

WHEN GENDER 'ROLES' INTO THE VOTING BOOTH: A MIXED-METHODS STUDY
OF IMPLICIT GENDER ROLE THEORY, GENDER SYSTEM JUSTIFICATION, AND
VOTING BEHAVIOR

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ABSTRACT

Implicit gender role theory (IGRT) posits that individuals tend to view gender roles as fixed or malleable, and such beliefs influences the likelihood of justifying the current gender system. Individuals, especially men, who believe gender roles are fixed are more likely to justify the current system. However, research suggests that belief in the malleability of gender roles mitigates the gender different in gender system justification. While much of the research addresses IGRT and its corresponding influence on gender system justification, there is a scarcity of research which addresses its influence on more distal outcomes of gender system justification (e.g., voting behavior). Over the course of two studies, quantitative methodologies examined the influence of IGRT on gender system justification and voter decision making, as well as the potential causal mechanisms of those relationships. Results suggest males and entity theorists are more likely to justify the current gender system and to vote in ways that perpetuate the gender status quo, except when it clearly benefits them. In the third and final study, qualitative methods explored themes among participants' descriptions of how and why they made voting decisions regarding certain legislation. Results suggest individual views regarding gender roles influence how individuals make decisions about voting on public policy and that this varies by context. Implications regarding public policy and gender role theory are discussed.

DEDICATION

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

– Gloria Steinem

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

α	Cronbach's Alpha: Value of internal consistency
<i>ANOVA</i>	Analysis of variance
β	Beta
<i>BIDR</i>	Balances Inventory of Desirable Responding
<i>df</i>	Degrees of Freedom
<i>F</i>	F statistic: Value calculated by the ratio of two sample variances
<i>GSJ</i>	Gender system justification
<i>IGRT</i>	Implicit gender role theory
<i>M</i>	Mean: The sum of a set of values divided by the number of values in the set
<i>N</i>	Samples size of a group
<i>p</i>	Probability
<i>r</i>	Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient
<i>SD</i>	Standard Deviation: Value of variation from the mean
χ^2	Chi-square test of significance of model fit
<	Less than
>	Greater than
=	Equal to

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INTRODUCTION

In 1869, in his seminal essay, *The Subjection of Women*, John Stuart Mill wrote:

“I consider it presumption in anyone to pretend to decide what women are or are not, can or cannot be, by natural constitution. They have always hitherto been kept, as far as regards spontaneous development, in so unnatural a state, that their nature cannot but have been greatly distorted and disguised; and no one can safely pronounce that if women’s nature were left to choose its direction as freely as men’s, and if no artificial bent were attempted to be given to it except that required by the conditions of human society, and given to both sexes alike, there would be any material difference, or perhaps any difference at all, in the character and capacities which would unfold themselves,” galvanizing the discourse regarding gender equality and its resulting influence on gender roles.

Nearly 150 years later, while there has been increased rejection of traditional gender ideology across the United States, societal understanding and interpretation of gender roles, traits, and behaviors, remain largely obdurate to change (Kaufman, Bernhardt, & Goldscheider, 2016; McLaughlin, Muldoon, & Moutray, 2010; Scott, 2006). When considering the extent to which views on gender roles have changed, it remains clear that the move toward gender equality has been uneven (Bosson & Michniewicz, 2013; Croft, Schmader, & Block, 2015). Women, but not men, have disproportionately and more rapidly crossed the gender divide (Croft, Schmader, & Block, 2015); and yet, those women who have, continue to be viewed less favorably than their gender-congruent male counterparts (Eagly & Koenig, 2008; Neal, 2014). While the topic of gender inequality has largely been discussed within the context of empowering women to succeed within stereotypical male roles, advocacy for men fulfilling stereotypical female roles has been lacking making a system constituted on *true* gender equality increasingly difficult (Croft, Schmader, & Block, 2015; Williams, 2013). Considering social roles seemingly remain distributed along gendered lines (Croft, Schmader, & Block, 2015; England, 2010; Kaufman,

Bernhardt, & Goldscheider, 2016; McLaughlin & Muldoon, 2014), how, and in what ways, does this traditional gender system remain?

Gender Roles

Broadly, the term gender refers to the social categorization of females and males (Helgeson, 2017; Lindsey, 2016). These categorizations span social, cultural, and psychological attributes and roles that are assigned based on anatomical sex; these notions are socially constructed, reaffirmed, and (at times) challenged (Capuzza, 2014). In effect, these categorizations create gender-role stereotypes – beliefs and expectations about what men and women should be like and how they should behave (Helgeson, 2015; Neal, 2014). While stereotypes are functional insofar as they speed up cognitive categorization processes (Hilton & Hippel, 1996), they often exaggerate differences between groups while minimizing within-group variation, creating an overgeneralized and, at times, distorted mental representation of groups (Bordalo, Coffman, Gennaiolo, & Shleifer, 2016; Hilton & Hippel, 1996).

Gender-stereotypes are associated with specific roles, which result in societal norms and demands that women and men are expected to appropriate (Helgeson, 2015). Some theorists suggest that masculine and feminine stereotypes are complementary insofar “each gender group is seen as possessing a set of strengths that balances out its own weaknesses and supplements the assumed strengths of the other group” (Jost & Kay, 2005, p. 499). Consequently, general attitudes towards women may not seem negative in content, however, they often manifest as prejudicial. For example, in the United States, generally, men are believed to be assertive, dominant, practical, achievement-oriented, and to provide for their family. Conversely, women are believed to be submissive, supportive, and emotional, to be nurturing, relationship oriented, and associated with the domestic world of home and children (Barriteau, Connelly, & Parpat,

2000; Jost & Kay, 2005; Langford & MacKinnon, 2000; Peterson & Runyon, 1999). Within an individualistic society such as the United States, a brief comparison of the two stereotypes reveals a clear hierarchy of gender, such that masculine—not feminine—traits are more highly valued (Neal, 2014; Rubin, 1984; Tolman, Davis & Bowman, 2016). This engenders a patriarchal environment in which men are often deemed superior in terms of social capital, status, and power in society (Bem, 1993; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004).

Theories surrounding gender roles are numerous and varied (e.g., Bastian & Haslam, 2006; Brescoll, Uhlman, & Newman, 2013; Jost & Kay, 2005; Kray, Howland, Russel & Jackman, 2017). One such premise is an implicit theory approach which focuses on beliefs about the fixedness (known as entity theory) or malleability (known as incremental theory) of specific traits. Implicit theories are not exclusive to gender roles and they aide in general social perception (Blackwell, Trzesniewski, & Dweck, 2007; Halperin et al., 2011). More broadly, entity theorists infer underlying traits from limited behavior because they view traits as highly predictive of behavior (Levy, Stroessner, & Dweck, 1998). Consequently, entity theorists, as opposed to incremental theorists, overemphasize stereotypes when processing social information (Levy, Stroessner, & Dweck, 1998). Entity theorists presented with information contrary to their beliefs discredit the information in order to maintain the notion of immutability, while incremental theorists guard the belief that people are changeable.

Applied to the roles prescribed to men and women, an underlying and vital assumption is whether specific traits or roles are fixed (entity theory) or malleable (incremental theory). Entity theorists believe certain characteristics or domains are intrinsically linked to gender (i.e., regardless of who takes on a caregiver role, caregiving cannot be extricated from the female gender). In contrast, incremental theorists see gender roles as flexible and linked to specific

actions and situations (i.e., caregiving is associated with traits such as nurturing and supportive) as opposed to a fixed relationship with gender (Kray, Howland, Russel & Jackman, 2017).

As indicated earlier, gender roles refer to the functional divisions between women and men across domains, such as domestic, occupational, political, and social settings (Kray, Howland, Russel & Jackman, 2017). One such example is viewing women as “caretakers” and men as “breadwinners.” According to social role theory, the assumption that women are communal stems from their historical allocation into homemaker roles while the assumption that men are agentic derives from their historical distribution into occupational roles, rather than these being innate qualities linked to gender. Thus, entity theorists, compared to incremental theorists, are more likely to endorse traditional (versus egalitarian) views, and more likely to attribute traits consistent with “caretaking” to women and “breadwinning” traits to men. One might assume then that entity theorists value the current gender system and act in ways to ensure its survival, while incremental theorists would act in ways to destabilize those dynamics.

System Justification

Politics and public policy, or more succinctly, governments, inherently shape society, simultaneously being created by and defining social beliefs and norms. In this way, politics are omnipresent in daily life. As such, scholars have long grappled with understanding politically-involved behavior. Research has examined a multitude of political topics and approaches, not only evaluating the types of factors that influence political behavior but also the down-stream effects of such decisions (Conway et. al., 2017). While much of the earlier research was grounded in the theory of rational choice -- the assumption that individuals behave and make decisions that are congruent with their own self-interest -- more recent research has acknowledged that many of our political and social systems persist despite their adverse effects

on the masses (Jost et. al., 2017; Piketty, 2015; Wisman & Smith, 2011). Take for example, individuals of lower socioeconomic status endorsing support for a capitalistic society despite such a system working in contrast to their own self-interest.

Theorists have proposed that such phenomena occur because individuals engage in numerous motivated processes to rationalize the status quo due to a central need to view their social system positively (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Jost & Kay, 2005; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). A theory coined “system justification” echoes this notion, such that individuals are motivated (often non-consciously) to view the current system (i.e., laws, social, economic, and political institutions and arrangements), as just, good, and right. (Jost, Ledgerwood, & Hardin, 2008; Jost et al., 2010; Jost & Banaji, 1994). System justification is thus conceptualized as an analysis of the motivational and cognitive *processes* involved in ideological decision making, not just the political and/or sociological consequences. The theory posits that beliefs that the societal status quo is legitimate occur in response to a psychological need to minimize uncertainty, reduce fear and potential threats, and maintain a shared reality with others (Jost et. al., 2008; Jost et. al., 2017).

The research on system justification is varied and spans several contexts of the American political and societal system including the government, the economic system, and the system of gender relations between men and women (Jost & Kay, 2005; Jost & Thompson, 2000; Kay & Jost, 2003). Justifying one system (e.g., economic) tends to be positively correlated with justifying another (e.g., government) and measurable types of system justification tend to be positively correlated with political conservatism (Cichocka & Jost, 2014; Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008). A recent study by Azevedo, Jost and Rothmund (2017), surveyed a representative sample of Americans (n = 1,500) shortly before the 2016 presidential election and

found, consistent with previous research (e.g., Jost, et. al., 2008), participants that identified as socially and economically conservative, more religious, and Republican, endorsed significantly more justification of the current gender and economic system regardless of the participant's gender. Other such dispositional factors associated with system justification include increased need for order, structure, and closure, uncertainty avoidance, intolerance of ambiguity, perception of a dangerous world, and fear of death; increased cognitive complexity and openness to experience are negatively associated with such ideological processes (Jost & Hunyady, 2005). This suggests individuals who endorse conservative ideology may express greater support of social stability and maintenance of the status quo.

Jost et al. (2010) highlighted, the strength of endorsement and expression of system justification is dependent, both theoretically and empirically, not only on dispositional factors, but situational factors as well. that influence underlying cognitive, existential, and interpersonal needs to achieve assurance, safety, and social belongingness (Hennes et al., 2012; Jost, Gaucher, & Stern, 2015; Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Kay & Friesen, 2011). Since system justification operates in such a way to justify, preserve, and reinforce the existing hierarchy, from this theory it flows that those in power tend to interpret information and make decisions in ways that help them preserve their position by maintaining and/or expanding their control over resources (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, et. al., 2012; Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003). Individuals in power tend to endorse increased reliance on stereotypes and derogation of subordinates, which perpetuates the subordination of the powerless and reinforces the status quo (van der Toorn, et. al., 2014).

However, research also suggests that threats to the legitimacy of social systems trigger increased reliance on stereotypes in order to justify inequality between groups (Jost & Hunyady,

2002). Thus, dominant group members are inclined to defend the current system in order to maintain their superior status and when the legitimacy of their status is in jeopardy or the system is threatened with change (Ellemers, van Knippenberg, & Wilke, 1990; Hornsey, Spears, Cremers, & Hogg, 2003). Conversely, inferior group members tend to justify a system that disadvantages them when the advantages of that system are highlighted or when they feel particularly powerless (Calogero & Jost, 2011; Glick & Fiske, 2001; Jost, 2011; Jost & Kay, 2005; van der Toorn et al., 2015).

Gender and System Justification

In the United States, where men represent the privileged group within the social hierarchy, men face the ceaseless and burdensome requirement of simultaneously maintaining their masculinity and denouncing any aspect of femininity within themselves (Bosson & Michniewicz, 2013; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004; Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009; Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, & Weaver, 2008; Vandello & Cohen, 2008). Thus, entity theorists (fixed), as opposed to incremental theorists (flexible), are likely to be especially motivated to defend the current system and justify gender inequality given their overemphasis of stereotypes and belief in the stability of gender roles (Kray et. al., 2017). However, belief in the immutability of gender roles may have a differential outcome not only for how each gender views themselves, but also their perceptions regarding the legitimacy of the gender system at a societal level. For example, some research demonstrates that women, but not men, report increased support for the current gender dynamics when primed with complementary gender stereotypes that posit feminine traits as separate but equal in value to masculine traits (Jost & Kay, 2005). Conversely, other research suggests that the assertion of gender roles as certified fact triggers men, but not women, to further justify the current gender structure (Morton, Postmes, Haslam, & Hornsey, 2009).

In a four-part study, Kray, Howland, Russell, and Jackman (2017) built upon previous research to examine whether holding the belief that gender roles are fixed or malleable influences an individual's justification of the current gender hierarchy. Given that the current gender system promotes masculinity over femininity (Ridegway & Correll, 2004), Kray et. al., operated under the belief that entity theorists would be more likely to report greater identification with masculine traits (regardless of participant gender). However, they hypothesized that belief in the fixedness of gender roles would promote men's, but not women's, in-group identification and rationalization of the gender system by triggering masculine identity motives.

Utilizing participants from Amazon Mechanical Turk, Study 1 established support for the implicit gender role theory construct by testing its correspondence with a range of scales associated with gender inequality-relevant attitudes and beliefs. These included gender system justification (Jost & Kay, 2005), endorsement of gender stereotypes (Brescoll & LaFrance, 2004), preference for traditional gender roles (Larsen & Long, 1988), self-stereotyping (a measure of how much one's personal identity is gender consistent), and gender identity strength (a measure of in-group identification). Results indicated that overall, men were more likely to endorse an entity theory of gender roles, greater justification of the gender system, and greater preference for traditional gender roles than women. However, no gender differences were observed in the endorsement of gender stereotypes, self-stereotyping, or gender identity strength, suggesting men were more likely than women to endorse conservative views of the gender system at a societal level but not an individual level.

In terms of implicit gender role theory, entity theorists endorsed greater support for the gender structure and traditional gender roles and were more likely to categorize themselves as gender stereotype conforming. Participant sex did not moderate the relationship between implicit

gender role theory and gender system justification, suggesting both men and women who held fixed beliefs about gender roles were equally as likely to justify the current system. However, they found that gender identity strength moderated the relationship between participant sex and gender system justification. For men, increased psychological investment in their gender increased system justification, whereas the same relationship did not exist for women. The authors concluded that men's superior status in the social hierarchy likely motivated their defense of the status quo.

Over the course of Study 2 and Study 3, Kray et. al., (2017) demonstrated that exposure to a fixed gender role theory influenced gender identity strength and gender system justification (respectively). More specifically, in Study 2 (n = 217) and Study 3 (n = 200), participants were randomly assigned to one of two groups. Each participant received an article which they were asked to read carefully. Individuals in the entity theory condition read a fabricated version of the article that summarized evidence for the fixedness of gender roles in society, while individuals in the implicit theory condition read a fabricated version of the article that summarized evidence for the malleability of gender roles in society. In Study 2, participants then filled out a measure of self-stereotyping, while in Study 3 participants filled out a measure of gender system justification. Results from Study 2 indicated that, overall, men self-stereotyped more than women. Further, exposure to a fixed theory led men to identify more with masculine characteristics than men exposed to an incremental theory. This interaction did not hold for women; women in the entity theory condition identified more with masculine traits than feminine traits. These data echo the notion that masculine traits are generally superior, and more highly valued and sought after (Neal, 2014; Rubin, 1984; Tolman, Davis & Bowman, 2016). Results from Study 3 indicated that implicit gender role theory influenced gender system

justification in men. More specifically, men in the entity condition were more likely to justify the current system, while men in the incremental condition reported significantly less rationalization of the current gender system – so much so that the participant gender difference in system justification was entirely mitigated. Women’s system justification was unaffected by implicit gender role theory.

Taken together, Study 2 and Study 3 suggested that holding an entity theory influenced men and women in distinctly different ways on both an individual and societal level. Thus, Study 4 evaluated whether the extent to which an individual places importance on their own gender was the mechanism by which implicit gender role theory predicted self-stereotyping (Study 2), and gender system justification (Study 3). Participants ($n = 284$) were again randomly assigned to one of two groups (entity vs. incremental gender role theory) where they read the associated fabricated article, and after which they filled out measures of gender system justification, gender identity strength, and self-stereotyping. In this study, self-stereotyping was measured via a 36-item measure (Bosson & Michniewicz, 2013) that included nine positively valenced masculine traits (e.g., adventurous, independent), nine positively valenced feminine traits (e.g., graceful, appreciative), nine negatively valenced masculine traits (e.g., boastful, arrogant), and nine negatively valenced feminine traits (e.g., moody, fussy).

Unlike Studies 2 and 3, the participant sex by implicit gender role theory interaction was nonsignificant across all analyses. Men, compared to women, were more likely to justify the current system regardless of implicit gender role theory. While exposure to entity theory was associated with increased identification with positive masculine traits and decreased identification with negative feminine traits regardless of participant sex, this was particularly true for men. Across implicit theory conditions men, but not women, reported stronger identification

with negative masculine traits--again highlighting the drive to attain the more valued masculine traits. In the malleable condition, men and women did not differ in their identification with positive masculine traits or negative feminine traits. While women's psychological investment in their gender identity remained static across conditions, men's shifted, suggesting that both dispositional (gender) and situational (implicit theory) factors influence gender system justification. In a meta-analysis combining Studies 3 and 4, Kray and colleagues (2017), established the overall size of the participant sex by implicit theory interaction. With the combined sample, data suggested that men exposed to a fixed gender role theory engaged in more gender system justification than participants in any other condition. Thus, broadly it seems that entity theory motivates men to justify the current gender system in order to maintain their superior status.

