ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: THE AFFECTIVE CONSEQUENCES OF
                                    CONFORMING TO GENDER STEREOTYPES

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It was of primary interest to examine the affective consequences of conformity to

gender stereotypes, and to assess if feelings of social approval and authenticity

mediate the relationship between conformity and affect. Therefore, we utilized an

Electronic Momentary Assessment methodology to capture University of Maryland

students' engagement in gender stereotypical behavior, and their emotional and social

experiences during their daily social interactions. Counter to expectations, we found

that regardless of one's own gender, enacting gender prescriptions enhanced feelings

of authenticity and feelings of social approval, and enacting proscriptions reduced

feelings of authenticity and feelings of social approval. Enacting prescriptions

predicted more positive affect and enacting proscriptions predicted a more negative

affective experience. Feelings of authenticity and feelings of social approval

independently predicted feelings of more positive affect. Overall, our findings suggest

that irrespective of gender, engaging in desirable stereotypes has a number of social,

personal, and emotional benefits.

THE AFFECTIVE CONSEQUENCES OF CONFORMING TO GENDER
STEREOTYPES

by

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Dedication

To the very authentic and accepting people who have supported me throughout this process, especially Raymond, Barbara, Andrew, and Marisa Venaglia, as well as Ms. Julia Garrick.

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Introduction

Women are consistently stereotyped as being most desirable when they demonstrate warmth and kindness, and men are as considered to be most desirable when they demonstrate behaviors that highlight their competence (Bem, 1974; Eckes, 2002; Fiske, 2010; Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007; Prentice & Carranza, 2002). Further, behaviors that conflict with gendered expectations are stigmatized, and thus may be risky to enact. For example, expressing emotions promotes well-being in uncontrollable, stressful situations (Stanton & Low, 2012). However, being emotional is considered to be especially undesirable for men in American society (Prentice & Carranza, 2002), which is reinforced in daily life, such as by media images that frame socially attractive men as unemotional (Kilmartin, 2005). Therefore, because emotional expression is encouraged for females (Prentice & Carranza, 2002) but stigmatized for males, men may lose out on the positive benefits that come with expressing their emotions. Similarly, self-promotion increases perceptions that a person is qualified and hireable (Rudman, 1998). However, females consider self-promoting women to be less socially attractive than women who speak more modestly of their skills and accomplishments, even though the reverse is found to be true for men (Rudman, 1998). Further, when females are self-promoting, they are viewed by other women as less competent and less hireable than self-promoting men. Given the associated stigmas of deviating from one's gender stereotypes, it was of primary interest in the present research to examine whether

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conformity to these stereotypes has positive or negative implications for emotional well-being.

Gender Prescriptions and Proscriptions

These gender stereotypes have remained fairly consistent over time (Bem, 1974; Eckes, 2002; Fiske, 2010; Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007; Prentice & Carranza, 2002). Prentice and Carranza (2002) compiled a comprehensive list of desirable qualities that university students found especially desirable for one particular gender to enact (intensified prescriptions), and undesirable qualities that they found especially undesirable for one particular gender to enact (intensified proscriptions). They found it most desirable in American society for men to have business sense, and for women to be warm and kind (intensified prescriptions). On the other hand, it was found to be most undesirable in American society for males to be weak and for females to be arrogant (intensified proscriptions).

Their findings that it is most desirable for women to engage in behaviors relevant to communality, and that it is most desirable for men to be agentic, echoes the findings of decades of research on gender stereotypes. For example, Bem (1974) found that it was considered most socially desirable for men to have an orientation towards goal achievement (e.g., acting as a leader; being ambitious, competitive, self-reliant), while it was most socially desirable for women to have an expressive and affective orientation (e.g., being affectionate, cheerful, and compassionate). Similarly, women in traditional roles are considered to be stereotypically warm but incompetent, while typical men are considered to be high in competence and low in warmth (Eckes, 2002; Fiske, 2010; Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007).

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Conformity to Gender Stereotypes

People may engage in (or avoid) a variety of behaviors in their daily lives to comply with these gender stereotypes. For example, given that people do not find self-promoting women to be socially attractive (Rudman, 1998), a woman may try to avoid discussing her accomplishments. As another example, women believe that on a date they should eat low-calorie foods such as salad and vegetables in order to appear more feminine and attractive (Amiraian & Sobal, 2009; Laner & Ventrone, 2000) even though they generally eat unhealthy foods with about the same frequency as men, and they find unhealthy foods to be even more enjoyable than men do (Grogan, Bell, & Conner, 1997).

Men, on the other hand, try to avoid behaviors that are labeled as weak or feminine. For example, men do not cry in public because of norms that label crying as a feminine behavior. However, this is not the case when men are in environments that deviate from this norm, such as on competitive sports teams, where emotional expression is embraced as an ideal of masculinity (MacArthur & Shields, 2015). In fact, men are especially sensitive to threats to their masculinity, which often elicit feelings of anxiety and aggression (Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, & Weaver, 2008). These threats to manhood may also encourage conformity to stereotypically masculine behavior. For example, college males are sensitive to emasculating threats (e.g., being called a "wimp" when they refuse a drink), and because of college drinking norms for males, they are more likely than females to engage in risky drinking behaviors (Iwamoto, Corbin, Lejuez, & MacPherson, 2014; Lashbrook, 2000).

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The current research examined the association between conformity to gender stereotypes and emotional well-being. Two potential mediators of this relationship–perceived social approval and authenticity–were also examined. On the one hand, conformity can improve social acceptance and fulfill one's need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004; Nail, MacDonald, & Levy, 2000; Williams, Cheung, & Choi, 2000), thus suggesting that via feelings of social approval, conformity predicts positive affect. On the other hand, however, conformity involves engaging in behaviors that are not exclusively genuine (or authentic) to oneself, and prior research suggests that inauthentic behavior elicits a variety of negative consequences (Gross & John, 2003; English & John, 2013; Neff & Harter, 2002). Thus, there are reasons to expect that conformity may elicit mixed affective consequences.

The Relationship between Conformity and Emotion

A variety of studies have examined the link between conformity and emotion (Heerdink, van Kleef, Homan, & Fischer, 2013; Suhay, 2015; Tong, Tan, Latheef, Selamat, & Tan, 2008; Wood, Christensen, Hebl, & Rothgerber, 1997), though the majority of this research largely emphasizes how emotions make people more or less susceptible to social influence, rather than the emotional implications of conformity. However, some attention has been paid to the emotional consequences of non-conformity, and the positive emotional consequences of conformity.

For example, Scheff (1988) argues that people who do not conform experience more negative emotions than those who do conform, and references Asch's post-study interviews about how several of the non-conforming participants

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felt nervous and tense. Further, Wood and her colleagues (1997) examined the affective consequences of past gender conforming behaviors. They instructed participants to think of a past interaction that could be characterized as "dominant, powerful, and assertive" or "warm, caring, close-to others." They found that when participants recalled the dominant (i.e., male prescriptive) event, men expressed more positive feelings than did women. However, when participants recalled the communal (i.e., female prescriptive) event, women expressed marginally more positive feelings than men. Thus, these findings suggest that thinking about conforming to gender stereotypes can enhance positive affective experience, and not conforming can enhance negative affect.

Perceptions of Social Approval

Social approval is a powerful motivator for conforming to social norms (Lashbrook, 2000). This is not surprising, since the need to belong is a fundamental motivation that often drives human behavior (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). In fact, the desire to obtain social approval leads people to conform when they experience group pressure, even if that group pressure is unspoken (Asch, 1956). This is especially the case for people with strong desires for social approval, such that people with a high need for social approval tend to conform more than those with a low need for social approval (Endler, Minden, & North, 1973; Strickland & Crowne, 1962).

Additional evidence that conformity is used as an instrumental means to gain social approval comes from findings by Dittes and Kelley (1956). After being made to believe that their acceptance in the group was rated by the other members as "average", participants privately conformed to the group's beliefs, and publicly

increased their participation in the group discussion (Dittes & Kelley, 1956). In fact, people who believed their acceptance in the group was average engaged in higher conformity behavior than those who thought their acceptance was high, likely because less stable acceptance drives a desire to improve social standing.

People are also motivated by the social rejection and isolation they fear will result if they do not conform. For example, Lashbrook (2000) found that one of the most common reasons why college students consumed alcohol and used drugs on campus was because the idea of not conforming to group pressures created a fear of social isolation. Lashbrook (2000) further found that students usually said they conformed because of their fears of being ridiculed. Consistent with this finding, reminders of social ridicule lead people to express opinions that conform to others' opinions (Janes & Olson, 2000). Similarly, social ostracism heightens conformity (Williams, 1997; Williams, Cheung, & Choi, 2000), suggesting that people use conformity to restore social approval and inclusion. Furthermore, this pursuit for approval via conformity may not even be intentional. When people have a goal to create a rapport with someone, they mimic that person's behavior, a type of conformity, regardless of whether their goal is conscious or nonconscious (Lakin & Chartrand, 2003).

Thus, these findings demonstrate that people often conform to group norms and portray themselves in socially desirable ways in order to avoid feelings of social exclusion (Baumeister & Tice, 1990), and, in turn, receive the benefits of social approval (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004; Dittes & Kelley, 1956; Nail et al., 2000). In light of these findings suggesting that conformity is a means of achieving approval,

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once people engage in gender-normative behaviors, they are likely to perceive themselves as receiving social approval from their interaction partners (see Figure 1, Path A). This link between normative behavior and perceived approval should exist primarily when the conformer believes that their interaction partners approve of gender normative behaviors, which should usually be the case. The link should not exist when, for whatever reason, conformers believe their interaction partners reject gender norms (see Figure 1, Path B). For example, if a person engages in a normative behavior while interacting with a known non-conformist, the conformer may not believe that his/her behavior was approved of during that interaction.

Emotional Benefits of Receiving Social Approval

Experiences of social rejection and exclusion are painful. The neurological response to social exclusion is very similar to that of physical pain (Eisenberger, Lieberman, & Williams, 2003). Furthermore, rejection and exclusion elicit negative emotions such as loneliness, anxiety, depression, and isolation (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Leary, 1990; Leary, Koch, & Hechenbleikner, 2001).

Conversely, approval and inclusion generate positive affect and high self-esteem (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Lemay & Ashmore, 2006; Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995). Hence, we predicted that people who perceive themselves as receiving social approval will experience more positive emotion following their engagement in normative behavior (see Figure 1, Path C).

Importance of Authenticity

People's self-views are important to them, and the desire for their self-views to be verified and confirmed is indicative of authenticity (Gardner, Avolio, Luthans,

May, & Walumbwa, 2005; Swann, 1983).On the individual level, authenticity is defined as "the unobstructed operation of one's true, or core, self in one's daily enterprise" (Kernis, 2003), and has multiple components. Being an authentic individual involves having a strong self-awareness and trust in one's own motives, feelings, and desires; the ability to process one's own qualities, attributes, and potential without bias; being able to naturally behave in a way that is true to oneself; and the ability to be open and trustworthy in one's close relationships (Kernis, 2003; Goldman & Kernis, 2002). To maintain an authentic sense of self, people must live in a manner that is consistent with their own values and beliefs (Wood, Linley, Maltby, Baliousis, & Joseph, 2008). That is to say, being authentic involves having clear insight about oneself, and an ability to naturally express and present oneself to others. Therefore, conforming to social norms likely poses a threat to one's sense of authenticity.

For example, Brinkman and her colleagues (2014) questioned children about stepping outside of their gender roles. Though many of them had the desire to be authentic and deviate from their designated gender prescriptions, they typically were too afraid of the resulting social consequences. These findings suggest that deviating from social norms comes at a cost to authenticity. Furthermore, in a qualitative analysis, Ford (2011) found that unwanted adherence to cultural norms of racial stereotypes created inauthentic feelings. Therefore, we predicted in the current research that people who engage in normative behavior are likely to feel less authentic (see Figure 1, Path D).

