

## **Men's Support for Gender Equality**

Submitted by Antonia Sudkämper to the University of Exeter

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## **Abstract**

Despite progress, profound gender inequality prevails and is harmful to the aspirations and well-being of both women and men. While much research has focused on the circumstances that motivate women to engage in collective action to achieve gender equality, more recently, research has identified men's support for gender equality as a crucial factor for change. In this thesis, we first review the literature on collective action for gender equality, and highlight the role of male allies against gender inequality (Chapter 1). We then review existing measures of (men's) support for gender equality, and identify a gap in the psychometric literature. In response, we present one pilot study and four main studies developing and validating the comprehensive Support for Gender Equality among Men Scale (SGEMS), comprising a public support for gender equality and a domestic support for gender equality subscale (Chapter 2). Next, we argue that, due to the prescription to avoid everything that is considered feminine, precarious manhood beliefs might function as a barrier impeding men's conversation about domestic support for gender equality with other men. Across three empirical studies and a meta-analysis of these studies' results, we show that men endorsing (disagreeing with) precarious manhood beliefs report decreased (increased) levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report. Subsequently, across a pilot study and a correlational study, we explore potential underlying motivations for these patterns, and find that feminine stigma concerns and status and employability concerns are related to a decrease in reported levels of domestic support for gender equality. We argue that restrained conversation about domestic support for gender equality slows down masculinity norm change, and hence stifles men's actual domestic support for gender equality

(Chapter 3). Finally, we summarise and integrate the findings across the two empirical chapters, and discuss implications for theory and practice (Chapter 4).

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## Chapter 1: Male Allies against Gender Inequality

*“There is nothing wrong with a man being a feminist, I think it is to our mutual advantage.”*

Alan Rickman

In 2017, the #MeToo hashtag created awareness of the ubiquitous nature of sexual assault against women and of gender inequality more generally. Only a day after the original #MeToo tweet, Benjamin Law created the hashtag #HowIWillChange in response, using it to solicit suggestions on how men can help to create change by taking responsibility for gender equality. Within a week, more than 10,000 twitter users had engaged with the hashtag and many men had added their own suggestions (Harlow, Willis, Smith, & Rothman, 2018; PettyJohn, Muzzey, Maaz, & McCauley, 2018). In October 2018, men on twitter engaged on the topic of gender equality once more: In response to a tweet implying that carrying one’s baby is emasculating, men tweeted pictures of themselves and their babies, suggesting that the initial tweet was misguided (BBC, 2018). The considerable engagement among men in these two instances mirrors a broader trend: Men seem to increasingly question values traditionally associated with manhood, and accordingly, there seems to be a growing interest among men to become allies to the gender equality movement (e.g., Barker et al., 2011; Barker et al., n.d.; European Commission, 2012).

Support for gender equality, and men's support for gender equality specifically, is as important as ever. Despite 2018 being dubbed the year of the woman" (e.g., Curry, 2017; Hayes, 2018; Schnall, 2017), with women making great strides in education (National Center for Education Statistics, 2016; Graduate Management Admission Council, 2018) and in the workforce (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017; International Labour Organization, 2018), statistics show that we are far from achieving full gender equality. Specifically, the gender pay gap persists (e.g., Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018), the majority of societal power and decision-making positions are still held by men (e.g., Catalyst 2015; 2016), and women more often than men work the "second shift" at home (e.g., Hochschild & Machung, 2012). Statistics of this kind seem to indicate that there are a multitude of ways in which men could make substantial contributions to achieving more gender equality within a variety of domains.

Therefore, in this thesis, we argue that men's support for gender equality is crucial for progress, and investigate (1) *how* men might support gender equality, and (2) *why* men might, or might not, support gender equality. In doing so we pursue two specific goals: First, we aim to develop a psychometrically validated measure of men's support for gender equality which can facilitate future research on factors that might impede or promote men's support for gender equality. Second, we aim to explore a potential barrier preventing men from engaging in domestic support for gender equality, that is, the engagement in traditionally female tasks such as household chores and child-care. We chose this focus as it seems to be moving forward less quickly than public activism or workplace initiatives for gender equality (e.g., Dotti Sani, 2014; England, 2010), and thus bears a greater potential for change. We suggest that precarious manhood beliefs, that is, the notion that manhood is a fragile state

that needs to be acquired and maintained by continuously performing acts in line with culturally accepted masculinity norms (Vandello & Bosson, 2013), functions as a barrier to men's domestic support for gender equality.

Specifically, we suggest that precarious manhood beliefs might prevent men from reporting their engagement in domestic support for gender equality to an audience of male peers. This relative lack of discourse on personal engagement is likely to slow down change in masculinity norms, which might negatively impact men's actual engagement in domestic support for gender equality.

To achieve these two aims, we present two pilot studies, eight empirical studies, and one meta-analysis across two empirical chapters. The first empirical chapter, Chapter 2, addresses the following research question: *How can men support gender equality, and how can we measure their support?* The second, Chapter 3, addresses the research question: *Does precarious manhood function as a barrier preventing men from engaging in domestic support for gender equality?*

Through this empirical work we integrate and make a theoretical contribution to several lines of research within the social psychological literature. Most importantly, we draw on and add to the body of literature on social change towards more gender equality, and focus on men's role in achieving this specifically. Further, we make a contribution to the literature on precarious manhood, and further tap into the literature on audience effects and social norms. In doing so, we will also review and discuss theory and research from the fields of political and organisational psychology, with a specific focus on the collective activism literature, and literature on workplace discrimination, respectively. Our own research integrates these bodies of work, and makes valuable contributions within each field. Moreover, we will discuss how our

empirical results might inform policy and practice by building a foundation for research on social norms and practical interventions that might encourage more men to support gender equality. Within this introductory chapter, we provide an overview of the literature that led us to ask these specific research questions, and present a brief overview of each empirical chapter.

### **Importance of Achieving Gender Equality**

The multiple waves of the feminist movement have bestowed a degree of independence and freedom upon women in the form of political, workplace, and sexual rights (e.g., Munro, 2013). Whilst many authors (e.g., Gerson, 2002; Green, 1986; Okin, 1986; Thompson, 1991) have discussed gender equality with a focus on justice for women, there are also a number of benefits to men, children, and society at large. Although our research does not concentrate on these benefits per se, we provide a brief overview to emphasise that, unlike some authors might suggest (see Holter, 2014 for a review), supporting gender equality does not go against men's own interest.

First, within heterosexual families, a host of family benefits result from gender equality. For example, both men and women who hold less traditional (that is, more equal) gender role attitudes report increased levels of sexual and marital satisfaction and relationship stability (Amato & Booth, 1995; Amato, Johnson, Booth, & Rogers, 2003; Rudman & Phelan, 2007). The healthy balance of multiple roles (e.g., worker, parent, spouse) that people experience within more equal relationships is further related to a number of positive mental and physical health benefits (e.g., Mark & McDermid, 1996; Moen, Dempster-McClain, & Williams, 1992; Rudermann, Ohlott, Panzer, & King, 2002; Verbrugge, 1983). These positive effects extend to the children of parents in more equal relationships, as parental mental and physical well-being is

positively related to children's development (e.g., Armistead, Klein, & Forehand, 1995; Mensah & Kiernan, 2011; Smith, 2004), and paternal involvement in parenting has been found to improve children's social and cognitive development (Aldous & Mulligan, 2002; Amato & Rivera, 1999; Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000).

Second, masculine gender norms are highly detrimental to men's health. (Burke, 2014). More precisely, prevailing prescriptive norms for men to be strong, courageous, and without emotions (e.g., Brannon & David, 1976; Brody & Hall, 2008) bear harmful consequences as they encourage a range of behaviours that jeopardise both physical and mental health. For instance, men engage in more risk-taking behaviours that result in an increase in accidents (e.g., Courtenay, 2000a; Courtenay, 2000b; Ely & Myerson, 2008), and struggle to ask for help (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Borman & Walker, 2010). As a result of these behaviours, men suffer from more mental and physical health problems (e.g., Bird & Rieker, 1999), and young men are the demographic group with the highest suicide rate (Hawton, 2000).

Finally, gender equality might generate benefits for the labour market and society more broadly. Whilst women increasingly opt to work in male-dominated fields (e.g., finances, physics, and law), the proportion of men in traditionally female fields (e.g., social work, pre-school and kindergarten teaching, and nursing) has remained low (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013). This asymmetry might be due to the higher value society currently places on stereotypically male fields (Cohen & Huffman, 2003; England, Budig, & Folbre, 2002; Oliker, 2011). If regard and remuneration were more equal across fields, more men might feel incentivised to enter female-dominated fields, which would ensure a sufficient labour force within traditionally female fields (see Croft,

Schmader, & Block, 2015 for a review). Moreover, the quality of service in traditionally female fields is likely to increase as a result, as a more diverse workforce can draw on a larger, likely more varied, number of perspectives and experiences (e.g., Campbell & Mínguez-Vera, 2007; Carter, Simkins, & Simpson, 2003; Erhardt, Werbel, & Shrader, 2003).

Having established that supporting gender equality is in line with men's interest, we will next discuss theory on achieving gender equality. Specifically, we will focus on the drivers of social change, that is, who is responsible for, and capable of, generating progress. This particular focus demonstrates the tremendous change that has ensued in this regard: Traditional theory and research have focused on women as the drivers of social change for gender equality, but more contemporary approaches acknowledge and emphasise the role of men.

### **Women as Drivers of Social Change**

As outlined above, all members of society are likely to benefit from more gender equality. Notwithstanding, social scientists' focus for understanding social change has traditionally been on collective action carried out by the low-status group, that is, women. Collective action is commonly defined as representatives of a group organising in an attempt to improve the conditions of their group (e.g., Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990), and can include a range of different activities, for instance signing petitions, writing to political representatives, attending demonstrations, and organising political events (e.g., van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). Psychological and sociological research, spanning from the late 80's to now, has explored women's engagement in feminist collective action with the aim of understanding the feminist ideology, identity, and practice, and has attempted to predict

engagement in the feminist movement based on demographics, emotions, or personality traits (Harnois, 2012). Examples include research on the role of anger and discontent (e.g., Hafer & Olsen, 1993; Hercus, 1999), attitudes and intentions (e.g., Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995), self-identification as a feminist (e.g., Burn, Aboyd, & Moyles, 2000; Jackson, Fleury, & Lewandowski, 1996; Yoder, 2011), and online activism (e.g., Keller, 2012; Rapp, Button, Fleury-Steiner, & Fleury-Steiner, 2010).

On a broader level, several theories have captured and explained how members of low-status groups (e.g., women, ethnic, or religious minorities) strive for social change. Specifically, social identity theories, such as the integrative theory of intergroup conflict (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and the social identity model of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008), have made important contributions in this regard. The social identity approach proposes that to achieve or maintain a positive social identity and to obtain status, individuals need to compare favourably to relevant outgroups. To this purpose, individual members of a low-status group might follow a number of routes, including collective action. Several authors have presented evidence for this theory with regards to women's participation in feminist collective action (e.g., Burn et al., 2000; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995).

These early social identity theories seem to assume that high-status group members, for instance men, are satisfied with the status quo, and do not consider their role in achieving social change. Several other theories describing intergroup relations, for instance social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and system justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004), share this assumption. Indeed, men, but not women, across cultures and demographics show a preference for hierarchy within a social

system, and a greater desire for the domination over lower-status groups (e.g., Pratto, Stallworth, & Sidanius, 1997; Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1994; Sidanius, Sinclair, & Pratto, 2008).

From the discussed theories, we can conclude that the feminist movement for gender equality is often regarded as important for women, but not for men. Accordingly, it has repeatedly been found that women identify as feminists more frequently than do men (e.g., Burn et al., 2000; Jackson et al., 1996), and some studies even assume a “feminist” to be a woman (e.g., Twenge & Zucker, 1999). Moreover, many social change initiatives for gender equality are indeed run by women for women. For instance, women’s networks (e.g., Leadarise; 2018) and women’s leadership courses (e.g., SPRINT; 2018) aim to endow women with the necessary workplace skills and motivation to excel. These initiatives are in line with Sandberg’s (2013) approach, suggesting women’s ability to “lean in” will lead to more gender equality. There are further a multitude of organisations focusing on gender equality in areas other than the workplace. For instance, UN Women (2019) supports gender equality by focusing on girls’ education, and Bloody Good Period (2019) supplies disadvantaged women with sanitary products. In line with the theories discussed above, these initiatives are run by women and aim to support women. Hence, based on the reviewed traditional theory on collective action, research, and initiatives, it seems like men do not have a role to play in achieving gender equality.

However, more recently, both academic literature and activist organisations placing men’s role in achieving gender equality at the core of change have emerged. These suggest that, although a lot has been achieved by women as the drivers of social change, men might, in fact, not be indifferent

towards gender equality, and might even have the potential to accelerate the pace of change

### **The Role of Men in Social Change**

In recent years, there has indeed been an increasing number of initiatives that have parted with the idea that gender equality is primarily important to women, and that women are responsible for achieving change. Instead, these initiatives focus on men's role in achieving change. For instance, The Good Lad Initiative (2017) tackles toxic masculinity ideals, the White Ribbon campaign (2018) works with men to end violence against women, and the online platform daddilife (2018) promotes untraditional gender roles for men. The increase in feminist activism focusing on men calls for a greater understanding of men's contribution to achieving gender equality, and hence it has been mirrored in academic theory and research (e.g., Drury, 2013; Drury & Kaiser, 2014). Indeed, in recent years, a vast range of studies have explored the role of male allies against gender inequality. Some authors have argued that it is in fact "men's responsibility to challenge the oppressive status quo" (Burke, 2002, p. 49). Below, we outline three arguments in favour of this claim.

First, empirical theory and research have found that support from members of the high-status group is beneficial to the causes of low-status groups. Several authors have acknowledged men's role as allies against gender inequality by including the role of high-status group members' contributions to achieving social change (e.g., Iyer and Ryan, 2009; Subašić, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008; van Zomeren, Postmes, Spears, & Bettache; 2011). Most prominently, the political solidarity model of social change (Subašić et al., 2008) argues that the low-status group on its own cannot enforce an improvement of their societal position. Rather, social change occurs when members of the high-

status group, previously part of an indifferent majority, start to identify with the aims of the low-status group. As a result, they will start to collectively challenge the status quo in solidarity with the low-status group. Whilst traditional models feature only the low-status group and a high-status group guarding and maintaining the status quo, the political solidarity model of social change introduces a third player - a large group of high-status group members without particular allegiance to the status quo. Therefore, the model captures the social change process more accurately than its bipolar predecessors. Indeed, empirical research has confirmed that the rise of a common cause for previously opposed “victims” and “bystanders” is what enables collective action (McGarty, Bliuc, Thomas, & Bongiorno, 2009). Applying this theory to gender relations, the model predicts that change will occur when those men who are currently indifferent about gender equality start to identify with the feminist cause, and seek to achieve goals that were previously perceived as goals of women only (Subašić et al., 2018).

Several studies have demonstrated the impact that high-status members might have in this regard. For instance, Cihangir, Barreto, and Ellemers (2014) found that female targets of gender inequality reported higher levels of confidence and were more likely to file a complaint if a man, rather than another woman, suggested that gender inequality had occurred. Other studies found that men’s support is not only valuable when they confirm victims in their perception that gender inequality has occurred, but also when they confront gender inequality directly as men incur fewer negative reactions (e.g., Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Eliezer & Major, 2012; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010), and are perceived as more credible (Drury, 2013) than women when confronting gender inequality. Often, women, and targets of prejudice and discrimination more

generally, are blamed when speaking up for themselves. The reason for this might be that their motivation is attributed to internal causes and might be perceived as self-interested (e.g., Dodd, Guiliano, Boutell, & Moran, 2001; Garcia, Reser, Amo, Redersdorff, & Branscombe, 2005; Kaiser, Dyrenforth, & Hagiwara, 2006; Roy, Weibust, & Miller, 2009; Shelton & Stewart, 2004). This does not apply to male allies, however (e.g., Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010).

The benefits of men supporting gender equality by speaking up might further reach beyond the immediate situation and cause a trickle-down effect. It conveys to both perpetrators and bystanders that discrimination is not tolerated, and might cause others to adopt similar attitudes (e.g., Stangor, Sechrist, & Jost, 2001), and to speak up themselves subsequently (e.g., Cihangir et al., 2014; Swim & Thomas, 2006). In line with this, Armstrong (2016) encourages male allies to engage in “individual interventions” (p. 20) such as confronting gender inequality immediately when it occurs.

The second argument in favour of the claim that men are responsible for achieving change is that men still hold tremendous societal decision-making power. In the UK, more than 70% of the members of parliament are men (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2017). In Europe, men hold 83% of full professorships (Catalyst, 2015). In the US, men hold 72.9% of federal and state judgeships (American Bar Association, 2016). In these positions, men regularly make important decisions impacting gender equality. For instance, members of parliament might decide whether parental leave can be shared (e.g., Parliament UK, 2018), professors might determine whether research projects that are relevant to women are funded (e.g., Mullin, 2016), and judges directly impact women’s rights by means of making laws (e.g., Victorian Law Reform

Commission, 2008). If the men holding these positions are not male allies against gender inequality, they might impede change by blocking policies and decisions advancing gender equality (Burke & Major, 2014).

Moreover, men in authority positions hold the power to create an organisational culture that is more, or less, welcoming to women. At this point, organisational structures and procedures seem to facilitate men's participation in the labour market (e.g., Burke & Major, 2014; Paris & Decker, 2012; Rutherford, 2014), but women often perceive organisational culture and the behavior of their male colleagues as barriers in the labour market (e.g., Rutherford, 2014; Ragins, Townsend, & Mattis, 1998). By creating a more inclusive workplace culture, men in authority positions have the chance to facilitate women's participation in the workforce. This, whilst progress in itself, would also imply a greater participation of women in societal decision-making processes which might result in increased attention to women's equality and rights.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, men hold tremendous power to achieve change by taking over their share of household chores and child-care. In recent decades, we have observed an increase in gender equality as many women have taken up traditionally male roles within the paid labour force. However, many of the women who are now in paid labour have not relinquished any of their responsibilities at home, that is, they regularly carry out a "second shift" of domestic work (e.g., Hochschild & Machung, 2012). As domestic and care responsibilities are associated with significant temporal and financial forfeits, this pattern results in an unfair career disadvantage for women and constitutes a serious barrier to women's general and professional trajectories (e.g., Croft et al., 2015; Deutsch, 1999; Haas, 2003). Moreover, such inequality

reinforces women's lack of power within their own home and society in general (Hearn & Niemistö, 2012).

Men, on the other hand, rarely face the described double burden. Indeed, men's contributions in the domestic sphere do not mirror advances women have made in the paid workforce (e.g. England, 2010; Kato-Wallace, Barker, Eads, & Levto, 2014; Saad, 2012). That is, heterosexual men's involvement in the domestic sphere is still considerably lower than that of their female partners (e.g., Craig, Perales, Vidal, & Baxter, 2016). More precisely, the average time men spend on unpaid work is between two and ten times lower than that of women (Budlender, 2008), and this pattern holds even when both partners are employed (Dotti Sani, 2014; Kato-Wallace et al., 2014; Kosakowska-Berezecka et al., 2016; Lyness & Brumit Kropf, 2005).

Notably, in recent years, an increasing number of men has reported an interest in contributing towards domestic chores and child-care (Milkie, Mattingly, Nomaguchi, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004; Pew Research Center, 2013; Reeves & Szafran, 1996; Vandello, Hettinger, Bosson, & Siddiqi, 2013). Acknowledging the crucial importance of men's participation in domestic work, research has started to investigate this striking gap between men's reported interest and actual engagement in domestic work. One prominent line of research connects men's hesitance to engage in domestic work to masculinity theories, for instance theory on precarious manhood (Vandello & Bosson, 2013), and suggests that prescriptions for men to continuously prove their manhood do not allow for engagement in traditionally female tasks (e.g., Kosakowska-Berezecka et al., 2016). Given the importance of men's participation in domestic work as a corner stone to gender equality, we will

discuss precarious manhood and men's engagement in domestic work in depth in Chapter 3.

### **The Present Research**

Acknowledging the importance of men's support for gender equality, empirical research has started to explore underlying factors that might prevent men from supporting gender equality. To date, research has tentatively identified multiple potential underlying factors. Research suggests that men (a) do not perceive gender inequality as readily as do women (e.g., Blodorn, O'Brien, & Kordys, 2012; Rodin, Price, Bryson, & Sanchez, 1990; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001), (b) are concerned with a negative feminist stigma resulting from speaking up for gender equality (e.g., Anderson, 2009; Breen & Kapinski, 2008; Twenge & Zucker, 1999), and (c) are likely to harbour masculinity concerns that clash with supporting gender equality (e.g., Brescoll, Uhlmann, Moss-Racusin, & Sarnell, 2012; Kosakowska-Berezecka et al., 2016; Weaver & Vescio, 2015).

However, research on men's support for gender equality, and specifically research on potential barriers to men's support for gender equality, is still in its infancy. This thesis contributes to the growing body of literature within this domain. Specifically, we will address the research questions: *"How can men support gender equality, and how can we measure men's support for gender equality?"* and *"Does precarious manhood function as a barrier preventing men from engaging in domestic support for gender equality?"* Below, we will outline the importance and the novelty of these research questions. In doing so, we will first argue that fruitful future research in this domain would benefit from a consistent, over-arching conceptualisation and a validated measurement tool that could be used to answer broader questions on men's support for gender

equality. Until now, research on men's support for gender equality has been conducted using a number of ad-hoc measures and scales. Then, we will make a case for the importance of men's domestic support for gender equality specifically. Accordingly, we will highlight the need to investigate barriers that prevent men from engaging in discourse on, and actual support of, domestic support for gender equality.

**Research Question 1: "How can men support gender equality, and how can we measure men's support for gender equality?"**

As discussed above, the interest in men's role in achieving gender equality is increasing. Accordingly, the amount of empirical research investigating various aspects of men's support for gender equality is growing. For instance, research has investigated participation in political activism (e.g., Stewart, 2016), confrontation upon witnessing of gender inequality (e.g., Cihangir et al., 2014), or engagement in child-care (e.g., Kato-Wallace et al., 2014) among men. These studies, however, focus only on individual aspects of men's support for gender equality, and do not look at the bigger picture. To our knowledge, there is no over-arching conceptualisation describing ways for men to support gender equality. A conceptualisation of this kind would be helpful in answering broader questions on men's support for gender equality, and would facilitate the organisation of and communication about future research in this domain.

Moreover, even though we have certainly gained important insights into men's support for gender equality from the existing research, the measures used in many of these studies bear certain limitations. First of all, the used tools were predominantly ad-hoc measures and scales, which means they were often not validated empirically. Second, many of the measures only captured singular

aspects of men's support for gender equality. Whilst this is sufficient for some research questions, they would fall short in answering research questions pertaining to men's support for gender equality more generally. Third, a lot of the measures were attitudinal, but do not include items on men's intentions to engage in tangible actions of supporting gender equality. Whilst attitudinal measures predict actions to a certain extent, behavioural intentions tend to be more closely aligned with actual behaviour than mere attitudes, and are therefore likely to predict men's actual support for gender equality more accurately. Finally, none of the measures were developed focusing on *men's* support specifically. Therefore, they do not always include aspects that are unique to men's support for gender equality, such as the involvement in child-care and household chores. Considering the increasing interest in and importance of this topic, ensuring high-quality measurement tools will be essential. Indeed, fruitful future research on men's support for gender equality will benefit from a validated scale based on a consistent over-arching conceptualisation addressing the enlisted limitations of previous measures.

A clear conceptualisation and a validated measurement tool might further be relevant to real-world interventions or projects aiming to encourage more men to support gender equality. On the one hand, it might function as an inspiration when developing interventions or projects, and on the other hand, it might be useful when assessing the impact throughout the intervention process.

Ensuing from the identified lack of a comprehensive measure of men's support for gender equality, Chapter 2 is an empirical chapter developing and validating the 16-item Support for Gender Equality among Men Scale (SGEMS) across one qualitative pilot study and four quantitative studies. The pilot study ( $n = 8$ ) explores lay people's ideas of how men can support gender equality by

asking a diverse group of participants to list suggestions for men's support for gender equality. Drawing on exploratory (Study 1,  $n = 322$ ) and confirmatory (Study 2,  $n = 358$ ) factor analysis, we then determine a two-factor structure: public and domestic support for gender equality. In Study 3 ( $n = 146$ ) and Study 4 ( $n = 192$ ), we validate the scale by establishing its relationship with several prominent measures of sexism, other related measures, a behavioural measure of support for gender equality, and social desirability.

**Research Question 2: “Does precarious manhood function as a barrier preventing men from engaging in domestic support for gender equality?”**

Based on the domestic subscale of the SGEMS, we will discuss the specific importance of men's domestic support for gender equality in more depth in Chapter 3. The majority of women have taken up paid work within recent decades, yet men have been slow to adopt traditionally female roles. Indeed, next to engaging in paid work, women frequently assume the roles of primary caregivers and household managers (e.g., Hochschild & Machung, 2012; Pew Research Center, 2013; Sayer, England, Bittman, & Bianchi, 2009). This “second shift” impacts negatively on women's health (e.g., Bird, 1999; Burgard, 2011), and has been called one of the main impediments to women's labour market participation (e.g., Croft et al., 2015; Deutsch, 1999; Haas, 2003). Therefore, men's engagement in domestic support for gender equality bears a great potential for change and it is important to investigate barriers that are currently preventing men from engaging in domestic support for gender equality. We suggest that precarious manhood beliefs might be one of those barriers.

Theory on precarious manhood (Vandello & Bosson, 2013) suggests that manhood is a tenuous status that is difficult to earn and easy to lose, and that

current masculinity norms prescribe men to avoid everything that is considered feminine in order to maintain their manhood status. We suggest that the notion of precarious manhood currently inhibits honest discourse about engagement in domestic support for gender equality among men. In this way, it stifles change towards norms that acknowledge masculinity as compatible with engagement in traditionally female tasks, and thereby functions as a barrier to men's actual domestic support for gender equality. Specifically, we hypothesise that men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs, but not men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs, report decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality to an audience of male peers, relative to anonymous reporting.

Across three experimental studies, we empirically test this hypothesis. In Study 5 ( $n = 398$ ), we investigate the effect of an audience of male peers on men's reported levels of domestic support for gender equality. Specifically, we compare the effect for men endorsing or disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs. In Study 6 ( $n = 492$ ) and Study 7 ( $n = 485$ ), we aim to replicate our findings from Study 5, and expand the study design by also including a condition investigating the effect of an audience of women on men's reported levels of domestic support for gender equality. Subsequently, we meta-analyse the results across the three studies. Based on the results of the meta-analysis, we present a pilot study ( $n = 20$ ) and a correlational study (Study 8;  $n = 199$ ), both concerned with men's underlying motivations for reporting increased or decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers.

The results of this research are relevant to policy makers and practitioners who aim to encourage more men to engage in domestic support for gender equality. The identification of precarious manhood beliefs as a barrier

to men's domestic support for gender equality might inform future initiatives, and might render these more effective.

The final chapter, Chapter 4, functions as a General Discussion. We will summarise and integrate the results from across the two empirical chapters, discuss how they answer the two research questions, and integrate the results within the findings of previous research. We will further discuss avenues for future research and outline the implications for theory and practice.

### **Conclusion**

In this introductory chapter, we have reviewed the literature that has led us to ask the two research questions this thesis attempts to answer. We have outlined the current status quo regarding gender equality, and presented the benefits of gender equality for both women and men, and society at large. We have reviewed traditional, as well as more recent theories of collective action. In doing so, we have shown how throughout the evolution of these theories high-status group members have been acknowledged to play a crucial role in generating social change. Moreover, we have shown that there are several domains in which men, specifically, can affect change for gender equality. For instance, and perhaps most importantly, men can take over their share of household chores and child-care.

In reviewing the literature relevant to this research, we have attempted to demonstrate how the two empirical chapters, Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, are connected. We have outlined each research question and its importance to theory and practice in detail and have shown how each naturally occurred throughout the research process. The overall aim of the thesis is to make a theoretical contribution to the question of how men can contribute to achieving more gender equality by extending the literature on male allies against gender

inequality. We attempt to achieve this aim by providing a validated measurement tool of men's support for gender equality, and by identifying a barrier to men's contribution within the domestic sphere.

## Chapter 2: The Support for Gender Equality among Men Scale

*“The measure of a man is what he does with power.”*

Plato

Despite progress, profound gender inequality prevails. Perhaps most strikingly, the division of labour remains largely traditional: Women are (a) less likely to engage in paid work (e.g., American Association of University Women, 2016; Eurostat, 2018), (b) less likely to occupy top level positions (e.g., American Bar Association, 2016; Catalyst, 2015; Catalyst, 2016; Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2016; Grant Thornton, 2018; S&P Global, 2018), and (c) more likely to bear disproportionate responsibility for housework and child-care (e.g., Deutsch, 1999; Hochschild & Machung, 2012; Pew Research Center, 2013). Whilst these circumstances put women at an economic disadvantage, they impede men in other ways. The traditional male gender role is associated with stereotypes that reinforce physically and mentally harmful behaviours such as risk-taking and the suppression of emotions (e.g., Courtenay, 2000c; Bird & Rieker, 1999). Such behaviours can result in decreased mental and physical health, and can help explain increased suicide rates in men (relative to women, Hawton, 2000). In comparison, it has been demonstrated that gender equality is related to greater well-being and decreased depression rates (Holter, 2014),

and greater relationship stability and sexual satisfaction (Rudman & Phelan, 2007) for both women and men. From a more societal perspective, men moving away from traditionally masculine gender roles is essential for the labour market considering that a growing number of women moves from traditionally female occupations to traditionally male ones. Given the resulting labour shortage in traditionally female fields, such as care and education, men moving into such roles might address this deficiency and might further broaden the diversity of perspectives in these roles (see Croft, Schmader, & Block, 2015 for a review). A range of perspectives might result in improved decision-making and more efficient problem-solving in traditionally female fields, similar to the effect it has had within traditionally male board rooms (Campbell & Mínguez-Vera, 2007; Carter, Simkins, & Simpson, 2003; Erhardt, Werbel, & Shrader, 2003). In a nutshell, the academic literature has discussed the numerous benefits of gender equality for both men and women, and for society more generally, and has proposed numerous pathways towards a more gender-equal society.

While much research has focused on the circumstances that motivate women to engage in support for collective action to achieve gender equality (e.g., Breinlinger & Kelly, 1994; Gurin & Townsend, 1986; Kaplan, 1982; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995; Noonan, 1995), more recently, research has identified men's support for gender equality as a factor crucial for change (e.g., Armstrong, 2016; Cihangir, Barreto, & Ellemers, 2014; Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Estevan-Reina, Lemus, & Megías, 2017). Although the body of literature on this topic is expanding, to our knowledge, no clear conceptualisation or comprehensive measure of men's support for gender equality exists to date. The aim of the current paper is to address this psychometric gap.

### **Drivers of Social Change: Male Allies**

If we are to understand when and how men might support gender equality a useful starting place is the literature on collective action, that is, the joint efforts of individuals who focus their actions on improving the conditions of the larger group to which they belong (e.g., Wright, Taylor, & Maghaddam, 1990). Traditional approaches to understanding collective action tend to focus on low-status groups, for instance women (e.g., Breinlinger & Kelly, 1994; Gurin & Townsend, 1986; Kaplan, 1982; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995), as the drivers of social change (e.g., Runciman, 1966; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). Moreover, social dominance theory seems to propose that men are unlikely to engage in collective action because they are satisfied with their high-status positions and hence motivated to maintain or enhance group-based hierarchies (e.g., Jost & Major, 2001; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius, Pratto, Van Laar, & Levin, 2004). Thus, from this perspective, social change is seen as being dependent on women's dissatisfaction with, and their efforts to improve, the status quo.

More recent theories of social change, however, are more inclusive of high-status group members' contributions. The political solidarity model of social change (Subašić, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008), for instance, suggests that social change occurs when men start to actively challenge the current power structures in solidarity with women. Similarly, the social identity model of collective action (van Zomeren, Postmes, Spears, & Bettache, 2011) proposes that men might engage in collective action once gender inequality takes priority over group membership as it is perceived as a violation of their moral convictions.

Outside of academia, there has also been increased interest in the involvement of men in social change towards more gender equality. Acknowledging the impact that men might have if they were to join the gender equality movement, initiatives such as *HeForShe* (2017, January 24), *Men Advocating Real Change* (2017, January 24), *Token Man* (2017, January 24), and the *Good Lad Initiative* (2017, January 24) have increased in popularity. In line with these movements, empirical research on how and why men might support gender equality, and when they might not, has accrued (e.g., Armstrong, 2016; Cihangir et al., 2004; Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Iyer & Ryan, 2009; Kosakowska-Berezecka et al., 2016). Reviewing the literature and initiatives on men's support for gender equality, however, makes apparent the lack of a consistent, over-arching definition and measure of men's support for gender equality: The research has tended to rely on a number of ad-hoc measures and scales (see below). We believe that fruitful future research in this domain would benefit from a validated over-arching measurement tool that could be used to answer broader questions on men's support for gender equality. In the following section we consider existing measures of men's support for gender equality, and outline both their strengths and limitations.

### **Measuring Support for Gender Equality**

#### **Existing Measures**

Men's support for gender equality has frequently been measured with ad hoc tools, often focused on singular aspects of men's support. A few of these tools focus on support for equality in the workplace: Cihangir and colleagues (2014) measured participants' willingness to speak up when witnessing gender inequality by giving them the option to file a complaint against an unfair selection decision. Iyer and Ryan (2009) measured efforts to contribute to a

more inclusive workplace culture by asking participants whether they actively supported affirmative action. Other research has examined men's support for gender equality by measuring their involvement in household chores and child-care. These studies use a variety of approaches, including diary entries detailing time devoted to these activities (e.g., Achen & Stafford, 2005; Bianchi, Milke, Sayer, & Robinson, 2000; Craig et al., 2016), or direct questions, such as "How often do you change diapers or clothes of your children?" (Kato-Wallace et al., 2014). Whilst the use of these measures has certainly given us important insights into men's support for gender equality, such measures are typically not validated empirically. With the research in this domain becoming increasingly relevant, increasing the employment of validated measures to guarantee maximum reliability and validity of our data might be commendable.

The fully validated measurement tools that do exist seem to only capture singular aspects of support for gender equality. White (2006), for instance, focuses on political activism with items such as "I joined a protest march that addressed feminist issues". Similarly, Kravitz and Platania's (1993) affirmative action scale concentrates on efforts to foster an inclusive workplace culture (e.g., "Affirmative action is a good policy"). These measures are appropriate for research projects on singular aspects, but may be inapt when investigating broader questions relating to men's support for gender equality.

There are a range of validated scales that measure attitudinal support for gender equality more broadly by covering different aspects across items. Some of the most widely used include the liberal feminist attitude and ideology scale (Morgan, 1996, e.g., "A woman should have the same job opportunities as a man" and "Doctors need to take women's health concerns more seriously"), the attitudes towards traditional-egalitarian sex roles scale (Larsen & Long, 1988,

e.g., “Men make better leaders” and “Women should have as much sexual freedom as men”) and the attitudes toward women scale (Spence, Helmrich, & Stapp, 1978, e.g., “Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers” and “It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks”). More recent ones include the gender role stereotypes scale (Mills, Culbertson, Huffman, & Connell, 2012, e.g., “Indicate by which gender this task should be done: Prepare meals” and “Indicate by which gender this task should be done: Mow the lawn”) and the gender role beliefs scale (Brown & Gladstone, 2012, e.g., “The initiative of courtship should usually come from the man” and “Swearing and obscenity is more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man”). Whilst these attitudinal scales cover a broad range of aspects of support for gender equality the relevance of mere attitudes for making change is questionable. Specifically, the exclusive focus on attitudes may be problematic as they do not always translate to a person’s actual behaviour (Ajzen, 1991), a phenomenon that has specifically been shown to hold true in regard to gender equality (e.g., Branscombe & Deaux, 1991; Foster, Strudler Wallston, & Berger, 1980; Swim & Hyers, 1999; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001; Zucker, 2004). For instance, a man who might indicate theoretical disagreement with the statement that meal preparation should be done by women might practically still live in a household where all meal preparation is carried out by a woman. In accordance, Maume (2006) argued for the need for measures of support for equality that go beyond the voicing of progressive ideologies. That is, a scale might measure not only men’s attitudes, but also men’s behavioural intentions regarding their support for gender equality. Some of the discussed scales further include measures of affective components (e.g., “Swearing and obscenity is more repulsive in the

speech of a woman than a man”, Brown & Gladstone, 2012). However, in line with the theory of planned behaviour (e.g., Ajzen, 1991; Ajzen, 2011), we argue that the affective component is embedded in measures of attitudes and behaviour as affect serves as a background factor that influences attitudes, behavioural intentions, and ultimately behaviour. Confirming this conceptualisation of affect, Ajzen and Sheikh (2013) found that affect made no contribution over and above attitudes regarding the intention to engage in or avoid a certain behaviour.

Finally, while many of the discussed measures have been administered to men, none of them was developed to measure *men's* support for gender equality specifically. A scale developed to measure men's support could capture certain actions, such as increased engagement in child-care, which would be considered support for gender equality among men, but not among women. Moreover, there might be differences in men and women's engagement in support of gender equality due to the different ways in which they are affected by gender roles (e.g., Kimmel, 1999), and by society's disparate reactions towards men's and women's support for gender equality (e.g., Anderson, 2009; Cihangir et al., 2014; Czopp & Monteith, 2003). These variables might result in unique items and underlying structures in men's support for gender equality that only a scale developed on male samples would uncover.