Overall, Kray et. al., (2017) highlighted the unique influence of implicit gender role theories. Broadly, entity theorists were more likely to justify the current system regardless of gender, however, men were more likely than women to endorse belief in the immutability of gender roles. For men, invoking a fixed theory of gender roles triggered reciprocally supporting motives at the individual, group, and systemic level, resulting in an increase in the centrality of personal manhood, in-group identity, and ultimately promotion and defense of the current gender system. On the other hand, men who adopted an incremental theory of gender roles did not view being a man as central to their identity, and thus identified less with their in-group. As a result, they minimized their defense of the status quo to such an extent that they agreed with women about the fairness of the current gender system. Women's justification of the current system, however, was uninfluenced by implicit gender role theory.

Given the patriarchal nature of the United States (Ridegway & Correll, 2004), understanding the conditions and motives that drive men and women to rationalize or criticize the current gender system is vital for effectuating social change. Via an implicit gender role theory framework, it appears that masculine identity motives are fundamental in explaining the conditions under which women and men differ regarding the legitimacy and perpetuation of the current gender system.

Overall Aims of the Current Study

Psychological research has addressed implicit gender role theory and its corresponding influence on gender system justification (Kray, et. al., 2017; Jost & Kay, 2005; Morton, Postmes, Haslam, & Hornsey, 2009); however, there is little research examining the interplay of these variables and their effect on more distal outcomes. For decades, social scientists have explored civil engagement and voting behavior within the United States because politics and public policy are inextricably entangled with human life (Conway, Boyd, Dennehy, Mills, and Repke, 2017; Gelman, 2009). For example, voting behavior is viewed as the practical manifestation of an individual's endorsement of system justification insofar it has the potential to perpetuate or change laws, as well as social, economic, and political institutions and arrangements (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, et. al., 2012).

System justification, or the motivation to view the current legal system as fair, just, and right (Jost & Banaji, 1994), may be one mechanism through which to better understand individual civil engagement and support for specific public policies. Although most individuals engage in numerous motivated processes to rationalize the current legal system (Jost & Kay, 2005), attitudes about gender roles may explain differences in individual need to view the legal

system in a positive vein. Subsequently, this mixed-method investigation focused on addressing the gap in the literature.

According to Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner (2007), mixed methods research “combines elements of qualitative and quantitative approaches ...for the purpose of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration” (p. 123). Expanded, mixed-method studies seemingly produce a richer and more nuanced appreciation of psychological phenomena. To address the current question, over the course of two studies, quantitative methodologies examined the influence of implicit gender role theory on gender system justification and voter decision making. Further, they explored whether priming an individual to adopt an implicit gender role theory influenced participants’ vote. In the third and final study, qualitative methods explored themes among participants’ descriptions of how and why they made voting decisions regarding certain legislation. Using a convergent design, each type of data was independently collected and analyzed. Only at the interpretation phase was the data integrated to cultivate a comprehensive empirical understanding of the interplay of implicit gender role theory, gender system justification, and voter decision making (see Figure 1; Creswell, 2015)

STUDY ONE

The first quantitative component had two primary aims. First, this research employed a partial replication of Kray et. al. (2017). In their first of four studies, Kray and colleagues (2017) established convergent and discriminant support for their measure of implicit gender role theory by testing its correspondence with several other gender inequality-relevant measures (e.g., gender system justification [Jost & Kay, 2005]). Further, utilizing a measure of gender identity strength, they established that men, but not women, who more strongly identified with their ingroup were more likely to justify the current system. Consistent with the results of their study, we hypothesized that:

- Hypothesis 1a: implicit gender role theory would predict gender system justification, preference for traditional gender roles, and self-stereotyping, such that entity theorists would endorse more justification of the current gender system (that positions men above women), a stronger preference for traditional gender roles, and increased self-stereotyping.
- Hypothesis 1b: gender identity strength would moderate the relationship (see Figure 2) between participant sex and gender system justification, such that men, but not women, who more strongly identified with their gender, would be more likely to justify the current system.

Secondly, this study aimed to evaluate the influence of implicit gender role theory and other gender-relevant attitudes on voting behavior associated with “gendered” legislation (e.g., equal pay). Previous research demonstrates a relationship between conservatism and mental

rigidity, intolerance, closed-mindedness, and increased acceptance of stereotyping (Carter, Hall, Carney, & Rosip, 2006; Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008), suggesting that entity theorists are more likely to support current social systems. Given the above information and hypotheses, and that legislation is viewed as an applied form of system justification (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, et. al., 2012), we hypothesized that:

- Hypothesis 2a: entity theorists would support legislation that maintains the current gender system and oppose legislation that threatens the current gender system, thus maintaining men's superior status.
- Hypothesis 2b: this effect would be true for men, but not women, and only when men endorsed increased gender identity strength (see Figure 3).

METHOD

Participants We recruited participants through the Department of Psychology's subject pool from a large Southeastern University. Participants were considered eligible if they were U.S. citizens (or green card holders) and were aged 18 or older, the same requirement for an individual to vote in most U.S. jurisdictions. We specified no other demographic restrictions or eligibility requirements.

The initial sample consisted of 649 participants. Forty-four individuals were excluded for failing to complete the entirety of the study and 16 participants were excluded for failing both attention checks. Twenty-eight participants opted to have their responses erased after debriefing. Three participants scored three standard deviations above the mean on the Impression Management Scale of the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BDIR; $M = 5.27$, $SD = 3.34$), which suggested they intentionally attempted to present themselves in a more favorable light; as a result, their responses were considered invalid and excluded from study analyses.

The final sample ($n = 558$) was comprised of 379 females (67.9%) and 179 males (32.1%), ranging in age from 18 to 33 ($M = 18.91$ years, $SD = 1.40$ years). The sample identified primarily as Caucasian (87.8%), followed by Black/African American (7.3%), Hispanic/Latino/Spanish origin (5%), Asian/Asian American (2.3%), American Indian/Alaskan (0.2%), Hawaiian (0.2%), and 2.2% of the sample identified as another race. The sample largely identified as straight (93.7%) and in their first year of school (66.5%). The religious breakdown of the sample included Christian/Protestant (43.4%), Christian/Catholic (30.5%), non-religious (15.2%), Jewish (2%), Muslim (0.2%), Hindu (0.2%) and 8.6% identified as other.

The majority of the sample (77.1%) was registered to vote, with 69.3% being registered in a Southeastern state. The political make-up of the sample included 45.5% Republican, 23.5% Democrat, 14.2% unaffiliated, 11.8% Independent, 3.8% Libertarian, and 1.3% “other.” Participants were asked to rate their social ideology based on a six-point Likert-scale (one = extremely liberal to six = extremely conservative); the sample’s mean was 3.72 ($SD = 1.35$), suggesting a slightly more conservative sample.

Materials

Demographic Questionnaire Participants completed a basic demographic questionnaire regarding their age, race, ethnicity, sex, gender identity, sexual orientation, marital status, political affiliation, educational level, region of origin, and religious affiliation.

Legislation Participants read summaries of six pieces of legislation that are either current laws, or are proposed laws, and that are generalizable nationwide. The primary focus was on laws that relate to gender-specific legislation, as well as two general pieces of legislation, so as not to prime participants to the study aims. Each (proposed) law included several sentences synthesizing the purpose of the law, as well as a few sentences outlining why some people may oppose the bill and some people may support the bill. Participants answered how familiar they were with the bill (0 = Never heard of the bill, 100 = Very knowledgeable about the bill), whether they supported the bill (dichotomous: “I support the bill” or “I oppose the bill”), and how strongly they felt about their support/opposition (0 = I do not feel strongly, 100 = I feel very strongly).

Briefly, the legislation included the Equal Pay Act (positing that men and women should be paid the same amount for doing the same job), the Amendment to the Military Selective Service Act (amending the legislation to require females enter the draft), the Family Leave Act

(which gives both men and women a predetermined amount of time to take care of children and/or dependent adults), and the Paternal Right to Decide Act (which allows biological fathers to relinquish all parental rights and be relieved of financial responsibilities for their unborn child).

Implicit Gender Role Theory Based on Kray et al's (2017) study, participants completed a 10-item measure (Cronbach's alpha coefficient = .93; current sample $\alpha = .91$) which assessed perceptions regarding the fixedness of gender roles on a six-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree to 6 = strongly agree). The first five questions tapped the participant's beliefs about the fixedness of gender roles (e.g., "Even though it's not always popular to say so, men and women will always have different social roles"), while the latter five items assessed the participant's beliefs about the flexibility of gender roles (e.g., "As society progresses, men and women will eventually occupy similar roles in society"). The last five items were reverse-scored, with higher total scores indicating a greater belief that gender roles are immutable.

Gender System Justification Using Jost and Kay's (2005) eight-item scale (Cronbach's alpha coefficient = .80; current sample $\alpha = .82$), participants indicated their agreement with the current societal treatment of gender in the United States. Participants assessed the fairness of the current system and whether it should be changed, using a six-point Likert-type scale from one (*strongly disagree*) to six (*strongly agree*). An example: "Most policies relating to gender and the sexual division of labor serve the greater good." Higher total scores are indicative of greater system justification.

Gender Stereotype Endorsement To measure participants' endorsement of gender stereotypes, participants completed a 20-item measure ($\alpha = .85$; current sample $\alpha = .73$) used by Brescoll and LaFrance (2004), which was adapted from Dickman and Eagly (2000). The scale

consists of female and male stereotypes and includes both positive and negative traits.

Respondents rated how the average man and woman compare to each other on each trait based on a scale ranging from 1 (*men extremely more*) to 6 (*women extremely more*). Masculine items were reverse scored such that higher values are indicative of increased stereotype endorsement.

Attitudes Toward Sex Roles Scale To measure participant's preference for traditional gender roles, participants completed the Attitudes Toward Sex Roles Scale (Larsen & Long, 1988), a 20-item measure ($\alpha = .95$, current sample $\alpha = .90$) of gender role beliefs. Eight items assessed egalitarian views (e.g., "having a job is just as important for a wife as it is for her husband") and 12 items assessed traditional beliefs (e.g., "Women should be more concerned with clothing and appearance than men") and were scored on a six-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree to 6 = strongly agree). The eight egalitarian statements were reverse coded, and all items were averaged to produce a total score. Higher scores are associated with a stronger preference for traditional gender roles.

Bem Sex Role Inventory The Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974), which uses 60-items to assess the extent to which an individual describes themselves in gendered-traits, measured participant's degree of self-stereotyping. The scale included 20 masculine/agentic traits (e.g., assertive; $\alpha = .90$, current sample $\alpha = .87$), 20 feminine/communal traits (e.g., sympathetic; $\alpha = .84$, current sample $\alpha = .84$), and 20 gender-neutral traits (e.g., reliable), with items rated based on a seven-point scale (1 = never, 7 = always). As per Kray et al (2017), we computed self-stereotyping for males by subtracting feminine identity from masculine identity, and the inverse for females.

Gender identity strength To assess participants' psychological investment in gender, participants completed seven items, adapted by Kray et al (2017) from previous research (e.g.,

“Being a woman (man) is an important part of my identity; $\alpha = .92$, current sample $\alpha = .83$). Participants rated items on a seven-point scale (1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree). Negative items were reverse coded, and all items were averaged for a composite score.

Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR) The 40-item Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR; Paulhus, 1988) includes a scale measuring deliberate self-presentation to another (Impression Management). The BIDR has demonstrated acceptable internal consistency for the Impression Management subscale (Cronbach alphas of .75 - .86; current sample $\alpha = .75$). Respondents rated their level of agreement on a 7-point Likert-scale with responses summed for an overall measure of socially desirable responding. High scores on this scale suggest individuals are likely not answering all self-report measures honestly.

Comprehension Checks Throughout the study procedures participants responded to questions to ensure attention and comprehension. For example, questions such as “Please choose 7--strongly agree for this question” were randomly inserted throughout testing materials.

Procedures

First, participants read several pieces of legislation and indicated whether they supported or opposed the bill, how strongly they felt about their decision, and whether they were familiar with legislation of this kind. They then completed a battery of self-report measures assessing their attitudes toward gender mutability, gender-specific system justification, traditional gender roles, and psychological investment in gender identity. Finally, participants completed a basic demographic questionnaire.

Consistent with UA Department of Psychology Undergraduate Subject Pool policy, all participants who completed the study were compensated with 1.5 credits for their time.

Following completion of the study, they were debriefed and thanked for their time. Participants were given the opportunity to exclude their data from the study at that point.

RESULTS

[Table 1](#) provides Pearson correlation coefficients between all measured variables, including: participant gender, implicit gender role theory, gender system justification, gender stereotype endorsement, attitudes towards sex roles, self-stereotyping, gender identity strength, equal pay act, military draft bill, family leave act, and paternal right to decide act. [Table 2](#) reports gender differences for each scale. Similar to Kray and colleagues' (2017) previous findings, males were more likely to identify as entity theorists, justify the current gender system, prefer traditional gender roles, and self-stereotype compared to females. Also similar to Kray et. al. (2017), no gender difference emerged in endorsement of stereotypes or gender identity strength.

Study Aim 1: Implicit Gender Role Theory and Gender Inequality

To examine whether implicit gender role theory (IGRT) predicted the other gender-related scales (i.e., gender system justification, preference for traditional gender roles, stereotype endorsement, self-stereotyping, and gender identity strength) we used two-step regression models in order to examine the main effects as well as the unique contribution of the interaction of the independent variables. More specifically, the first step of the model consisted of participant sex and IGRT; the second step of the model included an interaction term in order to examine whether predictions from entity versus incremental theorists differed between males and females. We controlled for political affiliation in all analyses.

Mostly consistent with our hypotheses, results (summarized in [Table 3](#)) suggested holding a fixed gender role theory predicted greater justification of the current gender system ($\beta = .40$), $t(553) = 3.72$, $p < .001$, a stronger preference for traditional gender roles ($\beta = .66$), $t(553)$

= 5.20, $p < .001$, increased self-stereotyping ($\beta = .50$), $t(554) = 3.45$, $p = .001$, and greater gender identity strength ($\beta = .85$), $t(553) = 5.87$, $p < .001$. However, self-stereotyping ($\beta = -.60$), $t(554) = -3.36$, $p = .001$ and gender identity strength ($\beta = -.88$), $t(553) = -4.95$, $p < .001$ were both moderated by their interaction with participant sex. More specifically, believing in the fixedness of gender roles predicted increased self-stereotyping for male participants ($\beta = .40$), $t(177) = 3.34$, $p = .001$ but not female participants ($\beta = -.15$), $t(377) = -1.41$, $p = .159$. Similarly, entity theorists were more likely to strongly identify with their gender but only when they were male ($\beta = .43$), $t(177) = 6.46$, $p < .001$, opposed to female ($\beta = -.01$), $t(377) = -.13$, $p = .897$. There was no evidence that beliefs about the fixedness of gender roles predicted the extent to which the participants endorsed gender stereotypes.

We additionally hypothesized (Hypothesis 1b) that system justification would be moderated by gender identity strength such that men would be more likely to justify the current system, but only when they strongly identify with their gender. To examine this relationship, we computed a linear regression predicting gender system justification from participant sex, gender identity strength, and their interaction. In line with Kray et. al. (2017), we mean centered the scores on Kray et. al.'s identity strength scale and then controlled for political affiliation. As anticipated, while gender identity strength predicted gender system justification ($\beta = .66$), $t(553) = 4.71$, $p < .001$, it was moderated by participant sex ($\beta = -.51$), $t(553) = -3.63$, $p < .001$. Increased identification with male participant's own manhood increased their justification of the current gender system, ($\beta = .38$), $t(176) = 5.43$, $p < .001$. However, women's gender identity strength did not predict gender system justification ($\beta = .07$), $t(376) = 1.38$, $p = .170$.

Study Aim 2: Implicit Gender Role Theory and Voter Decision Making

Hypothesis 2a speculated that entity theorists and men would support legislation that maintains the current gender system and oppose legislation that threatens the current gender system, thus maintaining men's superior status. We examined this potential relationship utilizing a binomial logistic regression which included the independent variables (i.e., participant sex and IGRT) on the first step and their interaction on the second step to examine the potential unique variance of whether predictions from entity versus incremental theories differ between men and women. [Table 4](#) provides gender differences for each bill and the logistic regression findings are summarized in [Table 5](#).

Previous research regarding decisions making in legal contexts suggests that participant confidence in their decision influences actual decision making (Krauss, McCabe, & Lieberman, 2012). Based on prior research (Krauss, McCabe, & Lieberman, 2012), voting confidence was controlled for by creating a new variable, Voting Index, by multiplying participants' rating of how strongly they felt about their decisions (0-I do not feel strongly to 100-I feel very strongly) with categorical support (1) and opposition (-1); higher ratings indicate a strong confidence in support for a bill while lower ratings indicates a stronger confidence in opposing the bill. Subsequently, linear regressions for each piece of legislation, this time using the Voting Index variable as the outcome measure, will include participant sex and IGRT on the first step, and their interaction on the second step. Findings are summarized in [Table 6](#).