However, it should be noted that normative behavior can involve behaviors that one privately accepts (Nail, MacDonald, & Levy, 2000). This is to be expected, given that people internalize gender norms beginning in childhood (Witt, 1997). For example, though normative, women may privately interpret warm and kind behaviors as self-descriptive, and men may privately interpret leadership ability as self-descriptive. That is, people may find gender norms to be self-relevant to their identity. In fact, Wood and her colleagues (1997) examined self-relevance of gender stereotypes (i.e., highly self-relevant people found it important to be similar to the societal ideal for their own gender and different from the societal ideals of the opposite gender). They found that highly self-relevant women reported feeling significantly better than highly self-relevant men in the context of communal (i.e., female prescriptive) relationships, while highly self-relevant men reported feeling significantly better than highly self-relevant women in the context of dominant (i.e., male prescriptive) relationships. This suggests that people feel positively when they enact their own gender's stereotypes and those stereotypes are important to their identity. Therefore, it is predicted that the reduced feelings of authenticity after engagement in normative behavior in Path D occurs primarily when the normative behavior is not in line with the individual's private beliefs about his/her identity (see Figure 1, Path E).

Emotional Benefits of Being Authentic

Being authentic offers a wide range of positive emotional benefits. For example, people who are more authentic experience greater subjective well-being, report higher levels of self-esteem and life satisfaction, and they experience a greater

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sense of meaning in their lives (Goldman & Kernis, 2002; Kifer, Heller, Perunovic, & Galinsky, 2013; McGregor & Little, 1998; Wood, Linley, Maltby, Baliousis, & Joseph, 2008).

Conversely, *lacking* in authenticity appears to be detrimental to well-being. For example, people who suppress their natural responses to emotionally-eliciting situations experience and express less positive emotions, experience greater negative emotions (e.g. depressive symptoms, reduced life satisfaction, lower self-esteem), and are less satisfied in their relationships (Gross & John, 2003). These consequences occur when habitual use of suppression leads to feelings of inauthenticity, such that there is a conflict between inner-self and outward behavior (English & John, 2013). Similarly, inauthenticity was linked to poorer psychological well-being, such that people who inauthentically, rather than authentically, put aside their personal needs during a conflict had lower self-esteem and were more depressed in their relationship (Neff & Harter, 2002). Therefore, the proposed model predicts that people who are authentic in the way they present themselves to others will experience more positive emotion (see Figure 1, Path F).

Hypotheses

In summary, the proposed model in Figure 1 predicts that when people engage in gender normative behavior, they are likely to experience perceptions of social approval (Path A), especially when they believe that others approve of said gender normative behavior (Path B). In contrast, enactment of normative behaviors should be less strongly related to perceived social approval when interaction partners are

believed to be more accepting of deviant behavior. Further, participants' perceptions of social approval were, in turn, expected to predict greater affect (Path C).

At the same time, we predicted that when people engage in gender normative behavior, they would experience reduced authenticity (Path D), and that this effect would be moderated by people's private acceptance of their enacted normative behavior (Path E). That is, it was expected that if participants engaged in normative behavior, they would see themselves as less authentic, but only if they did not privately accept the normative behavior. Further, we predicted that people who feel authentic would, in turn, experience greater affect (Path F).

Collectively, this model suggests countervailing processes linking gender-normative behavior to affect, including more positive affect due to social approval (when interacting with people who endorse gender stereotypes) and more negative affect due to lack of authenticity (when people do not privately approve of their own behavior). All six of these paths were tested in the current research, and are collectively addressed as the affective consequences of conformity (ACC) model.

Overview of the Present Study

To test the ACC model, the strongest male and female gender prescriptions and proscriptions at the University of Maryland were identified in Study 1. In Study 2, a new set of participants reported to a laboratory session and provided ratings of their own acceptance, and their perceptions of other people's acceptance, of these gender prescriptions and proscriptions determined from Study 1. These same participants who reported to the laboratory session then completed an Ecological Momentary Assessment (EMA) study—a method that captures responses from

particular events in people's lives and maximizes ecological validity by randomly sampling and studying social interactions as they occur in their natural contexts and minimizes recall bias (Shiffman, Stone, & Hufford, 2008). In this EMA study, participants provided ratings of the extent to which they engaged in their gender's prescriptions, and the extent to which they avoided their gender's proscriptions in their everyday interactions. They also completed measures of perceived social approval, authenticity, and experienced affect during each social interaction. The full model depicted in Figure 1 is tested as it applies to everyday interactions.

Study 1: Method

Participants

Three hundred University of Maryland students ($M = 20.11$ years old, $SD = 2.74$ years) were recruited through the SONA crediting system, and completed the study via an online survey. Of the participants who reported gender, 95 of the participants were male, and the remaining 203 were female. Participants were predominantly Caucasian (59.7%), but also included participants who identified as Asian (21.0%), African American (13.3%), Native American (1.3%), and Hispanic (9.1%). Each participant received one hour of research credit for their participation in this study. Ten participants' data were excluded from analyses because of incomplete responses.

Procedure

All questionnaires were administered using the online survey software, Qualtrics, on the participants' personal computers. After providing consent, participants reported demographic information, and then completed the five measures that are described below, as well as several other measures that were unrelated to the present research. Upon completion of the study, participants received a debriefing statement that informed them about the purpose of the study.

Measures

Prentice and Carranza (2002) compiled a comprehensive list of gender stereotypes that are prevalent at Princeton University, and American society as a whole: intensified male prescriptions (i.e., qualities that are found to be especially

desirable for men, e.g., self-reliant, ambitious, assertive), intensified male proscriptions (qualities that are found to be especially undesirable for men, e.g., emotional, melodramatic, weak), intensified female prescriptions (i.e., qualities that are found to be especially desirable for women, e.g., friendly, cheerful, compassionate), and intensified female proscriptions (i.e., qualities that are found to be especially undesirable for women, e.g., intimidating, domineering, arrogant). Since their study examining prescriptions and proscriptions was done over ten years ago at Princeton (Prentice & Carranza, 2002), and the present research is specifically looking at the gender prescriptions and proscriptions on the current University of Maryland campus, all of these gender stereotypes were re-evaluated in the present study (see Table 1 for a full list of prescriptions and proscriptions).

Descriptive norms items. The following descriptive norms questions adapted from Prentice and Carranza (2002) were used to assess gender stereotype norms on the University of Maryland campus: "How characteristic do you think each one of the following qualities is in a male University of Maryland student?," "How characteristic do you think each one of the following qualities is in a female University of Maryland student?," and "How characteristic is each one of the following qualities for you?" These items were scored on 9-point Likert scales ranging from 1 (Very Uncharacteristic) to 9 (Very Characteristic).

Injunctive norms items. Also adapted from Prentice and Carranza (2002), participants were asked the following injunctive norms questions to assess the desirability of gender stereotypes on the University of Maryland campus according to the campus culture (rather than their personal opinion): "How desirable is it for a

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University of Maryland female student to possess each of these characteristics?" and

"How desirable is it for a University of Maryland male student to possess each of

these characteristics?" These items were scored on 9-point Likert scales ranging from

1 (Very Undesirable) to 9 (Very Desirable).

Study 1: Results

Ten gender prescriptions (five for each gender) and ten proscriptions (five for each gender) were selected via the results of this study for future use in Study 2 (for a total of 20 gender characteristics). In order to obtain a diverse range of gender prescriptions and proscriptions, we applied selection rules that ensured a balance of purely desirable and undesirable characteristics for each gender, characteristics that are desirable but not commonly enacted, and characteristics that are undesirable but commonly enacted. Traits in the latter two categories were selected because deviance from gender norms may be especially likely in these trait domains.

Characteristics Selected for Desirability

To determine the characteristics that were most desirable and most undesirable for each gender, we first ran a mixed model ANOVA for each of the 61 characteristics. Participant gender was entered as a between-subjects factor, and target gender was entered as a within-subjects factor (i.e., we assessed desirability of each trait for a particular gender by computing the average of both male and female participants' ratings of the desirability for that trait). These analyses were conducted to obtain marginal means for male and female targets, which reflect the average rated desirability of each characteristic for male targets and for female targets, pooling across participant gender.

We then standardized the resulting desirability means across traits within each target gender. We also computed difference scores assessing the difference between the mean desirability for women and men, (i.e., desirability of a characteristic for

women – desirability of a characteristic for men) and standardized those difference scores across traits. For each target gender, the desirability Z scores were then averaged with the gender difference Z scores to create an index giving equal weight to sheer desirability and to differences in targets. The two characteristics with the highest values for each target gender (the difference score calculation described above was reversed for the index of stereotypes for men) represent the most socially desirable prescriptions for that gender, and the two lowest values for each gender represent the most socially undesirable proscriptions for that gender, with social desirability reflecting both sheer desirability for that gender and desirability for that gender relative to the desirability for the other gender. Using these selection criteria, the two most desirable prescriptions for females involved being warm/kind and attentive to appearances (being "clean" was excluded because it seemed to have little relevance to daily social interactions), and the two least desirable proscriptions for females involved being arrogant and intimidating. Further, the two most desirable prescriptions for males involved having leadership ability and being self-reliant (having "business sense," and being "athletic" and "ambitious" were excluded because they seemed to have little relevance to daily social interactions), and the two least desirable proscriptions for males involved being weak and naïve.

Characteristics Selected for Violations

The remaining characteristics were determined based on their discrepancy between self-views of typicality and perceived desirability, thus giving us qualities for each gender that were desirable but not typical, and typical but not desirable (i.e., more commonly violated gender stereotypes on the University of Maryland campus).

To do this, we first calculated the means of how characteristic participants believed each trait was of them, and separated these means by participant gender so that we obtained means of how characteristic males and females believed each gender stereotype was of them. We then standardized these means across characteristics and multiplied the score by -1. This score was subsequently averaged to the standardized index described above that was used to determine the prescriptions and proscriptions selected solely based on their desirability. High scores on this new index represent qualities that tend to be desirable prescriptions for a specific gender but are less common for people of that gender, and low scores on this new index represent qualities that are not desirable for a specific gender but are more common for people of that gender. Selected prescriptions were required to have a mean desirability rating of at least six on the 9-point scale, and selected proscriptions were required to have a mean desirability rating below four. Additionally, gender stereotypes that overlapped with the previously selected qualities were disregarded, as were qualities that appeared on the list for both males and females (e.g., moodiness).

Thus, the three most desirable but less common characteristics for females involved being patient, cheerful, and sensitive, and the three most undesirable but more common characteristics for females involved being stubborn, controlling, and domineering. Furthermore, the three most desirable but uncommon characteristics for males involved being assertive, decisive, and having high self-esteem, and the three most undesirable but common characteristics for males involved being shy, child-like, and insecure.

Desirability of Selected Traits

      A paired samples t-test revealed that the final list of male prescriptions was considered significantly more desirable ($M = 7.02$, $SD = 1.31$) than the final list of male proscriptions ($M = 2.98$, $SD = 1.46$), $t(284) = 28.70$, $p < .001$. The final list of female prescriptions was rated significantly more desirable ($M = 6.97$, $SD = 1.20$) than the final list of female proscriptions ($M = 3.44$, $SD = 1.55$), $t(283) = 26.89$, $p < .001$.

Study 1: Discussion

The final list of male prescriptions included having leadership ability, being self-reliant, assertive, decisive, and having high self-esteem, all five of which Prentice and Carranza (2002) found to be intensified male prescriptions in American society. The list of female prescriptions included being warm/kind, attentive to appearances, patient, cheerful, and sensitive, all five of which Prentice and Carranza (2002) found to be intensified prescriptions for women at Princeton University, and in American society as a whole. The final list of male proscriptions involved being weak, naïve, shy, child-like, and insecure, all of which were found by Prentice and Carranza (2002) to be intensified male proscriptions in at least one of their samples (i.e., in American society or Princeton University). The female proscriptions list included being arrogant, intimidating, stubborn, controlling, and domineering, all of which were found to be female proscriptions in at least one of their samples (i.e., in American society or Princeton University) (Prentice & Carranza, 2002).

