Accepted refereed manuscript of:

Dixson BJW, Kennedy-Costantini S, Lee AJ & Nelson NL (2019) Mothers are sensitive to men's beards as a potential cue of paternal investment. *Hormones and Behavior*, 113, pp. 55-66. DOI: <u>https://doi.org/10.1016/j.yhbeh.2019.04.005</u>

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1 2 3	Mothers are sensitive to men's beards as a potential cue of paternal investment.
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6 ABSTRACT

Mating strategy theories assert that women's preferences for androgen dependent traits in men are stronger when the costs of reduced paternal investment are lowest. Past research has shown that preferences for facial masculinity are stronger among nulliparous and non-pregnant women than pregnant or parous women. In two studies, we examine patterns in women's preferences for men's facial hair - likely the most visually conspicuous and sexually dimorphic of men's secondary sexual traits – when evaluating men's masculinity, dominance, age, fathering, and attractiveness. Two studies were conducted among heterosexual pregnant women, mothers, non-contractive and contraceptive users. Study 1 used a between-subjects sample (N = 2103) and found that mothers had significantly higher preferences for beards when judging fathering than all other women. Pregnant women and mothers also judged beards as more masculine and older, but less attractive, than non-contractive and contraceptive users. Parous women judged beards higher for age, masculinity and fathering, but lower for attractiveness, than nulliparous women. Irrespective of reproductive status, beards were judged as looking more dominant than clean-shaven faces. Study 2 used a within-subjects design (N = 53) among women surveyed during pregnancy and three months post-partum. Judgments of parenting skills were higher for bearded stimuli during pregnancy among women having their first baby, whereas among parous women parenting skills judgments for bearded stimuli were higher post-partum. Our results suggest that mothers are sensitive to beardedness as a masculine secondary sexual characteristic that may denote parental investment, providing evidence that women's mate preferences could reflect sexual selection for direct benefits.

KEY WORDS: facial hair; beards; attractiveness; motherhood; pregnancy.

6 1. Introduction

7

8 Female choice via direct and indirect mechanisms of sexual selection underpins the 9 evolution of male ornaments in many species (Kokko et al., 2003, 2006). Under indirect 10 selection, preferences evolve for traits associated with male quality that can enhance offspring survival, such as immunity. Under direct selection, preferences evolve for 11 12 characters that tangibly enhance the survival of the mother and offspring, such as resources and protection (Kokko et al., 2003, 2006). Men's secondary sexual characters are similarly 13 developed to male nonhuman primates from species whose mating systems are polygynous 14 15 (Dixson, Dixson, and Anderson, 2005; Puts et al., 2016) and social systems are multilevel in 16 their compositions (Grueter, Isler, and Dixson, 2015), suggesting that sexual selection shaped 17 male-typical (i.e. masculine) traits during the course of human evolution. 18

19 Women's preferences for masculine traits could have evolved under both indirect 20 (Gangestad and Thornhill, 2008) and direct (Puts, 2010; Scott et al., 2013) sexual selection. 21 Masculine facial traits, defined as a prominent jaw, protruding brow ridge, robust midface, 22 thin lips and deeply set eyes, emerge as androgens exert their effects during foetal 23 development (Whitehouse et al., 2015), puberty (Marečková et al., 2011) and young 24 adulthood (Roosenboom et al., 2018). Androgens may reduce immune response 25 (Muehlenbein and Bribiescas, 2005), so that male facial masculinity may indirectly 26 communicate genetic quality via disease resistance (Rhodes et al., 2003; Thornhill & 27 Gangestad, 2006) and immune response (Rantala et al., 2012), although this pattern may be 28 mediated by facial adiposity (Rantala et al., 2013). Indeed, Phalene et al. (2017) reported that 29 facial masculinity and facial muscularity were jointly associated with male immune response. 30 Alternatively, facial masculinity may communicate direct benefits such as competitive ability 31 and resource provisioning (Puts, 2010; Scott et al., 2013). Facial masculinity is positively 32 associated with men's upper body strength (Windhager et al., 2011; Fink et al., 2007), 33 fighting ability (Sell et al., 2017) and social dominance (Geniole et al., 2015; Hill et al., 34 2013). Augmenting facial masculinity experimentally also enhances judgments of men's age, 35 masculinity, and social dominance (DeBruine et al., 2006; Perrett et al., 1998), suggesting 36 intra-sexual selection has influenced masculine craniofacial morphology and that facial 37 masculinity communicates direct benefits to women.

38

39 Although mating success is higher among men with more masculine faces (Hill et al., 40 2013; Kordsmeyer et al., 2018; Peters et al., 2008; Rhodes et al., 2005), women's preferences 41 for facial masculinity vary across studies (Rhodes, 2006), so that masculine male faces were 42 preferred in some samples (DeBruine et al., 2006) while less masculine male faces were 43 preferred in others (Dixson et al., 2017b; Perrett et al., 1998). As reproduction imposes fewer 44 costs on men than women, men are hypothesised to expend more energetic resources towards mating effort than parental investment (Puts, 2010; Gray et al., 2017). Men with more 45 masculine faces state less interest in long-term relationships (Boothroyd et al., 2008, 2011), 46 47 have more short-term relationships (Polo et al., 2019; Rhodes et al., 2005), and both express 48 more interest in and engage in more extra-pair relationships (Arnocky et al., 2017; Rhodes et 49 al., 2013). Facially masculine men are also judged as less caring and paternally investing 50 (Kruger, 2006; Perrett et al., 1998) and women accurately judge sexual infidelity from

facially masculine traits in photographs of anonymous men (Rhodes et al., 2013; Sutherland
et al., 2018). Thus, despite the potential direct and indirect benefits of selecting masculine
men as mates, facially masculine men may be costly as long-term partners through reduced
investment in parenting.

