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MITIGATING NEGATIVE PERCEPTIONS DUE TO GENDER NORM VIOLATION THROUGH ADHERENCE TO ANOTHER PREVALENT GENDER NORM

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MITIGATING NEGATIVE PERCEPTIONS DUE TO GENDER NORM VIOLATION
THROUGH ADHERENCE TO ANOTHER PREVALENT GENDER NORM

by

Kelsey M. Drea

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate School,
the College of Education and Human Sciences
and the School of Psychology
at The University of Southern Mississippi
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts

Approved by:

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ABSTRACT

There is an increasing trend of women retaining their own last names in some capacity following marriage (keeping or hyphenating one's last name), which has often been met with various forms of resistance, most often demonstrated by negative attitudes toward such individuals. Given the multiple gendered social norms associated with marriage and relationships, this thesis tested the extent to which combinations of adherence and violation of two pervasive gender norms mitigate or exacerbate negative perceptions of social targets. Participants read through 4 vignettes, of either male or female targets, manipulated by gendered naming norms (retaining versus changing last name) and desire for children (wanting versus not wanting children) and completed questionnaires (Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, Right-Wing Authoritarian Scale) about targets' perceived marital success. My hypotheses were not supported in that adhering to the norm of desiring children was not a protective factor when an individual violated gendered naming conventions. Surprisingly, the findings suggest that individuals feel more negatively against women who violate the surname name and adhere to the child norm than a woman who violates both norms. These findings add an unexpected contribution to the existing literature on surname violations and provide basis for expanding on the current research to find how Right-Wing Authoritarianism plays a role in individuals having mixed negative reactions to different gender norm violations.

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CHAPTER I MITIGATING NEGATIVE PERCEPTIONS DUE TO GENDER NORM VIOLATION THROUGH ADHERENCE TO ANOTHER PREVALENT GENDER NORM

In many cultures, the tradition of women adopting their husband's surname is long-standing. This behavior became an established custom with English women around the 11th and 12th centuries (Embleton and King, 1984). In the United States, this practice was inherited from English common law, wherein a wife's legal identity was considered tied to that of her husband's. Despite the pervasiveness of such customs in naming conventions in Western cultures, recent social movements intended to foster greater parity between the sexes have led many women to defy this tradition and legally keep their own surname following marriage (MacClintock, 2010). In fact, a recent survey found that 20% of women in the United States are now retaining their own surname in some form (Google Consumer Surveys, 2012). As with any shift in a cultural norm, there has been pushback from society for those women violating these naming conventions. Individuals who violate gender norms are viewed more negatively than those who adhere to them (e.g., Koenig, 2018), with recent evidence suggesting similar evaluations emerging for women who retain their surnames as poor relationship partners (Drea, Brown, & Sacco, under review; Robnett, Underwood, Nelson, & Anderson, 2016).

Another historically important norm for women, in addition to men, is desiring children after marriage, a convention oft considered expected of couples. Much like with violating naming conventions, women who decide not to have children are indeed evaluated unfavorably (Bays, 2017). Although a woman keeping her surname is a violation of a gender norm, she may be able to mitigate negative perceptions from others

by adhering to another historically important norm of desiring children after marriage, given the seeming moral imperative to have children (Ashburn-Nardo, 2017). The current study seeks to identify how negative perceptions of women (and to a lesser extent men) fueled by violation of one gender norm (e.g., surname conventions) could be influenced by adhering to another important norm (e.g., desiring children after marriage) and whether the intersection of norm violation/adherence exists.

1.1 Historical Consideration of Gender Norms

Much of the present research on gender attitudes has been fueled by the General Social Survey, in which individuals were asked to share their thoughts on the concept of separate spheres (i.e., private versus public spheres) based on gender. Specifically, this research revealed strong societal views of women as caretakers in the home (private sphere) and men as breadwinners (public sphere; e.g., Bielby & Bielby, 1984; Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004; Mason & Lu, 1988; Rice & Coates, 1995; Thornton & Camburn, 1979). In the last 50 years, a shift towards equality between the genders has occurred, both in the workplace and in the home. After the Second Wave Feminist Movement in the 1970's, women entered the workforce rapidly, with more than 70% of women between the ages of 18 and 64 being currently in the work force (Solis and Hall, 2009) and only 22 percent of married couples being singularly supported by a male breadwinner (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009).

Two major steps towards gender equality were women beginning to take an active role in the workplace and gender being considered a federally protected category of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. (Civil Rights Act, 1964). Taken together, the overt exhibition of prejudicial attitudes toward women, both within and outside of the workplace, has

become increasingly unacceptable. As such expressions have become unacceptable, people may nonetheless express sexist attitudes in more subtle ways, expressions typically regarded as *modern sexism* (Swim & Cohen, 1997). For example, a sample of pain clinicians and medical students assessing the severity of symptoms of male and female patients perceived the latter as exaggerating their symptoms more than the former, which reduced their likelihood of recommending the prescription of pain medication (Schäfer, Prkachin, Kaseweter, & de C Williams, 2016). That is, although participants did not overtly express antipathy toward female patients, the perception of such patients possessing negative traits serves as a proxy of sexist attitudes. Examining how perceptions of individuals are influenced by gender norm violations, such as gendered naming conventions, may thus be a particularly effective way to assess outright sexist attitudes (e.g., Drea et al. under review).

1.1.1 Perceptions of Gender Norm Violation and Adherence

In the formation of stereotypes about specific categories of people, gender stereotypes focus specifically on generalizations about men and women and what constitutes the classification of an individual as one or the other. Gender stereotypes are comprised of two different properties, both descriptive and prescriptive (Burgess & Borgida, 1999; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 2001). Descriptive gender stereotypes focus on what women and men *are* like, whereas prescriptive gender stereotypes focus on what both men and women *should* be like. There is much overlap between descriptive and prescriptive norms, which exist through various forms of reinforcement that have been given cultural meaning through observations of men and women in their everyday lives (Arthur, Bigler, Liben, Gelman, & Ruble, 2008). Though men and women are

equally represented in the general population, they are not evenly distributed across specific social roles. For example, the majority of childrearing duties have historically fallen on women, a fact potentially rooted in women's considerably larger investment in reproduction compared to men (Trivers, 1972), which may consequently perpetuate individuals' perception of women primarily as the caregiver in modern times (Arthur et al., 2008). Indeed, women are typically more motivated to provide extensive childcare compared to men, a difference described as rooted in their communality (Buckels et al., 2015; Taylor et al., 2000). This difference in communality on a descriptive level could then inform subsequent perceptions of what is expected of women socially and therefore form prescriptive norms. From a social role theoretical perspective (Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000), individuals attend to this difference in the fulfillment of childcare social roles and subsequently develop a conception of these differences as a social expectation to which others of the given category should adhere.