Regarding the Fair Pay Act, overall, 88.9% of participants voted in support of the bill. Results suggested that both participant sex and beliefs about gender roles influenced voting outcomes, $X^2(3) = 54.958, p < .001$, accounting for 18.7% of the variance. Males were 4.96 times more likely to oppose equal pay for both sexes compared to females, $b = 1.601$, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 28.001, p < .001$. Additionally, a stronger belief that gender roles are fixed predicted decreased

support for equal pay for the sexes, $b = .049$, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 12.296$, $p < .001$, with a one-point increase on the IGRT scale corresponding with being 1.05 times more likely to oppose the bill. While the model remained significant with the addition of the interaction term, the interaction term itself was not significant $b = -.013$, Wald $\chi^2(1) = .177$, $p = .674$. Further, the addition of the interaction term resulted in non-significance for participant sex, $b = 2.097$, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 2.940$ $p = .086$. IGRT scores continued to predict voting behavior $b = .058$, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 5.114$, $p = .024$. Similarly, both participant sex and IGRT scores predicted confidence in participants' voting decisions $F(3, 554) = 30.12$, $p < .001$ and accounted for 13.6% of the variance. More specifically, results suggested men ($\beta = -.25$), $t(554) = -6.08$, $p < .001$, and entity theorists ($\beta = -.24$), $t(554) = -5.93$, $p < .001$, were more confident in their vote. Again, although the model including the interaction term was significant and accounted for 13.8% of the variance, $F(4, 553) = 23.22$, $p < .001$, this was driven by IGRT scores, ($\beta = -.44$), $t(553) = -3.17$, $p = .002$; neither participant sex ($\beta = -.05$), $t(553) = -.36$, $p = .717$ nor the interaction term ($\beta = .26$), $t(554) = 1.51$, $p = .131$, were significant.

Regarding the Military Draft Bill, overall, 61.6% of participants voted in support of the bill. Again, both participant sex and beliefs about gender roles influenced voting behavior, even after the addition of the interaction term, $X^2(4) = 23.178$, $p < .001$, accounting for 5.5% of the variance. In contrast to the previous bill, men were five times more likely to support the bill than women $b = -1.611$, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 4.642$, $p = .031$. Belief in the fixedness of gender roles predicted opposition to the Military Draft Bill, $b = .022$ Wald $\chi^2(1) = 4.240$, $p = .039$, with every one-point increase on the IGRT scale being associated with individuals being 1.02 times more likely to oppose the bill. The interaction term was nonsignificant. A similar pattern occurred with voting confidence, with both participant sex and IGRT scores predicting confidence in participants'

voting behavior even when the (nonsignificant) interaction term was added $F(4, 553) = 8.56, p < .001$, and accounted for 5.1% of the variance. Regarding beliefs that women should be added to the draft, male participants ($\beta = .31$), $t(553) = 2.19, p = .029$, and entity theorists, ($\beta = -.32$), $t(553) = -2.17, p = .031$, were significantly more confident in their decision.

The Family Leave Act was supported by 86.9% of the overall sample. While the overall model containing the main effects was significant, $X^2(3) = 10.867, p = .012$, and accounted for 3.6% of the variance, this was driven by participant sex, $b = .708$ Wald $\chi^2(1) = 7.353, p = .007$. Men were 2.03 times more likely to oppose the bill than women. Neither IGRT scores, $b = .013$ Wald $\chi^2(1) = 1.199, p = .274$ nor their interaction with participant sex, $b = .004$ Wald $\chi^2(1) = .031, p = .861$ were significant predictors of voting behavior. However, both participant sex and IGRT scores predicted confidence in voting behavior, $F(3, 554) = 6.08, p < .001$, and accounted for 2.7% of the variance. Men ($\beta = .12$), $t(553) = 2.72, p = .007$, and entity theorists ($\beta = -.11$), $t(553) = -2.67, p = .008$, were more confident in their voting behavior. The interaction term was not significant ($\beta = -.03$), $t(554) = -.15, p = .884$.

Only 33.8% of the sample supported the Paternal Right to Decide Act. While the first step in the binomial regression was not significant, $X^2(3) = 7.14, p = .068$, the second step, including both main effects and the interaction term, was significant, $X^2(4) = 14.179, p = .007$, and accounted for 3.5% of the variance. Participant sex, $b = -2.088$ Wald $\chi^2(1) = 9.892, p = .002$ predicted voting behavior, however, this main effect was qualified by its interaction with implicit gender role beliefs, $b = -.047$ Wald $\chi^2(1) = 6.876, p = .009$. Simple analyses suggested that for men, increased belief in the fixedness of gender roles predicted opposition to the bill $X^2(2) = 7.659, p = .022$; for every one-point increase on the IGRT scale, these men were 1.04 times more likely to oppose the bill, $b = .034$ Wald $\chi^2(1) = 6.166, p = .013$. The same relationship did not

exist for women, $X^2(2) = 1.938, p = .379$. The same results emerged for voting confidence, $F(4, 553) = 4.29, p = .002$, accounting for 2.3% of the variance. Both participant sex, ($\beta = .49$), $t(553) = 3.41, p = .001$, and IGRT score, ($\beta = -.45$), $t(553) = -3.04, p = .003$ predicted voting confidence. These results were qualified by their interaction, ($\beta = .51$), $t(553) = 2.78, p = .006$. Simple slope analyses indicate that men with increased beliefs in the immutability felt most strongly about their decision $F(1, 177) = 8.32, p = .004$ ($\beta = -.21$).

Finally, we hypothesized (Hypothesis 2b) that men, compared to women, would be more likely to vote in such a manner as to maintain the status quo specifically when they endorsed increased association with their gender identity. As a result, we examined whether gender identity strength moderated the relationship between participant sex and voting decisions/voting confidence; we continued to control for political affiliation. Because participant sex significantly predicted voting decisions and strength in that decision, these analyses examined all four pieces of legislation; the results for participant sex are not included a second time.

The interaction between gender identity and participant sex was nonsignificant in all but one case (see [Table 7](#) and [Table 8](#)). While neither gender identity strength nor its interaction with participant sex predicted the dichotomous support or opposition to the Equal Pay bill, both predicted participants' confidence in their vote on the Equal Pay legislation, $F(4, 553) = 17.44, p < .001$, accounting for 10.6% of the variance. Gender identity strength, ($\beta = -.58$), $t(553) = -4.03, p < .001$, was qualified by its interaction with participant sex, ($\beta = .57$), $t(553) = 3.97, p < .001$. Simple slope analyses indicated that men who more strongly identified with their gender reported greater confidence in their vote, $F(2, 176) = 4.00, p = .02$ ($\beta = -.21$). The same did not hold for female participants $F(2, 376) = 2.36, p = .096$ ($\beta = .11$).

DISCUSSION

The first aim of this study was a partial replication of Kray et. al's (2017) study which evaluated how beliefs about the fixedness or mutability of gender roles influence other gender-relevant attitude and beliefs. Overall, results mirrored prior findings. Compared to women, men were more likely to believe in the fixedness of gender roles, justify the current gender system, and prefer traditional gender roles; such results gives further credence to the notion that men, who are at the top of the gender hierarchy, believe that their place in the gender system is deserved and preferable and directly linked to their gender. Additionally, entity theorists were more likely to justify the current gender system and to prefer traditional gender roles regardless of participant sex. Again, viewing social roles as directly and causally linked to gender promotes increased preference for and justification of the current gender system. Neither gender nor implicit gender role belief differences emerged regarding endorsement of gender roles.

In Kray et al. (2017), contrary to their hypotheses, no significant interaction between participant sex and implicit gender role theory emerged for any dependent variables. However, in the current sample, such a relationship did exist. In this sample, holding an entity theory of gender roles predicted attitudes towards gender system/gender roles at an inter- and intrapersonal level, specifically for men. Men who categorized gender roles as fixed were more likely to self-stereotype (i.e., identify with masculine traits) and view their gender (i.e., being a man) as important to their identity; however, the same did not increase female participants' identification with feminine traits/stereotypes or their psychological investment in their gender. Because the current gender system values masculinity over femininity (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004)—

presumably, it would make sense that the belief in the fixedness of gender roles would prompt both men and women to identify with masculine traits, both therefore striving towards the traits society places greater value on. For women, it appeared that believing that gender roles were fixed or changeable did not influence the extent to which they identified with their in-group or viewed themselves as aligning with feminine traits; perhaps, this is because although they acknowledged gender inequality, they chose to distance themselves from an in-group or groups of traits that are societally viewed as inferior.

Alongside these data, we examined whether the relationship between participant sex and system justification was moderated by gender identity strength. Similar to Kray et al. (2017), we found that increased identity strength for men, but not women, predicted greater justification of the current gender system. Thus, data further suggest that when being a man is particularly important to men, they are more likely to support gender inequality, which aligns with the notion that men are more apt to identify with the dominant gender and to justify the current dynamics perhaps arising from egocentrism (Kray et al., 2017). Prior research suggests that men who more strongly identify with their in-group are particularly likely to distance masculine and feminine traits compared to women; researchers have posited this is due to men's relatively precarious place in the gender hierarchy. Taken together, it appears that implicit gender role theory influence beliefs about the current gender system at a societal, interpersonal, and intrapersonal level, but only for men.

While not wanting to overinterpret null findings, the result that female participants' gender identity strength was not associated with increased or decreased system justification is notable. One possible explanation is that, perhaps, in general, females are more diverse in their attitudes towards gender roles and their experience within them. For example, prior research

suggests that gender identity tends to be more diffuse and less intense than other forms of group consciousness (Bittner & Goodyear-Grant, 2017; Conover, 1988; Dawson, 1994). For example, compared to other minorities, women are less likely to see an imbalance of power between themselves and their relative out-group (i.e., men; Huddy et al., 2000). Recent politics have highlighted this disparate female consciousness as well with the differentiating of “white feminism” and its adverse effects on women of color. Research has suggested that even though women may endorse and/or exhibit feminist beliefs, this has not directly translated to a strong sense of female group consciousness or solidarity; researchers have argued this is partly due to women’s more diffuse and fragmented social identity (Bittner & Goodyear-Grant, 2017; Goodyear-Grant & Croskill, 2011).

We also hoped to expound this study and assess whether beliefs about the fixedness of gender roles directly influences more distal representations of the current gender system, namely legislation. Data suggest that holding a fixed theory of gender does in fact influence voting behavior on gendered legislation. Entity theorists were more likely to oppose legislation guaranteeing equal pay for the sexes and legislation adding women to the Selective Service (i.e., draft) requirements. This is consistent with hypotheses that individuals who view gender roles as fixed would continue to promote that men be breadwinners and engage in more aggressive action compared to women.

Broadly, males were more likely to support the Military Draft Bill and oppose the Equal Pay and Family Leave Acts than females. A look at the types of bills suggests that participants might have engaged in different motivational processes during their decision making. For example, females voted in favor of equality when it came to equal pay and equal opportunity family leave as those both directly benefit females; however, they voted against equality when

equality meant they would be required to register for the draft. As system justification theory suggests, inferior group members tend to justify that system when the advantages of such a hierarchy are highlighted, namely protecting women from having to partake in war (Calogero & Jost, 2011; van der Toorn et al., 2015). Conversely, men opposed equal pay for the sexes and equal opportunity family leave which rejects gender equality; however, they voted against legislation that would benefit them (i.e., the Family Leave Act). It is possible that because such legislation may highlight the potential for men to be caretakers that they voted in a way to defend the gender system and avoid change. However, males voted in favor of adding women to the draft, which supports gender equality—perhaps this is associated with a need to protect themselves in the face of combat.

In one case, the implicit theory by participant sex relationship emerged; for males specifically, holding a fixed theory of gender roles predicted their opposition to legislation allowing males to opt out of parenthood prior to the birth of their child. Since a fundamental feature of masculinity is family patriarchy (Connell, 1995; Trujillo, 1991), it makes sense that men who emphasize the fixedness of gender roles would view opting out of fatherhood as a significant violation of what it means to be a man.

Finally, we examined if the strength with which one identifies with their gender would moderate the relationship between participant sex and voting behavior. Results largely did not find a moderating relationship. However, data suggested that males who more strongly identified with their “male-ness,” were significantly more confident in their decision to oppose equal pay legislation. Again, since for these male participants gender was highly salient, it makes sense that they would oppose, perhaps the most obvious threat to their gender superiority.

STUDY TWO

The second study examined whether exposure to an implicit gender role theory influenced gender system justification. Kray et. al. (2017) demonstrated that exposure to, and endorsement of, an entity theory (versus an incremental theory) of gender roles increased men's justification of the gender status quo, and self-stereotyping, via increased psychological investment in their masculine identity. Conversely, exposure to an incremental theory of gender roles reduced men's gender system justification to the point that it was equal to that of women. Thus, the current study aims were twofold: (1) we examined whether exposure to an implicit gender role theory influenced gender system justification and self-stereotyping; and (2) whether exposure to an implicit gender role theory influenced participant voting behavior. Consistent with Kray et. al.'s (2017) results, it was hypothesized that:

- Hypothesis 3a: exposure to an implicit gender role theory would predict gender system justification and self-stereotyping, such that men, but not women, exposed to an entity theory would endorse more justification of the current system, and identify more strongly with masculine traits.
- Hypothesis 3b: gender identity strength would mediate the relationship between implicit gender role theory and gender system justification and self-stereotyping for men, but not for women. We hypothesized that exposure to an entity theory would increase investment in masculine identity for men, which would, in turn, increase their defense of the current gender system and their self-stereotyping. See [Figure 4](#).

Second, this study aimed to evaluate whether exposure to a specific implicit gender role theory influenced support for, or opposition to “gendered” legislation (e.g., equal pay for equal work law). Given the above information and hypotheses, it was hypothesized that:

- Hypothesis 4a: individuals exposed to an entity theory would support legislation that maintains the current gender system and oppose legislation that threatens the current gender system (thus maintaining men’s superior status in society).
- Hypothesis 4b: men, as opposed to women, would be more likely to vote in such a way that perpetuates the status quo, but only when they endorsed increased association with their gender identity, thus suggesting the same moderated mediation as noted above. See [Figure 5](#).

METHOD

Participants

We recruited participants in an identical manner as described above, through the Department of Psychology's subject pool. Again, participants were considered eligible if they were U.S. citizens (or green card holders) and were aged 18 years or older.

The initial sample consisted of 615 participants. Fifty-five individuals were excluded for failing to complete the entirety of the study and nine participants were excluded for failing both attention checks. Twenty-six participants opted to have their responses erased after debriefing. Seventy-eight participants were excluded for failing to answer the manipulation questions correctly. No participants scored three standard deviations above the mean on the Impression Management Scale of the BIDR ($M = 5.27$, $SD = 3.37$).

The final sample ($n = 447$) was similar to the previous sample. The sample was comprised of 287 females (64.2%) and 160 males (35.8%), ranging in ages from 18 to 24 ($M = 18.85$ years, $SD = .995$ years). The sample identified primarily as Caucasian (88.4%), followed by Black/African American (5.6%), Asian/Asian American (3.4%), American Indian/Alaskan (0.7%), Hawaiian (0.4%), and 1.6% of the sample identified as another race. Within that breakdown, 4.5% of participants identified as Hispanic/Latino/Spanish origin (4.5%). The sample largely identified as straight (93.7%) and in their first year of school (68.2%). The religious breakdown of the sample included Christian/Protestant (44.1%), Christian/Catholic (28%), non-religious (17.4%), Jewish (1.2%), Hindu (0.2%) and 8.6% identified as other.

The majority of the sample was registered to vote (72.9%) with 72.3% registered in a Southeastern state. The political make-up of the sample included 45.4% Republican, 20.6% did not identify with a political party, 17.2% Democrat, 11% Independent, 3.8% Libertarian, .4% Green Party, and 1.6% identified as other. Participants were asked to rate their social ideology based on a six-point Likert-scale (one = extremely liberal to six = extremely conservative); the sample's mean was 3.69 ($SD = 1.29$), once again suggesting a slightly more conservative sample.

Materials

Demographic questionnaire Participants completed the same demographic questionnaire from Study 1.

Academic Article(s) To manipulate implicit gender role theory, participants were randomly assigned and exposed to one of two versions of a short, fabricated, article adopted from Kray et al. (2017). Participants were told that they would be tested on the article content and should read the material closely. One version of the article summarized evidence for the notion that gender roles are immutable in society (e.g. “The vast majority of a society’s division of labor between the sexes is due to personal factors that remain stable over time”), while the other version provided support for the flexibility of gender roles in society (e.g. “The vast majority of a society’s division of labor between the sexes is due to environmental factors that can change over time”). The articles were matched for length and general content but differed in the “evidence” provided about gender roles being fixed or flexible over time.

Legislation Participants read summaries of the same six pieces of legislation described above. Participants answered how familiar they were with the bill (0 = Never heard of the bill, 100 = Very knowledgeable about the bill), whether they supported the bill (I support the bill, or I

oppose the bill), and how strongly they felt about their support/opposition (0 = I do not feel strongly, 100 = I feel very strongly about this).

Implicit Gender Role Theory Participants completed the same scale from Study 1 (Cronbach's alpha = .91) which is based on Kray et. al.'s (2017) scale.

Gender System Justification (Jost & Kay, 2005) Participants completed the identical measure of system justification used in Study 1. (Cronbach's alpha = .83).

Attitudes Toward Sex Roles Scale (Larsen & Long, 1988) Participants completed the Attitudes Toward Sex Roles Scale (Cronbach's alpha = .88), as they did in Study 1.

Gender Stereotype Endorsement (Brescoll & LaFrance, 2004) Participants completed the identical measure of gender stereotype endorsement as used in Study 1. (Cronbach's alpha = .72).

Self-stereotyping Participants completed the Bem Sex Role Inventory to measure self-stereotyping as was done in Study 1. (Cronbach's alpha for masculine scale = .86 and for the feminine scale = .84).

Gender Identity Strength Participants' psychological investment in was measured the same way as in Study 1. (Cronbach's alpha = .84).

Manipulation Check Participants were randomly assigned to a gender role group (changeable vs. fixed) and a brief article emphasizing that group served as the manipulation variable (see Procedures below). Participants also completed a measure of gender role beliefs and a one-way ANOVA found a significant difference between groups (changeable vs. fixed), $F(1, 445) = 4.129, p = .043$, indicating that the manipulation had the intended effect on participants beliefs regarding the fixedness of gender roles. Those who were exposed to an article discussing the immutability of gender roles reported increased belief in the fixedness of

gender roles, ($M = 3.79$, $SD = .97$), compared to participants exposed to an article about the mutability of gender roles, ($M = 3.57$, $SD = 1.05$, $d = 0.22$).

