An Interdependence Account of When, Why, and How Men's Hostile Sexism Promotes Aggression and Creates Problems in Intimate Relationships

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Abstract

The current research examines when and why men who endorse hostile sexism are aggressive towards their partners, and investigates the broader costs men's hostile sexism has for female partners. *Hostile sexism* encompasses aggressive attitudes toward women who contest men's power and contains beliefs that women will manipulate men by exploiting their relational dependence (Glick & Fiske, 1996). As outlined in Chapter One, despite the established associations between men's hostile sexism and aggression toward female partners, the reasons underpinning this important link are poorly understood. Three chapters present studies that adopt different approaches and diverse methods to clarify and advance understanding of the underlying fears and concerns that are particularly problematic in intimate relationships.

In Chapter Two I investigated how the risk of relationship dependence is an important contextual factor that determines *when* men's hostile sexism is (and is not) associated with relationship aggression. Two dyadic studies demonstrated that men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism were more aggressive toward their female partners during couples' daily life and conflict discussions, but only when their female partners were perceived to be, or reported being, low in relationship commitment, and thus men faced a greater risk of rejection. Extending this work, in Chapter Three I tested *why* men's hostile sexism is associated with greater relationship aggression by investigating the important role of perceived relationship power. Across four studies, men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism perceived themselves to have lower power in their relationships which, in turn, predicted greater aggression toward female partners as reported by (1) both partners during couples' daily interactions, (2) observed during couples' video-recorded discussions, and (3) self-reported over the last year. Furthermore, these lower perceptions of power were shown to be biased: men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism underestimated the power they

had in their relationships compared to their partners' reports of their power. Accordingly, Chapters Two and Three demonstrate that dependence and power related concerns are central to the hostile sexism-aggression link.

I moved beyond aggression in Chapter Four to explore whether men's hostile sexism predicts broader problems for female partners across diverse domains. Chapter Four demonstrated that female partners of men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism experienced more severe problems across diverse domains, which in turn, was associated with women experiencing lower relationship satisfaction and commitment. Moreover, the problems women faced were theoretically tied to the power, dependence, and trust related concerns underpinning men's hostile sexism, demonstrating that men's hostile sexism impacts the types of problems women encounter in their relationships. Taken together, the seven studies presented in this thesis advance understanding of when, why, and how men's hostile sexism damages intimate relationships. As discussed in Chapter Five, the relationship processes and dynamics that men's hostile sexism promotes will damage the health and stability of intimate relationships, undermine both men's and women's wellbeing, and ultimately reinforce sexist attitudes.

For Brandon, Aria, Jax, and Hana
…to a world where you are truly equal.

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Comment on Publications

This thesis is based on the three papers listed below. All three of these papers are published. The papers are re-printed here with no additional editing other than formatting to maintain consistency. Additional analyses for each paper are noted in the Appendices. These papers are referred to as Chapters Two, Three, and Four, respectively.

Cross, E. J., Overall, N. C., Hammond, M. D., & Fletcher, G. J. (2017). When does men's hostile sexism predict relationship aggression? The moderating role of partner commitment. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 8,* 331-340.

Cross. E, J., Overall, N. C, Low, R. S. T., & McNulty, J. K. (2018). An interdependence account of sexism and power: Men's hostile sexism, biased perceptions of low power, and relationship aggression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.* Advanced Online Publication.

Cross. E, J., & Overall, N. C. (2018). Women experience more serious relationship problems when male partners endorse hostile sexism. *European Journal of Social Psychology.* Advanced Online Publication.

Please note that I use the personal pronoun "I" in Chapters One and Five, and "we" in Chapters Two-Four, refering to my co-authors.

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Nature of contribution by PhD candidate	Data analyses, writing and revising the manuscript (Absract, Introduction, Method, Results, Discussion, References).
Extent of contribution by PhD candidate (%)	75%

CO-AUTHORS

Name	Nature of Contribution
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Dr Matthew Hammond	Feedback on analyses and minor feedback on writing the manuscript
Dr Garth Fletcher	Collection for Study 2.

Certification by Co-Authors

The undersigned hereby certify that:

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- in cases where the PhD candidate was the lead author of the work that the candidate wrote the text.

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Please indicate the chapter/section/pages of this thesis that are extracted from a co-authored work and give the title and publication details or details of submission of the co-authored work.	Cross, E. J., Overall, N. C., Low & J McNulty (2018). An Interdependence Account of Sexism and Power: Men's Hostile Sexism, Biased Perceptions of Low Power, and Relationship Aggression. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology
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Dr Rachel Low	Shared Collection and Observational Coding of Study 2, and minor feedback on the manuscript
Dr James McNulty	Collection for Study 3, and minor feedback on the manuscript.

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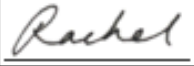
Dr Rachel Low		29/10/2018
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Tables are numbered in the order that they appear, as is standard in theses. Please note that the studies referenced refer to studies *within* each article/chapter not across the entire thesis. For example, Chapter Two involves two studies (labelled Studies 1 and 2) and Chapter Three involves four studies (labelled Studies 1-4). Chapter Four involves one study.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF STUDIES

Sexism is “alive and thriving”, is apparent across every country in the world, and is a central way gender inequality is maintained (United Nations, 2017). Yet, understanding the origin, causes, expression, and consequences of sexist attitudes is complex. Indeed, sexism is a particularly unique form of group-based prejudice in part because of the high level of interdependence that exists between men and women. Gender relations can be characterised by the combination of *both* societal dominance traditionally held by men *and* intimate interdependence between men and women, which creates an ambivalence towards both sexes. Ambivalent Sexism Theory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) revolutionized understanding of gender-related prejudice by outlining how these two seemingly conflicting components—male social dominance and intimate interdependence—shape the content and tone of two forms of sexist attitudes which serve to legitimate and justify traditional gender relations and gender inequality.

Protecting male societal-level dominance produces hostility toward women who challenge men’s advantaged social position. *Hostile sexism* expresses negative and aggressive attitudes toward women who deviate from traditional gender roles to contest men’s power (e.g., career women, feminists). Hostile sexism protects men’s societal level power and status by devaluing women’s competence and independent success, and promoting aggression toward women who challenge men’s social power (e.g., Glick et al., 1997; Glick et al., 2000; Masser & Abrams, 2004). In contrast, men’s reliance on women to fulfil their intimacy needs in close, personal relationships (e.g., heterosexual intimacy, support, and reproduction) fosters benevolence toward women. *Benevolent sexism* expresses caring and protective attitudes toward women who adopt traditional gender roles (e.g., homemaker, caretaker), characterising women as wonderful and warm, but weak and in need of men’s care and protection. Benevolent sexism facilitates men’s relationship needs, but also helps uphold

men's social power by undermining women's competence and confining women's roles in society (e.g., Barreto, Ellemers, Piebinga, & Moya, 2010; Dardenne, Dumont, & Bollier, 2007; Dumont, Sarlet, & Dardenne, 2010; Fernández, Castro, Otero, Foltz, & Lorenzo, 2006; Lee et al., 2010; Moya et al., 2007). The ambivalence across these two forms of sexist attitudes—overtly derogatory and hostile on the one hand, and subjectively positive and patronizing on the other—is one of the central reasons sexist attitudes are so pervasive and effective at maintaining gender inequality (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001). Indeed, cross-national research shows that *both* hostile and benevolent sexism are associated with greater gender discrimination and inequality across nations (Glick et al., 2000).