5

6 This paradoxical role of masculinity in men's value as long-term partners has 7 prompted investigation into the possible contextual mating strategies underpinning variation 8 in women's preferences for facial masculinity (Dixson et al., 2016; Holzleitner & Perrett, 9 2017; Jones et al., 2019). Among the potential mechanisms are women's' short-term mating 10 strategies and reproductive condition (Motta-Mena & Puts, 2017; Jones et al., 2019). The 11 social costs associated with selecting masculine partners may be reduced under conditions 12 favouring short-term mating strategies (Gangestad & Thornhill, 2008) and facial masculinity 13 preferences are stronger among young reproductively capable women than post-menopausal women (Little et al., 2010; Marcinkowska et al., 2018c). Within pre-menopausal women, 14 15 preferences for masculine traits may become more pronounced during the peri-ovulatory 16 period of the menstrual cycle, when offspring fitness could be increased via indirect genetic 17 benefits (Gangestad & Thornhill, 2008). While several studies yielded support for ovulatory 18 shifts in women's short-term mate preferences for masculine faces (Gildersleeve et al., 2014; 19 but see Wood et al., 2014), researchers often used counting methods from questionnaire data 20 to characterise fertility, which is markedly less accurate than quantifying hormones (Blake et 21 al., 2016). Recent studies in which the peri-ovulatory phase was verified hormonally have not 22 reported ovulatory shifts in women's preferences for short-term mating strategies (Jones et 23 al., 2018a) or mate preferences for masculine facial shape, facial symmetry, upper body 24 musculature, or masculine voices (Dixson et al., 2018a; Jones et al., 2018a; Jünger et al., 25 2018a,b; Marcinkowska et al., 2016, 2018a, 2018b), so that ovulatory shifts in mate 26 preferences may not be as robust as early studies suggested (Jones et al., 2019). 27

28 Rather than becoming stronger when fecundability is higher, women's preferences for 29 masculine traits may be reduced at times when a more prosocial and paternally investing, but 30 less physically masculine partner, could be beneficial. Pregnancy, lactation, and the early 31 years of child rearing are periods during which mothers and their children are highly 32 vulnerable (Hrdy, 2016). At these times, preferences for men displaying well developed 33 masculine characters may decrease and preferences for cues to paternal investment may be 34 prioritised. Motherhood is also associated with pronounced endocrine changes, beginning 35 with conception, dramatically changing during pregnancy, at birth and with lactation (Motta-Mena & Puts, 2017). During pregnancy, median progesterone in the 1st trimester is 36 approximately 30.6 ng/mL, rises to 56.9 ng/mL in the 2nd trimester and to 161 ng/mL in 3rd 37 38 trimester (Schock et al., 2016) and drops dramatically postpartum (Buckwalter et al., 1999; 39 Wilcox et al., 1985). Estradiol has median levels of 2.32 nmol/l during the 1st trimester, rising to 9.00 nmol/l in the 2nd trimester and 22.6 nmol/l in the 3rd trimester (Schock et al., 2016), 40 41 dropping to 3.7 nmol/l postpartum (Buckwalter et al., 1999; Wilcox et al., 1985). While not 42 reaching the same absolute levels as progesterone and estrogen, women's testosterone also increases throughout pregnancy, rising from a median of 0.84 nmol/l in the 1st trimester to 43 44 1.10 nmol/l during the 2nd trimester and 1.04 during the 3rd trimester (Schock et al., 2016). Endocrine changes during pregnancy may be associated with women's preferences for 45 masculine traits. Over the menstrual cycle women's facial masculinity preferences are 46 47 positively associated with estradiol (Roney & Simmons, 2008; Roney et al., 2011; but see 48 Dixson et al., 2018a), testosterone (Welling et al., 2008; but see Marcinkowska et al., 2019) 49 and progesterone among single but not partnered women (Marcinkowska et al., 2018; 50 DeBruine et al., 2019). Preferences for facial masculinity are lower among pregnant women

1 compared to nulliparous women (Limoncin et al., 2015) and are lower post-partum compared 2 to during pregnancy (Cobey et al., 2015; Marcinkowska et al., 2018c). During the first year 3 of child rearing, mothers had higher preferences for less masculine faces than nulliparous and 4 pregnant women (Escasa-dorne, Manlove, & Gray, 2017; Cobey et al., 2015), possibly due to 5 endocrine changes postpartum (Cobey et al., 2015). Thus, biosocial factors may explain 6 stronger preferences for facial masculinity among women entering the third trimester of 7 pregnancy than early motherhood as a reflection of higher perceived paternal investment.

8

9 Like facial masculinity, beardedness is androgen dependent (Randall, 2008) and one 10 of the most visually salient and sexually dimorphic of men's secondary sexual traits (Dixson et al., 2005; Grueter et al., 2015). While bearded men may have higher mating success than 11 clean-shaven men (Barber, 2001), women's preferences for men's beardedness vary across 12 studies. Clean-shaveness is preferred over beardedness in some samples (Dixson & Vasey, 13 2012; Geniole & McCormick, 2015; Muscarella & Cunningham, 1996), while full beards are 14 15 preferred in others (Dixson et al., 2016; Janif et al., 2014; Pelligrini, 1973). Research 16 measuring preferences over the menstrual cycle has not reported associations between women's preferences for beards and their likelihood of conception when using self-reported 17 18 measures (Dixson & Brooks, 2013; Dixson & Rantala, 2016,2017; Dixson, Tam, & Awasthy, 19 2013) or when determining the peri-ovulatory phase hormonally (Dixson et al., 2018a,b). 20 While craniofacial masculinity and beards both develop under the actions of testosterone, 21 facial hair also requires the conversion of testosterone to dihydrotestosterone via 5-alpha 22 reductase activity within hair follicles rather than directly due to testosterone (Randall, 2008), 23 as may be the case for craniofacial masculinity (Whitehouse et al., 2015; Roosenboom et al., 24 2018). The association between DHT activity and facial hair may be unrelated to health or 25 immunity (Dixson et al., 2016), suggesting that beards do not incur the kinds of biological 26 costs to men as other masculine facial characters and therefore may not communicate indirect 27 genetic benefits to women that informs their short-term mate preferences. 28

29 Facial hair may instead communicate direct benefits such as social status, social 30 dominance and protection (Puts, 2010) that determine women's mate preferences for long-31 term and potentially paternally investing partners (Dixson & Brooks, 2013; Neave & Shields, 32 2008). Beards consistently enhance perceptions of men's age, masculinity (Dixson & Brooks, 33 2013; Neave & Shields, 2008), dominance (Dixson et al., 2017a; Sherlock et al., 2017; 34 Saxton et al., 2016), social status (Dixson & Vasey, 2012) and aggressiveness (Dixson & 35 Vasey, 2012; Muscarella & Cunningham, 1996). However, unlike facial masculinity there is no evidence that men's beardedness is associated with body size, physical strength, or direct 36 37 aggressiveness (Dixson et al., 2018c). Instead, facial hair may enhance intimidation by 38 elaborating on masculine craniofacial structure (Dixson et al., 2017a; Sherlock et al., 2017) 39 and agonistic facial displays (Craig et al., 2019; Dixson & Vasey, 2012). Bearded men report 40 higher feelings of masculinity (Wood, 1986) and have higher serum testosterone (Knussman 41 & Christiansen, 1988) than clean-shaven men. Again, in contrast to facial masculinity women 42 judge beards as more attractive for long-term relationships (Neave & Shields, 2008), ascribe 43 beards higher ratings of parenting skills (Dixson & Brooks, 2013; Stower et al., 2019) and 44 facial hair is preferred under social conditions characterised by higher male-male competition (Barber, 2001; Dixson et al., 2017a; Dixson et al., 2019). Beards may therefore communicate 45 direct benefits that are preferred under circumstances when resources and protection would 46 47 be beneficial to the survival of mothers and infants. To our knowledge, the only study that 48 has measured women's preferences for facial hair across different reproductive stages found 49 that pregnant women gave higher attractiveness ratings to full beards than non-pregnant 50 women (Dixson et al., 2013). However, that study employed a small sample size of 42

pregnant women and stimuli that did not control for variation in craniofacial masculinity,
which influences attractiveness judgments of beards (Dixson et al., 2017a). Thus, further
research on how pregnancy, parity and the transition to motherhood are associated with mate
preferences for men's beards is warranted.