Comprehension Questionnaire Throughout the study procedures, questions were inserted to ensure participant attention and comprehension of the study materials. To ensure that the independent variables had the intended effect, participants responded to two multiple-choice questions about the content of articles they read. Failure to correctly identify the theme of the article resulted in the individual's data being discarded.

Procedures

Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions (fixed vs. changeable) and presented with a fabricated research article, which they were instructed to read carefully. They then viewed several pieces of legislation and indicated whether they supported or opposed the bill, how strongly they felt about their decision, and whether they were familiar with legislation of that kind. Additionally, participants responded to several self-report measures as well as a set of multiple-choice questions. Lastly, participants completed a basic demographic questionnaire. Following completion of the study, they were debriefed, given the option to destroy their data, and thanked for their time.

RESULTS

Study Aim 3: Influence of exposure to theory and system justification

We hypothesized that exposure to an implicit gender role theory would impact gender system justification, insofar that exposure to an entity theory would increase a participant's justification of the gender system; we further hypothesized that this effect would be true for men, but not for women. To determine if exposure to an implicit gender role theory impacted gender system justification, we conducted a 2 (participant sex) x 2 (implicit gender role theory: entity vs. incremental) between-subjects ANOVA while controlling for political affiliation to identify any significant differences between the four experimental groups. Results indicated that overall, men ($M = 4.21$, $SD = .81$) justified the current gender system more than women ($M = 3.67$, $SD = .87$, $d = 0.64$), $F(1, 442) = 36.63$, $p < .001$. Neither exposure to an implicit gender theory, $F(1, 442) = .053$, $p = .818$, nor its interaction with participant sex were significantly associated with system justification $F(1, 442) = .004$, $p = .947$.

Similarly, we repeated this between-subjects ANOVA with self-stereotyping as the outcome measure. Results suggested that overall, males ($M = .58$, $SD = .92$) self-stereotyped more than females, ($M = .30$, $SD = 1.0$, $d = 0.29$), $F(1, 442) = 6.214$, $p = .013$. Again, neither exposure to an implicit gender theory, $F(1, 442) = .473$, $p = .492$, nor its interaction with participant sex were significant factors, $F(1, 442) = 2.205$, $p = .138$.

We hypothesized that gender identity strength would mediate the relationship between exposure to an implicit gender role theory and gender system justification/self-stereotyping for men, but not for women. However, contrary to hypotheses, bivariate correlations indicated that

exposure to an implicit gender theory was not correlated with gender identity strength or either dependent variables (see [Table 9](#)). In light of this, the moderated mediation was not explored for either dependent variables.

Study Aim 4: Influence of Exposure to Theory and Voting Behavior

We hypothesized that exposure to an implicit gender role theory would predict participants' dichotomous voting decisions (support vs. opposition) as well as their confidence in that vote; specifically, we postulated that those exposed to an entity theory would be more likely to vote in such a way that would maintain the status quo. Participant sex and implicit gender role theory were entered simultaneously into a binomial logistic regression, with their interaction on the second step. For voting confidence, ratings were submitted to a 2 (participant sex) x 2 (implicit gender role theory: entity vs. incremental) between-subject ANOVA to identify any significant differences between the four experimental groups. Consistent with above, we controlled for political affiliation. All non-significant results for the regression analyses can be found in [Table 10](#).

Nearly all participants voted in favor of ensuring equal pay (90.8%). The initial model for the Equal Pay Vote was significant, $X^2(3) = 20.621, p < .001$, accounting for 9.8% of the variance. A look at the variables in the equation suggests this was driven by participant sex, $b = 1.548$, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 18.652, p < .001$, with males being 4.70 times more likely to oppose the bill than women. Experimental condition did not predict voting decisions $b = .223$, Wald $\chi^2(1) = .403, p = .525$. While the model that included the interaction term remained significant, $X^2(4) = 21.310, p < .001$, and accounted for 10.2% of the variance, none of the variables in the equation were significant.

Results regarding voting confidence mirrored results for the dichotomous decision. Confidence in voting decisions was associated with participant sex, $F(1, 442) = 14.943, p < .001$, with women ($M = 60.19, SD = 36.07$) more confident in their support for the bill than men ($M = 43.59, SD = 48.91, d = 0.39$). Neither experimental condition, $F(1, 442) = .10, p = .747$, nor its interaction with participant sex, $F(1, 442) = .13, p = .724$, were associated with voting confidence.

Similar to the Study 1 sample, 58.2% of participants voted in support of amending the draft legislation (i.e., the Military Draft Bill). The main effect of participant sex was significant, $X^2(3) = 20.822, p < .001, b = .91$, Wald $\chi(1) = 17.87, p < .001$, and accounted for 6.1% of the variance concerning the Military Draft Bill. Men were 2.48 times more likely to support requiring both sexes register for the draft. Again, while the second model was significant, $X^2(4) = 20.94, p < .001$, none of the variables were significant predictors.

Results from the ANOVA further suggested participant sex was associated with voting confidence, $F(1, 442) = 26.24, p < .001$, with men ($M = 31.88, SD = 64.97, d = 0.55$) being more confident in their decision compared to women ($M = -3.66, SD = 63.77$). Again, neither experimental condition, $F(1, 442) = 1.86, p = .173$, nor its interaction with participant sex, $F(1, 442) = .28, p = .594$, were associated with voting confidence.

Regarding the Family Leave Act, 83.9% of participants supported equal opportunities for the sexes regarding paid family leave. Results suggest no independent variables, or their interaction term predicted support or opposition for the bill. However, participant sex was associated with confidence ratings, $F(1, 442) = 5.51, p = .019$, with women ($M = 48.52, SD = 47.54$) being more confident in their support for the bill than men ($M = 36.25, SD = 50.22, d = 0.25$). Similar to previous analyses, neither experimental condition, $F(1, 442) = 1.78, p = .183$,

nor its interaction with participant sex, $F(1, 442) = .19, p = .664$, were associated with voting confidence.

Finally, regarding the Paternal Right to Decide Act, 30% of participants supported a man's right to relinquish his parental rights. While the overall model for the main effects was significant, $X^2(3) = 8.19, p = .042$, neither variable was a significant predictor. The second model, including the interaction term was non-significant, $X^2(4) = 8.76, p = .067$. Results from the 2 x 2 between subjects ANOVA, suggested that confidence ratings did not differ based on participant sex, $F(1, 442) = 2.09, p = .149$, experimental condition, $F(1, 442) = 3.42, p = .064$, or their interaction, $F(1, 442) = 2.32, p = .128$.

Our final hypothesis posited that gender identity strength would mediate the relationship between experimental condition (exposure to an implicit gender role theory) and voting decisions/confidence. However, experimental condition (the independent variable) was not correlated with gender identity strength (the mediating variable) or voting behavior (the dependent variables); as such, mediation analyses were not explored for either dependent variable (see [Table 11](#)).

DISCUSSION

The second study lent further support to the notion that males are more likely to justify the current gender system and to align themselves with gender role-congruent traits than females. Again, this is in line with a system justification orientation as men are primed to want to preserve their superior status while women are likely to distance themselves from their in-group and refute the current system. Furthermore, Study 2 supported Study 1 findings, suggesting participant sex significantly influences individuals' voting behavior and confidence ratings. Again, men were more likely to oppose legislation promoting equal pay and to support legislation that would add women to the draft than female participants. As discussed before, this may suggest that both males and females value equality when it benefits their own sex.

Despite our hypotheses, and although the data suggested the priming appeared to work, exposing participants to a specific implicit gender role theory did not influence male or female participants' justification of the current gender system, their likelihood of self-stereotyping, or their voting behavior. Likewise, although we hypothesized that gender identity strength would mediate the relationship between exposure to an implicit gender role theory and gender system justification, self-stereotyping, and voting behavior, the experimental condition (IGRT) was not significantly associated with the mediating or dependent variables, suggesting no mediating relationship.

Taken together, although the manipulation appeared to have its intended effect, exposure to an implicit gender role theory did not influence individuals' beliefs about gender roles at an individual, group, or systemic level. The reason for this is not immediately clear. The

experimental design did differ insofar participants in the current the study read about and voted on legislation directly after reading the articles as opposed to completing the measure of implicit gender role theory as participants did in Kray et al.'s study. Therefore, it is possible that factors other than the articles influenced the differences between groups. Alternatively, some research on priming suggests that priming tends to influence those already inclined to think, behave, or feel that way (e.g., Karremans, Stroebe, & Claus, 2006; Vicary, 1995); therefore the significant difference in implicit gender role theory score between the two experimental groups may be meaningless because individuals were already inclined to agree with the information they received. Finally, it may be that the significant difference is a fluke and is not representative of an effective prime.

Nonetheless, Study 1 and Study 2 suggest that both participant sex and views on the fixedness of gender roles influence how individuals view themselves and the current gender system and how they make decisions within such a system.

STUDY THREE

In the third and final study, qualitative methods examined how and why individuals came to decisions regarding the justification of the gender status quo including their endorsement or rejection of certain legislation. No previous study has examined the influence of implicit gender role theory on voting behavior in the United States directly. As such, additional emphasis was placed on the data obtained from the qualitative component. Qualitative approaches appear most beneficial when little is known about a phenomenon insofar, they permit a deeper and richer exploration and understanding than is typically allowed for in quantitative inquiry (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). Additionally, qualitative inquiry allows for the generation of empirically based hypotheses that can be examined quantitatively in subsequent research (Givens, 2016). In the current study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with individuals identified as having “strongly” supported or opposed gendered legislation.

The study’s qualitative component utilized Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA; Smith & Osborn, 2008) to explore participants’ description and justification of voting decisions. The primary purpose of this qualitative approach was to understand how individuals made sense of their experiences. As a qualitative approach, IPA promotes research based in psychological theory to understand and explain how participants form meaning regarding the experiences important to them, thus making it particularly well-matched for psychological studies (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). Built upon prior psychological research and theory, and in tandem with the current study’s quantitative component, the qualitative findings are first described

individually then integrated below in order to provide a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the data.

The study's qualitative component had two primary aims. First, it explored participants' beliefs about gender roles and how they fit in to the current gender system. Second, it explored participants' support for/opposition to two pieces of "gendered" legislation (i.e., The Military Draft Bill and the Paternal Right to Decide Act). The interview questions were designed to better understand the participant's reasoning and belief system and how that related to their support for/opposition to the bill. Additionally, the study explored how individual views on gender roles decision making within the voting context. Topics of discussion within this domain included participants' description, reasoning and justification of their voting behavior, evaluation of their decision to maintain or change their voting behavior, and exploration and explanation of their views on gender roles.

As is traditional with qualitative studies, a priori hypotheses were not formulated regarding the qualitative data (Creswell, 2015; Givens, 2016). Instead, we qualitatively explored the data with the goal of building new theories rather than evaluating existing theories (Sandelowski, 2000). Thus, we addressed the following central and secondary research questions:

1. How do individuals conceptualize gender roles and their effect on society?
 - a. How do individuals define gender roles and describe their experience within the gender system?
2. How do individuals describe and make meaning of their experiences within the political sphere?

- a. What features are common among individuals' descriptions of their voting decisions and experiences and how do they interpret these decisions?
 - b. How do individuals believe their views on gender roles influence their voting behavior?
3. How do individuals justify their voting behavior?
- a. What features do individuals rely most heavily on to defend their voting behavior?
 - b. How do individuals conceptualize their arguments when confronted with information contrary to their beliefs?

METHOD

Participants

Participants were recruited for Study 3 if a) they completed Study 1 or Study 2, b) they expressed a willingness to be contacted for follow up projects, and c) stated they “strongly oppose” or “strongly support” one or both of the selected pieces of legislation.

The sample consisted of 20 participants, ten females and ten males, ranging in ages from 18 to 24 ($M = 19.5$ years, $SD = 1.50$ years). The sample identified as Caucasian (80%) and Black/African American (20%). The majority of the sample reported being registered to vote (85%) with 90% being registered in a Southeastern state. The remaining three participants reported plans to register prior to the 2020 presidential election and explained they were not registered because they had not been old enough to vote in the prior presidential election. The political make-up of the sample included 30% Democrat, 20% Independent, 10% Republican, and 40% did not identify with a political party.

Materials

Semi-Structured Interview Qualitative inquiry that utilizes IPA is typically completed with semi-structured interviews as it allows flexibility and discussion of topics important to the participants in greater detail (Smith & Osborn, 2008). The qualitative interview guide consisted of several open-ended questions with additional follow-up probes, as needed. These questions were balanced so that the information presented included the same description of the legislation as previously provided, as well as the same reasons why people generally support and oppose the specific legislation. In general, the interview explored (1) the interviewees’ reasons for, and

justifications of their voting behavior, (2) the interviewees' perceptions of gender roles and their effects on society, and (3) the interviewees' motivations for justifying or refuting the current gender system and their voting behavior.

Demographic questionnaire Participants were asked to respond to questions about their age, sex, gender identity, racial/ethnic background, whether they were registered to vote, state of residence, and political party identification.

Procedures

Participants received an email soliciting participation if 1) they completed Study 1 or Study 2, and 2) indicated they would participate in additional research, and 3) either strongly supported or opposed the Military Draft Bill and/or the Paternal Right to Decide Act. If the participant was interested, they logged onto the Department of Psychology's subject pool and signed up for a time to come into the laboratory and complete Study 3 procedures. Recruitment was continued until we reached data saturation (Creswell, 1998; Mason, 2010; Morse, 1994).

Participants took part in a face-to-face interview, with the understanding that such methodology encourages trust in the research and increases cooperation (Holbrook, Green, & Krosnick, 2003). During the interview session, the investigator reviewed the informed consent document and obtained the participant's written consent. The participants also consented to audio recording the interview in order to aid in transcription. They were reminded that their participation was voluntary, and they need not respond to any questions that made them uncomfortable.

Participants were then asked about their attitudes towards gender roles. They were presented with the same legislation stimuli they were previously shown, and then asked several questions associated with the study aims. At times, they were presented with information that

countered their opinion and asked to respond. Finally, participants responded to several demographic questions. Once all questions were completed, the investigator reviewed a debriefing document and addressed any participant concerns.

The content of each interview was transcribed and de-identified. The text from the interviews served as the analyzed data. Transcripts of the interviews were uploaded into NVivo, a software program designed for qualitative data research. NVivo is designed in such a way as to aid in organization and analysis of non-numerical or unstructured data (QSR International, 2015). This software enables users to classify and code qualitative information, examine relationships among data sources; conduct text queries and word frequency counts, and work with both text and audio/video files (QSR International, 2015).

Data Analysis

The interpretive team consisted on three coders, two primary coders with one secondary coder to resolve differences as they arose during the coding process. Given that individuals are inseparable from the context within which they exist, the idea that researchers can hold their preconceived notions entirely in abeyance is nearly impossible; however, acknowledgment of the assumptions and biases that influence interviews and interpretation by researchers is essential (Crist & Tanner, 2003; Smith & Osborn, 2003). A meeting was held with the interpretive team prior to and throughout the interview process in order to evaluate and discuss any preexisting or emerging biases and/or thoughts regarding the phenomena being studied. Close attention was paid to any biases that may have influenced interviews or interpretation of participants' experiences. While it would be foolish to assume that such discussions ridded the team of their biases, the purpose of such activities was to illuminate ways in which these assumptions may have affected the interpretation of the participants' lived experience. Taken together, the final

interpretation of the data is an amalgam of participant experience, researcher understanding, and data from other sources such as previous findings (Wojnar & Swanson, 2007).

Generally, qualitative data analysis is utilized to detect patterns of ideas, conceptualize comprehensive themes, and form theories (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). In the current study, the analysis of the qualitative data was completed in accordance with recommendations for conducting an IPA. A “case by case” strategy was employed such that one transcript was analyzed in full before analyzing the next (Smith & Osborn, 2008). Patterns of ideas and/or phrases across narratives were combined to form broader themes and phrases (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). This process was employed for each individual transcript.

To conduct thematic analyses, both primary coders read each narrative several times to ensure familiarity with the information. Throughout these readings, coders engaged in a technique called memoing, in which coders record reflective notes about what they are learning from the data being coded. Its intended use is to aid researchers in “making conceptual leaps from raw data to those abstractions that explain research phenomena in the context which it is examined;” memos are believed to enhance data, enable continuity of conception and contemplation, and facilitate communication (Birks, Chapman, & Francis, 2008, p. 68).

Subsequently, the interpretive team met and used the previously written memos to direct and inform discussion of the interpretation of the narratives. Independent topics, themes, and phrases were compared across all transcripts in order to assign superordinate labels—abstractions of particular meanings found throughout the narratives. A table based on these comparisons was generated representing each super-ordinate and sub-ordinate theme. Extracts from the transcripts are used when describing the results to further elucidate the aforementioned themes (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

RESULTS

The qualitative portion of this mixed-method study first aimed to better understand participants' beliefs and understanding of gender roles as well as their own place within the gender system. Secondly, the qualitative inquiries aimed to understand how individuals make decisions regarding voting on certain pieces of legislation including what factors they consider, how they justify their vote when presented with opposing ideas, and how/if they consider gender roles or their own gender within his decision. The qualitative results illuminated a variety of themes for each of the qualitative research questions. As a result, each question and its primary themes and subthemes are discussed independently below.

Beliefs About Gender Roles and Participants' Experiences Within The Gender System.