The divergent tone of these two forms of sexist attitudes has resulted in hostile sexism typically being understood and examined at an intergroup level, while benevolent sexism has primarily studied at an interpersonal level in close relationship domains. These separate levels of examination—hostile sexism at a societal level and benevolent sexism at an interpersonal level—is consistent with a central claim of Ambivalent Sexism Theory: the costs to personal relationships associated with hostile sexism necessitate benevolent sexism to foster interpersonal connections between men and women (Glick & Fiske, 1996; also see Hammond & Overall, 2017a). Yet, what do we know about these so-called "relationship costs"? The answer is relatively little. Although prior research has demonstrated robust connections between men's hostile sexism and aggression within intimate relationships, it is still unclear *when* and *why* men who endorse hostile sexism are more aggressive towards their intimate female partners. Similarly, although prior theoretical and empirical work has proposed that men's hostile sexism should have costs for intimate female partners (see Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2000; Jackman, 1994), no prior work has specifically examined how men's endorsement of hostile sexism negatively impacts their intimate female partners.

This thesis targets these important gaps in current understanding. As I note throughout this thesis, answering these taken-for-granted and overlooked questions has important theoretical, empirical, and practical implications for understanding sexist attitudes, relationship functioning, and aggression toward women. In the following sections, I elaborate on the key aims of this thesis. First, I provide a general overview of Ambivalent Sexism Theory, highlighting how two forms of sexist attitudes function together to maintain gender inequality. I then outline the connection between men's hostile sexism and aggression within intimate relationships. I argue that the interdependent realities of intimate relationships should be particularly challenging for men who endorse hostile sexism as the mutual dependence that characterises intimate relationships clashes with their primary goal to protect and maintain men's power. I then briefly outline Chapters Two and Three, highlighting how the power-related concerns at the heart of hostile sexism should inform when and why men who endorse hostile sexism behave aggressively towards their partners. Lastly, I outline Chapter Four by discussing the implications men's endorsement of hostile sexism should have for their female partners.

Ambivalent Sexism Theory: Managing Societal Power and Intimate Interdependence

Ambivalent Sexism Theory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) revolutionised understanding of sexist attitudes by highlighting how patriarchal social structures that support power differences across men and women intersect with the mutual interdependence within intimate relationships to produce ambivalent attitudes toward women. Across the world, even in relatively egalitarian societies men earn more than women and have greater direct access to status and resources (United Nations Development Programme, 2016, 2017). Men, compared to women, are also more politically empowered, have greater educational attainment, and have more access and opportunities to participate in the economy (World Economic Forum,

2016). Thus, at a societal level, men dominate by generally holding greater levels of social power.

However, at the interpersonal level, men's power is constrained by intimate interdependence. Heterosexual relationships between men and women are characterised by mutual interdependence: men are dependent on women for fundamental relational needs, such as intimacy, closeness, support, and reproduction, just as women are dependent on men. This mutual interdependence that characterises intimate relationships inherently restricts power because people's ability to achieve their goals and desired outcomes is dependent on their intimate partners (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978; Kelley et al., 2003; Keltner, Gruenfeld & Anderson, 2003). For example, a person's desire for closeness and intimacy depends on their partner also desiring closeness and intimacy. Accordingly, neither partner can hold all the power in intimate relationships, instead each partner's power and control is constrained by the other's. Accordingly, although men have more direct access to status and resources, men's dependence on women in the domain of intimate relationships affords women dyadic power that constrains men's power (and vice versa).

This tension between men's societal level dominance and power, and a more equal share of power across men and women within intimate relationships, is argued to produce the two forms of sexist ideology outlined above (Glick & Fiske, 1996). *Hostile sexism* encompasses attitudes toward women which are derogatory and threatening in tone, and express that women are incompetent and seeking to subvert men's power (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Hostile sexism promotes antagonist attitudes and behaviour toward women who deviate from traditional gender roles and therefore threaten men's advantaged social position. Hostile sexism protects men's societal level power and status by devaluing women's competence and independent success, and promoting aggression toward women who challenge men's social power (e.g., Glick et al., 1997; Glick et al., 2000; Masser & Abrams,

2004). For example, men who endorse hostile sexism evaluate career women and feminists more negatively, and show greater preference for men over women in managerial roles (Masser & Abrams, 2004; Sakallı-Uğurlu & Beydogan, 2002), leadership positions (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012; Rudman, & Kilianski, 2000), and political office (Blair, 2017; Cassese & Holman, 2017; Ratliff, Redford, Conway, & Smith, 2016).

Despite being effective at maintaining men's societal dominance by squashing threats to men's social power, the antagonistic and threatening nature of hostile sexism is likely to undermine men's ability to fulfil core relational needs—including heterosexual intimacy, pair bonding, sexual reproduction, and social support (see Glick & Fiske, 1996, Glick et al., 2000; 2004; Overall, Sibley, & Tan, 2011). Indeed, the overtly hostile and derogatory nature of hostile sexism means this form of sexism is readily identified as "sexist" (Bosson, Pinel & Vandello, 2010; Swim, Becker, Pruitt, & Lee, 2010; Swim, Mallett, & Russo-Devosa, 2005) and is typically rejected by women (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Glick et al., 2000; 2004). For example, women report feeling angry when faced with hostile sexism (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005), and rate men who personify hostile sexism as unattractive (Bohner et al., 2010; Chisango & Javangwe, 2012; Cross & Overall, 2018; Killanski & Rudman, 1998). These costs necessitate a second, more benevolent, set of attitudes toward women that help facilitate men's relationship needs.

Benevolent sexism expresses caring and protective attitudes toward women who adopt traditional gender roles, characterising women as wonderful and warm, but weak and in need of men's care and protection. Benevolent sexism characterises the relationship between men and women as mutually beneficial and based on complementary gender and social roles. For example, women are celebrated for their interpersonal qualities (e.g., warmth, empathy) that complement men's more independent and strength-based qualities (e.g., competence, ambition). These benevolent attitudes appeal to men and women because they promote a

gender role structure that promotes intimacy and security within heterosexual relationships (Hammond & Overall, 2017a; 2017b; Overall & Hammond, 2018). Indeed, unlike hostile sexism, women tend to find benevolent sexism to be chivalrous, rather than "sexist" (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Viki, Abrams, & Hutchison, 2003; also see Becker & Swim, 2011; Bohner et al., 2010; Bosson et al., 2010; Cross & Overall, 2018; Kilianski & Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Heppen, 2003). This is in part because women perceive men who endorse benevolent sexism to be caring and devoted partners (Cross, Overall, & Hammond, 2016; Hammond, Overall & Cross, 2016), who are willing to invest in the relationship (Gul & Kupfer, 2018). Indeed, men's benevolent sexism is associated with a range of positive interpersonal and relationship outcomes, from more friendly interactions when meeting new women (Goh & Hall, 2015), to behaving in more open and caring ways during relationship conflict (Overall et al., 2011), to greater relationship satisfaction in long-term, committed relationships (Hammond & Overall, 2013a; Sibley & Becker, 2012).