Given that Prentice and Carranza (2002) based their assessment of prescriptions and proscriptions on a number of decades' old sex-role inventories (Antill, Cunningham, Russell, & Thomson, 1981; Bem, 1981; Bryson & Corey, 1977), our consistency of findings in the present study suggests that gender stereotypes have remained relatively unchanged over time. These findings reinforce that stereotypes about women tend to prescribe warmth or being likeable, while stereotypes about men tend to prescribe success, performance, and status (Clément-Guillotin, Cambon, Chalabaev, Radel, Michel, & Fontayne, 2013). The 20

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stereotypes we selected in the present study were used to assess engagement in gender stereotypical behavior in Study 2.

Study 2: Method

Study 2 was conducted to test the ACC model with regards to randomly sampled, naturally occurring social interactions involving the 20 stereotypes selected in Study 1.

Participants

One hundred and seventy-eight University of Maryland students ($M = 19.20$ years old, $SD = 1.35$ years) were recruited through the SONA crediting system, and completed the Ecological Momentary Assessment (EMA) portion of the study via an online survey on their personal computers, mobile phones, and other mobile electronic devices. Forty-three of the participants were male, and the remaining 135 were female. Participants were predominantly Caucasian (59.0%), but also included participants who identified as Asian (21.9%), African American (17.4%), and Hispanic (9.0%). Each participant received one hour of research credit for coming to the lab session, and then received up to three additional hours of research credit that was contingent upon the consistency of their participation in the EMA portion of the study.

Given that a multilevel model with an intraclass correlation (ICC) of 0.12, a medium effect size (0.50), and an alpha value of .05 provides a power estimate of nearly 100% when the sample size consists of only 77 participants (Scherbaum & Ferreter, 2009), our sample size should provide more than enough power for fixed effects. The ICC was set at 0.12 for this power analysis calculation since an ICC between .10 and .15 is considered to be a conservative estimate when it cannot be

precisely computed. The additional 101 participants in our sample should account for the multiple predictors, and the person-level measures for Paths B and E, which are the only Level 2 predictors in the ACC model. A total of 7, 995 surveys were completed across all 178 participants. The participants who completed the EMA assessments answered an average of 45 out of 56 surveys (an 80% completion rate).

Procedure

Lab session. Participants were brought to their own individual cubicle with a computer, and via a Qualtrics survey, they were provided with an informed consent form, followed by demographic self-report questions, and a series of measures described below. Upon completion of the questionnaire, in order to ensure that there was no confusion over the procedure for the second part of the study, the participants were trained on how to provide their responses during the Ecological Momentary Assessment (EMA) portion of the study.

Ecological Momentary Assessment. For two weeks at random intervals, participants received four emails every day with a link to a Qualtrics survey. These emails were sent according to a variable schedule via SurveySignal (Hofmann & Patel, in press) and Google Boomerang platforms, thus facilitating the collection of samples from random moments throughout the participants' day (Bolger, Davis & Rafaeli, 2003). Though this elicited more of a burden for participants because of its unpredictable nature, it was preferable over a fixed schedule because it ensured that participants were not always in the same place talking to the same person each time they received the survey. It was also preferable to an event-based design, such as requiring participants to report on every social interaction they had, because it

captured a range of types of social interactions without being a burden to social participants who had an overwhelming number of social interactions on a given day.

For each entry, the participants were required to fill out a brief survey on Qualtrics about the last interaction they had that was longer than two minutes (phone conversations were permitted as forms of social interaction). In each survey entry, participants were asked to record the information described below about the person/people they were interacting with and the extent to which they conformed to the 20 prescriptions and proscriptions that were determined in Study 1. If participants interacted with more than one person, they were asked to fill out the EMA survey in response to the group as a whole rather than filling out a survey for each person in the group they interacted with. If they had not interacted with someone since the last survey they completed, participants had the option to skip the rest of the questions in the survey.

Participants were provided with the five prescriptions and proscriptions for both genders (for a total of 20 gender stereotypes) and were then asked to what extent their behavior was characterized by each of those gender characteristics during their social interaction. They were then asked a variety of questions that assessed social approval (to measure Path A), how authentic they felt during the conversation (to measure Path D), and experienced affect following their interaction (to measure Paths C and F). The responses to these questions were analyzed to assess their fit to the ACC model presented in Figure 1. Participants were debriefed via email when data collection was completed.

Materials and Measures

Lab session. The questions used to measure the Level 2 (i.e., between-person) predictors of the ACC model (Paths B and E) were adapted from Prentice & Carranza (2002), and were asked in regards to the 20 gender stereotypes selected in Study 1. To measure Path B, participants were asked in regards to each gender, "To what extent do you believe that UMD students generally find it desirable for men to possess each of the following qualities?" and "To what extent do you believe that UMD students generally find it desirable for women to possess each of the following qualities?" When answering these questions, participants were asked to consider the perspective of the average University of Maryland student, rather than their own opinion. These questions were assessed on 9-point Likert scales ranging from 1 (Extremely Undesirable) to 9 (Extremely Desirable).

To measure Path E, participants were asked "To what extent do you personally/privately find it desirable for you to possess each of the following qualities?" They answered this question using the same 9-point Likert scale described above. Several additional items were asked during the laboratory assessment, none of which are relevant to the ACC model.

Ecological Momentary Assessment. Since the participants received the EMA survey 56 times over the course of a two-week period (four times a day), it was constructed to be as short as possible. Pilot testing was completed in advance to ensure that each survey entry could be completed in less than five minutes, and thus was not too burdensome to participants.

The Ecological Momentary Assessment (EMA) first asked participants to identify the following information about the person/people they were most recently interacting with: how many people they were interacting with, their relationship to that person/people (e.g., romantic partner, friend, family, acquaintance, boss, co-worker), the gender of that person/people, whether or not it was a phone conversation, if they were romantically interested in their interaction partner ranging from 1 (Not At All) to 7 (Extremely), and how close they considered themselves to be to that person on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (Not At All) to 7 (Extremely) (e.g., In general, how close are you to the person/people you were interacting with). This information was included for exploratory analyses.

Participants were additionally asked on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (Not At All) to 9 (Extremely) how descriptive each of the 20 gendered qualities determined from Study 1 was of them during their social interaction.

Social Approval. Participants completed 3-items that measured social approval: "How do you think you were viewed by the person/people you were talking to during this social interaction?" on a scale from 1 (Very Negatively) to 9 (Very Positively), "How much do you think the person/people you were talking to respected you during this social interaction?" on a scale from 1 (Very Much Not Respected) to 9 (Very Much Respected), and "How much do you think that the person/people you were talking to liked you during this social interaction?" on a scale from 1 (Very Much Disliked) to 9 (Very Much Liked). This measure had a Cronbach's alpha value of .91.

Authenticity. Participants completed 3-items that measured authenticity which were adapted from Fleeson and Wilt (2010): "During this interaction, to what extent did you feel like you were being true to yourself, such that you were not influenced in any way to act differently from what comes naturally to you?" on a scale from 1 (Not At all True to Myself) to 9 (Extremely True to Myself), "During this interaction, to what extent did you feel like you were behaving consistently with your underlying values and principles?" on a scale from 1 (Not At All Consistent) to 9 (Extremely Consistent), and "During this interaction, to what extent did you feel like you were being true to yourself?" on a scale from 1 (Not At All Myself) to 9 (Extremely Myself). This measure had a Cronbach's alpha value of .93.

Affect measure. An abbreviated form of the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) was used to assess affect during each social interaction (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Across six large data sets, internal consistency for the original Negative Affect scale ranges from .84 to .87, and from .86 to .90 for the original Positive Affect scale.

In the present study, the list of emotions was narrowed down from the original PANAS to reduce the amount of time it took participants to complete each individual EMA survey. On a scale from 1 (Not At All) to 5 (Extremely), participants' positive affect was measured by the extent to which they felt excited, happy, enthusiastic, proud, inspired, and determined during their social interaction. Cronbach's alpha for this positive affect measure was .84. Furthermore, participants' negative affect was measured by the extent to which they felt distressed, upset, guilty, irritable, ashamed,

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and nervous during each interaction that they reported. Cronbach's alpha for this

negative affect measure was .83.

Study 2: Results

Given that the current research involved multiple reports of social interactions for each participant, multilevel modeling was used to test the predictions outlined by the Affective Consequences of Conformity (ACC) Model (Nezlek, 2001). This is the standard analysis approach for intensive longitudinal designs such as the current EMA design, and it properly adjusts standard errors and significance tests to account for nested data structures.

To test the predictions of the ACC model, the social interactions assessed during the EMA phase of the study were treated as nested within the person who rated them. Variables that are specific to each trait are called "level 1" variables, and variables that are specific to each person are called "level 2" variables. All level 1 (event-level) predictor variables were centered on person means to eliminate the potential influence of level 2 confounds and to examine only within-person variation in the level 1 predictor variables, which is the standard centering approach in diary studies focused on within-person processes (see Enders & Tofighi, 2007). Intercepts and slopes for the level 1 predictors were modeled as random to account for the possibility that participants vary in their average levels of affect and in the links between conformity and affect. Conformity to gender typical behavior was divided into engagement in *male prescriptions* (leadership ability, self-reliant, assertive, decisive, high self-esteem), *female prescriptions* (warm and kind, sensitive, attentive to appearances, patient, cheerful), *male proscriptions* (weak, naïve, shy, child-like, insecure), and *female proscriptions* (arrogant, intimidating, stubborn, controlling,

domineering). Although main effects of these variables are examined for exploratory purposes, the ACC model assumes gender interactions (i.e., participant gender should determine the effects of conformity to male and female stereotypes on the outcome variables). Hence, gender interactions are examined and considered to be central to support for the model.

Path A: Effects of Stereotypical Behavior on Social Approval

The first analysis tested the prediction that engaging in stereotypical behavior would predict perceptions of social approval. Thus, perceptions of social approval during the interaction was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors were the extent to which participants engaged in stereotypical behaviors (i.e., male and female prescriptions and proscriptions). As predicted, holding all else constant, enacting male prescriptions, $b = .05$, $t = 2.97$, $p < .01$, and female prescriptions, $b = .33$, $t = 19.75$, $p < .001$, predicted increased perceptions of social approval, and enacting male proscriptions, $b = -.20$, $t = -6.73$, $p < .001$, and female proscriptions, $b = -.20$, $t = -7.36$, $p < .001$, predicted reduced perceptions of social approval. However, the ACC model and prior research on gender conformity suggests that these effects should interact with participant gender.

Path A with gender interaction. We then examined if the effect of engaging in stereotypical behavior on perceptions of social approval would be moderated by gender. Thus, perceptions of social approval during the interaction was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors were the extent to which participants enacted male and female prescriptions, as well as male and female proscriptions, participant gender, and all possible interactions between gender and engagement in stereotypical

behavior. There were no significant interactions between gender and engagement in stereotypical behavior on perceptions of social approval. That is, there was no interaction between gender and enacting male prescriptions, $b = -.05$, $t = -1.13$, $p = .26$, female prescriptions, $b = .003$, $t = .09$, $p = .93$, male proscriptions, $b = -.01$, $t = -.19$, $p = .85$, or female proscriptions, $b = -.08$, $t = -1.37$, $p = .17$, on perceptions of social approval. The lack of support for a gender interaction argues against the ACC model's hypothesis that the effect of behavior on social approval would vary depending on whether or not the behavior was conforming to the stereotypes relevant to one's gender.

Path B: Effects of Stereotypical Behavior on Social Approval as a Function of Desirability

Next, we tested the prediction that the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on perceptions of social approval would be moderated by perceptions that others approve of those prescriptions (and disprove of those proscriptions). Thus, perceptions of social approval during the interaction was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions; the extent to which the participants believed University of Maryland students found male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions to be desirable (via an average of University of Maryland students' perceptions of desirability of those stereotypes for both males and females); as well as all relevant 2-way interactions between engagement in these gender

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stereotypical behaviors and the belief that University of Maryland students found those behaviors to be desirable.