Question one addressed individuals understanding of, and beliefs about gender roles, their effect on society, and participants' lived experiences within the gender system. In terms of participants' understanding of gender roles, one of the most prominent themes to emerge across narratives was the conflating of gender roles with gender, sex, gender identity, and/or sexual orientation with seemingly poor understanding of the separate social meaning of gender *roles*. When asked about their view on gender roles many participants discussed biological sex with explicit emphasis on biological/physical traits and features. For many participants, this was almost immediately followed by discussing transgender identities and whether they believed an individual was able to "change" genders. One participant summarized this theme concisely; when asked to share what gender roles meant to him, he stated "Honestly, I think it's basically what you're born with. Just you are what you are... I have to say that first aspect of you know,

what sexual parts that you have.” Later he added, “I do think that there are people out there that can change their roles and stuff like that because it's definitely in society... The first thing that comes to mind is, I can't remember the name of the TV show but it's this, if I'm not mistaken, it's this boy that he identifies as a girl and so he just he changes over to that. It's how he fits in with society, as a woman.” Many participants were focused on the biological and physical traits that differentiate males and females even when discussing their own gender identity and required redirection in order to elicit discussion of social roles. It was not that participants believed in biological determinism per se—the idea that roles and traits for men and women are natural and anchored in differing genes and physiology—but rather they seemed to distinctly and automatically collapse gender/gender roles into biological and physical traits without recognizing the separate but overlapping meaning of gender.

A similar theme emerged with sexual orientation as well. For example, one participant reported “I grew up in a traditional home understanding the difference between a male and a female. And I identify as a female. But I have other friends that identify as gay or lesbian and I don't have anything against them or what they stand for.” While sex, gender, gender identity, and sexual orientation are in many ways inextricable from gender roles and certainly overlap, many participants struggled to distinguish sex and gender. Participants' conflation of these terms caused gender to seem prescriptive and, in many ways, highlighted the ways in which men and women do not conform to gender role expectations on a grander scale. Participants were overly focused on the more extreme forms of gender role violations without understanding the perhaps more subtle and nuanced ways that even individuals whose sex “matches” their gender identity fail to conform to the fullest extent to the roles and traits of that gender identity (e.g., androgyny, assertive females). Notably, participants almost always expressed the notion that individuals

should be able to identify with any gender or sexual orientation of their choosing and that their personal views need not dictate societal views.

With many participants it was only after repeated prompting that they discussed their beliefs about gender *roles*. When participants did discuss their views on gender roles, nearly all participants reported they believed in the equality of the sexes; however, there were also some qualifications. Some participants (primarily, but not exclusively, female participants) simultaneously acknowledged the ways in which women were disadvantaged, while other participants discussed feeling as if gender roles are no longer present in society. Regardless of whether the participants believed this was a product of biology or social conditioning, they commonly indicated that societally, males are viewed as “outspoken,” “more assertive” or “aggressive,” “strong,” “in control,” and associated with acting as financial providers and are financially/vocationally motivated. Females were described as typically being viewed by society as “more emotional,” “nurturing,” “supportive,” “introverted,” and associated with the family domain.

Approximately half of the participants believed these descriptions to be at least partially true. For example, one participant stated, “I would say women are more emotional, so they’re more nurturing...but that’s not to say that men can’t be emotional either, but it’s just different, biologically it’s different.” Other participants recognized that while gender roles may be biologically influenced, that they were primarily a product of socialization. One participant said, “I think that society has rules on what it means to be male or female, and I think that some of the rules placed on being males and females are like needed, you know, like there needs to be distinction.” A few other participants took a different approach to the utility of gender roles, highlighting the usefulness of categorization, “If you define identity as the group of stereotypes

that society holds like men- all of these stereotypes, women- all of these stereotypes, and you identify with a good portion of them, then you just lump yourself into that group. I think a lot of the time when people identify like that, they're saying yeah, like I might not fit all or even most of these stereotypes, but I fit enough of them that I qualify in that group and usually it aligns with their sex but not always.”

When specifically asked whether they believed gender roles were fixed or malleable, 35% of participants (n = 7) stated they believed that gender roles are fixed and 65% (n = 13) reported believing that gender roles are changeable. Of those that believed that gender roles were fixed, all but one participant was male. However, participants across both groups conceded that the opposite was also true and therefore were not always clear in their opinion. Individuals who believed gender roles were fixed acknowledged that people could choose to not conform to those roles—meaning there was some fluidity, but they viewed those individuals as anomalies. One participant stated,

“Of course there’s like extreme individuals, you know certain women CEOs that are you know, that’s what they do and they’re very good at it. And then there’s certain women who are complacent with living in a home and taking care of child and operating the house...And you know I think there’s movement, I think you can move if you want. But for the most part those gender roles fit how most people live their lives.”

Conversely, participants who believed that gender roles were changeable discussed how in many ways they were societally fixed—meaning that those gender roles were perpetuated throughout society and were unlikely to change.

Regardless if they believed in the fixedness or changeability of gender roles, almost all participants discussed the ways in which women had gained equality or were still striving towards equality. Typically, participants referenced women’s’ shift into the workforce and the increased representation of females in leadership roles when describing the advancements; as

well as highlighting the gender pay gap and that women are still viewed as responsible for child-rearing/caretaking. However, very few participants discussed the ways in which gender roles had changed for or affected men. In fact, only three participants discussed the effects of gender roles on men more broadly and they were all female participants. These participants discussed stay at home fathers and specifically felt that men “put so much on themselves to be this or not be that...” and society is “setting men up for failure because you automatically tell them you’re not a good caregiver whereas, like, if you raised them to be and told them they could, then maybe they could be.”

Male and female participants also differed in their psychological investment in gender—although across genders some participants felt their gender was not central to their identity, but still recognized the ways in which it influenced their life. For females, five participants explicitly stated that being a female was central to their identity; four of the five participants felt this was because they were acutely aware of the negative attitudes towards women. Three of those participants said it motivated them to act in ways that would combat or ameliorate the effect of those attitudes on their identity; the other participant reported had learned to internalize her opinions. Nearly all female participants identified ways in which their gender identity influenced their professional goals. While some of the female participants thought it helped shape their professional aspirations (e.g., for one participant feeling motherly led her to pursue nursing), many of them recognized some of the obstacles or barriers they may face within their career fields. Female participants pursuing law, medical, and engineering degrees (to name a few), reported feeling like they had to work harder to be taken more seriously, act more assertively, and be more outspoken. A few participants ($n = 2$) acknowledged their gender identity

sometimes advantaged them because they might receive special attention or commendations from male authority figures.

The interpretive team was surprised to see that, although many female participants used the term “we” when discussing being female, no participants discussed their interactions with and connections to other females. In fact, in many instances female participants distanced themselves from women more broadly. When asked whether being a woman was important to her, one female responded “I don't think it's very... I wouldn't... it's not critical to me. The way I was raised, I come off as very masculine to most people. The notions I have of feminine people don't often apply to me.” Several other females identified certain broad situations that might be difficult for women in general but clarified they did not think they would have difficulty dealing with those situations. Female participants were more likely to express indignation towards the subordination of women generally, while simultaneously discussing how they personally were not worried about their ability to overcome potential obstacles. For example, one participant discussed her ability to assert herself in the face of sexism in her occupation; she stated,

“A lot of the things about unfairness really get to me and I get like very like emotional about that, like it like makes me mad. So, I just think that like if you're in a situation where you are being pushed to the side because of something that is like not your fault or it's unfair like you have to speak your mind... And I'm like I'm confident in myself that I would speak out and like make sure that gets taken care of it.”

This theme was seen repeatedly—females reportedly unconcerned about their personal place within the gender hierarchy.

Regarding male participants, 80% believed that being a man was important to their identity. For a few of these males, they reported feeling pressure to conform to certain ideals. One participant stated, “But I think as a man I do feel a little bit of pressure to like find myself and define myself and have some kind of identity in a community like profession or something where I can make a living for myself and have a family and associate with other men.” Other

male participants felt it actually shaped their personality, “I guess...well over the years, I've tried to become more of a man than I used to be. And that included becoming sort of less agreeable and more extroverted.” In contrast to females, many males felt that being male was important because it defined how they interacted with others (particularly other men) and their sexual attraction. For example, several male participants discussed how being a man influenced the ways in which they interact differently with other men or with women. One participant shared that when with a group of men “typically it’s really competitive; it’s always a competitive environment with men and that’s just sort of a biological thing.” He went on to describe that there is “just a hierarchy and men live within that hierarchy and you have to constantly sort of maintain your status.” This notion was echoed several times with male participants indicating they had to act more assertively when with other men but were able to interact with women in a more congenial and intimate manner.

A few of the male participants acknowledged the ways in which their gender advantaged them including notions of increased safety, preferential treatment in occupational settings—including salaries and leadership roles, and general respect. One participant summarized this nicely, “I don't have to have more fear than women do when it comes to like going places alone... and hiring opportunities as in if someone is more inclined to hire a man over a woman.”

A final note about the importance of gender to participants’ identity that was largely absent from the narratives was discussion of intersectionality, with only four participants discussing identities other than gender. There were three female participants who identified as “African American” or “Black” women and when asked about the centrality of gender to their identity discussed specifically how the intersection of those identities shaped them; “Well, first of all, I like describe my identity first as, of course, I am black and then the next big thing I

would say is I'm a woman. And I feel like both of those are kind of like hard to be, so I feel like being a black woman is like a big part of my identity.” Another participant highlighted that this intersection motivated her to be a role model for young black women. One male participant spoke extensively about his identity as a White man. He shared,

“I've heard it described as like when you're playing the game of Life and your character comes out male or when you're playing the game of life and your character comes out white, there are just less like roadblocks and less bumps along the way until you get to the end. The process is just a little more streamlined because traditionally white males are given preference, white males are asked less questions, white males are paid more. Like when people discriminate against demographics, white males are the least discriminated against demographic usually.”

He went on to acknowledge that he cannot necessarily stop others from treating him that way, but that he does his best to act in ways that do not perpetuate such a system. No other participants discussed intersectionality.

Describing and Justifying Political Behavior and The Influence Of Gender Role Beliefs

Considering system justification theory has been conceptualized as being affected by both dispositional and situational factors (Jost et. al., 2005), voting behavior is discussed as it pertains to each specific bill. After attending to the individual bills, themes that emerged across specific decisions is discussed to highlight how individuals more broadly make and justify decisions within the political sphere.

The Military Draft Bill An important first point is that numerous participants reported being fundamentally against the draft overall; they reported feeling that it was unfair, unjust, and wrong to force people into military service. In many of these cases, they conceded that if a draft were to be reinstated, both males and females should be required to register, while a few believed the legislation should remain as currently written.

Consistent with the quantitative results, 65% of participants endorsed support for females being added to the draft. Looking at voting behavior down the gender divide, 70% of females (n

= 7) and 60% of males (n = 6) supported the bill. Across genders, one of the biggest themes to emerge regarding support for the bill was staunch beliefs in equality. For some individuals this belief was partially driven by the belief that if females want equality, then they must also accept equality when it disadvantages them. One female stated, “You can’t expect to be treated equally and get the same opportunities, but then when it comes down to the gritty work be like ‘Oh, but I should get favoritism.’” This notion was echoed by both male and female participants. For males specifically, several discussed how they had not wanted to register for the draft but were compelled to and how this shaped their belief that it would be most fair for both men and women to register.

However, many of the supporters (particularly male supporters) believed there might be some qualifications regarding the frontline, echoing the idea that females may not be as physically prepared for combat as their male counterparts. In tandem with this belief, there was a consensus amongst supporters that men (on average) were more prone to violence and aggression; some believed this was biologically/physically based, while others believed this was socially conditioned. Nonetheless, these participants did not believe this should disqualify women from registering for the draft as there were numerous other roles that could be fulfilled within the military, and many believed that there were plenty of females capable of fighting on the frontlines.

Another predominant theme emerged when participants who supported the bill were presented with an opposing rationale; namely, that females are not mentally or emotionally equipped for the military. Eight of the 13 participants that supported the bill countered with statements that males were no more or less prepared than females. Both males and females asserted the ways in which men are negatively affected by the draft including increasing numbers

of individuals who suffer from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder among male and female veterans. Again, several male participants discussed how they personally did not feel ready for war and/or were not interested in being in the military—suggesting that being unprepared was not gender specific. Additionally, several participants discussed how they believe females emotional intelligence is a strength. One male participant stated, “I’d argue that societal stereotypes both expect women to be over emotional *and* them to control it...women have more experience with struggle...so if they’re expected to control it in society, what’s changing between doing it here and doing it there.” A similar notion was echoed by a few female participants noting that “women are on average asked to mature more quickly than men,” and that “the fact is that women deal with their emotions more than men...we’re told even with our stereotypes to talk about our feelings...guys are more likely to hold that in and not seek counseling because, you know, society does tell them to keep their emotions to themselves and like you’re a man, you don’t need to break down.” In this way, participants spun the argument to highlight how emotionality may be beneficial long-term, as it positions women in a better place to deal with their feelings continuously and after the fact.

Of those participants that opposed the bill, male and females tended to oppose it for different reasons. The three female participants that opposed the bill did so to protect their own self-interest. These participants acknowledged the ways in which not being drafted benefitted them and did not desire to change that. Two of them believed that men were simply more capable both physically and mentally and that females would be more likely to struggle and/or die than males. One participant acknowledged the unfairness but reasserted the notion, “if it ain’t broke, don’t fix it.” Males that opposed the bill also believed that men were better suited for military not only physically and mentally, but because that’s how the U.S. military has almost

always been—men fighting. Three of the four male detractors felt that drafting women would affect the solidarity of the military, questioning how well men and women might operate together in that environment. Another theme that arose was chivalry; male participants felt it was their duty to go to war over their mothers, sisters, or girlfriends. The idea that any female close to them could be drafted when they were not made them uneasy and they felt compelled to have men be drafted and women have the option to enlist. Across male and females, opposing views such as the idea that females could fill a multitude of roles (including roles other than combat) and therefore relieve some pressure on men, all participants felt this was not enough for them to change their minds—they simply believed women should not be required to register.

Regardless of voting behavior, numerous participants discussed how a familial history of and/or personal experience with the military influenced their decisions. Some individuals discussed how a long line of military family and their own experiences (several participants were in ROTC and one participant had served in a combat role) made them believe that the military could benefit from males and females; that both males and females should want to fight for their country; that if their parent could do it then they could too; and/or the military benefits from the traditional roles it currently holds. Conversely, a few participants discussed having observed the adverse effects of the military on family members and how they hoped to distance themselves from this. Several participants cited their upbringing as a main factor in their decisions, citing how either egalitarian or traditional views learned from their parents, environment, or in some cases religion had shaped their conceptualization of what men and women should be required to do.

The Paternal Right to Decide Act Regarding a man's ability to relinquish his parental rights, only 25% (n = 5) of participants supported the bill with the majority (n = 15) opposed to

the legislation. Seven out of ten males and eight out of ten females opposed the bill with the remaining minority being made up of three males and two females. Briefly, a few participants explicitly discussed their beliefs about women's reproductive rights, however, we generally refrained from discussing those beliefs in depth in an effort to focus on the bill at hand. To the extent that the two were related though, these ideas and themes were also explored.

Notably, many participants were almost outraged by this bill. Some participants openly laughed at the bill and the arguments in favor it. Amongst many things, participants called it "absolutely ridiculous," "significantly immoral," and "entirely misguided." Overwhelmingly, participants, regardless of sex, believed that this bill served as a "cop out" for men. Several participants believed that absentee fathers are already a significant problem in our society and that this bill would make such behavior permissive and perhaps even increase how often this occurs. A theme repeatedly found in narratives was that men tend to be irresponsible and that society typically allows men to act in these ways without many consequences. Participants believed that potential fathers needed to be held accountable for their behaviors and staunchly opposed this bill. Such beliefs were voiced across gender with both males and females suggesting things such as "we should want to have men who are responsible for their offspring," and that this bill would be "very bad for fatherhood."

Almost all participants in opposition to the bill believed that a male makes a decision to potentially be a parent at the time of sex. Repeatedly, participants stated that "no one is forced into parenthood." They highlighted that contraceptive is more accessible now with numerous options and so a decision to have protected or unprotected sex was tantamount to saying one is "ready to accept the possible consequences of sex." They believed that when a man is fundamentally linked to the conception of a child that he has a responsibility to be present for

that child—at the minimum financially supporting the child. In fact, some participants pushed for males to be more involved in childrearing decisions and saw this as a firm argument against this bill—citing ways in which men can be more involved in deciding about bringing fetuses to term and what happens if/when children are born.

When presented with the opposing view that the bill would create reproductive equality, most participants felt that the biological nature of the reproductive systems of men and women made reproductive equality simply impossible; they believed such comparisons were fruitless and baseless. One participant did state that if there were not numerous constraints on a women's right to choose that she would be in favor of the bill but given the current state of affairs she had to oppose it. Given this, opponents of the bill believed that it significantly failed women. This struck several female participants on a personal level, noting how the bill could negatively impact their future.

Another prominent theme was participants' ideas that the bill would significantly and adversely affect children. When presented with the notion that such a bill would potentially lessen the amount of children abandoned later in life and empower females (insofar as they would be able to prepare for their circumstances with full knowledge), numerous participants discussed having absentee fathers, or close friends or family who had uninvolved fathers. Many of them believed that *when* a male left made no difference. They highlighted the negative ways in which the father leaving affects the mother (a specific point of many male participants) but also the ways in which it had affected them or their loved ones as children specifically. From this came several notions about the importance of fathers in children's lives. Most, although not all, participants believed it was essential to have both parents, and many believed that children specifically needed a male figure in their life. Family was viewed as a fundamental unit in

society, placing responsibility on both mother and father to take care of the child. Participants seemed to have difficulty describing the specific ways in which father figures influenced children's lives; however, some viewed males as the "dominant" person and "enforcer" in the family dynamic. Other participants spoke about the importance of having two parents regardless of the parents' sex. They believed that having two parents not only benefited the single parent, but that by having two incomes, two personalities/sets of traits to learn from, and two support systems that a child's life would be significantly better. One respondent summarized:

"I think putting this in the law would just... I think it would hurt people more than it would help people in the long term. And I think we should focus on individual moral progress as a marker for health and other things like that and working on not separating the family as much as we can. I think [family is] an important fundamental unit in our society."