Although distinct in tone, both hostile and benevolent sexism work together to maintain gender inequality in complementary ways. Hostile sexism punishes women who are seen to contest men's social power, status, and resources. Yet, this expression of hostility toward women is theorised to be interpersonally costly and undermines men's ability to have satisfying heterosexual relationships with women. Counteracting these costs, benevolent sexism promotes cooperation between men and women by emphasising complementary gender-based roles that facilitate mutual dependence and intimacy in heterosexual relationships (Chen, Fiske, & Lee, 2009; Cross et al., 2016; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Gul & Kupfer, 2018; Ramos et al., 2016). However, benevolent sexism plays a particularly insidious role in helping to maintain gender inequality (see Becker & Swim, 2011; Napier, Thorisdottir, & Jost, 2010). By worshiping women as relationship partners, caretakers, and homemakers, benevolent sexism is theorised to help men achieve satisfying intimate

relationships while also helping to maintain men's societal level dominance (Overall & Hammond, 2018; Rudman & Glick, 2008). For example, by emphasising women's interpersonal strengths, abilities and relationship based roles, benevolent sexism undermines women's competence, ambition and independent success, and confines women's roles in society (e.g., Barreto et al., 2010; Dardenne et al., 2007; Dumont et al., 2010; Fernández et al., 2006; Lee et al., 2010; Moya et al., 2007). Thus, both hostile and benevolent sexism help to uphold men's greater social power and women's subordinate position in society.

Ambivalent Sexism Theory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) has spurred a mass of work over the past two decades. Yet, this body of work has primarily examined hostile sexism from an intergroup perspective in social domains (e.g., career, workplaces, see Connor, Glick, & Fiske, 2017). Much less work examining the impact these attitudes should have for men and women in intimate domains (e.g., close, romantic relationships). For example, hostile sexism is characterised as being directed toward women who challenge men's societal-level power but not traditional women within intimate domains, such as homemakers and caretakers (Glick et al., 1997; Sibley & Wilson, 2004). Yet, the goal to protect men's power also manifests at the interpersonal level as a warning that women will exploit men's relational dependence to subvert men's power. For example, hostile sexism encompasses fears that women will exploit men's need for emotional and sexual intimacy, and will humiliate, manipulate and use men by "seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances" or putting men "on a tight leash once they are committed" (Ambivalent Sexism Inventory; ASI, Glick & Fiske, 1996). Consistent with these concerns, men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism have a more competitive and hostile view of heterosexual relationships (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2017), and express greater fears of intimacy (Yakushko, 2005).

Across this thesis, I argue (and demonstrate) that one of the most formidable ways in which hostile sexism restricts and harms women is by shaping emotions, behaviour and

power dynamics within close, intimate relationships between men and women. Indeed, emerging research examining the effects of hostile sexism within these close relational contexts shows that men who endorse hostile sexism report greater levels of verbal, psychological, and physical aggression toward female intimate partners (e.g., Forbes, Adams-Curtis, & White, 2004; Hammond & Overall, 2013a; Overall et al., 2011; Ramiro-Sánchez, Ramiro, Bermúdez, & Buela-Casal, 2018). This expression of hostility and aggression is theorised to be a key reason hostile sexism is alone ineffective in helping maintain gender inequality, and why benevolent sexism is necessary (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Yet, we know very little about when and why the aggression associated with men's hostile sexism occurs. The studies in this thesis are the first to directly test the specific contexts in which men who endorse hostile sexism enact aggression towards their female partners and the underlying reasons for such aggression. As I outline in the following sections, the interdependence inherent in intimate relationships clashes with the power related beliefs at the heart of hostile sexism, and thus should be particularly challenging for men who strongly endorse hostile sexism. Accordingly, these power-related concerns should be central to when and why men who endorse hostile sexism are aggressive toward their female partners.

Men's Hostile Sexism: Damaging Intimate Relationships via Relationship Aggression

One of the primary ways hostile sexism is believed to damage intimate relationships is via the relationship aggression these attitudes promote. As shown in Table 1.1, a growing body of research demonstrates that men's hostile sexism is associated with aggression within intimate relationships.[1] Despite providing robust support that men's endorsement of hostile sexism promotes aggressive relationship behaviour, these studies have generally relied on small

[1] Although the listed studies may appear to represent a reasonable number of studies, this is a relatively small body of work compared to the mass of research that has examined how hostile sexism targets aggressive attitudes and behaviour towards women outside of relationships (e.g., workplaces, career settings; see Connor et al., 2017 for review), and is a small number of studies given the importance of the outcome examined.

Table 1.1 Chronological List of Studies Examining the Relationship between Sexist Attitudes and Aggression within Intimate Relationships.

Authors	Total N	Aggression Measures
Sakallı-Uğurlu (2001)	107 Men, 114 Women*	Self-Reported Acceptance of Wife Beating (Haj-Yahia, 1998a, 1998b)
Glick et al., (2002)	618 Men, 633 Women*	Self-Reported Attitudes toward Wife Abuse
Forbes, Adams-Curtis, & White (2004)	107 Men, 157 Women*	Self-Reported Hostility toward women (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995). Self-Reported Aggression over the Past Year (CTS; Straus, 1979).
Forbes et al., (2005)	208 Men, 220 Women*	Acceptance of Aggression post Betrayal (Vengeance Scale; Stuckless & Goranson, 1992) in Response Vignette (across different experimental conditions)
Chapleau, Oswald, & Russell (2008)	156 Men, 276 Women*	Self-Reported Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence
Yamawaki, Ostenson, & Brown (2009)	91 Men, 113 Women*	Self-Reported Perceived Seriousness of Violence and Excuse-Perpetrator Ratings in response to Vignettes (across different experimental conditions)
Overall, Sibley, & Tan (2011)	91 Men, 91 Women (Romantic Dyads)*	Observed Hostile Communication during Couple Interactions (see Overall et al., 2009)
Lisco, Parrott, & Tharp (2012)	205 Men	Self-Reported Aggression over Past Year (CTS2; Straus, et al., 1996)
Karakurt & Cumble (2012)	87 Men, 87 Women (Romantic Dyads)*	Self-Reported Aggression over Past Year (CTS; Straus, 1979)
Whitaker (2013)	2421* (No Gender Split noted)	Self-Reported Aggression over Past Year (CTS2; Straus, et al., 1996)
Hammond & Overall (2013)	165 Men, 165 Women (Romantic Dyads)*	Self-Reported Negative Relationship Behaviour over past months (S1) and Negative Daily Relationship behaviour (S2; Overall & Sibley, 2010).
Koepke, Eyssel, & Bohner (2014)	163 Men*	Self-Reported Approval of the Aggressor's Behaviour in response to Vignettes (across different experimental conditions)
Renzetti, Lynch & DeWall (2015)	255 Men	Self-Reported Intimate Partner Violence Perpetration (Severity of Violence Against Women Scale, see Marshall, 1992).
Martinez-Pecino & Durán (2016)	71 Men, 113 Women*	Self-Reported Bullying Romantic Partner via Mobile Phone and the Internet over Past Year (adapted from Buelga, Cava, & Musitu, 2010).
Anacona, Cruz, Jiménez, & Guajardo (2017)	382 Men, 433 Women*	Self-Reported Aggression (Modified Conflicts Tactics Scale, M-CTS; Strauss, 1979)
Rodríguez-Domínguez, Durán-Segura, & Martínez-Pecino (2017)	223 Men*	Self-Reported Cyber-Aggression (Buelga et al., 2010).

