31, SD = 0.85$	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.00$
Recommend to Friend	$M = 2.57, SD = 0.94$	$M = 2.55, SD = 1.37$	$M = 3.69, SD = 1.25$	$M = 3.85, SD = 0.90$
Likability	$M = 4.00, SD = 0.96$	$M = 4.18, SD = 0.84$	$M = 4.62, SD = 0.68$	$M = 4.46, SD = 0.78$

High Hostile Sexism ($1.92 +$) for Female Participants	Gender Conforming		Gender Non-Conforming	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Warmth	$M = 4.57, SD = 0.71$	$M = 4.47, SD = 0.69$	$M = 4.79, SD = 0.56$	$M = 5.27, SD = 0.49$
Competent	$M = 5.14, SD = 0.69$	$M = 5.00, SD = 1.00$	$M = 4.64, SD = 0.74$	$M = 5.20, SD = 0.84$
Competitive	$M = 4.71, SD = 1.70$	$M = 5.40, SD = 0.89$	$M = 2.38, SD = 0.92$	$M = 2.00, SD = 1.00$
Independent	$M = 5.29, SD = 0.49$	$M = 5.80, SD = 0.45$	$M = 4.75, SD = 0.87$	$M = 5.00, SD = 1.73$
Success in Major	$M = 5.29, SD = 0.49$	$M = 5.40, SD = 1.34$	$M = 4.75, SD = 0.46$	$M = 5.20, SD = 1.33$
Success in Workplace	$M = 5.43, SD = 0.54$	$M = 5.40, SD = 0.55$	$M = 3.75, SD = 1.04$	$M = 3.60, SD = 1.67$
Good Parent	$M = 3.57, SD = 1.27$	$M = 3.60, SD = 0.55$	$M = 4.38, SD = 1.06$	$M = 5.80, SD = 0.45$
Good Romantic Partner	$M = 2.86, SD = 1.35$	$M = 2.40, SD = 1.14$	$M = 3.75, SD = 1.49$	$M = 4.80, SD = 0.84$
Recommend to Friend	$M = 2.71, SD = 0.95$	$M = 3.80, SD = 1.30$	$M = 3.13, SD = 0.99$	$M = 3.80, SD = 1.10$
Likability	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.08$	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.00$	$M = 4.25, SD = 0.76$	$M = 4.10, SD = 1.02$

2 (benevolent sexism: high, low) x 2 (relationship status: single, paired) x 2 (condition: conforming, non-conforming)

Low Benevolent Sexism (≤ 2.27) for Male Participants	Gender Conforming		Gender Non-Conforming	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Warmth	$M = 4.86, SD = 0.26$	$M = 4.20, SD = 0.65$	$M = 5.05, SD = 0.30$	$M = 4.93, SD = 0.15$
Competent	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.00$	$M = 4.80, SD = 1.30$	$M = 4.29, SD = 0.95$	$M = 5.20, SD = 0.45$
Competitive	$M = 5.14, SD = 1.07$	$M = 5.40, SD = 0.55$	$M = 3.00, SD = 1.00$	$M = 2.60, SD = 0.55$
Independent	$M = 5.57, SD = 0.54$	$M = 5.20, SD = 1.30$	$M = 4.14, SD = 1.35$	$M = 2.80, SD = 0.84$
Success in Major	$M = 4.57, SD = 1.62$	$M = 5.60, SD = 0.55$	$M = 4.29, SD = 0.76$	$M = 4.80, SD = 1.10$
Success in Workplace	$M = 5.14, SD = 0.38$	$M = 5.40, SD = 0.55$	$M = 3.86, SD = 0.69$	$M = 4.20, SD = 0.45$
Good Parent	$M = 3.57, SD = 0.98$	$M = 3.40, SD = 1.52$	$M = 4.24, SD = 1.22$	$M = 4.20, SD = 0.84$
Good Romantic Partner	$M = 2.86, SD = 1.07$	$M = 2.20, SD = 1.30$	$M = 4.00, SD = 0.82$	$M = 4.00, SD = 0.71$
Recommend to Friend	$M = 3.29, SD = 1.11$	$M = 2.40, SD = 1.14$	$M = 3.86, SD = 0.90$	$M = 3.40, SD = 1.52$
Likability	$M = 4.50, SD = 0.41$	$M = 4.00, SD = 0.71$	$M = 4.43, SD = 0.84$	$M = 4.10, SD = 1.52$