5

6 To this end, we conducted two studies in which women judged bearded and clean-7 shaven faces for attractiveness, fathering skills, masculinity, dominance, and age across 8 different reproductive conditions. In Study 1, we compared judgments of facial hair in a large 9 sample of women (N = 2103) in five analyses. In Analysis 1, we tested whether reproductive 10 status impacts on women's judgments of beards among women who were either pregnant, 11 were early in motherhood (defined as having had a baby within a year), were not using 12 hormonal contraceptives or were using hormonal contraceptives. While women's preferences for facial masculinity are higher among childless women than mothers (Limoncin et al., 13 14 2015), women judge beards as more attractive for long-term relationships and as potential 15 fathers (Dixson & Brooks, 2013; Neave & Shields, 2008; Stower et al., 2019). In Analysis 1, 16 we hypothesised that women in early motherhood would rate bearded men (compared to 17 clean-shaven men) lower on attractiveness and higher on parenting ability compared to 18 women during pregnancy, not using hormonal contraceptives or using hormonal 19 contraceptives. Among mothers, parity may be associated with shifts towards parenting effort 20 over mating effort (Motta-Mena & Puts, 2017) that impact on preferences for masculine 21 facial features (Escasa-dorne et al., 2017; Limoncin et al., 2015). Indeed, nulliparous women 22 gave higher attractiveness ratings for male facial masculinity than pregnant women and 23 mothers (Escasa-dorne et al., 2017). In Analysis 2, we tested the hypothesis that judgments of 24 parenting skills in bearded stimuli will be stronger, but attractiveness ratings lower, among 25 mothers than among nulliparous women.

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27 Trade-offs in women's preferences for masculine men may also occur during 28 pregnancy, possibly in concert with rising levels of reproductive hormones as mothers 29 approach their 3rd trimester (Brett & Baxendale, 200; Buckwalter et al., 1999; Wilcox et al., 30 1985). In Analysis 3, we compared judgments of bearded faces among pregnant women when 31 accounting for how many weeks into their pregnancy they were. We predicted that 32 attractiveness judgments for beards may be stronger as women approach the 3rd trimester of 33 pregnancy (Cobey et al., 2015). Similarly, when breastfeeding is chronic ovarian functioning 34 can be suppressed (Ellison, 2003), which may be associated with lower preferences for 35 androgen dependent traits in men among breastfeeding women (Escasa-dorne et al., 2018). In Analysis 4, we tested the hypothesis that breastfeeding mothers would judge bearded males 36 37 as less sexually attractive than non-breastfeeding mothers. Reproductive hormones remain 38 lower among mothers with young children than mothers with older children, partly due to 39 interrupted sleep patterns (Kuzawa et al., 2010), so that women with younger children may 40 have lower preferences for masculine facial traits than women with older children (Cobey et 41 al., 2015; Escasa-dorne et al., 2017). In Analysis 5, we tested the hypothesis that women's 42 attractiveness judgments of men's beards would be positively associated with the age of their 43 youngest child. Finally, increases in reproductive hormones during pregnancy are most 44 pronounced in the 3rd trimester and decline during the early months postpartum (Schock et 45 al., 2016; Buckwalter et al., 1999). Cobey et al. (2015) suggested that this represents the point at which changes in women's preferences for facial masculinity are most pronounced. In a 46 47 within-subject design, they reported women's preferences (N = 28) for male facial 48 masculinity were significantly stronger in the third trimester of pregnancy than 3 months 49 postpartum (Cobey et al., 2015). In Study 2, we tested women's judgments of beardedness 50 among 53 women recruited during the third trimester of their pregnancies in Study 1 and

1 again during the first three months post-partum. We hypothesized that women's judgments of

2 fathering abilities for bearded males would be highest during the early months postpartum

3 than during the 3rd trimester of pregnancy. We also explored whether judgments of

4 beardedness were specific to parity, such that women having their first child may be more

5 sensitive to cues of paternal investment postpartum compared to women with more children.

6

7 **2. Methods**

8 2.1 Participants

9 10 A total of 2419 women (Mean age = 30.71, SD = 11.03) completed this study online. Participants were recruited via mailing lists at the Early Child Development Centre and 11 12 student mailing lists in the School of Psychology at the University of Queensland (Brisbane, 13 Australia). Participants provided their age, ethnicity, and completed the Kinsey scale for 14 sexual orientation (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948). Participants then indicated if they 15 were pregnant, how many children they had and their children's ages (in years and months), 16 and if they currently use hormonal contraceptives. We removed 25 participants who did not 17 report their age and a further 65 participants for either not reporting their sexual orientation or 18 for reporting homosexual sexual preferences, as sexual orientation impacts on face 19 preferences (Petterson et al., 2015, 2016, 2018), including facial hair (Valentova et al., 2017). 20 A further 274 participants were removed for not completing the face ratings in the survey. 21 For Study 1, this left a final sample of 2103 heterosexual women (Mean age = 30.85, SD = 22 11.35). Participants ethnicities were as follows: European (75.6%), Asian (15.7%), African 23 (3.6%) other (5.1%). The total sample was then partitioned into subsets for our 5 analyses, 24 which are described below.

25

Analysis 1. Reproductive status and judgments of facial hair. This analysis tested whether variation in women's reproductive status impacts on judgments of men's beards. Of the final sample, 1286 (31.91 years \pm 13.52) were not using hormonal contraceptives, 278 (28.19 years \pm 8.10) were using contraceptives, 387 (29.41 years \pm 4.99) had a child under one year of age, and 152 (30.43 years \pm 5.04) were pregnant. For pregnant participants, the due dates for their babies were determined by ultrasound and blood tests (85.5%), calculation from last menses with an ovulation tests (12.5%) and 2% elected not to answer this question.