Note. *Indicates Student sample. Studies listed focus on Physical, Verbal, and Psychological Aggression towards intimate partners. Studies examining Sexual Aggression are not included, however the link between men's hostile sexism and sexual aggression is also well established (see Fernández-Fuertes, Carcedo, Orgaz, & Fuertes, 2018; Pazos, Oliva, & Hernando, 2014).

student samples. The majority of prior research has also assessed general acceptance of intimate partner aggression, or self-reports of aggression using the Conflict Tactics Scale which asks people to report on the frequency of aggression enacted over the past year (Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1996). This measure of aggression overlooks the contexts in which aggression is enacted (Sagrestano, Heavey, & Christensen, 1999), and may be impacted by recall bias (see Archer, 1999), and self-presentation effects or demand biases (e.g., men who endorse hostile sexism may try to bolster their sense of control or image by reporting more aggression). Accordingly, these types of measures do not adequately assess how aggressive behaviour emerges across the natural course of couples' daily lives or during dyadic interactions.

Perhaps more importantly, however, these prior studies have exclusively focused on the main effect of hostile sexism on aggression and have overlooked (a) the contexts in which men's hostile sexism should promote relationship aggression, and (b) the underlying reasons for such aggression. Identifying contextual and explanatory variables that account for when and why men's hostile sexism leads to aggression is a vital step to understanding how to reduce the aggressive responses associated with men's hostile sexism. This aim is particularly important given that contemporary approaches to understanding aggression emphasise that people are unlikely to be routinely aggressive (see Finkel & Eckhardt, 2013; Finkel et al., 2012). Instead people enact aggression in contexts that are relevant to the particular fears and concerns that should prompt aggressive responses (e.g., when faced with environmental threats, see Finkel et al., 2012).

I argue that men's hostile sexism should be associated with relationship aggression because the dependence inherent in intimate relationships clashes with the power concerns central to hostile sexism. Hostile sexism is essentially about protecting and maintaining men's power from a loss of power to women (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Feather, 2004), but these

power-related concerns directly clash with the interdependent realities of intimate heterosexual relationships in which men are inescapably dependent on their partners and cannot hold all the power (Chen et al., 2009; Hammond & Overall, 2013a; Overall et al., 2011). For example, in intimate heterosexual relationships, men are heavily dependent on their female partners for love, care, and support and can only achieve these desired outcomes with the co-operation and investment of their female partner (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978). Thus, in heterosexual relationships, the fulfilment of men's (and women's) relational needs are in the hands of their partner (Murray, Holmes, & Collins, 2006).

This dependence on female partners should be particularly difficult for men who endorse hostile sexism for two key reasons. First, men's dependence on their female partners inevitably risks the possibility of hurt, exploitation, and rejection by female partners (Murray et al., 2006). These risks of dependence should be particularly concerning to heterosexual men who endorse hostile sexism because they fear that women will use men's dependence on their female partners to control, manipulate, and exploit men (e.g., by being put "on a tight leash"; ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Second, the mutual dependence inherent in intimate relationships unavoidably limits and constrains individuals' power; men are highly dependent on their female partners, which affords their female partner influence and constrains men's power in intimate heterosexual relationships. These constraints to power should be extremely threatening for men who endorse hostile sexism and are preoccupied about losing power to women, and strive to protect and maintain their power (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Feather, 2004) even in intimate relationships (Chen et al., 2009).

My interdependence perspective suggests that men who endorse hostile sexism should face certain difficulties and challenges because their dependence and power-related fears inherently clash with the interdependent realities of intimate relationships. Indeed, in no other context are men so dependent on women. Therfore in no other context is men's power so

fundamentally constrained, than in intimate heterosexual relationships. As I outline below, these power and dependence concerns should underpin when and why men who endorse hostile sexism behave aggressively towards their female partners because aggression is a common way that people try to manage the risks of dependence (e.g., being hurt, rejected, or manipulated), and try to demonstrate or reassert their power (Bornstein, 1996; Holtzworth-Munroe, Bates, Smutzler, & Sandin, 1997; Murphy, Meyer, & O'Leary, 1994; Overall, Hammond, McNulty & Finkel, 2016).

This interdependence perspective led me to test two central hypotheses in six studies presented in Chapters Two and Three (see Table 1.2). Chapter Two tested the moderating role of dependence (as indicated by low partner commitment). I expected that men who endorsed hostile sexism would enact aggression towards their partners *when* their dependence on female partners leaves them most vulnerable to being hurt, rejected, or exploited (indicated by low partner commitment). I tested this moderation hypothesis across two independent studies presented in Chapter Two. Chapter Three tested whether lower perceived power would help explain *why* men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism are more aggressive towards their female partners. Given their concerns about protecting men's power, I expected that men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism would perceive themselves to lack power in their relationships, which in turn, would be associated with greater aggression towards female partners. I tested this mediation hypothesis across four studies presented in Chapter Three. Given that the theoretical and empirical foundation for each of these tests is described in each chapter, I only provide a brief summary of each chapter below.

Chapter Two: When does Men's Hostile Sexism predict Relationship Aggression? A growing body of research supports that aggression is not enacted routinely by individuals who have a propensity toward aggression, but occurs when specific contexts exacerbate the underlying vulnerabilities or concerns that prompt aggression (Finkel et al.,

Table 1.2. Summary of the Key Aims of the Research Presented across this Thesis.

