



Traditional and Progressive Male Gender Roles and their association
with Private and Collective Self-Esteem

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Abstract

There is conflicting evidence whether endorsement of traditional male gender roles is positive. In line with self-verification theory it was expected that: (1) being categorized incongruent with one's self-concept (in particular the gender role one endorses) is harmful, but (2) that progressive men benefit from traditional gender roles i.e. in reaction to being classified incorrectly as traditional, progressive men will show less of a decrease in private self-esteem (PSE) and collective self-esteem (CSE) in comparison to traditional men being incorrectly classified as progressive. To test these hypotheses, a quasi-experimental 2 (self-classified male gender role: progressive versus traditional) x 2 (manipulated male gender role: progressive versus traditional) research design was used. 222 male students from Tilburg University were part of the study which made use of the hidden self-procedure. Supporting hypothesis 1, a two-way ANOVA revealed that receiving incongruent feedback about one's gender role behaviour leads to a significant decrease in CSE (not in PSE) but for the progressive participants only. In line with hypothesis 2, the interaction between self-reported gender roles and manipulated gender roles emerged, but in contrast to expectations the follow-up t-tests revealed that the progressive men who were misclassified as traditional scored lower on measures of CSE and PSE in comparison to the traditional who were misclassified as progressive. In conclusion, while self-verification was important, the content of the verification (progressive vs traditional) determines whether it is positive for the individual's CSE and PSE. The results suggest that, at least in this sample, progressive male gender roles are positively connotated for both traditional and progressive men, whereas traditional gender roles have a negative association for progressive men.

Keywords: gender roles, progressive masculinity, self-esteem, hidden self-procedure, self-verification theory

Introduction

Due to societal changes in recent years, increasingly more men, especially in Western countries like the Netherlands or Germany, identify as progressive and thus believe in more egalitarian values. However, it is unclear how this impacts their well-being. The critical role of traditional male gender roles on well-being of men is well known. Research generally suggests that endorsing traditional male gender roles is related to superior well-being (Connel & Wood, 2005; Connel & Messerschmidt, 2005; Bird, 1996). This line of research has typically focused on traditional masculinity, but little research has been done on progressive masculinity (Colton, Heesacker & Perrin, 2014). Therefore, this study aims to contribute in that it extends the existing literature on progressive masculinity. Traditional male gender roles may limit those that endorse them to gender appropriate behaviours and roles and may even lead to toxic masculinity (Galdas, Cheater, & Marshall, 2005; Granié, 2010; Courtenay, 2000). Therefore, it is not just important for counselor to know how male gender roles are changing and thus are changing society.

As it has been suggested that endorsing traditional gender roles is beneficial to a man's well-being, the question arises whether progressive men still profit from traditional gender roles. In this article I hypothesized that this might be the case since traditional gender roles may impact well-being through two different routes. First, through the fulfillment of the role (either progressive or traditional) an individual identifies with, which is connected to higher well-being. Secondly via the benefits of living up to societal expectations. These benefits may reflect themselves in greater level of respect and higher status in society. Thus, the present study adds to the literature by both taking into account what part of self-esteem is derived through one's identity next to the part that comes from society. To test this, an experiment with a bogus pipeline design (manipulating male gender roles) was conducted.

Male Gender Roles and Well-Being

In general, gender roles include behaviours, emotions and attitudes that are associated with a specific gender (Levesque, 2011). There are at least two key forms of male gender roles in society. First, traditional masculine gender roles which can be defined as being tough and adventurous, avoiding femininity and striving for success and status (Mahalik, 2003). Second, progressive male gender roles which is much more difficult to define due to the lack of research concerning that topic (Colton, Heesacker, & Perrin, 2014). Colton, Heesacker and Perrin (2014) have suggested that progressive masculinity puts more emphasis on egalitarian values, behaviours and beliefs, thus moving away from traditional gender roles that are restrictive and oppressive towards women. This working definition is used when speaking about progressive gender roles in the present paper.

Previous research has shown mixed results with respect to the endorsement of traditional gender roles for the well-being of men (Basshoff & Glass, 1982; Sanchez & Crocker, 2005). On one side, there is evidence suggesting that endorsement of traditional gender roles is harmful and results in lower well-being. The study of Sanchez and Crocker (2005) investigated whether the pressure to conform to gender ideals has a negative impact on well-being. Specifically, they looked at the mediating effect of external contingencies between investment in gender ideals and variables such as self-esteem. They showed that external contingencies of self-worth, so the question whether one bases his/her self-esteem on approval and validation of others, mediates the negative relationship between investment in gender ideals and well-being for men and for women. Further, self-esteem which was lower with higher investment in gender ideals, consequently led to the presence of depressive symptoms. One of their explanations for the results is that those who value gender ideals more may have limited themselves to gender-appropriate behaviour and roles and may suffer under a lack of autonomy.

In contrast to this, there is a second body of literature which suggests that men who endorse traditional gender roles express higher levels of well-being than those who do not.

Research suggests that men who invest in gender ideals have higher psychological well-being because the gender ideal is more culturally valued (Connel & Wood, 2005; Connel & Messerschmidt, 2005; Bird, 1996). Further, a meta-analysis of sex roles and mental health (Basshoff & Glass, 1982) has shown that the endorsement of masculine traits is strongly associated with better mental health. The authors connect this to society's valuation of individuals who are assertive, competent and independent (typically male traits). Further, it is suggested that individuals with these traits consequently value themselves more than those with more feminine less "valued" traits. This would suggest that progressive men, who more strongly identify with feminine traits, should have lower self-esteem than traditional men. Additionally, investment in gender ideals was associated with a positive effect on self-esteem of boys in a study by Egan and Perry (2001). The authors suggested that this was because the pressure to conform will lead boys to pursue socially valued male-typed competencies.

Taken together, the literature suggests that traditional men have higher levels of well-being than progressive men due to societal structures. Therefore, it is hypothesized that progressive men benefit from being classified as traditional. It can be expected that they show increased levels of well-being since traditional roles are associated with higher levels of status and respect.

The aforementioned study by Sanchez and Crocker (2005) proposes that external sources of self-esteem explain the link between endorsement of gender roles and well-being. The present study adds to this, as it investigates both the part of CSE that comes from society as well as the part that is derived from one's own identity. Additionally, the current study expands the literature because it specifies gender role content (traditional versus progressive) and how the content impacts whether one benefits from the investment in gender roles.

