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Agency and communality are stereotypically linked with, respectively, masculinity and femininity. These gendered trait associations elicit stereotypic prescriptions for how people should behave. Whether they extend to elicit gendered stereotypic expectations for how people look and specifically how this affects women aspiring to leadership positions is understudied. In the present experiment, I analyzed backlash discrimination through job candidate evaluations. Participants evaluated one of four candidates for the leadership position of Student Policies Manager. I manipulated applicant gender (man or woman) and facial masculinity (lower or higher) between-participants by pairing a picture of the applicant's face with the leadership role description. People looked at one of four possible faces, either higher or lower in facial masculinity, and evaluated them on list of agentic and communal traits and selected their level of job endorsement for the candidate. Counter to my hypothesis, I found that people endorsed the more masculine female face more for the leadership position than any other face. People evaluated the male and female faces as similarly agentic, but evaluated the female faces as more communal than the male faces overall. These findings show that there may be a shift in gendered expectations for leadership roles, though women are still regarded as more communal despite their agentic leadership aspirations.

EXAMINING FACIAL MASCULINITY AS A CAUSE OF BACKLASH AGAINST ASPIRING FEMALE LEADERS

by

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Dr. Brittany Cassidy
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DEDICATION

To my friends in Greensboro, Boston, Atlanta, and beyond – your love and support through every chapter of my life means more to me than you will ever know.

To my sister, for being there to give me the advice I may not want, but need.

And to my dad, for everything that I am today. Words will never be enough.

APPROVAL PAGE

This thesis written by Hayley A. Liebenow has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of The Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Despite comprising half of the population of the United States, women are underrepresented in leadership roles across numerous domains ranging from STEM (Kahn & Ginther, 2017) to politics (Smith et al., 2007). There are many downstream consequences of women not seeing other women in power. Not seeing women in leadership roles erodes women's sense of belonging in the associated fields, leading women to have a lack in interest in those fields (Baskaran & Hessami, 2018; Broockman, 2014; Creamer, 2012; Piatek-Jimenez et al., 2018). If women lack interest, the cycle of underrepresentation in leadership roles continues. The perpetuation of this cycle of underrepresentation is an important societal issue. Because leadership roles often pay higher salaries, for example, women's underrepresentation in leadership roles contributes to the ongoing gender salary gap (Piatek-Jimenez et al., 2018). By understanding the factors contributing to women's continued underrepresentation in leadership positions, future work may be able to develop more effective strategies to promote women's representation.

Gendered trait inferences are one factor contributing to women's underrepresentation in leadership. Gendered trait inferences are gender stereotypic traits people infer about others based on a target's gender. Gendered trait inferences about women are often communal traits reflecting a relationship-orientation (e.g., warm, friendly, or compassionate; Diehl et al., 2004; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Gendered trait inferences about men are agentic traits that are often used to characterize leadership (e.g., assertive, dominant, or determined; Diehl et al., 2004). Agency and communion are widely studied categories of trait inferences and are commonly referred to as the "Big Two" of social perception (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007; Bruckmüller & Abele, 2013; Martin & Slepian, 2020; Wiggins, 1991). Notable in this research is that agentic traits often overlap with

traits considered to be characteristic of leaders and are stereotypically associated with men and masculinity (Rudman et al., 2012). Communal traits, by contrast, often overlap with traits considered to be characteristic of relationship-oriented roles and are stereotypically associated with women and femininity (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007; Bem, 1974).

The agentic traits associated with leadership traits and men contrast the communal traits associated with relationships and women (Abele, 2003). Notably, that people expect women to possess communal traits often leads to difficulties for women aspiring to leadership positions. That is, women face a double bind when aspiring to leadership, as the traits expected of women do not align with the traits expected of leaders (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Rudman et al., 2012). The on-going problem is that women need to display agentic characteristics of a leader to seem competent enough for the job. However, they then face being evaluated negatively by possessing agentic traits that are incongruent with stereotypic expectations of women (Phelan et al., 2008; Rudman & Glick, 2001). Further, people will then perceive these women as insufficiently communal due to their high agency (which is associated with high masculinity) (Rudman & Glick, 2001). Important to note, the double bind influences people's perceptions of women, such as how nice they are or if they are fit for a prospective job. Agentic women are susceptible to receiving backlash in the form of negative evaluations, not being selected for leadership positions, and other negative consequences because they are not perceived as warm, friendly, and kind people (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Rudman & Glick, 2001). This perception and double bind against agentic women perpetuates women's underrepresentation.

Previous work characterizing this type of backlash discrimination has largely investigated how women are evaluated from resumes or vignettes (Phelan et al., 2008; Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Trait inferences, however, come from nonverbal cues as well. These nonverbal cues are

pervasive in many of the infamous criticisms that agentic women aspiring to leadership roles receive (e.g., "You need to smile more."). Faces are a rich source of social cues (Goldstein, 1979; Rule et al., 2013; Todorov et al., 2015), including gendered trait inferences (Oh et al., 2019; Sutherland et al., 2015; Todorov et al., 2015; Wen et al., 2020). One source of trait inferences that may contribute to backlash discrimination against women is mere glimpses of their faces. For example, having more masculine facial characteristics leads women to be more negatively evaluated (Sutherland et al., 2015). Given that recent work has shown higher facial masculinity to be associated with more agentic, and fewer communal, trait inferences (Cassidy & Liebenow, 2021; Walker & Wänke, 2017; Wen et al., 2020), these findings raise the possibility that more masculine appearing women are negatively evaluated because they are assumed to be insufficiently communal. Thus, the agentic and communal trait inferences leading to backlash against agentic women may come from nonverbal sources out of a woman's control. To better understand women's underrepresentation in leadership, we must understand the sources of trait inferences people make about women that lead to backlash discrimination. Characterizing the sources of trait inferences that lead people to view women as insufficiently communal is thus of considerable importance to understand women's continued underrepresentation. The current experiment tested for this possibility.

People infer more agentic and fewer communal traits about more masculine appearing women (Walker & Wänke, 2017; Wen et al., 2020). However, these inferences are merely assumptions. Although people largely agree on trait inferences from faces, trait inferences from faces are often inaccurate (Rule et al., 2013). Thus, potential backlash discrimination against more masculine appearing women may be unfair and not reflect those women's actual traits. In this experiment, I addressed the possibility that gendered trait inferences from faces can

negatively impact women aspiring to leadership positions. A deficit in perceived communality leads to backlash against agentic women, as people expect women to possess communal traits. Understanding if facial masculinity is a nonverbal source for backlash discrimination thus fills an important gap in the literature while bridging the distinct literatures on first impressions of faces and backlash discrimination. By combining theoretical perspectives from both face perception and backlash discrimination literatures, this experiment assessed a nonverbal route by which backlash discrimination may emerge.