The resultant stereotypes from these prescribed gender roles become those rooted in conceptions of agency and communion. Gender stereotypes for men typically center around agentic characteristics that convey high levels of competence (e.g., assertiveness, independence), which leads to expectations for men to behave as direct actors to acquire resources. Conversely, women's stereotypes center around communality that convey warmth (care, obedience), which potentially undermines individuals' perceptions of women as competent in domains unrelated to childcare (Barbuto & Gifford, 2010; Burgess & Borgida, 1999, Eagly 1987).

Violations of gender norms can have both positive and negative effects, particularly for women. Most germane to this conversation are the various consequences

of women retaining their surname following marriage. Such women are perceived to possess more agentic traits (e.g., achievement oriented, competence, ambition), so they are rewarded with being viewed as equally competent to men who also display agentic qualities (Glick, Zion & Nelson, 1988; Rudman, 1998) while also being seen as more intelligent than those who change their surname (Forbes, Adams-Curtis, White, & Hamm, 2002). These perceptions can lead to higher salaries for women and more opportunities for professional advancement, specifically in leadership roles (Brightman, 1994). Conversely, the incongruity with prescriptive gender stereotypes lead women possessing such agentic characteristics to incur various social costs. Evaluators respond to ostensibly agentic women more negatively than women behaving in a normatively communal manner, especially if others may perceive this behavior as interrupting these women's adherence to prescriptive gender norms (Brett & Shroh, 1997, Carli et al., 1995; Gaunt, 2013ab). Agentic women, while being seen as equally competent in the workplace, are also viewed as cold or unkind, which could impede social connections at work (Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 1999). Taken together, women seemingly have two choices to be successful in their careers: they can choose either to adapt communal behaviors and be well-liked by their colleagues but not respected, or they can adapt agentic behaviors and be respected but not well-liked by their colleagues. Given that agentic traits are often considered vital for obtaining career success and communal traits for familial success, keeping or changing one's last name may have a significant impact on the extent to which women are perceived as capable of familial success.

As gender norms mandate women adopt their partner's surname and men retain their own, adherence to those norms invites its own benefits and costs. Women who

adopt their partners' surname are perceived as more committed to their relationship (Robnett, Underwood, Nelson, & Anderson, 2016). Such a disposition would seem especially desirable to men in mate selection, as women's commitment would reduce concerns about infidelity, given the fact that they do not have absolute paternal certainty over their offspring (Brown & Sacco, 2019; Drea et al., under review; Platek & Shackelford, 2006). Conversely, surname-changing women are viewed as less capable of autonomy, which has been demonstrated to negatively impact their earning potential (Etaugh, Bridges, Cummings-Hill, & Cohen, 1999; Noack, & Wiik, 2010).

It is also the case that men who adopt their partners names are seen as relationally less competent (Drea et al., under review, Robnett, Wertheimer, & Tenenbaum, 2018). Negative perceptions of both men and women who violate gendered naming norms are driven by the perceiver's own hostile sexism. Thus, individuals higher in hostile sexism tend to view both men and women who violate gendered naming conventions negatively as compared to men and women that adhere to surname norms.

1.2 Living Child-Free as a Norm Violations

Beyond surname decisions, there are many other kinds of gender norms that can be adhered to or violated. It could be possible that both men and women protect themselves from negative evaluations for one gender norm violation (e.g., surname retention following marriage) if they strongly signal adherence to another important gender norm, such as expressing a strong desire to have children. Certain norms may be more strongly enforced for one gender or the other, creating a different pattern of reactions to gender norm violation for men and women. Men and women who violate gendered naming norms but adhere to the norm of desiring children after marriage should

be viewed more favorably than those who violate both. Desiring children is normative for both men and women, with the decision not to have children being heavily stigmatized among others (Mueller & Yoder, 1997). However, based on their historically greater investment in offspring during pregnancy (Trivers, 1972), women have more of an incentive to continue investing more parental care after birth as well, suggesting childrearing would be seen as having greater social import for women. For example, women who chose to remain childless were perceived as less fulfilled in their lives and less psychologically adjusted than men who also chose to remain childless and both men and women who desired parenthood (Ashburn-Nardo, 2017; Vinson, Mollen, & Smith, 2010). Both male and female targets who wanted to remain child-free also elicited greater moral outrage than those who wanted to have children.

This aversion toward the decision to remain childless could be seen as an expectancy violation for norms that elicits a backlash. Backlash theory (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004) explains the continuation of cultural norms arguing that individuals that violate social norms are subject to backlash from perceivers including social and economic sabotage. Perceivers justify this backlash as the targets are thought to have put themselves in a situation to receive said punishment. Given that not desiring children is frequently an intentional decision one makes, as well as a violation of a social norm, adhering to the norm of wanting children after marriage should boost positive perceptions of targets. This heightened favorability should even be apparent to those who violate gendered naming conventions, as the decision to have children has a stronger moral connotation (Ashburn-Nardo, 2017). This effect should further be particularly strong for women, as the stereotype of having and caring for children is stronger for women

(McQuillan, Greil, Shreffler, & Tichenor, 2008). Indeed, even involuntarily childless women (e.g., women who are infertile) are viewed more negatively than mothers (Ashburn-Nardo, 2016), reflecting just how strong the social expectation is that women bear children.

Motherhood, and desiring parenthood in general, embody communal traits. An individual who does not want children could potentially be viewed as not possessing the communal qualities deemed necessary for women to adhere to prescriptive gender norms and are therefore undermining their favorability by perceivers. Although plenty of research covers perceptions of women who keep their surname, and perceptions of said women to possess more agentic traits which could benefit them career-wise, little research has explored how individuals who violate gendered naming conventions can mitigate these negative perceptions that also come along with views of perceived agency. One way to boost a woman's perceived norm adherence is to show interest in having children. Motherhood is associated with nurturing, caring, loving behavior which also align with a communal category.

1.3 Sexist Attitudes as a Moderator

Despite a seeming ubiquity in negative evaluations toward individuals who violate gender norms, individual differences in the endorsement of sexist attitudes may nonetheless heighten these negative evaluations. Sexist attitudes are typically considered in two forms: hostile sexism (HS) and benevolent sexism (BS). Hostile sexism refers to traditional sexism in the sense that it involves antipathy toward woman because they are deemed the inferior sex. Hostile sexist beliefs tend to center around traditional gender roles and rooted in patriarchal beliefs where men are the more powerful sex (Glick &

Fiske, 1997). Therefore, any violation of a gender norm in which this ideology is challenged threatens the core values of the individual which is manifested through negative perceptions towards the individual violating the gender norm. Conversely, benevolent sexism is viewed as prosocial towards women because they are viewed as powerless and in need of being protected and supported (Glick and Fiske, 2001). Though benevolent sexism may appear seemingly positively at first glance, the premise of BS encapsulates the idea that women lack competence beyond child-rearing abilities, thus greatly limiting women's opportunities beyond the private sphere. Taken together, both types of sexism encourage adherence to existing gender norms.