For the minority who supported the bill, male and female participants had very different rationale. The three male participants who supported the bill all believed that it provided some protection for men. More specifically, they felt that if a man had proactively engaged in safe sex but nevertheless impregnated someone that he should have some say in whether he is involved. Amongst this, they discussed how men may be "trapped" in relationships; but the primary drive was that they worried that having a baby would radically change their lives and they wanted to have an option. They viewed this bill as a way to give men more voice in the decision, including their own best interest. On the other hand, the two females who opposed the bill both believed that women were capable of supporting themselves and their children on their own. They felt that they personally would not need or want a male who was not interested in being part of their child's life and therefore thought men should have the right to choose.

Arguments that this bill unfairly equated a "paper" or "financial" abortion with the physical abortion that women must undergo prompted participants to reply "yes, but..." All five

participants conceded that the decisions and procedures were different, *but* they believed men should have a choice as well. For example, a male respondent said

“I understand completely because like if a guy does choose like, ‘no I don’t want to take part in this,’ all he is saying is, you know, ‘you do it.’ I understand the point, it’s just like not having a voice doesn’t really exactly feel good.”

For the male participants, it was more about their opportunity to exercise their rights in some way than what a female was or was not allowed to do (the theme females focused on). The female participants believed either both males and females *had* to face their consequences or that neither of them could be compelled to; when stated that some people believe that men should face the consequences of their behavior one female respondent replied “True, but then you can’t let a woman have an abortion, make her face her consequences too.” It appears that for these respondents, equality was the most important value regardless of context.

Overall Themes In Describing Beliefs And Decision Making.

A few broad themes emerged across all questions. Most, although not all, participants had a difficult time articulating what they believed; they frequently used the word “like,” and trailed off before completing a full sentence or thought. While anxiety about answering questions in the research setting may have contributed to these difficulties, there was little to no improvement over the course of the interviews despite often clear comfort with the interviewer. Many participants seemed to have under- or poorly developed understandings of what and why they believed certain things. Generally, participants were easily flustered—on these occasions they were given time to think through their answers, yet they continued to struggle with explanations or elaborations. Occasionally participants contradicted themselves and then were unable to reconcile the two competing statements/beliefs. In some instances, they almost changed their opinions, flip flopping between opposition or support for a bill or whether gender roles were

fixed or malleable. In other instances, respondents simply repeated their own beliefs without much consideration of alternative views or opinions.

Another theme was the sources of respondents' beliefs. All participants, at some point referenced their family background including the dynamics and values they were raised with. In fact, across all participants, family seemed to come up most often and have the biggest influence on individual's beliefs. In some cases, participants stated they held opinions or acted in ways in contrast to those instilled upon them during childhood. However, most participants indicated their values and beliefs were shaped by their upbringings. Other sources of information included their own personal research, with many of them stating that they take the time to learn about both sides of an opinion before forming their own. Lastly, some participants mentioned media/social media as sources of information, particularly when referring to their understanding of gender and gender roles.

Overall, participants' uncertainty, reliance on or distancing from their parents/background, and their desire to seek out information is perhaps best explained by Arnett's (2000) theory of the distinct developmental period known as emerging adulthood. Briefly, Arnett posited that young people between ages 18 and 25 now represent a new developmental period as there has been significant changes in the societal structures that differentiate adolescence from adulthood; more specifically, young adults are putting off marriage, jobs, and having families for this period of "change and exploration" (Arnett, 2005, p. 479). This developmental period includes five dimensions: (1) identity exploration—exploring various feelings and experiences; (2) experimentation/possibilities—being able to make significant changes in one's life by exploring new ways of living; (3) negativity/instability—focused on the individual's ability to remain confident despite all the changes; (4) self-focus—

shifting from being self-focused to other-focused; and (5) feeling in-between—feeling as if one is not quite an adult but also not still a child. Given that all the participants fell within this developmental stage's age range, it is possible that many of them are still figuring out what they believe, how much they want to differentiate themselves from their parents, and how to prioritize their own wants and needs in comparison to the needs of others.

Across quantitative and qualitative data, females were less likely to self-stereotype and less likely to believe that being a woman was an important part of their identity. In fact, most females distanced themselves from prototypical feminine traits, particularly those viewed as a possible weakness in society (e.g., being submissive). This was in contrast to males, who across quantitative and qualitative data were much more likely to self-stereotype and believe that their manhood was an important part of their identity. While females discussed ways in which they have overcome the obstacles of the gender hierarchy, many males discussed how being a man influences their behaviors and identity—insofar they felt compelled to, or simply did, conform with many male gender roles/traits. The move towards gender equality has primarily focused on women gaining access to and succeeding in stereotypical male roles, with little support for or motivation to encourage men to cross that same gender divide (Bosson & Michniewicz, 2013; Croft, Schmader, & Block, 2015).

The nature of the gender hierarchy manifests in such a way that women are taught to shed their femininity and communality in favor of agency to gain power and respect; conversely, men readily devalue the traits associated with communality and the lower status group (Croft et al., 2015; Schmader et al., 2001). While people's stereotypes about women have evolved (Diekmann, Goodfriend, & Goodwin, 2014), male stereotypes are significantly more rigid (e.g., Diekmann et al., 2004) primarily due to their superior status. Croft, Schmader and Block (2015) introduce a

call-to-arms insofar they highlight the lack of research and/or interest in examining the cultural and psychological barrier that prevent men from assuming more communal roles. This, they suggest, perpetuates the gender hierarchy. As seen in the current study, men are more likely to be influenced by and identify with their gender to avoid backlash for violating such gender role norms, consistently working towards and maintaining that superior status.

OVERALL DISCUSSION

The purpose of this mixed-method study was to understand how beliefs about gender roles influence individual's justification of the gender system particularly as it pertains to their political decision making. Operating through the lens of an implicit gender role theory, we aimed to partially replicate Kray et al's (2017) study and expand it to include the distal outcome of voting behavior. Two quantitative studies explored the relationship between participants sex, implicit gender role theory, system justification and several other gender-relevant beliefs as well as support for or opposition to pieces of public policy. The qualitative component was utilized to garner a more in depth understanding of how and why participants make certain political decisions as well as how they understand the gender system and their place within it, with the understanding that it would better inform our quantitative findings.

Our first hypothesis was that implicit gender role theory and participant sex would predict gender system justification, preference for traditional gender roles, and self-stereotyping; such that men, entity theorists, and male entity theorists would be more likely to believe in and bolster the current system. Data from Study 1 supported this hypothesis. Males were more likely to identify as entity theorists, justify the current gender system, and prefer traditional gender roles than females. Entity theorists were also more likely to justify the current gender system and to prefer traditional gender roles compared to incremental theorists. There was also a significant interaction such that male entity theorists were more likely to self-stereotype (identify with masculine traits) and feel that their gender is central to their identity compared to any other

group. Furthermore, data indicated that increased identity strength for men predicted justification of the gender system. All of these relationships existed over and above political affiliation.

Taken together, holding an entity theory of gender roles seems particularly important when considering our current gender system. Regardless of sex, individuals that believed gender roles were fixed were more likely to justify the current gender system and prefer traditional gender roles, suggesting an overall acceptance of the current gender dynamics. Considering entity theorists tend to rely heavily on stereotypes and believe in the permanence of gender roles, it makes sense that, regardless of sex, these individuals would support the gender system at a societal level (system justification) and group level (traditional gender roles) (Kray et. al., 2017). System justification theory would posit that men and women endorse such beliefs in order to maintain a shared reality, reduce uncertainty, and manage perceived threats (Jost et. al., 2010).

However, in the current sample men's beliefs about the gender system and their place within that system were associated with implicit gender role theory. Believing that gender roles were fixed was associated with men's increased identification with stereotypical masculine traits and in-group identification. In other words, men who believed in the fixedness of gender roles viewed themselves as more masculine and placed more weight on the importance of their gender to their identity. It makes sense that men who view roles and traits as critically linked to gender and who hold the power and status in the current gender hierarchy, would want to more closely align themselves with masculine traits and their in-group. Such beliefs complement and reaffirm their place in the hierarchy (Jost et al, 2015).

The current sample differed from Kray et. al's (2017) sample in that no interaction emerged between implicit gender role theory and participant sex. They believed that this was because there was no triggering of gender system justification motive, however the same was not

true in the current sample. Perhaps, as mentioned before, many of the participants are emerging adults and are still working through their own identities and making sense of what they have learned and what they believe (Arnett, 2005). Kray et al's sample including a larger age range (26 - 34 years), thus it is possible that their participants had a more solidified understanding of themselves and more time to differentiate or align themselves with the societal depictions of gender roles. Furthermore, as the qualitative data suggests, many participants erroneously equated sex, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, and gender roles. Given participants underdeveloped understanding of the nuances amongst those constructs, it is possible that the males in the current sample may have been explicitly distancing themselves from current "hot topics" such as the LGBTQ+ movement.

Consistent with Kray et al (2017), gender identity strength moderated the relationship between participant sex and gender system justification. Males were more likely to justify the current system, but only when they felt being a man was a critical piece of their identity. The same relationship did not exist for females. These results suggest that men's tendency to justify the current gender system may arise from egocentrism insofar when being a man is an essential piece of how they see themselves, men operate in ways to maintain their status (Jost et al, 2005; Kray et al, 2017).

The qualitative data, while much more difficult to quantify, lends some support to the abovementioned results. Although a small portion of the sample identified as entity theorists (35%), all but one of those participants is a male. Additionally, 80% of male respondents believed their gender was important to their identity while only 50% of females believed the same. Consistent with system justification theory, several of the males believed their gender was important to their identity because it defined how they interacted with others, pursued their goals,

and afforded them privilege. Also consistent with justification theory, a few male participants believed that gender was important because they were constantly thinking about how to maintain that status, therefore consistently having to manage potential threats. Thus, the motive to prove their manhood is stronger than females need to prove their femininity because it dictates their membership in the more elite social group and burdens them to prove their masculinity (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004; Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009; Vandello & Cohen, 2008).

Invoking an implicit gender role theory did not influence any dependent variables in Study 2, and it is not entirely clear why. It is possible that the priming was not salient despite differences in implicit gender role theory scores. Or, perhaps invoking an implicit gender role theory simply did not trigger system justification motives for this sample as Kray et al. (2017) had anticipated. It may be that reading the article about the fixedness of gender roles was not an explicit enough threat to these male participants' status nor increase their psychological investment in their gender; and therefore it did not influence their gender system justification. Replication is needed to clarify if Kray et al.'s original findings represent a true effect or if methodological manipulation is actually ineffectual.

Gender Roles and Voting Behavior

Our hope was to expand Kray et al.'s study to examine if implicit gender role theory and system justification theory could explain men's and women's voting behavior. Considering politics and gender roles are ubiquitous in daily life they tend to reinforce each other (Conway et al., 2017). We hypothesized that men and entity theorists would vote on public policy in such a way as to justify and maintain the current gender hierarchy. Across all three studies support for/opposition to the pieces of public policy were consistent and partially supported our hypotheses.

In Studies 1 and 2 the majority of people voted in favor of equal pay (Fair Pay Act 89% and 91%, respectively). Across both studies men were five times more likely to oppose the bill than women. For male participants in Study 1, when they reported placing increased importance on being a man, they were significantly more confident in their decision. In the Study 1, entity theorists were more likely to oppose the bill than incremental theorists. System justification theory supports both results; men want to protect their power and status as the more highly valued individuals in the work force both on a societal and in-group level (e.g., manage threats and maintain power), while entity theorists want to maintain a shared reality where it makes most sense for males to be more highly regarded in the workforce and maintain their “breadwinner” status given the permanency of gender roles (Jost et al., 2010).

Regarding equal rights and access to leave for familial reasons, again the majority of participants voted in favor of the bill (Family Leave Act, 87% and 84%, respectively). In Study 1, males were two times more likely to oppose the bill, however, in Study 2, no independent variables predicted voting behavior. These results suggest beliefs that gender roles are fixed or malleable do not influence political decisions about family leave. Further, participant sex was not a consistent predictor across studies. System justification may explain why males voted against the bill. Such voting behavior may have been an effort to reaffirm men’s place in the workforce meaning they did not want to support the shift of men into the domestic world. Alternatively, highlighting females’ roles as caretakers might have triggered benevolent sexism, insofar that perceptions of women’s nurturing side is often inversely related to beliefs about their competence (Glick & Fiske, 1997, 2001). Thus, men may have viewed the details in the bill as indicative of women’s incompetence in occupational settings (e.g., it economically comes at too high a price, women are unlikely to return to work). Both these explanations are possible and

support the theory that men are primed to act in ways that preserve their social status (e.g., Hornsey, et al., 2003; Kray et al., 2017). However, considering there was no consistent finding across studies it would be imprudent to draw conclusions from the data without replication.

Regarding the military draft, across all three studies, a little under two-thirds of the sample supported the bill (61%, 58% and 65%, Study 1, 2, and 3 respectively). Quantitative data indicated men were much more likely to support the bill than women. During the qualitative portion males and females were equally as likely to support the bill (women = 7, men = 6). Men tended to vote against the current gender system by promoting an all-gender draft. In the qualitative scenarios, male participants explained they believed in the equality of the sexes, that females would strengthen the military, that males were no more physically or emotionally prepared than females, that males were equally susceptible to the trauma of war, and that if women really did want equality, they should want it across all domains. Like Kray et al (2017), data suggest that, for men, a shift in understanding of gender roles from being fixed to changeable may allow for creative change within the gender hierarchy. In this scenario, perhaps for male participants who held an incremental theory, the pressure to maintain their status was alleviated and they recognized the ways in which a shift in the gender hierarchy may be beneficial for both males and females. Alternatively, males may have been voting in their own self-interest; research suggests that self-interest plays a powerful role when the effects of a policy on the individual are clearly connected (Green & Gerken, 1989; Kim, 2013). For men, the benefits of such a policy (i.e., potentially less likely to get drafted) were unambiguous, potentially making the decision to support the bill an act of self-preservation and a way to ameliorate possible death anxiety.

Conversely, implicit theory and system justification theory might explain why males would *oppose* this bill. The males, whose reasoning echoed a fixed theory of gender roles, were more likely to feel as if they needed to “prove” their gender, which would be to maintain power over females—with males wanting to prove that they are best positioned to be in power, particularly military power (e.g., Jost et al., 2005; Kay et al., 2017). In the qualitative narratives a few males believed that opposing the bill was the more chivalrous thing to do and believed women should be protected because of their physical and emotional natures. This is more akin to ambivalent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996) which posits that female stereotypes consist of highly favorable and unfavorable attributes which lead women to be both subjugated and exalted. Consistent with qualitative data, males who oppose the bill are likely to view women as fragile and in need of protection. These beliefs may coexist with evolutionary theory which posits that human behavior is driven by a need to garner advantage over one’s environment in order to protect their survival and maximize the propagation of genes (Darwin, 1859; Hill, 2013; Petersen, 2016; Weeden & Kurzban, 2017). Therefore, these men, are likely acting in their own evolutionary interests in order to protect and preserve their potential for reproduction (e.g., wives, girlfriends).

Women are said to engender similar beliefs when their roles are seen as highly valued, suggesting that benevolent sexism and system justification may also explain why females would be less inclined to support the addition of their in-group to the draft. Consistent with themes seen in the qualitative narratives, system justification posits that inferior group members tend to justify a system that disadvantages them when the advantages of that system are highlighted (e.g., Calogero & Jost, 2011; van der Toorn et al., 2015) while benevolent sexism suggests that the ascription of favorable and highly valued traits may flatter women into accepting certain roles (Jackman, 1994). These female opponents discussed the notion that men have always filled

military roles and were better suited for those roles. They made specific note that they personally did not want to sign up for the draft, that they would be more likely to struggle than males, and that they appreciated being protected in this sense.

The quantitative data also indicated entity theorists were more likely to oppose females being added to the draft. Considering entity theorists rely heavily on stereotypes and tend to be more conservative and traditional, it is not surprising that they would want to maintain the traditions of the military and to emphasize the protection of women (Kray et. al., 2017). Although not explicitly stated, numerous participants endorsed fixed ideas of gender roles when describing their reasoning for their vote, particularly as it pertained to females in combat roles. Such beliefs did not necessarily detract supporters' endorsement of the bill, but beliefs about the strength and proneness to aggression/violence of men were apparent throughout the narratives. In that sense, it appears that entity theorists may still engender and perpetuate a hierarchical system even within a move towards egalitarianism.

The Paternal Right to Decide Act was specifically picked for its controversial nature. It was viewed as a push for reproductive equality while also being offensive towards societal notions of family and parenting. Across studies, support for the bill ranged from 25% to 34%. Quantitative data indicated male entity theorists were 1.4 times more likely to oppose the bill than any other group. Thus, men who believed gender roles were fixed had strong convictions that biological fathers should not be allowed to relinquish their parental rights. Considering the notion of men as “breadwinners” is inextricably linked to their roles as men, fatherhood is a critical form of masculinity (Medved, 2016; Petroski & Edley, 2006). While the prototypical view of men as fathers is rooted in hegemonic masculinity—insofar the “good” fathers are expected to financially provide for their families and thus maintain authority within the familial sphere

(Ammari & Schoenebeck, 2015; Lamb, 2000; Medved, 2016) —more recent conceptualizations of fatherhood suggest that financial responsibility is a minimum requirement (Hunter, Riggs, & Augoustinos, 2017). Unsurprisingly, current data suggest that males who believe in the fixedness of gender roles would view this bill as an affront to the traditional male roles in the family domain.

Qualitative data echoed quantitative results. The major of the sample (75% overall, 70% of males and 80% of females) opposed the bill and viewed it as morally reprehensible. Many participants believed absentee fathers were already a pervasive issue in society and that legislation should be created to decrease this phenomenon, not increase it. The notion that men could separate themselves from their children with no consequences was seen as the antithesis of the male gender role. A number of theories might explain these positions. System justification theory would suggest that both males and females want to emphasize the current gender system but for different reasons. Diminishing the importance of men in the domestic domain as nurturer and/or provider fundamentally destabilizes the current gender system, insofar men are seen as non-essential to domestic life. However, hegemonic masculinity (Connell & Connell, 2000) places importance on males filling the provider role and maintaining power in the domestic sphere, thus men who strongly believe that gender roles are fixed are likely to view this as a threat to their power and status which increase system justification (Jost et al., 2005; Kray et al., 2017).