Self-Verification

For individuals it is important whether they can fulfil the gender roles they endorse. Literature on self-verification¹ shows that people strive for feedback that is consistent with their self-concept to maximize control and predictability. This has an intrapsychic as well as interpersonal component. Getting incongruent feedback with one's self-concept would imply the person does not know him/herself. Further, self-verification is important for the control and predictability of social relationships (Swann, 1992). Feedback inconsistent with the self-concept is avoided, and studies have shown that people with a negative self-concept prefer getting their negative image verified in comparison receiving positive feedback that is inconsistent with their self-concept (Swann, Wenzlaff, Krull, & Pelham, 1992). This implies that even if progressive male gender roles are not beneficial in society, verification of it may still be valuable to the person. Additionally, Wood, Christensen, Hebl and Rothgerber (1997) show that sex-typed norms can be part of the identity, thus indicating that individuals care for verification of their gender role. To sum up, individuals prefer receiving feedback that is in line with their self-concept including gender role identity. Therefore, it can be expected that individuals who receive incongruent feedback to their self-concept will show decreased levels of well-being.

Although individuals strive for congruent feedback even if it is negative, it is important to stress that individuals do not enjoy receiving unfavorable feedback even if it is in line with their self-concept. Research has shown that, to some degree, people prefer self-enhancing feedback (Taylor & Brown, 1988; Jones, 1973). Further, under cognitive load individuals with a negative self-concept do prefer interaction partners who judge them favorably (Swann et al., 1990). This suggests that progressive men who are misclassified as traditional will not react as negatively to being misclassified as traditional due to it being the

¹ The self is composed of different identities (McCall & Simmons, 1978; Stryker, 1980) and as a consequence self-verification implies verification of multiple identities. In this research, self-verification is focused on only one identity.

more valued male gender role. Thus, being told one is traditional may act as self-enhancing feedback.

In sum, although people prefer positive feedback, they strive for feedback consistent with their self-concept (Swann, Wenzlaff, Krull, & Pelham, 1992). Gender roles are a part of the self-concept and therefore the non-verification of that identity is likely to have a negative effect on the well-being of men (Wood, Christensen, Hebl & Rothgerber, 1997). In other words, the groups of men who are categorized incongruent with their self-classification can be expected to score lower on well-being compared to those men who were correctly categorized. Additionally, the content of self-verification matters. Traditional male gender roles are generally positively connotated. Therefore, it can be expected that receiving feedback that you are traditional even though you self-classified as progressive might not be perceived as negatively because the feedback may be self-enhancing, in comparison to receiving feedback of being progressive.

Private and Collective Self-Esteem

In this paper, well-being was investigated in terms of private and collective self-esteem. This was done for several reasons. Self-esteem is related to psychological well-being theoretically as well as empirically. It strongly influences the affective tone of individuals and is central to psychological well-being (Taylor & Brown, 1988). Prior research has shown that self-esteem is an influential variable for well-being. Higher self-esteem is associated with reports of more positive affect (Pelham & Swann, 1989), being happier with life (Myers & Diener, 1995), less hopelessness (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine & Broadnax, 1994; Tennen & Herzberger, 1987), and even fewer depressive symptoms (Sanchez & Crocker, 2005; Tennen & Herzberger, 1987). Altogether, self-esteem is said to be the single best predictor of psychological well-being (Diener, 1984).

This paper uses measures of both private and collective self-esteem. Private self-esteem (PSE) can be defined as feelings of self-respect and self-worth and is derived from

one's own competencies and personal attributes (Rosenberg, 1979). Even though general positive regard has been found to be important universally (Heine, Markus & Kitayama, 1999) the private self-esteem is especially important in Western cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Feelings of self-worth can also be derived from collective aspects of the self (Tajfel, 1981). In 1979, Tajfel and Turner proposed the "Social Identity Theory" which states that the groups (e.g. social class) someone belongs to are an important source of pride and self-esteem. According to the theory, the collective self is derived from an individual's knowledge of his/her membership in a social group. This is combined with the emotional significance and value he/she attaches to that membership and is an aspect of the individual's self-concept (Tajfel, 1981). These groups may include for example ethnicity or gender. So, the collective self-esteem (CSE) is about group characteristics, rather than personal characteristics. As research has shown that CSE is an independent predictor of self-esteem, especially for non-whites/ minority groups, it has been included next to a measure of private self-esteem (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994).

Thus, it is expected that both private and collective self-esteem, as a measure of well-being, will be influenced by verification of self-concept as well as the content of that feedback the reason being that self-esteem is so closely associated with well-being.

Study Overview

This study adds to the growing body of research concerning the impact of gender roles on well-being, focusing on the effect of self-verification and content of feedback (traditional vs progressive). The present research aims to shed light on the question of whether men with progressive values still profit from traditional male roles in terms of PSE and CSE. Further, this study contributes to the broader topic of whether men win big or lose big in society, by testing whether traditional men gain a "double benefit" from traditional roles: Traditional male roles may be positive due to simply being traditional i.e. approved by society and because they are associated with greater levels of status and higher respect.

To test this research question, a bogus pipeline design was used. Traditional and progressive men were either manipulated to feel progressive or traditional even though they might not actually be. This resulted in a 2 (self-classified male gender role: Progressive versus traditional) x 2 (manipulated male gender role: Progressive versus traditional) quasi-experimental design, in which men were (mis)classified as either traditional or progressive regardless of their self-classification. The group of interest predominantly concerns the group of men who self-classified as progressive but received feedback that they were traditional. It can be expected that this group shows less of a negative reaction, meaning higher private and collective self-esteem, in comparison to the group of traditional men being misclassified as progressive. On the basis of the previous research, two key hypotheses were tested: First, the groups of men being misclassified (e.g., those who self-report as traditional but are experimentally manipulated to be progressive, or vice versa) will score lower on private and collective self-esteem compared to the groups of men who are classified in line with their self-classification (H1). Second, traditional roles are positive for progressive men. In other words, the progressive group will not score as low in PSE and CSE, in reaction to being misclassified as traditional, compared to the traditional group being misclassified as progressive (H2).

Method

Participants and Design

The study is a quasi-experiment and designed as a 2 (self-classified gender role: Traditional vs progressive) x 2 (manipulated gender role: Traditional vs progressive) between-participants research design. The self-classification as either traditional or progressive being the natural factor of the study. In comparison, participants were randomly assigned to the manipulated gender roles factor.

Subjects of this study consisted of a sample of male students from Tilburg University. Initially, 292 students participated in this study. After excluding those who did not answer the

dependent variable or indicated being female, 222 participants were included in the data analysis. The data was collected via an online survey created using the website Qualtrics. The link to the aforementioned study was provided to the participants who could fill out the survey on their technical devices such as mobile phones or laptops. The study was conducted in English.

The majority (56.30%) of participants indicated being politically liberal and the average age was 23 ($M = 23.20$, $SD = 4.21$, range: 19-35 years). A part of the sample was recruited via online platforms such as What's App and Facebook (39.64%), whereas the other part was recruited on campus (60.36%). Due to the internationality of the campus the sample was quite diverse. Half of the participants were Dutch (51.08%), 15.58% were German and 27.71% chose "other" nationality. The participants were part of different faculties and were studying various subjects such as Psychology (21.65%), Economics (19.91%), and Law (15.51%).