### **Conceptualising Men's Support for Gender Equality**

To develop a comprehensive measure of men's support for gender equality that addresses each of these limitations a clear conceptualisation of the construct that takes into consideration the various aspects of men's support for gender equality covered by previous research is needed. We suggest that there are two broader domains in which men can support gender equality, namely

within the public and within the domestic sphere. Actions performed in the public sphere are visible to others, and therefore constitute an overt demonstration of one's values. For instance, a man confronting others upon hearing a sexist remark or attending a demonstration for women's rights makes an open statement in support of gender equality. He risks negative evaluations by his peers (e.g., Anderson, 2009; Rickabaugh, 1995; Twenge & Zucker, 1999; Rudman, Mescher, & Moss-Racusin, 2012), but might equally contribute to a change in perceived norms and might thereby cause a spill-over effect by inspiring other men to follow suit (e.g., Ajzen, 1991; Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002; Deutsch & Gerard, 1955; Blanchard, Lilly, & Vaughn, 1991; Ravis & Sheeran, 2003). However, it is possible for men to engage in public support for gender equality, and at the same time sticking to a rather traditional gender division in their personal lives. Domestic support for gender equality, then, complements public support by describing to which extent a man not only pays public lip-service to gender equality, but actually implements the principles with his own female partner. This conceptualisation of domestic support for gender equality renders the construct more meaningful for men who engage in romantic relationships with women. Therefore, our theorising and research has largely been based on heterosexual men. By engaging in traditionally female tasks, such as household chores and child-care, a man undertakes actions that lie at the very core of gender equality (e.g., Croft et al., 2015; Deutsch, 1999; Haas, 2003). Interestingly, there might be differing motivations underlying domestic support for gender equality: Whilst some men might consciously engage in these tasks for the sake of supporting gender equality, other men's intention might be to support their partners specifically (Deutsch, 1999). Regardless, men can domestically support gender equality but remain silent regarding their

support in conversation with others (e.g., Atkinson & Boles, 1984; Deutsch, 1999; Greenstein, 2000). Therefore, the likely spill-over effect to other men discussed in relation to public support for gender equality might fail to appear. Notably, these considerations apply only to heterosexual men who engage in romantic relationships with women. In a nutshell, public and domestic support for gender equality can occur independently of each other, but bear maximum potential for change when combined. Both constructs can be broken down further.

The literature suggests that there are at least four ways in which men can publicly support gender equality: Men might (1) engage in political activism (e.g., Iyer & Ryan, 2009; Stewart, 2016; Subašić et al., 2008; White, 2006), (2) speak up when witnessing gender inequality (e.g., Cihangir et al., 2014; Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006; Eliezer & Major, 2011; Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010; Stangor et al., 2003), (3) show a general interest in discourse on gender equality (e.g., Houvouras & Carter, 2008; Kaufmann & Kimmel, 2011; Lemaster et al., 2015), and (4) foster an inclusive workplace culture (e.g., Armstrong, 2016; Liff & Cameron, 1997). Within the domestic sphere, men's support might include (1) treating one's partner respectfully (Frei & Shaver, 2002; Hendrick & Hendrick, 2006; Hirsch, 2003; Vannoy, 1996), (2) an equal division of household chores (e.g., Deutsch, 1999; Dotti Sani, 2014; Kosakowska-Berezecka et al., 2016; Lyness & Brumit Kropf, 2005), and (3) equal involvement in parenting and child-care (e.g., Deutsch, 1999; Haas, 2003; Kato-Wallace et al., 2014; Scambor et al., 2014). These behaviours are certainly important in regard to female romantic partners, and can further be applied to female relatives, friends, or housemates.

### **The Present Research**

In the present research, we develop and validate the Support for Gender Equality among Men Scale (SGEMS) which is designed to address the limitations we have identified. It fills a gap in the literature as it measures men's support for gender equality as a broader concept, rather than singular actions that might contribute towards more gender equality. Further, unlike existing scales, we developed the SGEMS with a focus on men's support specifically. That is, the scale has the capacity to measure specific aspects of support that are more representative of support for gender equality among men than among women. These might include, for instance, an increased contribution towards domestic chores. Most importantly, however, the scale goes beyond measuring attitudes towards gender equality, by capturing men's behavioural intentions to engage in actual support for gender equality. As outlined above, behavioural intentions are a stronger predictor of actual behaviour than are attitudes (e.g., Ajzen, 1991; Ajzen, 2011). In this way, the SGEMS is designed to predict men's behavioural support for gender equality more accurately than existing scales, and therefore represents a valuable contribution to the psychometric literature on gender equality.

In line with the reviewed literature, we propose two dimensions of the SGEMS: *Public Support for Gender Equality*, that is, support outside of the home environment, and *Domestic Support for Gender Equality*, that is, support within the home environment. Consistent with existing literature and research, we propose that the public dimension includes four subdimensions: political activism, speaking up, speaking about, and creating an inclusive workplace culture (public support for gender equality), and the domestic dimension includes three sub dimensions: respecting one's female partner, sharing

household chores, and involvement in parenting and child-care (domestic support for gender equality). We chose to develop the SGEMS with samples of heterosexual men as the second dimension *Domestic Support for Gender Equality* is more meaningful to men who engage in romantic relationships with women.

First, in a pilot study, we generate a 31-item item pool. We then test whether the proposed dimensions hold via exploratory factor analysis (Study 1) and confirmatory factor analysis (Study 2), and investigate the SGEMS' convergent and concurrent validity, and its relationship to several other variables (Study 3). All studies employed large samples of men from the UK and the US, recruited on an online research platform (Study 1 and 3) or on public transport in the UK (Study 2). Ethical approval was obtained for all studies presented in this chapter (see Appendix A).

### **Pilot Study**

In a short pilot study, we asked eight lay people (three women, five men, five who were in a relationship, age range 20-60) to complete a short survey. The survey prompted them to list ten ways in which men can support gender equality (see Appendix B). We recruited random participants from our broader professional and personal network in the UK and in Germany. We grouped the participants' responses based on similarity, and found that the resulting response groupings mirrored the two theory-based categories public and domestic support for gender equality and the seven subcategories (a) political activism (e.g., "support marches for [gender] equality"), (b) speaking up (e.g., "intervene if needed – show that people care about gender inequality"), (c) speaking about (e.g., "developing a willingness to speak openly and passionately about gender inequality"), (d) creating an inclusive workplace

culture (e.g., “encourage and promote women to boardrooms of companies”), (e) respect towards (female) partner (e.g., “[avoiding] violence as an expression of gender dominance”), (f) equal division of household chores (e.g., “be involved in domestic duties”), and (g) involvement in parenting and child-care (e.g., “be involved in child-care”). To create an item pool, we attempted to capture the (sub-) categories that emerged in the literature review and were subsequently confirmed within the participants’ responses. Specifically, we formulated items based on those responses that occurred most frequently. This process resulted in a pool of 31 items. Each one of the items pertained to one of the two categories, and to one of the seven subcategories. Example items included “I actively encourage female colleagues to take on leadership roles” (public – creating an inclusive workplace culture), “I am willing to make compromises for my partner” (domestic – treating partner respectfully), and “My partner and I share most household chores” (domestic – equal division of household chores).

### **Study 1**

The pilot study resulted in an item pool of 31 items pertaining to seven facets describing support for gender equality among men. In Study 1, we administered these items to a sample of male online survey takers and conducted an exploratory factor analysis to examine the structure of the items.

#### **Method**

**Participants and Procedure.** We recruited 322 male participants ( $M_{\text{age}} = 29.31$ ,  $SD = 9.49$ , age ranged 16-60) from the online research platform Prolific Academic. We based sample sizes in Study 1, Study 2, and Study 4 on minimum item - participant ratio recommendations (e.g. Catell, 1978; Everitt, 1975). Most participants were American (52%) or British (45%), and all participants identified as heterosexual. Within preliminary analyses, we

excluded three participants who completed the survey in fewer minutes than we had estimated the survey to require, or who had more than 5% missing data.

None of the remaining participants had any missing data points. We did not exclude any participants based on outliers in any of the studies in Chapter 2.

After giving informed consent, participants indicated their agreement with the 31 suggested items, and were asked to report demographic information<sup>1</sup>.

Subsequently, they were thanked for their participation and received payment in the form of Prolific Academic credit (£ 0.45).

**Measures.** We aimed for the established item pool to cover a range of different behaviours to ensure content validity. This resulted in 31 items (see Appendix C): three items each capturing *political activism, speaking up when witnessing gender inequality, discourse on gender equality, and equal division of household chores*, four items capturing *equal involvement in child-care*, five items for *treating one's partner respectfully*, and seven items capturing *creating an inclusive workplace culture*. Sample items include “I actively support peer networking and mentoring systems for my female colleagues” (public support), and “My partner and I share most household chores” (domestic support). For exploratory purposes, we also included three overarching items that captured general support for gender equality. We expected that these might load onto a

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<sup>1</sup> Country of Residence (USA: 52.8%; UK: 46.6%; Other: 0.1%), Political Attitude (Right: 17.7%; Middle: 30.1%; Left: 32.3%; I am not interested in politics: 19.9%), Education (No high school diploma: 2.5%; High school diploma: 41.3%; Bachelor degree: 43.2%; Master degree: 9.6%; MBA: 1.2%; PhD degree: 2.2%); Employment situation (Unemployed: 18%; Self-employed: 17.1%; Employed by a profit organisation: 41.9%; Employed by a non-profit organisation: 7.1%; Employed by the government: 8.1%; Retired: 0.9%; Other: 6.8%), Industry (Education: 11.8%; Healthcare: 4.7%; Retail: 6.2%; Finances and insurance: 7.1%; Government and public administration: 3.7%; Computer and electronics: 12.4%; Information services and data processing: 8.7%; Hospitality: 2.8%, Other: 19.9%; Not applicable: 22.4%), Role at Work (Trained professional: 22.4%; Management: 10.2%; Self-employed: 12.1%; Student: 14.3%; Administrative staff: 5.9%; Skilled labourer: 7.1%; Support staff: 7.8%; Researcher: 1.6%; Other: 4.0%; Not applicable: 14.6%); Marital status (Single: 53.7%; In a relationship but we do not live together: 14.9%; I live together with my partner: 31.4%), Number of children ( $M = 1.32$ ;  $SD = 0.76$ ), Daughter (yes: 13.7%, no: 86.3%).

separate, third factor capturing support for gender equality in more general terms. An example item was “I support gender equality”. Participants indicated their agreement with the statements on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree; 7 = Strongly agree).

## Results

**Two-factor solution.** We used R Studio to run all preliminary and main analyses. To examine the underlying factor structure of the SGEMS, an exploratory factor analysis was conducted on the 22 positively phrased items.<sup>2</sup> In line with Catell’s scree test, five factors displayed eigenvalues above 1 (7.62; 2.87; 1.31; 1.14; 1.02), which served as a criterion for factor extraction (see Figure 1).

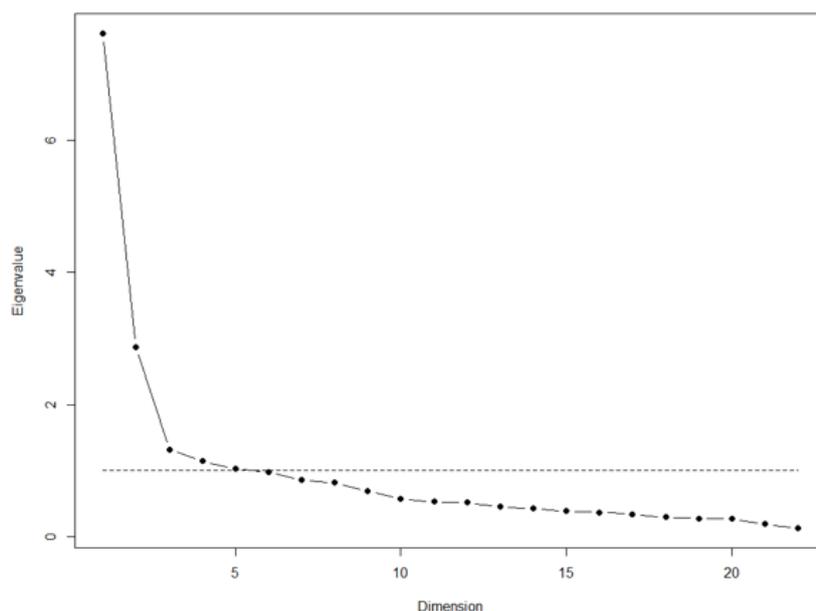


Figure 1. Scree plot based on Catell’s scree test

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<sup>2</sup> In the comment section of the survey, participants had indicated that the reverse-worded items were unclear. Further, when we ran an exploratory factor analysis on all items most reverse-worded items loaded onto a separate factor. These observations are congruent with recent literature (e.g., Roszkowski & Soven, 2010 van Sonderen, Sanderman, & Coyne; Woods, 2006).

We applied the generalized least squares fitted linear model (GLS) and an oblique rotation (promax), allowing for correlation between the two factors. The promax rotation resulted in the same factor loadings as the more commonly used oblimin rotation, but exhibited slightly higher factor loadings for most items. Whilst there were five eigenvalues larger than one, the latter three were just marginally larger than one. Further, the change of the slope lies between the second and the third eigenfactor which seems to suggest a two-factor solution (e.g., Catell & Vogelmann, 1977; Zoski & Jurs, 1990). In line, solutions with more than two factors could not be interpreted in a meaningful way. The analyses hence seem to provide evidence for the suggested two-factor solution. The first factor seems to capture *Public Support for Gender Equality*, and the second factor seems to capture *Domestic Support for Gender Equality*. Descriptive statistics and factor loadings of the retained items are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

*Factor loadings in Study 1*

Item	Mean	SD	Factor 1	Factor 2
1. Political activism for gender equality is important to me.	3.99	1.60	.74	
2. If I get the chance, I engage in political activism for gender equality (e.g. petitions, protests, debates).	3.11	1.64	.75	
3. I engage with media that report on topics related to gender equality.	3.66	1.55	.64	
4. I initiate conversations about gender equality.	3.48	1.74	.72	
5. I speak up when I witness gender inequality.	4.70	1.49	.61	
6. Offering support to people who are affected by gender inequality is important to me.	4.75	1.47	.66	
7. I actively support gender equality in my workplace.	4.93	1.51	.62	
8. I actively support networking and peer mentoring systems for my female colleagues.	4.35	1.53	.64	
9. I actively encourage female colleagues to take on leadership roles.	4.55	1.57	.55	
10. Ideally, my partner's and my financial contribution to the household would be equal.	5.11	1.48		.33
11. I am willing to make compromises for my partner.	5.75	1.14		.71
12. I make all important decisions together with my partner.	5.59	1.29		.63
13. My partner and I share most household chores.	5.18	1.47		.91
14. I feel as responsible for household chores as does my partner.	5.35	1.44		.90
15. If I were to have a child I would consider taking a part-time job to take care of my child. <sup>3</sup>	4.86	1.52		.32
16. If I were to have a child, I would treat a daughter in the same way as a son. <sup>3</sup>	5.14	1.59		.33

Note. Factor 1 = Public Support for Gender Equality; Factor 2 = Domestic Support for Gender Equality. Factor loadings below .30 are not shown.

<sup>3</sup> In Study 1 and Study 2, item phrasing was slightly different than reported here ("I would consider taking a part-time job after childbirth" and "I treat boys in the same way as I treat girls", respectively). Item phrasing was changed after Study 2 due to some participants' comments on the ambiguous nature of the original items. See introduction to Study 3 for more details.

**Dropped items.** Several authors (e.g., Costello & Osborne, 2005; Hair, Tatham, Anderson, & Black, 1998) name a cut-off point of .30 appropriate to determine practical significance in exploratory factor analysis. All but one item from the subcategory *creating an inclusive workplace culture* loaded above .30 on one of the two factors, and none of the items exhibited double-loadings. In line with this, we dropped the item that did not load onto either factor (“I am in favour of men and women working in professions that are atypical for their gender”). Aiming to develop a succinct scale, we sought to drop other items that did not make a substantial contribution to the scale. To identify such items, we compared factor loadings within subcategories and across subcategories for similar items. We found that the loading of the item “I actively encourage male colleagues to take paternity leave” was substantially weaker than other items from its subcategory *creating an inclusive workplace culture* (.18 - .36 lower). Moreover, two items (“I initiate conversations about gender equality in the workplace” and “I consult my partner before making important financial decisions”) exhibited slightly weaker loadings (difference of .05) than two very similar items (“I initiate conversations about gender equality” and “I make all important decisions together with my partner”, respectively). To keep the scale as brief as possible, we eliminated the items with weaker loadings than those of items capturing similar aspects. Applying these criteria resulted in a succinct scale with an even balance of items across content domains: two items capturing each *political activism, speaking up when witnessing gender inequality, discourse on gender equality, equal division of household chores,*

and *equal involvement in child-care*, and three items each capturing *creating an inclusive workplace culture* and *treating one's partner respectfully*.

**Broader measures items.** Unlike expected, the broader measures (“I support gender equality” and “Achieving gender equality would make me happy”) did not load on a separate, third factor, but loaded on the first factor (.6 and .55). This indicates that participants associated “supporting gender equality” more with public support for gender equality than with domestic support for gender equality. High correlations between the two items and other SGEMS-Public items, and a lack of additional explained variance supported this. Therefore, and as the two items did not match the interpretation of the first factor (see below), we decided not to include them in the scale.

**Final model statistics.** The final model provided evidence for the suggested two-factor structure: Nine items loaded on the first factor (eigenvalue 5.47;  $\alpha = .88$ ), accounting for 25% of the total variance. The items loading on this factor captured political activism on behalf of gender equality, reactions when witnessing gender inequality, an interest in communication about gender inequality, and workplace behaviour with respect to gender. We interpreted this factor as capturing *Public Support for Gender Equality*. The second factor comprised seven items (eigenvalue 2.38;  $\alpha = .78$ ), accounting for 19% of the total variance. The items in this factor addressed respect towards one's (female) partner, division of household chores, and involvement in parenting and child-care.<sup>4</sup> We interpreted this factor as capturing *Domestic Support for*

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<sup>4</sup> We report Cronbach's alpha as a measure of reliability as is common in psychological research (Sijtsma, 2009). However, our data does not meet all assumptions on which calculations to obtain Cronbach's alpha are based (e.g., normal distribution of all items, tau-equivalence). This may result in an underestimation of the subscales reliability (Graham, 2006). In line with Trizano-Hermosilla and Alvarado's (2016) recommendations, we will therefore also report the Greater Lower Bounds (GLB; Guttman, 1945) as a measure of reliability,  $GLG_{public} = .93$ ;  $GLB_{domestic} = .84$ .

*Gender Equality*. The correlation between the two factors was significant,  $r = .39$ ,  $p < .001$ . The score on the domestic subscale was significantly higher than the score on the public subscale ( $M_{public} = 4.17$ ,  $M_{domestic} = 5.18$ ,  $t(321) = 17.61$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

## Study 2

Exploratory factor analysis in Study 1 yielded evidence for the two-factor solution we had suggested based on theory: *Public Support for Gender Equality* and *Domestic Support for Gender Equality*. In Study 2 we aimed to replicate the two-factor solution using a paper-and-pencil version of the online questionnaire used in Study 1 on a substantially different sample, namely male commuters on trains in the South of England. Converging results with a substantially different sample speak to the external validity, in line with Winer's (1999) recommendations, and the robustness of the two-factor solution (Lynch, 1999; Onwuegbuzie, 2000).

## Method

**Participants and Procedure.** We recruited 358 male participants ( $M_{age} = 42.75$ ,  $SD = 16.14$ , age range 18-90) on trains in the south of England, the majority of whom were from the UK (87%), from other European countries (8%), or from the US (1%). Within preliminary analyses, we excluded 35 participants who did not identify as heterosexual, and excluded 43 participants who failed to complete the survey due to limited time on the train or because they had more than 5% missing data. We imputed data points for 35 participants who had less than 5% missing data, using *multiple imputation by chained equations* (MICE) in R. MICE predicts missing values from other existing variable scores whilst taking random sampling errors into account.

We individually approached men travelling on randomly selected trains within the UK. Most men (an estimated 80%) were willing to fill out the survey. After giving informed consent, participants indicated their agreement with the 31 items used in Study 1, and were then asked to report the same demographic information as in Study 1<sup>5</sup>. Upon completion, participants were thanked for their participation and given chocolate in thanks.

**Measures.** We used an identical paper-and-pencil version of the Study 1 online survey (see Appendix C).<sup>6</sup>

## Results

We validated the factor structure of SGEMS using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) by loading the 16 items retained in Study 1 onto two factors in congruence with theory and the evidence the EFA in Study 1 had yielded. Further, we investigated the relationship of the residuals across items to explore the possibility of hidden latent variables. As the two factors were comprised of items from different content domains, some of the items' residuals were highly correlated. To account for this, we specified this in our statistical model, as displayed in Figure 1.

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<sup>5</sup> Country of Residence (UK: 94.7%; Other: 0.1%), Political Attitude (Right: 17.6%; Middle: 44.7%; Left: 24.9%; I am not interested in politics: 11.7%), Education (No high school diploma: 8.7%; High school diploma: 20.4%; Bachelor degree: 39.4%; Master degree: 19.8%; MBA: 0.0%; PhD degree: 8.1%); Marital status (Single: 20.7%; In a relationship but we do not live together: 10.9%; I live together with my partner: 65.9%), Number of children ( $M = 1.20$ ;  $SD = 1.29$ ), Daughter (yes: 36.3%, no: 59.2%).

<sup>6</sup> We collected data on all items in Study 2 and Study 3, including those that we decided to exclude from further analysis after Study 1. This is the case as the studies were run within a short period of time, and since we had considered running a direct replication of the EFA in Study 1, rather than a CFA.

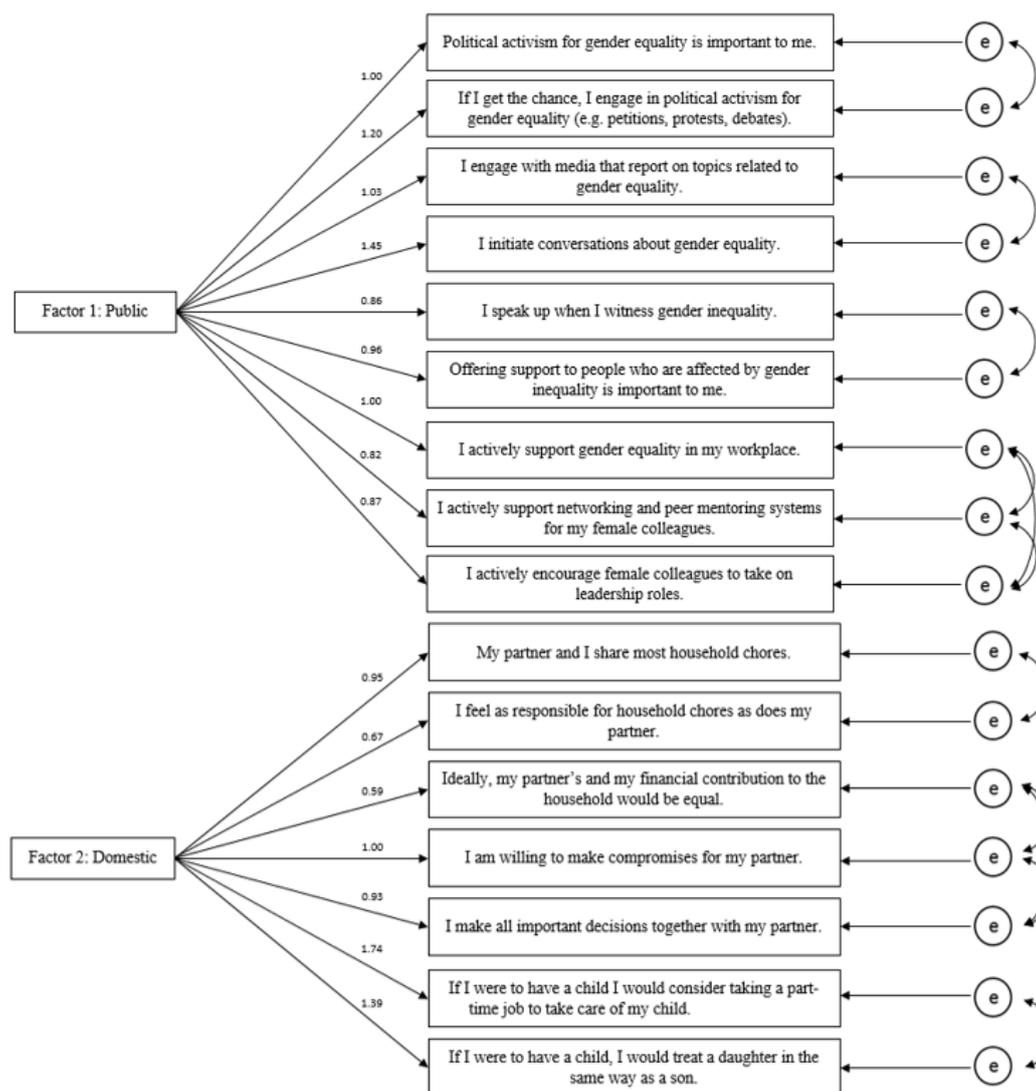


Figure 2. Model and factor loadings in Study 2.

The CFA provided further evidence for the two-factor model identified in Study 1 as the specified model fit the data well,  $\chi^2(92) = 172.033$ ,  $p < .001$ , CFI = .95, RMSEA = .05, SRMR = .05.<sup>7</sup> To compare, we also fit a one-factor solution ( $\chi^2(93) = 195.448$ ,  $p < .001$ , CFI = .93, RMSEA = .06, SRMR = .06),

<sup>7</sup> The chi-square test rejected the null hypothesis that the data fits the model well. However, several authors have discussed the limitations of the chi-square test in CFA which lead to frequent, incorrect rejection of the null hypothesis (e.g., Hooper, Coughlan, & Mullen, 2008; Wheaton, Muthén, Alwin, & Summers, 1977). Instead, they suggest the use of a relative/normed chi-square ( $\chi^2/df$ ). Perfect model fit exhibits a relative/normed chi-square of 1, and the cut-off point for good fit lies between 2 and 5. Both in Study 2 and in Study 4,  $\chi^2/df < 2$  holds.

but it did not fit the data as well as the two-factor solution ( $\chi^2_{diff}(1) = 23.415, p < .001$ ). The Akaike information criterion (AIC), an estimator of the relative quality of statistical models, confirmed this ( $AIC_{two-factors} = 18612.526; AIC_{one-factor} = 18633.940$ ). We further tested for a potential solution with more than two factors: a three-factor solution, loading all public support for gender equality items on one factor, respect for one's female partner items on a second factor, and household and child-care items on a third factor. The model fit the data well ( $\chi^2(90) = 170.602, p < .001, CFI = .96, RMSEA = .06, SRMR = .06, AIC = 9727.056$ ), but not significantly better than the two-factor solution ( $\chi^2_{diff}(2) = 0.431, p = .806$ ). Akaike weights ( $w_{two-factors} = 0.86; w_{three-factors} = 0.14$ ) indicate that the two-factor solution is 5.96 times more likely to describe the data better than the three factor solution. Aiming to develop a comprehensive, but parsimonious measure of support for gender equality among men, and considering that we have found sufficient evidence for the two-factor solution, we follow Myung and Pitt's (1997) advice to choose the simplest model that describes the data well. The Cronbach's alphas for the public and the domestic factor were .85 and .57<sup>8</sup>, respectively, with all item-total correlations being positive. The score on the domestic subscale was significantly higher than the score on the public subscale ( $M_{public} = 4.70, M_{domestic} = 5.41, t(357) = 14.94, p < .001$ ).

### Study 3

Study 2 yielded more evidence for the two-factor solution (*Public Support for Gender Equality* and *Domestic Support for Gender Equality*) based on a different sample, and demonstrated that our initial interpretation of the results in line with previous theorising is robust and applicable across samples and

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<sup>8</sup>  $GLB_{public} = .90; GLB_{domestic} = .67$

contexts. After Study 2, we made some slight changes to the item phrasing of two items. First, it became clear from several participants' comments that the item "I would consider taking a part-time job after childbirth" was ambiguous; participants noted in the comment section of the survey and in verbal feedback that this item was not applicable as they could not give birth themselves. To avoid ambiguity, we changed the item phrasing to "If I were to have a child I would consider taking a part-time job to take care of my child". Second, also based on participants' comments, we re-evaluated the item "I treat boys in the same way as I treat girls" and concluded that it did not accurately reflect the subcategory of parenting and child-care and was not interpreted as pertaining to the participants' domestic sphere. To ensure that the scales captures a component of the participants' domestic sphere, we changed the item phrasing to "If I were to have a child, I would treat a daughter in the same way as a son". The new phrasings reflect the content of the item more clearly and should result in higher loading on the second factor, and increased reliability.

Our aim in Study 3 is to validate the SGEMS by establishing convergent, concurrent, and discriminant validity. As for convergent validity, we expect both SGEMS factors to be negatively correlated with measures of sexism. Ample evidence indicates that sexist ideologies correlate with (e.g., Glick et al., 2000, 2004; Inglehart & Norris, 2003; Napier, Thorisdottir, & Jost, 2010) and cause (e.g., Brandt, 2011; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) gender inequality. More specifically, sexism is associated with a lower likelihood of voting for female political candidates (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995), less support for women in traditionally male (i.e., high-status) educational and occupational domains (Sakalli-Uğurlu, 2010; Swim et al., 1995), and opposition to public policies designed to attenuate male dominance (Sibley & Perry, 2010). To capture

sexist ideology, we measured hostile and benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996), modern sexism (Swim et al., 1995), belief in traditional gender roles (Kerr & Holden, 1996), and feminist activism (Zucker, 2004). We chose these measures as they have been negatively linked to (support for) gender equality in past research: for instance, both hostile and benevolent sexism cross-culturally predict gender inequality (Glick & Fiske, 2001), and modern sexism correlates with a lack of support for policies designed to help women in education and work (Swim et al., 1995). Further, Campbell, Schellenberg, and Senn (1997) showed that modern sexism predicted gender-related political attitudes: higher levels of sexism were related to lower levels of support for the women's movement whose primary goal is to achieve gender equality. We included belief in traditional gender roles due to its conceptual closeness to domestic division of labour (e.g., Brown & Gladstone, 2012; Coltrane, 2000), and expect a higher correlation with SGEMS-Domestic than with SGEMS-Public. Complementing the latter, Zucker's (2004) succinct scale of feminist activism measures collective action in support of women's rights. It converges with tools used in studies investigating activism more broadly (e.g., Duncan, 1999; Stewart, 2016; van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004; White, 2006). Accordingly, we expect a higher correlation with SGEMS-Public than with SGEMS-Domestic.

We define concurrent validity as a scale's propensity to predict real-world behaviour. Since the SGEMS aims to capture participants' actions in support of gender equality we expect a positive correlation with a real-world behavioural measure of support for gender equality. We used a behavioural measure of participation in an online petition in support of gender equality in politics as used by several studies in the past (e.g., Himelstein & Moore, 1963; Kamenetzky,

Burgess, & Rowan, 1956; Zaal, Van Laar, Ellemers, & Derks, 2011). We hypothesise that SGEMS-Public will be more predictive of this behavioural measure than SGEMS-Domestic as the measure is a public expression of support for gender equality, and that an association between signing the petition and SGEMS-Domestic is accounted for by its relationship to SGEMS-Public.

Finally, we aim to establish discriminant validity by including a measure of social desirability to exclude the possibility that social desirability drives the SGEMS scores as previous research has demonstrated that participants high in social desirability tend to respond more positively in relation to topics that are widely positively regarded, such as gender equality (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). Support for gender equality is a sensitive issue within the current cultural climate. Therefore, it would be surprising if the SGEMS was completely unrelated to socially desirable response tendencies. We expect the relation to be stronger for SGEMS-Public as it is more visible and therefore subject of judgment by others. Measuring and controlling for social desirability using (short forms of) the Marlowe-Crowne scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960) is a common strategy to overcome the risk of demand characteristics on participants' responses (Furnham, 1986). However, accumulating evidence calls into question the validity of this measure (Uziel, 2010). For a lack of a valid alternative measure, we report the results of this instrument. We will consider alternative interpretations in the discussion.<sup>9 10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> We had also included a short measure of the Big 5 personality traits and a short measure of the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule for exploratory purposes. See Appendix E for more details on these measures.

<sup>10</sup> Whilst it would be beneficial to include an additional CFA confirming the two-factor structure, we had not originally intended to run a CFA on this data, and hence the sample size is smaller than the minimum required item-participant ratio that is recommended for CFA (e.g. Catell, 1978; Everitt, 1975). Therefore, running a CFA in Study 3 would be meaningless. Instead, we will present the results of another CFA in Study 4.

## Method

**Power.** A power analysis to detect small to medium correlations ( $r = .25$ ,  $\alpha = .05$ , power = .80) between the variables suggested a sample size of 122. We based the estimated effect size on previous research on measures of sexism, social desirability, and feminist activism (e.g., Campbell et al., 1997; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Swim et al., 1995; Zucker, 2004).

**Participants and Procedure.** We recruited 146 male participants ( $M_{\text{age}} = 31.36$ ,  $SD = 10.42$ , age range 18-69) from the online research platform Prolific Academic. Within preliminary analyses, we excluded four participants who did not identify as heterosexual, or completed the survey in fewer minutes than we estimated the survey to require. None of the participants exhibited any missing data. Most participants were American (57%) or British (41%). After giving informed consent, participants first indicated their agreement with the 16 items retained after Study 2. Then, they filled in a variety of scales that served to test for convergent and discriminant validity of our scale (see below and Appendix D). At the end of the survey, participants were asked to decide whether they would like to sign a petition in support of gender equality to establish concurrent validity. Finally, they were instructed to report the same demographic information as in previous studies<sup>11</sup>, were thanked for their participation, and received payment in the form of Prolific Academic credit (£ 1.25).

### Measures.

**SGEMS.** Both factors of the SGEMS, developed and validated in Study 1 and Study 2, respectively, were included in this study. Participants indicated

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<sup>11</sup> Country of Residence (USA: 56.8%; UK: 43.2%; Other: 0.06%), Political Attitude (Right: 13.7%; Middle: 39.7%; Left: 36.3%; I am not interested in politics: 10.3%), Education (No high school diploma: 1.4%; High school diploma: 41.1%; Bachelor degree: 47.9%; Master degree: 8.2%; MBA: 0.0%; PhD degree: 1.4%); Marital status (Single: 52.1%; In a relationship but we do not live together: 11.0%; I live together with my partner: 37.0%), Number of children ( $M = 1.39$ ;  $SD = 0.77$ ), Daughter (yes: 12.3%, no: 87.0%).

their agreement with each item on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree, 7 = Strongly agree). Both SGEMS-Public ( $\alpha = .91$ ) and SGEMS-Domestic ( $\alpha = .79$ ) exhibited acceptable reliability levels that were considerably higher than in Study 2.<sup>12</sup> The score on the domestic subscale was significantly higher than the score on the public subscale ( $M_{public} = 4.19$ ,  $M_{domestic} = 5.69$ ,  $t(145) = 15.20$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

**Convergent validity.** We included three measures of sexism to test whether the SGEMS factors correlated negatively with these. The two subscales of the ambivalent sexism inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) assess benevolent ( $\alpha = .87$ ) and hostile sexism ( $\alpha = .94$ ) towards women. The benevolent sexism subscale includes 11 items (e.g., “Women should be cherished and protected by men.”), and the hostile sexism subscale includes 11 items (e.g., “Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.”). Participants indicated their agreement with these items on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree, 7 = Strongly agree).

The eight-item modern sexism scale (Swim et al., 1995) assesses the denial of sexism in our current society. Participants indicated their agreement with the items (e.g., “Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States”) on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree, 7 = Strongly agree;  $\alpha = .88$ ). The original scale is scored such that a high score indicates low levels of modern sexism. To avoid confusion, we reversed the total score, such that a high score indicated high levels of modern sexism.

To assess the extent to which participants believe in traditional gender roles we used four items from the gender roles beliefs scale (Kerr & Holden, 1996; e.g., “Women with children should not work outside the home if they don’t

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<sup>12</sup>  $GLB_{public} = .94$ ;  $GLB_{domestic} = .85$

have to financially”). Participants indicated their agreement with these statements on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree, 7 = Strongly agree;  $\alpha = .84$ ).

To assess feminist activism, participants filled in a six-item feminist activism scale (Zucker, 2004) that assesses political action undertaken in favour of women’s rights. Participants indicated whether they had ever participated in each of the actions (e.g. “Have you ever attended a rally or demonstration on behalf of women’s rights”) by indicating “no” (0) or “yes” (1;  $KR-20 = .73$ ).

**Concurrent validity.** We included a behavioural measure of support for gender equality to test the SGEMS’ concurrent validity. We adapted a measure by Zaal and colleagues (2011): we provided participants with the option of signing an online petition in support of gender equality by including the link to the external petition web page in the survey. The instructions clarified that signing the petition was optional and did not impact the participant’s payment in any way. Participants indicated in our survey whether they had signed the petition or not (“yes” or “no”). To ensure that participants were honest we asked them to copy-paste the thank you note displayed after signing the petition.

**Discriminant validity.** We included a measure of social desirability to explore the extent to which SGEMS scores are driven by the tendency to answer questions in a manner that others will view favourably. It was measured by Strahan and Gerbasi’s (1972) 10-item short-version of the Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). Participants indicated their agreement with these items (e.g. “I like to gossip at times”) on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree, 7 = Strongly agree,  $\alpha = .73$ ).

## **Results and Discussion**

First, we established convergent validity by examining the correlations between the SGEMS, and each SGEMS subscale, and the measure of related constructs, namely hostile and benevolent sexism, modern sexism, belief in traditional gender roles, and feminist activism. Next, we established the SGEMS' concurrent validity by examining the point biserial correlation of the petition variable (signed vs not signed) and the SGEMS, and each subscale. Further, we ran a logistic regression model to determine whether SGEMS-Public and -Domestic were predictive of signing the petition over and above related scales. Finally, we established divergent validity by examining the extent to which SGEMS scores are driven by social desirability. All descriptive statistics and correlations of the measures are presented in Table 2.