Counter to predictions, perceptions of social approval were not predicted by the interaction between enacting male prescriptions and believing that University of Maryland students find male prescriptions desirable, $b = -.04, t = -1.94, p = .05$, the interaction between enacting female prescriptions and believing that University of Maryland students find female prescriptions desirable, $b = -.0002, t = -.01, p = .99$, the interaction between enacting male proscriptions and believing that University of Maryland students find male proscriptions desirable, $b = .02, t = .80, p = .43$, or the interaction between enacting female proscriptions and believing that University of Maryland students find female proscriptions desirable, $b = -.006, t = -.25, p = .81$.

Path B with gender interaction. Next, we examined a three-way interaction of the effect of engagement in gender stereotypical behavior, participant gender, and perceptions that others find the stereotypical behavior desirable on perceptions of social approval during the interaction. Thus, perceptions of social approval was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, and the extent to which the participants believed University of Maryland students found male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions desirable, as well as participant gender, and all relevant 3-way interactions involving gender, desirability, and engagement in stereotypical behavior.

There was no significant three-way interaction with gender, enacting male prescriptions, and belief that Maryland students find male prescriptions desirable, $b = .10$, $t = 1.65$, $p = .10$; gender, enacting female prescriptions, and belief that Maryland students find female prescriptions desirable, $b = .04$, $t = .81$, $p = .42$; gender, enacting male proscriptions, and belief that Maryland students find male proscriptions desirable, $b = -.03$, $t = -.43$, $p = .67$; and gender, enacting female proscriptions, and belief that Maryland students find female proscriptions desirable, $b = .02$, $t = .36$, $p = .72$, on social approval.

Path D: Effects of Stereotypical Behavior on Authenticity

To assess the second half of the ACC model, we tested the hypothesis that engaging in prescriptive gender stereotypical behavior would predict perceptions of authenticity. Thus, perceptions of authenticity during the interaction was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors were the extent to which participants enacted male and female prescriptions, as well as male and female proscriptions. We found that enacting male prescriptions, $b = .07$, $t = 3.60$, $p < .001$, and female prescriptions, $b = .33$, $t = 13.46$, $p < .001$, predict increased perceptions of feeling authentic, and that enacting male proscriptions, $b = -.31$, $t = -6.97$, $p < .001$, and female proscriptions, $b = -.13$, $t = -3.83$, $p < .001$, predict reduced feelings of authenticity.

Path D with gender interaction. We examined if gender interacted with engagement in gender stereotypical behavior to predict feelings of authenticity. Thus, perceptions of authenticity during the interaction was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors were the extent to which participants engaged in male and female prescriptions and proscriptions, participant gender, and all possible interactions

between gender and engaging in gender stereotypical behavior. However, counter to our hypotheses in the ACC model, we did not find any significant interactions between gender and stereotypical behaviors, such that gender did not moderate the effect of male prescriptions, $b = -.04$, $t = -.85$, $p = .40$, female prescriptions, $b = .01$, $t = .24$, $p = .81$, male proscriptions, $b = -.04$, $t = -.34$, $p = .74$, nor female proscriptions, $b = -.003$, $t = -.04$, $p = .97$, on feelings of authenticity.

Path E: Effects of Stereotypical Behavior on Authenticity as a Function of Personal Beliefs of Desirability

Next, we tested the prediction that the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on feelings of authenticity would be moderated by personally finding it desirable for oneself to engage in those stereotypical behaviors. Thus, feelings of authenticity was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, the extent to which the participants personally believed that it was desirable for themselves to engage in those prescriptions and proscriptions for each gender, and all relevant combinations of interactions between engagement in stereotypical behavior and personal feelings of desirability regarding those stereotypes.

Contrary to hypotheses, feelings of authenticity were not predicted by the interaction between enacting male prescriptions and personally believing that it is desirable to enact male prescriptions, $b = .04$, $t = 1.78$, $p = .08$, enacting female prescriptions and personally believing that it is desirable to enact female prescriptions, $b = -.007$, $t = -.23$, $p = .82$, and enacting female proscriptions and

personally believing that it is desirable to enact female proscriptions, $b = .008$, $t = .27$, $p = .79$. However, personally believing that it is desirable to enact male proscriptions significantly moderated the effect of enacting male proscriptions on feelings of authenticity, $b = .11$, $t = 2.68$, $p < .01$.

To probe this interaction further, we examined the conditional effect of enacting male proscriptions at low and high levels of desirability, which was calculated as one standard deviation below and above the mean, respectively. We found that when people enact male proscriptions, there is a stronger negative effect of enacting these proscriptions on authenticity for those who find it highly undesirable to enact those proscriptions, $b = -.41$, $t = -6.89$, $p < .001$, compared to those who find it highly desirable to enact those proscriptions, $b = -.20$, $t = -3.45$, $p < .01$.

Possible mediation effect. We further examined if authenticity mediates the interaction of enacting male proscriptions and personally believing those proscriptions are desirable, on affect. To test this, we first entered overall affect as the outcome variable, and the predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, the extent to which the participants personally believed that it was desirable for themselves to engage in those prescriptions and proscriptions for each gender, and all relevant combinations of interactions between engagement in stereotypical behavior and personal feelings of desirability regarding those stereotypes. We did not find that there was a significant interaction of enacting male proscriptions and personally believing it is desirable to engage in male proscriptions, on affect, $b = .02$, $t = .75$, $p = .46$.

We next entered affect as the outcome variable, and the predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, the extent to which the participants personally believed that it was desirable for themselves to engage in those prescriptions and proscriptions for each gender, all relevant combinations of the interactions between engagement in stereotypical behavior and personal feelings of desirability regarding those stereotypes, and feelings of authenticity. After holding all else constant, we found that there was a significant effect of authenticity on experienced affect, $b = .25, t = 13.99, p < .001$. We used the Monte Carlo Method for Assessing Mediation (Selig & Preacher, 2008) to generate 95% CIs of the indirect effects using 20,000 resamples. The obtained confidence intervals did not contain zero CI[.01, .05], demonstrating that the indirect effects of the predictors on affect were statistically significant.

Path E with gender interaction. We further tested a 3-way interaction of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior, personal belief of desirability for oneself to engage in those stereotypical behaviors, and participant gender, on feelings of authenticity. Thus, feelings of authenticity was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, as well as the extent to which the participants personally believed that it was desirable for them to enact those prescriptions and proscriptions, the gender of the participant, and all possible combinations of interaction terms across the predictors.

There was no significant three-way interaction with gender, engagement in male prescriptions, and personally believing that male prescriptions are desirable, $b = .006$, $t = .11$, $p = .92$; gender, engagement in female prescriptions, and personally believing that female prescriptions are desirable, $b = -.09$, $t = .-1.38$, $p = .17$; gender, engagement in male proscriptions, and personally believing that male proscriptions are desirable, $b = -.17$, $t = -1.69$, $p = .09$; and gender, engagement in female proscriptions, and personally believing that female proscriptions are desirable, $b = .03$, $t = .57$, $p = .57$.

Path C/F: Effects of Stereotypical Behavior on Affect

Next, we tested the predictions that enacting male and female prescriptions would predict increased affect, and enacting male and female proscriptions would predict reduced affect. To compute affect, a difference score was computed which subtracted negative affect from positive affect. This affect score was entered as the outcome variable, and enactment of male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions were entered as predictors. As predicted, after holding all else constant, we found that affect was predicted by enacting male prescriptions, $b = .16$, $t = 8.78$, $p < .001$, and female prescriptions, $b = .38$, $t = 19.76$, $p < .001$, and was negatively predicted by enacting male proscriptions, $b = -.28$, $t = -9.33$, $p < .001$, and female proscriptions, $b = -.17$, $t = -6.79$, $p < .001$.[1] Engaging in approved behavior was associated with more positive affect and engaging in disapproved behavior was associated with more negative affect.

Path C/F with gender interaction. Next, we tested the prediction that gender would moderate the effect of enacting male and female prescriptions and

proscriptions on experienced affect. To examine this, affect was entered as the outcome variable, while enacting male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, as well as participant gender, and all possible interactions between gender and engaging in gender stereotypical behavior, were entered as predictors. We did not find that gender moderated the effect of male prescriptions, $b = .006, t = .13, p = .90$, female prescriptions, $b = .06, t = 1.28, p = .20$, or male proscriptions, $b = -.04, t = -.53, p = .60$, on affect. However, we did find that gender moderated the effect of female proscriptions on affect, $b = -.17, t = -2.90, p < .01$, such that there is a stronger negative effect of engaging in female proscriptions on affect for females, $b = -.22, t = -7.65, p < .001$, than for males, $b = -.05, t = -1.06, p = .29$. This suggests that females feel more negatively when they engage in behaviors that are considered socially undesirable for them (e.g., being controlling or domineering), than males do when they engage in those same behaviors.[2]

Independent Effects of Authenticity and Approval on Affect

To test the final paths in the ACC model, we assessed the independent effects of authenticity and approval on affect. We entered affect as the outcome variable, and enacting male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, female proscriptions, participant gender, feelings of authenticity, perceptions of social approval, and all possible interactions of gender stereotypes and gender, were entered as predictors. After holding all else constant, we found that there was an effect of authenticity, $b = .11, t = 7.71, p < .001$, and social approval, $b = .30, t = 16.97, p < .001$, on affect.[3]

Ancillary Analyses

Authenticity predicts positive affect. Given that prescriptions (i.e., positive behaviors) enhanced feelings of authenticity, we examined the possibility that feeling positively predicts greater feelings of authenticity. To test this idea, we entered felt authenticity as the outcome variable, and included positive affect, the extent to which participants enacted male and female prescriptions, as well as male and female proscriptions, as predictors. As expected, holding all else constant, we found that positive affect enhanced feelings of authenticity, $b = .46$, $t = 14.07$, $p < .001$.

Perceived respect as outcome. It is possible that some of the gendered behaviors (particularly male proscriptions and prescriptions) are related to respect more strongly than other aspects of social approval. To test this idea, we reassessed Path A, only using a single item from the perceived social approval index that measured how much respect participants felt they received from their interaction partner. First, we entered perceived respect as the outcome variable, and included the extent to which participants enacted male and female prescriptions, as well as male and female proscriptions, as predictors. As expected, holding all else constant, enacting male prescriptions, $b = .08$, $t = 3.92$, $p < .001$, and female prescriptions, $b = .29$, $t = 17.16$, $p < .001$, predict increased perceptions of being respected, and enacting male proscriptions, $b = -.17$, $t = -4.99$, $p < .001$, and female proscriptions, $b = -.19$, $t = -6.17$, $p < .001$, predict reduced perceptions of being respected.

Next, we examined if there was a two-way interaction of the effect of engagement in gender stereotypical behavior and participant gender on perceptions of received respect. Given that agentic behaviors are often viewed positively for men

(Miller, Cooke, Tsang, & Morgan, 1992) but negatively for women (Rudman, 1998), we expected that men, more than women, would feel respected when they enacted male prescriptions. Thus, perceptions of respect during the interaction was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, as well as participant gender, and all possible 2-way interactions involving gender and engagement in stereotypical behavior. Contrary to our expectation, we did not find statistical support for gender interacting with engagement in gender stereotypes, such that there was no interaction between gender and enacting male prescriptions, $b = -.05$, $t = -1.14$, $p = .26$, female prescriptions, $b = .01$, $t = .32$, $p = .75$, male proscriptions, $b = -.02$, $t = -.18$, $p = .85$, or female proscriptions, $b = -.11$, $t = -1.55$, $p = .13$, on perceived respect.

Baseline of traits. We considered the possibility that participants' baseline trait behaviors might interact with the behavior they are enacting to predict feelings of authenticity. That is, it might be the case that when a person is enacting behaviors that are atypical of how they normally behave, they will feel less authentic (similar to what we had originally hypothesized). To test this idea, we entered felt authenticity as the outcome variable, and included the extent to which participants enacted male and female prescriptions, as well as male and female proscriptions, their baseline ratings of how typical these prescriptions and proscriptions are of them, as well as all possible 2-way interactions between enactment and descriptiveness of these behaviors, as predictors. However, we did not find that there were any significant interactions between enacting male prescriptions and baseline ratings of male

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prescriptions, $b = .01$, $t = .75$, $p = .46$, enacting female prescriptions and baseline ratings of female prescriptions, $b = -.003$, $t = -.18$, $p = .86$, enacting male proscriptions and baseline ratings of male proscriptions, $b = .03$, $t = 1.00$, $p = .32$, or enacting female proscriptions and baseline ratings of female proscriptions, $b = -.009$, $t = -.33$, $p = .74$, on feelings of authenticity.