Previous research consistently demonstrates that hostile sexism, but not benevolent sexism, is associated with greater negativity toward women (and men) who violate gendered surname norms (i.e., women who keep and men who change; Drea et al., under review; Forbes et al. 2002). Thus, I will continue to use the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory to measure levels of both hostile and benevolent sexism (Glick and Fiske, 1996). However, and as outlined in greater detail below, I will focus on participants' level of hostile sexism as a predictor variable because of its strong and consistent association with reactions to gender norm violations.

1.4 RWA as a Moderator

Negative perceptions of individuals who violate gender norms, specifically manifesting through perceived lack of success in their relationships, may also be driven by individuals who hold more conservative values through restricted sociosexuality. Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) is strongly correlated with a restrictive sociosexuality, or slow-life strategy (Peterson & Zurbriggen, 2010). Slow life strategies

favor high biparental investment, fewer sexual partners, and high commitment. Slow life strategies also align with more traditional values, especially when considering that of married couples. RWA's ties to keeping social traditions could be due to traditional family structure having been advantageous to facilitate group living ancestrally. Such group living could have largely been predicated upon individuals trying to foster stability in their environment that was subsequently internalized as traditions, including an interest in monogamy, given its potential to facilitate biparental investment. Given that RWAs are more interested in social traditions, particularly those related to parenting and relationships, it should follow that such individuals would perceive individuals not adhering to social traditions that would ostensibly facilitate biparental investment as less likely to be satisfied in their relationship.

Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) developed by Altemeyer (1981). RWA together with a related concept, social dominance orientation (SDO) are a strong predictor of various forms of prejudice, including sexism (Altemeyer, 1998; Whitley & Lee, 2000). RWA focuses mainly on obedience to in-group authority figures and thus predicts prejudices for out group members (Altemeyere, 1998; Henry, Sidanius, Levin, & Pratto, 2005). RWA may be useful at moderating for effects of protection by children decision norm vs. surname decision norm as RWA is more in line with keeping tradition and traditional values. Specifically, the RWA scale was found to correlate highly with scales focusing on ethnic and sexist prejudices (Zakrisson, I., 2005.) As my project centers around perceptions of individuals that violate gender norms, the RWA scale adds another moderator for not only sexist beliefs, but more importantly conventional beliefs, which may help to further understand what drives negative perceptions towards these

individuals. Thus, I predict that individuals with higher scores on the RWA scale will have heightened negativity towards individuals that violate either gender norm.

CHAPTER II – CURRENT STUDY

This thesis sought to further explore the association between hostile sexism and negative perceptions against men and women who violate gendered naming conventions. I specifically tested how HS predicts positive evaluations of individuals who maintain gender norms through surname decisions, as well as evaluations of individuals who maintain societal norms (i.e., couples who want to have children after marriage). Because this work is concerned with marital decision-making, I focused primarily on evaluations of whether individuals will experience positive relationship outcomes. Given that violation of gender norms through surname decisions is associated with negative perceptions (Robnett, R. D., Underwood, C. R., Nelson, P. A., & Anderson, K. J., 2016), men and women who violate an additional gender norm (e.g., not desiring children after marriage) were expected to be perceived especially negatively. I further expected the stereotype of desiring children would elicit an especially strong effect in female targets. Conversely, individuals adhering to both norms (i.e., gendered naming conventions and desiring children after marriage) will be perceived especially positively. Finally, the aforementioned effects are predicted to be stronger for individuals higher in hostile sexism as adherence to gender norms are especially important to these individuals

2.1 Hypotheses

Women who choose to retain their surname (gender norm violation) and choose not to have children (gender norm violation) will be perceived as least successful in their marriage (**H1**). Women who choose to retain their surname (gender norm violation) but desire to have children (gender norm adherence) will be perceived less negatively than women who adopt their partner's surname (gender norm adherence) but do not desire to

have children (gender norm violation) (**H2**). Though both women are adhering to one gender norm and violating the other, because the child-bearing norm is predicted to be more strongly endorsed than the surname retaining norm for women, violation of the latter should produce more negative perceptions than violation of the former when evaluating female targets. Conversely, women who maintain both gender and societal norms by changing their name and desiring children after marriage will be viewed as the most favorably due to their adherence to multiple gender norms (**H3**).

Men who choose to adopt their partner's surname (gender norm violation) and choose not to have children (gender norm violation) will be perceived as least successful in their marriage (**H4**). Men who choose to adopt their partner's surname (gender norm violation) but desire to have children (gender norm adherence) will be perceived more negatively than men who retain their surname (gender norm adherence) but do not desire to have children (gender norm violation) (**H5**). Though both men are adhering to one gender norm and violating the other, because the surname retention norm is predicted to be more strongly endorsed than the child-bearing norm for men, violation of the former should produce more negative perceptions than violation of the latter for male targets. Conversely, men who maintain both gender and societal norms by keeping their name and desiring children after marriage will be viewed as the most favorably due to their adherence to multiple gender norms (**H6**).

Consistent with previous work (Drea et al., under review), the predicted effects above should be stronger for those higher in hostile sexism (**H7**); consistent with this previous work, effects are not predicted to be qualified by participant sex. Further, given

their interest in the continuation of social traditions, the predicted effects should also be stronger for those who report greater endorsement of right-wing authoritarianism (**H8**).

CHAPTER III - METHOD

3.1 Participants

I recruited 250 participants through The University of Southern Mississippi's experiment participation system (SONA) in exchange for partial course credit. (41 men, 208 women 1 other, $M_{Age}= 20.92$, $SD=11.72$; 65.6% White). A small-medium effect-size power analysis using G*Power (Faul, Erdfelder, & Lang, 2007) indicated this number of participants would adequately detect effects (Cohen's $f = 0.15$, $1-\beta = 0.80$). The study was a single online session between 10-15 minutes and data were not analyzed until we attained 250 participants.

3.2 Materials

3.2.1 Surname Retention.

Participants read and evaluated eight different first-person vignettes in which the participant was described as overhearing either a male or female celebrating their recent engagement to their significant other with a group of same-sex friends while out to lunch. Importantly, the man or women indicate whether they plan to keep or change their surname as well as whether the couple wants or does not want children after marriage (*Figure B2*).