To this end, I first review the literature on gendered trait inferences and prejudicial consequences of those inferences for women (e.g., backlash discrimination). I then review relevant literature on trait inferences from faces and describe how it may interface with the literature on backlash discrimination. Finally, I present the findings of an experiment testing this idea by having participants evaluate job candidate faces and biographies. This experiment examined how women's facial masculinity influences people's perception of them, how face perception leads to trait inferences made from perceived agency, and how this may lead to backlash discrimination against women.

Gendered Trait Inferences from the "Big Two" and Backlash Discrimination

Decades of research has converged on the idea that agency and communion are the "Big Two" dimensions of social perception (e.g., Abele et al., 2008; Bem, 1981; Bruckmüller & Abele, 2013; Martin & Slepian, 2020; Wiggins, 1991). These dimensions have distinct associated trait inferences. Whereas agency is associated with competence and leadership, communion is associated with warmth and caretaking (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007; Eagly et al., 2020; Wiggins, 1991). The broader social construct of gender is theorized to underlie trait inferences from the "Big Two" (Abele, 2003; Martin & Slepian, 2020). Specifically, agency is

associated with masculinity and communion is associated with femininity (Abele, 2003; Eagly et al., 2020; Rosette & Tost, 2010; Wen et al., 2020). In a recent meta-analysis summarizing decades of public opinion polls (Eagly et al., 2020), gendered trait inferences and their impact on women were shown to have endured over time. Women are currently still strongly associated with communal traits, and that this association has even increased over time. Men are still consistently associated with agentic traits, a relation that has endured over time. This meta-analysis provides a substantial foundation that communal expectations for women and agentic expectations for men are consistently salient to people, even to this day.

Prejudice against women aspiring to leadership roles is theorized to arise from the pervasive influence of these gendered trait inferences from the "Big Two" on social cognition. The pervasive influence is due to the fact that constructs of agency and communion are built so strongly into our society and produce expectations for how men and women "should" behave (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). When people violate prescriptive stereotypes, such as a woman behaving in an agentic way, they often will experience backlash discrimination (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Whether facial characteristics like masculinity seem to elicit similar prescriptive inferences and consequences is understudied.

Backlash discrimination is related to longstanding theoretical work on role congruity (Eagly & Karau, 2002). The role congruity perspective suggests that women are subject to backlash discrimination for not living up to stereotypes about women, otherwise known as being "role incongruent." Women are not expected to be agentic. Therefore, agentic women receive negative backlash by being less likely to be hired and liked, all because these agentic women appear to be role incongruent (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Because the expected female gender role is dissimilar to that of the expected leadership role, prejudice against female leaders can arise due

to this incongruity of role expectations. Indeed, leadership behaviors are endorsed less favorably when done by women (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Backlash discrimination occurs for female leaders when they are perceived as overly agentic and, as a result, insufficiently communal (Moss-Racusin et al., 2012; Rudman & Glick, 2001). In one study (Rudman & Glick, 2001) that replicated another (Rudman & Glick, 1999) in characterizing the typical "backlash" pattern, researchers found that when participants were evaluating an agentic woman for a "feminized" job, agentic women experienced discrimination because they were perceived as insufficiently communal (i.e., nice). When women behave in an agentic manner, they are seen as less feminine and violate the prescriptive stereotype that women should be communal. Therefore, agentic women are not seen as suitable for a "feminized" job. Another study found that when voting for women aspiring to political leadership, voters were less likely to vote for female candidates who displayed power-seeking intentions (consistent with agency) because these women were perceived as being insufficiently communal (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010). Voters were not deterred to vote for male candidates who expressed the same intentions. Because men are not expected to be communal, they do not deviate from prescriptive stereotypes by not displaying communal traits, and thus would not be expected to receive backlash for their agentic behavior. This study shows how a woman's perceived lack of communality from displaying power-seeking intentions can influence evaluations of her and fit for leadership positions. Women aspiring to leadership positions may be hindered by their agentic qualities for the mere fact that women striving for positions of power violates the expectation that women are communal.

This theoretical notion also maps out for actual women in the real world (e.g., Cassidy & Liebenow, 2021; Gervais & Hillard, 2011; Ratliff et al., 2019). For example, people evaluated

Hillary Clinton to be more agentic than communal in 2008, highlighting her being perceived as a very agentic female candidate. However, only her perceived communality positively related to people's likelihood of voting for her (Gervais & Hillard, 2011). Thus, although Clinton was perceived as having agentic traits consistent with leadership, only the perception that she had communal traits expected of women related to people endorsing her candidacy. These findings show that when real women possess more stereotypically masculine characteristics, they are perceived as possessing less communal and stereotypically feminine traits. However, those stereotypically feminine traits are the traits that actually affect their likelihood of success in attaining leadership.

Backlash discrimination against women is pervasive throughout society. If we do not fully understand the sources people use to infer levels of agency and communality, that means we do not have fully developed strategies to combat discrimination against women striving for leadership. Potentially understudied sources backlash, such as trait inferences conveyed by nonverbal sources like faces, may complement or contrast the prescriptive stereotype that women should be communal. Unless we study and understand such alternative sources of gendered trait inferences, our strategies to fight against backlash may not be truly effective.

Gendered Trait Inferences from Faces Potentially Link to Backlash Discrimination

When people look at faces, they make trait inferences about the person in less than a second (Willis & Todorov, 2006). People consensually make these impressions. That is, most people would agree that certain traits are reflected in a person's face (e.g. "She looks easy to talk to," "He has kind eyes," "He looks like a lot of fun to be around," etc.) (Rule et al., 2013). Impressions from facial features are persistent in influencing our perception of people and override other incoming information (Jaeger et al., 2019). However, these inferences are not

always accurate (Rule et al., 2013) and this can have major consequences on how we treat these people (Wilson & Rule, 2015). For example, prior work has shown that people make inferences about a person's level of trustworthiness in criminal-sentencing decisions from their facial characteristics, resulting in harsher punishments for people with low face trustworthiness (Wilson & Rule, 2015). Such findings demonstrate how trait inferences can lead to people being perceived more negatively solely for certain facial characteristics, meaning people make assumptions about others before they even get to talk. These evaluations could lead to severe negative consequences (e.g., not getting a job or stricter criminal sentences) and thus have garnered considerable research interest over the past few decades. Most of this research about consequences, however, has been studied using male targets (Todorov et al., 2015; Wilson & Rule, 2015; Zebrowitz et al., 1991). In comparison, although people certainly make trait inferences from women's faces, similar serious consequences based on women's facial characteristics have received little attention. Relative facial masculinity may have especially impactful consequences for women given that it is positively associated with perceived agency and negatively associated with perceived communality (Oh et al., 2019; Walker & Wänke, 2017; Wen et al., 2020)

An emerging body of work has shown that facial masculinity affects gendered trait inferences. People make agentic trait inferences from high levels of facial masculinity and communal trait inferences from low levels of facial masculinity (Walker & Wänke, 2017; Wen et al., 2020). When people were asked to evaluate male and female faces morphed to look more masculine and feminine, for example, they expected a masculine-appearing face to be more agentic than a feminine-appearing face (Walker & Wänke, 2017). These gendered trait associations with facial masculinity appear to be relatively automatic. In past work, this is

demonstrated through implicit association tasks, where participants had to press the left or right key to associate feminine and masculine faces with words indicting high competence (e.g., competent) or high warmth (e.g., friendly). People were quicker to press the key when presented with masculine faces with high competence words, and slower to press the key when presented with feminine faces with high competence words. Similarly, people were quicker to press the key when presented with feminine faces with high warmth words, and slower to press the key when presented with masculine faces with high warmth words. These studies found evidence that people associate facial masculinity with perceived competence and facial femininity with perceived warmth (Wen et al., 2020). From this foundational research, people may make gendered trait inferences based on relative facial masculinity.