Table 2

*Means, standard deviations, and correlations in Study 3*

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. SGEMS	4.85	0.87	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Public	4.19	1.17	.91***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Domestic	5.69	0.87	.70***	.35***	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. BTGR	2.28	1.17	-.35***	-.21**	-.43***	-	-	-	-	-
5. MS	4.42	1.14	-.58***	-.53***	-.40***	.35***	-	-	-	-
6. HS	3.57	1.23	-.52***	-.45***	-.41***	.52***	.68***	-	-	-
7. BS	3.54	1.03	.08	-.01	-.16	.36***	.23**	.30***	-	-
8. FemAct	.49	1.05	.44***	.47***	.18*	.09	.29	-.22	.09	-
9. SocD	4.12	0.80	.19*	.20*	.06	.00	.02	-.10	.13	.07

*Note.* BTGR = belief in traditional gender roles; MS = modern sexism; HS = hostile sexism; BS = benevolent sexism,

FemAct = Feminist Activism; SocD = social desirability.

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

**Convergent validity.** As expected, participants who endorsed the SGEMS overall and each factor individually also endorsed belief in traditional gender roles, modern sexism, hostile sexism, and feminist activism. The correlations for modern sexism ( $t = -1.63, p = .105$ ) and hostile sexism ( $t = -.98, p = .330$ ) did not differ significantly for SGEMS-Public and SGEMS-Domestic, but belief in traditional gender roles was more strongly correlated with SGEMS-Domestic than with SGEMS-Public ( $t = 3.41, p < .001$ ). A partial correlation between SGEMS-Public and belief in traditional gender roles, controlling for SGEMS-Domestic, confirmed that the association between belief in traditional gender roles and SGEMS-Public was accounted for by its relation to SGEMS-Domestic ( $r = -.07, p = .372$ ). On the other hand, feminist activism was more strongly correlated with SGEMS-Public than with SGEMS-Domestic ( $t = 3.41, p < .001$ ). A partial correlation between SGEMS-Domestic and feminist activism, controlling for SGEMS-Public, confirmed that the association between feminist activism and SGEMS-Domestic was accounted for by its relation to SGEMS-Public ( $r = .02, p = .842$ ). Hostile ( $r_{public} = .40, p < .001$ ;  $r_{domestic} = .28, p < .001$ ) and modern sexism ( $r_{public} = .46, p < .001$ ;  $r_{domestic} = .27, p = .001$ .) remained correlated with each subscale when controlling for the other subscale. All of the reported effects hold when controlling for social desirability.

Inconsistent with our prediction, participants who endorsed benevolent sexism did not endorse the overall SGEMS or SGEMS-Public, however, the association between benevolent sexism and SGEMS-Domestic approached significance, and was significant once we controlled for SGEMS-Public ( $r(143) = -.17, p = 0.046$ ). However, the association between SGEMS-Domestic and benevolent sexism was not significantly larger than the association between SGEMS-Public and benevolent sexism ( $t = 1.60, p = .113$ ).

**Concurrent validity.** Next, we established concurrent validity.

Specifically, we hypothesised that the overall SGEMS would be positively associated with signing the petition, and that SGEMS-Public would be more positively associated with signing the petition than SGEMS-Domestic. A total of 25 participants had signed the petition. Participants who signed the petition were more likely to endorse the SGEMS overall ( $r_{pb-SGEMS}(144) = .33, p < .001$ ). These effects were also present for each subscale of the SGEMS: Participants who endorsed SGEMS-Public were more likely to sign the petition ( $r_{pb-public}(144) = .30, p < .001$ ). Similarly, participants who endorsed SGEMS-Domestic were more likely to sign the petition ( $r_{pb-domestic}(144) = .23, p = .004$ ). These correlations did not differ significantly ( $t = 0.77, p = .441$ ), however, the association between SGEMS-Domestic and the petition was accounted for by SGEMS-Domestic's relationship to SGEMS-Public, as indicated by the correlation of the petition with SGEMS-Domestic whilst controlling for SGEMS-Public ( $r(143) = .15, p = .079$ ).

Next, we determined whether SGEMS-Public was predictive of signing the petition over and above related scales. We did not include SGEMS-Domestic in the regressions as the partial correlations had indicated that the relation between the petition outcome and SGEMS-Domestic was accounted for by the petition's relation to SGEMS-Public. Specifically, we fit two logistic regression models with the petition as the outcome variable. In Model 1, the related scales that we entered into the model were hostile and benevolent sexism, modern sexism, belief in traditional gender roles, feminist activism, and SGEMS-Public. In Model 2, we did not enter feminist activism as it contains an item that asks specifically for participants' tendency to sign petitions for women's rights, and is therefore very closely related to the outcome variable.

Whilst the predictors were correlated, multicollinearity was not an issue in this model. The Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) remained below the common threshold of 10 (e.g., Alin, 2010; Marquardt, 1980; Schroeder, Lander, & Levine-Silverman, 1990) for each predictor. In Model 1, SGEMS-Public was not significantly associated with the petition. Rather, belief in traditional gender roles and feminist activism explained most of the variance in the outcome variable: A decrease in belief in traditional gender roles and an increase in feminist activism increased the odds of signing the petition (see Table 3). We ran the same analysis entering feminist activism as a predictor but omitted the item that directly asked whether participants had signed a petition in favour of women's rights from the scale. The overall pattern did not change, but feminist activism was only approaching significance ( $B(1) = .62$ ,  $SE(B) = .37$ ,  $z = 1.69$ ,  $p = .092$ ). In Model 2, however, SGEMS-Public significantly predicted the petition outcome. As anticipated, higher levels of SGEMS-Public were associated with higher odds of signing the petition. Full results from the logistic regression models can be seen in Table 3. Hence, whilst SGEMS-Public does not predict whether participants would sign a petition as accurately as feminist activism, SGEMS-Public does add information over the other related scales. We argue that SGEMS-Public makes a valuable contribution next to feminist activism as it captures a broader construct, and still explains variance within the petition variable.

Table 3

## Logistic regression model for petition in Study 3

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE(B)</i>	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>VIF</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> <sub>Nagelkerke</sub>
Model 1							.33
Intercept	-0.37	2.43	0.69	-0.15	.880		
HS	-0.07	0.31	0.93	-0.23	.821	2.29	
BS	-0.03	0.24	0.97	-0.13	.895	1.25	
MS	-0.07	0.32	0.93	-0.23	.816	2.36	
BTGR	-1.03	0.33	0.36	-3.13	.002	1.33	
FemAct	0.65	0.27	1.92	2.39	.017	1.40	
SGEMS-Public	0.28	0.30	1.32	0.95	.343	1.69	
Model 2							.28
Intercept	-2.10	2.25	0.12	-0.93	.351		
HS	-0.05	0.30	0.95	-0.18	.857	2.33	
BS	0.02	0.22	1.02	0.10	.922	1.21	
MS	0.05	0.30	1.05	0.16	.873	2.29	
BTGR	-0.95	0.35	0.39	-2.70	.007	1.24	
SGEMS-Public	0.54	0.27	1.71	2.00	.046	1.43	

Note. Logistic regression on Petition (0 = petition not signed, 1 = petition signed). HS = hostile sexism; BS = benevolent sexism; MS = modern sexism; BTGR = belief in traditional gender roles; FemAct = Feminist Activism.

**Discriminant validity.** While SGEMS-Domestic was not related to social desirability, the correlation between SGEMS-Public and social desirability was significant but not large. These correlations did not differ significantly ( $t = 1.50$ ,  $p = .137$ ), and partial correlations between one subscale and social desirability whilst controlling for the other subscale showed that these results hold independently of the influence of the other subscale ( $r_{domestic}(143) = -.01$ ,  $p =$

.899;  $r_{public}(143) = 0.19, p = .02$ ). None of the SGEMS items is highly correlated with social desirability; all of the items tend toward a weak relationship (three items in the .20s, four items in the .10s, and two items in the .00s). Thus, the overall relationship between SGEMS-Public and social desirability reflects an aggregation of many weak relationships.

#### Study 4

In Study 1 and Study 2, we found evidence for a two-factor solution (*Public Support for Gender Equality* and *Domestic Support for Gender Equality*) via EFA and CFA, respectively. However, the data collection for Study 1 and Study 2 included all 31 items from the original item pool. Including items that are not part of the final scale might have inadvertently influenced response patterns on the SGEMS items. Therefore, our aim in Study 4 is to investigate whether the proposed two-factor structure holds when only the 16 remaining items are included in the data collection. To understand the underlying motivations for each type of support better, we further investigate the SGEMS' two subscales' relationship with four related variables: precarious manhood beliefs (Vandello & Bosson, 2013), gender-specific system justification (Jost & Kay, 2005), social dominance orientation (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallwort, & Malle, 1994), and objectification of women (Swami & Voracek, 2012).

We expect that the two subscales of the SGEMS will be negatively related to each one of these measures. Specifically, we hypothesise that precarious manhood beliefs will be more negatively related to the domestic subscale than to the public subscale, as precarious manhood beliefs conflicts with engagement in traditionally female tasks in particular (Vandello & Bosson, 2013). Moreover, we expect that gender-specific system justification and social dominance orientation will be negatively related to both public and domestic

support for gender equality as previous research has found associations between these variables and social and political ideologies that maintain group-bases hierarchies. Specifically, people scoring high on social dominance orientation were found to believe that women and men are naturally different and should have different roles in society (Pratto et al., 1994), and people scoring high on system justification engage in justification of the existing status quo (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). Both of these ideologies would result in both decreased support for women's advancement in the workplace, as well as decreased engagement in domestic chores. As the objectification of others is associated with stronger sexist attitudes (e.g., Swami, Coles et al., 2012), and sexist attitudes are associated with decreased support for gender equality, especially in the public domain (e.g., Sakalli-Uğurlu, 2010; Sibley & Perry, 2010; Swim et al., 1995), the association between objectification for women and public support for gender equality might be stronger than the association between objectification for women and domestic support for gender equality.

## **Method**

**Participants and procedure.** In line with the recommended item-participant ratio for CFA (e.g. Catell, 1978; Everitt, 1975), we recruited 192 male participants ( $M_{age} = 37.51$ ,  $SD = 12.38$ , age range 18-67) from the online research platform Prolific Academic. Most participants were British (85%) or American (15%), and all participants identified as heterosexual. Within preliminary analyses, we excluded three participants who completed the survey in substantially fewer minutes than we had estimated the survey to require, or who had more than 5% missing data. None of the remaining participants had any missing data points. After giving informed consent, participants completed the survey (see Appendix F) and were asked to report demographic

information<sup>13</sup>. Subsequently, they were thanked for their participation and received payment in the form of Prolific Academic credit (£ 0.82).

### **Measures.**

**SGEMS.** Both factors of the SGEMS, developed and validated in Study 1 and Study 2, respectively, were included in this study. Participants indicated their agreement with each item on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree, 7 = Strongly agree). Both SGEMS-Public ( $\alpha = .92$ ) and SGEMS-Domestic ( $\alpha = .68$ <sup>14</sup>) exhibited reasonable reliability levels that were higher than in Study 2.<sup>15</sup> The score on the domestic subscale was significantly higher than the score on the public subscale ( $M_{public} = 4.22$ ,  $M_{domestic} = 5.63$ ,  $t(189) = 15.40$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

**Precarious manhood beliefs.** We measured precarious manhood beliefs ( $\alpha = 0.90$ ) with the seven statements that Vandello and colleagues (2008) used to measure whether participants perceive manhood as tenuous and elusive. Participants indicated their agreement on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). An example item is “Manhood is not assured - it can be lost”.

**Objectification of women.** We measured objectification of women with a modified version of the Self-Objectification Scale (Fredrickson, Roberts, Noll, Quinn, & Twenge, 1998), previously used by Swami and Voracek (2012). We asked participants to rank order five competence-based (e.g., energy level) and five appearance-based (e.g., sex appeal) body attributes from which has the

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<sup>13</sup> Socio-economic status (range 0-100):  $M = 36.37$ ;  $SD = 18.20$ , Marital status (Single: 33.0%; In a relationship but we do not live together: 7.3%; I live together with my partner: 59.7%), Breadwinner (Myself: 55.5%; My partner: 8.9%; Both of us equally: 19.9%; I live by myself: 15.7%), Number of children ( $M = 0.96$ ,  $SD = 1.21$ ).

<sup>14</sup> Reliability increases ( $\alpha = 0.70$ ) when removing the item “If I were to have a child I would consider taking a part-time job to take care of my child”. This item was endorsed less frequently than the other items. However, in line with theory and previous research, it captures a substantial part of domestic support for gender equality and is therefore an essential part of the domestic support for gender equality subscale.

<sup>15</sup>  $GLB_{public} = .94$ ;  $GLB_{domestic} = .81$

greatest impact on how they regard women (“9”) to the least impact on how they regard women (“0”). We obtained an overall score by subtracting the sum of competence-based items ( $\alpha = 0.48$ ) from the sum of appearance-based items ( $\alpha = 0.23^{16}$ ). Scores range from -25 to +25, with higher scores indicating a greater emphasis on appearance, and therefore higher levels of objectification of women.

***Gender-specific system justification.*** We measured gender-specific system justification ( $\alpha = 0.84$ ) with eight items previously used by Jost and Kay (2005). Participants indicated their agreement with the statements on a 9-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 9 = strongly agree). An example item is “Society is set up so that men and women usually get what they deserve”.

***Social dominance orientation.*** We measured social dominance orientation ( $\alpha = 0.96$ ) with Pratto and colleagues’ (1994) 16-item Social Dominance Orientation scale. Participants indicated their positive or negative feeling towards the objects or statements on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = very negative, 9 = very positive). An example item is “Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups”.<sup>17</sup>

## Results

All descriptive statistics and correlations of the measures are presented in Table 4.

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<sup>16</sup> The low reliability of the appearance-based scale comprising five items is due to the item “firm/sculpted muscles”. If this item is removed, reliability increases considerably ( $\alpha = 0.52$ ). Analyses run without this item yielded the same results.

<sup>17</sup> As requested by an editor, we had also included two attitudinal measures of religious preference and religiosity (Gorsuch & McFarland, 1972), and political ideology (Shook & Fazio, 2009). 64.9% of the participants were not religious, 26.2% were Christian, and 3.1% were Muslim. Participants indicated how important their religion was to them on a 9-point Likert scale (1 = not at all; 9 = extremely important;  $M = 2.30$ ,  $SD = 2.27$ ). Participants indicated their political identification (1 = liberal; 7 = conservative;  $M = 3.43$ ,  $SD = 1.46$ ).

Table 4

*Means, standard deviations, and correlations in Study 4*

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. SGEMS	4.84	.88	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Public	4.22	1.24	.92***	-	-	-	-	-
3. Domestic	5.63	0.80	.65***	.31***	-	-	-	-
4. PM	4.41	1.37	-.08	-.03	-.16*	-	-	-
5. SJ-gender	4.47	1.40	-.25***	-.29***	0.04	.10	-	-
6. SDO	4.42	1.16	-.64***	-.39***	-.37***	.26***	.40***	-
7. Obj	2.17	12.26	-.15*	-.13	-.12	.02	.04	.08

*Note.* PM = precarious manhood beliefs; SJ-gender = Gender specific system justification;

SDO = social dominance orientation; Obj = objectification of women.

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

**Confirmatory factor analysis.** We validated the factor structure of SGEMS using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) running the same analysis as in Study 2, again accounting for highly correlated residuals among items from the same subcategory (see Figure 2). The CFA provided additional evidence for the suggested two-factor model that we had found evidence for in Study 1 and in Study 2: The specified model fit the data well,  $\chi^2(92) = 149.192$ ,  $p < .001$ , CFI = .96, RMSEA = .06, SRMR = .06. To compare, we again fit a one-factor solution ( $\chi^2(93) = 195.788$ ,  $p < .001$ , CFI = .93, RMSEA = .08, SRMR = .08), but it did not fit the data as well as the two-factor solution ( $\chi^2_{diff}(1) = 45.596$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The Akaike information criterion (AIC), an estimator of the relative quality of statistical models, confirmed this (AIC<sub>two-factors</sub> = 9725.235; AIC<sub>one-factor</sub> = 9769.830). We further tested again for the three-factor solution, loading household and child-care items on one factor, and respect for one's female partner items on a separate factor. Again, the data fit the three-factor solution well ( $\chi^2(90) = 147.013$ ,  $p < .001$ , CFI = .96, RMSEA = .06, SRMR = .05, AIC = 9725.259), but not significantly better than the two-factor solution ( $\chi^2_{diff}(2) = 2.178$ ,  $p = .337$ ). Akaike weights ( $w_{two-factors} = 0.71$ ;  $w_{three-factors} = 0.29$ ) confirm that the two-factor solution is 2.49 times more likely to describe the data better than the less parsimonious three factor solution. The Cronbach's alphas for the public and the domestic factor were .92 and .66, respectively, with all item-total correlations being positive.

**Precarious manhood beliefs.** As predicted, participants who endorsed precarious manhood beliefs reported lower levels of domestic support for gender equality, but there was no significant relationship with public support for gender equality. However, these correlations did not differ significantly from each other ( $t = 1.54$ ,  $p = .125$ ).

**Gender-specific system justification.** As expected, participants who endorsed gender-specific system justification reported lower levels of public support for gender equality. However, there was no association between gender-specific system justification and domestic support for gender equality. The difference between these correlations was significant ( $t = -3.05, p = .003$ ).

**Social dominance orientation.** As expected, participants who endorsed gender-specific system justification reported lower levels of both public support for gender equality and domestic support for gender equality. The correlations for SGEMS-Public and SGEMS-Domestic did not differ significantly ( $t = -0.26, p = .795$ ). Partial correlations of social dominance orientation and SGEMS-Public ( $r = -.29, p < .001$ ) and SGEMS-Domestic ( $r = -.28, p < .001$ ) confirmed that these correlations were not accounted for by one of the factors, but remained significant when controlling for SGEMS-Domestic and SGEMS-Public, respectively.

**Objectification of women.** We found tentative evidence for a negative association between objectification and domestic support for gender equality: The correlations between the objectification of women and SGEMS-Public ( $r = -.13, p = .083$ ) and SGEMS-Domestic ( $r = -.12, p = .096$ ) were in the expected direction, albeit not significant. The overall SGEMS was negatively related to the objectification of women.

### **Socioeconomic Status and Level of Education across Studies**

Socioeconomic status and, relatedly, level of education have frequently been discussed in relation to gender equality and changing gender roles. Specifically, it has been found that more educated couples at the upper end of the social class spectrum frequently aspire to share labour more equally, whilst less educated couples at the lower end of the social class spectrum are more

comfortable with traditional gender roles (e.g., Deutsch, 1999; Usdansky, 2011; Williams, Blair-Loy, & Berdahl, 2013). Paradoxically, however, financial needs and work circumstances (e.g., shift work, multiple jobs) often tend to result in a more equal division of labour across working class couples than among more educated couples (e.g., Deutsch, 1999; Usdansky, 2011).

Considering these findings, investigating how these demographic variables relate to the two subscales of the SGEMS seems worthwhile. As we did not originally intend to investigate these factors, we did not collect consistent data on these variables across the four studies. Moreover, conducting factor analyses on each subgroup separately would be meaningless due to insufficient sample sizes. Therefore, we will present only elemental post-hoc investigations.

In line with Peer, Brandimarte, Samat, and Acquisti (2017)'s investigations on online research platforms, the three samples recruited via Prolific Academic (Studies 1, 3, and 4) were diverse with regards to socioeconomic status and level of education (see Table 5). The sample collected on trains (Study 2) featured a larger number of university-educated participants. Nevertheless, we can conclude that the results presented in this chapter were derived from diverse samples, and are therefore likely not restricted to a particular subgroup of participants. We found positive correlations between SGEMS-Public and level of education, that is, participants who were university-educated indicated more public support for gender equality than participants who were not university-educated. SGEMS-Public did not correlate with self-reported socioeconomic status, and SGEMS-Domestic did not correlate with any of the discussed demographic variables.

Interestingly, these patterns seem to present some evidence for Deutsch's (1999) and Udansky's (2011) findings that more educated upper- and

middle-class couples voice more public support for gender equality, but do not necessarily engage in more equal division of labour.

Table 5

*Levels of Education and Socioeconomic Status across Studies*

		sample	SGEMS-public	SGEMS-domestic
Study 1	university-educated	no: 141; yes: 181	.19***	.08
Study 2	university-educated	no: 98; yes: 239	.22***	.09
Study 3	university-educated	no: 62; yes: 84	.11	.01
Study 4	SES	$M = 36.37; SD = 18.20$	0.07	.07

Note. SES = socioeconomic status (range 1-100).

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

### General Discussion

The purpose of the present research was to develop and validate a brief, yet comprehensive, measure of men’s support for gender equality to be used in future research. Our aim was for this measure to encompass the various singular aspects of the construct that had been discussed and measured in previous research. Further, this scale addresses limitations of previous scales as it was developed to measure men’s support specifically, and includes both attitudinal measures, and measures of behavioural intentions and thus more tangible actions. Results across the three studies employing diverse samples provided strong support for the proposed two-factor structure: public support for gender equality and domestic support for gender equality. In a pilot study, we confirmed that laypeople’s suggestions are congruent with our review of the literature on men’s support for gender equality. In line with the literature and laypeople’s suggestions, we developed a pool of 31 items that were designed to capture the full breadth of support for gender equality. In Study 1, we used exploratory factor analysis on a sample of professional online survey takers to

reduce this item pool to 16 items that factored into two subscales: public support (nine items) and domestic support (seven items). In Study 2 and in Study 4, we replicated this factor structure with the final 16 items. Study 2 was carried out on a different sample and with a different survey medium (train commuters completing pen and paper questionnaires). Specifically, confirmatory factor analysis supported the two-factor solution after controlling for the items that were theoretically related due to the subcategories within each factor. In Study 2, reliability of the SGEMS-Domestic was lower than in Study 1 and Study 3. This might be the case because the replication of the factor structure took part using a fundamentally different, less homogeneous sample as the data was not collected via a panel of survey takers. Further, as the data collection took part on a train, most participants were exposed to environmental noise when filling out the survey, and some participants experienced time pressure as they were to depart the train shortly after being approached. This might have compromised their attention, and influenced their response patterns. Moreover, the item “If I were to have a child I would consider taking a part-time job to take care of my child” seems to decrease the reliability of the domestic subscale. However, in line with theory and previous research, it captures a substantial part of domestic support for gender equality and is therefore an essential part of the domestic support for gender equality subscale.

In Study 3 and in Study 4, we explored the SGEMS’ relationship to related constructs. In Study 3, we demonstrated that the SGEMS (and each of the subscales) was correlated in the expected directions with convergent measures of sexism, such that it was negatively related to hostile sexism, modern sexism, and belief in traditional gender roles, and positively related to feminist activism. The relation between SGEMS-Public and belief in traditional

gender roles, and the relation between SGEMS-Domestic and feminist activism was accounted for by the other subscale in each case. There was no correlation between SGEMS-Public and benevolent sexism. Possibly, this is related to Glick and Fiske's (1996; 2001) findings that a benevolently sexist attitude in men implicates making sacrifices in order to protect and valorise women, which is often perceived as beneficial, or at least not detrimental, to women. Indeed, benevolently sexist attitudes might sometimes manifest in behaviour that outwardly appears like support for gender equality (Estevan-Reina et al., 2017; Hopkins-Doyle, Sutton, Douglas, & Calogero, 2018). For example, a man's attempt to protect a woman (benevolent sexism) might include speaking up against gender inequality (public support for gender equality). SGEMS-Domestic was trending towards a significantly negative correlation with benevolent sexism, and was significantly negatively correlated with benevolent sexism when controlling for the effect of SGEMS-Public. This finding confirms Glick and Fiske's (1996) finding that a man endorsing benevolent sexism would similarly endorse traditional gender roles, and would therefore not consider household chores and child-care his responsibility. This would result in decreased domestic support for gender equality.

Finally, SGEMS-Public was positively associated with tangible and active public support for gender equality, measured by signing a petition for women's rights. There was some evidence that SGEMS-Public predicted whether participants would sign the petition over and above hostile and benevolent sexism, modern sexism, and belief in traditional gender roles. SGEMS-Domestic did not predict the petition outcome. This was not surprising as the behavioural measure of support was representative of public support for gender equality. Concurrent validity is likely to be domain-specific, such that SGEMS-

Domestic would be more predictive of behavioural measures that speak to domestic support of gender equality, for instance actually taking a part-time job after childbirth. Measuring SGEMS-Domestic behaviourally might be challenging as it mainly covers behaviours within the home environment. Given that our study relied on survey responses, it was not possible for us to collect this data. However, within future research it might be possible to measure whether participants would engage in household chores or child-care within on- or offline simulations of the domestic setting.

Notably, SGEMS-Public, but not SGEMS-Domestic, was positively associated with social desirability. We suggest that this may be because social desirability is positively related to conformity to socially acceptable values, avoidance of criticism, and gain of social approval (Huang, Liao, & Chang, 1998; King & Brunner, 2000). This kind of appraisal is more likely to occur in response to public support than in response to domestic support as the latter tends to remain private. This interpretation goes hand in hand with Uziel's (2010) conclusion that high scores on social desirability are a "less than perfect measure of response set" (p. 247), but rather are an indicator of an agreeable, emotionally stable, and interpersonally adjusted personality style. Either way, the effect reflects an aggregation of many weak relationships as none of the SGEMS items is highly correlated with social desirability, and does not, therefore, carry any major implications.

In Study 4, we found that precarious manhood beliefs were negatively related to domestic support for gender equality, but not to public support for gender equality. The opposite pattern occurred for gender-specific system justification. These findings indicate that the underlying motivations for refraining from support for gender equality might differ for the public and the

domestic domains. Possibly, levels of domestic support for gender equality are related to masculinity concerns, whilst levels of public support for gender equality are related more to perceptions of justice in regards to the current system. In line with our predictions, both subscales were negatively related to social dominance orientation and were negatively, albeit not significantly, related to objectification for women.

### **Future Research**

As discussed in the Introduction, we aimed to capture not only men's attitudes on gender equality, but also their behavioral intentions to support gender equality. In Study 3, we established concurrent validity for SGEMS-Public by showing that men's score on this subscale was positively related to signing a petition in support of gender equality. Considering that capturing behavioral intentions is an essential contribution of the SGEMS, future research should expand on this, and provide more evidence that the two subscales do in fact predict actual behavior. For instance, with regards to public support for gender equality, future research could investigate whether SGEMS-Public is predictive of a number of workplace behaviors, such as speaking up against gender inequality, or hiring women into leadership positions. This could be tested either within experimental studies, or by gathering longitudinal data within workplace settings. With regards to domestic support for gender inequality, future research could investigate whether SGEMS-Domestic is predictive of taking parental leave, or whether it converges with women's estimates of their male partners' engagement in household chores and child-care.

Furthermore, the scale might not capture the full breadth of what gender equality represents. Whilst the majority of items speak to gender equality as a broader concept from which both women and men might benefit (e.g., "Political

activism for gender equality is important to me”), some of the items focus specifically on workplace gains for women as a result of gender equality (e.g., “I actively support networking and peer mentoring systems for my female colleagues”). However, whilst the initial item pool included some items capturing men’s gains in the domestic domain as a result of gender equality (e.g., “I actively encourage male colleagues to take paternity leave.”), we excluded these based on the results in the exploratory factor analysis in Study 1. The data hence seemed to indicate that participants did not associate support for men’s rights with gender equality as readily as they associated it with support for women’s rights. Despite excluding this item based on statistical evidence, we wish to emphasize that theory on support for gender equality encompasses both support for women’s rights in the workplace and men’s rights in the domestic domain (e.g., Collier, 2009; Holter, 2014; Nedelsky, 2012). Future adaptations of the scale might wish to capture these two aspects more evenly by including items that capture, for example, men’s rights to take parental leave, to work part-time, or to show emotions and weakness.

Moreover, while our initial studies suggest that SGEMS is a useful measure of men’s support for gender equality, future research needs to be conducted to further investigate whether the factor-structure of the SGEMS holds within other populations both within and across cultures. Within cultures that tend to be more (e.g., Iceland, Finland, Norway) or less (e.g., Syria, Pakistan, Yemen; World Economic Forum, 2016) gender equal the mean responses might differ from those in our UK and US samples. Furthermore, the relevance of different subcategories might differ, and additional subcategories may be required. For instance, creating inclusive workplace cultures might not be so relevant in countries where women are yet to achieve more basic rights

and might not commonly enter the workforce. In countries where women are yet to achieve equal access to education or in which violence against women is still more accepted, these topics could constitute their own subcategories.

In addition to creating versions of the SGEMS that are applicable to other countries, exploring and measuring homosexual men's way of supporting gender equality might be useful. The domestic factor does not apply to this subgroup of men due to their different relationship to women, but comparing their score on the first factor to that of heterosexual men might be worthwhile. We would expect different mechanisms to drive their responses. Most importantly, their own minority status might lead them to identify more with the feminist cause, as individuals who hold intersecting social identities that are differentially privileged may find it easier to recognise the privilege they hold in a dominant identity (e.g., Cole, 2008, 2009; Cole & Luna, 2010).

Finally, we believe that the SGEMS will be useful tool to investigate a variety of research questions related to the role of men as allies to the gender equality movement. Rather than relying on ad-hoc measures and measures focusing on singular aspects, researchers can employ this validated scale covering a broader range of questions on men's support for gender equality. Future research may employ the scale to identify demographic groups of men that are more, or less, supportive of gender equality and might investigate the underlying reasons. In fact, some of the constructs measured in Study 4 might points towards explanations for men's (lack of) support for gender equality, and might therefore constitute good starting points for research to this purpose. Precarious manhood beliefs and the implied mandate to avoid everything feminine, for instance, might explain men's lack of domestic support for gender equality. Identifying factors that explain (a lack of) support for gender equality in

men might be a starting point towards more effectively encouraging men's support. It will be important to hereby distinguish between the two subscales and separately investigate factors related to (a lack of) public or domestic support, and potential barriers to men's support for gender equality. It is possible that the barriers in the way of public support for gender equality are closely related to continuing stigma around feminism, and the fear of being evaluated negatively by one's peers when publicly speaking up for gender equality (e.g., Anderson, 2009; Rickabaugh, 1995; Twenge & Zucker, 1999; Rudman, Mescher, & Moss-Racusin, 2012). At the same time, prescriptive societal norms for men to avoid all feminine, as proposed by the theory of precarious manhood (Vandello & Bosson, 2013), might explain men's reluctance to engage in domestic support for gender equality. Considering the post-hoc investigations discussed above, it might be worthwhile taking demographic factors such as level of education and socioeconomic status into account throughout such research.

Next to these theoretical considerations, the two-factor structure of the SGEMS might also be used as a starting point for future interventions. Initiatives aiming to increase men's support for gender equality, such as *HeforShe*, *The Good Lad Initiative*, or *TokenMan*, could focus their efforts on (one of) the two factors and could specifically target to increase men's public or domestic support for gender equality. Items from each scale could form the basis for which aspects to focus on. At the same time, the scale could be employed to evaluate an initiative's effectiveness and impact.

## **Conclusion**

To conclude, engaging more male allies in supporting gender equality is an essential and timely endeavour. To fully understand this movement, we need

a strong, empirically-validated scale to understand how, precisely, men can support gender equality. The present research developed and validated the SGEMS, a brief, yet comprehensive measure that assesses support for gender equality among men in the public and in the domestic sphere. The SGEMS has demonstrated robustness across populations and multiple measures of construct validity. Furthermore, it is short enough to be employed in a wide range of research and in practical contexts, especially since its subscales may also be used separately to answer research questions pertaining to one of the two domains. Therefore, SGEMS adds value to research in the field of gender equality by assessing an aspect not currently covered by existing scales.

### **Chapter 3: Precarious Manhood as a Barrier to Domestic Support for Gender Equality**

*“We've begun to raise daughters more like sons... but few have the courage to  
raise our sons more like our daughters.”*

Gloria Steinem

Whilst we still have a long way to go towards a gender equal society, there has been substantial progress in recent decades. Large numbers of women have entered the paid workforce in the past 50 years, and are continuing to do so (Cotter, Hermsen, & England, 2008; Office for National Statistics, 2015). As a result, women now represent almost half of the workforce in the UK (46.5%; The World Bank, 2017) and in the US (46.8%; Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017), and a growing number of women is entering male-dominated fields and is succeeding in leadership positions. To illustrate, more women than ever before are graduating in fields such as law, medicine, and business (Cotter, Hermsen, & Vanneman, 2004), and the number of women on FTSE 100 boards (Vinnicombe, Sealy, & Humbert, 2017) and UK boards in general (Davies, 2015) is increasing. These statistics clearly signify improvement with regards to women's participation in the labour force.

Statistics of this kind are further representative of the way in which we tend to assess progress with regards to gender equality within scientific and political reports. Commonly, the focus lies on tracking women's engagement in

the paid workforce and in traditionally male fields and positions. Numerous research lines testify to this. Examples include research on women in the labour force in general (e.g., Almquist, 1977; Costa, 2000), on women in male-dominated fields such as the STEM fields (e.g., Beede et al., 2011; Ong, Wright, Espinosa, & Orfield, 2011; Shapiro & Sax, 2011) or finance (von Hippel, Sekaquaptewa, & McFarlane, 2015; Eldridge, Park, Phillips, & Williams, 2007), and on women in leadership positions (e.g., Eagly & Carli, 2007; Ryan & Haslam, 2005). Accordingly, efforts at achieving more gender equality frequently aim to increase women's engagement in the labour force, and in male-dominated fields and positions specifically (Croft, Schmader, & Block, 2015). For instance, *The Women in STEM Campaign* (2018, September 19) and *Leadarise* (2018, September 19) are initiatives that expend effort in order to support women entering and succeeding in the workforce.

The focus of these statistics and initiatives is representative of the largely asymmetrical nature of change with regards to the gendered division of labour: Whilst women have been entering the workforce, men have not taken up traditionally female tasks at the same rate (Croft et al., 2015; England, 2010). Rather, women still carry out the majority of domestic work and assume the roles of primary caregivers and household managers (e.g., Hochschild & Machung, 2012; Pew Research Center, 2013; Sayer, England, Bittman, & Bianchi, 2009). It follows that the recorded increase in gender equality currently comes at the expense of a double burden for women. Indeed, carrying both workplace and domestic responsibilities impacts negatively on women's health (e.g., Bird, 1999; Burgard, 2011) and, accordingly, performance at work, and has been shown to curb women's labour market participation and earning potential both short- and long-term (Brown & Diekman, 2010; Budig & England,

2001). Therefore, men's systemic lack of involvement in domestic work has been called one of the main impediments to women's participation in the paid labour force, and gender equality more broadly (e.g., Croft et al., 2015; Deutsch, 1999; Haas, 2003).

In line with these findings, a call for men to engage in domestic support for gender equality has surfaced in recent years (Chapter 2). In Chapter 3, we will first establish a discrepancy between men's interest in, and actual engagement in domestic support for gender equality. Then, we will investigate a potential barrier currently preventing men from reporting their engagement in domestic support for gender equality to other men. Specifically, we suggest that precarious manhood, defined as the notion that manhood is fragile and needs to be continuously re-acquired by engaging in masculine behavior (Vandello & Bosson, 2013), might be a barrier to men's conversation about domestic support for gender equality with other men. In line with the results from Chapter 2, we suggest that precarious manhood beliefs is not related to general engagement public support for gender equality, such as supporting gender equality at demonstrations or within the workplace. However, discussing one's engagement in domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers might constitute an exception as, unlike other forms of public support for gender equality, it seems to tap into both domains of support, and is therefore linked to a man's manhood status. The resulting relative lack of conversations among men about their engagement might impede change in masculinity norms and men's actual domestic support for gender equality.

### **Men's Domestic Support for Gender Equality**

As discussed above, numerous studies investigating time spent on household chores and child-care have documented that men's engagement in

the domestic sphere is still considerably lower than women's (Croft et al., 2015; England, 2010; Hochschild & Machung, 2012; Sayer et al., 2009). Specifically, European men were found to perform less than a third of the domestic workload (Dotti Sani, 2014), whilst American fathers were found to spend only a third of the time on domestic work that American mothers do (Pew Research Center, 2013).

Interestingly, however, results from studies assessing men's *ideal* amount of time spent on household chores and child-care find that men would like to engage in more domestic support for gender equality. For instance, within anonymous surveys, a growing number of men report the wish to spend less time in paid work (Auman, Galinsky, & Matos, 2011), and to reconcile work and family life (Vandello, Hettinger, Bosson, & Siddiqi, 2013). Similarly, an increasing number of men reported that they want to spend more time with their children (Milkie, Mattingly, Nomaguchi, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004; Pew Research Center, 2013; Reeves & Szafran, 1996), and want to be more involved fathers (Duyvendak & Stavenuiter, 2004; Hobson & Fahlen, 2009; United Nations, 2012). Moreover, more than three quarters of men reported that they would like to be in egalitarian relationships (Ferber & Young, 1997), and many agreed that a successful man would not only provide for his family, but would also be actively involved in his children's lives (Auman et al., 2011; Brandth & Kvande, 1998).

Considering results on men's *actual* engagement in domestic support for gender equality on the one hand, and results on men's *ideal* engagement in domestic support for gender equality on the other hand, we observe a discrepancy: In anonymous surveys, men indicate that they would like to engage in more domestic tasks, but this wish does not seem to translate into

actual hours spent on domestic support for gender equality. In the following, we will discuss how precarious manhood beliefs might potentially explain this discrepancy.