Due to the minority of the sample identifying as traditional ($N = 64$), those who self-classified as neutral ($N = 38$) were integrated into the traditional group in the analysis. The rationale behind that was that the two groups did not differ significantly on a number of key scales, on six out of seven scales no significant difference was found (for full analysis see Appendix A). An exception was the CSE scale. Independent sample t-tests revealed that the traditional men differed significantly to those who self-classified as neutral on CSE ($t(99) = 2.62$, $p = .010$, $d = 0.01$), but the neutral men scored not significantly different than the progressive men ($t(167) = -0.26$, $p = .79$, $d = 0.01$). Therefore, a second set of analyses was conducted limited to comparing the self-classified traditional men ($N = 60$) with the self-classified progressive men ($N = 133$). Those who classified themselves as neutral were omitted from this set of analyses (for analysis excluding those who self-classified as neutral see Appendix B). Notably, results do not differ substantially.

Procedure

The study consisted of two sections. First, the hidden self-procedure. Second, participants were asked to complete a survey about different psychological constructs. The study is part of a bigger project investigating the relation between male gender roles and well-being, thus various psychological constructs were measured (for full questionnaire see Appendix C). This paper focuses specifically on measures of private and collective self-esteem.

In the first section of the study, all participants were asked to self-classify as either a more traditional or a more progressive man (7-point Likert scale; 1= traditional, 4= neutral, 7= progressive) in order to measure the experimental factor self-classified gender role. Definitions of traditional and progressive gender roles were given (see appendix D).

After the self-classification, participants completed the experimental manipulation which used a hidden self-procedure and works as follows (Spanos, Radtke, & Bertrand, 1984). The participants are given a test which asks them how often they perform a certain behaviour. Afterwards, the participants receive feedback on what kind of person they are. Half of the participants received statements that were phrased extremely such as “I always suppress my emotions to not seem vulnerable.” The other half of participants got statements phrased more moderately such as “I sometimes suppress my emotions to not seem vulnerable.” The extreme phrasing is used to make participants more likely to disagree and thus more likely to be feel progressive. The moderate phrasing has the function of making it easier to agree with the statements. Therefore, participants were made to think they are more traditional. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the two conditions. The traditional [progressive] conditions received the following feedback:

“You are more traditionally [progressively] oriented, in comparison to an average Tilburg University student. According to your answers, it seems like acting in line with traditional male roles is [not] part of your identity. As a more traditional [progressive] man it is generally [not] really important for you to act in line with typical male gender roles and to follow traditional pathways, emotions, and aspirations for work.”

Alongside the written feedback a graph was included that showed participants where they were placed on the progressiveness- traditionalism continuum (see appendix E). Finally, the participants were asked to complete a survey about different psychological constructs. A manipulation check was also included at the end of the study testing whether participants were able to recall if they were classified as progressive or traditional by the “Male Behaviour MAQ 1.4 Questionnaire”.

Questionnaire

All items were measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1= strongly disagree until 7= strongly agree).

Private self-esteem. The single-item self-esteem scale by Robins, Hendin and Trzesniewski (2001) was used to measure private self-esteem (see Appendix B). This single-item measure (“I have high self-esteem”) is an alternative to the Rosenberg self-esteem scale (1965) and shows strong convergence validity with the original scale as well as similar predictive validity (Robins, Hendin, & Trzesniewski, 2001).

Collective self-esteem. The collective self-esteem scale was adapted from Luhtanen and Crocker (1992). The original scale is a 16-item measure assessing self-esteem associated with one’s group. The focus is on four different types 1) membership esteem 2) private

collective self-esteem 3) public collective self-esteem and 4) importance to identity. For keeping the survey short only one item per type was picked, creating a four-item scale (see Appendix C; $\alpha = .78$).

Evaluation of traditional gender roles. The first item was “On the whole, traditional gender roles are harmful for men.”. The second item was “On a societal level, traditional gender roles show men in a positive light”.

Demographics. Included gender (male, female or other), age and political orientation (conservative – liberal). The last item was measured on a 7-point scale (1=conservative, 4=neutral, 7=liberal)

Results

Manipulation check

7.21% of the participants failed the manipulation check. They incorrectly recalled their classification by the “Male Behaviour MAQ 1.4 Questionnaire”. The initial analysis included those participants who failed the manipulation check (N=222) but due to difference in significance, all following results include only those participants that did not fail the manipulation check (N=206). For results including the participants that failed the manipulation see Appendix F.

Main analyses

The effect of classification. Analyses sought to answer the research question: Whether progressive men benefit from traditional gender roles. Hypothesis 1 was that the groups of men who were incorrectly, in other words incongruent with their self-classification, classified (N=97) score lower on CSE and PSE compared to the groups of men that were categorized in line with their self-classification (N=109). A two-way ANOVA was performed. The independent variables were classification (correct vs incorrect) and self-classified gender role (traditional vs progressive); the two dependent variables were CSE and

PSE. The assumption of independence of observations was met, and due to the sample size, the ANOVA was also robust against possible violations of the assumption of normal distribution (Pallant, 2011). Finally, the homogeneity of variances was tested with the Levene's test which showed that the assumption was met for both CSE ($F(3, 202) = 1.07$, $p = .363$) and PSE ($F(3, 202) = 0.59$, $p = .622$).

The analyses revealed that the main effect of self-classification was significant ($F(1, 202) = 9.78$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .046$). In line with H1, a main effect of (mis)classification was found though it was only marginally significant ($F(1, 202) = 3.37$, $p = .068$, $\eta_p^2 = .016$). Furthermore, this effect was qualified by an interaction ($F(1, 202) = 11.03$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .052$). This implies that the effect of (mis)classification differs for traditional and progressive men. As can be seen in Table 1 and Figure 1, contrary to expectations, the group of men that scored the highest on CSE was those who self-classified as traditional but were misclassified as progressive ($M = 5.37$, $SD = 0.81$). Second highest on CSE were the correctly classified progressive men ($M = 5.19$, $SD = 0.94$). The correctly classified traditionals scored slightly lower on CSE ($M = 5.16$, $SD = 0.99$). Unexpectedly, the group of men that scored the lowest on CSE was the self-classified progressive men that were misclassified as traditional ($M = 4.47$, $SD = 1.14$). In summary, it was found that the effect of (mis)classification was not constant across participants. Contrary to expectations, the traditional men were not affected by (mis)classification, whereas it was negative for the progressive men to be misclassified.