Because agency and communion are related to masculinity and femininity, respectively (Bruckmüller & Abele, 2013; Martin & Slepian, 2020), one possibility is that gendered trait inferences from faces (Sutherland et al., 2015) may be one source of the backlash agentic women receive when aspiring for leadership roles. Previous research indirectly supports this possibility. When given the ability of free response to evaluate faces with traits, people evaluate faces quite differently depending on their gender and gender stereotypicality (Sutherland et al., 2015). People evaluated both male and female faces manipulated on their level of facial masculinity, with only more masculine-looking women being negatively evaluated with descriptors like "strict" and "stern." This finding suggests that women with masculine facial characteristics are negatively perceived. Additionally, perceived dominance from masculine characteristics in female faces led to more negative evaluations than male faces, even when people were only exposed to the faces for 500 milliseconds. This research shows how quickly we make evaluations on faces, particularly how quickly we make negative evaluations of women likely to

be perceived as role incongruent. However, no research has directly addressed if gendered trait inferences from facial masculinity relate to backlash discrimination against women aspiring to leadership roles.

Women may be particularly affected by trait inferences from facial cues. Prior work has laid the foundation for how women are negatively evaluated in particular for their facial characteristics (Oh et al., 2019; Sutherland et al., 2015; Wen et al., 2020). A series of experiments (Oh et al., 2019) found that female faces with higher facial masculinity are negatively evaluated compared to female faces with lower facial masculinity. Female faces were evaluated as less competent compared to male faces. Male faces were evaluated as more competent compared to female faces, and male faces were not negatively evaluated for being role incongruent compared to female faces. Additionally, the researchers found that competence is associated with attractiveness, confidence, and masculinity – but not femininity – once again showing that when we think of a competent, capable leader, we visualize a man (Oh et al., 2019). These findings further support the possibility that relative facial masculinity is used as a backlash mechanism specifically against women.

Consequences of this backlash from women's appearance can severely affect their lives. Previous research has found that people perceive sexual harassment claims to be less credible when the female victims have more masculine facial characteristics (Goh et al., 2021). Not only does this finding demonstrate how persistent facial cues are in affecting our perception of women, but also that masculinity reflected in the representations we have of certain "types" of women can drastically affect women's lives. Relative facial masculinity also affects how people perceive aspiring female leaders. For example, research has shown people who represent Kamala Harris, a prominent female leader, as appearing more masculine evaluate her negatively (Cassidy

& Liebenow, 2021). Thus, facial masculinity appears to be very consequential for aspiring female leaders. The more masculine women appear, the worse it seems to be for them. This work demonstrates that real-life female leaders are subject to these trait evaluations based on their facial characteristics and level of facial masculinity. Together, this research suggests that the relative facial masculinity may negatively affect evaluations of with serious repercussions (e.g., not receiving votes).

In the current experiment, I tested if relative facial masculinity affects agentic and communal trait inferences of women and that women with more versus less masculine facial characteristics receive backlash when they aspire to leadership roles. By analyzing the connection between facial masculinity and gendered trait inferences through an evaluation of applicants for a leadership role, I determined whether facial masculinity affects how women are evaluated for leadership roles. I expected that, for both men and women's faces, that facial masculinity will affect the traits people are expected to possess. Specifically, I hypothesized that people with higher relative to lower facial masculinity will be evaluated as higher in agency and lower in communality.

I also expected that facial masculinity will only elicit backlash discrimination, however, for women aspiring to a leadership role. Prior work has shown how female faces receive negative evaluations in particular for high facial masculinity, while less facial masculinity does not result in negative evaluations for men (Moss-Racusin et al., 2010; Sutherland et al., 2015). Analyzing this gender discrepancy in facial masculinity expectations is thus a focus of the present experiment. I expected that relative facial masculinity would interact with target gender to affect job endorsement. Specifically, I expected that people will be less likely to endorse women with higher relative to lower facial masculinity for a leadership role. This pattern would be consistent

with facial masculinity being a source of backlash discrimination. By contrast, because differing gender expectations for men, I expected that relative facial masculinity will affect the endorsement of men for a leadership role to a lesser extent.

The Current Study

In the present experiment, I investigated gendered trait inferences based on facial masculinity and, simultaneously, backlash against women aspiring to leadership as a function of their facial masculinity. Understanding if facial masculinity is a source of backlash discrimination against women aspiring to leadership roles is important. Better characterizing the sources of backlash discrimination may be useful in developing ways to combat it and to thereby increase women's leadership representation.

Here, I analyzed backlash discrimination through job candidate evaluations. Participants evaluated one of four candidates for the leadership position of Student Policies Manager. Critically, I manipulated applicant gender (man or woman) and facial masculinity (lower or higher) between-participants by pairing a picture of the applicant's face with the leadership role description. To show effects of facial masculinity on gendered trait inferences, participants made agentic and communal trait inferences of each candidate using a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*). To show potentially interactive effects of applicant gender and facial masculinity on job endorsement, participants rated their likelihood of endorsing the candidate using a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*).

CHAPTER II: METHODS

Participants

A power analysis using $f = 0.175$ (between a small and medium effect size) and alpha = .05 indicated 259 participants with 80% power to detect an interaction between Candidate Gender and Facial Masculinity on Candidate Endorsement reflecting backlash discrimination against women. Three hundred people from Amazon Mechanical Turk participated (M_{age} = 39.16 years, SD = 13.64; $M_{years\ of\ education}$ = 15.88, SD = 3.64; 110 identifying as female). To collect a high quality sample, I utilized Cloud Research, an online extension tool to filter Amazon Mechanical Turk participants (specifically to filter out bots and only allow verified Amazon Mechanical Turk users who have taken over 500 surveys). I did this to ensure that the data I collect is high quality and from legitimate participants. I oversampled to account for anticipated exclusions (e.g., failing manipulation checks). Men and women were evenly distributed across the four candidate conditions (see below), χ^2 (3) = 2.57, p = .46. Twenty-seven participants failed the two attention checks, resulting in a total of 273 participants for the analyzed sample. Of the 273 participants, 213 participants identified as White, 34 as Black, 12 as Asian, 8 as multi-racial, 3 as American Indian/Alaska Native, and 2 as Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander. Of the 273 participants, 246 also identified as non-Hispanic. This experiment was approved by the University of North Carolina at Greensboro IRB. All participants provided informed consent and were compensated $1.00.