3.2.2 Questionnaire

Following each vignette, participants were asked to respond to a questionnaire assessing the perceptions of each individual's relational success on a 7-point Likert Scale (1=Strongly Disagree; 7=Strongly Agree; *Figure B3*; $\alpha > 0.92$).

3.2.3 *Ambivalent Sexism Scale.*

Consistently, participants high in hostile sexism have perceived the targets who violate gendered surname norms (i.e., women who keep and men who change) more negatively than those that followed traditional naming conventions (Drea et al., under revision). Participants indicated their endorsement with sexist statements using the 22-item Ambivalent Sexism Scale (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996; **Figure B4**). This measure contains two 11-item subscales addressing HS (e.g., “Women are too easily offended”, $\alpha=0.85$) and BS (e.g., “Many women have a quality of purity than few men possess”, $\alpha=0.72$) Items operate on 6-point Likert-type scales (0=*Disagree Strongly*; 5=*Agree Strongly*) with higher scores indicating greater endorsement of sexist attitudes (6 items required reverse-scoring). Levels of BS and HS were analyzed separately as they were not highly correlated enough to collapse across ($r=0.389$).

3.2.4 *Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale.*

As the Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale (RWA) is an attitudinal scale looking at the endorsement of social traditions, we intend to use the RWA scale similarly to that of the ASI in that higher scores on the RWA will perceive targets who violate gendered naming conventions will be viewed more negatively than those who adhere to traditional surname norms (Altemeyer, 1998.) We used the short version of the RWA scale for a more streamlined questionnaire. This scale consists of 15 items addressing individuals’ perspectives on traditional views (“The ‘old-fashioned ways’ and ‘old-fashioned values still show the best way to live”, $\alpha=0.82$). Items operated on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1=Very Negative; 7=Very Positive) with higher scores indicating greater endorsement of traditional values (7-items were reverse required reverse-scoring). RWA moderately

correlated BS ($r=0.563$) and HS ($r=0.528$); however, given that RWA is conceptually different in important ways from sexism, and given these moderate correlations, RWA, HS, and BS were analyzed separately.

3.3 Procedure

This study was approved by the USM IRB (protocol #: IRB-20-303; Appendix C). Participants were asked to read through and accept the terms of the study informed consent (Figure B1). Consenting participants were instructed first to read through each vignette individually (Figure B3), and complete a questionnaire following each vignette (Figure B4); vignettes were presented to participants in a randomized order. Participants specifically read the vignettes about male or female targets, which was a between-subjects variable. All participants were then instructed to complete the ASI (Figure B4) and RWA (Figure B5). Finally, participants provided demographic information (Figure B6) before reading the debriefing form (Figure B7).

CHAPTER IV – RESULTS

4.1 Primary Analyses

I submitted the data to a 2 (Target Sex: Male vs. Female) \times 2 (Surname Decision: Change vs. Keep) \times 2 (Parental Decision: Kids vs. No Kids) mixed-model custom ANCOVA with repeated factors over the latter two factors, using HS and BS as simultaneous covariates to test for interactive effects between continuous predictors and within-subjects' factors within the same omnibus analysis to deflate the likelihood of Type I Errors (Sacco & Brown, 2018). No main effects emerged in model thus we report them no further, ($F_s < 1.747$, $p_s > 0.187$.)

Effects were qualified by three superordinate interactions: one 3-way and two 2-way interactions. I initially decomposed the 2-way interactions. The first was a Parental Decision \times HS interaction, $F(1, 244) = 5.512$, $p = 0.020$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.22$. Decomposing the interactions, I individually correlated HS with targets' perceived relational success for individuals who desired kids versus those who did not after marriage while collapsing across the other target categories. A negative correlation emerged between HS and relational success, such that high-HS individuals perceived targets as less relationally successful when they did not desire kids after marriage, $r = -0.25$, $p < 0.001$. No association emerged for individuals who desired kids after marriage, $r = -0.12$, $p = 0.061$. Thus, individuals higher in HS are especially likely to view targets who do not desire children after marriage as less relationally successful, regardless of target sex.

Effects were additionally qualified by a Parental Decision \times BS interaction, $F(1, 244) = 3.932$, $p = 0.048$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.016$. I also individually correlated BS with targets' perceived relational success for those who desire kids versus those who did not. A negative

correlation emerged between BS and perceived relational success, such that high-BS individuals perceived those who did not want kids after marriage as less relationally successful, $r=-0.24$, $p<0.001$. No association emerged for individuals who desired children after marriage, $r=-0.11$, $p=0.088$. Taken together, both BS and HS demonstrated particularly strong relations to the norm related to wanting children following marriage, irrespective of target sex.

Effects were also qualified by a Target Sex \times Surname Decision \times HS interaction, $F(1, 244)=10.33$, $p<0.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.041$. I decomposed this interaction with two subordinate 2-way repeated ANCOVAS, separate for male and female targets using HS as a moderator. For male targets there was no interaction that emerged thus it will not be reported further, $F(1, 124)=1.156$, $p<0.211$, $\eta_p^2=0.012$. These findings were not consistent with our hypotheses in that individuals higher in HS did not have more negative perceptions of male targets who violated the surname norm over male targets who violated the norm of not wanting children after marriage (**H4-H6**).

Female targets elicited a Surname Decision \times HS interaction $F(1, 121)=13.322$, $p<0.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.099$. We individually correlated HS with targets perceived relational success for female targets who changed versus kept their surnames after marriage. In replicating previous research (Drea et al., under review), negative correlation emerged between HS and perceived relational success for perceptions of women who kept their surname after marriage, such that high-HS individuals perceived them as less relationally successful, $r=-0.32$, $p<0.001$. No association emerged for women who changed their last name after marriage, $r=-0.04$, $p=0.626$. Collectively, these findings did not support the hypotheses that reactions to the violations of the child norm would be stronger than

violations of the surname norm. **(H1-H3)**. However, given that higher levels of HS were associated with lower relational success ratings for female targets who violated the surname norm, this was consistent with hypotheses **(H7)** and previous research (Drea et al., in revision; graphical representation found in Graph 1).

4.2 Exploratory Analysis with RWA

I conducted a similarly dimensioned ANCOVA for perceptions as the primary analysis, albeit including RWA as an additional moderator for our exploratory analysis. I reported only the interactive effects with RWA in this analysis to reduce the Type I Error rate.