Table 1. Means and standard deviations on collective self-esteem

	Manipulated Gender Role: Traditional	Manipulated Gender Role: Progressive
Self-classified Gender Role: Traditional	5.16 (0.99)	5.37 (0.81)
Self-classified Gender Role: Progressive	4.47 (1.14)	5.19 (0.94)

To further probe this unexpected interaction effect, and gain more insight into H1, an unplanned independent sample t-test was conducted. First, the correctly (N= 61) versus the misclassified progressive men (N=57) were compared. The t-test showed that the former ($M= 5.37$, $SD=0.94$) scored significantly higher on CSE than the latter ($M= 4.47$, $SD= 1.14$, $t(116) = 3.76$, $p < .001$, $d= 0.86$). In other words, the self-classified progressive men who were incorrectly classified as traditional scored lower on CSE in comparison to those who were correctly classified as progressive. In comparison, the analyses revealed that there was no significant difference between the self-classified traditional men who were correctly classified (N= 48, $M= 5.16$, $SD=0.99$) versus those who were incorrectly classified as progressive (N=40, $M= 5.37$, $SD=0.81$, $t(86) = -1.604$, $p= .292$, $d= 0.23$). Thus, the effect of (mis)classification seems to depend on the self-classified gender role; only the self-classified progressive group was affected by misclassification.

In disagreement with H1, the effect of (mis)classification was not significant ($F(1, 202) = 1.23$, $p= .268$, $\eta p^2 = .006$). Further, the main effect of self-classification was significant ($F(1, 202) = 15.13$, $p= .014$, $\eta p^2 = .030$). Contrary to expectations, the two-way ANOVA showed that there was no significant interaction effect of self-classification and (mis)classification on PSE ($F(1, 202) = 0.32$, $p= .573$, $\eta p^2 = .002$). As can be seen in Table 2, the group of men that scored the highest on PSE were the correctly classified traditionals ($M=5.15$, $SD=1.43$). Against expectations, the group that scored second highest on PSE were the self-classified traditional men that were misclassified as progressive ($M=5.02$, $SD=1.52$). The self-classified progressives that were correctly classified scored slightly lower ($M=4.72$, $SD=1.63$). The group that scored lowest on PSE was the group of self-classified progressive men that were misclassified as traditional ($M=4.35$, $SD=1.61$).

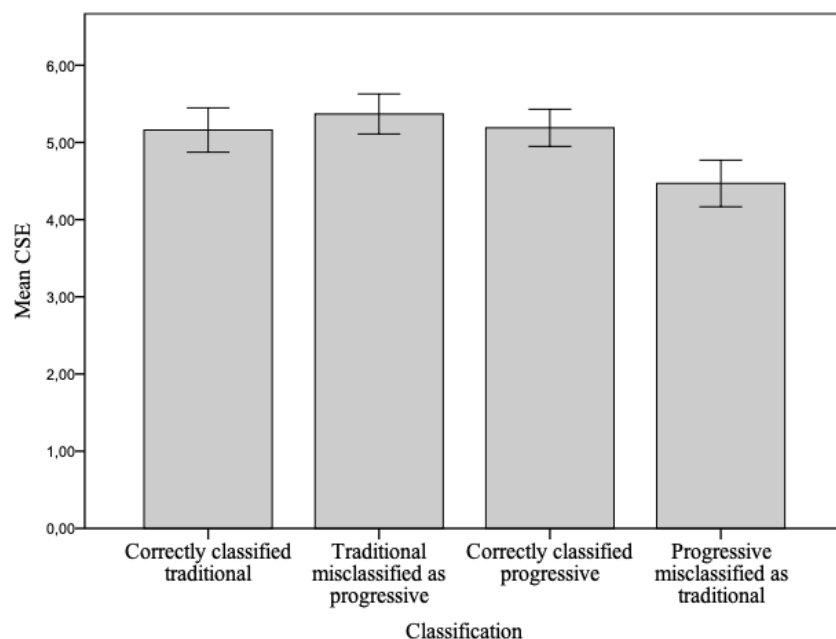
Table 2. Means and standard deviations on private self-esteem

	Manipulated Gender Role: Traditional	Manipulated Gender Role: Progressive
Self-classified Gender Role: Traditional	5.15 (1.43)	5.02 (1.52)
Self-classified Gender Role: Progressive	4.35 (1.61)	4.72 (1.63)

Additionally, unplanned independent sample t-tests were conducted and revealed that there is no significant difference between the progressive men who were correctly classified ($M = 4.72$, $SD = 1.63$) versus those that were incorrectly classified ($M = 4.35$, $SD = 1.61$, $t(116) = 1.24$, $p = .214$, $d = 0.23$) on PSE. Another unplanned independent sample t-test, showed that there was also no significant differences in PSE for the traditional men who were correctly classified ($M = 5.15$, $SD = 1.43$) versus incorrectly classified ($M = 5.03$, $SD = 1.56$, $t(86) = 0.83$, $p = .706$, $d = 0.08$).

Therefore, the data only supported hypothesis 1 for CSE and only for those who classified themselves as progressive men. Thus, the effect of misclassification is dependent on self-classified male gender role. As can be seen in Figure 1, contrary to expectations it was the progressive men that scored lower on CSE in reaction to being misclassified as traditional. Counter to expectations, there was no effect of (mis)classification on PSE nor on CSE for those participants who self-classified as traditional.

Figure 1. Mean collective self-esteem score per group



The interaction effect of self-classification and manipulation. Hypothesis 2 was that an interaction effect between self-classified gender roles and manipulated gender roles will emerge. It was hypothesized that self-classified traditional men would react more negatively to being misclassified as progressive compared to the group of men that self-classified as progressive and were wrongly classified as traditional. The aforementioned two-way ANOVA tested exactly that. Although in line with hypothesis 2, an interaction effect between self-classified gender roles and manipulated gender roles emerged ($F(1, 202) = 11.03, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .052$), it was not in the expected direction. Contrary to hypothesis 2, the traditional men did not score lower on CSE in reaction to being misclassified as progressive (seen Table 1). The traditional men were unaffected by (mis)classification. Unexpectedly, only the progressive men had a decrease in CSE in reaction to being misclassified as traditional.

To investigate H2 further, a planned independent sample t-test was conducted that compared scores of progressive men that were misclassified as traditional and the self-

classified traditional men that were misclassified as progressive on CSE. Against expectations, the t-test showed that the traditional men who were misclassified as traditional scored significantly higher on CSE ($M= 5.37$, $SD=0.81$) compared to the progressive men who were misclassified as traditional ($M= 4.47$, $SD= 1.14$), $t(95) = 4.29$, $p < .001$, $d= 0.82$. Contrary to expectations of H2, the misclassified progressive men scored lower on CSE than the misclassified traditional men. Thus, it was more negative for the progressive men to be misclassified as traditional, than it was for the traditional men to be misclassified as progressive.