33

Analysis 2. Women's parity and judgments of facial hair. Here we tested whether mothers differ from non-mothers in their judgments of men's beards. We used data from women not using hormonal contracentives (n = 1756, mean are 31.37, SD = 11.88) to compare

- using hormonal contraceptives (n = 1756, mean age 31.37, SD = 11.88) to compare iudgments among nulliparous (i.e. childless) women (n = 1088, mean age 27.75, SD = 10
- judgments among nulliparous (i.e. childless) women (n = 1088, mean age 27.75, SD = 10.76) and mothers (n = 668, mean age 37.27, SD = 11.25).
- 39

Analysis 3. Women's judgments of facial hair during pregnancy. To examine how mate
preferences vary over the course of women's pregnancies, we tested whether how far along in
weeks women were into their pregnancy impacted on their judgments of men's facial hair. Of
the 152 pregnant women, 149 (mean age 30.38, SD = 5.01) provided information on their
stage of pregnancy from which we calculated how far along in weeks they were into their
pregnancy (Mean = 23, SD = 9.88, range 3-40).

- 47 Analysis 4. Breastfeeding and women's judgments of facial hair. We also tested whether
- 48 breastfeeding was associated with women's judgments of men's beardedness. Of the 387
- 49 women (mean age 29.41, SD = 4.99) who completed surveys when in early motherhood, 359

(93%, mean age 29.54, SD = 4.99) were breastfeeding and 28 (7%, mean age 27.75, SD =
4.4.72) were not breastfeeding.

3

4 Analysis 5. The age of women's offspring and their judgments of facial hair. As

5 hormones associated with mate preferences change over the course of motherhood, we

6 predicted the age of the youngest infant was associated with mother's judgments of men's

- facial hair. Of the total sample of 889 (35.15 years, SD = 10.72) mothers, 839 (35.52 years,
- 8 SD = 10.58) provided the ages of their youngest child (mean = 69.98 months, SD = 113.7).
- 9 Among the total of 387 women who completed surveys during their first year of motherhood, 10 349 (mean age 29.41, SD = 4.99) provided the ages of their last-born child (mean age = 6.14)

10 3+5 (mean age 25.41, SD – 4.99) provided the ages of their fast-born child (mean age = 0.14) 11 months, SD = 3.45). We compared judgments of beards with the age of the youngest infant in

12 the full sample of mothers and again among only mothers with infants under 1 year of age.

13

In Study 2, we tested whether judgments of men's facial hair differed as women transition from pregnancy to early motherhood using a within-subjects design. We asked the 152 pregnant women who completed Study 1 whether they would be willing to be contacted again, 12 weeks after their anticipated due date. We received agreement to be re-contacted from 100 of the 152 pregnant women from Study 1, of which 53 (Mean age 30.85, SD = 4.43) completed the surveys and were used in subsequent analyses.

20 21 **2.2.** F

21 2.2. Facial hair photographs22

23 Thirty-seven men (mean age \pm SD = 27.9 \pm 5.75 years) of European ethnicity were 24 photographed when clean-shaven and with 4-8 weeks of natural beard growth posing with a 25 neutral facial expression. Photographs were taken using a digital camera (8.0 megapixels 26 resolution) with subjects 150 cm from the photographer under controlled lighting (Dixson et 27 al., 2017a; Janif et al., 2014). Composite stimuli were constructed using the Webmorph 28 software package (DeBruine and Tiddeman, 2016) by identifying 189 facial landmarks on the 29 images and averaging the shape and color information of the photographs. To create a 30 composite bearded face and a composite clean-shaven face, we randomly selected five males 31 from the total pool of 37. For each of the five males we used their bearded and clean-shaven 32 versions to create a composite with a full beard and when clean-shaven. Thus, the pairs of 33 composites represented the same five individuals when bearded and when clean-shaven 34 (Figure 1). This process was undertaken 10 times to create the 10 pairs of bearded and clean-35 shaven composite stimuli. This approach has been used in past studies on women's 36 preferences for men's beardedness (Dixson et al., 2018b; McIntosh et al., 2017; Stower et al., 37 2019).



Figure 1. Four pairs of facial hair stimuli used in this study. Images show composite images 3 using the same 5 individuals when clean-shaven (top row) and fully bearded (bottom row). 4

5 Participants viewed pairs of faces showing the same composite man bearded and 6 clean-shaven and were asked to judge the faces in a two-alternative forced choice test 7 (2AFC). Past research has demonstrated the validity of 2AFC paradigms over Likert scales in 8 characterizing women's hypothetical and actual preferences for masculine facial traits 9 (DeBruine, 2013). Studies quantifying women's preferences for facial symmetry using 2AFC 10 may reflect whether women can detect facial asymmetries rather than the strength of their 11 preferences for symmetry (Lewis, 2017). However, 2AFC paradigms have been effective in 12 identifying men and women's preferences for bodily attractiveness (Dixson & Rantala, 2016; Marcincowska et al., 2018a; Singh et al., 2010), women's preferences for facial masculinity 13 14 (DeBruine et al., 2006; Marcinkowska et al., 2019; Scott et al., 2014), and beardedness 15 (Dixson et al., 2018b).

16

1 2

17 Participants judged faces on five traits: 1) Physical Strength (participants were asked 18 "Who looks stronger?") hereafter referred to as dominance, 2) Age ("Who looks older?"), 3) Masculinity ("Who looks most like a man?"), 4) Attractiveness ("Who looks most sexually 19 20 attractive?"), and 5) Parental Figure ("Who looks like the most suitable father?" hereafter 21 referred to fathering). The trait questions were blocked and the order in which participants 22 saw the rating blocks was also randomized. Within the trait blocks, the presentation of face 23 pairs was randomized. Participants selected whether the bearded or clean-shaven face in each 24 pair of faces was higher for the trait they were judging. Four pairs of faces were presented in 25 each block. The position of the clean-shaven and bearded image in each pair was 26 randomized, appearing either on the right or left. This study was pre-approved by the Human 27 Ethics Committee at the University of Queensland (#1876).