Professional context. We examined if professional context of the interaction moderated the individual effects of engagement in gender stereotypical behavior on social approval and authenticity. Thus, any interactions that took place with a professional interaction partner (e.g., professor, academic advisor, career counselor, teaching assistant) were coded as a professional interaction, and the remaining interaction partners were coded as non-professional interactions (e.g., family members, significant others, friends). It is possible that this variable might render some behaviors, such as the male prescriptions involving achievement and competence, and male proscriptions involving weakness, as more relevant to social evaluation or authenticity.

Social approval as outcome. We examined if the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on perceptions of social approval would be moderated by professional context. Thus, perceptions of social approval during the interaction was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, whether or not their interaction partner was a professional contact, as well as the interactions between engagement in these gender stereotypical behaviors and professional context.

We did not find any support that the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on social approval was moderated by professional context, such that there was no significant interaction between professional context and enacting male prescriptions, $b = .06, t = .94, p = .35$, enacting female prescriptions, $b = -.05, t = -.82, p = .42$, enacting male proscriptions, $b = -.15, t = -1.54, p = .12$, or enacting female proscriptions, $b = .01, t = .16, p = .88$. We also did not find any statistically significant support for a 3-way interaction across engagement in gender stereotypical behavior, participant gender, and professional context on social approval.

Authenticity as outcome. Next, we examined if the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on feelings of authenticity would be moderated by professional context. Thus, feelings of authenticity during the interaction was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, whether or not their interaction partner was a professional contact, as well as the interactions between engagement in these gender stereotypical behaviors and professional context.

We did not find any support that the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on authenticity was moderated by professional context, such that there was no significant interaction between professional context and enacting male prescriptions, $b = .11, t = 1.41, p = .16$, enacting male proscriptions, $b = -.05, t = -.45, p = .65$, and enacting female proscriptions, $b = .14, t = 1.20, p = .23$. However, holding all else constant, we did find support for an interaction between professional context and enacting female prescriptions on feelings of authenticity, $b = -.16, t = -$

1.97, $p < .05$. That is, there was a stronger effect on feelings of authenticity after enacting female prescriptions when participants were not in a professional context, $b = .33$, $t = 13.25$, $p < .001$, rather than a professional one, $b = .17$, $t = 2.12$, $p < .05$. This suggests that people are better able to feel authentic after enacting female prescriptions (e.g., being warm and kind, sensitive, cheerful) when they are not in a professional context.

We did not find any statistically significant support for a 3-way interaction across engagement in gender stereotypical behavior, participant gender, and professional context on feelings of authenticity.

Relationship closeness. We examined if relationship closeness to the interaction partner moderated the individual effects of engagement in gender stereotypical behavior on social approval and authenticity. It is possible that some of the behaviors related to social bonding (i.e., female prescriptions), or lack thereof (i.e., female proscriptions), are more relevant in interactions with close relationship partners. Relationship closeness was measured as a compiled index of three items that were scored on a scale from 1 (Not At All) to 7 (Extremely) ("In general, how close are you to the person/people you were interacting with?"; "In general, how well do you know the person/people you were interacting with?"; "In general, how important to you is your relationship with the person/people you were interacting with?").

Social approval as outcome. We tested the possibility that the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on perceptions of received social approval would be moderated by relationship closeness. Thus, perceptions of social approval during the interaction was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors

included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, relationship closeness, as well as the interactions between engagement in these gender stereotypical behaviors and relationship closeness.

We did not find that the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on social approval was moderated by relationship closeness when people were enacting male prescriptions, $b = -.01$, $t = -1.94$, $p = .05$, female prescriptions, $b = .006$, $t = .93$, $p = .35$, or female proscriptions, $b = -.009$, $t = -.88$, $p = .38$. However, holding all else constant, we did find support for an interaction between relationship closeness and enacting male proscriptions on perceptions of social approval, $b = .03$, $t = 2.78$, $p < .01$. That is, the effect of closeness on participants' perceptions of social approval was stronger when they enacted male proscriptions with partners who they were low on closeness with, $b = -.21$, $t = -7.42$, $p < .001$, rather than when they were very close to their interaction partners, $b = -.12$, $t = -3.96$, $p < .001$. This suggests that it is less damaging to people's perceptions of their own social approval when they engage in male proscriptions (e.g., being weak, naïve, shy, insecure) in the company of someone they feel very close to, rather than someone with whom they are not close.

We did not find any statistically significant support for a 3-way interaction across engagement in gender stereotypical behavior, participant gender, and relationship closeness on perceptions of social approval.

Authenticity as outcome. Next, we tested the possibility that the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on feelings of authenticity would be moderated by relationship closeness. Thus, feelings of authenticity during the

interaction was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, relationship closeness, as well as the interactions between engagement in these gender stereotypical behaviors and relationship closeness.

We did not find any support that the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on authenticity was moderated by relationship closeness when people were enacting male prescriptions, $b = -.007, t = -.95, p = .34$, or female prescriptions, $b = .01, t = 1.65, p = .10$. However, holding all else constant, we did find support for an interaction between relationship closeness and enacting male proscriptions on feelings of authenticity, $b = .04, t = 3.21, p < .01$, and well as an interaction between closeness and enacting female proscriptions on feelings of authenticity, $b = -.03, t = -2.18, p < .05$. That is, enacting male proscriptions was associated with less authenticity when participants were low in closeness with their interaction partners, $b = -.34, t = -7.96, p < .001$, relative to when they were high in closeness, $b = -.19, t = -4.41, p < .001$. Interestingly, however, we found the opposite direction of the effect of closeness when participants enacted female proscriptions. That is, there was a stronger effect of enacting female proscriptions on feelings of authenticity when they were very close to their interaction partners, $b = -.21, t = -5.13, p < .001$, rather than when they were low in closeness, $b = -.11, t = -2.82, p < .01$. This suggests that when people enact female proscriptions (which involves being intimidating and domineering), it is more damaging to their feelings of authenticity when they are close to their interaction partner. However, when people enact male proscriptions

(which involves being insecure and weak), it is more damaging to their feelings of authenticity when they are not close to their interaction partner.

We did not find any statistically significant support for a 3-way interaction across engagement in gender stereotypical behavior, participant gender, and relationship closeness on feelings of authenticity.

Affect as outcome. Next, we tested the possibility that the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on affective experience would be moderated by relationship closeness. Thus, affect was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, relationship closeness, as well as the interactions between engagement in these gender stereotypical behaviors and relationship closeness.

We did not find any support that the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on affect was moderated by relationship closeness when people were enacting male prescriptions, $b = -.007$, $t = -.95$, $p = .34$, male proscriptions, $b = -.02$, $t = -1.48$, $p = .14$, or female proscriptions, $b = .001$, $t = .07$, $p = .95$. However, holding all else constant, we did find support for an interaction between relationship closeness and enacting female prescriptions on affect, $b = .02$, $t = 2.13$, $p < .05$. That is, enacting female prescriptions was associated with reduced experienced affect when participants were low in closeness with their interaction partner, $b = .32$, $t = 13.74$, $p < .001$, relative to when they were high in closeness, $b = .38$, $t = 16.30$, $p < .001$. This suggests that when people enact female prescriptions (e.g., by being warm and kind),

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they feel more positively when they are interacting with close, rather than distant, relationship partners.

We did not find any statistically significant support for a 3-way interaction across engagement in gender stereotypical behavior, participant gender, and relationship closeness on experienced affect.

Romantic interest. We examined if romantic interest in one's interaction partner moderated the individual effects of engagement in gender stereotypical behavior on social approval and authenticity. It is plausible that behaviors pertaining to interpersonal closeness, such as female prescriptions, are more relevant in the presence of a romantic interest. Romantic interest was measured with a single item that was scored on a scale from 1 (Not At All Interested) to 7 (Extremely Interested) ("Are you romantically interested in the person/one of the people you were interacting with?").

Social approval as outcome. We tested the possibility that the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on perceptions of received social approval would be moderated by romantic interest. Thus, perceptions of social approval during the interaction was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, romantic interest, as well as the interactions between engagement in these gender stereotypical behaviors and romantic interest.

We did not find any support that the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on social approval was moderated by romantic interest when people were enacting male prescriptions, $b = -.001$, $t = -.18$, $p = .86$, female prescriptions, $b = -$

.007, $t = -1.03$, $p = .30$, male proscriptions, $b = -.002$, $t = -.15$, $p = .88$, or female proscriptions, $b = -.004$, $t = -.36$, $p = .72$.

Next, we tested the possibility that there is a 3-way interaction of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior, participant gender, and romantic interest, on perceptions of social approval. Thus, perceived social approval was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, the extent to which the participants were romantically interested in their interaction partner, the gender of the participant, and all possible combinations of interaction terms across the predictors.

Counter to what we expected, there was no significant three-way interaction with gender, romantic interest, and engagement in gender stereotypical behaviors (male prescriptions, female prescriptions, and female proscriptions) on perceptions of social approval. However, holding all else constant, there was a significant three-way interaction with gender, romantic interest, and enacting male proscriptions, on perceptions of social approval, $b = -.07$, $t = -2.36$, $p < .05$. When examined more closely, we found that for participants who had low romantic interest in their interaction partner, the interactive effect of gender and engagement in male proscriptions on perceived social approval was not significant, $b = .10$, $t = 1.15$, $p = .25$; nor was this interactive effect significant when romantic interest was high, $b = -.15$, $t = -1.71$, $p = .09$.

Authenticity as outcome. Next, we tested the possibility that the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on feelings of authenticity would be

moderated by romantic interest. Thus, feelings of authenticity during the interaction was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, romantic interest, as well as all possible interactions between engagement in these gender stereotypical behaviors and romantic interest. We did not find any support that the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on authenticity was moderated by romantic interest when people were enacting male prescriptions, $b = -.0002$, $t = -.02$, $p = .99$, female prescriptions, $b = .008$, $t = .99$, $p = .32$, male proscriptions, $b = .0004$, $t = .03$, $p = .98$, or female proscriptions, $b = -.02$, $t = -1.77$, $p = .08$.

Further counter to our expectations, there was no significant three-way interaction with gender, romantic interest, and engagement in gender stereotypical behaviors (male prescriptions, female prescriptions, and female proscriptions) on feelings of authenticity. However, holding all else constant, there was a significant three-way interaction with gender, romantic interest, and engagement in male proscriptions on feelings of authenticity, $b = -.09$, $t = -2.38$, $p < .05$. Upon closer examination, when participants had low romantic interest in their interaction partner, the interactive effect of gender and enacting male proscriptions on feelings of authenticity was not significant, $b = .12$, $t = .97$, $p = .33$; nor was this interactive effect significant when romantic interest was high, $b = -.20$, $t = -1.62$, $p = .11$.

Same-sex vs. opposite-sex interaction partner. We examined if engaging in a same-sex (rather than opposite-sex) interaction moderated the individual effects of enacting gender stereotypical behaviors on social approval and authenticity.

Participants were asked to identify if their interaction partner(s) was male, female, or if their interaction partners included both genders. Thus, male-male and female-female interactions were coded as same-sex interactions, and male-female and female-male interactions were coded as opposite-sex interactions. The analyses excluded any interactions where participants were talking to a male(s) and female(s) in the same conversation.

Social approval as outcome. We tested the possibility that the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on perceptions of received social approval would be moderated by whether participants had a same-sex interaction partner. Thus, perceptions of social approval during the interaction was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, whether or not their interaction partner was same-sex, as well as all possible 2-way interactions between enacting these gender stereotypical behaviors and whether or not their discussion partner was same-sex.