Procedure

After providing informed consent, participants completed a task adapted from work on backlash discrimination against women seeking leadership positions (e.g., Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in which they read a short

biography of a candidate for the position of Student Policies Manager paired with a picture of the candidate's face. People who participated in the pre-test (who did not complete this main experiment) rated the job description on a scale ranging from 1 (*very feminine*) to 7 (*very masculine*). A one-sample t-test against the scale midpoint (4) showed that the job was relatively gender neutral ($M = 3.90$, $SD = 0.22$, $t(38) = -0.51$, $p = .61$). The job description was as follows: "The Student Policies Manager is a prestigious position for a student leader who displays strong competency in their work, independence, and motivation to lead their college community. Responsibilities for this position are to advise the board of trustees on student and university issues, lead student council in weekly meetings, and be a competent facilitator of student and faculty queries. To succeed in this role, the candidate should be highly competent, independent, intelligent, and determined. Past leadership experience is desirable. Past students in this position have gone onto work for prestigious companies and even been elected for local, city, and state legislative seats."

The candidate biography was the same across conditions and contained information about the candidate's biographical and educational background. People who participated in the pre-test (who did not complete this main experiment) rated the candidate's biography on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all likely*) to 7 (*extremely likely*). A one-sample t-test against the scale midpoint (4) showed that the job was relatively gender neutral ($M = 4.08$, $SD = 0.05$, $t(38) = 0.34$, $p = 0.73$, $d = 0.05$). The biography read as follows: "Candidate #1 is 21-years-old, a junior in college, and majoring in Political Science. They are on the fencing team and are currently serving as the Event Coordinator on Student Council." The paired picture varied across conditions. The picture of the candidate was a male or female face that was either lower or higher facial masculinity (See Figure 1). Images of one male and one female neutrally expressive White

faces were selected from a database (DeBruine & Jones, 2017) used in past work examining facial masculinity effects on people's evaluations of women (e.g., Goh et al., 2021) that are similar in age (M_{female} = 22.85, SD_{female} = 3.94, M_{male} = 23.82, SD_{male} = 4.06, b = -0.97, $t(38)$ = -1.32, p = .19, d = -0.97) and attractiveness (M_{female} = 3.05, SD_{female} = 0.94, M_{male} = 3.03, SD_{male} = 0.87, b = 0.03, $t(38)$ = 0.13, p = .90, d = 0.03). Each photo in the database has a version that was digitally altered to be more masculine and another version to be less masculine. Therefore, I had four faces reflecting more or less masculinized versions of two identities. Using the same face morphed to be less and more masculine is important because it holds other aspects of the face constant, with only the masculinity in the face changing.

Figure 1: Face Image Stimuli

Note. Face image stimuli used to represent the candidates. Both male and female candidates were represented with low facial masculinity (A) and high facial masculinity (B) images.

After reading the biography, participants rated the candidate on agency (assertive, competent, dominant, independent, persistent, and determined) and communality (warm, caring, compassionate, friendly, sympathetic, and cooperative) using scales ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*). These traits are from a validated database (Diehl et al., 2004) and are widely used examples of agentic and communal traits (Abele, 2003; Bruckmüller & Abele, 2013; Cassidy & Liebenow, 2021; Gervais & Hillard, 2011; Trapnell & Paulhus, 2012). Traits were presented in a random order. Like past work, agentic and communal trait ratings were assessed for reliability and averaged to make composite agentic (Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$, $M = 5.26$, $SD = 1.14$) and communality (Cronbach's $\alpha = .95$, $M = 4.50$, $SD = 1.29$) inferences. Participants then indicated their likelihood of selecting the candidate for the job on three different variables – how likely they are to endorse the candidate (i.e., "How likely are you to endorse this candidate for the role of Student Policies Manager?"), how likely they think the candidate will do well in this leadership position, (i.e., "How likely is this candidate to do well as Student Policies Manager?"), and how likely they think others will like reporting to this candidate (i.e., "How likely are other people to like reporting to this candidate as the Student Policies Manager?"). Participants responded to these three questions on a scale ranging from 1 (*extremely unlikely*) to 7 (*extremely likely*) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$, $M = 4.68$, $SD = 1.28$).

Participant Characterization

We characterized participants on political ideology, sexism, social role endorsement, and social dominance orientation in questionnaires completed in a random order after the main task.

Political ideology

Participants indicated political ideology over four items (overall, economic issues, social issues, and foreign policy issues) on a scale ranging from 1 (*extremely conservative*) to 9

(*extremely liberal*). Responses (Cronbach's $\alpha = .97$) were averaged to create a composite political ideology score ($M = 4.69$, $SD = 1.98$).

Sexism

Participants completed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996). The ASI measures hostile (e.g., "Women are too easily offended") and benevolent (e.g., "Women should be cherished and protected by men") sexism on a scale ranging from 0 (*disagree strongly*) to 5 (*agree strongly*). Higher scores indicate more sexism. Items measuring hostile (Cronbach's $\alpha = .93$; $M = 1.52$, $SD = 1.42$) and benevolent (Cronbach's $\alpha = .90$; $M = 1.93$, $SD = 1.36$) sexism were averaged to create hostile and benevolent sexism scores.

Social role beliefs

Participants completed the Social Roles Questionnaire (SRQ; Baber & Tucker, 2006) to measure their traditional social role beliefs (e.g., "For many important jobs, it is better to choose men instead of women") beliefs. Participants indicated how much they agreed with each statement from 0% to 100% in 10% increments. Higher scores reflect more traditional social role beliefs. Items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .90$; $M = 29.13$, $SD = 23.40$) to create a social role belief score.

Social Dominance Orientation

Participants completed the eight-item version of a social dominance orientation questionnaire (Ho et al., 2015), which measures preference for inequality amongst groups (Pratto et al., 1994) on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly oppose*) to 7 (*strongly favor*). We averaged responses to each item (e.g., "An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.") to quantify overall social dominance orientation (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.91$; $M = 2.25$, $SD = 1.41$).

Attention Checks

There were three attention checks. First, after reading the job description, people were asked "The job description described a:" (*party planner,* ***student leader****, restaurant manager, and corporate internship*). All participants passed this check. Next, immediately after the first check, people were asked "What job will you be evaluating this candidate for?" (***Student Policies Manager****, Event Coordinator, Treasurer, Social Media Liaison*). Two participants were excluded for failing to correctly answer this attention check. Lastly, at the end of the survey before the demographics portion, participants indicated their level of attention during the task (i.e., "To what extent did you pay attention and follow task instructions? Your answer will not affect your payment.") (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *completely*). No participants were excluded.

Participants lastly provided demographic information.

CHAPTER III: RESULTS

Gender Differences on the Participant Characterization Measures

We first identified if gender differences emerged on the participant characterization measures. See Table 1 for descriptive and inferential statistics. Men had more hostile sexism and traditional social role beliefs than women. Men and women were similar in benevolent sexism, social dominance orientation, political ideology, age, and years of education.