- 28
- 29 2.3. Statistical analyses 30

31 Study 1 employed general linear models (GLMs) and Bayesian GLMs using JASP 32 (Wagenmakers et al., 2017). Five analyses were undertaken in which the mean proportion of 33 selections for bearded over clean-shaven faces for each trait rating (age, masculinity, 34 dominance, attractiveness and fathering abilities) was the dependent measure in the GLMs. Effect sizes in the models are eta square (η^2) and all effect sizes for post-hoc Bonferroni tests 35 are Cohen's D. Bayesian analyses were undertaken to ascertain the presence or absence of a 36

1 hypothesized effect over the competing null effect. The Bayes Factor (BF_{10}) provides an 2 estimation of the strength of support a hypothesis receives relative to another competing 3 hypothesis. A BF₁₀ of 1-3 is considered weak evidence, a BF₁₀ of 3-10 is considered 4 moderate evidence and a BF₁₀ above 10 is considered strong evidence (van Doorn et al., 5 2019). 6 7 In Analysis 1, selections for beards were compared against women's reproductive 8 status (pregnant, mothers, non-hormonal contraceptive users and hormonal contraceptive 9 users), which was a fixed factor in the GLMs. There was a significant difference in ages 10 between the women in the four reproductive status categories, F(3, 2099) = 11.14, p < .001. 11 Thus, age was entered as a covariate in our analyses. 12 13 Analysis 2 used data only from women not using hormonal contraceptives (n = 1756, 14 mean age 31.37, SD = 11.88) to compare judgments among nulliparous women (n = 1088, 15 mean age 27.75, SD = 10.76) and mothers (n = 668, mean age 37.27, SD = 11.25). 16 Nulliparous and parous women differed significantly in age, t(1754) = 17.54, p < .001. Thus, 17 parity (nulliparous, parous) was a fixed factor and participant's age was entered as a covariate 18 in our analyses. 19 20 Analyses 3 tested whether how far into pregnancy (in weeks) our pregnant 21 participants were at the time of completing the surveys influenced judgements of 22 beardedness. Of the 152 pregnant women, 149 (mean age 30.38, SD = 5.01) provided 23 information on the stage of the pregnancy from which we calculated how far along in weeks 24 they were into their pregnancy (Mean = 23, SD = 9.88, range 3-40). Weeks into pregnancy 25 was entered as a covariate in the GLMs. 26 27 In Analyses 4, we tested whether breast feeding influenced judgments of men's 28 beardedness. Of the total of 387 women (mean age 29.41, SD = 4.99) who completed surveys 29 when in early motherhood, 359 (93%), mean age 29.54, SD = 4.99) were breastfeeding and 2830 (7%, mean age 27.75, SD = 4.73) were not breastfeeding. Differences in age between women 31 currently breastfeeding and not breastfeeding were not statistically significant, t(385) = 1.83, 32 p = .068. We ran GLMs and Bayesian GLMs where breastfeeding (yes, no) was a fixed 33 factor. 34 35 In Analysis 5, we tested whether the age of the mother's infants influenced their 36 judgments of men's beardedness. Of the total sample of 889 (35.15 years, SD = 10.72) 37 mothers, 839 (35.21 years, SD = 10.58) provided the ages of their youngest child (mean = 38 69.98 months, SD = 113.7). Among the 387 women who completed surveys during their first year of motherhood, 349 (mean age 29.41, SD = 4.99) provided the ages of their last-born 39 child (mean age = 6.14 months, SD = 3.45). We ran GLMs and Bayesian GLMs where the 40 41 age of infants (in months) was a covariate in separate analyses for mothers with infants under 42 1 year of age and the full sample of mothers. 43 44 In Study 2, the mean proportion of selections for bearded over clean-shaven faces was 45 the dependent measure in a 2 pregnancy (pregnant and nursing) repeated-measures ANOVA and Bayesian repeated-measures ANOVA. Ages in this sample did not differ significantly 46 47 from the total sample (One sample t-test against the sample mean age of 30.43; t(52) = 1.66, 48 p = .104). All women stated how far along in weeks they were into their pregnancy (Mean = 49 20.53, SD = 9.76, range 3-40) and how many weeks postpartum they were (Mean = 14.43, 50 SD = 2.95, range 6-21). We repeated these analyses including parity as a between-subjects

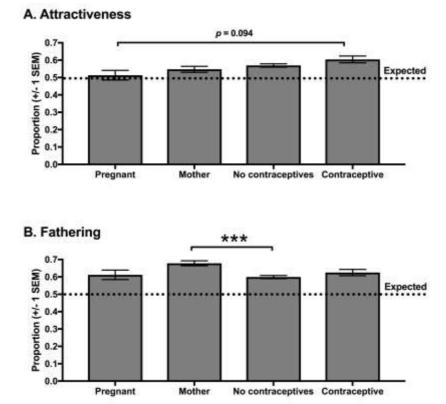
- 1 factor comparing women with one child (n = 12, mean age 29.50, SD = 5.21) and more than
- 2 one child (n = 41, mean age 31.24, SD = 4.16). Although the sample sizes between groups
- 3 differed, the assumption of equality of variances between samples was not violated

4 (Levenes's test during pregnancy: F(1,51) = 3,13, p = .083; postpartum: F(1,51) = 0.31, p = 0.5 .582) and participants' ages did not differ significantly between groups, F(1,51) = 1.21, p =6 .234.

- 7
- 8 3. Results
- 9 3.1. Study 1: Women's reproductive status and preferences for men's facial hair
- 10

Analysis 1. Reproductive status and judgments of facial hair. The GLM revealed a small 11

- 12 but significant effect of reproductive status on preferences for beardedness when judging 13 attractiveness, while Bayesian analyses did not show evidence for the hypothesised model
- 14 (Table 1). Attractiveness judgments of beards were higher among contraceptive users,
- 15 followed by non-pregnant women, mothers, and pregnant women (Figure 2A). However,
- 16 post-hoc Bonferroni tests revealed that the only differences between women using
- 17 contraceptives and pregnant women were approaching significance, p < .094, d = 1.95. When
- judging fathering abilities, there was also a significant effect of reproductive status on 18
- 19 preferences for beards and strong support for the hypothesised model in Bayesian GLM (BF₁₀
- 20 = 16.899; Table 1). Bonferroni tests revealed that mothers preferred beards more than women
- 21 not using hormonal contraceptives, p < .001, d = 0.25. Judgments did not differ significantly for other comparisons (Figure 2B).
- 22 23



24 25

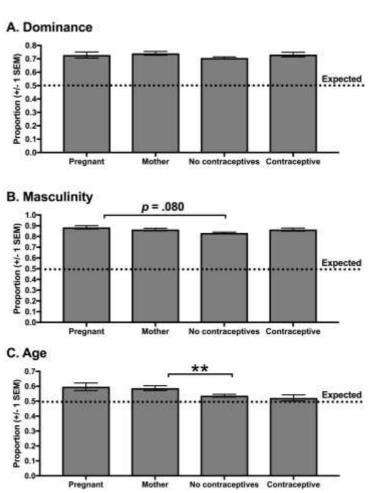
Figure 2. Mean proportion of bearded images $(\pm 1 \text{ SEM})$ selected as most physically attractive (A.) 26 and higher for fathering abilities (B.) among women who were pregnant, in early motherhood, not 27 using contraceptives, and using contraceptives. *** = p < .001. 28

29 There was a significant effect of reproductive status on selections of bearded faces 30 when judging masculinity and weak support for the hypothesised model in Bayesian GLM 1 (Table 1). Bonferroni tests showed that pregnant women selected beards more often than 2 women not using contraceptives, p = .080, d = 0.21 (Figure 3B). There was a significant main 3 effect and weak support from the Bayesian GLM of reproductive status on selections for 4 beards when judging age (Table 1). Beards were judged to be older among mothers compared 5 to women not using contraceptives, p = .010, d = 0.182 (Figure 3C). There was no main 6 effect of reproductive status on dominance judgments and weak support for the null model in 7 Bayesian analyses (Table 1).