Effects were most super ordinally qualified by a Target Sex \times Surname Decision \times Parenting Decision \times RWA interaction, $F(1, 242)=9.121, p=0.003, \eta_p^2=0.036$. I decomposed this interaction by conducting two subordinate 3-way repeated custom ANCOVAs, separate for male and female targets using RWA as a moderator. Male targets showed no significant interaction, $F(1, 125)=2.085, p<0.151, \eta_p^2=0.016$. Effects for female targets were subordinately qualified by Surname Decision \times Parenting Decision \times RWA interaction, $F(1, 121)=9.419, p=0.003, \eta_p^2=0.072$. To decompose this interaction, I ran two separate subordinate 2-way ANCOVAs for female targets who decided to change and those who decided to keep their surname. For female targets who changed their surname after marriage, a Children Decision \times RWA interaction emerged, $F(1, 121)=4.917, p<0.001, \eta_p^2=0.082$. I individually correlated female targets based on surname decision and children decision. There were no significant correlations for female changers, neither those who wanted children ($r=0.104, p=0.250$), or who did not want children ($r=-0.170, p=0.061$).

Though individual correlation coefficients were not conventionally significant, the different direction of the correlations was driving the interaction, such that when female targets adhered to the surname norm (i.e., changed their last name to their male partner's), high RWA was associated with descriptively more positive perceptions of female targets who wanted children, and marginally lower perceptions of female targets who did not want children. Thus, high RWA participants were averse to female targets who adhered to the gender surname norm but violated the norm of wanting children. There were no significant interactions for females who kept their surname after marriage, $F(1, 121)=0.136, p<0.713, \eta_p^2=0.001$; graphical representation in Graph 2.

CHAPTER V – GENERAL DISCUSSION

Adhering to the norm of desiring children after marriage did not serve as a protective factor with individuals who violated the surname norm as predicted. However, individuals high in HS and BS perceived targets to be less relationally successful when the target violated the children decision norm by not desiring children after marriage regardless of target sex or surname decision. As both HS and BS both encourage adherence to existing gender norms, this is not surprising. Desiring children after a marriage is a norm for both men and women thus, adhering to this norm should be important for both genders. My prediction that this norm should be stronger for women was not supported, however my results create a contribution to existing literature on surname traditions, suggesting the adhering to the norm of changing one's surname after marriage is especially strong for females, even more so than that of desiring children after marriage. These results could provide a basis for future research to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the importance of surname traditions and their influence on perceived marital success.

Additionally, and consistent with previous findings, female targets that retained their surname after marriage were perceived as less successful in their relationships, these effects were especially strong in HS individuals (Drea et al, under review). These findings further evidence that adhering to gender norms appears to be conducive to perceived marital success. Specifically, adhering to gendered surname conventions is especially important for women in terms of perceived marital success. These negative perceptions could be due to the violation of surname conventions being viewed as being noncommittal in a relationship, thus implicating the woman as being more likely to

commit infidelity within a marriage (Drea et al., under review, Robnett et al., 2016, 2018). Further, at a descriptive level, the effects seems more strongly driven by low HS participants reporting more positive relationship perceptions (relative to average HS) rather than high HS participants reporting less positive relationship perceptions (relative to average HS). Thus, future research should determine to what extent reactions to gender norm violations are a consequence of driven by greater permissiveness of violations, greater resistance to violations, or some combination of both. To further investigate the weight surname norms, have in perceptions of marital success, future research could benefit from incorporating other important gender norms (e.g., stay at home mother vs. breadwinner father) which may lead to a better understanding of what combination of violation and adherence of norms may lead to successfully mitigating negative perceptions of surname norm violators.

Though I did not have any specific predictions regarding RWA with Surname Decisions or Children Decision interactions, an interesting and unexpected pattern emerged for female targets who changed their name following marriage, consistent with surname gender norms. Specifically, higher RWA was associated with descriptively more positive relational perceptions of female name changers who reported wanting children following marriage, but marginally less positive relational perceptions for female name changers who reported not wanting children following marriage. Thus, and consistent with hypotheses, greater RWA participants had the most positive relational perceptions when female targets adhered to both gender norms; however, relational perceptions of female targets who adhered to the gendered surname norm was undermined when those targets violated the child norm for participants higher in RWA.

Looking at the data more descriptively, the effect of RWA on perceptions of female targets seems driven by high RWA participants reporting greater relational positivity toward female name keepers who want children compared to those who do not (relative to average RWA and low RWA, which reported descriptively similar levels of relational positivity). This suggests individuals high in RWA are more susceptible to their perceptions of female targets being influenced when one or more norm violation is present, while individuals low in RWA are fairly consistent across all conditions.

These differing perceptions provide evidence that contribute to existing literature indicating women are more likely to receive backlash for not wanting or having children within a marriage, even when they adhere to another important gender norm associated with marriage (changing their surname). Interestingly, these effects were only present in women who adhered to the surname norm. No effects of RWA or adherence/violation of the child norm were found when female targets violated the surname norm. Given that a traditional view of gender suggests marriage should precede decision to have children, participants may have simply assumed that female targets who violate the gendered surname norm were gender non-conformists, and thus were unable to be swayed from this perception by additional information regarding the child norm.

5.1 Limitations and Future Directions

My attempt to mitigate negative perceptions of gender norm violators mainly remains an open question, as the results point toward adhering to one norm while violating another does not necessarily lessen the perceived lack of marital success. Moving forward, I am still interested in uncovering how one might be able to reap the benefits of violating while protecting themselves from the negative consequences that

come along with the violation. It could be that if one has a good “reason” to violate (e.g., keeping one’s name for professional reasons/having a professional career) they might be protected from experiencing the negative perceptions.

Although findings aligned with previous research in that women who kept their surnames were found to be perceived less successful in their relationships it still remains unclear if this is due to their perceived prioritizing in careers over family. This could be due to perceived autonomy in women, that could potentially explain why individuals higher in HS and RWA are more negative towards surname norm violating women. Further exploration into the heightened negativity of HS and RWA individuals might then uncover more effective ways to mitigate against negative perceptions of gender norm violators.

The current sample participants were college-age students ($M_{Age} = 20.92$), and thus quite young; indeed, the average age of marriage (28 for women, 30 for men; Payne, 2012) and age at first child (e.g., 26 for women, 31 for men; Matthews & Hamilton, 2002; Khandwala, Zhang, Lu, & Eisenberg, 2017) is much higher than the mean age for the current sample, suggesting that these results may differ in an older sample with more experience adhering to or violating these norms in the context of their own lives. Having a broader sample of participants may help improve our understanding on how the general population perceives gender norm violators which could lead to a broader understanding of sexist beliefs and their impact on perceptions of individuals that violate gender norms.

5.2 Conclusion

There are many kinds of gender norms individuals may choose to adhere to or violate within a marriage. Our data contribute to the growing evidence that individuals that violate of traditional gender norms may face negative social consequences, particularly violation of surname conventions and choosing not to have children. Though my results did not support my hypotheses that adhering to one gender norm might mitigate negative perceptions of violators, the results continue to provide evidence for perceived lack of success in marriage and help to understand the negative perceptions associated with high levels of hostile sexism, which might uncover ways to intervene such negative reactions.