### **Barriers to Change: Precarious Manhood**

The identified discrepancy between men's ideal and actual engagement in domestic support for gender equality raises the question what is holding men back. One recent body of theory and research on masculinity norms might offer an explanation for this discrepancy by describing the experience of manhood. According to theory on precarious manhood, men experience masculinity as something that is "hard won and easily lost" (Vandello & Bosson, 2013, p. 101). Whilst womanhood is perceived as permanent and following naturally from biological changes, men often face allegations of not being "a real man" or "man enough". Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, and Weaver (2008) present evidence for these tenets on precarious manhood. Participants associated the transition from boyhood to manhood more strongly with social than with physical factors, however, this was not the case for the transition from girlhood to womanhood. Moreover, participants could relate more to proverbs on precarious manhood than proverbs on precarious womanhood (e.g., "It is a rocky road from boy [girl] to man [woman]"). Finally, when asked to complete the open-ended sentence "A real man [woman]...", participants completed the sentence with more actions for men, and more traits for women. The authors conclude that womanhood is perceived as inherent and safe once acquired, but manhood must constantly be re-acquired. To avoid social backlash in the form of decreased respect (Heilman & Wallen, 2010), being deemed weak (Rudman & Mescher, 2013), or impaired job evaluations (Butler & Skattebo, 2004; Vandello et al., 2013; Wayne & Codeiro, 2013), men feel the constant pressure

Chapter 3: Precarious Manhood as a Barrier to Domestic Support for Gender Equality  
to publicly demonstrate their manhood (e.g., Bosson & Vandello, 2011;  
Vandello, Bosson et al., 2008).

One way in which men may affirm their manhood, is to engage in behaviours that demonstrate stereotypically masculine traits, such as courage or agency (e.g., Abele, 2003; Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, and Doosje, 1995; Carlson, 1971; Prentice & Carranza, 2002; Spence, Helmreich, & Holahan, 1979). In these studies, authors threatened participants' masculinity, that is, they prompted men to doubt that they are "real men". For example, male participants received feedback that their hormonal (e.g., Kosakowska-Berezecka et al., 2015) or psychological (e.g., Vandello, Bosson, et al., 2008) profile was similar to the average profile of a woman, rather than the average profile of a man. Threatened men then expressed increased support for stereotypically male attitudes and behaviours (e.g., Willer, Rogalin, Conlon, & Wojnowicz, 2013), took greater financial risks (e.g., Weaver, Vandello, and Bosson, 2013), and had more aggressive thoughts (e.g., Vandello, Bosson, et al., 2008) and behaviour (e.g., Bosson, Vandello, Burnaford, Weaver, & Wasti, 2009).

However, according to theory on precarious manhood, masculinity norms do not only prescribe the display of stereotypically masculine traits in front of others, but also proscribe engagement in behaviours that are considered feminine (Vandello & Bosson, 2013). In fact, this anti-feminine notion has long been a defining factor of manhood, and surfaced, for instance, in numerous psychoanalytic theories (e.g., Freud, 1937; Greenson, 1968; Jung, 1953; Pielow, 1988), and theories on men's sexuality (e.g., Frosh, 2003; Hudson & Jacot, 1991). Similarly, the stereotype content model (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008) has associated the two dimensions of warmth and competence with

femininity and masculinity, respectively, and multiple studies have documented the backlash men tend to face when violating these stereotypes in front of an audience (e.g., Brescoll, Uhlmann, Moss-Racusin, & Sarnell, 2012; Prentice & Carranza, 2002; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004).

Several studies found that men indeed report avoiding stereotypically female tasks in response to circumstances threatening their masculinity (West & Zimmerman, 1987; 2009). For instance, men report to engage in less, rather than more, household chores when their female partners take over the role of the breadwinner (e.g., Brines, 1994; Greenstein, 2000; Latshaw & Hale, 2016; Tichenor, 2005), or when their manhood status is challenged at work (Arrighi & Maume, 2000). Similarly, within attitudinal research, men who were threatened in their masculinity reported less support for non-traditional gender roles than did men who had not been threatened in their masculinity (Kosakowksa-Berezecka et al., 2016). Moreover, men indicated that they do not intend to make use of flexible working arrangements due to a fear of being perceived as weak by their co-workers (Vandello et al., 2013).

Based on these results, we can conclude that threatened masculinity seems to impact men's report of their engagement in domestic support for gender equality. However, the discussed research does not explicitly take into consideration that proving one's masculinity is an act that happens in front of an audience, and in front of other men specifically. In our research, we aim to introduce the role that an audience of male peers might play with regards to men's reported levels of their engagement in domestic support for gender equality.

### **Audience Effects and Masculinity Norms**

Considering the increasing number of men who indicate an interest in engaging in domestic support for gender equality within anonymous surveys, it is surprising that masculinity norms proscribing men to engage in domestic tasks remain intact. We suggest that men's interactions on their engagement in domestic support for gender equality are restrained, and that this restraint contributes to the perpetuation of masculinity norms. Specifically, we propose that even men who engage in, and men who would like to engage in, domestic support for gender equality do not report their engagement in domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers in order to protect their manhood status.

This suggestion is grounded in theory on social norms suggesting that expressed attitudes and behaviour frequently do not accurately reflect an individual's inherent values and beliefs. Rather, outwardly expressions are influenced by social cues on the normativity of behaviour within certain contexts and groups (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004; Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991; Cialdini & Trost, 1998; Reno, Cialdini, & Kallgren, 1993). That is, individuals oftentimes adjust their expressed attitudes or behaviours in an attempt to elicit a specific response from their audience (e.g., Baumeister, 1982; Leary, Batts Allen, & Terry, 2011). In this process, the composition of the audience has been found to play an important role. Specifically, factors such as audience size, audience in-/outgroup status, or familiarity with the audience might affect self-presentation (e.g., Bosson, Taylor, & Prewitt-Freilino, 2006; Leary et al., 2011).

In line with these findings, individuals tend to agree with a group's norms more when their responses will be shared with the group than when their responses remain anonymous (e.g. Barreto & Ellemers, 2000; Douglas &

McGarty, 2001; Noel, Wann, & Branscombe, 1995). For example, migrants and refugees expressed their identity differently depending on whether the audience was composed of members of their native group or members of their host group (Barreto, Spears, Ellemers, & Shahinper, 2003). Similarly, students attributed their success or failure in exams to different factors when in front of an audience of teachers, relative to an audience of peers (Juvonen and Murdock, 1993).

Importantly, there is some evidence that an audience might impact men's report of their engagement in domestic support for gender equality. For instance, several men who reported to enjoy engaging in domestic tasks also reported feeling uncomfortable when discussing their engagement with others (Deutsch, 1999), and heterosexual men experienced more discomfort when an audience was aware that they had engaged in stereotypically female tasks than when they performed these tasks alone (Bosson, Taylor, & Prewitt-Freilino, 2006). Most strikingly, men might even deny that they violated gender stereotypes in front of an audience (Rudman and Fairchild, 2004).

### **The Present Research**

Within this introduction, we have established a discrepancy between men's ideal and actual levels of engagement in domestic support for gender equality. We have argued that this discrepancy might be a result of prevailing masculinity norms prescribing men to avoid everything that is considered feminine. Further, we have argued that these masculinity norms remain intact as even men who engage in, or would like to engage in, domestic support for gender equality might not report their engagement to other men.

To test these suggestions, we investigate the effect of an audience of male peers on the reported levels of domestic support for gender equality of men endorsing or disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs (Studies 5 - 7).

Additionally, we explore the effect of an audience of women on men's reported levels of domestic support for gender equality (Studies 6 and 7), and investigate potential underlying motivations for men adapting their reported levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers (Study 8). Finally, we discuss the implications of this research. Ethical approval was obtained for all studies presented in this chapter (see Appendix A).

### **Study 5**

In an online study with male participants, we compare men's reported levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers with levels in an anonymous report. We hypothesise the following:

***Hypothesis 1a:*** Men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs, but not men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs, report decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report.

Further, we include two additional dependent variables related to domestic support for gender equality: self-conscious discomfort (Heatherton and Polivy, 1991) when reporting their engagement in domestic support for gender equality, and attitude strength (Krosnick et al., 1993) on engagement in domestic support for gender equality. We include these measures to reach a more nuanced understanding of the thought processes and emotions related to men reporting their engagement in domestic support for gender equality. Specifically, we seek to understand whether participants feel uncomfortable or uncertain in their attitudes when reporting their engagement in domestic support for gender equality to an audience of male peers. We hypothesise the following:

**Hypothesis 1b:** Men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs, but not men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs, report decreased levels of attitude strength in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report.

**Hypothesis 1c:** Men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs, but not men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs, report increased levels of self-conscious discomfort in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report.

Finally, we included a measure of honesty to gain an understanding of whether participants attempted to report their genuine levels of domestic support for gender equality. A potential lack of the hypothesised effects might be due to participants making a conscious effort at not reporting their genuine levels of domestic support for gender equality across the different conditions.

## **Method**

**Power.** The power calculations for Study 5 were executed in G Power. The power analysis suggested a sample size of 395 participants to detect a small  $R^2$  increase due to the interaction effect of audience and precarious manhood beliefs on domestic support for gender equality in linear multiple regression with a fixed model ( $f^2 = .02$ ;  $\alpha = .05$ ;  $power = .08$ ; number of tested predictors = 1, total number of predictors = 2). We based the estimated effect size on previous research (Bosson et al., 2006; Kosakowska-Berezecka et al., 2016) investigating audience effects and threatened masculinity.

**Participants and procedure.** We recruited 398 heterosexual<sup>18</sup> male participants ( $M_{\text{age}} = 42.40$ ,  $SD = 10.19$ , age range 18-74) from the online research platform Prolific Academic. The study was advertised as an “attitudinal survey for male participants”, and participants received payment in the form of Prolific Academic credit (£ 0.42). The majority of participants were either British (64.4%) or American (35.2%). Whilst the sample was diverse with regards to self-reported socioeconomic status ( $M = 41.13$ ;  $SD = 19.90$ , range 1-100), 61.2% of the participants held a university degree, that is, participants in the sample were more educated than the average UK and US population (Nomis, 2018). Within preliminary analyses, we excluded ten participants who had more than 5% missing data and two participants who failed the attention tests<sup>19</sup> or completed the study in less than two minutes. We did not exclude any participants based on outliers in any of the studies in Chapter 3.

After obtaining informed consent, we asked participants to indicate their agreement with a number of statements. Participants were told that these statements were randomly selected from a pool of common psychological questionnaires, and that the aim was to relate participants’ attitudes on different topics to several demographic variables. Seven of the statements measured participants’ precarious manhood beliefs, and all other items were filler items to disguise the nature of the study. Before filling out the domestic subscale of the Support for Gender Equality among Men Scale (SGEMS), participants in the experimental condition were informed that their scores on the following scale

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<sup>18</sup> We focused on heterosexual men in these studies as they are more likely to share household chores and child-care responsibilities with women, and are therefore more likely to engage in domestic support for gender equality. However, we discuss the potential implications of the results for homosexual men in Chapter 4.

<sup>19</sup> Across Studies 5 to 7, the attention test comprised three statements asking the participants to indicate a specific answer option, e.g. “Please indicate *Strongly agree*”. These statements appeared in between the items measuring the studies’ variables.

would be visible to three other male participants who would evaluate them on the following criteria: first impression, positive and negative qualities, and likability. Participants in the anonymous report condition did not receive any additional information before filling in the domestic subscale of the SGEMS. All participants then completed the domestic subscale of the SGEMS, and measures of self-conscious discomfort, attitude strength, and honesty. Subsequently, participants reported demographic information<sup>20</sup>. Finally, participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation (see Appendix G).

To summarise, we used a two-group (audience of male peers vs anonymous report) between-subjects design with a continuous moderator (precarious manhood beliefs). The dependent variables were *domestic support for gender equality, attitude strength, self-conscious discomfort, and honesty*.

### **Measures.**

***Precarious manhood beliefs.*** We measured precarious manhood beliefs ( $\alpha = 0.87$ ) with the seven statements that Vandello and colleagues (2008) used to measure whether participants perceive manhood as tenuous and elusive. Participants indicated their agreement on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). An example item is “Manhood is not assured - it can be lost”. Similar to Vandello and colleagues (2008), we included filler items to disguise the purpose of the study. We used seven filler items from the Euthanasia Attitude Scale (Tang et al., 2010) and seven filler items from the

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<sup>20</sup> Education (No high school diploma: 4.0%; High school diploma: 34.4%; Bachelor degree: 44.7%; Master degree: 12.1%; MBA: 1.3%; PhD degree: 3.5%); Marital status (Single: 27.6%; In a relationship but we do not live together: 6.5%; I live together with my partner: 65.8%), Breadwinner (Myself: 63.1%; My partner: 10.3%; Both of us equally: 16.3%; I live by myself: 10.3%), Number of children ( $M = 1.11$ ;  $SD = 1.23$ ), Socioeconomic status (range 0-100):  $M = 41.13$ ;  $SD = 19.90$ ).

Attitudes Towards Vegetarians Scale (Chin, Fisak, & Sims, 2002). The items to measure precarious manhood beliefs and the filler items were presented in a random order.

**Domestic support for gender equality.** We measured domestic support for gender equality with the 7-item domestic subscale of the SGEMS (see Chapter 2;  $\alpha = 0.76^{21}$ ). Participants indicated their agreement with each item (e.g. “My partner and I share most household chores”) on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

**Attitude strength.** We measured participants’ attitude strength towards the content of the domestic subscale of the SGEMS with ten items ( $\alpha = 0.84$ ) based on Krosnick and colleagues’ (1993) conceptualisation of attitude strength. The items reflected participants’ attitude intensity (e.g., “I feel strongly about the topic of domestic support for gender equality”), attitude certainty (e.g., “I am certain regarding my attitudes on domestic support for gender equality”), attitude importance (e.g., “My attitudes on the topic of domestic support for gender equality are important to me”), mental accessibility of the attitude (e.g., “I frequently think about the topic of domestic support for gender equality”), and direct experience related to the topic (e.g., “I can relate to experiences regarding domestic support for gender equality”). Participants in the audience of male peers condition were instructed to answer these questions while “considering that the result [from the domestic subscale of the SGEMS] will be shared with four other male participants”, whilst participants in the anonymous report condition were instructed to answer while “considering that the results [on the domestic subscale of the SGEMS] are your private views”. All participants

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<sup>21</sup>  $GLB_{domestic} = .85$

indicated to what extent they agreed with the statements on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

***Self-conscious discomfort.*** We included the 7-item social subscale of the State Self-Esteem Scale (Heatherton & Polivy, 1991; Bosson et al., 2005;  $\alpha = 0.90$ ) to measure participant's discomfort after completing the domestic subscale of the SGEMS (e.g. "I am worried about what other people think of me") on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = not at all, 7 = very much so).

***Honesty.*** We included three items to measure participants' honesty ( $\alpha = 0.66$ ) when completing the domestic subscale of the SGEMS: "My responses were authentic", "My responses were genuine", and "My responses were unaffected by circumstances". Participants indicated how much they agreed with these statements on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

## **Results**

**Domestic support for gender equality.** Across the three studies, we used SPSS Statistics 24 to run all preliminary and main analyses. We used Lipsey and Wilson's (2001) "Practical Meta-Analysis Effect Size Calculator" (<https://www.campbellcollaboration.org/escalc/html/EffectSizeCalculator-SMD21.php>) to obtain effect sizes, and used McCabe, Kim, and King's (2018) online tool "interactive" for the visual display of interactions. Descriptive statistics and correlations between all variables are reported in Table 6.

To test whether men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs, but not men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs, report decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report (Hypothesis 1a), we ran a hierarchical multiple regression analysis. In step 1, we entered audience (0 = anonymous report, 1 =

audience of male peers), and (mean-centred) precarious manhood beliefs as predictors. In step 2, we entered their two-way interaction. In step 1, we observed a main effect for precarious manhood beliefs,  $\beta = -.08$ ,  $SE = .04$ ,  $t(395) = -2.34$ ,  $p = .020$ , *Cohen's d* =  $-.09$ . In step 2, the predicted interaction emerged (see Table 7).

Table 6

*Means, standard deviations, and correlations in Study 5*

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4
1. SGEMS-D	5.58	0.87	-	-	-	-
2. PM	3.88	1.21	-.12*	-	-	-
3. AS	4.74	0.85	.25**	.15**	-	-
4. SCD	3.58	1.41	-.08	.26**	-.01	-
5. Honesty	6.63	0.57	.25**	-.06	-.15**	-.14**

*Note.* SGEMS-D = Domestic support for gender equality, PM = Precarious manhood beliefs, AS = Attitude strength, SCD = Self-conscious discomfort.

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

Next, we probed the interaction with simple effects analyses using the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2017). Men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs (+1 *SD* above the mean) reported decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report,  $\beta = -.27$ ,  $SE = .12$ ,  $t(396) = -2.23$ ,  $p = .026$ , *Cohen's d* =  $-.32$ . Men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs (-1 *SD* below the mean) were not significantly affected by an audience of male peers,  $\beta = .18$ ,  $SE = 0.12$ ,  $t(396) = 1.51$ ,  $p = .131$ , *Cohen's d* =  $.21$  (see Figure 3). However, the Johnson-Neyman technique showed that the relationship between domestic support for gender equality and audience was significant when participants' scored more than 0.71

standard deviations above the mean or 1.58 standard deviations below the mean on precarious manhood beliefs.

We also decomposed the interaction by audience. Precarious manhood beliefs did not have an impact on men in the anonymous report condition,  $\beta = .01$ ,  $SE = .05$ ,  $t(396) = .16$ ,  $p = .869$ , *Cohen's d* = -.01. However, in the audience of male peers condition, men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs reported lower levels of domestic support for gender equality than men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs,  $\beta = -.18$ ,  $SE = .05$ ,  $t(396) = -3.54$ ,  $p < .001$ , *Cohen's d* = -.21 (Figure 4).

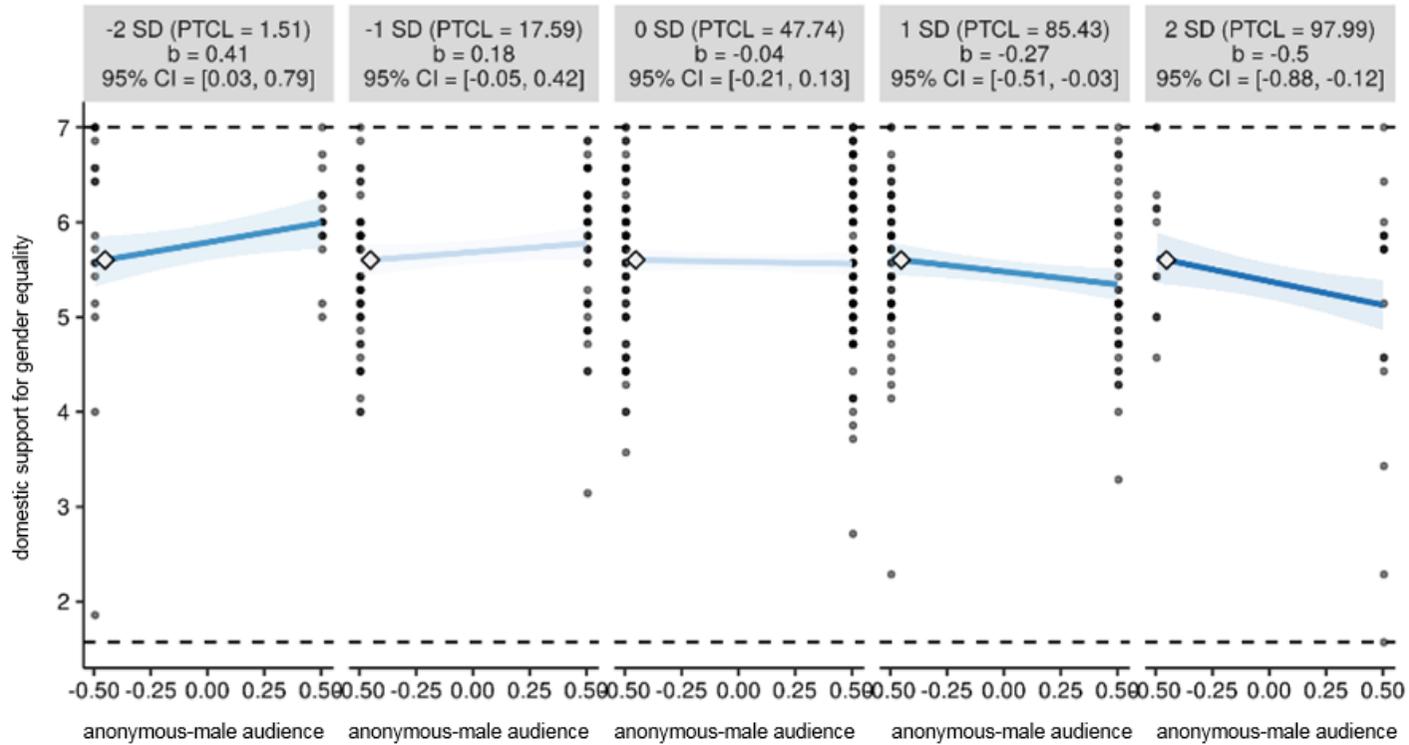


Figure 3. Domestic support for gender equality and 95% confidence intervals in an anonymous report and in front of an audience of male peers at different levels of precarious manhood beliefs in Study 5.

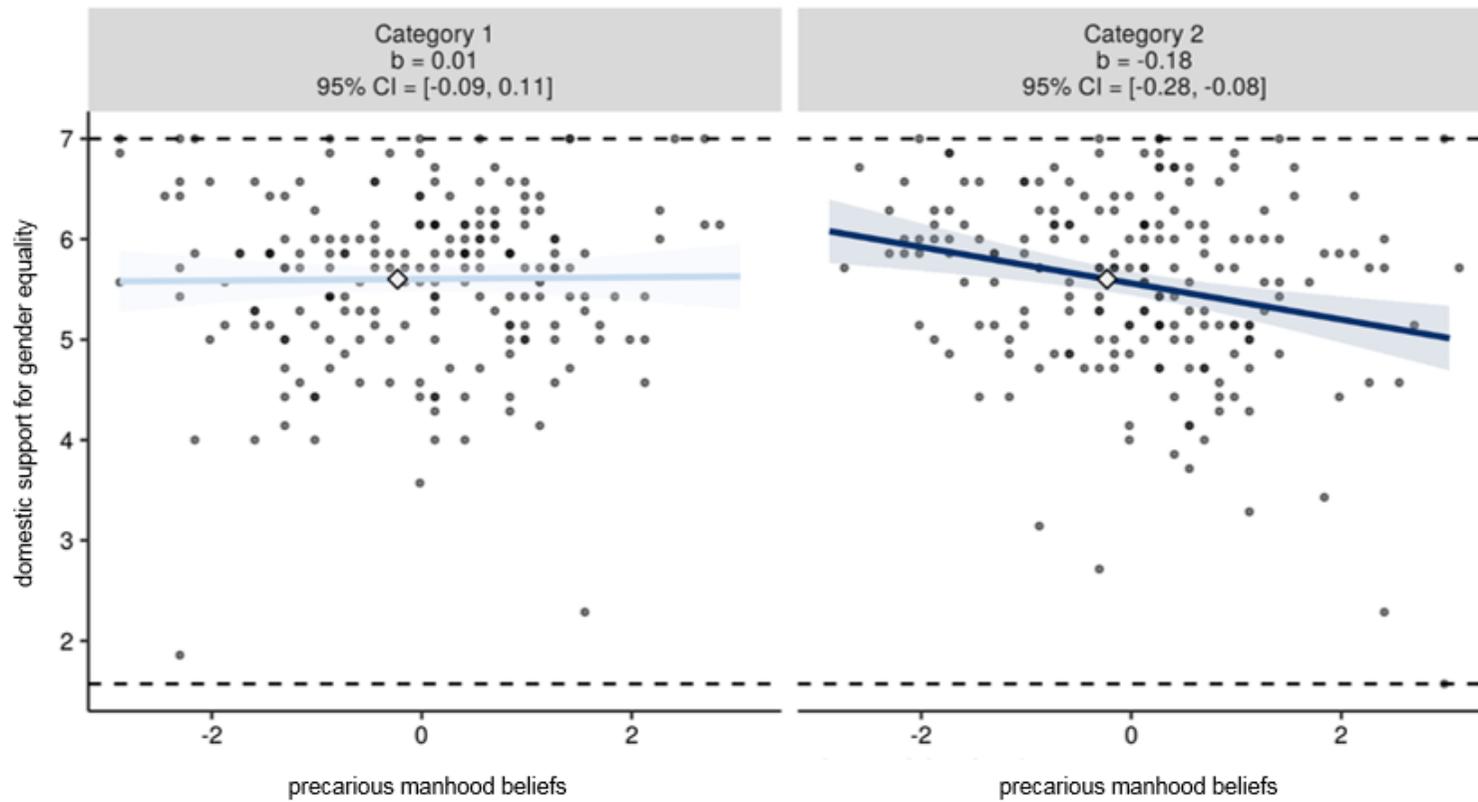


Figure 4. Domestic support for gender equality and 95% confidence intervals as a function of precarious manhood beliefs in an anonymous report (Category 1) and in front of an audience of male peers (Category 2) in Study 5.

**Attitude strength, self-conscious discomfort, and honesty.** We ran the same hierarchical regression analysis with attitude strength and self-conscious discomfort as dependent variables to test Hypotheses 1b and 1c. Attitude strength was related to precarious manhood beliefs and was marginally related to audience. Thus, men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs held stronger attitudes on domestic support for gender equality than men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs, and men tended to have weaker attitudes on domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report.

Men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs reported higher levels of self-conscious discomfort when reporting their engagement in domestic support for gender equality than men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs. This effect held both in front of an audience of male peers and in an anonymous report.

We further ran the same hierarchical regression analysis with honesty as dependent variable to explore whether participants responded genuinely when reporting their engagement in domestic support for gender equality. We did not find an effect of audience or precarious manhood beliefs on men's honesty when reporting their engagement in domestic support for gender equality (see Table 7 for all results).

Table 7

*Regression models predicting domestic support for gender equality attitude strength, self-conscious discomfort, and honesty in Study 5*

Predictor	$\beta$	SE	t	p	R <sup>2</sup>
SGEMS-D					.03
Audience	-0.04	.09	-0.51	.613	
PM	0.01	.05	0.17	.869	
Audience*PM	-0.19	.07	-2.65	.008	
AS					.04
Audience	-0.17	.08	-1.96	.050	
PM	0.15	.05	3.04	.003	
Audience *PM	-0.08	.07	-1.20	.231	
SCD					.07
Audience	0.09	.14	0.66	.512	
PM	0.23	.08	2.94	.003	
Audience *PM	0.14	.11	1.19	.234	
Honesty					.01
Audience	0.03	.06	0.56	.578	
PM	-0.01	.03	-0.26	.795	
Audience *PM	-0.04	.05	-0.87	.384	

*Note.* SGEMS-D = Domestic support for gender equality, PM = Precarious manhood beliefs, AS = Attitude strength, SCD = Self-conscious discomfort.

## **Discussion**

We hypothesised that men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs, but not men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs, would report decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality to an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report (Hypothesis 1a). Study 5 yielded evidence for this hypothesis. This finding is in line with research showing that men are hesitant to report engagement in stereotypically female activities to male peers (e.g., Bosson et al., 2006; Deutsch, 1999). Indeed, previous findings suggested that masculinity concerns might be more prominent in front of an audience of male peers than in front of an audience of women (e.g., Bosson et al., 2006; Burn, 2000; Kimmel, 2006). To investigate whether the effect is indeed specific to an audience of male peers, and to rule out the possibility that it presents a general audience effect, we will include a condition featuring an audience of women in Study 6.

Unlike predicted by Hypothesis 1b, both men endorsing and disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs tended to have weaker attitudes on domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report. This result seems to indicate that men's reported attitudes, regardless of their belief in precarious manhood, are affected to some extent by an audience of male peers when reporting their engagement in domestic support for gender equality. We will not pursue any further investigation of attitude strength in Study 6.

Self-conscious discomfort was related to precarious manhood beliefs: Men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs reported higher levels of self-conscious discomfort than men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs when reporting their engagement in domestic support for gender equality.

However, unlike predicted by Hypothesis 1c, men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs experienced discomfort when reporting their engagement in domestic support for gender equality both in front of an audience of male peers and in an anonymous report. In Study 6, we will follow up on this result by measuring participants' levels of anxiety, a more extreme manifestation of discomfort.

Participants' honesty when reporting their engagement in domestic support for gender equality was not affected by an audience of male peers or by participants' endorsement of precarious manhood beliefs. We have hence reason to assume that participants across conditions attempted to give a genuine account of their engagement in domestic support for gender equality, and that the differences across conditions are due to unconscious adjustment processes. We will not pursue any further investigation of honesty in Study 6.

### **Study 6**

In Study 6, we aim to directly replicate the finding that men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs, but not men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs, report decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report (Hypothesis 1a). We will use the same methodology as in Study 5, and extend the design by further including a third condition featuring an audience of women. We do not expect the same effect as with an audience of male peers as women are less likely to be perceived as harsh critics of masculinity performance (e.g. Bosson et al., 2006; Burn, 2000; Kimmel, 2006). Rather, men might feel inclined to report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality to women considering that potential female partners might evaluate men who support

domestic support for gender equality more positively (Meeussen, Van Laar, & Verbruggen, 2018). Therefore, we hypothesise the following:

**Hypothesis 2a:** Both men endorsing and disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of women, relative to an anonymous report.

As a more extreme manifestation of self-conscious discomfort investigated in Study 5, we include a measure participants' feelings of anxiety after reporting their engagement in domestic support for gender equality. Multiple masculinity theories suggest that anxiety is a central component of the experience of masculinity (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; O'Neil, Helm, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986; Pleck, 1981, 1995), and empirical research has found that men indeed experience anxiety when their masculinity is threatened (e.g., Vandello et al., 2008). Sharing one's engagement in domestic support for gender equality, that is, engaging in stereotypically female tasks, such as household chores and child-care, might be perceived as a threat to the participants' masculinity. Therefore, and in line with the results on self-conscious discomfort in Study 5, we hypothesise the following:

**Hypothesis 2b:** Men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs, but not men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs, experience anxiety when reporting their engagement in domestic support for gender equality, in front of an audience of male peers, in front of an audience of women, and in an anonymous report.

## Method

**Power.** The power analysis suggested a sample size of 485 participants to detect a small  $R^2$  increase due to the interaction effect of a male (female) audience and precarious manhood beliefs on domestic support for gender equality in linear multiple regression with a fixed model ( $f^2 = .02$ ;  $\alpha = .05$ ;  $power = .08$ ; number of tested predictors = 2, total number of predictors = 5). We based the estimated effect size on previous research (Bosson et al., 2006; Kosakowska-Berezecka et al., 2016) investigating audience effects and threatened masculinity.

**Participants and procedure.** We recruited 492 heterosexual male participants ( $M_{age} = 41.86$ ,  $SD = 10.13$ , age range 24-75) from the online research platform Prolific Academic. We ensured that those who had already participated in Study 5 could not participate in this study. The study was advertised as “Study on Men’s and Women’s Attitudes”, and participants received payment in the form of Prolific Academic credit (£ 0.42). Most participants were British (69.5%) or American (29.7%). As in Study 5, participants self-reported diversity with regards to socioeconomic status ( $M = 40.96$ ;  $SD = 19.41$ , range 1-100), but 61.6% of participants held a university degree. Within preliminary analyses, we excluded three participants who had more than 5% missing data and eight participants who failed the attention tests or completed the study in less than two minutes.

After obtaining informed consent, we measured participants’ precarious manhood beliefs. Then, participants in the audience conditions were informed that their scores on the following scale will be shared with three other male participants (audience of male peers condition) or three female participants

(audience of women condition) who would evaluate them on several criteria: first impression, positive and negative qualities, and likability. In the anonymous report condition, participants did not receive any additional information. All participants then completed the domestic subscale of the SGEMS, and a measure. Subsequently, participants completed a measure of anxiety. Finally, participants reported their demographic information<sup>22</sup>, were debriefed and thanked for their participation (see Appendix H).

To summarise, we used a three-group (audience of male peers vs audience of women vs anonymous report) between-subjects design with a continuous moderator (precarious manhood beliefs). The dependent variables were *domestic support for gender equality* and *anxiety when reporting engagement in domestic support for gender equality*.

### **Measures.**

***Precarious manhood beliefs.*** We used the same measure for precarious manhood beliefs ( $\alpha = 0.84^{23}$ ) as in Study 5.

***Domestic support for gender equality.*** We used the same measure for men's domestic support for gender equality ( $\alpha = 0.70$ ) as in Study 5.

***Anxiety.*** We measured participants' anxiety when reporting domestic support for gender equality with a word anxiety measure. The measure determines the extent to which words related to anxiety and threat were cognitively accessible using a 24-item word completion task previously used by Vandello and colleagues (2008). Of the 24 word fragments, 7 could be

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<sup>22</sup> Education (No high school diploma: 6.1%; High school diploma: 32.3%; Bachelor degree: 39.4%; Master degree: 13.6%; MBA: 2.0%; PhD degree: 6.3%); Marital status (Single: 21.5%; In a relationship but we do not live together: 6.3%; I live together with my partner: 72.2%), Breadwinner (Myself: 62.4%; My partner: 11.4%; Both of us equally: 19.7%; I live by myself: 6.5%), Number of children ( $M = 1.21$ ;  $SD = 1.17$ ), Socioeconomic status (range 0-100):  $M = 40.96$ ;  $SD = 19.41$ ).

<sup>23</sup>  $GLB_{domestic} = .78$

completed with either anxiety-related words or anxiety-unrelated words:

THREA\_\_ (*threat*), STRE\_\_ \_\_ (*stress*), \_\_ \_\_SET (*upset*); \_\_OTHER (*bother*), SHA\_\_ E (*shame*), \_\_EAK (*weak*), and LO\_\_ER (*loser*). We calculated the percentage of these word fragments that were completed with the anxiety-related words.

## Results

**Domestic support for gender equality.** We ran a hierarchical multiple regression analysis to replicate the findings from Study 5 (Hypothesis 1a), and to investigate the effect of an audience of women (Hypothesis 2a). Descriptive statistics and correlations between all variables are reported in Table 8.

Table 8

*Means, standard deviations, and correlations in Study 6*

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2
1. SGEMS-D	5.68	0.82	-	-
2. PM	3.9	1.15	-0.01	-
3. Anxiety	24.77	14.87	-0.04	-0.04

*Note.* SGEMS-D = Domestic support for gender equality,

PM = Precarious manhood beliefs.

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

To analyse across the three conditions, we dummy-coded the anonymous report condition as the baseline (D1: anonymous report = 0, audience of male peers = 1, audience of women = 0; D2: anonymous report = 0, audience of male peers = 0, audience of women = 1). In step 1, we entered both dummy variables and (mean-centred) precarious manhood beliefs. In step 2, we entered the two-way interactions.

In step 1, we observed a main effect for audience of women,  $\beta = .23$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $t(488) = 2.54$ ,  $p = .012$ , *Cohen's d* = .28. In step 2, this effect remained significant,  $\beta = .23$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $t(486) = 2.51$ ,  $p = .012$ , *Cohen's d* = .28. This shows that, as predicted, both men endorsing and disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs reported increased levels of domestic support for gender equality to an audience of women, relative to an anonymous report. However, the predicted interaction effect between precarious manhood beliefs and an audience of male peers did not emerge, that is, we did not find further evidence for Hypothesis 1a (see Table 9).

To compare men's reported levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers to in front of an audience of women, we re-coded the dummy variables such that men functioned as the baseline condition (D1: anonymous report = 0, audience of male peers = 0, audience of women = 1; D2: anonymous report = 1, audience of male peers = 0, audience of women = 0). As previously, we entered both dummy variables and (mean-centred) precarious manhood beliefs in step 1. In step 2, we entered the two-way interactions. We did not observe a main effect for audience of women in step 1 ( $\beta = .10$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $t(488) = 1.07$ ,  $p = .285$ , *Cohen's d* = .12), or in step 2 ( $\beta = .10$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $t(486) = 1.05$ ,  $p = .295$ , *Cohen's d* = .12). This shows that men do not report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of women, relative to an audience of male peers. None of the other effects were significant.

**Anxiety.** To test Hypothesis 2b, we ran the same analysis with the word anxiety measure as the predictor variable. None of the effects were significant (see Table 9).

Table 9

*Regression models predicting domestic support for gender equality and anxiety in Study 6*

Predictor	$\beta$	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	R <sup>2</sup>
SGEMS-D					.02
Male peers	0.13	0.09	1.45	.149	
Women	0.23	0.09	2.51	.012	
PM	0.03	0.06	0.61	.541	
Male peers*PM	-0.05	0.08	-0.66	.510	
Women*PM	-0.07	0.08	-0.89	.375	
Anxiety					.00
Male peers	0.58	1.66	0.35	.728	
Women	-0.20	1.64	-0.12	.902	
PM	-0.38	1.00	-0.38	.705	
Male peers*PM	-0.14	1.45	-0.10	.921	
Women*PM	-0.12	1.43	-0.08	.934	

Note. SGEMS-D = Domestic support for gender equality, PM = Precarious manhood beliefs.

## Discussion

In Study 6, we compared the impact of an audience of male peers and an audience of women on men's reported levels of domestic support for gender equality, and expected that both men endorsing and disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs would report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality to an audience of women, relative to an anonymous report (Hypothesis 2a). We found evidence for this hypothesis. We speculate that this effect occurs as men might be aware that potential female partners might

evaluate men who support domestic support for gender equality positively (Meeussen et al., 2018).