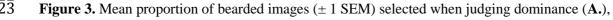
8

9 Participant's age was positively associated with preferences for beards when judging 10 age (r = .120, p < .001) and fathering (r = .060, p = .006), while associations were negative for judgments of dominance (r = -.094, p < .001) and attractiveness (r = -.085, p < .001). 11 12 Masculinity judgements were negatively associated with age but were not statistically 13 significant (r = -.026, p = .237). The age x reproductive status interactions in the ANCOVAs 14 were not statistically significant for judgments of age, masculinity, fathering and dominance 15 (all $F(3, 2095) \le 1.91$, all $p \ge .126$, Table 1). However, the interaction was significant for attractiveness judgments, F(3, 2095) = 3.80, all p = .010. Attractiveness judgments were 16 17 significantly negatively associated with age among pregnant women (n = 152, r = -0.259, p <0.001), women using hormonal contraceptives (n = 278, r = -0.168, p = 0.005), and women 18 19 not using contraceptives (n = 1286, r = -0.074, p = 0.008). This association was also negative 20 among mothers, but was not statistically significant (n = 387, r = -0.069, p = 0.175).









24 masculinity (**B**.), and age (**C**.) among women who were pregnant, in early motherhood, not using 25 contraceptives, and using contraceptives. ** = p < .01.

1 2 This analysis did not account for parity among our sample of women not using 3 contraceptives and it is possible changes in mate preferences among mothers extends beyond 4 that the first year of motherhood. Thus, we repeated our GLM and Bayesian GLM, this time 5 including non-pregnant mothers and non-pregnant non-mothers as an additional category of 6 current reproductive status. Of the 1286 women not using hormonal contraceptives, 890 did 7 not have any children and 396 had children. The mean proportion of selections for bearded 8 over clean-shaven faces for each trait judgment were dependent measures and reproductive 9 status (non-mothers not using contraceptives, mothers not using contraceptives, mothers with 10 a child under 1 year of age (hereafter referred to as 'mothers'), pregnant women and 11 contraceptive using women was a fixed factor, and rater's age was a covariate.

12

There was a significant effect of reproductive status on judgments of fathering, 13 $F(4,2097) = 6.08, p < .001, \eta^2 = .011$, which received strong support in Bayesian analyses 14 $(BF_{10} = 247.730)$. Mothers gave higher judgments for beards than non-mothers who were not 15 using contraceptives (p < 0.001; d = 0.30). There was also a main effect of reproductive 16 status on judgments of age, F(4,2097) = 4.63, p < .001, eta = .009, which received strong 17 18 support in Bayesian analyses ($BF_{10} = 1719.105$). Mothers gave higher ratings than non-19 mothers who were not using contraceptives (p = .003; d = 0.22). There was a significant 20 effect of reproductive status on judgments of masculinity, F(4,2097) = 4.87, p < .001, $\eta^2 =$ 21 .009, which received weak support in Bayesian analyses ($BF_{10} = 0.971$). Pregnant women 22 gave higher ratings for beards than non-mothers who were not using contraceptives (p = .021; 23 d = 0.26), mothers gave higher ratings than non-mothers who were not using contraceptives 24 (p = .032; d = 0.17) and mothers who were not using contraceptives gave higher ratings than 25 non-mothers who were not using contraceptives (p = .033; d = 0.19). The effect of 26 reproductive status was significant for judgments of attractiveness, F(4,2093) = 3.00, p =27 .018, $\eta^2 = .006$, although the main effect received weak support in Bayesian analyses (BF₁₀ = 28 0.142). While preferences were highest among women using hormonal contraceptives, no 29 Bonferroni tests were significant. The effect of reproductive status was not significant for judgments of attractiveness dominance, F(4,2097) = 1.73, p = .141, $\eta^2 = .003$. For results 30 relating to participant's age and Bayesian models see the Electronic Supplementary Materials 31 32 (ESM). 33

34 Analysis 2. Women's parity and judgments of facial hair. There was a significant effect of 35 parity on judgments of beardedness when judging age, masculinity, fathering, while 36 attractiveness judgments were approaching significance at the 5% levels and dominance 37 judgments were not statistically significant (Table 2). Parous women had higher preferences 38 for facial hair than nulliparous women when judging age, p = .012, d = 0.21, BF₁₀ = 396.739, 39 masculinity, p < .001, d = 0.15, $BF_{10} = 5.272$, and fathering, p = .002, d = 0.15, $BF_{10} = 6.226$. 40 Nulliparous women judged facial hair as more attractive than mothers, p = .059, d = 0.14, 41 $BF_{10} = 3.800$. Judgments of dominance did not differ significantly with parity, p = .169, d =42 0.004, $BF_{10} = 0.055$ (Figure 4).

43

There were significant associations between participant's age and judgments of age, masculinity, dominance and attractiveness, but not parenting skills, for men's facial hair (Table 2). Thus, age was positively associated with preferences for beards when judging age (r = .117, p < .001), while associations were negative for judgments of dominance (r = .082, p < .001) and attractiveness (r = .073, p = .002). Masculinity judgements were negatively associated with age but were not statistically significant (r = .023, p = .334). The age x reproductive status interaction was not statistically significant for judgments of age,

- 1 masculinity, attractiveness and dominance, but was significant for fathering skills (Table 2).
- 2 Judgments of parenting skills for bearded men were significantly positively associated with
- 3 age among nulliparous women (n = 1088, r = 0.088, p = 0.004), but not among mothers (n =
- 4 668, r = -0.037, p = 0.341).