We did not find any support that the effect of enacting gender stereotypes on social approval was moderated by partner gender when participants were enacting female prescriptions, $b = -.06$, $t = -1.82$, $p = .07$, male proscriptions, $b = -.04$, $t = -.69$, $p = .49$, or female proscriptions, $b = -.05$, $t = -.88$, $p = .38$. However, holding all else constant, we did find support for an interaction between partner gender and enacting male prescriptions on perceptions of social approval, $b = .09$, $t = 2.56$, $p < .05$. More specifically, the effect of partner gender on participants' perceptions of social approval was stronger when they enacted male prescriptions with same-sex

interaction partners, $b = .09$, $t = 4.02$, $p < .001$, rather than opposite-sex interaction

partners, $b = -.0002$, $t = -.008$, $p = .99$. That is, after enacting male prescriptions

(which involves demonstrating assertiveness and decisiveness), participants felt that

they received more social approval when they were interacting with people of the

same sex.

We did not find any statistically significant support for a 3-way interaction

across engagement in gender stereotypical behavior, participant gender, and same-sex

interactions, on perceptions of social approval.

Authenticity as outcome. We additionally tested the possibility that the effect

of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on feelings of authenticity would be

moderated by whether participants had a same-sex interaction partner. Thus, feelings

of authenticity during the interaction was entered as the outcome variable, and the

predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions,

female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, whether or not

their interaction partner was same-sex, as well as all possible 2-way interactions

between engagement in these gender stereotypical behaviors and whether their

conversation partner was same-sex.

We did not find any support that the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical

behavior on feelings of authenticity was moderated by partner gender when

participants enacted male prescriptions, $b = .05$, $t = 1.21$, $p = .23$, male proscriptions,

$b = .05$, $t = .81$, $p = .42$, or female proscriptions, $b = -.02$, $t = -.26$, $p = .79$. However,

holding all else constant, we did find support for an interaction between partner

gender and engagement in female prescriptions on feelings of authenticity, $b = -.11$, t

= -2.74, $p < .01$. More specifically, the effect of partner gender on participants' perceptions of authenticity was stronger when they enacted female prescriptions with opposite-sex interaction partners, $b = .41$, $t = 10.75$, $p < .001$, rather than same-sex interaction partners, $b = .30$, $t = 9.92$, $p < .001$. That is, people felt more authentic after enacting female prescriptions (which involves demonstrating warmth and sensitivity) with the opposite sex, rather than same-sex interaction partners.

We did not find any statistically significant support for a 3-way interaction across engagement in gender stereotypical behavior, participant gender, and same-sex interactions, on feelings of authenticity.

Race. We examined if race moderated the individual effects of engagement in gender stereotypical behaviors on social approval and authenticity.

Social approval as outcome. We tested the possibility that the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on perceptions of received social approval would be moderated by race. Thus, perceptions of social approval during the interaction was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, race of the participant, as well as all possible 2-way interactions between enacting these gender stereotypical behaviors and race. We did not find any support that the effect of enacting gender stereotypes on social approval was moderated by race when participants enacted male prescriptions, $b = -.01$, $t = -.29$, $p = .77$, female prescriptions, $b = .06$, $t = 1.26$, $p = .21$, male proscriptions, $b = -.04$, $t = -.51$, $p = .61$, nor female proscriptions, $b = .14$, $t = 1.87$, $p = .07$.

We next tested the possibility that there was a 3-way interaction of race, participant gender, and enactment of gender stereotypical behavior on felt social approval. Thus, perceptions of social approval during the interaction was entered as the outcome variable, and the predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, race and gender of the participant, as well as all possible 3-way interactions across stereotypical behavior enactment, race, and gender. We did not find any support for a 3-way interaction of participant race and gender with enactment of female prescriptions, $b = .09$, $t = .89$, $p = .38$, male proscriptions, $b = -.15$, $t = -.76$, $p = .45$, or female proscriptions, $b = .26$, $t = 1.55$, $p = .13$, on social approval. However, we did find that there was a 3-way interaction of gender, race, and enacting male prescriptions on social approval, $b = .31$, $t = 2.69$, $p < .01$. To probe this interaction further, we examined the conditional effects of race and enacting male prescriptions on social approval when participants were male versus female. We found that there was a significant conditional two-way interaction between race and enacting male prescriptions on feelings of social approval for males, $b = -.25$, $t = -2.48$, $p < .05$, but not for females, $b = .05$, $t = 1.01$, $p = .32$. When probed further, we found that white males felt a stronger sense of social approval when enacting male prescriptions, $b = .14$, $t = 3.17$, $p < .01$, than did black males, $b = -.11$, $t = -1.17$, $p = .25$.

Authenticity as outcome. We tested the possibility that the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on felt authenticity would be moderated by race. Thus, felt authenticity during the interaction was entered as the outcome variable, and

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the predictors included the extent to which participants enacted male prescriptions, female prescriptions, male proscriptions, and female proscriptions, race of the participant, as well as all possible 2-way interactions between enacting these gender stereotypical behaviors and race. We did not find any support that the effect of enacting gender stereotypes on felt authenticity was moderated by race when participants enacted male prescriptions, $b = .04$, $t = .79$, $p = .43$, female prescriptions, $b = .07$, $t = 1.00$, $p = .32$, male proscriptions, $b = -.16$, $t = -1.25$, $p = .21$, nor female proscriptions, $b = .05$, $t = .66$, $p = .51$.

We did not find any statistically significant support for a 3-way interaction across engagement in gender stereotypical behavior, participant gender, and race on feelings of authenticity.

Study 2: Discussion

Though there are a number of stereotypes considered to be more or less desirable for one gender over the other (as determined in Study 1; see also Prentice & Carranza, 2002), we found scarce evidence for gender moderation, and this constitutes poor support for the ACC model.

Effects of Stereotypical Behavior on Social Approval

As expected, we found that enacting gender prescriptions positively predicted feelings of social approval, while enacting gender proscriptions negatively predicted feelings of social approval. However, these effects were not moderated by gender. That is, males did not perceive more social approval than females did when they enacted male prescriptions, and less social approval when they enacted male proscriptions. Conversely, females did not perceive more social approval than males did when they enacted female prescriptions, and less social approval when they enacted female proscriptions. Further counter to predictions, the effect of engaging in gender stereotypical behavior on feelings of social approval was not moderated by participants' perceptions of how desirable others found their behavior. These findings seem to be at odds with the vast literature that people conform to social norms in order to receive social approval (Asch, 1956; Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004; Dittes & Kelley, 1956; Endler, Minden, & North, 1973; Lashbrook, 2000; Strickland & Crowne, 1962), and that there are strong social consequences when they deviate from their gender's stereotypes (Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Rudman, 2010; Phelan, Moss-

Racusin, & Rudman, 2008; Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Mescher, 2013). In fact, the

extensive literature on backlash would suggest that women receive less social

approval than men for engaging in agentic (i.e., male prescriptive and female

proscriptive) behaviors (Phelan, Moss-Racusin, & Rudman, 2008; Rudman, 1998;

Rudman & Glick, 1999; Rudman & Glick, 2001), and that men, who are very

sensitive to threats to their masculinity (Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, &

Weaver, 2008), receive more social sanctions and hits to their likeability than women

for being modest and emphasizing their communality (Moss-Racusin, Phelan, &

Rudman, 2010; Phelan, Moss-Racusin, & Rudman, 2008).

One possible reason for our lack of support for gender moderation might be

that the backlash literature focuses on actual social approval while the present

research assessed perceptions of one's own social approval. This may also explain

why the effect was not moderated by participants' perceptions of how desirable others

found their behaviors. That is, when considering approval during social interactions

people might primarily consider the overall desirability and benefits of their behavior,

rather than weighing out whether their behavior is more or less desirable for their

gender. In fact, when French ninth graders were asked how to engender favorable

impressions on their P.E. teacher, they endorsed presenting themselves as both highly

feminine and masculine (Clément-Guillotin et al., 2013). This suggests that both

masculine and feminine attributes are considered to be important for making a

favorable impression, even in a competence-based context (i.e., gym class). Further,

many researchers have found that being masculine (i.e., agentic) and feminine (i.e.,

communal) promotes well-being (e.g., Antill, 1983; Krames, England, & Flett, 1988;

Nezu, Nezu & Peterson, 1986; Roos & Cohen, 1987), and is optimal to have a balance of agency and communion granted that those behaviors are not taken to their extremes (Helgeson, 1994). Given that our results demonstrate that people feel they receive social approval from others when they engage in any type of socially desirable (i.e., prescriptive) behavior, it may be the case that non-extremes of masculinity and femininity promote perceptions of social approval, regardless of the person's gender or other people's beliefs regarding the desirability of those stereotypes.

Another possibility is that there are individual differences that moderate the effect of gender typical enactment on approval. For example, people who have a high social identity orientation (i.e., their social reputation is very important to them) may be more likely to feel approval for enacting their own gender's behaviors (Cheek & Briggs, 2013). Further, having a high social identity orientation may interact with enactment of gender stereotypes to enhance positive affect due to the greater approval they feel for conforming to their own gender's stereotypes.

Perceived respect was also examined as an alternative outcome. Given that women who display self-promoting behaviors tend to be seen as less socially attractive and hireable (Rudman, 1998), it could be expected that when women engage in female proscriptions (which embody agentic and forceful displays of competence; e.g., being controlling and domineering), they are respected less by their peers than are men. Likewise, since men often believe that emotional displays of vulnerability conflict with masculinity (Hoyt, 2009; MacArthur & Shields, 2015), it might be expected that when men engage in male proscriptions (which embody lack

of emotional strength; e.g., being child-like and weak), they are respected less by their peers than are women who engage in those same behaviors. However, we did not find any support for participant gender interacting with gender stereotypical behavior when the outcome was specified as perceived respect, rather than social approval as a whole. Given that several studies have demonstrated backlash effects in professional or agentic-based contexts (Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Rudman, 2010; Phelan, Moss-Racusin, & Rudman, 2008; Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Mescher, 2013), we additionally examined if people receive less social approval when they deviate from gender normative behavior in a professional context. However, we did not find support for this possibility either.

We did find that people experienced more social approval when they enacted male prescriptions with same-sex interaction partners rather than opposite-sex interaction partners. This further contrasted with the backlash literature, which has found self-promoting women to be viewed by other women as less competent, less socially attractive, and less hireable than self-promoting men (Rudman, 1998). These unexpected findings may be explained by American college women's seeming devaluation of femininity compared to college women in the 1990s (Donnelly & Twenge, 2016). Women in the current study may be more tolerant of fellow females' agentic behaviors (and may believe that other women are tolerant of their own), even if they objectively can identify that it is more socially desirable for women to possess communal behaviors as we found in Study 1.

Effects of Stereotypical Behavior on Authenticity

Our findings regarding authenticity were largely unexpected. That is, counter to expectations, we found that enacting gender prescriptions positively predicted feelings of authenticity while enacting gender proscriptions negatively predicted feelings of authenticity, and these effects were not moderated by gender. Furthermore, we did not find that these effects were additionally moderated by personally believing that enacted behaviors were desirable. Thus, these results offer evidence against our prediction that stereotypical behavior predicts feelings of inauthenticity. Rather, it seems that participants feel more authentic when they engage in socially desirable behaviors, and they feel less authentic when they engage in socially undesirable behaviors, which suggests that being authentic is about more than simply behaving consistently with one's values and beliefs (as operationalized in the current research) and deviating from gender stereotypes.

Although it is not what was predicted in the current research, our findings offer support for some recent work regarding authenticity. Fleeson and Wilt (2010) proposed two hypotheses to assess the nature of experienced authenticity: the *trait-consistency hypothesis* and the *state-content significance hypothesis*. The trait-consistency hypothesis, which embodies the majority of the authenticity literature (e.g., Kernis & Goldman, 2006; Wood et al., 2008) and informed the current ACC model, predicts that people feel most authentic when they behave consistently with their own traits. That is, the trait-consistency hypothesis argues, for example, that people who claim to be moderately extraverted will feel most authentic when they are being moderately extraverted, and being any more or less extraverted than their "trait

level' would be detrimental to how authentic they feel. The state-content significance hypothesis, on the other hand, suggests that some behaviors feel more authentic because of their content and consequences. Fleeson and Wilt (2010) offer that this increase in authenticity may be because certain behaviors feel more unconstrained to carry out, are better for expressing one's values and beliefs, and are more conducive towards facilitating growth. Fleeson and Wilt (2010) found that people feel most authentic when they are highly extraverted, agreeable, conscientious, emotionally stable, and intellectual, regardless of their actual trait levels on each personality dimension, thus finding support for the state-content significance hypothesis over the trait-consistency hypothesis. That is, people who are extraverted in a particular moment, even if they typically consider themselves to be introverted, feel authentic because the experience of extraverted behavior is rewarding in some way (e.g., being extraverted may facilitate an ability to express value for one's close social relationships, which in turn may increase feelings of authenticity).