We had further aimed to replicate the finding that that men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs report decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report (Hypothesis 1a), but did not find additional evidence. It is hence possible that this finding from Study 5 is not robust. However, two potential factors might account for this lack of replication. The circumstances in Study 6 differed slightly from those in Study 5. Inadvertently, we changed the study's title on Prolific Academic from "attitudinal survey for male participants" to "Study on Men's and Women's Attitudes". The second title seems to suggest more clearly that the study investigates gender-related topics which have caused a self-selection bias in the kind of men that participated in the studies which might have affected the results. Additionally, the two studies were run from different Prolific Academic accounts. Study 5 was run from the gender-neutral account of the research group, but Study 6 was run from a research account registered with a female name. The identity of the researcher, including their gender, has been used as a manipulation in previous research (e.g. Barreto et al., 2003; Bosson et al., 2006), and might have hence functioned inadvertently as a manipulation of audience. Moreover, we had not included a manipulation check in Studies 5 and 6. Therefore, we cannot be certain that the participants had paid sufficient attention to the manipulation, and had understood the manipulation as we intended. We will address these limitations in Study 7.

In contrast to Hypothesis 2b, men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs did not report more anxiety after reporting their levels of domestic support for gender equality than men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs. In

combination with the results from Study 5, this seems to indicate that men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs might indeed feel uncomfortable discussing their domestic involvement, but do not feel anxious. We will therefore not include measures of anxiety in Study 7.

### Study 7

Study 7 constitutes a replication of Study 5 with regards to methodology and participant recruitment (advertised as “attitudinal survey for male participants” and run from a gender-neutral account), but only features domestic support for gender equality as a dependent variable. Moreover, we included the audience of women condition from Study 6, and further included a manipulation check to ensure that participants reported their engagement in domestic support for gender equality with (vs without) an audience of male peers (vs of women) in mind (see Appendix I). The aim of the study is to investigate both Hypothesis 1a (*Men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs, but not men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs, report decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report*) and Hypothesis 2a (*Both men endorsing and disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of women, relative to an anonymous report*).

### Method

**Power.** We based the sample size on the same power analysis as in Study 6.

**Participants and procedure.** We recruited 485 heterosexual male participants ( $M_{\text{age}} = 41.79$ ,  $SD = 19.34$ , age range 24-74) from the online research platform Prolific Academic, and participants received payment in the

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form of Prolific Academic credit (£ 0.42). We ensured that those who had already participated in Studies 1 or 2 could not participate in this study. The study was advertised as “attitudinal study for male participants”. Most participants were British (62.3%) or American (37.5%). As in the previous two studies, participants self-reported diversity with regards to socioeconomic status ( $M = 41.68$ ;  $SD = 19.34$ , range 1-100), but 62.7% of participants held a university degree. Within preliminary analyses, we excluded six participants who had more than 5% missing data and 35 participants who failed the attention tests or completed the study in less than two minutes. Additionally, we had to exclude 207 participants (27%), predominantly from the experimental conditions, as they did not understand or believe the manipulation (see ‘manipulation check’ for more details). Therefore, we had to collect additional data. To avoid an uneven proportion of the data in the experimental condition to be collected during the second round of data collection, we collected additional data across all conditions. To adhere to the sample size based on power analyses that we had pre-registered, we had to randomly exclude 77 participants from the anonymous report condition.<sup>24</sup>

To summarise, we used a three-group (audience of male peers vs audience of women vs anonymous report) between-subjects design with a continuous moderator (precarious manhood beliefs). The dependent variable was *domestic support for gender equality*. The study procedure was hence consistent with Study 6, except for we did not include a measure of anxiety. Instead, we included two questions at the end of the survey to check whether participants had understood and believed the manipulation. In previous studies, we had inadvertently not included manipulation tests. At the end of the survey,

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<sup>24</sup> Running the analyses with the full sample did not change the results in valence or significance.

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participants reported demographic information<sup>25</sup>, and were thanked and debriefed.

### **Measures.**

***Precarious manhood beliefs.*** We used the same measure for precarious manhood beliefs ( $\alpha = 0.86$ ) as in Studies 1 and 2.

***Domestic support for gender equality.*** We used the same measure for men's domestic support for gender equality ( $\alpha = 0.64$ <sup>26</sup>) as in Studies 1 and 2.

***Manipulation check.*** To assess whether participants had read and understood the manipulation, we asked participants to indicate what they thought would happen with their results from the domestic subscale of the SGEMS. The answer options were "They are shared with men who will evaluate me" (audience of male peers condition), "They are shared with women who will evaluate me" (audience of women condition), "There was no information about sharing the survey with others" (anonymous report), and "I don't know" (anonymous report). If they indicated that there was no information, or that they did not know, there was no follow-up question. If they chose the first or the second option they were asked to indicate their agreement with three statements assessing whether they believed the manipulation: "... I was aware that other participants would evaluate me", "... I questioned whether other participants would evaluate me" (reverse - scored), and "... I did not believe that other participants would evaluate me" (reverse - scored). Participants indicated

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<sup>25</sup> Education (No high school diploma: 3.1%; High school diploma: 34.2%; Bachelor degree: 42.7%; Master degree: 14.2%; MBA: 1.9%; PhD degree: 3.9%); Marital status (Single: 22.5%; In a relationship but we do not live together: 7.6%; I live together with my partner: 69.9%), Breadwinner (Myself: 62.5%; My partner: 12.2%; Both of us equally: 18.6%; I live by myself: 6.8%), Number of children ( $M = 1.20$ ;  $SD = 1.29$ ), Socioeconomic status (range 0-100):  $M = 41.68$ ;  $SD = 19.34$ ).

<sup>26</sup>  $GLB_{domestic} = .73$

their agreement on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree,  $\alpha = 0.45$ ).<sup>27</sup>

## Results

**Manipulation check.** First, we checked whether participants' indication of what would happen with their reported levels of domestic support for gender equality was congruent with their condition. In the audience of male peers condition, 75.8% of participants had indicated the correct response ("They are shared with men who will evaluate me"), in the audience of women condition 72.2% of participants had indicated the correct response ("They are shared with women who will evaluate me"), and in the anonymous report condition 89.8% of participants had indicated one of the two accepted responses ("There was no information about sharing the survey with others" and "I don't know"<sup>28</sup>). Of the participants who passed this first manipulation check, 86.8% of those who were in the audience of male peers condition or audience of women condition believed the manipulation (score  $\geq 4$ , neither agree nor disagree). Prior to the main analyses, we excluded all participants (27%) who did not indicate the correct response (20.5%), and/or did not believe the manipulation (21.3 %).<sup>29</sup>

**Domestic support for gender equality.** As in Study 6, we ran a hierarchical multiple regression analysis to investigate the effect of an audience of male peers (Hypothesis 1a) and an audience of women (Hypothesis 2a) on men's

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<sup>27</sup> The relatively low reliability across the three items might have occurred as two of the items were reverse-coded. Several authors (e.g., Roszkowski & Soven, 2010 van Sonderen, Sanderman, & Coyne; Woods, 2006) have discussed difficulties occurring in scales featuring reverse-coded items.

<sup>28</sup> We kept those who indicated "I don't know" for the anonymous report condition as participants in this condition might have ticked this if they were unsure whether they might have overlooked some information. In any case, these participants will have filled out the survey without having in mind that it will be shared with an audience, and do therefore not need to be excluded from the analyses.

<sup>29</sup> Analyses including all participants resulted in the same conclusions as the analyses presented here.

reported levels of domestic support for gender equality. We dummy-coded audience in the same way as in Study 6, comparing an audience of male peers and an audience of women with an anonymous report. Descriptive statistics and correlations between all variables are reported in Table 10.

Table 10

*Means, standard deviations, and correlations in Study 7*

Variable	Mean	SD	1
1. SGEMS-D	5.69	0.77	-
2. PM	3.84	1.19	-0.06

*Note.* SGEMS-D = Domestic support for gender equality, PM = Precarious manhood beliefs.

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

In step 1, we entered both dummy variables and (mean-centred) precarious manhood beliefs. In step 2, we entered the two-way interactions. Neither in step 1 nor step 2, any of the main effects were significant. In step 2, the predicted interaction between an audience of male peers and precarious manhood beliefs emerged (see Table 10). Next, we conducted a simple effects analysis for this interaction using the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2017). Contrary to Hypothesis 1a and unlike in Study 5, men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs (+1 *SD* above the mean) did not report significantly lower levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers than in an anonymous report,  $\beta = -.09$ ,  $SE = .12$ ,  $t(483) = -.80$ ,  $p = .424$ , *Cohen's d* = -0.12. Instead, men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs (-1 *SD* below the mean) reported significantly higher levels of domestic support for gender

equality in front of an audience of male peers than in an anonymous report,  $\beta = .30$ ,  $SE = .12$ ,  $t(483) = 2.44$ ,  $p = .015$ , *Cohen's d* = .40 (see Figure 5). The Johnson-Neyman technique confirmed this finding: The relationship between domestic support for gender equality and audience of male peers was significant when participants' scored more than 0.45 standard deviations below the mean on precarious manhood beliefs. This effect had occurred only at 1.58 standard deviations below the mean in Study 5.

We also decomposed the interaction with precarious manhood beliefs as the independent variable and audience as the moderator. Precarious manhood beliefs did not have an impact on men in the anonymous report condition,  $\beta = .05$ ,  $SE = 0.05$ ,  $t(483) = 1.04$ ,  $p = .297$ , *Cohen's d* = .07). In the audience of male peers condition, men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs reported lower levels of domestic support for gender equality than men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs,  $\beta = -.11$ ,  $SE = 0.05$ ,  $t(483) = -2.29$ ,  $p = .023$ , *Cohen's d* = -.14 (Figure 6). As in Study 5, precarious manhood beliefs had a negative impact on the reported levels of domestic support only when participants believed that their SGEMS-Domestic scores were shared with male peers.

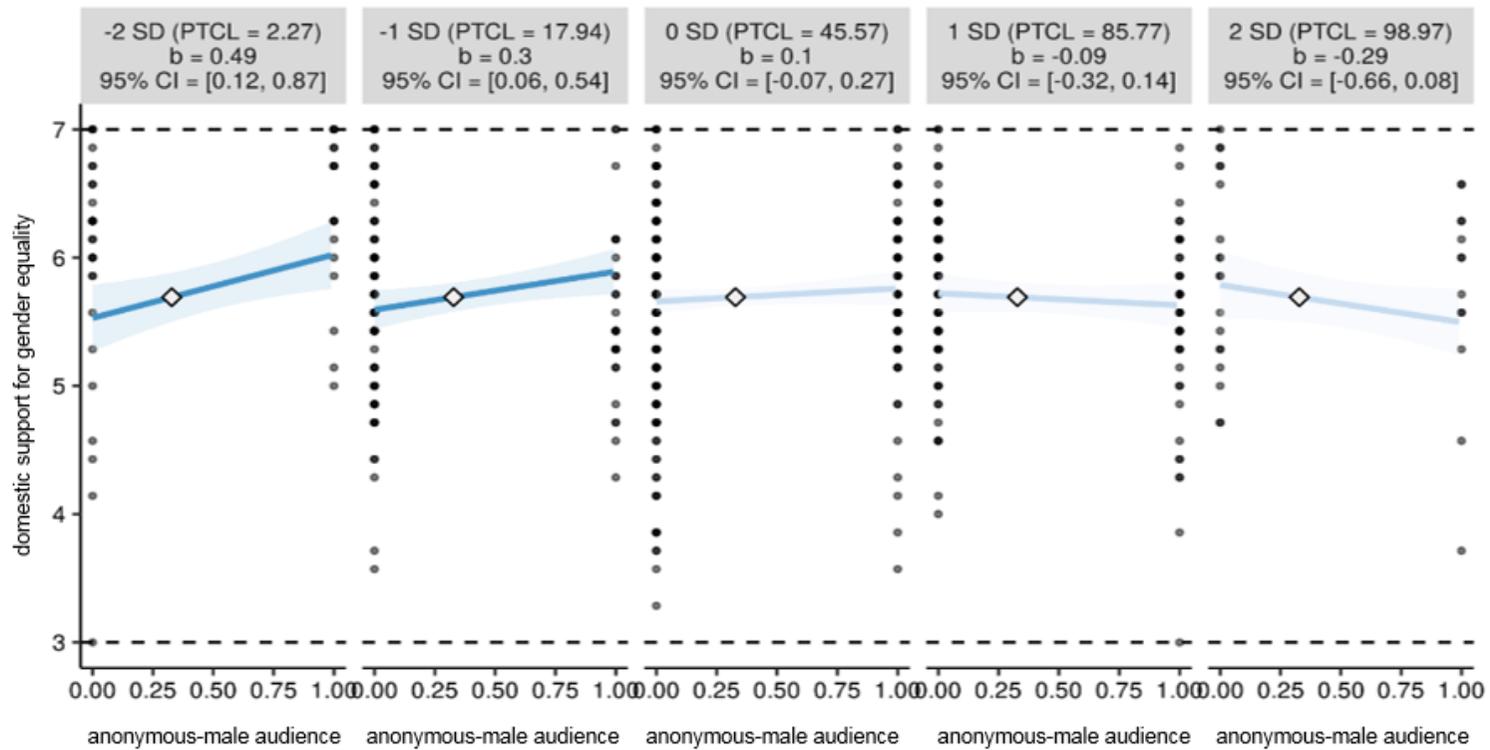


Figure 5. Domestic support for gender equality and 95% confidence intervals in an anonymous report and in front of an audience of male peers at different levels of precarious manhood beliefs in Study 7.

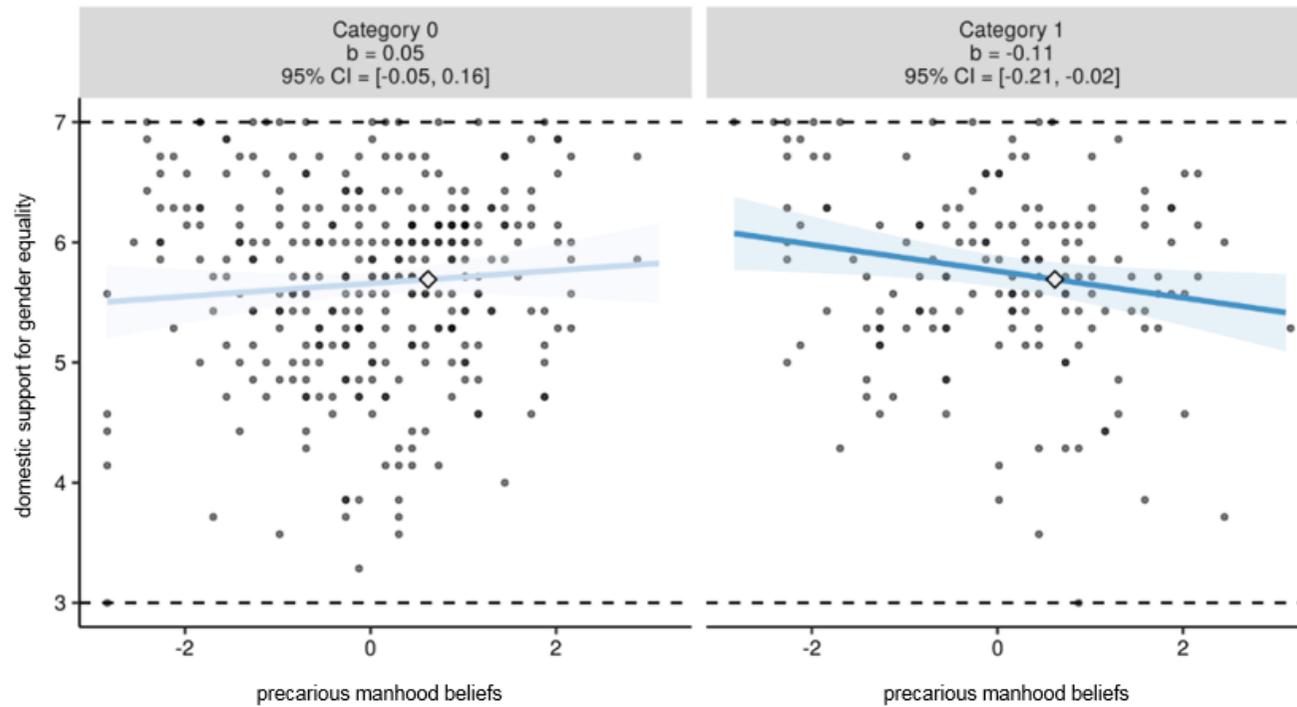


Figure 6. Domestic support for gender equality and 95% confidence intervals as a function of precarious manhood beliefs in an anonymous report (Category 1) and in front of an audience of male peers (Category 2) in Study 7.

Unlike anticipated based on theorising and the results from Study 6, we did not observe a main effect of men reporting increased levels of domestic support for gender equality to an audience of women, relative to an anonymous report (see Table 11).

Table 11

Regression model predicting domestic support for gender equality in Study 7

Predictor	$\beta$	SE	$t$	$p$	$R^2$
SGEMS-D					0.02
Male peers	0.10	0.09	1.20	0.230	
Women	0.08	0.09	0.92	0.360	
PM	0.05	0.05	1.04	0.297	
Male peers*PM	-0.17	0.07	-2.33	0.021	
Women*PM	-0.11	0.07	-1.42	0.156	

*Note.* SGEMS-D = Domestic support for gender equality, PM = Precarious manhood beliefs.

As in Study 6, we compared men's reported levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers to in front of an audience of women by re-coding the dummy variables such that men functioned as the baseline condition (D1: anonymous report = 0, audience of male peers = 0, audience of women = 1; D2: anonymous report = 1, audience of male peers = 0, audience of women = 0). As previously, we entered both dummy variables and (mean-centred) precarious manhood beliefs in step 1. In step 2, we entered the two-way interactions. We did not observe a main effect for audience of women in step 1 ( $\beta = -.02$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $t(3) = -0.24$ ,  $p = .811$ , *Cohen's d* =  $-.03$ ), or in step 2 ( $\beta = -.02$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $t(5) = -0.29$ ,  $p = .776$ , *Cohen's d* =  $-.03$ ). The

results hence confirmed the findings from Study 6: Men do not report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality to an audience of women, relative to an audience of male peers. None of the other effects were significant.

## **Discussion**

In Study 7, in line with Hypothesis 1a and the results of Study 5, we found that an audience of male peers affects men's reported levels of domestic support for gender equality. However, whilst the patterns of the slopes were similar across studies, in Study 7, men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs did not report decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report. Rather, men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs reported increased levels of domestic support in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report. This finding reiterates an effect that was already present in Study 5, albeit only at 1.58 standard deviations below the mean. This finding indicates that an audience of male peers might affect the reported levels of domestic support for gender equality of both men endorsing and disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs, albeit in different directions. To draw more definite conclusions, we will investigate the meta-analytic patterns across the three studies.

Study 7 did not replicate the finding from Study 6 that men report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality to an audience of women, relative to an anonymous report. Even though we cannot draw any definite conclusions regarding the impact of an audience of women on men's reported levels of domestic support for gender equality, we can speculate regarding the underlying reason for these mixed results. Hypothesis 2a was based on Meeussen and colleagues' (2018) line of research showing that

women evaluate men who support domestic support for gender equality more positively. In line with these results, men might be inclined to report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality to an audience of women, relative to an anonymous report.

However, there might be other mechanisms influencing men's reported levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of women. For instance, maternal gatekeeping might play a role. That is, some women's tendency to restrict their partners' involvement in domestic chores by doing domestic tasks themselves and setting high standards for these tasks in order to "guard" this traditionally female domain (Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Puhlman & Pasley, 2013) might signal to men that their involvement in domestic chores is not welcome. This, in turn, might affect their levels of domestic self-efficacy. Men who might have experienced this kind of behavior in their partners might in fact report lower levels of domestic support for gender equality to an audience of women than in an anonymous report. Future research might want to investigate whether these underlying motivations are indeed related to men's reported levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of women, and might function as a moderator explaining the lack of effect in this study.

Prior to the main analyses, we had excluded 27% of the participants as they had not paid attention to, or did not believe in the manipulation. Whilst this number seems unusually high, Oppenheimer, Meyvis, and Davidenko (2009) found that more than 30% of participants tend to fail manipulation checks that aim to assess participants' attention to the manipulation. Both Oppenheimer and colleagues as well as Thomas and Clifford (2017) conclude that excluding participants who failed manipulation checks of this kind tends to be a sound

method for dealing with this problem. Additionally, we should note that, while effects were slightly weaker, the conclusions remained the same when all participants who had failed the manipulation test were included in the analyses. This observation is important considering that we had not excluded participants based on a manipulation check in Studies 5 and 6 as we had, inadvertently, not included manipulation checks in these studies. We have hence reason to assume that this did not affect the conclusions substantially.

### **Meta-Analysis**

The three studies reported above yielded inconsistent results. Study 5 confirmed our initial Hypothesis 1a that men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs report decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report. This effect did not emerge in Study 6. In Study 7, a similar pattern as in Study 5 emerged, but the effect was not due to men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs. Instead, Study 7 seemed to suggest that men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report. Mixed results across multiple studies testing the same effect are not unlikely (e.g., Lakens & Etz, 2017; Schimmack, 2012), and thus meta-analysing all studies to clarify the underlying pattern is recommended (e.g., Braver, Thoemmes, & Rosenthal, 2014; Fabrigar & Wegener, 2016). Hence, to gain more clarity, we will meta-analyse the results from the three studies. Specifically, we will investigate whether men endorsing (vs disagreeing with) precarious manhood reported decreased (vs increased) levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report, across studies

( $N = 1048$ <sup>30</sup>). We will separately investigate the simple effects for men endorsing (+ 1 *SD* above the mean) and disagreeing with (-1 *SD* below the mean) precarious manhood beliefs.<sup>31</sup> We decided not to meta-analyse the audience of women effects as they were not the main focus of this research, and as we have only collected data on this effect in two studies.

## Method

In order to keep the analyses as similar as possible across studies, we re-ran the linear regression and simple effect analysis, including only participants from the anonymous report or audience of male peers condition. In step 1, we entered audience (0 = anonymous report, 1 = audience of male peers), and (mean-centred) precarious manhood beliefs as predictors. In step 2, we entered their two-way interaction. Therefore, the unstandardized regression coefficients might differ slightly for Studies 6 and 7. With the help of Lipsey and Wilson's (2001) "Practical Meta-Analysis Effect Size Calculator", we converted the regression coefficients of the simple effects into Cohen's *d*. The two separate analyses for men endorsing (+ 1 *SD* above the mean) and disagreeing with (-1 *SD* below the mean) precarious manhood beliefs were conducted with the metaphor package in R using fixed effects models. Fixed effect models are recommended when the method is identical across studies, the number of studies is small, and inferences will not reach beyond the studies included in the meta-analysis (Borenstein, Hedges, Higgins, & Rothstein, 2009; Field & Gillet, 2010; Hedges and Vevea, 1998; Viechtbauer, 2010). In fixed effect models, weights are automatically set equal to  $1/\text{variance}_{\text{effect size}}$ .

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<sup>30</sup> Only participants from the anonymous report and the audience of male peers condition were included in the meta-analysis.

<sup>31</sup> Across studies, the values for  $-/+ 1SD$  differed only by 0.06 and hence these values constitute an appropriate benchmark across studies.

## Results

The meta-analysis confirmed our initial Hypothesis 1a that men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs report decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report,  $d = -.13$ ,  $p = .032$  (see Figure 7). It further confirmed that men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs reported increased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report,  $d = .27$ ,  $p < .001$  (see Figure 8).

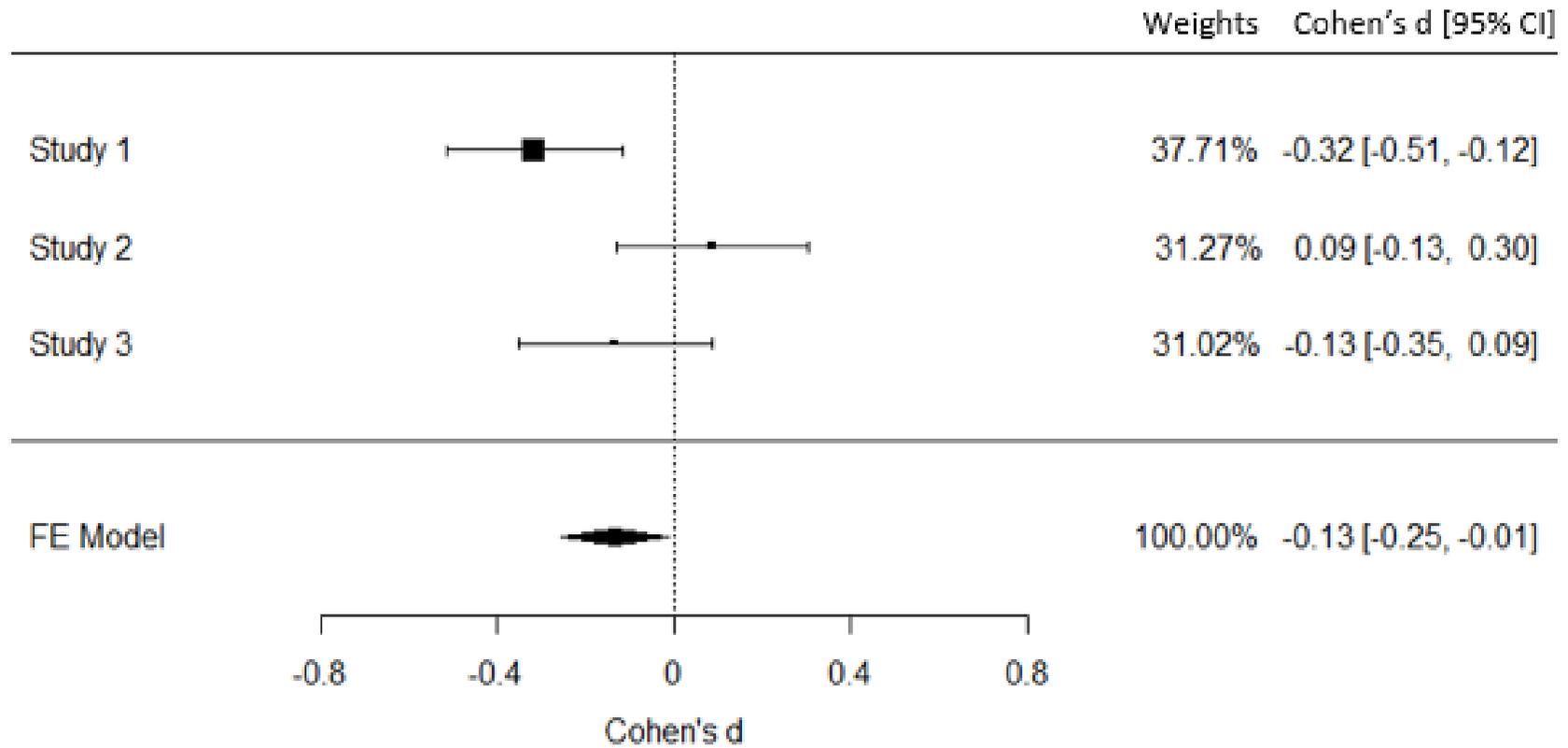


Figure 7. Forest plot displaying weights, effect sizes and 95% confidence intervals to determine overall pattern for men's report of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report, for men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs.

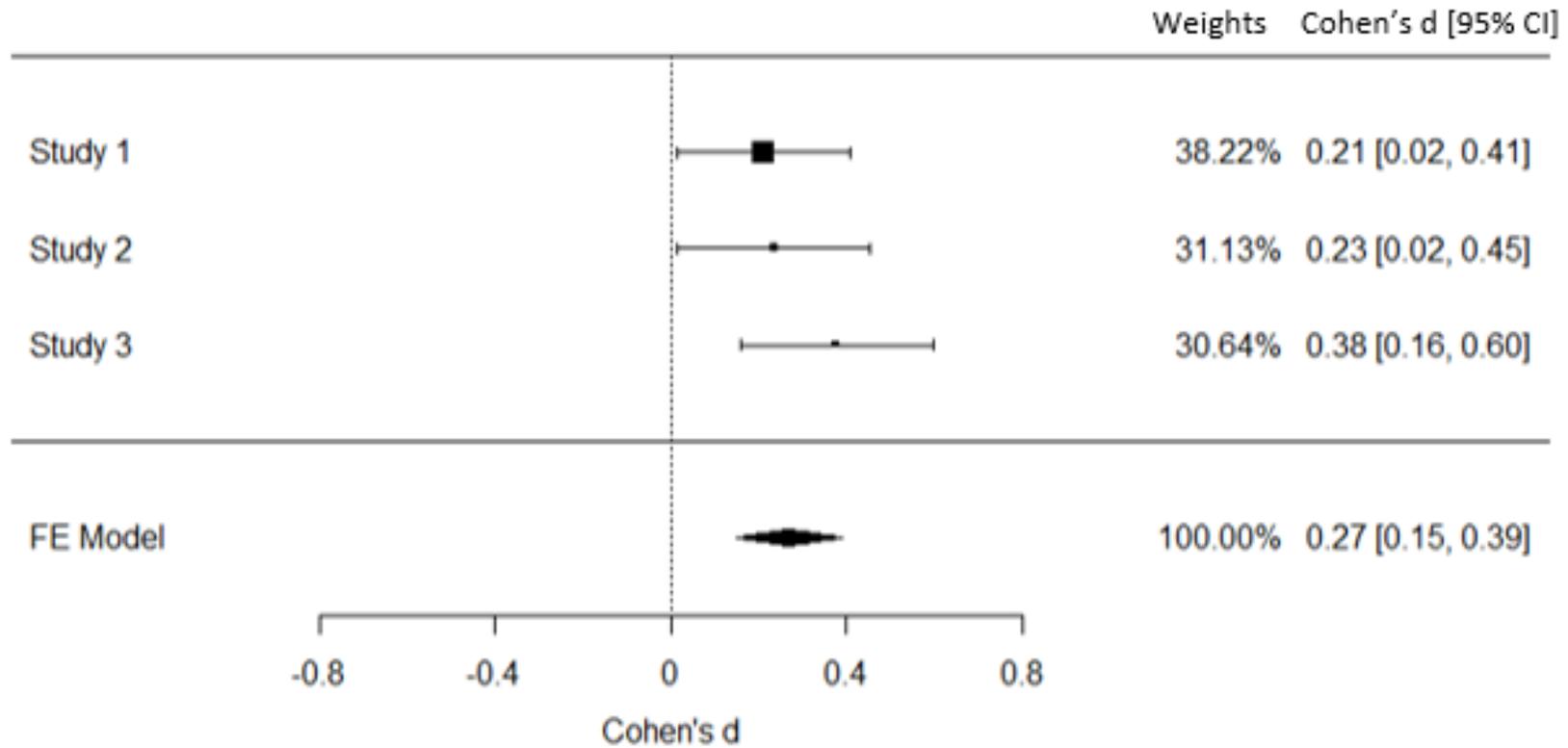


Figure 8. Forest plot displaying weights, effect sizes and 95% confidence intervals to determine overall pattern for men’s report of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report, for men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs.

## **Discussion**

Initially, based on theory on precarious manhood (Vandello & Bosson, 2013), we had hypothesised that men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs, but not men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs, will report decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report (Hypothesis 1a). We hypothesised this as men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs might be motivated to report decreased levels of engagement in domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers due to prevailing masculinity norms proscribing to engage in stereotypically female tasks. Across a meta-analysis of the three presented studies, we found evidence for this hypothesis, albeit the effect was small. Moreover, we also found evidence that men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report. The effect was small to medium. This seems to indicate that there might be multiple underlying motivations that influence men's reported levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, and that these motivations affect men endorsing or disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs differently. The aim of Study 8 will be to investigate these potential underlying motivations.

### **Study 8**

The aim of the present study is to investigate men's tendency to report increased and decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers in more depth. Specifically, it will provide an insight into the underlying motivations for men to report decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality to an audience of male peers. It might also

provide further insight on why some men are motivated to report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality to an audience of male peers.

First, within an open question pilot study, we will identify potential underlying motivations that emerge when men discuss their thoughts on sharing their engagement in domestic support for gender equality with male peers. In line with the results of the meta-analysis, we expect participants' responses to reflect both positive and negative attitudes towards engagement in domestic support for gender equality. Specifically, we expect both motivations that would lead to an increase and motivations that would lead to a decrease in reported levels of domestic support for gender equality to emerge. Subsequently, we will investigate how the potential underlying motivations identified in the pilot study are related to men's levels of precarious manhood beliefs within a quantitative study.

## **Pilot Study**

### **Method.**

***Participants and procedure.*** We recruited 20 heterosexual male participants ( $M_{\text{age}} = 46.20$ ,  $SD = 12.31$ , age range 30-74<sup>32</sup>) from the online research platform Prolific Academic. In order to increase the likelihood to obtain various responses, only participants who had participated in one of three previous studies and had scored particularly low ( $=/ < -1$   $SD$  below the mean) or high ( $=/ > +1$   $SD$  above the mean) on precarious manhood beliefs were given the opportunity to participate in the pilot study. Participants were either British (85.0%) or American (15.0%). The sample was diverse with regards to socioeconomic status ( $M = 39.26$ ;  $SD = 16.31$ , range 1-100), but participants

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<sup>32</sup> In the pilot study and in Study 8, we required participants to be 30 or older to increase the chance that they had experience with engaging in domestic chores or child-care. In this way, we were aiming to obtain more meaningful responses.

were very well educated (60.0% university-educated). Participants received payment in the form of Prolific Academic credit (£ 0.42).

After obtaining informed consent, we presented participants with four sets of two open questions, each set capturing a different aspect of the domestic subscale of the SGEMS: the division of household chores, one's relationship to a female partner, child-care, and gender-neutral raising of children. Participants were asked to imagine that a group of their male peers asked them about each aspect. The first open question asked the participants to reflect on how honest they would be in their response, and whether there are any reasons they might be motivated either to exaggerate or to downplay their involvement. The second open question asked them what they thought their peers' responses would be. After answering these four sets of questions, participants reported demographic information<sup>33</sup>, and were debriefed and thanked for their participation (see Appendix J).

**Results and Discussion.** We assigned labels to each response capturing the response's underlying point, and then categorized the responses based on these labels. We found five recurrent potential underlying motivations for an increase or decrease in reported levels of domestic support for gender equality. These five recurring categories were first identified by one researcher, and later confirmed by two collaborators. Underlying motivations that might lead men to report decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers include (a) feminine stigma concerns (mentioned

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<sup>33</sup> Education (No high school diploma: 0.0%; High school diploma: 40.0%; Bachelor degree: 45.0%; Master degree: 10.0%; MBA: 5.0%; PhD degree: 0.0%); Marital status (Single: 20.0%; In a relationship but we do not live together: 0.0%; I live together with my partner: 80.0%), Breadwinner (Myself: 55.0%; My partner: 30.0%; Both of us equally: 15.0%; I live by myself: 0.0%), Number of children ( $M = 1.05$ ;  $SD = 1.19$ ), Socio-economic status (range 0-100):  $M = 39.25$ ;  $SD = 16.31$ ).

ten times, e.g., “I do a lot of female chores so some of my peers might make fun of me” and “I can understand why some men would want to downplay their involvement as it’s traditionally the ‘woman’s job’”), (b) traditional gender hierarchy concerns (mentioned four times, e.g., “I would not want to disrespect myself by saying I wasn’t as important as my partner” and “few would probably poke fun at stay-at-home dads”), and (c) status and employability concerns (mentioned five times, e.g., “I earn about a tenth of what my gf makes. I understand that would make some men insecure and prompt them to lie about it” and “think I’d play it down as she sorts bills, savings, holidays, grocery shopping and I get an allowance which is pretty embarrassing”). Underlying motivations that might lead men to report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers might be (d) pride in being a modern man (mentioned four times, e.g., “I am not ashamed to make my contribution to running the house” and “I think they would be surprised and admire me”), and (e) pride in being a good partner and father (mentioned seven times, e.g., “I might be motivated to exaggerate my contribution to child-care, because that is part of being a good parent and spouse” and “I’d exaggerate it and make myself look like the world’s best dad”). Both men endorsing and disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs reported underlying motivations that might lead men to report increased or decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality.

### **Main Study**

In an open question pilot study, we had identified three potential underlying motivations that might be related to a decrease of reported domestic support for gender equality (feminine stigma concerns, traditional gender hierarchy concerns, status and employability concerns). We further identified

two potential underlying motivations that might be related to a decrease of reported domestic support for gender equality (pride in being a modern man, pride in being a good partner and father). Next, we will investigate how these potential underlying motivations are related to men's levels of precarious manhood beliefs within a quantitative study.

We expect a positive relationship between precarious manhood beliefs and *feminine stigma concerns*, *traditional gender hierarchy concerns*, and *status and employability concerns*. Further, we expect a negative relationship between precarious manhood beliefs and *pride in being a modern man* and *pride in being a good partner and father*.

#### **Method.**

**Power.** The power analysis was executed in R Studio. The sample size was based on power calculations to detect a small to medium effect for the correlations between precarious manhood beliefs and the underlying motivations ( $r = .02$ ,  $\alpha = .05$ , power = .80). We based the estimated effect size on previous research (Bosson et al., 2006; Kosakowska-Berezecka et al., 2016) investigating the relationship of threatened masculinity and engagement in stereotypically female tasks.

**Participants and procedure.** We recruited 199 heterosexual male participants ( $M_{\text{age}} = 44.0$ ,  $SD = 11.52$ , age range 30-75) who had previously participated in Studies 5 to 7 from the online research platform Prolific Academic. Unlike in the pilot study, we sampled regardless of participants' previous score on precarious manhood beliefs. Within preliminary analyses, we excluded two participants who did not indicate their anonymous ID within this study, as we could not match their data with their precarious manhood score from one of the previous studies. None of the participants exhibited more than

5% missing data or completed the study in less than two minutes. Participants received payment in the form of Prolific Academic credit (£ 0.42). The majority of participants were either British (75.4%) or American (23.1%).