Similarly, female participants may justify the current gender system because they feel powerless (Calogero & Jost, 2011; Glick & Fiske, 2001; Jost & Kay, 2005). In American society, despite advancement, women continue to face more pressure than men to be involved parents (Geiger, Livingston, Bialik, 2019). The “good” mother is expected to be selfless and to put the

needs of her children above all else; in fact, her love for her children is expected to overcome any physical, emotional, financial or moral obstacles (Enos, 1996; Chesler, 2011). This bill, if passed, would likely increase the burden on women when they may already feel powerless in the current hierarchy. This was reflected in several female participants' beliefs that they would not want a man to be able to walk out on them if they were in this position, particularly for those who had personal moral objections to abortion—which substantially limited their options and power in such situations.

Taken together, implicit gender role theory partially explains both men's and women's justification of the current system including their voting behavior, over and above political affiliation. Men voted in ways that perpetuated the current gender system except when faced with threats to their evolutionary needs. Women also voted in ways that legitimized the current gender system and this was seen primarily in situations in which a change in dynamics would either place them at risk or further impinge upon their autonomy. However, data also echoes prior research that system justification is elicited in response to situational as well as dispositional factors (Jost, Gaucher, & Stern, 2015; Kay & Friesen, 2011). Thus, the current study lends support to the notion that political behavior cannot be separated from the context within which it exists, and it is unlikely that only one social-cognitive theory is able to explain the ways in which individuals make decisions about public policy and our societal systems.

IMPLICATIONS

Understanding individual engagement in politics has been a longstanding interest of scholars, with numerous methods, theories, and lenses applied to elucidate how individuals make decisions within the political sphere (Conway et al., 2017; Gelman, 2009). Government and social norms work synergistically, each acting on and reaffirming the other. Despite increased move towards gender equality, men continue to maintain their place in the gender hierarchy and maintain more capital across domains. Kray et al (2017) attempted to understand the identity motives that drive men's rationalization of the current gender system. Our study sought to replicate and expand that study by considering how identity motives might influence political decision making.

Data from this study reaffirmed Kray et al's findings. Specifically, these data suggest such relationships might be true across different samples/cohorts (i.e., college students and community members) and add evidence for the theoretical approach to understanding the gender hierarchy. Namely, males are more motivated to believe in the fixedness of gender roles in order to maintain their status. This belief appeared to reinforce these motives at a societal, inter- and intrapersonal level. When men believed that gender roles were fixed, they were more likely to identify with masculine traits and believe that their gender was central to their identity. The premium placed on their gender also motivated them to justify the current gender hierarchy. Consider, however, those men that endorsed beliefs in the mutability of gender roles; those men did not identify with gender congruent traits or identify with their in-group any more than women did so with feminine traits and being a woman. Similarly, when males did not view being

a man as central to their identity, they were no more likely to justify the current gender system than women. Perhaps then incremental theorists hold the key to implementing changes in gender roles by dissociating social roles from gender—for male incremental theorists it appears they might see such a change as something liberating and not a cost.

One important difference, contrary to Kray et al.'s sample, males in the current sample did not need a specific trigger to elicit this response. In fact, attempting to invoke an implicit gender role theory did not influence distal measures of gender role equality. Such a difference might suggest something important about the current sample. Theorists suggest that emerging adults exist in the in-between of adolescence and adulthood, exploring their options, differentiating themselves from their parents, becoming more independent, moving from self-focus to other-focus, and testing their resilience amongst change (Arnett, 2000). Perhaps for emerging adults, such a relationship might be dispositional as opposed to situational. Alternatively, it may be that the current gender climate, which is somewhat contentious, has influenced how men and women conceptualize themselves. It may be important then to consider how shifting views and climates surrounding gender may more broadly influence how individuals conceptualize their place within the current gender system and those downward consequences. Nonetheless, there appears to be a distinction between the current sample and the sample evaluated in Kray et al (2017) which would benefit from further examination.

A more practical implication of the current study is evidence that both sex and beliefs about gender roles are associated with decision making in the political gender sphere, regardless of political affiliation. Difference in men's and women's political behaviors is not unique to this sample (e.g., Shapiro & Conover, 1997; De Vaus & McAllister 1989; Eichenberg 2003). However, we found strong support for the notion that system justification makes an independent

contribution to political preferences within the gender domain. Across quantitative and qualitative methodologies, it became clear that beliefs about the fixedness of gender roles influenced the ways in which people perpetuated or acted against the current gender system.

Although quantitative data captured individuals' beliefs about the fixedness of gender roles, qualitative interviews suggested that individual understanding of gender roles may be more nuanced or possibly less defined than quantitative results would imply. Even when participants explicitly stated a belief, they often later contradicted that belief suggesting that participants may be motivated in different ways and for different reasons when making tangible decisions (i.e., voting for or against legislation). This implies that gender roles may actually be more implicit than many think and are only conjured in defense of decision making.

Importantly, research suggests that following political socialization in adolescence or emerging adulthood, attitudes remain stable over time and significant changes in societal norms are typically only seen when a new generation, that has been exposed to differing social contexts, enters the political domain (Dassonneville & McAllister, 2017; Hooghe, 2004). Across all three studies support for or opposition to public policy remained fairly consistent; as an implication, this may imply that these outcomes are representative of the current cohort entering the political decision making domain. The current data suggest that gender roles are much more entrenched than one might think given the changes in gender equality in the last several decades (McLaughlin, Muldoon, & Moutray, 2010).

Taken together, these studies suggest understanding individual political decision making must take in to account the context within which that individual exists. Participants in the current study referenced several "hot button" topics (i.e., transgender identity, sexual orientation, abortion rights, the pay gap), evidenced different qualities than an older sample, and discussed

engaging in active understanding of concepts via research. Their views of themselves, others, and society are likely grounded in the socio-political world within which they exist. Those interested in understanding the perpetuation of the current gender system or in moving towards gender equality are likely to benefit from evaluating and/or intervening at the individual level.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

While these data provide useful information about how both men and women justify the current gender system and make political decisions, the results of this study should be considered in the context of the methodological limitations. The experimental nature of this study is an inherent limitation insofar the stimulus materials (legislation listed with pros and cons, fictional research articles) were artificial and not representative of real-world scenarios, thus lacking some ecological validity. A concern with all mock participant studies is the extent to which participants are cognitively and or emotionally invested in study materials. This is further exacerbated by the online nature of part of the study which likely allows individuals to disengage from the provided information. While attention checks were imbedded to identify participants who were not adequately attending to information, it is possible that not all inattentive participants were identified.

The study samples consisted primarily of southeastern Caucasian college students; given these demographics, our sample is not representative of the broader U.S. population, or even of individuals in emerging adulthood. The novelty of this study warrants replication within and across samples to better understand the underlying factors and motivations in gender system justification.

Regarding the qualitative portion, it is important to recognize that all interviews were completed by a white female. It is possible, if not likely, that some participants felt uncomfortable sharing their honest opinions and beliefs regarding gender roles or political decision making. It is impossible to know whether participants were engaging in impression

management during the interviews. Furthermore, although the interviewer and interpretative team worked together to remain conscious of possible biases, it is impossible to remove oneself entirely from such biases and therefore data may be not entirely representative of participants' lived experience. However, qualitative suggested that situational factors (i.e., specific pieces of public policy) seem to trigger different motivations and/or beliefs for both men and women, suggesting that quantitative methods may be too specific to explain the more nuanced decision-making processes. Future research evaluating such decisional processes would benefit from employing mixed-method designs.

This study evaluated whether implicit gender role theory could explain why individuals may justify the current gender system in both a theoretical and tangible sense. The study design was fairly straightforward and asked participants about their explicit attitudes towards gender roles. Although hints of it emerged in the qualitative portion, the study did not directly measure implicit gender attitudes. Research generally supports the theory that implicit, unconscious, attitudes may drive behaviors and decision making (Greenwald, Banaji, Rudman, Farnham, Nosak, & Mellott, 2000). As such, empirical research examining how implicit attitudes regarding the fixedness of gender roles is necessary to understand if and how these variables impact political decision making.

Table 1. Study 1 Correlations among study variables.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Gender	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Implicit Gender Role	-.20**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Gender System Justification	-.32**	.45**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Gender Stereotype Endorsement	-.05	.23**	.13**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Attitudes Towards Sex Roles	-.37**	.50**	.50**	.08	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Self-Stereotyping	-.18**	.07	.09**	.24**	.14**	-	-	-	-	-
7. Gender Identity Strength	.07	.14**	.15**	.13**	.06	.10*	-	-	-	-
8. Equal Pay Act Vote	-.28**	.21**	.20**	.002	.16**	.09*	.03	-	-	-
9. Military Draft Bill	.13**	.11**	-.004	.13**	.03	.09*	.12**	-.01	-	-
10. Family Leave Act	-.13**	.07	.14**	-.09**	.10*	-.02	-.02	.15**	.05	-
11. Paternal Right to Decide Act	.09*	.01	-.04	.08	-.08	.02	.11**	-.01	.14**	-.10

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level. ** Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

Table 2. Study 1 Means, Standard Deviations, and *t* Test Results of Scales Overall and by Gender in Study 1

Scale	Overall (n = 558)		Men (n = 179)		Women (n= 379)		<i>t</i> test	Cohen's <i>d</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
Implicit Gender Role Theory	3.47	1.08	3.78	1.16	3.33	1.0	4.49***	0.42
Gender System Justification	3.77	0.93	4.20	0.94	3.57	0.86	7.88***	0.70
Gender Stereotype Endorsement	4.22	0.41	4.25	0.42	4.20	.40	1.27	0.12
Attitudes Towards Sex Roles	2.11	0.79	2.53	0.85	1.91	0.68	8.62***	0.81
Self-Stereotyping	.19	.50	0.33	0.48	0.13	0.51	4.27***	0.40
Gender Identity Strength	5.04	1.02	4.95	1.07	5.09	0.99	-1.55	0.14

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

Table 3 Study 1 Multiple Regression Analyses for Implicit Gender Roles Predicting Other Gender-Related Scales

Predictor Variable	Dependent Variables														
	System Justification			Stereotype Endorsement			Attitudes Towards Sex Roles			Self-Stereotyping			Gender Identity Strength		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β
Model 1															
Participant Sex	-3.77	.60	-.24***	-.08	.74	-.004	-.48	.06	-.29***	-7.50	1.86	-.17***	.21	.09	.09*
IGRT	.21	.03	.40***	.17	.03	.23***	.003	.03	.45***	.07	.08	.04	.02	.004	.16***
R ² (R ² adjusted)	.26*** (.26)			.06*** (.05)			.34*** (.33)			.03*** (.03)			.03***(.03)		
Model 2															
Participant Sex	-2.58	2.02	-1.6	.40	2.48	.02	-.18	.20	-.11	12.39	6.22	.28*	1.66	.31	.77***
IGRT	.33	.09	.48***	.19	.11	.25	.05	.01	.66***	.95	.28	.50**	.08	.01	.85***
Gender X IGRT	-.03	.05	-.10	-.01	.07	-.04	-.08	.01	-.24	-.55	.17	-.60**	-.04	.01	-.89***
R ² (R ² adjusted)	.26*** (.25)			.06*** (.05)			.34*** (.33)			.05*** (.05)			.07***(.07)		

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

Table 4. Stud 1 Voting Behavior Breakdown by Participant Sex and Significant Differences

	Equal Pay Act			Military Draft Bill			Family Leave Act			Paternal Right to Decide Act		
	Support	Oppose	χ^2	Support	Oppose	χ^2	Support	Oppose	χ^2	Support	Oppose	χ^2
Males	136	43		127	52		144	35		72	107	
Females	360	19		217	162		341	38		117	262	
Total	496	62	44.481***	344	214	9.643**	485	73	9.704**	189	369	4.748*

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

Table 5. Study 1 Binomial Logistic Regression Predicting Voting Behavior based on Participant Sex and IGRT

Predictor Variable	Equal Pay				Military Draft				Family Leave				Paternal Right to Decide			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>
Model 1																
Sex	1.60	.30	28.00***	4.96	-.75	.20	13.71***	.47	.71	.26	7.35**	2.03	-.42	.19	4.78*	.65
IGRT	.05	.01	12.30***	1.05	.03	.01	11.42**	1.03	.01	.01	1.19	1.01	.01	.01	.66	1.01
Chi-Square	54.96***				21.70***				10.87*				7.14			
Model 2																
Sex	2.10	1.22	2.94	8.15	-1.61	.75	4.64*	.20	.86	.92	.88	2.37	-2.09	.66	9.89**	.12
IGRT	.06	.03	5.11*	1.06	.02	.01	4.24*	1.02	.01	.02	.77	1.01	-.01	.01	1.20	1.08
Sex X IGRT	-.01	.03	.18	.99	.02	.02	1.45	1.02	-.004	.02	.03	1.00	.047	.02	6.88**	1.05
Chi-Square	.55.14***				23.18***				10.90*				14.18**			

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

Table 6 Study 1 Multiple Regression Analyses for Implicit Gender Roles Predicting Voting Confidence

Predictor Variable	Equal Pay Voting Index			Draft Voting Index			Family Leave Act Voting Index			Paternal Right to Decide Voting Index		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β
Model 1												
Participant Sex	-23.32	3.83	-.25***	26.18	5.90	.19***	-11.53	4.23	-.12**	15.24	6.03	-.11**
IGRT	-.99	.17	-.24***	-1.15	.26	-.19***	-.49	.18	-.11**	-.34	.26	-.06
R ² (R ² adjusted)	.140*** (.136)			.057*** (.052)			.032*** (.027)			.017* (.011)		
Model 2												
Participant Sex	-4.67	12.90	-.05	43.46	19.89	.31*	-13.52	14.28	-.14	68.86	20.21	.49***
IGRT	-1.82	.57	-.44**	-1.92	.88	-.31*	-.40	.64	-.09	-2.73	.90	-.45**
Sex X IGRT	.52	.34	.26	.48	.53	.16	-.05	.38	-.03	1.49	.53	.50**
R ² (R ² adjusted)	.144*** (.138)			.058*** (.051)			.032*** (.025)			.030** (.023)		

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

Table 7. Study 1 Binomial Logistic Regression Predicting Voting Behavior based on Participant Sex and Gender Identity Strength

Predictor Variable	Equal Pay				Military Draft				Family Leave				Paternal Right to Decide			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>
Participant Sex	-1.81	.30	37.13***	.164	.59	.20	8.92**	1.80	-.77	.26	9.12**	.462	3.71	.19	3.76*	1.45
Identity Strength	.76	.43	3.21	2.15	.51	.36	2.07	1.67	.24	.40	.37	1.27	.14	.31	.20	1.15
Sex X Identity	-.45	.29	2.41	.64	-.16	.20	.67	.85	-.19	.25	.57	.83	.05	.18	.07	1.05
Chi-Square	45.16***				17.35**				10.33*				12.45*			

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

Table 8. Study 1 Multiple Regression Analyses for Gender Identity Strength and Participant Sex Predicting Voting Confidence

Predictor Variable	Equal Pay Voting Index			Draft Voting Index			Family Leave Act Voting Index			Paternal Right to Decide Voting Index		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β
Participant Sex	-28.57	3.83	-.30***	19.80	5.86	.14***	-13.82	4.19	.14***	12.84	5.92	.09*
Identity Strength	-25.30	6.29	-.58***	-14.17	9.61	-.22	-6.94	6.87	-.15	-6.45	9.70	-.10
Sex X Identity	14.56	3.67	.57***	3.76	5.61	.10	4.75	4.01	.18	-.11	5.66	-.003
R ² (R ² adjusted)	.112*** (.106)			.039*** (.032)			.022* (.015)			.024** (.017)		

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

Table 9. Study 2 Correlations among study variables for moderated mediation model with GSJ and Self Stereotyping.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Implicit Theory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Gender	.03	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Gender Identity Strength	-.004	.17***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Gender System Justification	.002	-.29***	.18***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Self-Stereotyping	.052	-.14**	.10*	.16**	-	-	-	-	-	-

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

Table 10. Study 2 Binomial Logistic Regression Predicting Voting Behavior based on Participant Sex and Experimental Condition

Predictor Variable	Equal Pay				Military Draft				Family Leave				Paternal Right to Decide			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>
Model 1																
Participant Sex	1.55	.36	18.65***	4.70	-.91	.21	17.87***	.40	.47	.27	3.16	1.60	-.37	.22	2.91	.69
Theory	.22	.35	.40	1.25	.26	.21	1.56	1.29	-.14	.28	.24	.87	.42	.23	3.38	1.52
Chi-Square	20.62***				20.82***				3.83				8.19*			
Model 2																
Participant Sex	.72	1.06	.46	2.04	-1.11	.64	3.07	.33	-.58	.79	.53	1.78	-.83	.65	1.64	.44
Theory	-.18	.61	.08	.84	.21	.25	.71	1.23	-.11	.36	.08	.90	.29	.29	.99	1.33
Sex X Theory	-.62	.75	.67	1.85	.15	.45	.12	1.17	-.08	.57	.02	.92	.36	.47	.57	1.43
Chi-Square	21.31***				20.94***				3.84				8.76			

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

Table 11. *Correlations among study variables for moderated mediation with voting behavior and strength.*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Condition	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Gender	.03	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Gender Identity Strength	-.004	.17***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Equal Pay Vote	.02	-.22***	.001	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Equal Pay Strength	.03	.19***	-.001	-.79***	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Military Draft Vote	.06	.20***	.19***	.08	-.03	-	-	-	-	-
7. Military Draft Strength	-.07	-.26***	-.22***	-.07	.05	-.91***	-	-	-	-
8. Family Leave Vote	-.03	-.08	-.01	.09	-.11*	-.05	.06	-	-	-
9. Family Leave Strength	.06	.12*	-.03	-.15**	.24***	.04	-.02	-.82***	-	-
10. Paternal Right to Decide Vote	-.09	.09	.21***	.02	.07	.12*	-.11*	-.07	.07	-
11. Paternal Right to Decide Strength	-.07	-.11*	-.20***	-.02	-.09	-.11*	.12*	.05	-.04	-.90***