The two-way ANOVA also revealed that H2 was not supported for PSE. No significant interaction between self-classified gender roles and manipulated gender roles emerged for PSE ($F(1, 202) = 0.32$, $p= .573$, $\eta p^2 = .002$). Although there was no interaction effect, a planned follow-up t-test revealed that against expectations, the traditional men being misclassified as progressive ($M= 5.03$, $SD= 1.56$) scored higher on private self-esteem than the progressives being misclassified as traditional ($M= 4.35$, $SD= 1.61$), $t(95) = 2.06$, $p= .042$, $d= 0.37$). This can also be seen in Table 2.

Exploratory Analysis

For further understanding of the results some exploratory analyses were conducted. These analyses aimed to investigate what other factors might influence the association between male gender roles and CSE and PSE. An independent sample t-test revealed that there was no difference in ratings on the “positivity of traditional gender roles” item between self-classified traditional ($M= 4.43$, $SD= 1.57$) and progressive men ($M=4.21$, $SD= 1.61$), ($t(204)= .983$, $p=.327$, $d= 1.39$). In contrast, traditional men ($M= 3.35$, $SD=1.67$) were significantly less likely to endorse the “harmfulness of traditional gender roles”-item compared to progressive men ($M=4.34$, $SD= 1.62$), $t(202) = -4.26$, $p= .000$, $d= 0.67$.

Since research has shown that identification also impacts how categorization is perceived (Van Rijskijk & Ellemers, 1998), the identification was integrated as a covariate in

the two-way ANOVA with the dependent variable CSE. The results showed a significant positive effect of identification as a man on CSE ($B = .209$, $SE = .063$, $F(1, 196) = 10.89$, $p = .001$, $\eta p^2 = .053$). Those participants that reported to identify stronger as a man showed higher levels of CSE. Interestingly, even though the effect was small, higher endorsement of the item “positivity of traditional gender roles” was positively related to higher CSE ($B = .102$, $SE = .042$, $F(1, 196) = 5.12$, $p = .018$, $\eta p^2 = .028$). Thus, the more one believes that traditional gender roles show men in a positive light the higher the CSE, even while controlling for identification. In comparison, “harmfulness of traditional gender roles”-item did not show a significant effect on score on CSE ($B = -.034$, $SE = .042$, $F(1, 196) = 0.63$, $p = .428$, $\eta p^2 = .003$). Political orientation also showed no significant influence on CSE ($B = -.140$, $SE = .096$, $F(1, 196) = 2.13$, $p = .146$, $\eta p^2 = .011$).

Only one item showed to have a significant effect on PSE in the exploratory analysis – the identification-item. Higher endorsement of the item influenced PSE positively ($B = .214$, $SE = .58$, $F(1, 196) = 4.24$, $p = .041$, $\eta p^2 = .021$). In other words, the more one identified as a man the higher the levels of PSE. Effects of the aforementioned items (“positivity of traditional gender roles”, “harmfulness of traditional gender roles”) on the valence of gender roles were not significant (positivity of traditional gender roles: $B = .052$, $SE = .070$, $F(1, 196) = 0.56$, $p = .455$, $\eta p^2 = .003$; harmfulness of traditional gender roles: $B = -.003$, $SE = .070$, $F(1, 196) = .002$, $p = .966$, $\eta p^2 = .000$). Additionally, political orientation was non-significant ($B = -.062$, $SE = .158$, $F(1, 196) = .154$, $p = .695$, $\eta p^2 = .001$).

In conclusion, self-classified traditional and progressive men evaluate the potential harmfulness of traditional gender roles differently. The progressive men were more likely to see potential harm in traditional male gender roles. Further, it seems that especially the identification item seems to be a variable of interest when interpreting findings and appears to

influence both scores on CSE and PSE. Other variables, such as political orientation, do not seem to affect CSE or PSE.

Discussion

The goal of the study was to determine whether progressive men benefit from traditional gender roles in terms of well-being, specifically private and collective self-esteem. On the basis of prior research, two hypotheses were formulated. First, it was hypothesized that being misclassified as either progressive or traditional even though you self-classified as the other leads to lower PSE and CSE than when you are classified in line with your self-classification. This hypothesis was only supported for CSE and the effect was dependent on the self-classified gender role. In contrast to traditional men, progressive men that were misclassified as traditional scored lower on CSE compared to progressive men that were correctly classified.

The second hypothesis was that progressive men will benefit from traditional gender roles, meaning that they will score higher on CSE and PSE when being misclassified as traditional compared to traditional men being wrongly classified as progressive. The main effects for self-classified gender roles and manipulated gender roles were both significant for CSE but only the former emerged for PSE. Although in line with hypothesis 2, these effects were qualified by an interaction between self-classified and manipulated gender role, the effect was in the direction contrary to expectations. Follow up-tests revealed that against expectations only the progressive men showed a decrease in CSE and PSE in response to wrong feedback about their gender role. Additionally, the self-classified traditional men did not show a negative reaction to being “bogusly” categorized as progressive. Thus, overall results suggest that progressive men do not benefit from traditional gender roles, they are actually harmed by them whereas traditional men are neither harmed nor benefit from progressive male gender roles.

Theoretical Implications

The effect of misclassification. The results of the present study contribute to existing literature about the importance of verifying someone's self-concept. Specifically, the findings demonstrate that receiving feedback that is incongruent to one's gender role identity can lead to a decrease in one's CSE. This is in line with previous research emphasizing that individuals strive for feedback consistent with their self-concept (Swann, 1983), and that identity verification leads to increased self-esteem (Cast, & Burke, 2002). Thus, it is important for one to be seen by others in the same way as one sees him/herself.

In contrast to CSE, PSE did not seem to be substantively affected by misclassification. It can be speculated that this is due to the more proximate connection of collective self-esteem and gender roles. CSE is about group characteristics, specifically characteristics of the male gender group, not personal characteristics and about your relationship with the group and being a good representative of it (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). As such, questioning the group membership limits the positive affect you can derive from it and you may feel inauthentic if it appears that your behaviour is inconsistent. In comparison, the threatened group membership does not directly impact how you regard yourself and therefore your PSE is not impaired. In addition, contingencies of self-worth develop over time and it may be that students do not base their private self-esteem on gender roles but rather on factors such as grades, relationships etc. Research has shown that factors such as personality (Big Five), sense of mastery, risk-taking and health predict development of private self-esteem (Erol & Orth, 2011). In contrast, CSE is about seeing yourself worthy of the group, how good one's group is, how good you think others evaluate your group, and how important the group is to you (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). In line with this rationale, Christensen, Hebl and Rothgerber (1997) found that only one fourth of the sample of college students evaluated sex-roles as important for their self-guides which could further explain the dissociation between male gender role feedback and CSE.

In conclusion, incongruent feedback regarding gender role group membership does impact CSE because it is more closely connected to gender roles and is directly linked to one's group membership. PSE is derived from different factors and is therefore less impacted by one's gender role group membership or threat to such.