After obtaining informed consent, each participant read and responded to four scenarios. Each scenario involves a man (Mark) telling a group of other men that he engages in one aspect of domestic support for gender equality: He and his female partner share most household chores, and that he feels as responsible for the chores as she does (scenario 1), he and his female partner are equals (i.e., they earn similar amounts of money, make important decisions together, and compromise for each other; scenario 2), he would consider taking a part-time job to take care of his child (scenario 3), and he treats his daughter the same way as he treats his son (scenario 4). For each scenario, participants were asked to think about what Mark might be thinking about during these discussions, and what expectations or concerns he might have. Participants indicated whether these were in line with each one of the five potential underlying motivations (see below). The scenarios were phrased in third rather than in first person as we were interested in the participants' perception of which underlying motivations they perceive to be influencing men in general, rather than which underlying motivations influence them personally. Finally, participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation (see Appendix K). Via anonymous IDs, we linked participants' responses in this study to their demographic information<sup>34</sup> and scores on precarious manhood beliefs, which we had been consistently measuring in the same way in previous studies.

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<sup>34</sup> Education (No high school diploma: 4.5%; High school diploma: 31.6%; Bachelor degree: 45.4%; Master degree: 14.3%; MBA: 1.0%; PhD degree: 3.1%); Marital status (Single: 21.1%; In a relationship but we do not live together: 5.5%; I live together with my partner: 71.9%), Breadwinner (Myself: 62.8%; My partner: 12.1%; Both of us equally: 16.6%; I live by myself:

**Measures.**

*Feminine stigma concerns.* We measured each one of the potential underlying motivations with three items based on the pilot study. Participants indicated their agreement with all items measuring underlying concerns on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = extremely unlikely, 7 = extremely likely). We measured participants' feminine stigma concerns with the following three items: "Mark would be concerned that the other men might think that he is not a 'real man'", "Mark would be worried that the other men might respect him less because he is not very 'manly'", and "Mark would feel uneasy because the other men might think this is not what a man should do". Reliability was acceptable for each of the four scenarios ( $\alpha_{\text{household}} = .91$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{respect}} = .92$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{child-care}} = .92$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{parenting}} = .91$ ), and across scenarios ( $\alpha = .93$ ). Similar constructs of feminine stigma concerns are found in the literature (e.g., Brines, 1994; Croft et al., 2015; Kosakowska-Berezecka et al., 2016).

*Traditional gender hierarchy concerns.* We measured participants' traditional gender hierarchy concerns with three items: "Mark would be concerned that the other men might judge him for being untraditional", "Mark would be worried that the other men might think he handles this differently than most people", and "Mark would feel uneasy because the other men might prefer more traditional ways". Reliability was acceptable for each of the four scenarios ( $\alpha_{\text{household}} = .82$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{respect}} = .84$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{child-care}} = .91$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{parenting}} = .93$ ), and across scenarios ( $\alpha = .92$ ). Traditional gender hierarchy concerns have previously been discussed by other authors (e.g., Brines, 1994; Greenstein, 2000).

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7.0%), Number of children ( $M = 1.15$ ;  $SD = 1.22$ ), Socioeconomic status (range 0-100):  $M = 41.44$ ;  $SD = 18.43$ ).

*Status and employability concerns.* We measured participants' status and employability concerns with the following three items: "Mark would be concerned that the other men might think that they are superior to him", "Mark would be worried that the other men might think that he does not care about his career", and "Mark would feel uneasy because the other men might think that he is inferior". Reliability was acceptable for each of the four scenarios ( $\alpha_{\text{household}} = .78$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{respect}} = .88$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{child-care}} = .89$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{parenting}} = .83$ ), and across scenarios ( $\alpha = .90$ ). Status and employability concerns have previously been discussed in the literature (e.g., Carr, 2002; Croft et al., 2015; McCreary, 1994; Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Rudman, 2010)

*Pride in being a modern man.* We measured participants' pride in being a modern man with the following three items: "Mark would be happy for the other men to know that he lives his life according to modern standards", "Mark would expect the other men to appreciate that he is a 21<sup>st</sup> century man", and "Mark would feel proud because he is a modern man". Reliability was acceptable for each of the four scenarios ( $\alpha_{\text{household}} = .79$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{respect}} = .82$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{child-care}} = .84$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{parenting}} = .86$ ), and across scenarios ( $\alpha = .91$ ). The notion of pride in being a modern man has previously been discussed by other authors (e.g., Auman et al., 2011; Banchefsky & Park, 2016).

*Pride in being a good partner and father.* We measured participants' pride in being a good partner and father with the following three items: "Mark would be happy for the other men to know that he is a good person", "Mark would expect the other men to appreciate that he contributes positively to family life", "Mark would feel proud because he is a good partner and/or father". Reliability was acceptable for each of the four scenarios ( $\alpha_{\text{household}} = .72$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{respect}} = .78$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{child-care}} = .76$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{parenting}} = .81$ ), and across scenarios ( $\alpha = .87$ ). The notion

of pride in being a good partner and father has previously been discussed by other authors (e.g., Auman et al., 2011; Banchevsky & Park, 2016).

*Precarious manhood beliefs.* We linked participants' responses to their score on precarious manhood beliefs that we had obtained in one of the previous studies.

## Results

We ran all preliminary and main analysis in SPSS. Since the reliability of items across scenarios was high (ranging from  $\alpha = .87$  to  $\alpha = .93$ ), we based all analyses on composite scores across scenarios. Descriptive means, standard deviations and correlations of these composite variables and precarious manhood beliefs can be found in Table 12. Both *status and employability concerns* ( $M = 2.85$ ,  $SD = 1.03$ , skewness = 0.65,  $SE = .17$ ), and *pride in being a good partner and father* ( $M = 5.70$ ,  $SD = 0.74$ , skew = -0.76,  $SE = .17$ ) seemed to be slightly positively and slightly negatively skewed, respectively. Commonly recommended transformations (i.e. square root, log, and inverse transformation) did not correct this effect. However, non-parametric Kendall's tau correlations<sup>35</sup> yielded the same results in valence and significance as Pearson's correlations.

**Correlations.** To investigate the relationships between precarious manhood beliefs and each one of the potential underlying motivations, we investigated their correlations (see Table 12 and Figure 9). Men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs indicated increased levels of *feminine stigma concerns*, and increased levels of *status and employability concerns*. *Traditional gender hierarchy concerns*, *pride in being a modern man*, and *pride in being a*

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<sup>35</sup> We used the non-parametric Kendall's tau correlation (rather than Spearman's rho correlation) as the data contained a large number of tied ranks.

*good partner and father* were not significantly related to precarious manhood beliefs.

Table 12

*Means, standard deviations, and correlations in Study 8*

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. PM	3.89	1.18	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. FSC	3.01	1.17	.17*	-	-	-	-	-
3. GH	3.18	1.11	.13	.93**	-	-	-	-
4. Status	2.85	1.03	.19**	.92**	.91**	-	-	-
5. Modern	5.41	0.86	-.03	-.34**	-.34**	-.32**	-	-
6. Family	5.70	0.74	-.07	-.49**	-.46**	-.50**	.81**	-

*Note.* PM = Precarious manhood beliefs, FSC = feminine stigma concerns, GH = traditional gender hierarchy concerns, Status = status and employability concerns, Modern = pride in being a modern man, Family = pride in being a good partner and father.

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

Chapter 3: Precarious Manhood as a Barrier to Domestic Support for Gender Equality

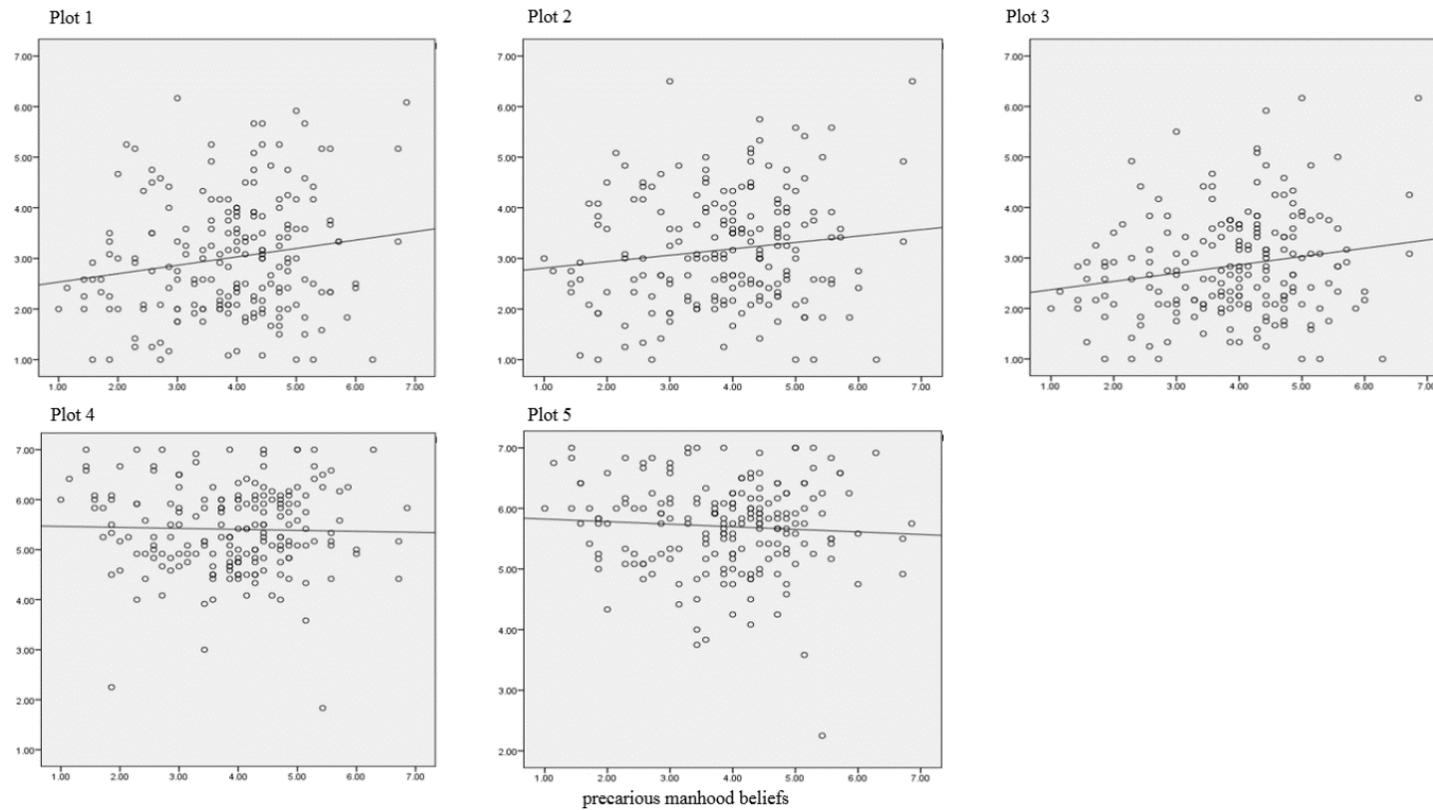


Figure 9. Scatterplots of correlations between precarious manhood beliefs and feminine stigma concerns (Plot 1), traditional gender hierarchy concerns (Plot 2), status and employability concerns (Plot 3), pride in being a modern man (Plot 4), and pride in being a good partner and father (Plot 5) in Study 8.

**Factor Analysis.** The three potential underlying motivations related to reporting increased levels of domestic support for gender equality (feminine stigma concerns, traditional gender hierarchy concerns, status and employability concerns), and the two underlying motivations for reporting decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality (pride in being a modern man, pride in being a good partner and father) were highly correlated among each other. Therefore, we ran a factor analysis to test whether they are picking up on the same construct. We applied the generalized least squares fitted linear model (GLS) and an orthogonal rotation (varimax), which does not assume correlation between factors.<sup>36</sup> The analysis indicated two underlying factors with eigenvalues above 1. Indeed, *feminine stigma concerns, traditional gender hierarchy concerns, and status and employability concerns* loaded on the first factor, and *pride in being a modern man and pride in being a good partner and father* loaded on the second factor (see Table 13).

Table 13

*Factor analysis of the potential underlying motivations in Study 8*

	Factor 1	Factor 2
Feminine stigma concerns	0.95	0.23
Traditional gender hierarchy concerns	0.95	0.21
Status and employability concerns	0.95	0.19
Pride in being a modern man	-0.13	0.95
Pride in being a good partner and father	-0.30	0.91
Eigenvalue	3.44	1.23

<sup>36</sup> Factor analysis with no rotation or other rotations (e.g., oblimin, equamax, quartimax, promax) resulted in the same conclusions.

Based on these results, it might be sensible to combine the three potential underlying motivations for increasing reported levels of domestic support for gender equality, and the two underlying motivations for decreasing reported levels of domestic support for gender equality. However, whilst there seems to be conceptual similarity between the items capturing *feminine stigma concerns* (e.g., “Mark would be concerned that the other men might think that he is not a ‘real man’”) and *status and employability concerns* (e.g., “Mark would be concerned that the other men might think that they are superior to him”), we argue that the items capturing *traditional gender hierarchy concerns* (e.g., “Mark would feel uneasy because the other men might prefer more traditional ways”) are theoretically distinct. Whilst the first two capture masculinity norms (proscribing femininity and prescribing being the provider, respectively), the latter is concerned with gendered power structures more broadly. Therefore, we only combine the items capturing *feminine stigma concerns* and *status and employability concerns* into a composite measure termed *manhood concerns* ( $\alpha = .96$ ), and keep *traditional gender hierarchy concerns* a distinct measure. Similarly, we argue that the items measuring *pride in being a modern man* (e.g., “Mark would be happy for the other men to know that he lives his life according to modern standards”) and the items measuring *pride in being a good partner and father* (e.g., “Mark would be happy for the other men to know that he is a good person”) capture theoretically distinct constructs. Whilst the former captures whether participants believe in contemporary values, the latter is concerned with the participants’ desire to be a good person. Hence, we do not combine them into a composite measure.

**Regression.** To investigate which one of the underlying motivations predict precarious manhood beliefs, we ran a hierarchical multiple regression analysis. In step 1, we entered *manhood concerns* and *traditional gender hierarchy concerns*. In step 2, we entered *pride in being a modern man*, and *pride in being a good partner and father*. Whilst the predictors were correlated, multicollinearity was not an issue in this model: The Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) remained below the common threshold of 10 (e.g., Alin, 2010; Marquardt, 1980; Schroeder, Lander, & Levine-Silverman, 1990) for each predictor. In both steps, there was a significant effect for *manhood concerns*. None of the other variables significantly predicted precarious manhood beliefs in step 1 or step 2 (see Table 14).

Table 14

Hierarchical linear regression models predicting precarious manhood beliefs in Study 8

Model	$\beta$	SE	t	p	VIF	$R^2_{Change}$	$F_{Change}$	$p F_{change}$
Step 1						.04	4.36	.014
MC	.50	.22	2.25	.025	8.73			
GH	-.31	.22	-1.45	.148	8.73			
Step 2						.001	0.10	.905
MC	.50	.23	2.21	.028	8.68			
GH	-.31	.22	-1.42	.159	8.41			
Modern	.06	.17	0.36	.719	3.01			
Family	-.03	.21	-0.12	.903	3.44			

*Note.* MC = manhood concerns, GH = traditional gender hierarchy concerns, Modern = Pride in being a modern man, Family = pride in being a good partner and father.

## Discussion

In Study 8, we aimed to identify potential underlying motivations that might yield insight into why men endorsing (disagreeing with) precarious manhood beliefs might report decreased (increased) levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers. Based on the open question pilot study, we investigated three potential underlying motivations related to men reporting decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality (feminine stigma concerns, traditional gender hierarchy concerns, status and employability concerns), and two potential underlying motivations related to men reporting increased levels of domestic support for gender equality (pride in being a modern man, pride in being a good partner and father). Our findings confirm that *feminine stigma concerns* and *status and employability concerns*, but not *traditional gender hierarchy concerns*, are positively related to precarious manhood beliefs, and might therefore be underlying motivations for men to report decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers. Neither *pride in being a modern man* nor *pride in being a good partner and father* were related to precarious manhood beliefs. Hence, we did not identify a potential underlying motivation related to men reporting increased levels of domestic support for gender equality. Future research will have to investigate alternative potential underlying motivations in this regard.

## General Discussion

In recent years, men's domestic support for gender equality has been acknowledged as a crucial cornerstone of gender equality. However, prevailing masculinity norms, captured by theory on precarious manhood (Vandello & Bosson, 2013), proscribe men to engage in stereotypically feminine activities.

We suggested that this proscription contributes to the perpetuation of masculinity norms as it results in men's restrained discourse on their engagement in domestic support for gender equality. Specifically, in order to preserve their manhood status, even men who engage in, or would like to engage in, domestic support for gender equality might not report their engagement in front of an audience of male peers.

Accordingly, we hypothesised that men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs, but not men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs, report decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report (Hypothesis 1a). Across three studies and a meta-analysis, we found evidence for this hypothesis. Notably, the effect was small. Additionally, we found evidence that men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report. These findings led us to ask which potential underlying motivations might be associated with the observed de- and increase of domestic support for gender equality. We identified *feminine stigma concerns* and *status and employability concerns* as potential underlying motivations related to a decrease in men's reported levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers. We did not identify a potential underlying motivation related to an increase in men's reported levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers.

Across two studies, we further explored the effect of an audience of women on men's reported levels of domestic support for gender equality. In Study 6, we found that men report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality to an audience of women, relative to an anonymous report.

However, we did not replicate this effect in Study 7. Moreover, we did not find evidence that men report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of women, relative to an audience of male peers.

### **Implications for Theory and Practice**

The presented research contributes to theory by extending a number of lines of research. Moreover, the results might be relevant to practice. We will discuss the implications for each in turn.

First, the results presented in this chapter make an important contribution to the literature on precarious manhood. Past research found that men might avoid engagement in stereotypically feminine activities in order to preserve their manhood status, and that men are particularly motivated to prove their manhood status in front of other men (e.g., Vandello & Bosson, 2013). The presented research extends these findings by focusing more explicitly on the male audience. In fact, our results seem to indicate that precarious manhood beliefs influence men's reported levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, rather than men's actual engagement in domestic support for gender equality. Indeed, reported levels of engagement in domestic support for gender equality in an anonymous report did not differ for men endorsing and disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs. Accordingly, we identified precarious manhood beliefs to play an indirect role in stifling men's domestic support for gender equality: Restraining men's reporting of their engagement, precarious manhood beliefs might sustain masculinity norms regarding domestic support for gender equality. This, in turn, is likely to influence men's actual domestic support for gender equality.

Additionally, we unexpectedly found the opposite held true as well: Men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs seem to make a specific effort to make a case in support of gender equality in front of an audience of male peers. We hence seem to have identified a group of men who engage in true support of domestic support for gender equality by promoting behaviour that is inconsistent with current masculinity standards. To our knowledge, previous literature has focused primarily on factors that prevent men from reporting or engaging in domestic support for gender equality, but has not yet attempted to identify factors that are related to men's championing of domestic support for gender equality. Whilst not originally intended, our research seems to make a first step in this direction by establishing that disagreement with precarious manhood beliefs is related to men promoting their engagement in domestic support for gender equality to other men. This finding might have possibly emerged due to the highly educated samples across the studies presented in this chapter. Multiple authors (e.g., Deutsch, 1999; Udansky, 2011; Williams, 2006) found that educated couples tend to praise values of gender equality, but do not always live according to these. Less educated couples, on the other hand, tend to value more traditional gender roles, but are often forced to divide labour equally due to financial and temporal constraints. Therefore, the high level of education across samples might have affected the presented results.

Moreover, we are among the first to conceptualise precarious manhood beliefs as an individual differences variable, that is, we regarded it as an inherent and relatively stable personality trait. In all but one study (Kroeper, Sanchez, & Himmelstein, 2013), precarious manhood beliefs was regarded as a potential response to a threatening stimulus (e.g., Caswell, Bosson, Vandello, & Sellers, 2014; Vandello et al., 2008), or was used to compare participants'

Chapter 3: Precarious Manhood as a Barrier to Domestic Support for Gender Equality

perception of precariousness of manhood, relative to womanhood (e.g., Vandello, Bosson, et al., 2008; Weaver, Vandello, & Bosson, 2010). Across the three presented studies in this chapter, the measure exhibited decent variability with normal distributions, and good reliability ( $\alpha$  ranging from .84 to .87). Hence, we can conclude that the use of precarious manhood beliefs as personality variable is appropriate. This conceptualisation might be helpful in answering further research questions on masculinity in general, and barriers to men's support for gender equality specifically.

Second, the presented research makes an important contribution to the increasing amount of research on men's engagement in household chores and child-care. Several authors have discussed what might be preventing men from engaging in these roles (e.g., Croft et al., 2015; Deutsch, 1999; Kosakowska-Berezecka et al., 2016). However, our research is the first to suggest precarious manhood beliefs as a barrier to changes in masculinity norms regarding domestic support for gender equality. Distinguishing between men endorsing and disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs advances the literature on men's engagement in household chores and child-care by identifying a particular group of men that might be particularly hesitant to contributing to change in masculinity norms. Moreover, we have identified *feminine stigma concerns* and *status and employability concerns* as underlying motivations tied to precarious manhood beliefs within this context. In doing so, we have presented some insight as to why these men might be hesitant to contribute to change. Equally, we have found that there are men who are not only neutral about domestic support for gender equality, but who actively promote these values. This unexpected finding seems to indicate that change is indeed occurring with regards to gender roles and men's attitudes on domestic tasks.

Third, the research presented in this chapter contributes to the body of literature on audience effects. Previous research has shown that the presence of an audience affects self-presentation as individuals might aim to please an audience, or might aim to achieve a specific outcome (e.g. Baumeister, 1982; Leary et al., 2011). This effect has been shown to occur in various contexts (e.g., Barreto et al., 2003; Juvonen & Murdock, 1993), and some tentative evidence existed indicating that men might be affected by an audience when reporting their levels of engagement in domestic chores (e.g., Bosson et al., 2006; Deutsch, 1999; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). Across three studies and a meta-analysis, we presented more evidence for this suggestion. Moreover, by including both a male and a female audience within this research, we provided more evidence for theory (see Leary et al. for a review) proposing that audience characteristics might impact on individuals' expressed attitudes and behaviours.

Finally, the research bears practical relevance. The results might be of an interest to an increasing amount of initiatives concerned with men's role in supporting gender equality, and men's engagement in domestic support for gender equality specifically. In 2015, the popular lifestyle magazine *Men's Health* started publishing *Men's Health DAD*, a special edition promoting men's engagement in child-care and household chores. Similarly, the online community *daddilife* (2017) provides men with articles on these topics, and further provides a space to discuss these topics with other fathers. The presented research might help the authors and editors of these projects to present their content in ways that appeal to a large number of men. Specifically, content could be presented in ways appealing to men endorsing or disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs by speaking to the respective underlying motivations discussed in this paper. For instance, in order to reach men

endorsing precarious manhood beliefs, initiatives might attempt to appease *feminine stigma concerns* and *status and employability concerns*. An adjustment of the framing of content in this way might increase the readership which would be positive both from an economic perspective, as well from the perspective of feminist activism. The same holds for governmental or organisational campaigns aimed at encouraging men's domestic support for gender equality. For instance, the Behavioural Insights Team London and the UK Cabinet Office are currently working on identifying messages that increase men's interest in shared parental leave and encourage fathers to share child-care more equally (Behavioural Insights Team, 2018). Based on our results, we have reason to assume that different messages might be appealing to men endorsing and disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs.

Moreover, initiatives of this kind could at the same time attempt to reduce men's levels of precarious manhood beliefs. As outlined above, precarious manhood beliefs are positively related to stereotypically masculine behaviours such as aggressiveness or risk-taking (e.g., Bosson et al., 2009; Vandello, Bosson, et al., 2008; Weaver et al., 2013). Therefore, men themselves and society would benefit from a decrease in men's precarious manhood beliefs. The present research shows that the goals of reducing precarious manhood beliefs and increasing domestic support for gender equality are, in fact, closely intertwined. The underlying motivations discussed in the present research might be a good starting point for applied research and practical interventions focused on these goals.

### **Limitations and Future Research**

Naturally, the presented research does not come without its limitations. Moreover, we did not answer all research questions that arose during the

research process. We suggest that future research addresses these limitations, and attempts to answer the research questions that were left unanswered.

First, the manipulation check in Study 7 indicated that the manipulation we used across studies was not as strong as anticipated. Some participants seem to not have engaged with the text introducing the manipulation, and some participants did not perceive the scenario as credible, that is, they did not believe that they would be evaluated by an audience. As we only included those participants who had engaged with and believed in the manipulation in the analysis of Study 7, and as the conclusions based on the analysis did not differ before and after excluding these participants, we nevertheless believe that the results presented in this research offer valuable insight. However, in order to replicate the results presented in this chapter, future research might consider using a stronger manipulation that renders participants' engagement with the manipulation more likely. For example, within a laboratory-based study, the manipulation could be presented verbally to increase participants' engagement, and participants could be asked to report their levels of engagement in domestic support for gender equality to male and female confederates.

Second, future research may wish to investigate factors that are related to men promoting domestic support for gender equality. We, inadvertently, identified disagreement with precarious manhood beliefs as one such factor, but there might be other aspects that might explain why some men actively promote domestic support for gender equality. Partners' attitudes or generational values, for instance, might play a role. On the same note, it is worth noting the highly educated samples across the studies in this chapter. Deutsch (1999) and Udansky (2011) described educated couples' tendency to theoretically value gender equality and an equal division of labour, but to adhere to more traditional

gender roles in practice. The results presented in this chapter seem to be in line with this finding as some men reported increased domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience than anonymously. This seems to indicate that they praise the value of gender equality, but do not live in accordance with these values to the same degree. Future research might investigate whether this result emerges in samples of men who are less educated. Qualitative evidence (Williams, 2006) on less educated, blue-collar workers who choose to lose their job over reporting their domestic engagement to their colleagues seems to suggest that this might not be the case.

Within this chapter we attempted, but did not achieve to identify a potential underlying motivation related to men reporting increased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report. Therefore, we suggest exploring more underlying motivations. For instance, none of the tested potential underlying motivations for reporting increased levels of domestic support for gender equality explicitly mentioned “supporting gender equality”. By means of a study similar to Study 8, the explicit underlying motivation of supporting gender equality could be tested. Subsequently, future research should expand the research design of Study 8 by measuring participants’ reported levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers in order to establish the mediating effects of the underlying motivations.

Third, future research could continue our exploration of the effect of an audience of women. We speculated that men’s reported levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of women might be influenced not only women’s positive evaluation of men who engage in domestic chores (Meeussen et al., 2018), but also by experiences with women

who restrict their partners' involvement in domestic chores to "guard" and to demonstrate superiority in this traditionally female domain (e.g., Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Puhlman & Pasley, 2013). The latter might result in men feeling a lack of self-efficacy within the domestic domain, and might lead to a decrease in reported levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of women. Future research might explore these two opposing influences, and might explore men's perceived self-efficacy within the domestic domain as a moderating factor.

Finally, our results might build a foundation for future research on changes in masculinity norms. Our results seem to indicate that the slow change in masculinity norms might be due to men's restrained report of their engagement in domestic support for gender equality to other men. It is possible that men's hesitation to discuss their engagement in domestic support for gender equality with other men perpetuates current masculinity norms by the mechanism of pluralistic ignorance. Pluralistic ignorance describes the faulty belief that one's own attitude diverges from the majority's, and the resulting adjustment of one's own behaviour, which, in turn, encourages peers to do the same (Miller & McFarland, 1991; Prentice & Miller, 1993; Willer, Kuwabara, & Macy, 2009). In this way, pluralistic ignorance has been shown to sustain workplace masculinity norms (e.g., Munsch, Weaver, Bosson, & O'Connor, 2018), and to keep men from engaging in communal roles (Van Grootel, Van Laar, Meussen, Schmader, & Sczesny, 2018). Future research should investigate whether pluralistic ignorance similarly sustains masculinity norms on engagement in domestic support for gender equality.

## **Conclusion**

An increasing number of women has been entering the workforce in recent decades, making considerable strides towards a gender equal society. In contrast, men have been comparatively slow in taking over traditionally female tasks, such as household chores and child-care. The present research identified precarious manhood beliefs as a barrier to men reporting their engagement of domestic support for gender equality to other men. This, in turn, is likely to slow down change in masculinity norms, and might therefore impede men's actual support for gender equality. We hope that by making a first step in understanding precarious manhood beliefs as a barrier a barrier to men's domestic support for gender equality, we have paved the way for future research investigating the barriers to men's support for gender equality in more depth, and might inform initiatives aimed at encouraging more men to engage in domestic support for gender equality.

## Chapter 4: General Discussion and Conclusion

*“Quite frankly I talk about the fact that I’m a feminist as often as I can, and every time I do it gets a huge reaction. I will keep saying it until there is no more reaction. That’s where we want to get to.”*

Justin Trudeau

Our aims in this thesis were to understand *how* men can support gender equality, and *why* men might, or might not, support gender equality. To achieve these aims, our first goal was to establish a clear conceptualisation of men’s support for gender equality, and, at the same time, to produce a measurement tool that may be used in future research on men’s support for gender equality. Drawing on this scale, our second goal was to investigate precarious manhood beliefs, in combination with an audience, as a potential barrier inhibiting men’s domestic support for gender equality. In this final chapter, we will first review and integrate the results from the two pilot studies, the eight main studies, and the meta-analysis that we presented in Chapters 2 and 3. At the same time, we will outline how each chapter contributes to achieving the aims outlined above. Then, we will then consider limitations of the presented research, and will outline the implications for theory and practice ensuing from the presented research. Finally, we will discuss avenues for future research.

### Summary of Previous Chapters

In our introductory Chapter 1, we set the stage for the thesis by outlining the current situation regarding gender equality, and by presenting an overview of the literature on support for gender equality. There has certainly been progress in recent decades, but gender inequality remains ubiquitous. Most crucially, women still receive lower wages than men (e.g., Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018) and carry out the majority of unpaid domestic work (e.g., Hochschild & Machung, 2012), whilst men hold the majority of societal power and decision-making positions (e.g., Catalyst 2015; 2016). We outlined how the movement for gender equality has become more inclusive with not only women, but also men seeking to achieve change (e.g., Burke & Major, 2014). Then, we presented theoretical and empirical evidence that men hold tremendous potential to contribute towards achieving gender equality (e.g., Cihangir, Barreto, & Ellemers, 2014; Drury, 2013; Drury & Kaiser, 2013; Subašić, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008; Subašić, Hardacre, Elton, & Branscombe, 2018).

In Chapter 2, we aimed to address the following research question: *How can men support gender equality, and how can we measure their support?*. To this purpose, we reviewed measurement tools assessing men's support for gender equality in previous research, and identified the lack of a comprehensive conceptualisation and a validated scale measuring support for gender equality among men. Although the existing measures have proven useful in the past, they bear a number of limitations: (a) many are not validated empirically, (b) they often capture only singular aspects of men's support for gender equality and are not suited to answer research questions pertaining to men's support for gender equality more generally, (c) many are attitudinal and thus do not necessarily capture men's behavioural intentions regarding tangible actions of

supporting gender equality, and (d) they were not developed measuring *men's* support for gender equality specifically, and hence do not capture important aspects that are unique to men's supportive behaviour, such as involvement in child-care and household chores.

Aiming to address this psychometric gap, we presented four studies developing and validating the Support for Gender Equality among Men Scale (SGEMS). Based on a literature review and a pilot study, we established an item pool consisting of 31 items. In Study 1, via exploratory factor analysis, we confirmed two proposed subscales capturing *public support for gender equality* (9 items) and *domestic support for gender equality* (7 items). The former occurs outside of the home environment, and it includes political activism, speaking up when witnessing gender inequality, speaking about gender equality, and creating an inclusive workplace culture. The latter occurs within the home environment, and includes respecting one's female partner, sharing household chores, and involvement in parenting and child-care. In Studies 2 and 4, we presented further evidence for the two-factor structure by means of confirmatory factor analysis. Subsequently, in Studies 3 and 4, we validated the SGEMS by establishing its convergent, concurrent, and discriminant validity. That is, we located it within its psychometric surroundings. For instance, foreshadowing content of Chapter 3, we showed that precarious manhood beliefs (Vandello & Bosson, 2013) is negatively related to domestic support for gender equality, but not to public support for gender equality. In Chapter 2, we hence provide a conceptualisation of men's support for gender equality, and make a valuable psychometric contribution by developing a reliable measurement tool.

In Chapter 3, we aimed to address the following research question: *Does precarious manhood function as a barrier preventing men from engaging in*

*domestic support for gender equality?* To this purpose, we reviewed the literature on precarious manhood in depth (Vandello & Bosson, 2013), and argued that it might constitute a barrier restraining men's discourse on domestic support for gender equality. Requiring men to seek constant affirmation from male peers, the perceived precariousness of manhood encourages men to continuously display stereotypically masculine behaviours and to disassociate themselves from those things considered feminine. It follows that manhood conceived of in this way is deemed incompatible with domestic support for gender equality. Considering that we tend to rely on social cues from others to lead our behaviour (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004; Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991; Cialdini & Trost, 1998; Reno, Cialdini, & Kallgren, 1993), men's discourse on their engagement in domestic support for gender equality might be vital for change. Therefore, we sought to understand how men's reported levels of domestic support for gender equality might be affected by an audience of male peers. We hypothesised that men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs, but not men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs, report decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality to an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report.

In Studies 5 to 7, we found mixed evidence with regards to our hypothesis. Study 5 provided evidence that men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs indeed report decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality to an audience of male peers, but Study 6 and 7 did not replicate this pattern. Instead, Study 7 suggested that men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality to an audience of male peers. A meta-analysis across Studies 5 to 7 confirmed that an audience of male peers seems to affect reported levels of men's support for

gender equality of both men endorsing and disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs, albeit in opposite directions. Indeed, men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs reported increased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers.

Moreover, we tentatively explored the effect of an audience of women on men's support for gender equality within this thesis. To this purpose, we had included a third condition featuring an audience of women in Studies 6 and 7. Again, we found mixed results. In Study 6, men reported increased levels of domestic support for equality to an audience of women, relative to an anonymous report. This effect was not replicated in Study 7.

Finally, to gain a deeper understanding of the effect of an audience of male peers on men's domestic support for gender equality, we investigated a number of potential underlying motivations for changes in reported levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers in a pilot study and Study 8. We showed that *feminine stigma concerns* and *status and employability concerns* are related to men reporting decreased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report. However, we did not identify an underlying motivations explaining men reporting increased levels of domestic support for gender equality to an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report. Study 8 contributed to the overall aim of the thesis by deepening our understanding of precarious manhood beliefs as barriers to men's conversation about, and actual engagement in, domestic support for gender equality.

### **Limitations**

Naturally, the research presented in this thesis bears a number of limitations. First, we need to acknowledge the thesis' exclusive focus on

heterosexual men. Whilst this focus facilitated the investigation of domestic support for gender equality, we suggest that future research could address this limitation by investigating this topic with regards to members of the LGBTQ+ community. Naturally, individuals of all genders and sexualities, rather than just heterosexual men, might engage in public support for gender equality. For instance, several authors have discussed the role of homo- or transsexual men in feminism (e.g., Connell, 1997; Edwards, 2012; Rubin, 1998). Moreover, homosexual men do not engage in romantic partnerships with women, but they might still share a household, and accordingly household chores, with female housemates or family members. Future research could hence investigate whether homosexual men are as likely as heterosexual men to endorse precarious manhood beliefs, and whether endorsement of precarious manhood beliefs in homosexual men is similarly negatively associated with involvement in domestic chores. We have reason to believe that different patterns might occur for two reasons. First, homosexual men are part of a minority group themselves, and might therefore be more aware and supportive of the struggles of other minority groups, such as women (e.g., Cole, 2008, 2009; Cole & Luna, 2010). Second, homosexual men often face the stigma of being stereotypically more effeminate than heterosexual men (e.g., Anderson, 2009). Being relatively accustomed to this stigma, homosexual men might be less concerned with proving their manhood status. Accordingly, they might be more comfortable discussing their engagement in domestic support for gender equality with peers. Alternatively, homosexual men might be particularly concerned with proving their manhood status due to the prevalent stigma, which might render them especially uncomfortable when discussing their engagement in domestic

support for gender equality. Future research could test these alternative hypotheses.

A second limitation of the presented research is the exclusive focus on men in the UK and the US. Whilst we chose this particular group of men as a starting point for investigations on men's (domestic) support for gender equality, extending the research to men outside of the UK and the US might be important to ensure intersectionality and inclusivity of the feminist movement. Moreover, investigating whether precarious manhood beliefs are negatively related to men's domestic support for gender equality within a range of cultures and across cultures might further help to identify factors that cause or sustain a culture of precarious manhood. A number of past studies have investigated masculinity cross-culturally and might function as starting points in this regard (e.g., Hearn & Morrell, 2012; Plantin, Mansey, & Kearney, 2003; Segal, 2000). Based on data from Sweden, for instance, Lindberg (2012) suggests that liberal innovation policies reduce gendered labour segregation. On the other hand, there is some evidence that a cultural emphasis on strength and social regard might have the opposite effect (e.g., Gül, 2016). Future research could investigate the relationship of these, and similar, concepts to domestic support for gender equality specifically, and explore whether the associations hold across cultures.