High Benevolent Sexism ($2.28 +$) for Male Participants	Gender Conforming		Gender Non-Conforming	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Warmth	$M = 4.39, SD = 0.75$	$M = 4.30, SD = 0.60$	$M = 5.03, SD = 0.62$	$M = 5.08, SD = 0.58$
Competent	$M = 5.42, SD = 0.67$	$M = 5.09, SD = 0.70$	$M = 4.73, SD = 0.65$	$M = 4.75, SD = 1.17$
Competitive	$M = 4.92, SD = 1.24$	$M = 5.27, SD = 0.79$	$M = 2.64, SD = 0.92$	$M = 1.88, SD = 0.84$
Independent	$M = 5.42, SD = 0.52$	$M = 5.73, SD = 0.47$	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.48$	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.41$
Success in Major	$M = 5.25, SD = 1.42$	$M = 5.73, SD = 0.47$	$M = 4.36, SD = 1.43$	$M = 4.25, SD = 1.39$
Success in Workplace	$M = 5.33, SD = 0.78$	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.78$	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.27$	$M = 3.63, SD = 1.06$
Good Parent	$M = 4.17, SD = 0.72$	$M = 3.91, SD = 1.04$	$M = 4.18, SD = 1.17$	$M = 5.13, SD = 0.64$
Good Romantic Partner	$M = 3.08, SD = 0.79$	$M = 2.82, SD = 1.40$	$M = 4.00, SD = 0.78$	$M = 3.63, SD = 1.06$
Recommend to Friend	$M = 2.83, SD = 0.94$	$M = 2.64, SD = 1.50$	$M = 3.64, SD = 1.12$	$M = 3.63, SD = 0.92$
Likability	$M = 4.17, SD = 0.94$	$M = 4.27, SD = 0.88$	$M = 4.64, SD = 0.67$	$M = 4.38, SD = 0.58$

2 (benevolent sexism: high, low) x 2 (relationship status: single, paired) x 2 (condition: conforming, non-conforming)

Low Benevolent Sexism (≤ 2.27) for Female Participants	Gender Conforming		Gender Non-Conforming	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Warmth	$M = 4.86, SD = 0.26$	$M = 4.20, SD = 0.65$	$M = 5.05, SD = 0.30$	$M = 4.93, SD = 0.15$
Competent	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.00$	$M = 4.80, SD = 1.30$	$M = 4.29, SD = 0.95$	$M = 5.20, SD = 0.45$
Competitive	$M = 5.14, SD = 1.07$	$M = 5.40, SD = 0.55$	$M = 3.00, SD = 1.00$	$M = 2.60, SD = 0.55$
Independent	$M = 5.57, SD = 0.54$	$M = 5.20, SD = 1.30$	$M = 4.14, SD = 1.35$	$M = 2.80, SD = 0.84$
Success in Major	$M = 4.57, SD = 1.62$	$M = 5.60, SD = 0.55$	$M = 4.29, SD = 0.76$	$M = 4.80, SD = 1.10$
Success in Workplace	$M = 5.14, SD = 0.38$	$M = 5.40, SD = 0.55$	$M = 3.86, SD = 0.69$	$M = 4.20, SD = 0.45$
Good Parent	$M = 3.57, SD = 0.98$	$M = 3.40, SD = 1.52$	$M = 4.24, SD = 1.22$	$M = 4.20, SD = 0.84$
Good Romantic Partner	$M = 2.86, SD = 1.07$	$M = 2.20, SD = 1.30$	$M = 4.00, SD = 0.82$	$M = 4.00, SD = 0.71$
Recommend to Friend	$M = 3.29, SD = 1.11$	$M = 2.40, SD = 1.14$	$M = 3.86, SD = 0.90$	$M = 3.40, SD = 1.52$
Likability	$M = 4.50, SD = 0.41$	$M = 4.00, SD = 0.71$	$M = 4.43, SD = 0.84$	$M = 4.10, SD = 1.52$

High Benevolent Sexism ($2.28 +$) for Female Participants	Gender Conforming		Gender Non-Conforming	
	Single	Paired	Single	Paired
Warmth	$M = 4.59, SD = 0.62$	$M = 4.53, SD = 0.73$	$M = 4.83, SD = 0.63$	$M = 5.33, SD = 0.52$
Competent	$M = 5.00, SD = 1.32$	$M = 4.80, SD = 0.84$	$M = 4.80, SD = 0.63$	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.94$
Competitive	$M = 4.78, SD = 1.30$	$M = 5.00, SD = 1.00$	$M = 2.60, SD = 0.97$	$M = 2.60, SD = 1.17$
Independent	$M = 4.89, SD = 1.27$	$M = 5.60, SD = 0.55$	$M = 4.80, SD = 0.92$	$M = 5.20, SD = 0.63$
Success in Major	$M = 5.00, SD = 1.23$	$M = 5.40, SD = 1.34$	$M = 5.00, SD = 0.47$	$M = 5.10, SD = 0.99$
Success in Workplace	$M = 5.33, SD = 0.78$	$M = 5.20, SD = 0.45$	$M = 3.60, SD = 1.08$	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.56$
Good Parent	$M = 3.89, SD = 1.54$	$M = 3.80, SD = 0.45$	$M = 4.60, SD = 0.97$	$M = 5.20, SD = 1.03$
Good Romantic Partner	$M = 2.56, SD = 1.13$	$M = 3.00, SD = 1.00$	$M = 4.20, SD = 1.48$	$M = 4.70, SD = 0.68$
Recommend to Friend	$M = 2.33, SD = 0.87$	$M = 3.60, SD = 1.14$	$M = 3.30, SD = 1.25$	$M = 4.00, SD = 0.94$
Likability	$M = 4.00, SD = 1.17$	$M = 3.80, SD = 0.84$	$M = 4.30, SD = 0.75$	$M = 4.35, SD = 1.03$