Examining Effects of Facial Masculinity on Gendered Trait Inferences

To test whether facial masculinity affected the evaluation of gendered trait inferences in faces, composite trait ratings were entered into a 2 (Candidate Gender: man, woman) x 2 (Facial Masculinity: more, less) x 2 (Trait Type: agency, communion) mixed-measures ANOVA. Candidate Gender was a between-subjects variable and Facial Masculinity and Trait Type were within-subjects variables.

There was a main effect of Trait, $F(1, 268) = 79.52$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.23$, such that people evaluated candidates as higher in agency ($M = 5.26$, $SD = 1.01$) than communality ($M = 4.50$, $SD = 1.14$). There was also a marginal main effect of Candidate Gender, $F(1, 268) = 3.84$, $p = .05$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.01$, such that people evaluated female candidates ($M = 4.98$, $SD = 0.74$) higher on all traits than male candidates ($M = 4.78$, $SD = 0.87$). An interaction between Trait Type and Candidate Gender emerged, $F(1, 268) = 10.30$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.04$. People evaluated the male ($M = 5.29$, $SD = 1.05$) and female ($M = 5.22$, $SD = 0.96$) candidates as similarly agentic, $t(270) = 0.65$, $p = .52$, $d = 0.08$. People evaluated the female candidates ($M = 4.74$, $SD = 1.07$) as being more communal than male candidates ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 1.16$), $t(270) = -3.49$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.42$.

I expected an interaction between Facial Masculinity and Trait Type. Specifically, I expected that more relative to less masculine faces would be evaluated as more agentic and as

less communal. This interaction, however, was not supported, $F(1, 268) = 0.47$, $p = .49$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.002$. I examined the means to explore if they were in the direction of my hypothesis. The agency ratings for more ($M = 5.36$, $SD = 0.98$) relative to less ($M = 5.14$, $SD = 1.04$) masculine faces were in the expected direction, but did not statistically differ, $t(270) = -1.77$, $p = .08$, $d = 0.22$. The communality ratings for more ($M = 4.56$, $SD = 1.15$) relative to less ($M = 4.44$, $SD = 1.14$) masculine faces were not in the expected direction and did not statistically differ, $t(270) = -0.86$, $p = 0.39$, $d = .10$.

No other effects were significant, Fs < 3.84, ps > .10.

Exploratory Analyses Including Participant Gender

Although not of primary interest, I repeated the above-described analyses including Participant Gender as a between-subjects factor in the ANOVA on an exploratory basis. The above-described Trait Type effect, $F(1, 264) = 81.14$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.24$, Candidate Gender effect, $F(1, 264) = 4.57$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.02$, and the interaction between Trait Type and Candidate Gender, $F(1, 264) = 9.78$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.04$, maintained direction and significance.

This ANOVA also generated unique effects. There was a main effect of Participant Gender, $F(1, 264) = 5.50$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.02$), such that women ($M = 5.01$, $SD = 1.19$) evaluated the candidates higher on all traits than men ($M = 4.79$, $SD = 1.11$) did. An interaction between Candidate Gender, Facial Masculinity, and Participant Gender also emerged, $F(1, 264) = 5.31$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.02$). I characterized this interaction by examining effects separately for male and female participants. There was no interaction between Facial Masculinity and Candidate Gender for female participants, $F(1, 106) = 1.69$, $p = .20$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.02$. An interaction between Facial Masculinity and Candidate Gender emerged for male participants, $F(1, 158) = 4.16$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.03$. Male participants rated male candidates with more ($M = 4.88$, $SD = 1.08$) relative to less

(M = 4.43, SD = 1.16) facial masculinity as higher across evaluated traits, $t(158) = -2.51$, $p = .01$, $d = 0.40$. No difference emerged in how male participants evaluated female candidates with more (M = 4.87, SD = 1.02) relative to less (M = 4.91, SD = 1.13) facial masculinity, $t(162) = 0.22$, $p = .83$, $d = 0.03$.

No other effects were significant, Fs < 3.14 ps > .08.

Examining Facial Masculinity as a Source of Backlash Against Women

To examine facial masculinity as a source of backlash against women, composite candidate evaluations were entered into a 2 (Candidate Gender: man, woman) x 2 (Facial Masculinity: higher, lower) ANOVA. Both variables were manipulated between-subjects.

There was a main effect of Facial Masculinity in that people had more positive evaluations of candidates with more (M = 4.85, SD = 1.29) than less (M = 4.48, SD = 1.24) facial masculinity, $F(1, 268) = 5.22$, $p = 0.02$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.02$. There was a main effect of Candidate Gender in that people had more positive evaluations of female (M = 4.91, SD = 1.13) than male (M = 4.46, SD = 1.38) candidates, $F(1, 268) = 8.22$, $p < 0.01$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.03$.

Contrary to my hypothesis, there was no interaction between Facial Masculinity and Candidate Gender, $F(1, 268) = 0.98$, $p = 0.32$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.002$. I had hypothesized that people would be less likely to endorse women with higher relative to lower facial masculinity for a leadership role. On an exploratory basis, I examined the pattern of means for male and female candidates at each level of facial masculinity to determine if they emerged in the hypothesized directions. Contrary to my expectations, the mean endorsement for the more masculine woman (M = 5.13, SD = 1.07) appeared higher than all other candidate gender and facial masculinity combinations (i.e., the feminine woman [M = 4.63, SD = 1.14], masculine man [M = 4.55, SD = 1.44], and feminine man [M = 4.35, SD = 1.31]).

Exploratory Analyses Including Participant Gender

An exploratory ANOVA including Participant Gender as a between-subjects factor did not change the above-described effects. Participant Gender did not have an overall effect, nor did it interact with the other variables, Fs < 2.16, ps > 0.14.