Third, we derived the majority of our samples from the online research platform Prolific Academic. This might have introduced some demographic biases to the presented research as it is likely that a specific group of people is registered to participate in online research. Whilst the samples in Chapter 2 were diverse with regards to socioeconomic status and level of education, the samples in Chapter 3 were indeed more educated than the average UK/US

population (Nomis, 2018). Therefore, we need to be careful with regards to the generalizability of our results. Specifically, several authors have discussed how level of education relates to values of gender equality. Whilst highly educated couples tend to value an equal division of labour in theory, they often struggle implementing this in their own lives. Less educated couples, however, tend to put less emphasis on equal division of labour, but financial and temporal constraints often forces both partners to engage in paid and domestic labour (Deutsch, 1999; Udansky, 2011; Williams, 2006). These results are in line with the tentative findings from Chapter 2 that level of education is positively related to men's public support for gender equality, but not to men's domestic support for gender equality. Moreover, it is plausible, within a highly educated sample, that men would promote domestic support for gender equality to an audience of male peers despite lower actual engagement in domestic support for gender equality. Potentially, within a less educated sample, this effect would decrease. Therefore, future research may wish to attempt to replicate our findings on a sample that is more representative of the general population with regards to level of education, or may wish to directly investigate whether level of education has an effect on the presented findings by recruiting samples of men who are more or less educated.

Finally, we relied on men's self-reports across all studies. Several authors (e.g., Donaldson & Grant-Vallone, 2002; Paulhus & Vazire, 2007; van de Mortel, 2008) have outlined issues resulting from self-report measures within psychological research. There are two potential issues that are particularly likely to render measures biased. First, participants might be motivated to present positively (Paulhus & Vazire, 2007). In Chapter 2, we have presented some evidence that the results of the domestic support for gender equality of the

SGEMS are not associated with social desirability. However, in Chapter 3, we found that an audience of male peers affected men's scores on domestic support for gender equality, and did not replicate the effect when the research account indicated that the study was run by a female researcher, rather than by a neutral research group. These findings seem to suggest that the subscale is somewhat affected by social desirability. The discrepancy in these results might be due to limitations of the social desirability scale that we used. The more recent "balanced inventory of desirable responding" (Hart, Ritchie, Hepper, & Gebauer, 2015), for instance, might have picked up more accurately on certain nuances of social desirability that our more dated measure failed to capture. Future research might therefore investigate whether the domestic subscale correlates with this more refined measure of social desirability. Moreover, it is possible that the nature of the items makes the scale more susceptible for socially desirable responding. Agreement with the items always indicates support for gender equality, which participants might perceive as a nudge to indicate greater support for gender equality. Future adaptations of the scale might wish to rectify this. For now, it seems prudent to be aware of the potential susceptibility for socially desirable responding of the scale and take precautions within future research. Specifically, it will be crucial to report results with specific attention to the context within which an experiment is conducted, and to keep circumstances similar across replications. Moreover, including a measure of social desirability as a control variable might be recommended.

Second, we cannot rule out that men might misjudge their engagement in domestic support for gender equality due to a genuine lack of self-awareness. Indeed, there is some evidence that men report to spend considerably more time on domestic chores than reported for them by their partners (e.g., Achen &

Stafford, 2005). Thus, we cannot be certain that men's scores on the domestic support for gender equality subscale of the SGEMS always reflects their engagement in domestic support for gender equality accurately. Since the research we present in this thesis focused on the conditions that impact reported levels of domestic support for gender equality, rather than men's actual domestic support for gender equality, this limitation is less relevant for our research specifically. However, it might need to be taken into consideration within future research aiming to determine men's actual levels of domestic support for gender equality. To this end, we suggest calculating a composite score based on men's own estimations and their partners' estimations. To obtain partners' estimations of men's domestic support for gender equality, the domestic support for gender equality subscale of the SGEMS could easily be adapted.

### **Implications for Theory**

Despite the limitations outlined above, we believe that this thesis make a strong contribution to several bodies of literature. Most importantly, our research furthers the understanding of social change for more gender equality with a specific focus on men's role in achieving this change. At the same time, it also contributes to the literature on precarious manhood, and taps into the literature on audience effects and social norms, as we will outline in the following paragraphs.

First, our research makes a strong contribution to the literature on social change towards more gender equality, and men's role in achieving this change specifically. We reviewed the psychological literature on social change highlighting the transition from a focus on women as the drivers of social change to more inclusive approaches. Moreover, in identifying the two ways in

which men can support gender equality, namely public and domestic support for gender equality, we established a conceptualisation that comprehensively captures aspects of previous research on men's support for gender equality. This simple, yet comprehensive, conceptualisation will facilitate the organisation of and communication about future research in this domain.

On the basis of the conceptualisation, existing and future research can be clearly divided into projects investigating either public or domestic support for gender equality, and can be tied to previous findings within each domain. This division draws attention to domestic engagement as a form of support for gender equality. Oftentimes, research has focused on male champions of change in the public domain and in the workplace specifically (e.g., Bongiorno, 2018; Male Champions of Change, 2019), but men's domestic support for gender equality is not commonly regarded as a form of support for gender equality. In doing so, we raise domestic support for gender equality to the same level as public support for gender equality, and allow men who engage in domestic support for gender equality to also be considered champions of change.

In equalising the two approaches to achieving gender equality, we further allow for and prompt comparisons between the two. We can assess which domain might harbour greater potential for change, and might compare factors that encourage or inhibit support within either domain. In Studies 3 and 4, for instance, we foreshadowed avenues for research in this regard by showing that certain beliefs and attitudes relate differently to the two domains. Equally, a distinct delineation of each domain allows investigation of how the two domains are related, and how support in one domain might influence support in the other domain. The conceptualisation of men's support for gender equality might, in

fact, mirror the second-wave feminism catch phrase “the private is political” as it outlines how seemingly private decisions, such as an individual man’s engagement in household chores, and the way he might present his engagement to his peers, bear broader political implications by impacting societal power structures. Hence, the conceptualisation might not only function as a framework to situate previous work on men’s support for gender equality in, but might also inspire and guide future research.

At the same time, we identified and addressed a psychometric gap in the literature on social change. Future research on men’s support for gender equality will greatly benefit from the development and validation of the SGEMS presented in this thesis as it presents a comprehensive and reliable alternative to ad-hoc measures. By investigating a research question on domestic support for gender equality specifically, we further demonstrated how future research might draw on the conceptualisation and measurement tool. Specifically, we used the SGEMS not only to measure men’s domestic support for gender equality (Studies 5 to 7), but also to inform a number of vignettes illustrating the ways in which one man is currently supporting gender equality domestically (Study 8). Future research might draw on the scale in similar ways.

We further identified precarious manhood beliefs, in combination with an audience, as a barrier to men’s support for gender equality. A multitude of research has explored men’s role in achieving gender equality (e.g., Bongiorno, 2018; Drury, 2013; Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Radke et al., 2018), or men’s engagement in household chores and child-care (e.g., Deutsch, 1999; Johannsen & Klint, 2008). Moreover, some research has explored the role of threatened masculinity in this regard (e.g., Greenstein, 2000; Kosakowska-Berezecka et al., 2015). But, to our knowledge, this past research has not linked

men's domestic support for gender equality to precarious manhood beliefs specifically, nor did it explore the role of male peers in this regard. Our results indicate that men's resistance to engage in household chores and child-care might be more complex than previously assumed. Much of the research investigating the division of domestic labour within heterosexual couples has focused on dynamics that play out between the two partners (see Kroska, 2004 for a review). However, our results indicate that men's engagement in domestic support for gender equality is not only influenced by status loss in relation to a female partner as such, but also by how this assumed loss of status is perceived by others, and perceived by male peers specifically. We hence suggest that a common focus on power dynamics and labour division within heterosexual couples might be too singular, and that future research would benefit from taking external factors, such as audiences, into account. Accordingly, we need to ask who witnesses couples' division of labour, and how is this audience perceived by men. Interestingly, our results seem to indicate that there is a divide in how men expect an audience of male peers to evaluate their engagement in domestic support for gender equality. Contrary to men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs, men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs seem to be motivated to report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality, which provides additional, indirect, support for our hypothesis that precarious manhood beliefs function as a barrier to men's reporting of, and, accordingly, actual domestic support for gender equality.

Second, and in line with the previous point, we made a valuable contribution to the literature on precarious manhood. The research presented in this thesis confirmed that precarious manhood beliefs are related to a decrease in reported levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience

of male peers. Importantly, however, when men's levels of domestic support for gender equality remained anonymous, men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs reported the same level of domestic support for gender equality as men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs. Therefore, our results seem to indicate that precarious manhood might influence men's portrayal of their behaviour to other men, rather than their actual behaviour. Nevertheless, these portrayals perpetuate existing masculinity norms that inform men's actual behaviour. In this way, our findings highlight the great potential of the theory in making a contribution to explaining one of the pivotal issues of our time.

Moreover, in previous research on precarious manhood the concept had predominantly been conceptualised as an outcome variable measuring participants' state of anxiety in response to a stimulus aiming to threaten masculinity (e.g., Caswell, Bosson, Vandello, & Sellers, 2014; Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, & Weaver, 2008), or has assessed participants' perceived precariousness of manhood in comparison to womanhood (e.g., Vandello, Bosson, et al., 2008; Weaver, Vandello, & Bosson, 2010). In this thesis, we conceptualised precarious manhood beliefs as an individual difference characteristic, that is, we regarded precarious manhood beliefs as an inherent and relatively stable personality trait capturing how secure men perceive manhood to be. We situated precarious manhood beliefs as an individual difference variable within its psychometric environment of related variables, such as social dominance orientation and gender-specific system justification. Moreover, across studies, we observed decent variability and good reliability of the measure. Therefore, we can conclude that the presented use of the measure is appropriate and sensible. To our knowledge, there has been only one study (Kroeper, Sanchez, & Himmelstein, 2014) that conceptualises

precarious manhood beliefs as a personality trait predicting behavioural outcomes. The research presented in this thesis hence contributes to establishing a novel dimension to the concept of precarious manhood, which might be useful in answering a vast range of research questions on masculinity and gender equality in the future.

Finally, the research presented in this thesis taps into both the literature on audience effects and the literature on social norms. Previous research has shown that individuals might be motivated to portray a certain image of themselves to a present audience with the aim of pleasing the audience or constructing a public self in line with their ideal image of themselves (e.g., Baumeister, 1982; Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Ellemers, van Dyck, Hinkle, & Jacobs, 2000; Klein & Azzi, 2001). Research exploring audience effects with regards to gender found that men feel discomfort when violating gender stereotypes in front of an audience, particularly in front of an audience of other men (e.g., Bosson, Prewitt-Freilino, & Taylor, 2005; Bosson, Taylor, Prewitt Freilino, 2006). Our research applied this framework directly to men's domestic support for gender equality, and thereby provided strong evidence for Bosson and colleagues' (2006) conclusion that men's adherence to gender role norms is, at least in part, due to their expectations of an audience's response to potential gender role violation.

Accordingly, our research might start to inform ideas in the area of social norms, and more precisely to the theory of pluralistic ignorance. Men seem to hold the faulty belief that their own attitude on domestic support for gender equality diverges from that of the majority. This results in the adjustment of their own behaviour, which, in turn, encourages peers to do the same. Previous research has shown that pluralistic ignorance sustains workplace masculinity

norms (e.g., Munsch et al., 2018), and prevents men from engaging in communal roles (Van Grootel et al., 2018). The research presented in this thesis showed that the same concept applies to men's engagement in domestic support for gender equality, and thereby stifles norm change towards a culture in which manhood is compatible with domestic support for gender equality.

### **Future Research**

Whilst we presented evidence regarding the research questions we set out to answer, several questions that arose throughout the research process were left unanswered. It is our hope that these might be addressed in future research.

First, future research should continue our attempt to identify the underlying motivations for men to report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers, relative to an anonymous report. Based on the literature and a pilot study, we had speculated the underlying motivations to be *pride in being a modern man* or *pride in being a good partner and father*, but Study 8 did not provide evidence in this regard. Notably, neither of these themes explicitly captured the aim of achieving a more gender equal society. It may be the case that men disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of male peers with the explicit aim of promoting support for gender equality among their peers. Deutsch (2000), for instance, reported that some couples achieved gender equal relationships because they had explicitly set out to share all tasks equally. Future research may wish to investigate whether the aim of being gender equal might indeed be an underlying motivation, and might also want to investigate other potential underlying motivations. Understanding these men's underlying motivations

might be a first step to developing interventions aimed at encouraging more men to engage in, and to openly discuss their engagement in domestic support for gender equality.

Following from this, we suggest that future research might focus in depth on developing initiatives or interventions. These interventions could aim to initiate a change process comprising three stages: First, the interventions would initiate discourse on domestic support for gender equality among men. To achieve this, interventions could draw on male role models, such as celebrities or company CEOs. Several campaigns drawing on role models or “champions of change” who promote men’s support for gender equality in the workplace already exist (e.g., Bongiorno, 2018; Male Champions of Change, 2019), and there is some evidence that these initiatives might be successful. Kotter (1995), for instance argues that “champions of change” create a sense of urgency that is needed to affect change, and de Vries (2014) presented data showing that male champions of change for gender equality might be perceived as role models by other men, and might initiate conversation among those who would not normally be interested in talking about gender equality. Accordingly, this method might also be feasible with regards to domestic support for gender equality. Alternatively, inspired by the Good Lad Initiative’s (2017) workshops promoting positive masculinity, interventions might take the form of discussion groups for men that facilitate open dialogue about the experience of masculinity and domestic support for gender equality. Ideally, these discussion groups would be chaired by men in order to reduce the feminine stigma that might discourage men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs from participating. To this purpose, the discussion groups might also be embedded within broader initiatives with the overall aim of improving men’s lifestyle and health. For

instance, an Australian hospital is offering men-only antenatal sessions in which a male health-care professional encourages participants discuss their experiences as fathers (Lee & Schmied, 2001).

In the second stage, as a result of an increase in men's discourse on domestic support for gender equality, a gradual masculinity norm change would occur. Increasing the discourse on domestic support for gender equality among men is likely to reduce pluralistic ignorance as individual men might realize that their interest in domestic tasks is not uncommon (e.g., Duyvendak & Stavenuiter, 2004; Hobson & Fahlen, 2009; Milkie, Mattingly, Nomaguchi, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004; Pew Research Center, 2013; Reeves & Szafran, 1996; United Nations, 2012; Vandello, Hettinger, Bosson, & Siddiqi, 2013), and that contemporary masculinity is, in fact, compatible with traditionally female tasks (e.g., Auman, Galinsky, & Matos, 2011; Brandth and Kvande's, 1998; Meeussen et al., 2018; Van Grootel, Van Laar, Meeussen, Schmader, & Sczesny, 2018). Finally, considering that individuals' behaviour is highly influenced by perceived norms (e.g., Sherif, 1936; Cialdini & Trost, 1998), this change in masculinity norms is likely to result in actual change in men's behaviour. That is, men will be more likely to engage in domestic support for gender equality. Future research might develop interventions of this kind, and test whether the three stages ensue as described here.

Second, we had hypothesised that men might report increased levels of domestic support for gender equality to an audience of women as women tend to value family-oriented men who share domestic tasks as romantic partners (Meeussen et al., 2018). However, our data were inconsistent, that is, we found evidence for our hypothesis in only one of the two studies. Future research might want to investigate whether the effect can be replicated, and might want

to expand the research design by including potential factors that might moderate the effect. For instance, some men might not actually be aware of women's preference for communal men, or might (rightfully) assume that it holds only when they can convey assertiveness at the same time. Another potential moderating factor might be past experience with women who did not appreciate men's engagement in the domestic domain. For instance, women who engage in maternal gatekeeping restrict their partners' involvement in domestic chores by doing domestic tasks themselves and setting high standards for these tasks in order to "guard" this traditionally female domain (e.g., Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Puhlman & Pasley, 2013). Lastly, a man's current relationship status might affect his reported levels of domestic support for gender equality in front of an audience of women. More precisely, a single man who is seeking a relationship might be more motivated to portray himself positively to women than a man who is not currently pursuing the goal of entering a romantic relationship. Future research could test each one of these moderating factors to gain a more accurate picture of the role that women play in encouraging men's domestic support for gender equality.

Third, future research could investigate potential barriers inhibiting men's public support for gender equality. In this thesis, we focused on investigating a barrier to men's domestic support for gender equality as men's low levels of domestic support for gender equality has been named as one of the main impediments to women's careers (e.g., Croft et al., 2015; Deutsch, 1999; Haas, 2003). However, men's public support for gender equality is similarly important to achieving a more gender equal society: Numerous studies provide evidence that men speaking up against gender inequality is highly effective (e.g., Drury, 2013; Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Eliezer & Major, 2012; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010),

especially within the workplace context (e.g., Armstrong, 2016; Radke, Kutlaca, & Becker, 2018). The data presented in Chapter 2 suggest that a potential avenue of research might be related to gender-specific system justification as men who do not engage in public support for gender equality tend to believe that the status quo regarding gender equality is justified. Another potential barrier might be the prevailing negative feminist stigma (e.g., Anderson, 2009; Rickabaugh, 1995; Twenge & Zucker, 1999; Rudman & Mescher, 2013; Rudman et al., 2013) which might cause men to fear negative peer evaluation when engaging in public support for gender equality.

### **Implications for Practice**

In addition to making a theoretical contribution to psychological literature, as outlined above, the research presented in this thesis and suggested follow-up research also has practical implications. In fact, men's domestic support for gender equality is becoming increasingly more important for women (e.g., Croft et al., 2015; Deutsch, 1999; Haas, 2003), for children (e.g., Armistead, Klein, & Forehand, 1995; Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000; Mensah & Kiernan, 2011; Smith, 2004), and for men themselves (e.g., Mark & McDermid, 1996; Moen, Dempster-McClain, & Williams, 1992; Rudermann, Ohlott, Panzer, & King, 2002; Verbrugge, 1983). In line with these trends, initiatives and campaigns aiming to encourage more men to engage in domestic support for gender equality have emerged in recent years. These initiatives (e.g., Men's Health DAD, daddilife) will benefit from a better understanding of the underlying processes of men's motivations to engage in, or refrain from, domestic support for gender equality. Thus, the findings presented in this thesis, and ensuing future research, could be used to improve existing initiatives and interventions, or could even function as a foundation for future projects.

Specifically, our results showed that men's level of endorsement of precarious manhood beliefs affects their reported levels of domestic support for gender equality, and affects the thoughts and emotions they associate with domestic support for gender equality. Interventions might want to take these distinct patterns and associated concerns into consideration. In order to increase the initiatives' efficiency, it might be sensible to design different types of interventions targeting men endorsing and disagreeing with precarious manhood beliefs. For instance, based on the results presented in Study 8, interventions targeting men endorsing precarious manhood beliefs might want to aim to reduce status and employability concerns. This might be achieved by, for instance, presenting men with examples of other men who engaged in domestic support for gender equality and succeeding within their careers at the same time.

The SGEMS could provide two functions in this process. On the one hand, the subcategories of each subscale, or each individual item, might inspire future initiatives. The subscales would hence function as a framework when designing interventions, ensuring that all aspects of support for gender equality are covered. On the other hand, the domestic support for gender equality subscale of the SGEMS could be used to assess the impact of interventions by administering it repeatedly to men who are taking part in, or are otherwise exposed to, the interventions.

Whilst our results lend themselves especially well to inform planned initiatives and interventions, they can of course also be drawn on by single individuals who aim to encourage men to engage in domestic support for gender equality. We have presented the results of this research at various occasions, and have distributed the findings across online platforms and

individual conversation. Potentially, learning about the results of this research might facilitate personal conversations about the topic, by providing a better understanding of the concerns men are currently holding with regards to their engagement in domestic support for gender equality.

### **Conclusion**

In this thesis, we aimed to investigate *how* men can support gender equality, and *why* they might, or might not, do so. To this purpose, we presented the development and validation of the SGEMS. In doing so, we have shown that there are two distinct ways in which men can support gender equality: *public and domestic support for gender equality*. Drawing on this scale, we identified precarious manhood beliefs as a potential barrier to men's domestic support for gender equality. Specifically, it functions as a barrier as it prevents open discourse about engagement in domestic support for gender equality among men, which stifles masculinity norm change. Accordingly, we can conclude that audiences of male peers, and the way these audiences are perceived by individual men, play a pivotal role in shaping masculinity norms and behavioural change. Via discourse on domestic support for gender equality with other men, the private behaviour of a single man becomes political, and hence bears tremendous potential for change.

The men tweeting pictures of themselves carrying their babies, discussed in the opening of this thesis, illustrate this point well. By sharing their personal engagement in child-care openly with other men, they communicated that manhood is compatible with domestic support for gender equality. In doing so, they contributed towards changing masculinity norms, and might have encouraged other men to similarly engage in domestic support for gender equality. Having empirically investigated this process in this thesis, it is our hope

#### Chapter 4: General Discussion and Conclusion

that we have made a small contribution on the path towards a world in which carrying a baby, and other forms of domestic support for gender equality, will no longer be regarded as incompatible with manhood.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A: Ethics Approval for all Studies

#### *Pilot Study – Chapter 2*

#### Ethical Approval system

Your application (2017/1317) entitled Validation of Scale “Support for Gender Equality Among Men” has been conditionally accepted

Please visit <http://www.exeter.ac.uk/staff/ethicalapproval/>

Please click on the link above and select the relevant application from the list.

The conditions are as follows:

Please add the contact details of the Ethics Chair to your debrief - Lisa Leaver, L.A.Leaver@ex.ac.uk You do not need further approval after making this change

#### *Study 1*

#### Ethical Approval system

Your application (2016/1196) entitled Male Support for Gender Equality - Scale Validation has been accepted

Please visit <http://www.exeter.ac.uk/staff/ethicalapproval/>

Please click on the link above and select the relevant application from the list.

#### *Study 2*

#### Ethical Approval system

Your application (2017/1318) entitled Support for Gender Equality Among Men - Scale Replication has been conditionally accepted

Please visit <http://www.exeter.ac.uk/staff/ethicalapproval/>

Please click on the link above and select the relevant application from the list.

The conditions are as follows:

Please add the contact details of the Ethics Chair, Lisa Leaver, L.A.Leaver@ex.ac.uk to the debrief information. You do not need further approval after making this change.

#### *Study 3*

Dear Antonia Sudkaemper,

Application ID: **eCLESPsy000042 v2.1**

Title: **perception of men who support gender equality**

Your e-Ethics application has been reviewed by the CLES Psychology Ethics Committee. The outcome of the decision is: **Favourable Potential Outcomes**

**Favourable:**

The application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee. The application will be flagged as Closed in the system. To view it again, please select the tick box: View completed

<b><i>Favourable, with conditions:</i></b>	The application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee under the provision of certain conditions. These conditions are detailed below.
<b><i>Provisional:</i></b>	You have <b>not</b> been granted ethical approval. The application needs to be amended in light of the Committee's comments and re-submitted for Ethical review.
<b><i>Unfavourable:</i></b>	You have <b>not</b> been granted ethical approval. The application has been <b>rejected</b> by the Committee. The application needs to be amended in light of the Committee's comments and resubmitted / or you need to complete a new application.

Please view your application here and respond to comments as required. If you have any queries please contact the CLES Psychology Ethics Chair: **Lisa Leaver** L.A.Leaver@exeter.ac.uk Kind regards, CLES Psychology Ethics Committee

**Study 4**

Dear Antonia Sudkaemper,

Application ID: **eCLESPsy000835 v3.2**

Title: **validation of Support for Gender Equality among Men Scale**

Your e-Ethics application has been reviewed by the CLES Psychology Ethics Committee. The outcome of the decision is: **Favourable with conditions** Potential Outcomes

<b><i>Favourable:</i></b>	The application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee. The application will be flagged as Closed in the system. To view it again, please select the tick box: View completed
<b><i>Favourable, with conditions:</i></b>	The application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee under the provision of certain conditions. These conditions are detailed below.
<b><i>Provisional:</i></b>	You have <b>not</b> been granted ethical approval. The application needs to be amended in light of the Committee's comments and re-submitted for Ethical review.
<b><i>Unfavourable:</i></b>	You have <b>not</b> been granted ethical approval. The application has been <b>rejected</b> by the Committee. The application needs to be amended in light of the Committee's comments and resubmitted / or you need to complete a new application.

Please view your application here and respond to comments as required. You can download your outcome letter by clicking on the 'PDF' button on your eEthics Dashboard. If you have any queries please contact the CLES Psychology Ethics Chair: **Lisa Leaver** L.A.Leaver@exeter.ac.uk Kind regards, CLES Psychology Ethics Committee

**Study 5**

Dear Antonia Sudkaemper,

Application ID: **eCLESPsy000043 v2.1**

Title: **study on how comfortable men feel about discussing their domestic engagement**

Your e-Ethics application has been reviewed by the CLES Psychology Ethics Committee. The outcome of the decision is: **Favourable with conditions** Potential Outcomes

<b>Favourable:</b>	The application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee. The application will be flagged as Closed in the system. To view it again, please select the tick box: View completed
<b>Favourable, with conditions:</b>	The application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee under the provision of certain conditions. These conditions are detailed below.
<b>Provisional:</b>	You have <b>not</b> been granted ethical approval. The application needs to be amended in light of the Committee's comments and re-submitted for Ethical review.
<b>Unfavourable:</b>	You have <b>not</b> been granted ethical approval. The application has been <b>rejected</b> by the Committee. The application needs to be amended in light of the Committee's comments and resubmitted / or you need to complete a new application.

Please view your application here and respond to comments as required. If you have any queries please contact the CLES Psychology Ethics Chair: **Lisa Leaver** L.A.Leaver@exeter.ac.uk Kind regards, CLES Psychology Ethics Committee

**Study 6**

Dear Antonia Sudkaemper,

Application ID: **eCLESPsy000044 v2.1**

Title: **audience effects on men's domestic support for gender equality**

Your e-Ethics application has been reviewed by the CLES Psychology Ethics Committee. The outcome of the decision is: **Favourable** Potential Outcomes

<b>Favourable:</b>	The application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee. The application will be flagged as Closed in the system. To view it again, please select the tick box: View completed
<b>Favourable, with conditions:</b>	The application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee under the provision of certain conditions. These conditions are detailed below.

<b>Provisional:</b>	You have <b>not</b> been granted ethical approval. The application needs to be amended in light of the Committee's comments and re-submitted for Ethical review.
<b>Unfavourable:</b>	You have <b>not</b> been granted ethical approval. The application has been <b>rejected</b> by the Committee. The application needs to be amended in light of the Committee's comments and resubmitted / or you need to complete a new application.

Please view your application here and respond to comments as required. You can download your outcome letter by clicking on the 'PDF' button on your eEthics Dashboard. If you have any queries please contact the CLES Psychology Ethics Chair: **Lisa Leaver** L.A.Leaver@exeter.ac.uk Kind regards,CLES Psychology Ethics Committee

**Study 7**

Dear Antonia Sudkaemper,

Application ID: **eCLESPsy000068 v2.1**

Title: **Audience effects on men's domestic support for gender equality - follow up**

Your e-Ethics application has been reviewed by the CLES Psychology Ethics Committee. The outcome of the decision is: **Favourable Potential Outcomes**

<b>Favourable:</b>	The application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee. The application will be flagged as Closed in the system. To view it again, please select the tick box: View completed
<b>Favourable, with conditions:</b>	The application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee under the provision of certain conditions. These conditions are detailed below.
<b>Provisional:</b>	You have <b>not</b> been granted ethical approval. The application needs to be amended in light of the Committee's comments and re-submitted for Ethical review.
<b>Unfavourable:</b>	You have <b>not</b> been granted ethical approval. The application has been <b>rejected</b> by the Committee. The application needs to be amended in light of the Committee's comments and resubmitted / or you need to complete a new application.

Please view your application here and respond to comments as required. You can download your outcome letter by clicking on the 'PDF' button on your eEthics Dashboard. If you have any queries please contact the CLES Psychology Ethics Chair: **Lisa Leaver** L.A.Leaver@exeter.ac.uk Kind regards,CLES Psychology Ethics Committee

Dear Antonia Sudkaemper,

Application ID: **eCLESPsy000104 v3.2**

Title: **open questions on male engagement in domestic support for gender equality**

Your e-Ethics application has been reviewed by the CLES Psychology Ethics Committee. The outcome of the decision is: **Favourable Potential Outcomes**

<b>Favourable:</b>	The application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee. The application will be flagged as Closed in the system. To view it again, please select the tick box: View completed
<b>Favourable, with conditions:</b>	The application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee under the provision of certain conditions. These conditions are detailed below.
<b>Provisional:</b>	You have <b>not</b> been granted ethical approval. The application needs to be amended in light of the Committee's comments and re-submitted for Ethical review.
<b>Unfavourable:</b>	You have <b>not</b> been granted ethical approval. The application has been <b>rejected</b> by the Committee. The application needs to be amended in light of the Committee's comments and resubmitted / or you need to complete a new application.

Please view your application here and respond to comments as required. You can download your outcome letter by clicking on the 'PDF' button on your eEthics Dashboard. If you have any queries please contact the CLES Psychology Ethics Chair: **Lisa Leaver** L.A.Leaver@exeter.ac.uk\_Kind regards,CLES Psychology Ethics Committee

**Study 8**

Dear Antonia Sudkaemper,

Application ID: **eCLESPsy000847 v5.4**

Title: **underlying motivations of men's reported levels of domestic support for gender equality**

Your e-Ethics application has been reviewed by the CLES Psychology Ethics Committee. The outcome of the decision is: **Favourable Potential Outcomes**

<b>Favourable:</b>	The application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee. The application will be flagged as Closed in the system. To view it again, please select the tick box: View completed
<b>Favourable, with conditions:</b>	The application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee under the provision of certain conditions. These conditions are detailed below.
<b>Provisional:</b>	You have <b>not</b> been granted ethical approval. The application needs to be amended in light of the Committee's comments and re-submitted for Ethical review.

<b><i>Unfavourable:</i></b>	You have <b>not</b> been granted ethical approval. The application has been <b>rejected</b> by the Committee. The application needs to be amended in light of the Committee's comments and resubmitted / or you need to complete a new application.
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Please view your application here and respond to comments as required. You can download your outcome letter by clicking on the 'PDF' button on your eEthics Dashboard. If you have any queries please contact the CLES Psychology Ethics Chair: **Lisa Leaver** L.A.Leaver@exeter.ac.uk Kind regards, CLES Psychology Ethics Committee

## **Appendix B: Pilot Study 1 Materials (Chapter 2)**

### **Advertising**

Email: "Dear X, I am currently running a very brief study for my PhD research.

Would you mind filling in the attached form and sending it back to me once completed? Thank you very much for your help!

All the best, Antonia"

### **Information sheet/survey/debriefing.**

Dear participant.

As part of my PhD research on gender equality, I am investigating how men can provide support for gender equality. I would like to ask you to please list (a) 5 activities that men can engage in to provide support for gender equality, and (b) 5 activities that men might engage in that inhibit gender equality. I would like to encourage you to be creative in your suggestions and consider a variety of contexts in which men could provide support for gender equality.

*Activities that men can engage in to provide support for gender equality*

- 1)
- 2)
- 3)
- 4)
- 5)

*Activities that men might engage in that inhibit gender equality*

- 1)
- 2)
- 3)
- 4)

Appendices

Thank you very much for participating. If you have any questions about this research, please send an e-mail to [as863@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:as863@exeter.ac.uk).

Best wishes, Antonia Sudkämper

## **Appendix C: Study 1 and Study 2 Materials (Chapter 2)**

### **Advertising Study 1.**

Gender in Society – Short Survey

In this study you will be asked to indicate your agreement with a number of statements concerning the role of gender in our society.

### **Information sheet Study 1.**

Dear Participant.

Thank you for your interest in this study.

This study is interested in men's attitudes towards gender equality.

You will be asked to indicate your agreement with a number of statements.

The study will take 5 minutes to complete, and you will receive your payment via Prolific Academic.

Your participation in this study is highly valued, but you are under no obligation to participate. You may terminate your participation at any time, however, if you do not complete the study you will not receive credit.

Your responses are anonymous and no information that identifies you personally will be collected with your data.

Participation in this study involves no foreseen risks.

If you wish to participate in this study, please continue to the next screen.

Thank you.

### **Advertising Study 2.**

Oral: "Hello, I am very sorry to bother you but I am currently collecting some data on gender in society. Would you mind sparing 10 minutes of your time and fill in this survey for me?"

### **Information sheet Study 2.**

Appendices

Dear Participant.

Thank you for your interest in this study.

This study is interested in men's attitudes towards gender equality conducted by Prof. Michelle Ryan ([m.ryan@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:m.ryan@exeter.ac.uk)) and Antonia Sudkaemper ([as863@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:as863@exeter.ac.uk)) at the University of Exeter. You will be asked to indicate your agreement with a number of statements.

The study will take 5 minutes to complete. Your participation in this study is highly valued, but you are under no obligation to participate. You may terminate your participation at any time.

Your responses are anonymous and no information that identifies you personally will be collected with your data.

Participation in this study involves no foreseen risks.

If you wish to participate in this study, please continue below.

Thank you.

**Potential SGEMS items.**

Please read the following statements carefully before indicating your agreement. **If the question does not apply to your current situation** (e.g. if you do not have a partner/if you are not employed/...), please imagine you were in that situation and answer accordingly.

- Supporting gender equality is important to me.
- Achieving gender equality would make me happy.
- I am indifferent about gender equality.
- Political activism for gender equality is important to me.
- If I get the chance, I engage in political activism for gender equality (e.g., petitions, protests, debates).
- I do not find political events for gender equality useful.

## Appendices

- I engage with media that report on topics related to gender equality.
- I initiate conversations about gender equality.
- I do not find conversations about gender equality useful.
- I speak up when I witness gender inequality.
- Offering support to people who are affected by gender inequality is important to me. It is not my business when women experience gender inequality.
- I actively support gender equality in my workplace.
- I actively support networking and peer mentoring systems for my female colleagues.
- I am in favour of men and women working in professions that are atypical for their gender.
- I initiate conversations about gender equality in my workplace.
- I actively encourage female colleagues to take on leadership roles.
- I actively encourage male colleagues to take paternity leave.
- I do not support gender quotas.
- My partner and I share most household chores.
- Carrying out household chores comes more naturally to my partner than it comes to me.
- Ideally, my partner's and my financial contribution to the household would be equal.
- I consult my partner before making important financial decisions.
- I would feel uncomfortable if I was not the main breadwinner of the household.
- I am willing to make compromises for my partner.
- I make all important decisions together with my partner.

## Appendices

- I would consider taking a part-time job after childbirth.
- I treat boys in the same way as I treat girls.
- I would find it strange if my partner did not want to take extended maternity leave.
- I would find it strange if my partner did not want to be the primary caregiver to our children.
- Would you like to make any comments on the experience of filling out this survey (observations, confusions, ideas, ...)?

### **Debriefing Study 1.**

You have reached the end of our study.

Please proceed to the next page to save your responses.

Thank you very much for participating.

If you have any questions or comments about this study, please contact Antonia Sudkaemper (as863@exeter.ac.uk).

### **Debriefing Study 2.**

You have reached the end of our study. Thank you very much for participating.

If you have any questions/comments about this study, please contact me (as863@exeter.ac.uk).

## **Appendix D: Study 3 Materials (Chapter 2)**

### **Advertising.**

#### Gender and Personality Questionnaires

In this study you will be asked to indicate your agreement with statements on gender and personality.

### **Information sheet.**

Dear Participant.

Thank you for your interest in this study.

This study interested in men's attitudes towards gender equality is conducted by Prof. Michelle Ryan (m.ryan@exeter.ac.uk) and Antonia Sudkaemper (as863@exeter.ac.uk) at the University of Exeter. You will be asked to indicate your agreement with a number of statements.

The study will take approximately 15 minutes to complete, and you will receive £ 1.25 in Prolific Academic Credit if you complete the study. Your participation in this study is highly valued, but you are under no obligation to participate. You may terminate your participation at any time.

Your responses are anonymous and no information that identifies you personally will be collected with your data.

Participation in this study involves no foreseen risks.

If you wish to participate in this study, please continue to the next screen.

Thank you.

### **Potential SGEMS items.**

Please read the following statements carefully before indicating your agreement. **If the question does not apply to your current situation** (e.g. if

you do not have a partner/if you are not employed/...), please imagine you were in that situation and answer accordingly.

- Supporting gender equality is important to me.
- Achieving gender equality would make me happy.
- I am indifferent about gender equality.
- Political activism for gender equality is important to me.
- If I get the chance, I engage in political activism for gender equality (e.g. petitions, protests, debates)
- I do not find political events for gender equality useful.
- I engage with media that report on topics related to gender equality.
- I initiate conversations about gender equality.
- I do not find conversations about gender equality useful.
- I speak up when I witness gender inequality.
- Offering support to people who are affected by gender inequality is important to me. It is not my business when women experience gender inequality.
- I actively support gender equality in my workplace.
- I actively support networking and peer mentoring systems for my female colleagues.
- I am in favour of men and women working in professions that are atypical for their gender.
- I initiate conversations about gender equality in my workplace.
- I actively encourage female colleagues to take on leadership roles.
- I actively encourage male colleagues to take paternity leave.
- I do not support gender quotas.
- My partner and I share most household chores.

## Appendices

- Carrying out household chores comes more naturally to my partner than it comes to me.
- Ideally, my partner's and my financial contribution to the household would be equal.
- I consult my partner before making important financial decisions.
- I would feel uncomfortable if I was not the main breadwinner of the household.
- I am willing to make compromises for my partner.
- I make all important decisions together with my partner.
- I would consider taking a part-time job after childbirth.
- I treat boys in the same way as I treat girls.
- I would find it strange if my partner did not want to take extended maternity leave.
- I would find it strange if my partner did not want to be the primary caregiver to our children.

### **Ambivalent sexism.**

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

- No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.
- Many women are actually seeking special favours, such as hiring policies that favour them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality".
- In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.
- Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.
- Women are too easily offended.