The interaction effect of self-classified and manipulated gender roles. Being wrongly categorized as traditional lead to a decrease in CSE and PSE for progressive men. In comparison, being misclassified as progressive did not lead to a similar decrease for traditional men. This unexpected direction of effects may have arisen due to several reasons. Even though individuals strive for feedback consistent with their self-concept, they also appreciate getting self-enhancing feedback (Swann, 1983). The difference in reaction to being “wrongly” told you are traditional versus progressive suggests that in the context under study, traditional gender roles were less positively connotated compared to progressive gender roles. As a consequence, reaction to feedback implying you are a more traditional man even though you see yourself as progressive is received negatively.

In the following, three different explanations regarding the unexpected positive connotation of progressive gender roles are offered. All three explanations for the result are associated with the specific context of the study. First, the Netherlands scores quite low on masculinity on the Hofstede dimensions when comparing it to other countries such as United Kingdom or Italy (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). This could imply that the gender role norms of the Dutch society are not in line with traditional male roles. Therefore, (feeling like) not living up to a progressive male gender norm can be harmful (Higgins, 1987). Second, this study was conducted on campus of a Dutch university which could lead to a quite liberal sample. It can be speculated that for students the identification with student group membership is even more important than the Dutch citizenship and therefore the student group membership is more relevant for one's self-concept. Even though Zipp and Fenwick (2006) did not find the overwhelming number of faculties to be liberal, generally,

young people are more liberal thus adding to the effect of the Netherlands being a relatively liberal country (Parker, Graf, & Igielnik, 2019). Third, changing societal norms as a consequence of the recent #metoo movement, which is a movement against sexual harassment and assault, may explain the results further (Lee, 2018). This movement has increased awareness of discrimination of women and may have shifted the public picture of traditional male gender roles into a more negative light, as they are associated with less egalitarian values and more with criticized behaviour such as discrimination based on gender as well as sexual harassment (Russell & Trigg, 2004; De Judicibus & McCabe, 2001). Toxic masculinity is also becoming a more well-known term (especially for students) which could further have influenced the negative impact of being wrongly classified as traditional. This line of reasoning is supported by the exploratory analysis that revealed that even though both self-classified traditional and progressive men think that traditional gender roles are seen in a positive light in society, the progressive were more likely to rate traditional gender roles as more harmful. Together, these three factors create the specific context that may explain the unexpected results that progressives were harmed by traditional gender roles.

In conclusion, next to the self-verification itself the content of the feedback seems to influence the reaction to it. The findings of this study imply that due to the context of the study traditional male gender roles are seen more negatively than progressive male gender roles, at least in the current sample. Consequently, traditional male gender roles decrease CSE and PSE of men that do not categorize themselves as such. In other words, the progressive men do not benefit from traditional gender roles.

The exploratory analysis also revealed that stronger identification as a man was related to both CSE and PSE scores positively. CSE is the self-esteem derived by group membership and thus, if one does not identify as a man strongly, he also will not gain much self-esteem from his belonging to the group. The lower scores on CSE and PSE of low identifiers are also connected to the identity threat literature, in particular categorization threat which arises from

being categorized against one's will (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 1999). The participants that did not identify with the male group strongly were unwillingly categorized as a male (either traditional or progressive) and as a consequence their well-being declined. This is in line with research that has shown that it is especially harmful for low identifiers to be unwillingly categorized (Van Rijskijk & Ellemers, 1998).

Practical Implications

The findings of the current study imply that male gender roles are changing, and that traditional gender roles are seen as more harmful, at least by a Dutch student population. These changes may be connected to recent social movements such as #metoo and other societal changes challenging the traditional male gender role. This line of reasoning is supported by research that has shown that social movements can successfully influence attitudes even on an implicit level (Sawyer & Gampa, 2018).

As conforming to (more traditional) male gender norms is associated for example with more injury-risk-behaviours and less help-seeking and generally more unhealthy behaviours, newly emerging (more progressive) norms may broaden the behavioral and cognitive horizon of boys and men decreasing the possible negative consequences of endorsing traditional gender roles (Galdas, Cheater, & Marshall, 2005; Granié, 2010; Courtenay, 2000). Male gender roles do not just impact the men themselves but drinking excessively or being violent or angry due to repressed feelings and refusing to seek help may also negatively impact families and communities (Galdas, Cheater, & Marshall, 2005). Further, since the results suggest that traditional men are not negatively impacted by progressive male gender roles, it can be speculated that an increasingly progressive world may not cause problems for traditional men.

Finally, Sendén, Klysing, Lindqvist and Bäck (2019) have found that changing social roles of women have also influenced the perceptions of male stereotypes. Specifically, as women were seen as more agentic due to increased participation in the labor market, men

where perceived as less agentic. The current research suggests that male gender roles are changing, taking into consideration the findings of Sendén, Klysing, Lindqvist and Bäck (2019) it may be speculated that female gender roles are changing as well.

Limitations and Future Research

There are several shortcomings of this study. First, the self-classification is very subjective, even if definitions of traditional and progressive male gender roles were given (see Appendix D). There is not one definition that is consistently used in research and especially people from different countries might interpret being traditional and progressive quite differently (Colton, Heesacker, & Perrin, 2014). It can be speculated that people often look at the older generation/ their parents to evaluate whether they are more or less traditional. Consequently, two men with similar cognitions and behaviours might self-classify differently thus leading to confusing results.

Furthermore, the results of this study may not be generalizable as the sample was limited to students, specifically, students from a Dutch university. As a consequence, the context of this study was quite liberal due to the age of the participants and the country in which the study took place (Parker, Graf, & Igielnik, 2019; Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). As mentioned, the Netherlands is a very liberal country with low scores on masculinity (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). This specific background might explain the unexpected findings that progressive men do not benefit from traditional gender roles. In other words, results may not generalize to contexts that diverge strongly from the original context, such as older individuals or less liberal contexts outside the university environment. Especially in more traditional countries it may be expected that the original hypotheses would be supported since being traditional is more positively connotated. Thus, leading to increases in well-being when categorized as such even if incongruent with one's self-concept.

Additionally, the sample size was very small especially the group of traditional men. Future studies should try to replicate the results with bigger samples. Furthermore, it would be

intriguing to see whether the effects hold up in different contexts. Of interest specifically would be to see whether the findings replicate in sample with an older age group. It might be that older demographics are more traditional and hypothesized effects would have been found in an older sample. To better understand the effect of different gender roles on well-being, it is also important to compare data from countries with different cultures and specifically those with high vs low masculinity as this might influence whether more progressive or more traditional gender roles are positively connotated. In higher masculinity countries it can be expected that traditional male gender roles are more beneficial and the hypothesized effects, that progressive men benefit from traditional gender roles, would be found.