Thesis Chapter	Key Aims of Research in Each Chapter
Chapter 2: When does Men's Hostile Sexism Predict Relationship Aggression?	• Chapter Two investigates *when* men who endorse Hostile Sexism (HS) will behave aggressively towards their female partners by examining the moderating role of (perceived) partner commitment as a principal marker of the risks of dependence. • I present two studies testing whether men who endorse HS are more aggressive towards their female partners *when* men's dependence on female partners is most risky because female partners are, or perceived to be, less committed, and thus are more likely to hurt, reject and exploit the self. • The two studies make methodological extensions by assessing dyads and aggression in couples' daily life and observed conflict discussions. I aimed to replicate the effects across: (a) perceptions of partners' commitment and partners' actual reported commitment, and (b) partners' daily reports of aggression across 21 days and observed aggression during couples' laboratory based discussions.
Chapter 3: Why does Men's Hostile Sexism predict Relationship Aggression?	• Chapter Two examines *why* men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism are more aggressive towards their female partners. I propose that the interdependence inherent in heterosexual relationships will lead men who more strongly endorse HS to be more aggressive because they perceive they have lower power in their relationship. • I present four studies testing whether men who endorse hostile sexism: (a) perceive they have lower power in their relationship, (b) these lower perceptions of power are biased (compared to their partners' reports of that power), and (c) lower perceptions of power are, in turn, associated with greater aggression towards female partners. • The four studies make methodological extensions by: (a) comparing both dyad members' reports of power in the relationship, (b) including diverse samples, (c) applying established self-report and observational assessments of aggression, and (d) examining partners' perceptions of aggression. I aimed to replicate the effects across different measures, samples and couple members' perspectives. I also test a variety of alternative explanations across studies to demonstrate that the associations between HS, power, and aggression were specific to men perceiving lower relationship power rather than desiring greater power in their relationships, and were not the result of being more dominant and aggressive.
Chapter 4: How does Men's Hostile Sexism affect Female Partners' Relationship Experiences?	• Although sexist attitudes disproportionately affect women, prior research has focused on how HS predicts *men's* aggressive responses in ways that should affect women, but has neglected how HS affects *women's* experiences. • In Chapter Four I address this important gap by examining how men's HS affects female partners' experiences and evaluations in their intimate relationships. • Using a high-powered dyadic sample, I tested whether: (a) women experience more severe problems across a greater number of domains when their male partners endorsed HS, (b) whether the most prominent problems are linked to the core concerns underlying men's HS (e.g., power struggles, gender role conflict), and (c) whether these more serious problems associated with male partners' HS in turn predicted lower relationship satisfaction and commitment for women.

2012; Finkel & Eckhardt, 2013; Hellmuth & McNulty, 2008). The underlying concerns that should prompt aggression for men who endorse hostile sexism is the concern that female partners will use their dependence to control and manipulate men in an attempt to subvert their power (e.g., put them "on a tight leash"; Glick & Fiske, 1996, also see Chen et al., 2009; Yakushko, 2005). If fears of dependence underlie the association between men's hostile sexism and relationship aggression, then men who endorse hostile sexism should exhibit more aggression when they are at greater risk of being hurt, rejected, and exploited. This risk is greatest when female partners are low in commitment, and thus, it is this relationship context where men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism should be aggressive towards their partners. When partners are low (versus high) in commitment, they are less motivated to care for the other partner, and are more likely to be hurtful and rejecting (Drigotas, Rusbult, & Verette, 1999; Rusbult, 1980, 1983). This should be particularly threatening for men who endorse hostile sexism whose dependence fears should prompt aggression to reduce dependence and rebalance control.

Accordingly, I predicted that men who endorse hostile sexism should respond aggressively toward their female partners when the risks of hurt, rejection, and exploitation are high because their partners are low—or are perceived to be low—in commitment. In contrast, because the threat of dependence and exploitation is diminished when partners are highly committed (partners are less likely to hurt, reject, or exploit the self), the association between hostile sexism and aggression should be reduced when female partners are high—or are perceived to be high—in relationship commitment. By testing the contexts in which aggressive responses should emerge, Chapter Two provides insights into the underlying reasons why men who endorse hostile sexism are aggressive towards their female partners.

The research presented in Chapter Two not only advances prior research by identifying when men's hostile sexism does (and does not) predict relationship aggression,

but also overcomes several methodological limitations found in prior work. As shown in Table 1.1, most prior work has examined the hostile sexism-relationship aggression link at an individual level via self-reports of aggression over the past year. Chapter Two showcases two dyadic studies that test whether men's hostile sexism promotes aggression across heterosexual couple's day-to-day lives and during couple's dyadic interactions. Moreover, both studies limit the reliance on self-reports by utilising ecologically valid aggression measures that capture aggressive responses as they naturally occur across couple's lives. In Study 1, I gathered self and partner-reports of individuals' psychologically aggressive behaviours (e.g., criticism, behaving in hurtful way, expressing anger) across the day-to-day course of relationships for a 3-week period. In Study 2, independent coders rated individuals' aggressive communication during couples actual interactions, including the extent to which individuals derogated and intimidated partners (e.g., criticising, insulting, belittling), and displaying harsh negative affect (e.g., anger, frustration, yelling, swearing).

These types of psychological and verbal aggression have been shown to have widespread detrimental effects on partners' health and wellbeing, and damage the quality and stability of intimate relationships (see Arriaga et al., 2018; Gottman, 1998; Karney & Bradbury, 1995; Kiecolt-Glaser & Newton, 2001). Not only are these forms of aggression as psychologically harmful as physical forms of aggression (Arriaga & Schkeryantz, 2015; Lawrence, Yoon, Langer, & Ro, 2009), they also precede physical aggression in intimate relationships (e.g., Murphy & O'Leary, 1989), and thus contribute an important risk factor for more severe physical forms of aggression. In sum, Chapter Two extends prior research by making important empirical and methodological advances that will improve understanding of when men's endorsement of hostile sexism promotes aggressive behaviour towards intimate female partners.

Chapter Three: Why does Men's Hostile Sexism predict Relationship Aggression? A second way to expand our understanding of the connection between men's hostile sexism and relationship aggression is to test the underlying mechanism driving such aggressive behaviour. Chapter Three builds on Chapter Two by examining whether a perceived lack of power underpins *why* men who endorse hostile sexism are more aggressive towards their female partners. In particular, Chapter Three tests whether men who endorse hostile sexism behave more aggressively towards their female partners, at least in part, because they perceive themselves to lack power in their relationships. This hypothesis was tested across four cross-sectional studies, and therefore tested statistical, rather than temporal, mediation. I briefly discuss key points to this argument below.