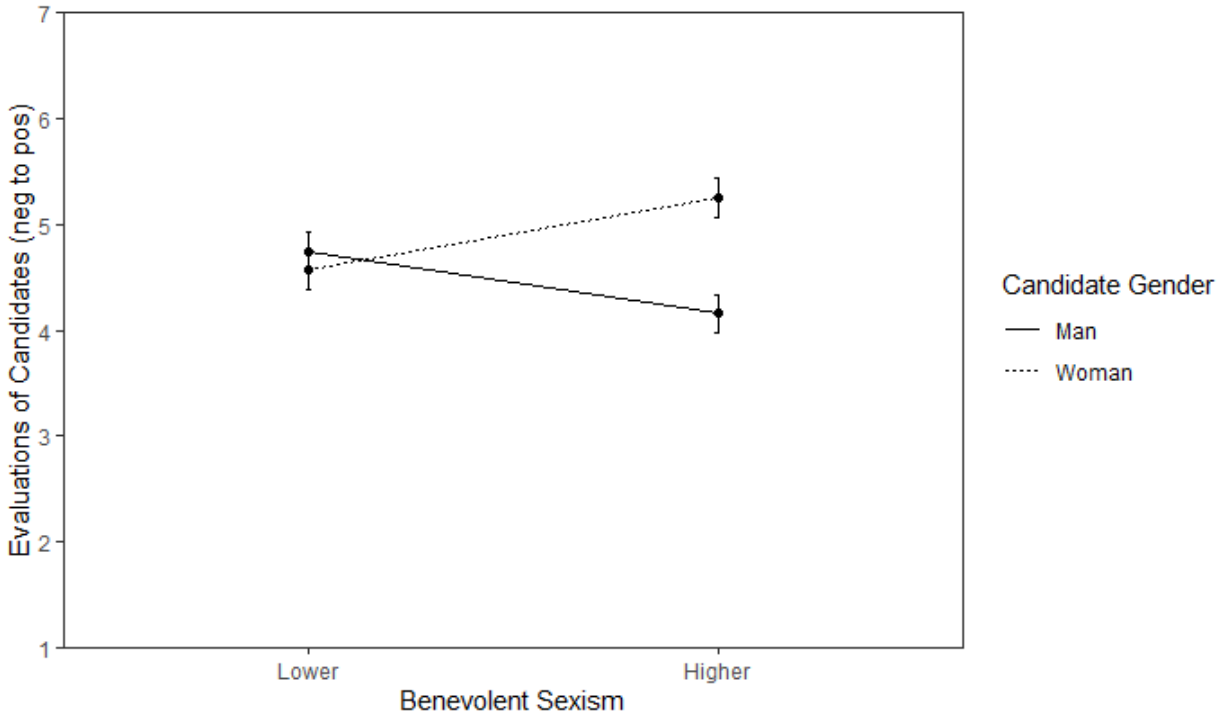
Exploratory Analyses Including Participant Characterization Measures

The data did not support an interaction between Candidate Gender and Facial Masculinity on candidate endorsements. One possibility is that such a pattern might be more likely to emerge among people who have more traditional views about gender. To explore this possibility, I regressed Job Endorsement Outcomes on Candidate Gender (Man = -1, Woman = 1), Facial Masculinity (masculine = -1, feminine = 1), the interaction term, hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, social role beliefs, social dominance orientation, and the second- and third-order interactions of each continuous variable with the categorical variables. All continuous variables were standardized. See Table 2 for all model coefficient information.

Consistent with the above-described ANOVA, there was a main effect of Candidate Gender, $b = 0.23$, $SD = 0.08$, $t = 3.04$, $p = 0.01$, and an, albeit marginal, main effect of Facial Masculinity, $b = -0.15$, $SD = 0.08$, $t = -1.91$, $p = 0.06$.

Unique to this model was an interaction between Candidate Gender and benevolent sexism, $b = 0.32$, $SE = 0.11$, $t = 3.01$, $p = .002$ (Figure 2). To characterize this interaction, I examined benevolent sexism effects on candidate endorsement at each candidate gender. Benevolent sexism negatively related to candidate endorsement for male candidates, $b = -0.29$, $SE = 0.15$, $t(252) = -1.99$, $p = .05$, and positively related to candidate endorsement for female candidates, $b = 0.35$, $SE = 0.15$, $t(252) = 2.27$, $p = 0.02$.

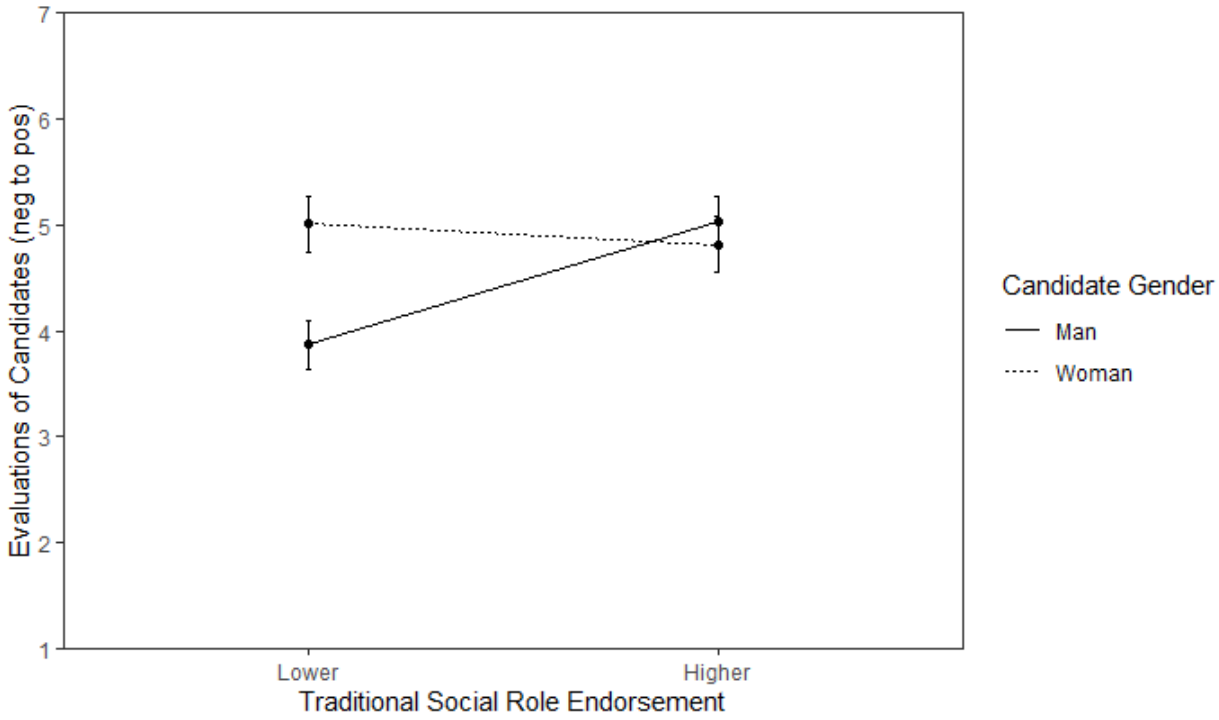
Figure 2: Interaction between Benevolent Sexism and Candidate Gender



Note. An interaction emerged between participants' level of benevolent sexism and candidate gender. Error bars reflect standard error of the mean.

Also unique to this model was an interaction between Candidate Gender and social role beliefs, $b = -0.34$, $SE = 0.16$, $t = -2.17$, $p = 0.03$ (Figure 3). To characterize this interaction, I examined social role belief effects on candidate endorsement at each candidate gender. Having more traditional social role beliefs positively related to candidate endorsement for male, $b = 0.58$, $SE = 0.20$, $t(252) = 2.86$, $p < 0.01$, but not for female, $b = -0.10$, $SE = 0.24$, $t(252) = -0.41$, $p = 0.68$, candidates.

Figure 3: Interaction between SRQ and Candidate Gender



Note. An interaction emerged between participants' level of social role endorsement and candidate gender. Error bars reflect standard error of the mean.