## Appendices

- People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.
- Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.
- Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.
- Women should be cherished and protected by men.
- Most women fail to appreciate fully what men do for them.
- Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
- Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.
- Men are complete without women.
- Women exaggerate problems they have at work.
- Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.
- When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.
- A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.
- There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.
- Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.
- Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.
- Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.
- Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

### **Modern sexism scale.**

Please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

## Appendices

- Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States.
- Women often miss out on good jobs due to discrimination.
- It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on television.
- On average, people in our society treat husbands and wives equally.
- Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.
- It is easy to understand the anger of women's groups in America.
- It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities.
- Over the past few years, the government and news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual experiences.

### **Feminist activism.**

Have you ever ...

- ...signed a petition on behalf of women's rights
- ...contributed money on behalf of women's rights
- ...attended a meeting on behalf of women's rights
- ...wrote a letter, called, or called on a public official behalf of women's rights
- ...been an active member of an organisation behalf of women's rights
- ...attended a rally or demonstration behalf of women's rights

### **Social desirability.**

Please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

- I have not always been honest with myself.
- I always know why I like things.

## Appendices

- It's hard for me to shut off a disturbing thought.
- I never regret my decisions.
- I sometimes lose out on things because I can't make up my mind soon enough.
- I am a completely rational person.
- I am very confident of my judgments.
- I have sometimes doubted my ability as a lover.
- I sometimes tell lies if I have to.
- I never cover up my mistakes.
- There have been occasions when I have taken advantage of someone.
- I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
- I have said something bad about a friend behind his or her back.
- When I hear people talking privately, I avoid listening.
- I never take things that don't belong to me.
- I don't gossip about other people's business.

### **Positive and negative affect schedule (short form).**

Please describe your current feelings by indicating the extent to which each of the following statements apply to how you feel right now.

- Interested
- Distressed
- Excited
- Upset
- Strong
- Guilty
- Determined

## Appendices

- Scared
- Hostile
- Enthusiastic
- Proud
- Irritable
- Alert
- Ashamed
- Inspired
- Nervous
- Determined
- Attentive
- Jittery
- Active
- Afraid

### **Petition.**

You have reached the last part of the study. You now have the chance to sign a petition to support gender equality in the parliament.

It is up to you whether you would like to sign the petition.

If you would like to do so, please follow the link on the next page.

Once you have signed the petition, please copy-paste the thank you note you receive here, so that we know that you signed the petition.

---

Again, please only sign the petition if you feel comfortable doing so and if it is a cause you would like to support. Otherwise, please continue to the next screen to reach the end of the survey.

Petition Link:

Appendices

<https://www.change.org/p/50-50-parliament-want-women-to-have-equal-seats-and-equal-say-at-westminster-sign-this-petition-to-ask-those-in-power-to-take-action-to-ensure-that-parliament-is-truly-representative-and-inclusive-of-women-let-s-build-a-better-democracy-together>

**Debriefing.**

You have now reached the end of this questionnaire. Thank you for taking part in this study. Your participation is fundamental to us.

If you have any comments on the experience of filling in this questionnaire , please use the box below.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding your participation in this study, please contact Antonia Sudkaemper at [as863@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:as863@exeter.ac.uk).

Again, thank you for your participation.

## **Appendix E: Study 3 Excluded Exploratory Variables (Chapter 2)**

We originally included these variables for exploratory purposes without specific hypotheses in mind, but decided at a later point not to include them in the analyses as they are not relevant to the validation of the scale.

**Big 5.** The Big 5 personality traits comprise agreeableness, openness, neuroticism, extroversion, and conscientiousness. Agreeableness captures compassion for others. Openness captures willingness to learn about new ideas. Neuroticism captures the propensity for negative affect. Extroversion captures friendliness, as well as propensity for positive affect. Conscientiousness captures the desire for orderliness. These traits were measured by Rammstedt and John's (2007) 10-item short version of the Big Five Inventory form (John, Donahue, & Kentle, 1991). Correlations for each of the five subscales ranked from .11 for agreeableness (e.g. "I see myself as someone who is generally trusting") and 0.52 for neuroticism (e.g. "I see myself as someone who gets nervous easily"). Participants indicated their agreement with the items on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree, 7 = Strongly agree). We examined the extent to which SGEMS public and private were differentially related to the five personality traits.

**Affectivity.** Affectivity was measured by Thompson's (2007) 10-item short form of the positive and negative affect schedule (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Participants indicated to what extent they generally experience positive feelings, such as active ( $\alpha = .83$ ), and negative feelings, such as upset ( $\alpha = .86$ ), on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = Never, 7 = Always).

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*Table.* Correlations of SGEMS and exploratory variables in Study 3.

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. SGEMS	4.85	.87	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Public	4.19	1.17	.91***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Domestic	5.69	5.87	.70***	.35***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. OE	5.08	1.27	.23**	.24**	.09	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Co	4.80	1.22	.05	.00	.12	.14	-	-	-	-	-
6. Ex	3.49	1.39	.04	.06	-.03	.24**	.20*	-	-	-	-
7. Agr	4.70	1.09	.25**	.24**	.15	.06	.12	.02	-	-	-
8. Neu	3.64	1.47	-.14	-.09	-.17*	-.18*	-.54***	-.29***	-.18*	-	-
9. PA	3.54	.64	.12	.07	.16	.11	.52***	.19*	.17*	-.42***	-
10. NA	2.36	.74	-.09	-.01	-.18*	-.03	-.46***	-.21**	-.34***	.7***	-.32***

*Note.* OE = Openness to Experience; Co = Conscientiousness; Ex = Extraversion; Agr = Agreeableness, Neu = Neuroticism, PA = Positive Affect, NA = Negative Affect.

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

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## **Appendix F: Study 4 Materials (Chapter 2)**

### **Advertising.**

Attitudinal survey

In this survey, you will be asked to indicate your attitude on a number of different topics.

### **Information sheet.**

Dear Participant,

Thank you very much for your interest in our survey. The study will take no longer than 10 minutes and you will be rewarded £0.84 in Prolific Academic credit. You will be asked to state your agreement with statements on a variety of topics.

The study has received ethical clearance from the University of Exeter, and we do not foresee any risks to the participants. Nevertheless, you are of course free to quit at any time without losing your right for compensation. Your responses will remain anonymous, and will be treated confidentially. We will record your Prolific ID but will use it only to be able to pay you.

The data will be used for academic studies, and might be made available to other researchers within the University of Exeter. You have the right to withdraw your data for a month after participation, which is when we will remove your Prolific ID from the data set to ensure anonymity for data storage. We will store the anonymous data for a minimum period of three years on a password-protected computer of the University of Exeter. If you would like more information about the processing of your data, please visit [www.exeter.ac.uk/dataprotection](http://www.exeter.ac.uk/dataprotection) or contact the University's Data Protection officer ([dataprotection@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:dataprotection@exeter.ac.uk)).

Please do not hesitate to contact us by email (as863@exeter.ac.uk) if you require any additional information. If you have any ethical concerns, please contact the Chair of the Committee for Ethics in Psychology at the University of Exeter, Dr. Nick Moberly (n.j.Moberly@exeter.ac.uk) or Research Ethics and Governance Manager, Gail Seymour (g.m.seymour@exeter.ac.uk).

**SGEMS.**

Please read the following statements carefully before indicating your agreement. If the question does not apply to your current situation (e.g. if you do not have a partner/if you are not employed/...), please imagine you were in that situation and answer accordingly.

- Political activism for gender equality is important to me.
- If I get the chance, I engage in political activism for gender equality (e.g. petitions, protests, debates). I engage with media that report on topics related to gender equality.
- I engage with media that report on topics related to gender equality.
- I initiate conversations about gender equality.
- I speak up when I witness gender inequality.
- Offering support to people who are affected by gender inequality is important to me.
- I actively support gender equality in my workplace.
- I actively support networking and peer mentoring systems for my female colleagues.
- I actively encourage female colleagues to take on leadership roles.
- My partner and I share most household chores.
- I feel as responsible for household chores as does my partner.

## Appendices

- Ideally, my partner's and my financial contribution to the household would be equal.
- I am willing to make compromises for my partner.
- If I were to have a child I would consider taking a part-time job to take care of my child.
- If I were to have a child, I would treat a daughter in the same way as a son.

### **Precarious manhood.**

Please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

- It is fairly easy for a man to lose his status as a man.
- Manhood is something that can be taken away.
- Manhood is not assured - it can be lost.
- Manhood is not a permanent state, because a man might do something that suggests that he is really just a 'boy'.
- Other people often question whether a man is a 'real man'.
- Some boys do not become men, no matter how old they get.
- A male's status as a 'real man' sometimes depends on how other people view him.

### **Objectification of women.**

We are interested in how people think about women's bodies. The questions below identify 10 different body attributes. We would like you to *rank order* these body attributes from that which has the *greatest impact* on how you regard women (rank this a "9"), to that which has the *least impact* on how you regard women (rank this a "0").

## Appendices

Please first consider all attributes simultaneously, and record your rank ordering by writing the ranks in the right most column.

9 = greatest impact

8 = next greatest impact

1 = next to least impact

0 = least impact

**IMPORTANT: Do Not Assign The Same Rank To More Than One Attribute!**

When considering women's bodies, what rank do you assign to...

- . . . *physical coordination?*
- . . . *health?*
- . . . *weight?*
- . . *strength?*
- . . . *sex appeal?*
- . . . *physical attractiveness?*
- . . . *energy level (e.g., stamina)?*
- . . . *firm/sculpted muscles?*
- . . . . *physical fitness level?*
- . . . *measurements (e.g., chest, waist, hips)?*

### **Gender-specific system justification.**

Please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

- In general, relations between men and women are fair
- The division of labour in families generally operates as it should
- Gender roles need to be radically restructured\*

## Appendices

- For women, the United States is the best country in the world to live in
- Most policies relating to gender and the sexual division of labour serve the greater good
- Everyone (male or female) has a fair shot at wealth and happiness
- Sexism in society is getting worse every year\*
- Society is set up so that men and women usually get what they deserve

### ***Social dominance orientation.***

Please indicate your level of positive or negative feeling towards the objects or statements below.

- Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
- In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
- It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
- To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
- If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
- It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
- Inferior groups should stay in their place.
- Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
- It would be good if groups could be equal.\*
- Group equality should be our ideal.\*
- All groups should be given an equal chance in life.\*
- We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.\*
- Increased social equality.\*
- We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.\*

## Appendices

- We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.\*
- No one group should dominate in society.\*

### **Religiosity.**

1) Please check your religious preference.

- None
- Christianity
- Islam
- Judaism
- Buddhism
- Other (please specify if you wish)

2) Tick the number which indicates how important your religion is to you.

1 = Not at all/have no religion

9 = Extremely important/my religious faith is the centre of my entire life

### **Political ideology.**

Please indicate how you identify politically.

1 = Liberal

10 = Conservative

### **Debriefing.**

You have reached the end of the survey. Thank you very much for your participation. The purpose of this research project is to investigate men's support for gender equality.

You will receive your Prolific Academic credit within the next 3 days.

If you have any questions regarding this study please contact Antonia Sudkaemper at [as863@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:as863@exeter.ac.uk) (researcher).

## **Appendix G: Study 5 Materials (Chapter 3)**

### **Advertising.**

Attitudinal survey for male participants

In this study you will be asked to indicate your agreement with statements on a variety of randomly selected topics.

### **Information sheet.**

Dear Participant,

Thank you very much for your interest in our study on men's attitudes. The study will take no longer than 5 minutes and you will be rewarded £0.42 in Prolific Academic credit. You will be asked to state your agreement with statements on a variety of randomly allocated topics. This study does not bear any risks to the participant, but you are of course free to quit at any time. Your responses will be treated confidentially. The data will be used for academic studies, and might be made available to other researchers.

Please click the "next" button if you agree to participate in this study.

### **Precarious manhood beliefs (and distraction items).**

First, we would like you to indicate your agreement with a few statements. These statements are part of questionnaires that are selected randomly from a pool of common psychological questionnaires, and will assess your attitude towards a variety of topics. The aim of this study is to investigate the relationship between men's attitudes on different topics for different demographic groups.

Please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

- A person with a terminal illness has the right to decide to die.
- It is fairly easy for a man to lose his status as a man.
- Vegetarians preach too much about their beliefs and eating habits.

## Appendices

- Inducing death for merciful reason is wrong.
- The taking of human life is wrong no matter what the circumstances.
- Manhood is something that can be taken away.
- Manhood is not assured - it can be lost.
- You can eat a balanced diet without meat.
- Vegetarians are overly concerned about gaining weight.
- One's job is to sustain and preserve life, not to end it.
- Manhood is not a permanent state, because a man might do something that suggests that he is really just a 'boy'.
- A person should not be kept alive by machine.
- Vegetarians are unconcerned about animal rights.
- Vegetarian eating habits are harmful to the traditions of this country.
- Other people often question whether a man is a 'real man'.
- Natural death is a cure for suffering.
- Individuals who don't eat meat are "wimpier" than individuals who do eat meat.
- Some boys do not become men, no matter how old they get.
- One of the key professional ethics of physicians is to prolong lives, not to end lives.
- A male's status as a 'real man' sometimes depends on how other people view him.
- Vegetarians should not try to hide their eating habits.

### **Manipulation.**

#### ***Experimental: Audience of male peers.***

In this second part of the study, you will fill in one more randomly selected questionnaire.

The results will be **shared with other male participants**, who will **evaluate you on a range of criteria** based on your answers to the following questionnaire. They will not receive your result on the previous questionnaires. We are assessing how a person's attitude as revealed by commonly used psychological questionnaires influences how other people perceive them on unrelated characteristics. Thus, we will share your results with four other men, they will evaluate you, and then you will receive these evaluations.

The evaluation will include their first impression of you. They will be instructed to comment on your positive and negative qualities, and how much they would like you if they met you.

In return, we will ask you to similarly evaluate another participant based on their results of other questionnaires during the third part of this study.

***Control: Anonymous report.***

In this second part of the study, you will fill in one more randomly selected questionnaire.

**Domestic support for gender equality.**

Please read the following statements carefully before indicating your agreement. **If the question does not apply to your current situation** (e.g. if you do not have a partner/if you are not employed/...), please imagine you were in that situation and answer accordingly.

- My partner and I share most household chores.
- I feel as responsible for household chores as does my partner.
- Ideally, my partner's and my financial contribution to the household would be equal.
- I am willing to make compromises for my partner.

## Appendices

- I make all important decisions together with my partner.
- If I were to have a child I would consider taking a part-time job to take care of my child.
- If I were to have a child, I would treat a daughter in the same way as a son.

### **Honesty.**

Please indicate how much you agree with the statements below in regard to the last questionnaire that you just filled in.

- My responses were authentic.
- My responses were genuine.
- My responses were unaffected by circumstances.

### **Affect.**

Indicate to what extent you feel this way right now.

- I am worried about whether I am regarded as a success or failure.
- I feel self-conscious.
- I feel displeased with myself.
- I am worried about what other people think of me.
- I feel inferior to others at this moment.
- I feel concerned about the impression I am making.
- I am worried about looking foolish.

### **Attitude Strength.**

#### ***Experimental: Audience of male peers.***

Considering that the result from the previous questionnaire will be shared with four other male participants, how do you feel about your attitudes towards domestic support for gender equality, as measured by the previous

questionnaire? The following responses will not be shared with the other participants.

- I feel strongly about the topic of domestic support for gender equality.
- My attitudes on the topic of domestic support for gender equality are intense.
- My attitudes on the topic of domestic support for gender equality are important to me.
- The topic of domestic support for gender equality means a lot to me.
- I am certain regarding my attitudes on domestic support for gender equality.
- My attitudes on the topic of domestic support for gender equality cannot be changed easily.
- I frequently talk about the topic of domestic support for gender equality.
- I frequently think about the topic of domestic support for gender equality.
- I have personal experiences relating to the topic of domestic support for gender equality.
- I can relate to experiences regarding domestic support for gender equality.

***Control: Anonymous report.***

Considering that the result from the previous questionnaire are your private views, how do you feel about your attitudes towards domestic support for gender equality, as measured by the previous questionnaire?

- I feel strongly about the topic of domestic support for gender equality.
- My attitudes on the topic of domestic support for gender equality are intense.

## Appendices

- My attitudes on the topic of domestic support for gender equality are important to me.
- The topic of domestic support for gender equality means a lot to me.
- I am certain regarding my attitudes on domestic support for gender equality.
- My attitudes on the topic of domestic support for gender equality cannot be changed easily.
- I frequently talk about the topic of domestic support for gender equality.
- I frequently think about the topic of domestic support for gender equality.
- I have personal experiences relating to the topic of domestic support for gender equality.
- I can relate to experiences regarding domestic support for gender equality.

### **Debriefing.**

You have reached the end of the study.

Half of the participants were told that there would be another part to this study.

There is no third part to this study: You will not have to evaluate another participant based on his questionnaire results, and other participants will not evaluate you based on your answers. Moreover, the questionnaires you filled in were not allocated randomly, but were the same questionnaires (i.e. on attitudes towards vegetarianism, euthanasia, manhood, and domestic support for gender equality) for all participants.

We included this deception as we are investigating how men's domestic support for gender equality changes when they expect to be evaluated by others.

Specifically, we hypothesise that men who expect to be evaluated by other men will indicate lower domestic support for gender equality than those who do not

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expect to be evaluated by other men. We hypothesise this based on prevalent masculinity beliefs who prescribe men to avoid all feminine, especially in front of other men.

Thank you very much for your participation. You will receive your Prolific Academic credit within the next 3 days.

If you have any questions regarding this study please contact Antonia Sudkaemper at [as863@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:as863@exeter.ac.uk) (researcher) or Lisa Leaver at [l.a.leaver@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:l.a.leaver@exeter.ac.uk) (ethics committee).

## **Appendix H: Study 6 Materials (Chapter 3)**

### **Advertising.**

#### Study on Men's and Women's Attitudes

In this study you will be asked to indicate your agreement with statements on a variety of randomly selected topics.

### **Information sheet.**

Dear Participant,

Thank you very much for your interest in our study on men's attitudes. The study will take no longer than 5 minutes and you will be rewarded £0.42 in Prolific Academic credit. You will be asked to state your agreement with statements on a variety of randomly allocated topics. This study does not bear any risks to the participant, but you are of course free to quit at any time. Your responses will be treated confidentially. The data will be used for academic studies, and might be made available to other researchers.

Please click the "next" button if you agree to participate in this study.

### **Precarious manhood beliefs (and distraction items).**

First, we would like you to indicate your agreement with a few statements.

These statements are part of questionnaires that are selected randomly from a pool of common psychological questionnaires, and will assess your attitude towards a variety of topics. The aim of this study is to investigate the relationship between men's attitudes on different topics for different demographic groups.

Please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

- A person with a terminal illness has the right to decide to die.
- It is fairly easy for a man to lose his status as a man.
- Vegetarians preach too much about their beliefs and eating habits.

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- Inducing death for merciful reason is wrong.
- The taking of human life is wrong no matter what the circumstances.
- Manhood is something that can be taken away.
- Manhood is not assured - it can be lost.
- You can eat a balanced diet without meat.
- Vegetarians are overly concerned about gaining weight.
- One's job is to sustain and preserve life, not to end it.
- Manhood is not a permanent state, because a man might do something that suggests that he is really just a 'boy'.
- A person should not be kept alive by machine.
- Vegetarians are unconcerned about animal rights.
- Vegetarian eating habits are harmful to the traditions of this country.
- Other people often question whether a man is a 'real man'.
- Natural death is a cure for suffering.
- Individuals who don't eat meat are "wimpier" than individuals who do eat meat.
- Some boys do not become men, no matter how old they get.
- One of the key professional ethics of physicians is to prolong lives, not to end lives.
- A male's status as a 'real man' sometimes depends on how other people view him.
- Vegetarians should not try to hide their eating habits.

### **Manipulation.**

#### ***Experimental: Audience of male peers.***

In this second part of the study, you will fill in one more randomly selected questionnaire.

The results will be **shared with other male participants**, who will **evaluate you on a range of criteria** based on your answers to the following questionnaire. They will not receive your result on the previous questionnaires. We are assessing how a person's attitude as revealed by commonly used psychological questionnaires influences how other people perceive them on unrelated characteristics. Thus, we will share your results with four other men, they will evaluate you, and then you will receive these evaluations.

The evaluation will include their first impression of you. They will be instructed to comment on your positive and negative qualities, and how much they would like you if they met you.

In return, we will ask you to similarly evaluate another participant based on their results of other questionnaires during the third part of this study.

***Experimental: Audience of women.***

In this second part of the study, you will fill in one more randomly selected questionnaire.

The results will be shared with female participants, who will evaluate you on a range of criteria based on your answers to the following questionnaire. They will not receive your result on the previous questionnaires. We are assessing how a person's attitude, as revealed by a commonly used psychological questionnaire, influences other people's perceptions of them. Thus, we will share your results with four women, they will evaluate you, and then you will receive these evaluations.

The evaluation will include their first impression of you. They will be instructed to comment on your positive and negative qualities, and how much they would like you if they met you.

In return, we will ask you to similarly evaluate another participant based on their results of other questionnaires during the third part of this study.

***Control: Anonymous report.***

In this second part of the study, you will fill in one more randomly selected questionnaire.

**Domestic support for gender equality.**

Please read the following statements carefully before indicating your agreement. **If the question does not apply to your current situation** (e.g. if you do not have a partner/if you are not employed/...), please imagine you were in that situation and answer accordingly.

- My partner and I share most household chores.
- I feel as responsible for household chores as does my partner.
- Ideally, my partner's and my financial contribution to the household would be equal
- I am willing to make compromises for my partner.
- I make all important decisions together with my partner.
- If I were to have a child I would consider taking a part-time job to take care of my child.
- If I were to have a child, I would treat a daughter in the same way as a son.

**Anxiety.**

Before we continue with the next part of the study, please complete the following by filling letters in the blanks to create words. Write down the first word that comes to your mind. Fill in one letter per blank. Some words may be plural.

- M \_ \_ N
- \_ O O K

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- WAT\_\_
- STRE\_\_
- B\_\_K
- P\_\_TURE
- BAR\_
- \_\_DE
- THREA\_
- TR\_\_
- CL\_\_K
- SHA\_E
- CHA\_\_
- LO\_ER
- FO\_\_
- K\_\_NGS
- D\_G
- \_OTHER
- CH\_\_
- \_EAK
- \_\_\_\_BALL
- \_\_SET
- CO\_\_S
- HO\_\_E

### **Debriefing.**

You have reached the end of the study.

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Some of the participants were told that there would be another part to this study. There is no third part to this study: You will not have to evaluate another participant based on his questionnaire results, and other participants will not evaluate you based on your answers. Moreover, the questionnaires you filled in were not allocated randomly, but were the same questionnaires (i.e. on attitudes towards vegetarianism, euthanasia, manhood, and domestic support for gender equality) for all participants.

We included this deception as we are investigating how men's domestic support for gender equality changes when they expect to be evaluated by others.

Specifically, we hypothesise that men who expect to be evaluated by others will indicate lower domestic support for gender equality than those who do not expect to be evaluated. We hypothesise this based on prevalent masculinity beliefs who prescribe men to avoid all feminine, especially in front of other men.

Thank you very much for your participation. You will receive your Prolific Academic credit within the next 3 days.

If you have any questions regarding this study please contact Antonia Sudkaemper at [as863@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:as863@exeter.ac.uk) (researcher) or Lisa Leaver at [l.a.leaver@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:l.a.leaver@exeter.ac.uk) (ethics committee).

## **Appendix I: Study 7 Materials (Chapter 3)**

### **Advertising.**

Attitudinal survey for male participants

In this study you will be asked to indicate your agreement with statements on a variety of randomly selected topics.

### **Information sheet.**

Dear Participant,

Thank you very much for your interest in our study on men's attitudes. The study will take no longer than 5 minutes and you will be rewarded £0.42 in Prolific Academic credit. You will be asked to state your agreement with statements on a variety of randomly allocated topics. This study does not bear any risks to the participant, but you are of course free to quit at any time. Your responses will be treated confidentially. The data will be used for academic studies, and might be made available to other researchers.

Please click the "next" button if you agree to participate in this study.

### **Precarious Manhood Beliefs (and distraction items).**

First, we would like you to indicate your agreement with a few statements.

These statements are part of questionnaires that are selected randomly from a pool of common psychological questionnaires, and will assess your attitude towards a variety of topics. The aim of this study is to investigate the relationship between men's attitudes on different topics for different demographic groups.

Please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

- A person with a terminal illness has the right to decide to die.
- It is fairly easy for a man to lose his status as a man.
- Vegetarians preach too much about their beliefs and eating habits.

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- Inducing death for merciful reason is wrong.
- The taking of human life is wrong no matter what the circumstances.
- Manhood is something that can be taken away.
- Manhood is not assured - it can be lost.
- You can eat a balanced diet without meat.
- Vegetarians are overly concerned about gaining weight.
- One's job is to sustain and preserve life, not to end it.
- Manhood is not a permanent state, because a man might do something that suggests that he is really just a 'boy'.
- A person should not be kept alive by machine.
- Vegetarians are unconcerned about animal rights.
- Vegetarian eating habits are harmful to the traditions of this country.
- Other people often question whether a man is a 'real man'.
- Natural death is a cure for suffering.
- Individuals who don't eat meat are "wimpier" than individuals who do eat meat.
- Some boys do not become men, no matter how old they get.
- One of the key professional ethics of physicians is to prolong lives, not to end lives.
- A male's status as a 'real man' sometimes depends on how other people view him.
- Vegetarians should not try to hide their eating habits.

### **Manipulation.**

#### ***Experimental: Audience of male peers.***

In this second part of the study, you will fill in one more randomly selected questionnaire.

The results will be **shared with other male participants**, who will **evaluate you on a range of criteria** based on your answers to the following questionnaire. They will not receive your result on the previous questionnaires. We are assessing how a person's attitude as revealed by commonly used psychological questionnaires influences how other people perceive them on unrelated characteristics. Thus, we will share your results with four other men, they will evaluate you, and then you will receive these evaluations.

The evaluation will include their first impression of you. They will be instructed to comment on your positive and negative qualities, and how much they would like you if they met you.

In return, we will ask you to similarly evaluate another participant based on their results of other questionnaires during the third part of this study.

***Experimental: Audience of women.***

In this second part of the study, you will fill in one more randomly selected questionnaire.

The results will be shared with female participants, who will evaluate you on a range of criteria based on your answers to the following questionnaire. They will not receive your result on the previous questionnaires. We are assessing how a person's attitude, as revealed by a commonly used psychological questionnaire, influences other people's perceptions of them. Thus, we will share your results with four women, they will evaluate you, and then you will receive these evaluations.

The evaluation will include their first impression of you. They will be instructed to comment on your positive and negative qualities, and how much they would like you if they met you.

In return, we will ask you to similarly evaluate another participant based on their results of other questionnaires during the third part of this study.

***Control: Anonymous report.***

In this second part of the study, you will fill in one more randomly selected questionnaire.

**Domestic support for gender equality.**

Please read the following statements carefully before indicating your agreement. **If the question does not apply to your current situation** (e.g. if you do not have a partner/if you are not employed/...), please imagine you were in that situation and answer accordingly.

- My partner and I share most household chores.
- I feel as responsible for household chores as does my partner.
- Ideally, my partner's and my financial contribution to the household would be equal.
- I am willing to make compromises for my partner.
- I make all important decisions together with my partner.
- If I were to have a child I would consider taking a part-time job to take care of my child.
- If I were to have a child, I would treat a daughter in the same way as a son.

**Manipulation check.**

Before we continue, please answer the following questions.

1) What will happen with your results from the questionnaire in the second part of the study that you just completed?

- They are shared with men who will evaluate me
- They are shared with women who will evaluate me

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- There was no information about sharing the survey with others
- I don't know

*[only for participants in either of the two experimental conditions]*

2) Please indicate your agreement with the following statements: Whilst filling out this questionnaire in the second part of the study...

- ... I was aware that other participants would evaluate me.
- ... I questioned whether other participants would evaluate me.
- ... I did not believe that other participants would evaluate me.

### **Debriefing.**

You have reached the end of the study.

Half of the participants were told that there would be another part to this study.

There is no third part to this study: You will not have to evaluate another participant based on his questionnaire results, and other participants will not evaluate you based on your answers. Moreover, the questionnaires you filled in were not allocated randomly, but were the same questionnaires (i.e. on attitudes towards vegetarianism, euthanasia, manhood, and domestic support for gender equality) for all participants.

We included this deception as we are investigating how men's domestic support for gender equality changes when they expect to be evaluated by others.

Specifically, we hypothesise that men who expect to be evaluated by other men will indicate lower domestic support for gender equality than those who do not expect to be evaluated by other men. We hypothesise this based on prevalent masculinity beliefs who prescribe men to avoid all feminine, especially in front of other men.

Thank you very much for your participation. You will receive your Prolific Academic credit within the next 3 days.

If you have any questions regarding this study please contact Antonia Sudkaemper at [as863@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:as863@exeter.ac.uk) (researcher) or Lisa Leaver at [l.a.leaver@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:l.a.leaver@exeter.ac.uk) (ethics committee).

## **Appendix J: Pilot Study 2 Materials (Chapter 3)**

### **Advertising.**

Short survey on peer relationships

In this survey, you will be asked to answer six open questions on the topic of peer relationships.

### **Information sheet.**

Dear Participant,

Thank you very much for your interest in our survey. The study will take no longer than 5 minutes and you will be rewarded £0.42 in Prolific Academic credit. You will be asked open questions related to peer relationships.

The study has received ethical clearance from the University of Exeter, and we do not foresee any risks to the participants. Nevertheless, you are of course free to quit at any time without losing your right for compensation. Your responses will remain anonymous, and will be treated confidentially. We will record your Prolific ID but will only use it to match your responses with responses from a study that you had previously participated in, and to pay you. The data will be used for academic studies, and might be made available to other researchers within the University of Exeter. We will store the anonymous data for a minimum period of three years, and you have the right to withdraw your data at any point. If you would like more information about the processing of your data, please visit [www.exeter.ac.uk/dataprotection](http://www.exeter.ac.uk/dataprotection) or contact the University's Data Protection officer ([dataprotection@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:dataprotection@exeter.ac.uk)).

Please do not hesitate to contact us by email ([as863@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:as863@exeter.ac.uk)) if you require any additional information. If you have any ethical concerns, please contact the Chair of the Committee for Ethics in Psychology at the University of

Exeter, Dr. Nick Moberly (n.j.moberly@exeter.ac.uk) or Research Ethics and Governance Manager, Gail Seymour (g.m.seymour@exeter.ac.uk).

Please click the “next” button if you agree to participate in this study.

### **Scenarios.**

On the following pages we will ask you several open questions. Please answer each question thoroughly. If the question does not apply to your current situation (e.g. if you do not have a partner/if you do not have children/...), please imagine you were in that situation and answer accordingly.

Imagine that whilst talking to a group of your male peers, they asked you about...

1) ...*the division of chores in your household.*

How honest would you be in your response? Are there any reasons you might be motivated either to exaggerate or to downplay your contribution to household chores relative to your partner's?

2) What do you think your peers' reaction would be?

3) ...*your relationship.* Specifically, they would like to know whether you and your partner contribute similar amounts of money to the household, make decisions together, and compromise for each other. How honest would you be in your response? Are there any reasons you might be motivated either to exaggerate or to downplay these aspects of your relationship?

4) What do you think your peers' reaction would be?

5) ...*child-care.* Specifically, they would like to know whether you would consider going part-time to contribute to parenting. How honest would you be in your response? Are there any reasons you might be motivated either to exaggerate or to downplay your contribution to child-care?

6) What do you think your peers' reaction would be?

- 7) ...*raising your children*. Specifically, they would like to know whether you treat your daughter in the same way as your son. How honest would you be in your response? Are there any reasons you might be motivated either to exaggerate or to downplay how similar you treat your daughter and your son?
- 8) What do you think your peers' reaction would be?

**Debriefing.**

You have reached the end of the survey.

Thank you very much for your participation. You will receive your Prolific Academic credit within the next 3 days.

If you have any questions regarding this survey please contact Antonia Sudkaemper at [as863@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:as863@exeter.ac.uk) (researcher) or Dr. Nick Moberly at [n.j.moberly@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:n.j.moberly@exeter.ac.uk) (ethics committee).

## **Appendix K: Study 8 Material (Chapter 3)**

### **Advertising.**

Short survey on peer relationships

In this study, you will be asked to imagine one person's feelings and thoughts whilst talking to a group of people.

### **Information sheet.**

Dear Participant,

Thank you very much for your interest in our survey. The study will take no longer than 5 minutes and you will be rewarded £0.42 in Prolific Academic credit. You will be asked to indicate your agreement with a number of statements on peer relationships.

The study has received ethical clearance from the University of Exeter, and we do not foresee any risks to the participants. Nevertheless, you are of course free to quit at any time without losing your right for compensation. Your responses will remain anonymous, and will be treated confidentially. We will record your Prolific ID and will use it to be able to pay you, and to link your responses to your responses from one of our previous study you have participated in within the last 18 months on Prolific Academic. After paying you and linking the responses, we will remove your Prolific ID from the dataset.

The data will be used for academic studies, and might be made available to other researchers within the University of Exeter. You have the right to withdraw your data for a month after participation, which is when we will remove your Prolific ID from the data set to ensure anonymity for data storage. We will store the anonymous data for a minimum period of three years on a password-protected computer of the University of Exeter. If you would like more information about the processing of your data, please visit

Appendices

[www.exeter.ac.uk/dataprotection](http://www.exeter.ac.uk/dataprotection) or contact the University's Data Protection officer ([dataprotection@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:dataprotection@exeter.ac.uk)).

Please do not hesitate to contact us by email ([as863@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:as863@exeter.ac.uk)) if you require any additional information. If you have any ethical concerns, please contact the Chair of the Committee for Ethics in Psychology at the University of Exeter, Dr. Nick Moberly ([n.j.Moberly@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:n.j.Moberly@exeter.ac.uk)) or Research Ethics and Governance Manager, Gail Seymour ([g.m.seymour@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:g.m.seymour@exeter.ac.uk)).

Due to recent regulatory changes in the way that data are processed (General Data Protection Regulations 2018 and the Data Protection Act 2018), the University of Exeter's lawful basis to process personal data for the purposes of carrying out research is termed as a 'task in the public interest'. The University will endeavour to be transparent about its processing of your personal data and this information sheet should provide a clear explanation of this. If you do not have any queries about the University's processing of your personal data that cannot be resolved by the research team, further information may be obtained from the University's Data Protection Officer by emailing [dataprotection@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:dataprotection@exeter.ac.uk) or at [www.exeter.ac.uk/dataprotection](http://www.exeter.ac.uk/dataprotection). If you have any concerns about how the data are controlled and managed for this study then you can also contact the Sponsor Representative, Pam Baxter, Senior Research Governance Officer, whose details are at the end of the information sheet.

Please read the following statements, and indicate your consent by clicking on each statement.

- I confirm that I have read the information on the previous page. I have had the opportunity to consider the information.

- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without my legal rights being affected.
- I understand that relevant sections of the data collected during the study, may be looked at by members of the research team, individuals from the University of Exeter, where it is relevant to my taking part in this research. I give permission for these individuals to have access to the data.
- I understand that my Prolific ID will be recorded in order to link my responses to those from a study I had previously participated in, but will be deleted from the data set afterwards.
- I understand that taking part involves anonymised questionnaire responses to be used for the purposes a doctoral thesis and academic publication.
- I understand that my data will be stored on a password protected computer of the University of Exeter for a minimum of three years.

### **Scenarios.**

We will describe to you four scenarios which involve a man, Mark, talking to a group of other men. In each of these scenarios, Mark tells the other men something about his private life. For each of these scenarios, we would like you think about what Mark might be thinking about during these discussions, and what expectations or concerns he might have. For each question, please indicate how likely it is that Mark will feel that way.

- 1) If Mark told the other men that he and his female partner share most household chores, and that he feels as responsible for the chores as she does...
- 2) If Mark told the other men that he and his female partner are equals (i.e., they earn similar amounts of money, make important decisions together, and compromise for each other)...

- 3) If Mark told the other men that he would consider taking a part-time job to take care of his child...
- 4) If Mark told the other men that he treats his daughter the same way as he treats his son...

*[Present the following in a mixed order for each one of the sentences above]*

***Manhood concerns due to feminine activities.***

- ... Mark would be concerned that the other men might think that he is not a 'real man'
- ... Mark would be worried that the other men might respect him less because he is not very 'manly'
- ... Mark would feel uneasy because the other men might think this is not what a man should do

***Concerns due to going against gender hierarchy.***

- ... Mark would be concerned that the other men might judge him for being untraditional
- ... Mark would be worried that the other men might think he handles this differently than most people
- ... Mark would feel uneasy because the other men might prefer more traditional ways

***Status and employability concerns.***

- ... Mark would be concerned that the other men might think that they are superior to him
- ... Mark would be worried that the other men might think that he does not care about his career
- ... Mark would feel uneasy because the other men might think that he is inferior

***Positive feminist connotation, being a modern man***

- ... Mark would be happy for the other men to know that he lives his life according to modern standards
- ... Mark would expect the other men to appreciate that he is a 21<sup>st</sup> century man
- ... Mark would feel proud because he is a modern man

***Pride/admiration for being a good partner/father.***

- ... Mark would be happy for the other men to know that he is a good person
- ... Mark would expect the other men to appreciate that he contributes positively to family life
- ... Mark would feel proud because he is a good partner and/or father

**Debriefing.**

You have reached the end of the survey. In this study, we are investigating men's underlying motivations for exaggerating or downplaying their engagement in stereotypically female tasks.

Thank you very much for your participation. You will receive your Prolific Academic credit within the next 3 days.

If you have any questions regarding this survey please contact Antonia Sudkaemper at [as863@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:as863@exeter.ac.uk) (researcher) or Dr. Nick Moberly at [n.j.moberly@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:n.j.moberly@exeter.ac.uk) (ethics committee).