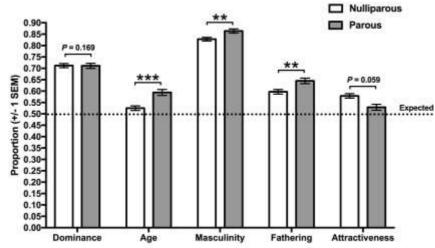


Figure 4. Mean proportion of bearded images (± 1 SEM) selected when making judgments of
dominance, age, masculinity, fathering, and attractiveness among nulliparous (open bars) and parous

- 8 (dark grey bars) women who were not using contraceptives. ** = p < .01; *** = p < .001.
- 9
 Analysis 3. Women's judgments of facial hair during pregnancy. Hormones change over
 11 pregnancy potentially influencing preferences for masculine facial traits. Of the 152 pregnant
- 12 women, 149 provided information on the stage of the pregnancy from which we calculated
- how far along in weeks they were into their pregnancy (Mean = 23, SD = 9.88, range 3-40).
- 14 When entered as a co-variate, there were no significant associations between stage of
- 15 pregnancy (in weeks) and any judgments of men's beards, all $F(1,147) \le 2.63$, all $p \ge .107$ (ESM).
- 16 17

Analysis 4. Breastfeeding and women's judgments of facial hair. Effects of motherhood on hormones and mate preferences extend beyond pregnancy into early motherhood and are influenced by breastfeeding. Of the 387 women (mean age = 29.41, SD = 4.99) who completed surveys when in early motherhood, 359 (93%, mean age = 29.54, SD = 4.99) were breastfeeding and 28 (7%, mean age 27.75, SD = 4.75) were not breastfeeding. Differences in

- age between women currently breastfeeding and not breast feeding were not statistically
- 24 significant, t(385) = 1.83, p = .068. The GLMS revealed breastfeeding was not associated
- 25 with any judgments, all $F(1,385) \le 1.56$, all p > .213 (ESM).
- 26

27 Analysis 5. The age of women's offspring and their judgments of facial hair. As

- 28 women's testosterone is lower in the first years of motherhood, we compared mother's
- 29 judgments for beards in GLMs and Bayesian ANCOVAs where the age of their youngest
- 30 child (in months) was a covariate. Mothers' age and the age of their youngest child were
- significantly positively correlated (r = .864, p < .001), therefore mothers' age was also included as a covariate. A total of 839 women (mean age 35.21 years, SD = 10.58) provided
- 33 the ages of their last-born child (mean = 69.98 months, SD = 113.7). When judging
- 34 attractiveness, there was a significant effect of infant's age, F(1, 836) = 11.61, p < .001, and
- 35 mother's age, F(1, 836) = 18.12, p < .001, but there was no infant age x mother's age
- 36 interaction, F(1, 835) = 0.09, p = .768. To test whether women's preferences for beards were
- 37 associated with age of their youngest infants when controlling for their age, we ran a partial

1 correlation comparing attractiveness judgments with age of infants while controlling for 2 mother's age. This correlation was positive and significant, N = 836, r = .117, p < .001, 3 which reflects that when controlling for mother's age attractiveness judgments increase as the 4 age of mother's youngest infants increase. There were no significant associations between age of youngest infant and women's judgments of age, masculinity, dominance and parenting 5 6 skills, all $F(1, 836) \le 1.16$, all p > .281 (ESM).

7

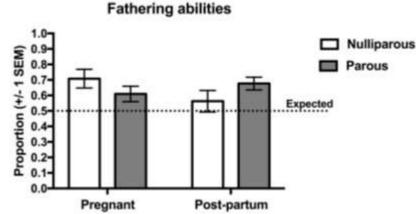
8 We also examined whether the age of the infants (n = 349, mean age 6.14 months, SD 9 = 3.45) among women in the first year of motherhood influenced judgments of facial hair. 10 Age of mothers (N = 349, mean age 29.41, years SD = 4.99) was not correlated with the age 11 of their youngest infant (r = .016, p = .767) None of the correlations between age of infants and women's judgments of beards were statistically significant, all $rs \le .07$, all p > .194. 12 13 When entered as a co-variate, there were no significant associations with any trait judgments, 14 all $F(1,347) \le 1.69$, all p > .194 (ESM).

15 16

3.2. Study 2: Women's preferences for men's beards during pregnancy and post-partum

17 18 The GLM showed no change in selections for bearded faces from pregnancy to the 19 early post-partum period on judgments of any traits (ESM). We repeated these analyses 20 including parity as a between-subjects factor comparing women having their first child (n = 21 12, mean age 29.50, SD = 5.21) and women who already had children (n = 41, mean age 22 31.24, SD = 4.2). There was a significant pregnancy × parity interaction when judging for 23 fathering, F(1,51) = 6.25, p = .016, $\eta^2 = .108$, which received no support from Bayesian 24 analyses $BF_{10} = 0.316$ (ESM). This reflects that during pregnancy, women carrying their first 25 child judged beardedness higher for parenting skills than pregnant women who had children 26 already (i.e. parous). However, post-partum women nursing their first child judged beards 27 lower for parenting skills than women with multiple children (Figure 5). None of the other 28 main effects or interactions were statistically significant, all $F(1,51) \le 2.61$, all $p \ge .112$ 29 (ESM).

30



31 32 **Figure 5**. Data are the mean proportion of bearded images $(\pm 1 \text{ SEM})$ selected as higher for fathering 33 abilities among women who were pregnant with their first child (i.e. nulliparous mothers, open bars) 34 or had children already (i.e. parous, grey bars). 35

36 DISCUSSION

37

38 Mating strategies theory asserts that women bypass the social costs of reduced 39 paternal investment in favour of mates who provide indirect genetic benefits that improve

1 offspring survivability (Gangestad & Simpson, 2000). Comparatively less attention has been 2 given to how preferences for cues of direct benefits (e.g. resources) vary as a function of 3 mating strategies (Scott et al., 2013). The current research tested whether women's 4 preferences for men's beards follow those of past research reporting women's preferences for 5 masculine traits are relaxed following childbirth leading into early motherhood compared to 6 women not using contraceptives and pregnant women (Escasa-dorne et al., 2017; Limoncin et 7 al., 2015). In Study 1, we found mothers with children under one year of age had higher 8 preferences for beards when judging fathering abilities than women who were pregnant, not 9 using contraceptives, and using hormonal contraceptives. These preferences were significant 10 for comparison between mothers and women not using contraceptives and the model received 11 strong support from Bayesian analyses (van Doorn et al., 2019). Pregnant women and 12 mothers also judged bearded faces as more masculine and older, but less attractive than 13 women who were not using contraceptives, which is similar to past research reporting 14 women's preferences for facial masculinity are stronger among young reproductively capable 15 non-pregnant women than pregnant women (Limoncin et al., 2015). We also found that 16 parous women gave significantly higher selections for beards when judging masculinity, age, 17 and fathering abilities, but lower sexual attractiveness judgments compared to nulliparous 18 women, which differs from research on craniofacial masculinity (Escasa-dorne et al., 2017) 19 and highlights a potential role of beardedness in communicating direct benefits.