CHAPTER IV: DISCUSSION

In the current experiment, people evaluated a male or a female candidate who had more or less masculine facial characteristics on agentic and communal traits and gave their relative endorsement of that candidate for a leadership position. Based on work showing higher facial masculinity to be associated with more agentic, and fewer communal, trait inferences (Cassidy & Liebenow, 2021; Oh et al., 2019; Sutherland et al., 2015; Todorov et al., 2015; Wen et al., 2020), I hypothesized that more relative to less masculine appearing women would be 1) perceived as less communal and 2) negatively evaluated for a leadership position. However, my findings did not align with this work. I now discuss discrepancies between the hypothesized and actual findings in turn.

Making Gendered Trait Inferences from Relative Facial Masculinity

Although I expected that more relative to less masculine faces would be evaluated as more agentic and less communal across face gender, the data did not support this pattern. That the data did not support this pattern is inconsistent with theoretical (Abele, 2003) and empirical (e.g., Cassidy & Liebenow, 2021; Wen et al., 2020) work showing that people associate agency with masculinity and communality with femininity. Why might this inconsistency have emerged? One possibility regards the potential for there being something unique about the face images used in the present experiment. Just because prior work (Walker & Wänke, 2017; Wen et al., 2020) has shown relative facial masculinity to affect perceptions of agentic and communal traits, does not mean similar patterns emerge for every face. Using one or two faces for a study may mislead people into thinking that effects emergent for one face are generalizable to others. There are likely considerable nuances in many facial cues that affect people's evaluations of agentic and communal traits beyond effects of facial masculinity. The two faces used in this

study could be, for example, more than average in attractiveness, extraversion, or other qualities gleaned from faces that influence evaluations (e.g., Eagly et al., 1991). It will be important for future studies to use multiple faces, perhaps in within-subjects designs, to study effects of facial masculinity on agentic and communal trait evaluations. By using multiple faces in mixed effects models, for example, researchers can control for random effects of face identity to determine if, beyond idiosyncrasies among individual faces, endorsements of agentic and communal traits vary by facial masculinity.

Although the data did not support the expected interaction between facial masculinity and trait type on trait endorsement, there were a few noteworthy findings. First, people evaluated candidates higher on agentic than communal traits overall. This pattern can be interpreted in the context of how perceivers were introduced to candidates: through a leadership position. Because the candidates sought a leadership position, it could be that they were perceived as more agentic than communal because leadership is associated with agentic traits (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Second, people evaluated female candidates as higher on all traits relative to male candidates. This overall effect was qualified by Trait Type. Here, people evaluated male and female candidates as similarly agentic but evaluated female candidates as more communal than male candidates. That female candidates were evaluated as more communal than male candidates suggests that female candidates were still evaluated as communal despite their ambition for a leadership position. Although leadership is associated with agency (Bruckmüller & Abele, 2013; Diehl et al., 2004), this pattern suggests that being perceived as agentic does not *preclude* women from being perceived as communality. It could be that the female category is helpful to women in boosting communal trait endorsements beyond differences in facial masculinity. One consequence of this possibility regards if people may then *expect* women to show communality

in leadership contexts. In this case, people may require *more* from female leaders by expecting *both* agentic and communal traits, which may lead to discrimination against agentic women who are not perceived as communal (Rudman & Glick, 1999).

Exploratory analyses yielded an interaction between participant gender, facial masculinity, and candidate gender. Whereas facial masculinity and candidate gender did not interact to affect women's trait evaluations of candidates, they did so for men. Specifically, men evaluated male candidates as higher on all traits when they had more relative to less masculinity. No difference emerged when men evaluated female candidates. Notably, all evaluated traits were positive attributes (Diehl et al., 2004). One possibility is that high positive trait endorsement for more masculine male candidates could reflect work showing that men prefer more masculine men as a way to uphold a social hierarchy of men in power (e.g., Swami et al., 2013). My recent work also supports this idea. For example, I have shown that men are more likely than women to endorse masculine facial cues as reflecting positive, but not negative, traits (Liebenow et al., in preparation). Relatively higher facial masculinity may be an important nonverbal cue eliciting men to positively evaluate other men. Speculatively, women may less likely to have more positive trait endorsements of people with higher facial masculinity because they are less likely than men to support upholding masculine societal privilege (Pleasants, 2011).

Facial Masculinity as a Nonverbal Source of Backlash Against Aspiring Female Leaders

I expected that women, but not men, with more relative to less facial masculinity would be less positively endorsed for a leadership role. The data did not support this pattern. If anything, female candidates with more facial masculinity garnered the most support relative to the other candidates (i.e., women with less facial masculinity and men regardless of facial masculinity). This pattern is inconsistent with work showing that only women whose faces

appear counter-stereotypically gendered incur negative bias (Sutherland et al., 2015). For example, women with higher relative to lower facial masculinity are perceived as less credible when alleging sexual assault (Goh et al., 2021), which highlights the severity of negative consequences women with higher facial masculinity can experience. Yet, the data did not support that higher facial masculinity yielded negative consequences for women striving for a leadership role.

Why was the hypothesized interaction unsupported? Several possibilities seemed plausible. One possibility again regards that people evaluated only one candidate. Using a within-subjects design with multiple candidate faces may be a more ecologically valid way to assess facial masculinity as a source of backlash against women. This is because most hiring processes require evaluating multiple candidates – not just one. People make *relative* judgments when they evaluate others – these judgements are not done in a vacuum. Seeing multiple faces allows people to notice the differences *between* all the faces and compare accordingly. Making decisions based on the nuance between the faces in terms of facial masculinity could be a more useful cue to guide decision-making than just viewing a singular face and having nothing to directly compare it to. Future studies should implement a within-subjects design to test for how evaluating multiple candidates simultaneously would impact the present findings.

Another possibility regards the context of the study, where the leadership role was a student position at a college. Here, female candidates received the highest endorsements for the position. Notably, the current study differed from backlash work focusing on women aspiring to broader leadership roles in corporate and government environments (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010; Rudman & Glick, 1999; Rudman & Phelan, 2008) by describing a leadership role in a college setting. It could be that people have more positive expectations of behaviors for female relative

to male students in school settings due to perceptions that schools reflect feminine values and practices (Yee, 1973). Moreover, because more American women go to and graduate college than men (*Women Continue to Outnumber Men in College Completion | BestColleges*, 2021), female relative to male college students may have more positive education-related stereotypes associated with them. These perceptions could each elicit more favorable evaluations of female candidates in college contexts, allowing for the possibility that people may be more likely to endorse women relative to men for leadership in college contexts, but perhaps not the post-college career pursuits often at the center of research on backlash discrimination (e.g., Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010). Future work should address these possibilities.