The present study was not able to replicate what the main bulk of literature suggests – that masculinity and endorsement of traditional gender roles are positively associated with well-being (Egan & Perry, 2001). For the group of men that identify as progressive traditional gender roles were harmful for their well-being. Future studies should try to shed light on how male gender roles and its associations have changed over time. Even though two items were included to investigate how traditional gender roles are seen in society and how they are evaluated by the participants, it would have been interesting to include items concerning the image of progressive male gender roles in society and asking how participants value these new progressive roles. Including it would help understand why traditional men seem not to be harmed from being wrongly misclassified as progressive.

Conclusion

Although self-classified traditional men and progressive men both received incongruent feedback to the self-concept which is usually harmful only the progressives had a consequential decrease of PSE and CSE. This emphasizes the importance of male gender role content. The traditional men did not react negatively to being misclassified as progressive which suggests that the content of the self-verification compensated for the negative effect of not attaining self-verification. In comparison, for the progressive men the content of the self-

verification seemed to be negatively connotated and even though being traditional seems to be related to higher self-esteem the progressive men do not seem to benefit from that. The study shed light on the changing nature of gender roles in the context of social movements such as #metoo. Given the findings of the current study, we can undoubtedly recognize that times are changing in such a way that traditional gender roles are viewed as harmful and unprofitable by young individuals therefore pointing to progressive gender roles as the new “ideal”.

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Appendix A

Analysis of scales for full questionnaire

1) *Life Satisfaction Scale.*

Comparing self-classified neutrals to traditionals: $t(100) = .526, p=.600$

Comparing self-classified neutrals to progressives: $t(168) = .072, p=.943$

Comparing self-classified progressives to traditionals: $t(194) = -.657, p=.512$

2) *Situational happiness:*

Comparing self-classified neutrals to traditionals: $t(100) = .541, p=.598$

Comparing self-classified neutrals to progressives: $t(169) = .260, p=.795$

Comparing self-classified progressives to traditionals: $t(195) = -.455, p=.649$

3) *General happiness*

Comparing self-classified neutrals to traditionals: $t(100) = .619, p=.538$

Comparing self-classified neutrals to progressives: $t(169) = 1.051, p=.295$

Comparing self-classified progressives to traditionals: $t(195) = .365, p=.712$

4) *Collective self-esteem scale*

Comparing self-classified neutrals to traditionals: $t(99) = 2.620, p=.010$

Comparing self-classified neutrals to progressives: $t(167) = -.263, p=.793$

Comparing self-classified progressives to traditionals: $t(192) = -3.423, p=.001$

5) *Private self-esteem scale*

Comparing self-classified neutrals to traditionals: $t(99) = 1.880, p=.063$

Comparing self-classified neutrals to progressives: $t(169) = -.340, p=.734$

Comparing self-classified progressives to traditionals: $t(194) = -2.687, p=.008$

6) *Belief in a just world for self.*

Comparing self-classified neutrals to traditional: $t(97) = 1.109, p=.270$

Comparing self-classified neutrals to progressives: $t(166) = .447, p=.655$

Comparing self-classified progressives to traditionals: $t(193) = -1.099, p=.273$

7) *Belief in a just world for others*

Comparing self-classified neutrals to traditional: $t(97) = .034, p=.973$

Comparing self-classified neutrals to progressives: $t(166) = -2.174, p=.031$

Comparing self-classified progressives to traditionals: $t(193) = -2.686, p=.008$

Appendix B

Analysis of Dataset Excluding the Self-Classified Neutral Participants

H1: Effect of classification

CSE:

Correctly classified M= 5.22, SD= 0.94, Incorrectly classified M= 4.87, SD= 1.16

ANOVA: $F(1, 191) = 5.55$, $p = .020$, $\eta p^2 = .028$

PSE:

Correctly classified M= 4.90, SD= 1.618, Incorrectly classified M= 4.66, SD= 1.62

ANOVA: $F(1, 191) = 1.124$, $p = .290$, $\eta p^2 = .006$

H2: Interaction effect of self-classification and manipulation

CSE

Table 3. Means and Standard Deviations on Collective Self-Esteem (Excluding Neutrals)

	M: Traditional	M: Progressive
SC: Traditional	5.31 (0.88)	5.63 (0.78)
SC: Progressive	4.58 (1.16)	5.30 (0.94)

ANOVA: $F(1, 189) = 8.54$, $p = .000$, $\eta p^2 = .119$, main effect manipulation: $F(1, 189) = 8.47$, $p = .004$, $\eta p^2 = .043$, main effect self-classification: $F(1, 189) = 13.75$, $p = .000$, $\eta p^2 = .068$.

Interaction between manipulation and self-classification: $F(1, 189) = 0.69$, $p = .409$, $\eta p^2 = .004$

T-Tests:

- 1) Comparing the two correctly classified groups: $t(101) = 1.10$, $p = .275$

- 2) Comparing incorrectly classified traditional with correctly classified progressive: $t(89) = 2.25, p = .027$
- 3) Comparing correctly classified traditional with incorrectly classified progressive: $t(99) = 2.30, p = .023$
- 4) Comparing correctly classified traditional with incorrectly classified traditional: $t(56) = -1.38, p = .173$
- 5) Comparing correctly classified progressive with incorrectly classified progressive: $t(132) = -3.03, p = .003$
- 6) Comparing the incorrectly classified traditional with the incorrectly classified progressive: $t(87) = 4.12, p = .000$

PSE

Table 4. Means and Standard Deviations on Private Self-Esteem (Excluding Neutrals)

	M: Traditional	M: Progressive
SC: Traditional	5.25 (1.48)	5.21 (1.62)
SC: Progressive	4.45 (1.59)	4.72 (1.67)

ANOVA: $F(1, 189) = 2.56, p = .056, \eta p^2 = .039$, main effect manipulation: $F(1, 189) = 0.19, p = .663, \eta p^2 = .001$, main effect of self-classification: $F(1, 189) = 6.52, p = .011, \eta p^2 = .033$, Interaction between manipulation and self-classification: $F(1, 189) = 0.363, p = .548, \eta p^2 = .002$

T-Tests:

- 1) Comparing the two correctly classified groups: $t(101) = 1.73, p = .089$

- 2) Comparing incorrectly classified traditional with correctly classified progressive: $t(89) = 1.23, p = .222$
- 3) Comparing correctly classified traditional with incorrectly classified progressive: $t(99) = 2.30, p = .023$
- 4) Comparing correctly classified traditional with incorrectly classified traditional: $t(56) = .199, p = .843$
- 5) Comparing correctly classified progressive with incorrectly classified progressive: $t(132) = -0.57, p = .567$
- 6) Comparing the incorrectly classified traditional with the incorrectly classified progressive: $t(87) = 1.72, p = .089$

Appendix C

Full Questionnaire

Life Satisfaction Scale

1. In most ways my life is close to the ideal.
2. The conditions of my life are excellent.
3. I am satisfied with my life.
4. So far, I have gotten the important things I want in my life.
5. If I could live my life once over, I would change nothing.