20

21 In addition to pronounced hormonal changes between pregnant and cycling women, 22 endocrine changes occurring during pregnancy may underpin variation in women's 23 preferences for masculine traits (Cobey et al., 2015). Thus, estradiol, progesterone and 24 testosterone may be positively associated with women's facial masculinity preferences over 25 the menstrual cycle (Roney et al., 2011; Welling et al., 2008; Marcinkowska et al., 2018b). 26 Hormonal changes due to pregnancy are far more pronounced than those during menstrual 27 cycles (Motta-Mena & Puts, 2017) and may be associated with variation in preferences for masculine traits (Cobey et al., 2015). However, we found no significant relationship between 28 29 how far into their pregnancy women were and their attractiveness judgments of men's beards, 30 suggesting that judgments were not specific to hormonal variation occurring during pregnancy. Progesterone, estradiol, and testosterone rise from the 1st to the 3rd trimester and 31 32 decline dramatically postpartum (Schock et al., 2016; Buckwalter et al., 1999). Women's preferences for facial masculinity were more pronounced during the 3rd trimester of 33 34 pregnancy than the first three months postpartum (Cobey et al., 2015). In Study 2, we 35 measured judgments of men's beards in a subset of the participants from Study 1, first during the 3rd trimester of pregnancy and again three months post-partum. We found no significant 36 37 differences in women's judgments of beards for any perceptual traits post-partum compared 38 to pregnancy. However, when judging fathering abilities, first-time mothers reported higher 39 preferences for beards than parous women during pregnancy, whereas multiparous women 40 had higher preferences for beards than first-time mothers postpartum. While these analyses 41 were exploratory, support from Bayesian analyses was weak, and further replication is 42 required, our findings provide preliminary evidence that variation in women's judgments of 43 men's beards may vary with the transition to motherhood and parity rather than variation in 44 reproductive hormones during pregnancy.

45

46 The results of our second study highlight that parity may impact on women's mate 47 preferences. Compared to nulliparous women, parous women in our first study selected 48 bearded faces relative to clean-shaven faces more often when judging masculinity, age and 49 fathering abilities, but less often when judging sexual attractiveness. Beards also received 50 higher selections for fathering abilities among mothers not using contraceptives than women

1 not using contraceptives without children and among mothers raising young infants under 1 2 year of age compared to women who were not using contraceptives. Pregnancy and early 3 motherhood are periods in which women are vulnerable and social support is beneficial to 4 maternal and infant wellbeing (Hrdy, 2016). Human mating systems are cooperative and 5 characterized by allomaternal investment from grandmothers, sisters, and aunts via infant 6 care and provisioning (Hrdy, 2016). Fathers also contribute to the survival of their offspring 7 through providing tangible resources and protection (Gettler, 2016; Muller, 2017). In many 8 species, male secondary sexual characters are employed primarily in intra-sexual competition 9 (Rico-Guevara & Hurme, 2019) and may be preferred by females when resources and 10 protection could be gained (Wong and Candolini, 2005). Recent evidence suggests that men's 11 secondary sexual traits play a more important role in male-male competition than enhancing 12 attractiveness (Kordsmeyer et al., 2018). In the current study, women judged beards as 13 looking significantly more dominant than clean-shaven faces irrespective of changes in 14 reproductive status, which is consistent with past studies (Dixson et al., 2018c). However, our 15 findings that mothers judge bearded men as having higher parenting skills differ from research on women's preferences for men's facial masculinity, which report preferences for 16 17 facial masculinity continue to decrease post-partum (Cobey et al., 2015; Marcinkowska et al., 2018c) and during early motherhood (Escasa-dorne et al., 2017). Unlike facial masculinity, 18 19 beardedness may not be related to fighting ability (Dixson et al., 2018c) and instead enhances perceptions of social aspects of dominance and prestige including sincerity, courageousness, 20 21 self-confidence and competence (Kenny & Fletcher, 1973; Pellegrini, 1973; Guido et al., 22 2011; Hellström & Tekle, 1994). Interestingly, we found no associations between women's 23 preferences for men's beards when judging fathering abilities and the age of their infants. 24 Instead, there was a positive association between the age of the last-born child and women's 25 attractiveness judgments of men's beards. Thus, women's preferences for beards when 26 judging long-term partner preferences and parenting skills, particularly when young rearing 27 infants, may reflect selection for an ornamental badge of status that communicates direct 28 benefits like resources and protection.

29

30 There are some important limitations to our studies that are worth addressing in future 31 research. For example, while the sample size in our second study was sufficiently powered to 32 detect a medium effect size, our analyses were restricted to women interviewed during the 33 third trimester and the early months post-partum. Future research should ideally use data 34 collected prior to pregnancy, over the entire course of pregnancy and postpartum using 35 within-subject designs in conjunction with hormone measures. It is also possible that our 36 sampling approach, wherein women were interviewed in late pregnancy and again in the first 37 three months post-partum, introduced sampling biases due to not counterbalancing data 38 collection. We also found no influence of breastfeeding on women's judgments of 39 beardedness. However, 93% of our sample of Australian mothers were breastfeeding, which is likely a reflection of the mothers being from middle-class backgrounds as breastfeeding 40 41 rates decline between 3-6 months postpartum due in part to returning to the work force 42 (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2010). Unfortunately, we did not collect 43 information regarding our participants socioeconomic status or whether breastfeeding women had resumed menstrual cycles, which will alter their hormonal status (Ellison, 2003) and 44 45 potentially influence mate preferences. Further, effects of breastfeeding on gonadotropin release are most pronounced when breastfeeding is chronic and given we do not have detailed 46 47 information on the frequency of breastfeeding, we speculate that the hormonal profiles of our 48 sample may have been fairly heterogenous, which may also explain our null result. 49 Breastfeeding impacts on mate preferences in some small-scale societies such as the Hadza 50 hunter-gatherers of Tanzania and Manilla in the Philippines, where lactation was associated

- 1 with lower preferences for masculine voices (Apicella and Feinberg 2009; Shirazi et al.,
- 2 2018). Thus, future research extending our study to include cross-cultural samples from
- 3 small-scale societies would be valuable. Finally, future research might use stimuli that
- 4 manipulate facial masculinity and beardedness in concert to test possible trade-offs in trait
- 5 preferences and potentially expose multiple preference functions during the transition to
- 6 motherhood (Dixson et al., 2016). For the present, our results suggest that mothers may be
- 7 sensitive to beards as a masculine secondary sexual characteristic that communicates
- 8 parenting skills, rather than sexual attractiveness, providing preliminary evidence that
- 9 women's mate preferences for beards reflect sexual selection for direct benefits.

10

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