The more dynamic nature of felt authenticity may be, in part, due to the contribution of happiness. Lenton and her colleagues (2013) found that people tend to associate experiences that are most representative of them as positive, and experiences that are least representative of them as negative. Additionally, participants who are put in a good mood (e.g., via exposure to happy music or a happy video clip) feel more authentic than participants in a negative mood (via exposure to sad music or a sad video clip) (Lenton, Slabu, Sedikides, & Power, 2013). People even feel less authentic when they are implicitly manipulated to feel sad (by being forced to frown) compared to neutral participants. That is, recent work

on state authenticity seems to suggest that people feel most authentic when they engage in positive (i.e., prescriptive) behaviors, and least authentic when they engage in negative (i.e., proscriptive) behaviors, as we found in the current research. Thus, our finding that participants felt more authentic when they enacted gender prescriptions (regardless of gender) may be due to their engagement in positive behaviors and the positive affect that often coincides with those behaviors, reversing the link between authenticity and affect assumed in the current ACC model. Indeed, in our ancillary analyses we found that positive affect predicted feelings of authenticity.

The contribution of positive behaviors to felt authenticity may also explain our finding that personally believing it is desirable to enact male proscriptions significantly moderated the effect of enacting male proscriptions on feelings of authenticity (regardless of participant gender). That is, when participants felt that being vulnerable (e.g., being weak and insecure) was highly desirable, they felt more authentic than those who found such behavior to be undesirable.

In total, our results seem to suggest that, regardless of gender, engaging in positive behaviors predicts feelings of authenticity, and engaging in negative behaviors predicts feelings of inauthenticity. Our additional analysis to see if felt authenticity was impacted by the interaction between participants' enactment of stereotypical behaviors, and their baseline ratings of how descriptive those behaviors typically are of them, was not supported. Therefore, the findings of the present research step away from conceptualizations that people feel authentic when they engage in behaviors they consider to be true to who they are (e.g., Kernis &

Goldman, 2006), and instead imply that people feel authentic when they feel good and are engaging in desirable behaviors (e.g., Fleeson & Wilt, 2010; Lenton et al., 2013).

Effects of Stereotypical Behavior on Affect

As expected, we found support that enacting gender prescriptions positively predicted affect, and enacting gender proscriptions negatively predicted affect. However, these effects were not moderated by gender as we predicted, except for female proscriptions. That is, women felt worse than men after enacting female proscriptions. Similarly, Wood and her colleagues (1997) found that people felt worse during dominant, powerful interactions than they did during communal interactions. Furthermore, they found that women felt marginally worse than men did during these dominant interactions, though men did not feel any worse than women when they engaged in a communal interaction.

Though we found some support that deviating from gender stereotypes predicts reduced affect, and that feelings of authenticity and social approval positively predict affect, we did not find that there was an interaction between gender and stereotypical behavior on feelings of authenticity or social approval as previously discussed. The support we found in the present research for the interaction between participant gender and enacting female proscriptions on affect seems to offer some indirect support of the backlash literature, given that we found women experience a penalty for being dominant that men do not (Phelan, Moss-Racusin, & Rudman, 2008; Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 1999). However, since this effect was not

mediated by approval as the backlash literature would suggest, we must be careful when speculating for what reason women experience this emotional penalty.

In summary, we did not find support for the expected mediation presented by the ACC model. That is, stereotype conformity did not shape approval or authenticity, and so countervailing processes involving these variables cannot explain the effects of conformity on affect.

Limitations, Additional Considerations, and Future Directions

A couple of limitations should be considered when assessing the content of the current results. First, it should be addressed that findings regarding authenticity vary depending on methodology. When Fleeson and Wilt (2010) assessed authenticity using an experience sampling methodology, they found overwhelmingly more support for the state-content significance hypothesis (they asked participants to rate their agreement with questions such as "I was my true self during the last 20 minutes"). However, when they assessed authenticity using a retrospective methodology, they found greater support for the trait-consistency hypothesis (they asked participants to think about when they expressed their true self the most, and to consider what behaviors best described their true self during that time). Participants tended to rate desirable behaviors as most authentic when asked in the moment, but when asked retrospectively, participants felt socially undesirable behaviors were authentic to their true selves as long as they thought those behaviors were objectively descriptive of them. Thus, the timing of when people are asked about their authenticity seems to matter. In the case of the present research, participants were asked to complete their electronic momentary assessment in regards to their most

recent or current social interaction. Considering Fleeson and Wilt's (2010) varying results, it may be the case that participants who completed the surveys in the middle of their social interactions considered desirable, prescriptive behaviors to be more authentic, while those who completed the surveys after the fact may have more objectively identified proscriptive behaviors to be authentic as well.

Further, the moderator for Path B (i.e., how desirable others found their enacted behaviors to be) was measured by asking participants during the baseline session to rate to what extent they believed UMD students generally found it desirable for each gender to possess those qualities. Given that this is a person-level variable rather than a variable that varies across situations, it limits our ability to capture the likely dynamic nature of opinions of enacted behaviors across different interaction partners. For example, participants may have interacted with University of Maryland students who have opinions regarding gender stereotypes that strongly deviate from the general student body, which could not be captured with our methodology. Additionally, we did not measure participants' sexual orientation, so we could not assess if sexual orientation moderated the paths of the ACC model. This may be important given that sexual orientation can impact people's judgments of the individual (Niedlich, Steffens, Krause, Settke, & Ebert, 2015; Pedulla, 2014). Gay males are viewed as less masculine and more feminine than straight males, and lesbians are viewed as more masculine and less feminine than straight females (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009). Therefore, it may be the case that female prescriptions are considered more desirable for gay men than straight men, and male prescriptions are considered more desirable for lesbian women than straight women, so the

intersectionality between sexual orientation and gender may have different implications for gay and lesbian people's feelings of approval and authenticity than we found in the current research. Additionally, this study took place in a suburb of a very liberal American city, and the participants were largely American, middle-class, college-educated students. Therefore, the findings of the current research should not be overgeneralized, and in fact might be very different in a sample with a more conservative culture where gender stereotypes are more tightly maintained.

Another important consideration is that men and women may have systematically different interpretations of what it means to engage in a particular behavior. One possibility, as supported by the shifting standards model (Bienat & Manis, 1994; Biernat, Manis, & Nelson, 1991), is that people adjust their mental representations differentially for men and women because global stereotypes shape the range of behaviors we expect for a particular group. For example, Biernat and her colleagues (1991) found that participants objectively reported that men make more money than women, but rated women higher than men on a scale that ranged from "financially unsuccessful" to "financially successful." This is likely because the threshold for a woman to be considered successful is lower than it is for men. Therefore, it may be the case that when people engage in counterstereotypical behavior, they may overestimate their subjective ratings of enacting that behavior compared to someone of the opposite gender. That is, a man may rate himself as being more sensitive in a particular moment than a woman might, even if they are being equally sensitive, because of lower expectations for men to be sensitive compared to women. However, there is the alternative possibility that people who

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highly identify with their gender are especially biased to see themselves as upholding their own gender's stereotypes, as the self-stereotyping literature suggests (Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997). Therefore, it may be the case that a woman is especially motivated to see herself as being kind due to societal standards for women to be compassionate, and so she may overestimate her kindness in a self-report. Thus, it is important to consider that men and women in our study may have biased their self-reports of gender typical behavior enactment, though different psychological theories suggest that they may have either underestimated or overestimated their enactment to be consistent with their own gender's stereotypes.

Lastly, given that we did not find support that the effect of stereotypical behavior on social approval and felt authenticity was moderated by gender, it is necessary to consider that the most recent generation feels less limited by behaviors specific to their own gender than generations of the past. This is likely in spite of their evident awareness of what is considered to be stereotypically desirable for each gender (which we determined in Study 1). For example, even in an agentic context (e.g., gym class), ninth graders of both genders endorsed presenting themselves as both highly feminine and masculine in order to create a favorable impression (Clément-Guillotin et al., 2013). In fact, it is optimal for well-being to have a balance of agency and communion (Helgeson, 1994). Further, women's femininity has decreased significantly between 1993 and 2012, which suggests that college students may be stepping away from endorsing only their own gender's stereotypes (Donnelly & Twenge, 2016). Thus, it would be worth exploring a different conformity domain

in future research in order to examine the mediating effects of social approval and authenticity on affect.

With regards to future research, we found some interesting effects in our ancillary analyses that, if probed further, could help us to better understand conformity to gender stereotypes. For example, we found support for an interaction between relationship closeness and enacting male proscriptions on feelings of authenticity. That is, when enacting male proscriptions (e.g., being weak, naïve, shy, child-like, and insecure), participants experienced a greater hit to their felt authenticity when they were not close, rather than very close, to their interaction partner. Similarly, we also found that the effect of enacting male proscriptions on perceptions of social approval was moderated by relationship closeness, such that participants experienced a stronger hit to their social approval when they enacted male proscriptions around people with whom they were not close rather than people with whom they were very close. Given that friendships progress from a superficial to an increasingly intimate nature over time, and behavioral intimacy in friendship is positively related to the intensity of the friendship (Hays, 1985), it makes sense that people would feel more approval and feel more authentic for expressing vulnerabilities to close, rather than distant, others. Indeed, people who care for their friends, compared to those who do not, evaluate their friends more positively and are more willing to disclose vulnerabilities, largely because they believe their friends reciprocate their care for them (Lemay & Clark, 2008). Further, people are more helpful to someone who is sad when they expect a communal, rather than an exchange, relationship with that person (Clark, Ouellette, Powell, & Milberg, 1987).

In light of the present findings, future research might seek to better understand how close relationships act as a buffer to hits to one's authenticity and social approval when disclosing vulnerabilities.

Furthermore, future research is necessary to make sense of our unexpected findings regarding authenticity. We have suggested in this paper that enacting prescriptions positively predicted feelings of authenticity, regardless of participant gender, because of the experience and content of the behavior rather than the participants' consistency with their underlying values and principles (Fleeson & Wilt, 2010). Thus, it should be more closely examined exactly how the content and consequences of prescriptive and proscriptive behaviors uniquely contribute to felt authenticity. That is, does prescriptive behavior elicit positive affect which promotes authenticity, and proscriptive behavior elicits negative affect which promotes inauthenticity?

Another important consideration is if the dynamic nature of authenticity is due to people's flexibility across contexts. For instance, a person who is generally warm and kind might be especially warm around close friends, and conversely cold around strangers. Thus, that person's felt authenticity regarding warmth and kindness is likely highly variable depending on the attributions made regarding his/her goals, values, and sense of self within the context of a particular situation. Harvey and his colleagues (2006) argue that authenticity requires an objective and balanced attributional style that is neither internally nor externally biased. Therefore, future research should examine how attributional styles, or lack thereof, impact felt authenticity. Similarly, in order to truly understand authenticity, it may be necessary

to first examine how inauthenticity varies by context, and how this variability prevents people from feeling inauthentic even if they are behaving inconsistently with their general sense of self. Given the overwhelmingly large number of personal benefits associated with authentic living (Goldman & Kernis, 2002; Kifer, Heller, Perunovic, & Galinsky, 2013; McGregor & Little, 1998; Wood, Linley, Maltby, Baliousis, & Joseph, 2008), it would be prudent to explore by what mechanisms our behavior contributes to felt authenticity during our everyday social interactions.