APPENDIX A – Tables

Table A1.
Graph 1

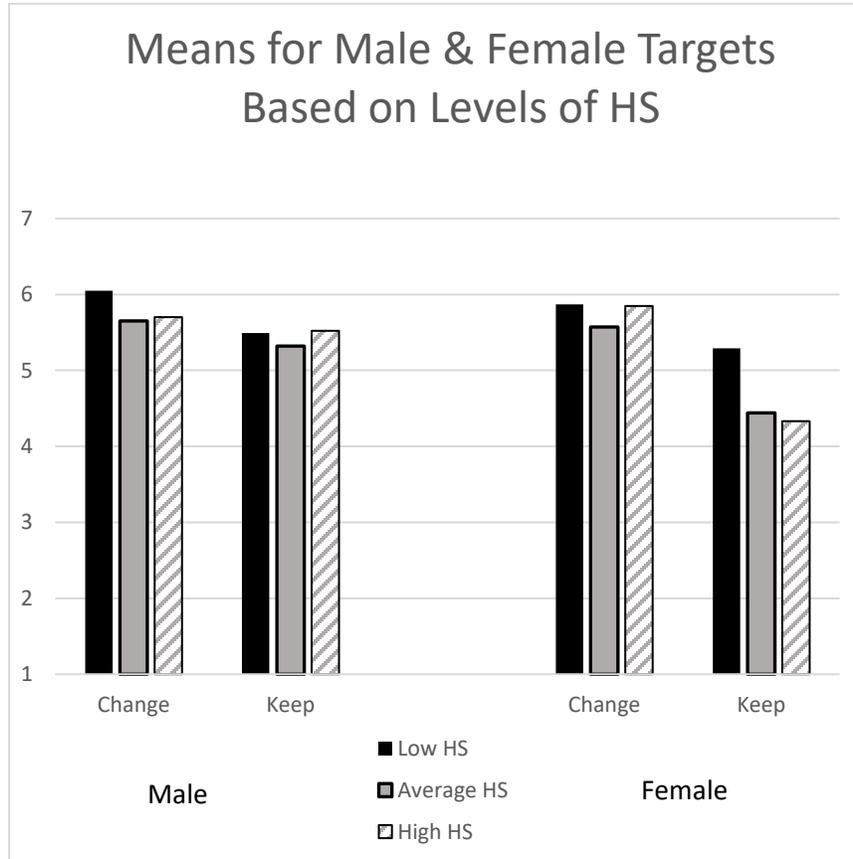
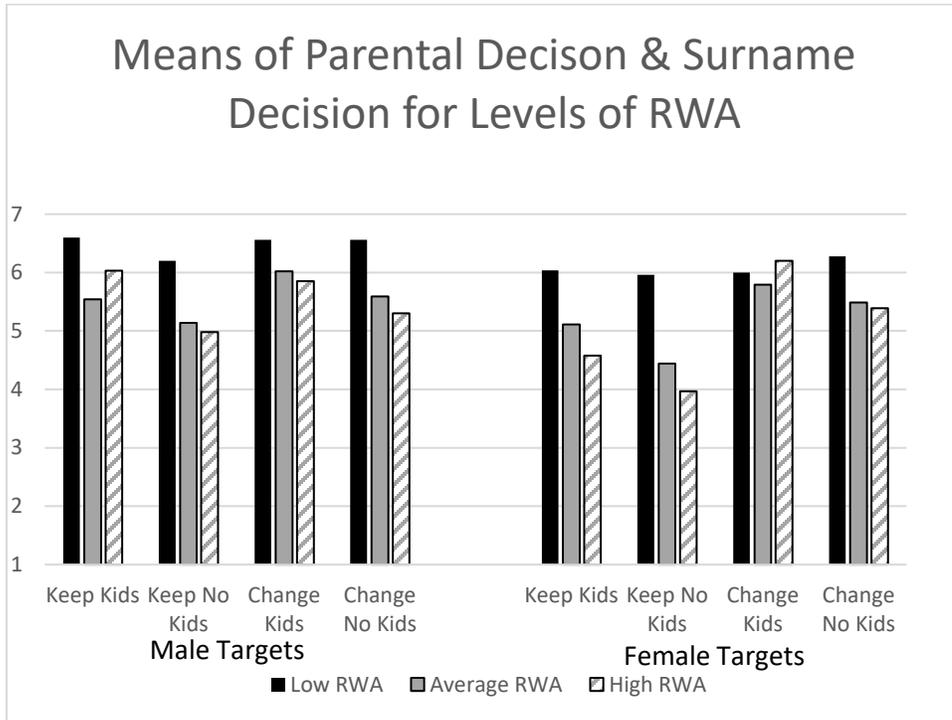


Table A2.

Graph 2



APPENDIX B – Figures (Materials)

Interpersonal Perception Consent Form

1. You are invited to take part in a research study conducted by Kelsey Drea in the School of Psychology. Any questions or concerns regarding this research may be directed to Kelsey Drea (kelsey.drea@usm.edu). This project and this consent form have been reviewed by the Institutional Review Board, which ensures that research projects involving human participants follow federal regulations. Any questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant should be directed to the Chair of the Institutional Review Board, The University of Southern Mississippi, Box 5125, Hattiesburg, MS 39406, (601) 266-5997.
2. This study is interested in how you evaluate another person based on a brief biographical sketch about them. You will read about four different people in a vignette where you hear what they have to say about a decision they made. This will lead to answering several questions about these people. Finally, you will complete some basic demographic information. Please complete this study using a full screen on a computer or laptop. Do not participate using a tablet or phone.
3. You are free to discontinue your participation in this study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits. You may also freely decline to answer any of the questions asked of you.
4. The responses that you provide today will be kept completely confidential. At no time will your name or any other identifying information be associated with any of the data that you generate today. It will never be possible to identify you personally in any report of this research. Within these restrictions, results of the study will be made available to you upon request.
5. The risks associated with participation in this study are not greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life, although you may feel mild emotional discomfort in various stages of the experiment. If you feel that you are distressed at any time while participating in this research, you should notify the researcher immediately. Your participation in this study does not guarantee any beneficial results. However, it will aid in your understanding of how psychological research is conducted as well as contribute to the general knowledge in the field.
6. You are free to discontinue your participation in this study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits. You may also freely decline to answer any of the questions asked of you.
7. By clicking "accept terms" below, you are indicating that you understand your participation is voluntary, that your responses will be kept confidential, and that you are at least 18 years of age.