Protecting men's power is fundamental to the origin, expression and targets of hostile sexism (Connor et al., 2017; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Jackman, 1994; Rudman & Glick, 2008). Yet, no prior theoretical or empirical work has specified how hostile sexism is related to experiences of power, and how this may impact the link between men's hostile sexism and aggression. One of the primary reasons intimate relationships should be challenging for men who endorse hostile sexism is because power is inevitably shared across couple members in romantic relationships. Indeed, romantic relationships are a context in which men cannot have all the power because men's dependence on female partners inevitably yields them some dyadic power. The sensitivity that men who endorse hostile sexism should feel towards losing power to women (see Chen et al., 2009; Herrera, Expósito, & Moya, 2012, also see Overall et al., 2011), should lead men who endorse hostile sexism to perceive that they lack power in their relationships. Morover, this perceived lack of power should underpin why men who endorse hostile sexism behave more aggressively towards their female partners. Indeed, a growing body of theoretical and empirical work supports that people respond more aggressively when they feel they are losing power or when their power is challenged or

undermined (e.g., Case & Maner, 2014; Georgesen & Harris, 2006; Fast & Chen, 2009; Maner & Mead, 2010) and lower felt power motivates aggressive responses to restore power (Bugental, 2010; Bugental & Lin, 2001; Overall et al., 2016; Worchel et al., 1978).

Accordingly, I expected men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism would be more sensitive to the power restrictions that inevitably arise in relationships, and therefore should be more likely to perceive they have lower power in their relationship. Given aggression is one important way in which people may try to restore power, I expected these lower perceptions of power to, in turn, predict greater aggression toward intimate partners. To test these claims I adopted the same ecologically valid measures of aggression used in Chapter Two, as well as more standard self-reports of aggression used by many of the prior studies listed in Table 1.1. Thus, I tested this mediation hypothesis across four studies that used diverse well-established methods across divergent samples.

In addition to testing whether lower perceptions of power inform why men's hostile sexism is associated with greater relationship aggression, I tested whether these perceptions of lower power were biased; that is, whether men who endorse hostile sexism underestimate the power they have in their relationships. Despite good evidence that concerns of loss within relationships predicts negatively biased perceptions (see Collins & Feeney, 2004; Downey & Feldman, 1996; Mikulincer & Shaver, 2003), no prior research has considered whether men's concerns about losing power to women bias their perceptions of power within intimate relationships. To test this hypothesis, I utilised the latest techniques in modelling bias to compare the level of power individuals perceived they had in the relationship to the level of power the partner reported they had (see West & Kenny, 2011). Using partners' reports of individual's power as a benchmark to assess bias, I expected that men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism would underestimate the power they possessed in their relationship (compared to their partner's reports of their power). I discuss this sophisticated analytic

strategy for assessing bias in depth in Chapter Three. As I outline in Chapter Three, this novel approach has important implications for how we understand the interplay between sexist attitudes, interpersonal perception, and aggression in intimate contexts.

Men's Hostile Sexism: The Cost for Female Intimate Partners

Chapters Two and Three focused on when and why men's endorsement of hostile sexism promotes aggressive behaviour towards intimate female partners. Chapter Four extended this focus by examining the costs of hostile sexism for female intimate partners. Verbal, psychological, and physical aggression has widespread detrimental effects on partners' health and wellbeing (see Arriaga et al., 2018; Arriaga & Schkeryantz, 2015; Lawrence et al., 2009), and damages the quality and stability of relationships more generally (Gottman, 1998; Karney & Bradbury, 1995; Kiecolt-Glaser & Newton, 2001). Thus, the aggression associated with men's hostile sexism will undoubtedly negatively impact female partners. Yet, there is a substantial gap in investigations that directly examine the association between men's hostile sexism and outcomes for intimate female partners. Ironically, although prior research aims to examine how hostile sexism produces harmful effects for women (see Table 1.1), this prior research has almost exclusively focused on how *men's* hostile sexism predicts *men's* behaviour and relationship evaluations, rather than how men's endorsement of hostile sexism affects *women's* experiences and evaluations.

This male-centric focus is problematic for several reasons. First, sexist attitudes are predominantly directed toward women, and thus will have disproportionate costs for women compared to men (see Eagly & Wood, 2012; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al, 2000; 2004; also see Jackman, 1994). Second, a fundamental goal of most sexism research is to understand the origins, function, and consequences of sexist attitudes in a bid to protect women from the harmful outcomes assumed to arise from these attitudes (see Connor et al., 2017). Third, prior research demonstrates that sexist attitudes have diverging costs and

benefits for men and women within intimate relationships (see Overall & Hammond, 2018), Therfore it is inappropriate to simply assume that men's hostile sexism has costs for female partners without directly testing what these costs are. Accordingly, it is somewhat bewildering that scarce attention has been paid towards investigating the problems men's hostile sexism should pose for female partners. Indeed, sexism researchers should be making targeted efforts to better understand the impact that hostile and antagonistic attitudes *towards* women have *for* women. Chapter Four addresses this key oversight in prior research by directly examining how men's hostile sexism impacts the seriousness, number, and type of problems *female partners* experience across important domains. I briefly describe my key argument below.

Chapter Four: Men's Hostile Sexism Predicts Female Partners Relationship Problems. Intimate relationships are a key context to examine the costs that men's endorsement of hostile sexism should have for women. Intimate partners deeply affect one another on a daily basis, and thus hostile sexism may have the most prevalent, routine, and damaging impact on women *within* intimate relationships. Chapter Four extends prior research by taking a dyadic perspective to examine whether men's endorsement of hostile sexism creates problems for female *partners* (see Table 1.2). Understanding the impact that these antagonist attitudes towards women have on women whom heterosexual men are closest to is vital to understanding how these attitudes function. Moreover, examining partner effects—how men's hostile sexism affects female partners' experiences in intimate relationships—reduces the degree to which self-reporting biases might limit the accuracy of men's reports (a problem that has plagued prior research). Indeed, prior research supports that men who endorse hostile sexism may not accurately assess and report on experiences within intimate relationships. For example, men who endorse hostile sexism have more negatively biased perceptions of their partners' relationship behaviour (Hammond & Overall, 2013a),

and biased perceptions of their own relationship power (Chapter Three). Chapter Four avoids this self-serving bias by gathering reports of relationship problems from the female partners' perspective, and thus directly tests the problems that men's endorsement of hostile sexism likely creates for their female partners.

As has already been highlighted above, a variety of processes associated with men's hostile sexism should create problems for men and women within intimate relationships. I provide a review of this research in Chapter Four to present a case that women who have partners who more strongly endorse hostile sexism are likely to experience more serious problems across a wider range of domains shown to be critical to relationship functioning. Moreover, the problems arising from male partners' endorsement of hostile sexism should mean that women feel less satisfied in their relationships and less committed to their partner and relationship. In sum, I expect female partners of men who endorse hostile sexism to experience a greater number of, and more serious, problems in their relationships and, in turn, feel less satisfied with, and less committed to, their intimate relationships.