→ all rated on a 7 point-Likert scale (1= strongly disagree until 7= strongly agree)

Global Happiness: Taking all things together, I would say I am happy. (7 point-Likert scale, 1= strongly disagree until 7= strongly agree)

Situational Happiness: How do you feel right now (7 point-Likert scale, 1= extremely unhappy until 7= extremely happy)

Single Item Self-Esteem Scale by Robins, Hendin and Trzesniewski (2001)

Private Self-Esteem: I have high self-esteem. (7-point Likert scale, 1= Strongly Disagree to 7= Strongly Agree)

Items of Collective Self-Esteem Scale (adapted from the scale of by Luhtanen and Crocker (1992))

Collective self-esteem:

1. Membership Esteem: I am a worthy member of the male gender group I belong to.
2. Private Collective Self-Esteem: I feel good about the male gender group I belong to.

3. Public Collective Self-Esteem: In general, others respect the male gender group I am a member of.
4. Importance to Identity: The male gender group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.

→ all rated on a 7-point Likert scale from 1= Strongly Disagree to 7= Strongly Agree

Belief in a just world -for self

1. People treat me fairly in life.
2. I get what I deserve.
3. People treat me with the respect I deserve.

→ all rated on a 7-point Likert scale from 1= Strongly Disagree to 7= Strongly Agree

Belief in a just world -for others

1. People treat each other fairly in life.
2. People get what they deserve.
3. People treat each other with respect they deserve.

→ all rated on a 7-point Likert scale from 1= Strongly Disagree to 7= Strongly Agree

Appendix D

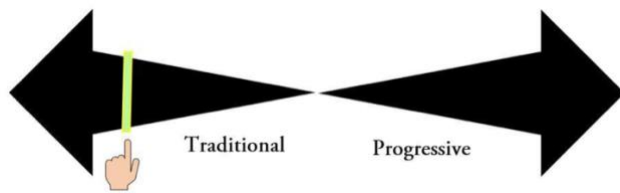
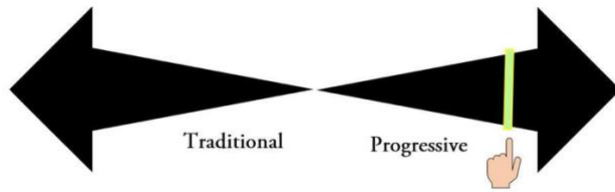
Definition of gender roles used in survey

Traditional male gender roles can be defined as striving for success and status, avoiding femininity and being tough and adventurous.

Progressive male gender roles put more emphasis on egalitarian values, behaviors and beliefs (e.g. empathy and creativity) while success and status are less important.

Appendix E

Feedback graph included in Survey



Appendix F

Analysis including the participants that failed the attention check

H1: Effect of classification

CSE:

Correctly classified $M= 5.16$, $SD= 0.97$, Incorrectly classified $M= 4.89$, $SD= 1.14$

ANOVA: $F(1, 221) = 3.82$, $p= .052$, $\eta p^2 = .017$

PSE:

Correctly classified $M= 4.88$, $SD= 1.56$, Incorrectly classified $M= 4.6$, $SD= 1.57$

ANOVA: $F(1, 221) = 0.95$, $p= .330$, $\eta p^2 = .004$

H2: Interaction effect of self-classification and manipulation

CSE:

- ANOVA $F(3, 219) = 7.051$, $p= .000$, $\eta p^2 = .088$
- main effect of manipulation ($F(1, 219) = 9.50$, $p= .002$, $\eta p^2 = .042$)
- main effect of self-classification ($F(1, 219) = 8.73$, $p= .003$, $\eta p^2 = .038$)
- In contrast to expectations, the self-classified traditional men scored the highest on collective self-esteem ($M= 5.37$, $SD=0.83$) followed by the correctly classified progressive men ($M= 5.17$, $SD= 0.97$). Correctly classified traditional men scored somewhat lower ($M=5.15$, $SD=0.98$). The self-classified men that were classified as traditional in the experiment showed the lowest scores on collective self-esteem ($M= 4.55$, $SD= 1.15$).
- no significant interaction between self-classification and manipulation ($F(1, 219) = 2.076$, $p= .151$, $\eta p^2 = .009$).

Table 5. Means and Standard Deviations on Collective Self-Esteem (Including those that failed the attention check)

	M: Traditional	M: Progressive
SC: Traditional	5.15 (0.98)	5.37 (0.83)
SC: Progressive	4.55 (1.15)	5.17 (0.97)

T-Tests:

- 1) Comparing the two correctly classified groups: $t(116) = -.10, p = .922$
- 2) Comparing incorrectly classified traditional with correctly classified progressive: $t(107) = 1.14, p = .246$
- 3) Comparing correctly classified traditional with incorrectly classified progressive: $t(112) = 2.96, p = .004$
- 4) Comparing correctly classified traditional with incorrectly classified traditional: $t(93) = -1.19, p = .238$
- 5) Comparing correctly classified progressive with incorrectly classified progressive: $t(126) = -3.28, p = .001$
- 6) Comparing the incorrectly classified traditional with the incorrectly classified progressive: $t(103) = 4.01, p = .000$

PSE:

- ANOVA $F(3, 219) = 2.23, p = .085, \eta^2 = .030$
- main effect of manipulation $F(1, 219) = 0.16, p = .689, \eta^2 = .001$
- main effect of self-classification $F(1, 219) = 5.67, p = .018, \eta^2 = .025$

- interaction between and self-classification and manipulation ($F(1, 219) = 0.70, p = .403, \eta p^2 = .003$).

Table 6. Means and Standard Deviations on Private Self-Esteem (Including those that failed the attention check)

	M: Traditional	M: Progressive
SC: Traditional	5.12 (1.40)	5.02 (1.52)
SC: Progressive	4.44(1.58)	4.70 (1.67)

T-Tests:

- 1) Comparing the two correctly classified groups: $t(116) = 1.45, p = .150$
- 2) Comparing incorrectly classified traditional with correctly classified progressive: $t(107) = 1.03, p = .305$
- 3) Comparing correctly classified traditional with incorrectly classified progressive: $t(112) = 2.42, p = .017$
- 4) Comparing correctly classified traditional with incorrectly classified traditional: $t(93) = 0.31, p = .759$
- 5) Comparing correctly classified progressive with incorrectly classified progressive: $t(126) = -0.91, p = .365$
- 6) Comparing the incorrectly classified traditional with the incorrectly classified progressive: $t(103) = 4.01, p = .059$