Signatures: You must be at least 18 years of age to participate in this study. **By checking the "Accept Terms" box you will be providing an electronic signature certifying that you are at least 18 years of age, have read the above information, and agree to take part in the study. If you no longer wish to participate, please simply exit the survey.**

Figure B1. *Demographic Questionnaire*

No Kids

Change Men

Imagine you are having lunch with a friend at a restaurant in town. As you are waiting for your food, you overhear the conversation next to you. A group of 6 males are sitting in a large booth having lunch to celebrate one of the members recently asking his girlfriend to marry him. They discuss where the couple will be getting married, the potential dates of the wedding, and plans for the bachelor party. You can clearly hear their conversation as

one of the friends asks the recently engaged man if the couple would be taking her last name, or his. He quickly replies, informing them he will be taking her last name. The men continue to discuss wedding plans as the groom asks them all to be groomsmen in his wedding. The men all cheers to the newly engaged couple, finish eating their meal. Shortly after someone asks when the couple is going to start trying for their first child. The man said that he and his almost bride are not interested in having children.

Keep Men

Imagine you are having lunch with a friend at a restaurant in town. As you are waiting for your food, you overhear the conversation next to you. A group of 6 males are sitting in a large booth having lunch to celebrate one of the members recently asking his girlfriend to marry him. They discuss where the couple will be getting married, the potential dates of the wedding, and plans for the bachelor party. You can clearly hear their conversation as one of the friends asks the recently engaged man if the couple would be taking her last name, or his. He quickly replies, informing them he will be keeping his last name. The men continue to discuss wedding plans as the groom asks them all to be groomsmen in his wedding. The men all cheers to the newly engaged couple, and finish eating their meal. Shortly after someone asks when the couple is going to start trying for their first child. The man said that he and his almost bride are not interested in having children.

Woman Keep

Imagine you are having lunch with a friend at a restaurant in town. As you are waiting for your food, you overhear the conversation next to you. A group of 6 women are sitting in a large booth having lunch to celebrate one of the members recently getting engaged to her boyfriend. They discuss where the couple will be getting married, the potential dates of the wedding, and plans for the bachelorette party. You can clearly hear their conversation as one of the friends asks the recently engaged woman if the couple would be taking her last name, or his. She quickly replies that she will be keeping her last name. The women continue to discuss wedding plans as the bride asks them all to be bridesmaids in her wedding. The women all cheers to the newly engaged couple, and finish eating their meal. Shortly after someone asks when the couple is going to start trying for their first child. The woman said that she and her almost groom are not interested in having children.

Woman Change

Imagine you are having lunch with a friend at a restaurant in town. As you are waiting for your food, you overhear the conversation next to you. A group of 6 women are sitting in a large booth having lunch to celebrate one of the members recently getting engaged to her boyfriend. They discuss where the couple will be getting married, the potential dates of the wedding, and plans for the bachelorette party. You can clearly hear their conversation as one of the friends asks the recently engaged woman if the couple would be taking her last name, or his. She quickly replies that she will be taking her husband's

last name. The women continue to discuss wedding plans as the bride asks them all to be bridesmaids in her wedding. The women all cheers to the newly engaged couple, and finish eating their meal. Shortly after someone asks when the couple is going to start trying for their first child. The woman said that she and her almost groom are not interested in having children.

Kids

Change Men

Imagine you are having lunch with a friend at a restaurant in town. As you are waiting for your food, you overhear the conversation next to you. A group of 6 males are sitting in a large booth having lunch to celebrate one of the members recently asking his girlfriend to marry him. They discuss where the couple will be getting married, the potential dates of the wedding, and plans for the bachelor party. You can clearly hear their conversation as one of the friends asks the recently engaged man if the couple would be taking her last name, or his. He quickly replies, informing them he will be taking her last name. The men continue to discuss wedding plans as the groom asks them all to be groomsmen in his wedding. The men all cheers to the newly engaged couple, and finish eating their meal. Shortly after someone asks when the couple is going to start trying for their first child. The man said that he and his almost bride interested in having children shortly after marriage.

Keep Men

Imagine you are having lunch with a friend at a restaurant in town. As you are waiting for your food, you overhear the conversation next to you. A group of 6 males are sitting in a large booth having lunch to celebrate one of the members recently asking his girlfriend to marry him. They discuss where the couple will be getting married, the potential dates of the wedding, and plans for the bachelor party. You can clearly hear their conversation as one of the friends asks the recently engaged man if the couple would be taking her last name, or his. He quickly replies, informing them he will be keeping his last name. The men continue to discuss wedding plans as the groom asks them all to be groomsmen in his wedding. The men all cheers to the newly engaged couple, and finish eating their meal. Shortly after someone asks when the couple is going to start trying for their first child. The man said that he and his almost bride interested in having children shortly after marriage.

Woman Keep

Imagine you are having lunch with a friend at a restaurant in town. As you are waiting for your food, you overhear the conversation next to you. A group of 6 women are sitting in a large booth having lunch to celebrate one of the members recently getting engaged to her boyfriend. They discuss where the couple will be getting married, the potential dates of the wedding, and plans for the bachelorette party. You can clearly hear their conversation as one of the friends asks the recently engaged woman if the couple would

be taking her last name, or his. She quickly replies that she will be keeping her last name. The women continue to discuss wedding plans as the bride asks them all to be bridesmaids in her wedding. The women all cheer to the newly engaged couple, and finish eating their meal. Shortly after someone asks when the couple is going to start trying for their first child. The woman said that she and her almost groom interested in having children shortly after marriage.

Woman Change

Imagine you are having lunch with a friend at a restaurant in town. As you are waiting for your food, you overhear the conversation next to you. A group of 6 women are sitting in a large booth having lunch to celebrate one of the members recently getting engaged to her boyfriend. They discuss where the couple will be getting married, the potential dates of the wedding, and plans for the bachelorette party. You can clearly hear their conversation as one of the friends asks the recently engaged woman if the couple would be taking her last name, or his. She quickly replies that she will be taking her husband's last name. The women continue to discuss wedding plans as the bride asks them all to be bridesmaids in her wedding. The women all cheer to the newly engaged couple, and finish eating their meal. Shortly after someone asks when the couple is going to start trying for their first child. The woman said that she and her almost groom interested in having children shortly after marriage.

Figure B2. *Vignettes*

Surname Retention Questionnaire

7 (agree) – 1 (disagree)

This person seems likely to cheat on his/her partner.

This person seems likely to be satisfied in their marriage.

This person seems likely to be committed to their marriage.

This person seems likely to have married for money.

This person seems likely to be a good parent.

This person seems to have a strong sense of self.

This person seems to have respect for their partner.

This person seems to trust their partner.

This person seems mature.

This person seems family oriented.

This person seems intelligent.