I also continue my interdependence account of how hostile sexism shapes relationships by examining the specific *types of problems* women experience when their male partners' more strongly endorse hostile sexism. In particular, the goal to protect men's power that is central to hostile sexism is likely to promote problems regarding sharing power and making decisions in intimate relationships. Similarly, suspicions that women will manipulate men by exploiting their relational dependence should create trust and intimacy problems (see Glick & Fiske, 1996; Hammond & Overall, 2013a), which might manifest in greater jealousy (see Rudman & Glick, 2008), fears about infidelity, and anger following a betrayal of trust (Forbes, Jobe, White, Bloesch, & Adams- Curtis, 2005). In addition, the stringent and restrictive gender-roles norms that hostile sexism prescribes to protect men's power (e.g., men are best suited to higher status roles; women should prioritise their male partners careers

above their own; Chen et al., 2009; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 1997; Rudman & Glick, 2008), should create problems and conflict relating to gender-roles (e.g., if female partners take on non-traditional jobs; Masser & Abrams, 2004; Moya, Glick, Expósito, De Lemus, & Hart, 2007).

In sum, Chapter Four tests an important question that is central to Ambivalent Sexism Theory, but has been largely ignored in prior research: Do men's aggressive and antagonistic attitudes towards women create problems for *women* in intimate relationships? Chapter Four examines this important question by testing whether men's hostile sexism predicts the number of, seriousness, and specific types of problems that female partners' experience within intimate relationships, and whether these problems associated with men's hostile sexism lead female partners to feel less satisfied with, and less committed to, their intimate relationships. Testing these associations facilitates a greater understanding of how these attitudes negatively impact individual's relationship experiences and evaluations, and thus why benevolent sexism has emerged to offset the costs of hostile sexism.

Research Summary

Ambivalent Sexism Theory states that hostile sexism alone is ineffective at sustaining gender inequality because these hostile and aggressive attitudes are costly for men and women in intimate relationships (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Yet, the relationship costs associated with hostile sexism are poorly understood. The current research takes a dyadic, interdependence-based perspective to investigate how men's endorsement of hostile sexism impacts specific behaviours and evaluations within intimate relationships. This thesis makes a novel contribution to the literature on sexist attitudes, relationship functioning, and aggression, by exploring three unresolved questions derived from Ambivalent Sexism Theory shown in Table 1.2. First, I advance prior research by taking a dyadic interdependence perspective to examine when and why men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism are

more aggressive towards their female partners (Chapters Two and Three). Second, I extend prior literature by examining how men's endorsement of hostile sexism has relationship costs for female partners. Chapter Four explores how men's hostile sexism creates problems for intimate female partners that should, in turn, impact how satisfied and committed women are in their intimate relationships.

Across chapters this thesis aims to demonstrate novel theoretical integration to understand the complex interplay between sexist attitudes and relationship processes that have important implications for relationship functioning, personal wellbeing and societal-level problems, including aggression toward women. Both Chapters Two and Three provide tangible targets for interventions for reducing aggression within heterosexual relationships (discussed in Chapter Five). Meanwhile, Chapter Four provides the first test of how men's aggressive attitudes towards women impacts female partners' experiences within intimate relationships. In doing so, Chapter Four critiques the current focus on men's hostile sexism predicting men's experiences, behaviour, and evaluations despite the disproportionate costs that sexist attitudes have for women.

CHAPTER TWO: WHEN DOES MEN'S HOSTILE SEXISM PREDICT RELATIONSHIP AGGRESSION?

The primary aim of Chapter Two was to examine *when* men's hostile sexism will be associated with relationship aggression. Despite the established links between hostile sexism and aggression, no prior research has specified when men who endorse hostile sexism are likely to be aggressive towards their female partners. I argue that the link between hostile sexism and relationship aggression should occur because the dependence that characterises intimate relationships clashes with men's power concerns and associated fears that they will be exploited by female partners (Chen et al., 2009; Hammond & Overall, 2013; Overall et al., 2011). Given their fears of dependence, men who endorse hostile sexism should exhibit aggression when the risks of dependence are high—when they are particularly vulnerable to being hurt, rejected, and exploited by their female partners—which is best indexed by partners' relationship commitment.

Accordingly, in Chapter Two I present two dyadic studies which test whether men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism are more aggressive toward their partners *when* they are most vulnerable to being hurt, rejected, and exploited because their partners are—or are perceived to be—low in commitment. I test this prediction across couple's daily lives and during important couple interactions to assess aggressive responses as they naturally occur.

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Abstract

Hostile sexism encompasses aggressive attitudes toward women who contest men's power and suspicions that women will manipulate men by exploiting their relational dependence. Prior research has shown that these attitudes predict greater aggression toward female relationship partners, but has overlooked the contexts in which such aggression should occur. The present research identified an important contextual factor that determines when men's hostile sexism is (and when it is not) associated with relationship aggression. Men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism were more aggressive toward their female partners during couples' daily life (Study 1) and conflict discussions (Study 2), but only when their female partners were perceived to be, or reported being, low in relationship commitment. These findings show that men who endorse hostile sexism do not always enact aggression toward female partners, but do so in contexts relevant to their fears that women will exploit relational dependence and undermine men's power.

Keywords: Hostile sexism, psychological aggression, commitment, dependence

Men's Hostile Sexism and Relationship Aggression: The Moderating Role of Partner Commitment

Hostile sexism encompasses aggressive attitudes toward women who contest men's power (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Hostile sexism is often directed toward women who threaten men's societal-level dominance, such as feminists or career women (Glick et al., 1997; Sibley & Wilson, 2004). Yet, men who endorse hostile sexism also respond more aggressively toward their intimate relationship partners (Hammond & Overall, 2013a; Overall et al., 2011). The link between hostile sexism and relationship aggression most likely occurs because the dependence that characterises intimate relationships clashes with men's power concerns and associated fears that they will be exploited by female partners (Chen et al., 2009; Hammond & Overall, 2013a; Overall et al., 2011). However, the relative risk of exploitation varies across relationships, and so the levels of aggression prompted by hostile sexism should also vary. In the current studies, we advance prior research by identifying when men's hostile sexism predicts relationship aggression, and when it does not. We predicted that men's hostile sexism would predict greater aggression toward female partners, but only when men's dependence was most risky because partners were, or were perceived to be, low in relationship commitment.

Hostile Sexism and Relationship Aggression

Hostile sexism characterises the relationship between men and women as a contest for power, such as expressing that women pursue power "by getting control over men" and use the "guise of equality" to get ahead of men (Ambivalent Sexism Inventory; Glick & Fiske, 1996). These attitudes protect men's privileged societal status by derogating and intimidating women who threaten men's societal power. Accordingly, men who endorse hostile sexism evaluate career women and feminists more negatively, but not homemakers and caretakers (Glick et al., 1997; Sibley & Wilson, 2004). Yet, research has also revealed that men who

more strongly endorse hostile sexism report greater acceptance of aggression toward intimate partners (Forbes et al., 2005; Yamawaki, Ostenson, & Brown, 2009), report more verbal aggression toward dating partners (Forbes et al., 2004; Martinez-Pecino, & Durán, 2016), and respond more aggressively toward intimate partners during couples' daily life and within conflict discussions (Hammond & Overall, 2013a; Overall, et al., 2011).