Conclusion

The present research predicted that conforming to gender stereotypes would have affective benefits (i.e., conformity would enhance feelings of social approval which would predict greater positive affect), as well as affective consequences (i.e., conformity would reduce feelings of authenticity which would predict more negative affect). Instead, we largely found that there were not many affective consequences of conforming to gender stereotypes. Rather, we found that regardless of gender, enacting desirable, prescriptive behaviors had affective benefits, and enacting undesirable, proscriptive behaviors, elicited affective consequences.

Figures
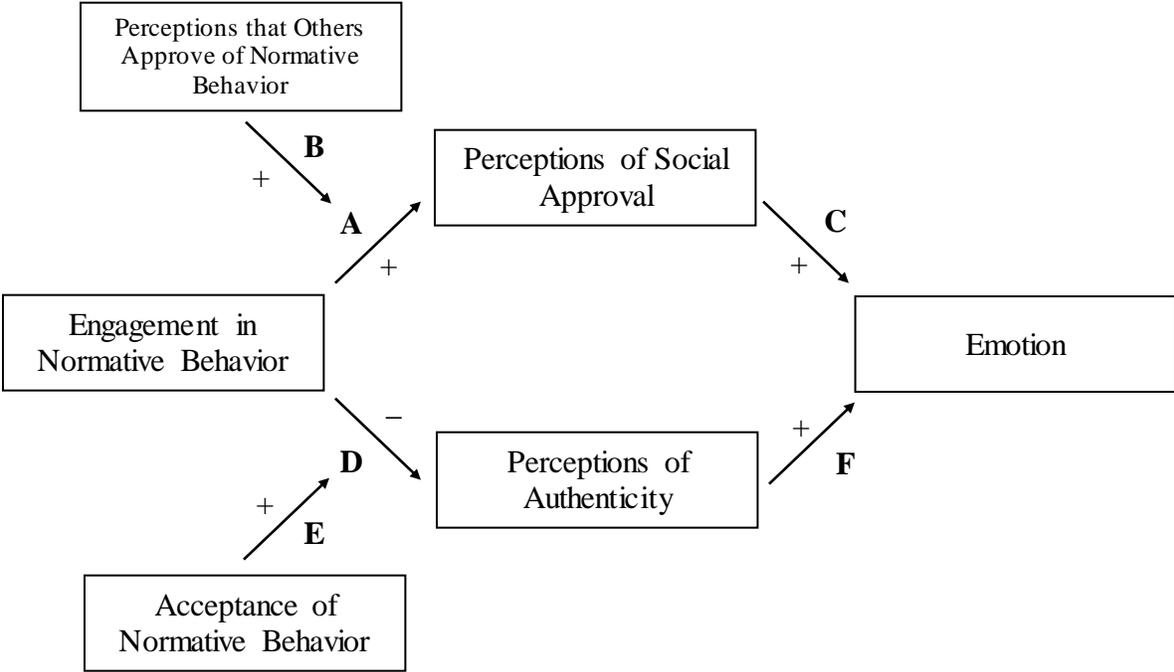
Figure 1. Model of the affective consequences of conformity.

Tables

Table 1
Male and Female Prescriptions and Proscriptions from Prentice & Carranza (2002)

Prescriptions		Proscriptions	
Male	Female	Male	Female
Business Sense	Friendly	Emotional	Intimidating
Athletic	Cheerful	Approval Seeking	Cynical
Leadership Ability	Attentive to Appearances	Impressionable	Domineering
Self-Reliant	Warm & Kind	Yielding	Stubborn
Dependable	Approachable	Superstitious	Self-Righteous
Ambitious	Compassionate	Child-Like	Arrogant
High Self-Esteem	Sensitive	Shy	Ruthless
Assertive	Agreeable	Moody	Insensitive
Decisive	Playful	Melodramatic	Rebellious
Strong Personality	Patient	Naïve	Controlling
Disciplined	Expressive of Emotions	Gullible	Promiscuous
Rational	Loyal	Weak	
Competitive	Clean	Insecure	
Willing to Take Risks	Polite		
Consistent	Cooperative		
Aggressive	Wholesome		
Intense	Spiritual		
Forceful	Flirtatious		
	Excitable		

Table 2
Coefficient Values for Affective Consequences of Conformity Model

	Model 1 (without gender interaction)			Model 2 (with gender interaction)		
	b	*t*	*p*	*b*	*t*	*p*
A: Social Approval						
male prescriptions	.05	2.97	.004	.14	1.75	.08
male prescriptions x gender	—	—	—	-.05	-1.13	.26
female prescriptions	.33	19.75	.000	.32	4.24	.000
female prescriptions x gender	—	—	—	.003	.09	.93
male proscriptions	-.20	-6.73	.000	-.17	-1.32	.19
male proscriptions x gender	—	—	—	-.01	-.189	.85
female proscriptions	-.20	-7.36	.000	-.05	-.502	.62
female proscriptions x gender	—	—	—	-.08	-1.37	.17

Table 2 (*Continued*)
Coefficient Values for Affective Consequences of Conformity Model

	Model 1 (without gender interaction)			Model 2 (with gender interaction)		
	b	*t*	*p*	*b*	*t*	*p*
B: Social Approval x Others						
Find Behaviors Desirable						
male prescriptions	.34	2.27	.03	1.63	2.13	.03
male prescriptions x gender	—	—	—	-.71	-1.75	.08
male prescriptions x desirable	-.04	-1.94	.05	-.22	-1.97	.05
male prescriptions x gender x desirability	—	—	—	.10	1.65	.10
female prescriptions	.33	2.39	.02	.77	1.24	.22
female prescriptions x gender	—	—	—	-.27	-.791	.43
female prescriptions x desirable	-.0002	-.012	.99	-.06	-.734	.46
female prescriptions x gender x desirability	—	—	—	.04	.814	.42
male proscriptions	-.28	-2.57	.01	-.47	-.909	.37
male proscriptions x gender	—	—	—	.11	.386	.70
male proscriptions x desirable	.02	.797	.43	.08	.583	.56
male proscriptions x gender x desirability	—	—	—	-.03	-.428	.67
female proscriptions	-.18	-1.97	.05	.13	.305	.76
female proscriptions x gender	—	—	—	-.16	-.718	.47
female proscriptions x desirable	-.006	-.247	.81	-.05	-.468	.64
female proscriptions x gender x desirability	—	—	—	.02	.363	.72

Table 2 (*Continued*)
Coefficient Values for Affective Consequences of Conformity Model

	Model 1 (without gender interaction)			Model 2 (with gender interaction)		
	b	*t*	*p*	*b*	*t*	*p*
C and F: Positive Affect						
male prescriptions	.15	11.41	.000	.16	2.57	.01
male prescriptions x gender	—	—	—	-.004	-.121	.90
female prescriptions	.29	21.11	.000	.26	4.09	.000
female prescriptions x gender	—	—	—	.02	.572	.57
male proscriptions	-.06	-3.23	.002	-.02	-.271	.79
male proscriptions x gender	—	—	—	-.02	-.443	.66
female proscriptions	-.03	-1.81	.08	.05	.719	.48
female proscriptions x gender	—	—	—	-.05	-1.20	.23
C and F: Negative Affect						
male prescriptions	-.008	-.838	.40	.01	.259	.80
male prescriptions x gender	—	—	—	-.01	-.428	.67
female prescriptions	-.09	-9.13	.000	-.01	-.241	.81
female prescriptions x gender	—	—	—	-.05	-1.88	.06
male proscriptions	.24	11.96	.000	.20	2.24	.03
male proscriptions x gender	—	—	—	.02	.472	.64
female proscriptions	.14	9.29	.000	-.05	-.786	.43
female proscriptions x gender	—	—	—	.11	3.21	.002

Table 2 (*Continued*)
Coefficient Values for Affective Consequences of Conformity Model

	Model 1 (without gender interaction)			Model 2 (with gender interaction)		
	b	t	p	b	t	p
D: Authenticity						
male prescriptions	.07	3.60	.000	.15	1.60	.11
male prescriptions x gender	—	—	—	-.04	-.850	.40
female prescriptions	.33	13.46	.000	.30	2.75	.007
female prescriptions x gender	—	—	—	.01	.244	.81
male proscriptions	-.31	-6.97	.000	-.24	-1.25	.21
male proscriptions x gender	—	—	—	-.04	-.337	.74
female proscriptions	-.13	-3.83	.000	-.13	-.899	.37
female proscriptions x gender	—	—	—	-.003	-.036	.97

Table 2 (*Continued*)
Coefficient Values for Affective Consequences of Conformity Model

	Model 1 (without gender interaction)			Model 2 (with gender interaction)		
	b	*t*	*p*	*b*	*t*	*p*
E: Authenticity x Personally Find Behaviors Desirable						
male prescriptions	-.24	-1.36	.18	-.09	-.105	.92
male prescriptions x gender	—	—	—	-.10	-.226	.82
male prescriptions x desire	.04	1.78	.08	.03	.307	.76
male prescriptions x gender x desire	—	—	—	.006	.106	.92
female prescriptions	.38	1.74	.08	-.87	-.946	.35
female prescriptions x gender	—	—	—	.72	1.41	.16
female prescriptions x desire	-.007	-.234	.82	.16	1.27	.21
female prescriptions x gender x desire	—	—	—	-.09	-1.38	.17
male proscriptions	-.64	-4.82	.000	-1.48	-2.60	.01
male proscriptions x gender	—	—	—	.48	1.53	.13
male proscriptions x desire	.11	2.68	.008	.41	2.29	.02
male proscriptions x gender x desire	—	—	—	-.17	-1.69	.09
female proscriptions	-.16	-1.54	.13	.03	.084	.93
female proscriptions x gender	—	—	—	-.12	-.535	.60
female proscriptions x desire	.008	.274	.79	-.05	-.465	.64
female proscriptions x gender x desire	—	—	—	.03	.574	.57

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[1] We additionally examined positive and negative affect as separate outcomes. Counter to our hypothesis, enacting female proscriptions did not significantly predict reduced positive affect, $b = -.03, t = -1.81, p = .08$. However, after holding all else constant, feelings of positive affect were predicted by enacting male prescriptions, $b = .15, t = 11.41, p < .001$, and female prescriptions, $b = .29, t = 21.11, p < .001$, and they were negatively predicted by enacting male proscriptions, $b = -.06, t = -3.23, p < .01$. Additionally, as predicted, we found that feelings of negative affect were reduced by enacting female prescriptions, $b = -.09, t = -9.13, p < .001$, and they were increased by enacting male proscriptions, $b = .24, t = 11.96, p < .001$, and female proscriptions, $b = .14, t = 9.29, p < .001$. However, counter to predictions, holding all

else constant, engagement in male prescriptions did not significantly predict reduced negative affect, $b = -.01$, $t = -.84$, $p = .40$.

[2] We additionally examined if gender moderates the effect of engagement in gender stereotypes on positive and negative affect. We did not find that gender moderated the effect of male prescriptions, $b = -.004$, $t = -.12$, $p = .90$, female prescriptions, $b = .02$, $t = .57$, $p = .57$, male proscriptions, $b = -.02$, $t = -.44$, $p = .66$, or female proscriptions on positive affect, $b = -.05$, $b = -1.20$, $p = .23$. Furthermore, we did not find that gender moderated the effect of male prescriptions, $b = -.01$, $t = -.43$, $p = .67$, female prescriptions, $b = -.05$, $t = -1.88$, $p = .06$, or male proscriptions, $b = .02$, $t = .47$, $p = .64$, on negative affect. However, we did find that gender moderated the effect of enacting female proscriptions on negative affect, $b = .11$, $t = 3.21$, $p < .01$, such that there is a stronger effect of enacting female proscriptions on negative affect for females, $b = .17$, $t = 9.95$, $p < .001$, than there is for males, $b = .06$, $t = 2.08$, $p < .05$.

[3] We also assessed these independent effects of authenticity and approval on affect, this time including the interaction between gender and authenticity, and gender and approval as additional predictors in the model for exploratory purposes. After holding all else constant, we did not find that there was an interaction effect of authenticity and gender, $b = .04$, $t = 1.14$, $p = .25$, nor social approval and gender, $b = .02$, $t = .42$, $p = .68$, on affect.