A third possibility is that the female candidates were not perceived in a way that would support emergent backlash discrimination The backlash discrimination literature asserts that agentic women incur negative bias because they are perceived as being insufficiently communal (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010; Rudman & Glick, 1999; Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Yet, the female candidates in my experiment were *not* perceived as being insufficiently communal. Indeed, a one-sample t-test against the trait endorsement scale midpoint (4) showed that female candidates were evaluated as more than moderately communal, $t(270) = -32.99$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.42$. Because the female candidates were perceived as communal, female relative to male candidates receiving higher endorsements for the leadership role is consistent with a role prioritization perspective on female leadership (Haines & Stroessner, 2019). This perspective asserts that when women are perceived as both agentic and communal, they evaluatively benefit from that relative to men and other women (e.g., Rosette & Tost, 2010). Thus, that backlash discrimination did not emerge in the present study could be because the female candidates were perceived as being both agentic *and* communal. Assessing whether candidate biographies systematically manipulating eliciting

insufficient communality results in backlash discrimination could be one way to test for this possibility.

Although facial masculinity and candidate gender did not interact to affect job endorsement, people more highly endorsed candidates with higher relative to lower facial masculinity overall. This pattern is consistent with leadership being associated with agency and, relatedly, higher facial masculinity (Walker & Wänke, 2017; Wen et al., 2020). This finding is also consistent with work indicating that a person's level of facial masculinity influences other people's perceptions of them and their potential fit for a position (Cassidy & Liebenow, 2021; Sutherland et al., 2015; Walker & Wänke, 2017; Wen et al., 2020). Because candidates with higher facial masculinity were more likely to be endorsed for the student leadership position, these candidates may have an advantage when striving for leadership positions solely based on their facial features.

Participant characterization measures can affect women's endorsement

I conducted exploratory analyses to determine whether individual difference factors like traditional social role endorsement affected an interaction between facial masculinity and candidate gender on job endorsements. They did not. These findings raise a question of for whom facial masculinity matters. Some work suggests that visualizations of traits in faces of stigmatized individuals sometimes do not vary by people's own attitudes (Petsko et al., 2020). Although people may vary in their attitudes toward women, it could be that effects of facial masculinity on evaluations of women are not affected by these attitudes.

Individual differences did, however, affect candidate endorsements in two ways. First, benevolent sexism interacted with candidate gender to affect job endorsements. Here, benevolent sexism positively related to endorsing female candidates and negatively related to endorsing

male candidates. Benevolent sexism may seem positive (e.g., women should be protected), but is actually negative to women because it suggests that women need men's help (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Speculatively, a relation between benevolent sexism and female candidate endorsements may reflect beliefs that women need help. This relation does not mean that these women would ultimately attain leadership positions, however. Indeed, benevolent sexism relates to positive evaluations of women for leadership, but not ultimately support for their candidacies when there is a male alternative (Cassidy & Krendl, 2019).

Second, traditional social role endorsement interacted with candidate gender to affect job endorsements. Here, traditional social role beliefs positively related to job endorsement for male, but not female candidates. This pattern raises the possibility that traditional beliefs about social roles help male candidates more than they harm female candidates. Nevertheless, this pattern is still harmful for women in that it suggests the possibility that when a male alternative is available to endorse, people with higher traditional social role beliefs will choose that candidate over a comparable female candidate (e.g., Baber & Tucker, 2006). Together, these findings demonstrate multiple ways in which people's attitudes about gender may contribute to women's underrepresentation in leadership roles.

Conclusion

Although my hypotheses were unsupported, the current study nevertheless provides many exciting avenues for future research. For example, my finding that people endorse women more than men for this student leadership role could be due the nature of the role itself rather than reflecting a turn in people's evaluations of aspiring female leaders. Nevertheless, the present results could also be indicative of a broader societal change. Looking at these findings in a

positive light, perhaps women are being seen as more fit to be leaders. Indeed, more women are pursuing leadership positions than ever before (e.g., in government; Bonneau & Kanthak, 2020).

Overall, the current findings highlight that there is much to learn about facial masculinity as a potential nonverbal source of backlash against aspiring female leaders. Future work using different experimental designs (e.g., within-subjects), increased methodological rigor (e.g., many face identities, including faces of different races), and different manipulations (e.g., type of job) are necessary to uncover when nonverbal cues like facial masculinity contribute to bias against women. As we learn about what helps and hinders women striving for leadership positions, the closer we are to having better representation of women in leadership positions across a variety of fields.

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APPENDIX A: TABLES

Table A1: Descriptive (Mean [standard deviation]) and inferential statistics for participant characterization measures

	Women (N = 162)	**Men (N = 110)**	***t***	***p***	***d [95% CI]***
Hostile sexism	1.28 (1.19)	1.67 (1.26)	-2.53	0.01	0.31 [-0.69, -0.09]
Benevolent sexism	1.82 (1.19)	1.99 (1.18)	-1.13	0.26	0.14 [-0.45, 0.12]
SDO	2.14 (1.38)	2.32 (1.42)	-1.02	0.31	0.13 [-0.52,0.17]
Political ideology	4.81 (1.77)	4.61 (1.72)	0.94	0.35	0.12 [-0.22, 0.63]
Age	40.47 (12.68)	37.85 (11.39)	1.78	0.08	0.22 [-0.27, 5.53]
Years of Education	15.24 (1.97)	15.65 (4.82)	-0.84	0.40	0.10 [-1.37, 0.55]
SRQ	25.29 (20.96)	31.73 (19.72)	-2.57	0.01	0.32 [-11.35, -1.51]

Table A2: Exploratory regression assessing effects of individual differences on candidate endorsement

Predictors	*Estimates*	*SE*	*t*	*p*
(Intercept)	4.68	0.08	61.47	**<0.001*****
Target Gender	0.23	0.08	3.04	**0.003****
Facial Masculinity	-0.15	0.08	-1.91	0.057
Hostile Sexism	-0.21	0.12	-1.71	0.088
Benevolent Sexism	0.03	0.11	0.25	0.804
Social Roles Endorsement	0.24	0.16	1.54	0.124
Social Dominance Orientation	-0.13	0.12	-1.09	0.276
Target Gender * Facial Masculinity	-0.08	0.08	-1.10	0.272
Target Gender * Hostile Sexism	-0.01	0.12	-0.05	0.962
Target Gender * Benevolent Sexism	0.32	0.11	3.01	**0.003****
Target Gender * Social Roles Endorsement	-0.34	0.16	-2.17	**0.031***
Target Gender * Social Dominance Orientation	0.10	0.12	0.81	0.416
Facial Masculinity * Hostile Sexism	0.16	0.12	1.31	0.190
Facial Masculinity * Benevolent Sexism	0.08	0.11	0.78	0.436
Facial Masculinity * Social Roles Endorsement	-0.18	0.16	-1.16	0.246
Facial Masculinity * Social Dominance Orientation	-0.03	0.12	-0.23	0.818
(Target Gender *	-0.06	0.12	-0.46	0.646

Facial Masculinity) * Hostile Sexism				
(Target Gender * Facial Masculinity) * Benevolent Sexism	-0.04	0.11	-0.33	0.740
(Target Gender * Facial Masculinity) * Social Roles Endorsement	0.00	0.16	0.00	1.000
(Target Gender * Facial Masculinity) * Social Dominance Orientation	-0.03	0.12	-0.22	0.825
Observations	272			
R^2 / R^2 adjusted	0.138 / 0.073			