Figure 1. *Mixed-Methods Design*

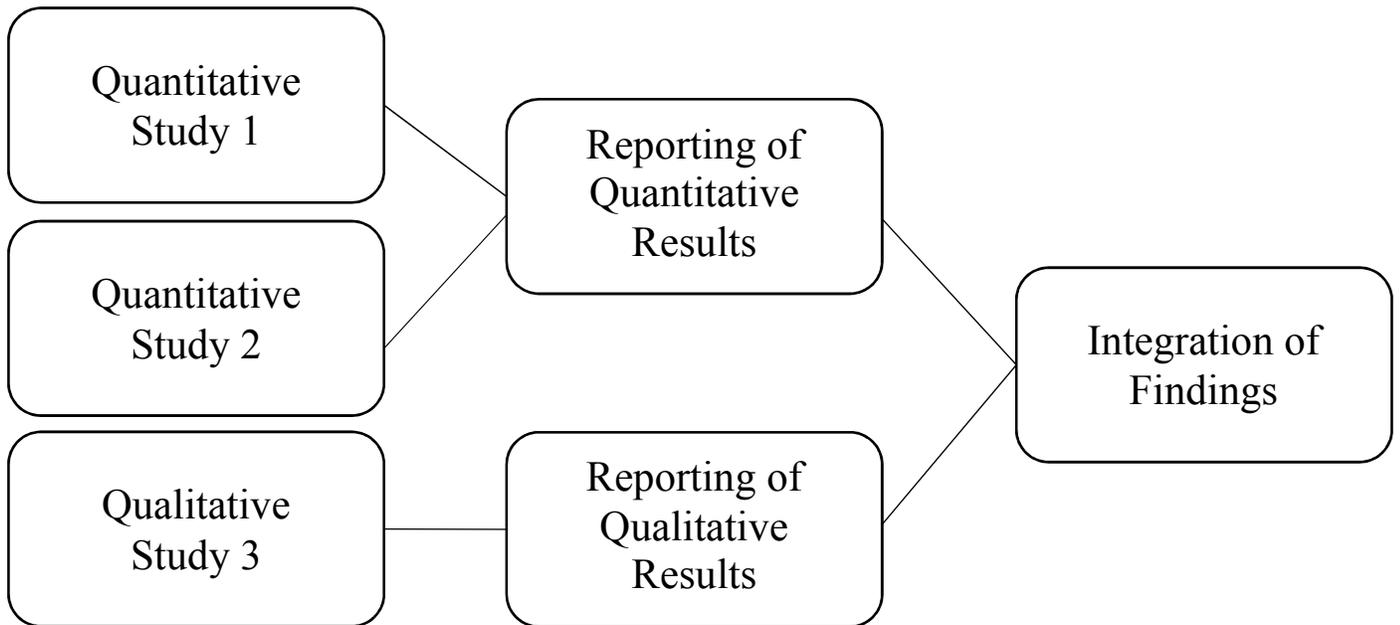


Figure 2. *Proposed Moderation of Participant Sex and Gender System Justification by Gender Identity Strength*

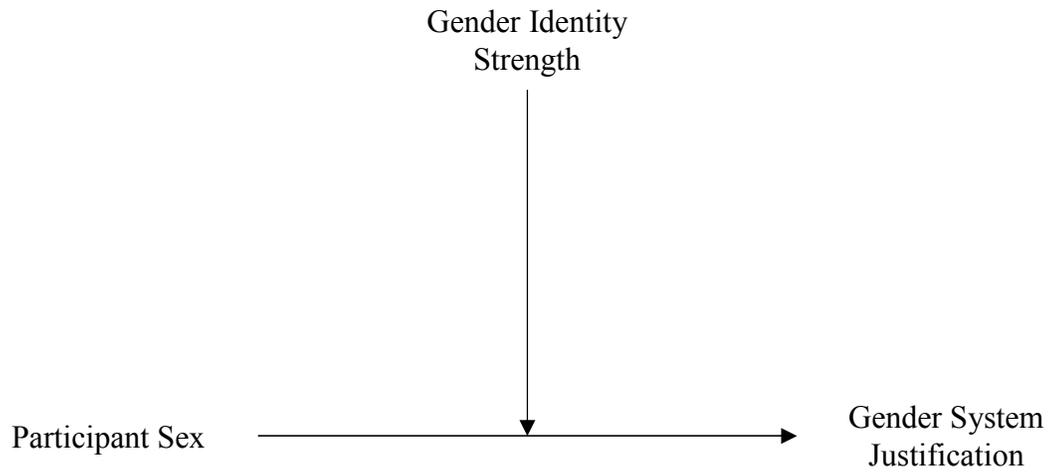


Figure 3. *Proposed Moderation of Participant Sex and Voting Decision by Gender Identity Strength*

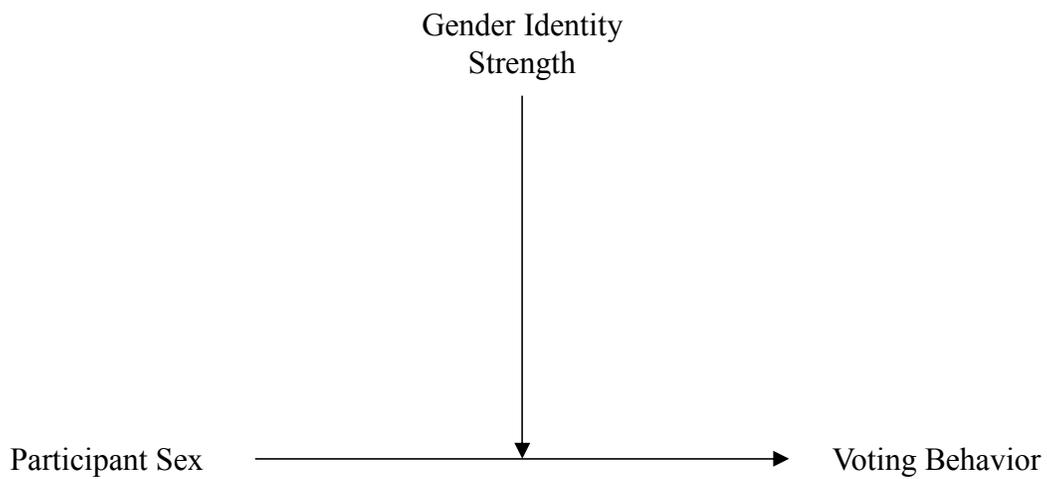


Figure 4. *Proposed Moderated Mediation of Implicit Gender Role Theory and Gender System Justification by Gender Identity Strength.*

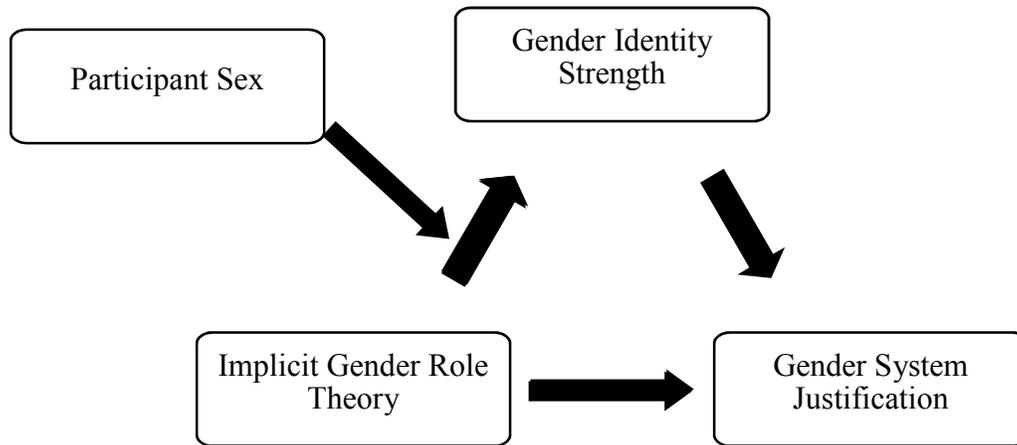


Figure 5. *Proposed Moderated Mediation of Implicit Gender Role Theory and Self-Stereotyping by Gender Identity Strength.*

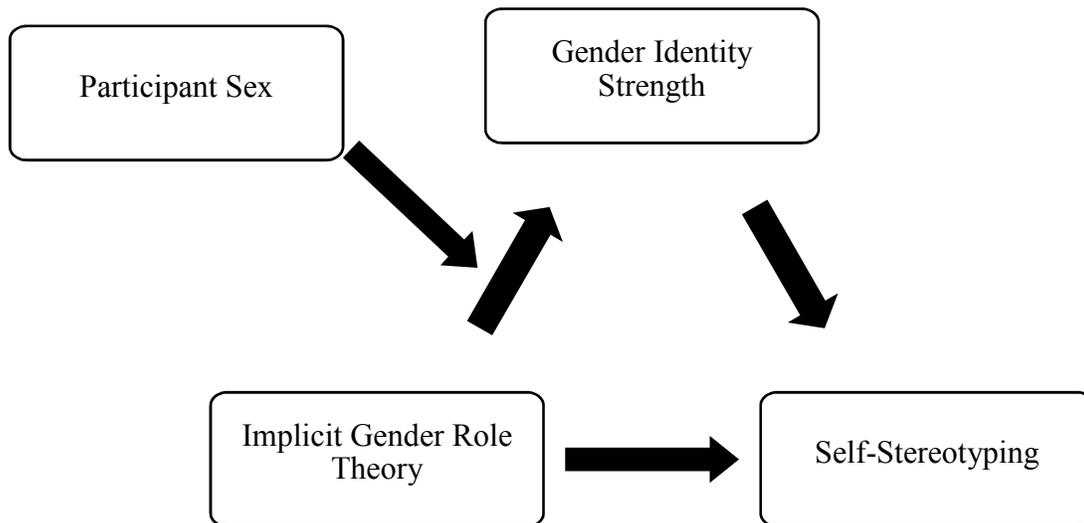


Figure 6. *Proposed Moderated Mediation of Implicit Gender Role Theory and Vote by Gender Identity Strength.*

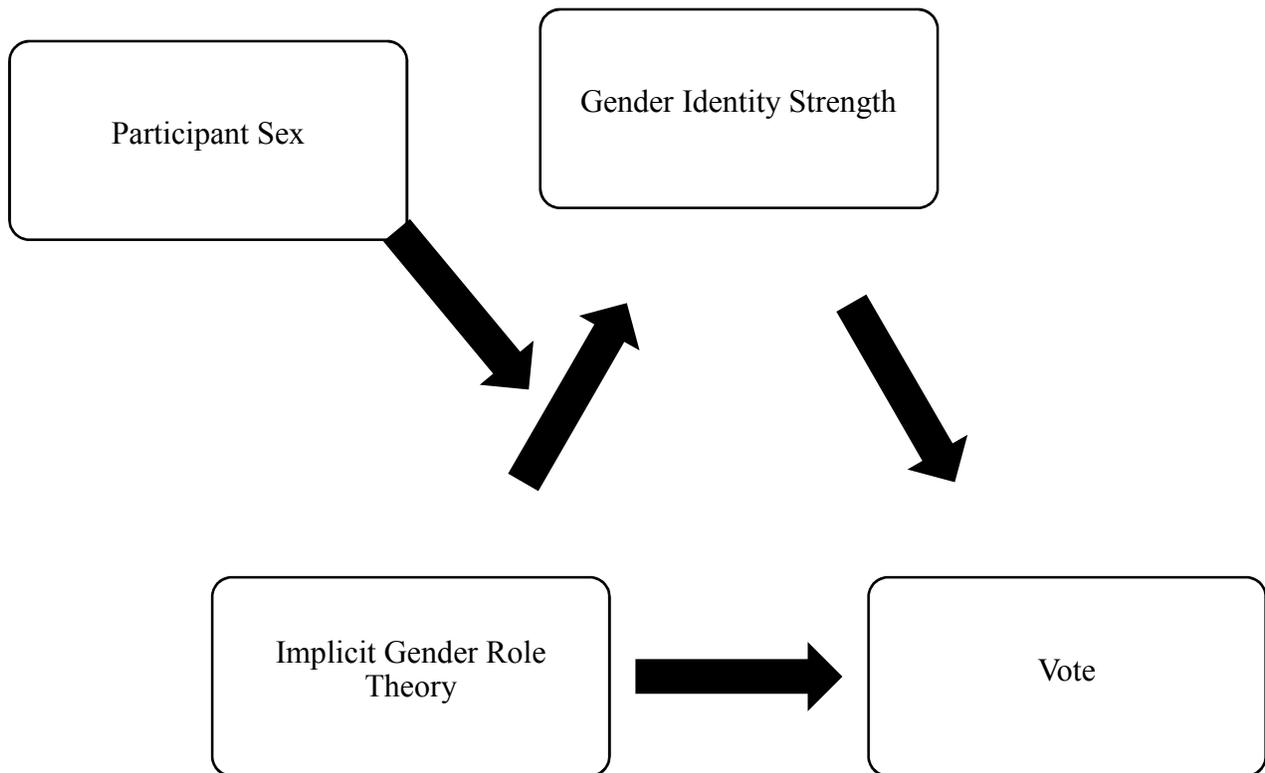
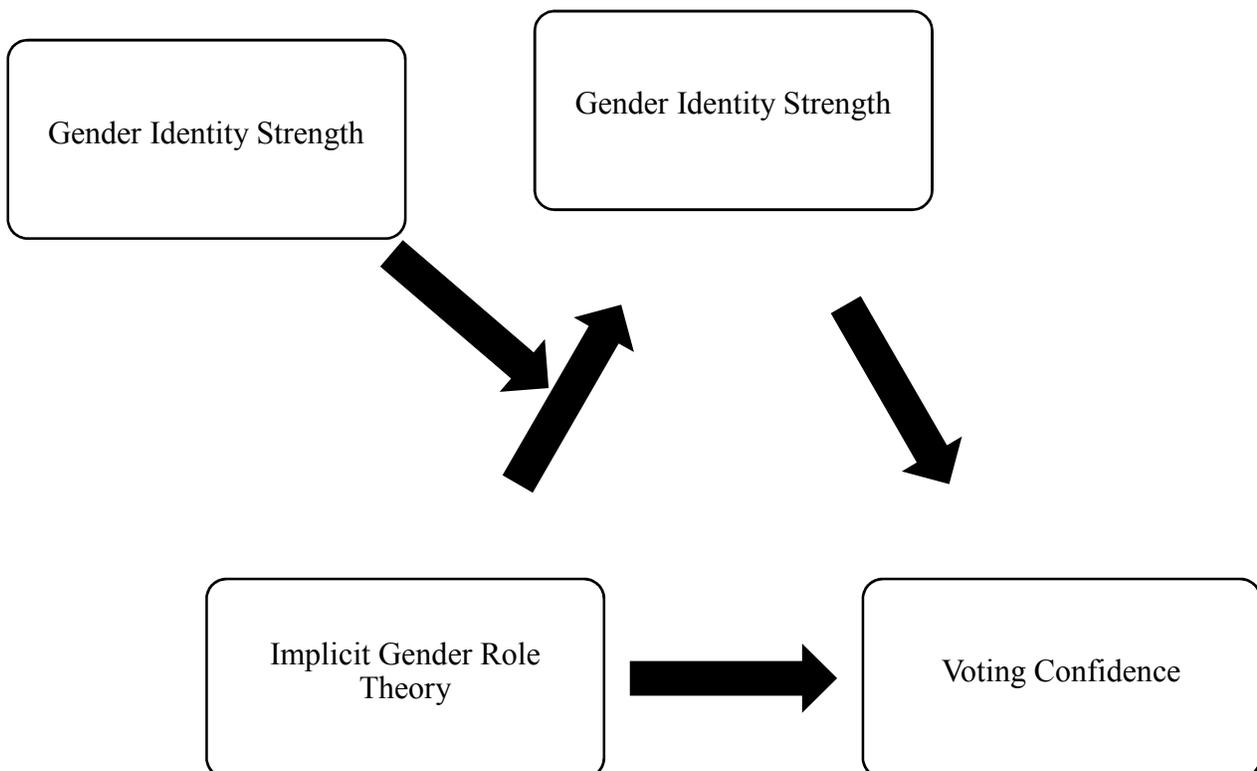


Figure 7. *Proposed Moderated Mediation of Implicit Gender Role Theory and Voting Index by Gender Identity Strength.*



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IRB APPROVAL

THE UNIVERSITY OF
ALABAMA

Office of the Vice President for
Research & Economic Development
Office for Research Compliance

October 5, 2018

Marissa Stanziani
Psychology
College of Arts & Sciences
Box 870348

Re: IRB#: 18-OR-373 "A Mixed Methods Study of Implicit Gender Role Theory, Gender System Justification & Voting Behavior"

Dear Marissa Stanziani:

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board has granted approval for your proposed research.

Your application has been given expedited approval according to 45 CFR part 46. You have also been granted the requested waiver of written documentation of informed consent. Approval has been given under expedited review category 7 as outlined below:

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies

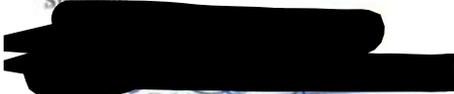
Your application will expire on October 2, 2019. If your research will continue beyond this date, complete the relevant portions of the IRB Renewal Application. If you wish to modify the application, complete the Modification of an Approved Protocol Form. Changes in this study cannot be initiated without IRB approval, except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants. When the study closes, complete the appropriate portions of the IRB Request for Study Closure Form.

Please use reproductions of the IRB approved stamped consent form to provide to your participants.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this proposal, please include the above application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,


Carpalato T. Myles, MSM, CIM, CIP
Director & Research Compliance Officer

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