This person seems to be well educated.
This person seems to have a well-established career.
This person seems like they would make a lot of money.
This person seems caring.

This person seems to take most of the household responsibilities. (ie; cleaning, cooking.)

This person seems career focused.
This person seems competent.

Figure B3. *Questionnaire*

Ambivalent Sexism Scale

Hostile Sexism

Women exaggerate problems at work
Women are too easily offended
Most women interpret innocent remark as sexist
When women lose fairly, they claim discrimination
Women seek special favors under guise of equality
Feminists not seeking more power than men*
Women seek power by gaining control over men
Few women tease men sexually*
Once a man commits, she puts him on a tight lease
Women fail to appreciate all men do for them

Benevolent Sexism

Protective Paternalism

A good woman should be set on a pedestal
Women should be cherished and protected by men
Men should sacrifice to provide for women
In a disaster, women need not to be rescued first*

Complementary Gender Differentiation

Women have a superior moral sensibility
Women have a quality of purity few men possess
Women have a more refined sense of culture, taste

Heterosexual Intimacy

Every man ought to have a woman he adores
Men are complete without women*
Despite accomplishment, men are incomplete without women
People are not often happy without heterosexual romance*

*indicates items reverse-worded (and reverse-scored)

Figure B4. *Ambivalent Sexism Scale*

RWA Scale

Items in the revised, short version of the RWA scale (counter-balanced items in italics).

1= Strongly Disagree, 7= Strongly Agree

1. Our country needs a powerful leader, in order to destroy the radical and immoral currents prevailing in society today.
2. *Our country needs free thinkers, who will have the courage to stand up against traditional ways, even if this upsets many people.*
3. The “old-fashioned ways” and “old-fashioned values” still show the best way to live.
4. *Our society would be better off if we showed tolerance and understanding for untraditional values and opinions.*
5. God’s laws about abortion, pornography and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late, violations must be punished.
6. *The society needs to show openness towards people thinking differently, rather than a strong leader, the world is not particularly evil or dangerous.*
7. It would be best if newspapers were censored so that people would not be able to get hold of destructive and disgusting material.
8. *Many good people challenge the state, criticize the church and ignore “the normal way of living”.*
9. Our forefathers ought to be honored more for the way they have built our society, at the same time we ought to put an end to those forces destroying it.
10. *People ought to put less attention to the Bible and religion, instead they ought to develop their own moral standards.*
11. There are many radical, immoral people trying to ruin things; the society ought to stop them.
12. *It is better to accept bad literature than to censor it.*
13. Facts show that we have to be harder against crime and sexual immorality, in order to uphold law and order.
14. *The situation in the society of today would be improved if troublemakers were treated with reason and humanity.*
15. If the society so wants, it is the duty of every true citizen to help eliminate the evil that poisons our country from within.

Figure B5. *Right Wing Authoritarianism*

Demographics

What is your sex?

Male

Female

Other

What is your age (in years)?

What is your ethnicity?

African-American/Black

Asian/Asian-American

Caucasian/White

Hispanic/Latino

Other

What is your sexual orientation?

Bisexual

Heterosexual

Homosexual

Other

What is your relationship status?

Single

In a relationship

Married

Divorced

If you are married, what surname decision did you make?

I kept my last name

I changed my last name

I hyphenated my last name

I am not married

Figure B6. *Demographics*

Debriefing

Thank you for participating in today's study. We hope you found your experience interesting and enjoyable.

In this study, we were interested in how a person's choice in retaining or changing their surname after marriage can influence social perceptions of that person. As well as whether or not they want children after marriage could change perceptions. Presenting the hypothetical conversations between friends was used to obtain a genuine response of how one perceives an individual who both changes their last name to that of their spouse, and those who retain their own surname after marriage. In this study, we thought that people would perceive the woman who kept her last name after marriage to be less

committed in her relationship (Robnett, Underwood, Nelson, & Anderson, 2016.) This leads us to believe that people would also have certain perceptions on other aspects of an individual's such as relationship, career, and parenting success.

For today's experiment, we ask that you not discuss what you did today with anyone. If someone asks about this experiment, simply say that this study was about surname retention. Thank you in advance for your cooperation.

If you have further questions, please contact the experimenter listed on your consent form (Kelsey Drea, kelsey.drea@usm.edu). Should you be interested in reading more research related to this work, you can get more information from:

Etaugh, C. E., Bridges, J. S., Cummings-Hill, M., & Cohen, J. (1999). "Names can never hurt me" effects of surname use on perceptions of married women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 23(4), 819-823.

Robnett, R. D., Underwood, C. R., Nelson, P. A., & Anderson, K. J. (2016). "She might be afraid of commitment": Perceptions of women who retain their surname after marriage.

Robnett, R. D., Wertheimer, M., & Tenenbaum, H. R. (2018). Does a Woman's Marital Surname Choice Influence Perceptions of Her Husband? An Analysis Focusing on Gender-Typed Traits and Relationship Sex Roles, 75 (9-10), 500- 513.

Figure B7. *Debriefing*

APPENDIX C –IRB Approval Letter

Office of Research Integrity



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NOTICE OF INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD ACTION

The project below has been reviewed by The University of Southern Mississippi Institutional Review Board in accordance with Federal Drug Administration regulations (21 CFR 26, 111), Department of Health and Human Services regulations (45 CFR Part 46), and University Policy to ensure:

- The risks to subjects are minimized and reasonable in relation to the anticipated benefits.
- The selection of subjects is equitable.
- Informed consent is adequate and appropriately documented.
- Where appropriate, the research plan makes adequate provisions for monitoring the data collected to ensure the safety of the subjects.
- Where appropriate, there are adequate provisions to protect the privacy of subjects and to maintain the confidentiality of all data.
- Appropriate additional safeguards have been included to protect vulnerable subjects.
- Any unanticipated, serious, or continuing problems encountered involving risks to subjects must be reported immediately. Problems should be reported to ORI via the Incident template on Cayuse IRB.
- The period of approval is twelve months. An application for renewal must be submitted for projects exceeding twelve months.
- Face-to-Face data collection may not commence until USM's IRB modifies the directive to halt non-essential (no direct benefit to participants) research.

PROTOCOL NUMBER: IRB-20-303

PROJECT TITLE: Mitigating Negative Perceptions Due to Gender Norm Violation Through Adherence to Another Prevalent Gender Norm

SCHOOL/PROGRAM: School of Psychology, Psychology

RESEARCHER(S): Kelsey Drea, Donald Sacco

IRB COMMITTEE ACTION: Approved

CATEGORY: Expedited

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

PERIOD OF APPROVAL: August 10, 2020

Michael Madson, Ph.D.
Institutional Review Board Associate Chairperson

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