Prior studies supporting that men's hostile sexism predicts greater relationship aggression have focused on the main effect of hostile sexism on aggression measures. However, contemporary approaches to understanding aggression recognise that the predictive power of variables associated with aggression are intensified or reduced by other theoretically-related factors (Finkel & Eckhardt, 2013). For example, people higher in neuroticism enact greater relationship aggression, but particularly do so *when* they encounter stress which exacerbates affective reactivity (Hellmuth & McNulty, 2008). Similarly, dispositional aggressiveness predicts greater aggression toward partners, but does so *when* people lack the self-regulatory resources needed to deal with difficult relationship interactions (Finkel et al., 2012). These patterns emphasise that aggression is not enacted routinely by individuals who have a propensity towards aggression, but occurs when specific contexts exacerbate the underlying vulnerabilities or concerns that prompt aggression.

The aim of the current research was to examine an important contextual factor that should be relevant to the concerns associated with men's hostile sexism and, thus, determine when men's hostile sexism will predict relationship aggression. Hostile sexism is essentially about protecting and maintaining men's power, but these power concerns clash with the dependence that is inherent in intimate relationships. In heterosexual relationships men are inescapably dependent on their female partners for love, care and support and can only achieve these desired outcomes with the co-operation and investment of their female partner (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978). Thus, in intimate relationships, the fulfilment of men's (like

women's) relational needs are in the hands of their partner and such dependence risks the possibility of hurt and exploitation (Murray, Holmes & Collins, 2006). The risks of dependence are particularly concerning to heterosexual men who endorse hostile sexism because they fear that women will use their dependence to control and manipulate them (e.g., put them "on a tight leash"; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Of importance, aggression is a common self-protective response when people fear their dependence is not in safe hands (Murray et al., 2006) and aggression is often enacted to demonstrate power and ensure partners do not exploit one's dependence (Bornstein, 1996; Murphy et al., 1994; Overall et al., 2016). Accordingly, the relationship aggression associated with men's hostile sexism has been understood to represent attempts to reduce dependence and maintain power and control (Hammond & Overall, 2013a, 2017; Overall et al., 2011).

Although fears of relational dependence may be central to the aggressive responses associated with hostile sexism, the hurt and exploitation that dependence risks varies across relationships. The relative risks of dependence are determined by the degree to which partners are motivated to meet one's needs versus be hurtful and exploitative (Murray et al., 2006), which is indicated by the degree to which partners are (or perceived to be) committed (Drigotas et al., 1999; Rusbult, 1980; 1983). When partners are more committed, they are orientated toward preserving their relationship and are willing to put their personal interests aside to ensure the other partner's needs are met (Rusbult & Buunk, 1993; Rusbult et al., 1991). In this context, the risks of dependence are minimised because people are more able to rely on their partner's investment and they are less vulnerable to hurt, rejection and exploitation (Rusbult & Buunk, 1993; Rusbult & Van Lange, 2003). By contrast, when partners are less committed, they are less motivated to care for the other partner and are more likely to prioritise their own needs, and thus the risks of dependence runs high; people are

less able to rely on their partner's investment and they are particularly vulnerable to hurt and exploitation (also see Murray et al., 2006).

In sum, the risk of dependence, and associated self-protective and aggressive responses, should occur more strongly when the risk of hurt and exploitation runs high because partners are low in commitment. Moreover, people who are more concerned about being dependent and harbour fears of exploitation, such as men high in hostile sexism, should be more sensitive to the relative risks of dependence and respond to low partner commitment more aggressively. Indeed, the potential for partner's low in commitment to exploit and hurt men clashes with the power concerns and dependence fears associated with hostile sexism and should prompt aggression to reduce dependence and rebalance control. Accordingly, we predicted that men who endorse hostile sexism should respond aggressively towards their partners particularly when the risks of hurt, rejection and exploitation are high because their partners are low—or are perceived to be low—in relationship commitment. By contrast, because the threat of dependence and exploitation is diminished when partners are highly committed, the association between hostile sexism and aggression should be reduced when their partners are high—or are perceived to be high—in relationship commitment.

Current Research

In two studies, we tested our prediction that female partners' level of commitment would determine when men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism respond aggressively in their intimate relationships, and when they do not. In Study 1, heterosexual couples completed a 3-week daily diary and reported on aggressive responses relevant to the daily course of relationships. In Study 2, heterosexual couples engaged in video-recorded conflict discussions and observers rated each partner's aggressive communication. Our assessment of relationship aggression was based on well-studied relationship behaviours that (1) are relevant to the relationship interactions investigated, (2) have been shown to have harmful

consequences for partners (Gottman, 1998; Karney & Bradbury, 1995), and (3) represent psychological aggression involving communication that is intended, or can be reasonably perceived as intended, to hurt partners and cause psychological pain (Gelles & Straus, 1979; Straus, 1979).

We expected that partners' commitment would interact with men's hostile sexism to predict aggression. In particular, we predicted that men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism would be more aggressive toward their partners when the risks of hurt and exploitation associated with dependence is greatest because their partners are low—or are perceived to be low—in commitment. In contrast, we predicted that the link between hostile sexism and aggression would be reduced when partners are high—or are perceived to be high—in commitment because the risk of hurt and exploitation is low, and the concerns of power and dependence associated with hostile sexism are less pertinent. Although we expected this predicted interaction effect would emerge using both partners' reports of their commitment and individuals' perceptions of their partners' commitment, we expected the effects to be stronger for perceptions of commitment given that that perceptions of low commitment should most strongly activate the dependence fears and power concerns central to men's hostile sexism (and vice versa). Finally, we expected these effects to occur for men, and not women. Women who endorse hostile sexism also believe that men's power and dominance should be upheld in relationships (Chen et al., 2009), and so should not be threatened by relationship dependence or have the need to restore power via aggression.

Study 1

In Study 1, both members of heterosexual couples completed measures of sexist attitudes and relationship commitment in an initial laboratory-based session, and then reported on their aggressive responses toward their partner each day for 21 days.

Method

Participants

Seventy-three heterosexual couples (total N = 146) were reimbursed $70NZD for the procedures described below. Participants were on average 23.5 years old (*SD* = 6.83 years). Couple were in relatively serious (12% married, 33% cohabitating, 46% serious, 9% steady) relationships of an average length of 3.01 years (*SD* = 3.35).[2]

Procedure and Materials

During an initial session, participants completed the scales described below and received instructions regarding how to complete a web-based daily record of their behaviour over the next 21 days. Participants completed an average of 19.82 diary entries (total number of entries = 2786).

Measures

Sexist Attitudes. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996) measured participants' attitudes toward women. Eleven items assessed hostile sexism (e.g., "Women seek to gain power by getting control over men", "Once a woman gets a man to commit to her she usually tries to put him on a tight leash"; -3 = strongly disagree, 3 = strongly agree). Eleven items assessed benevolent sexism, which encompasses subjectively positive, yet patronising, attitudes toward women (e.g., "Women should be cherished and protected by men").

Commitment and Perceptions of Partners' Commitment. Participants rated five items developed by Rusbult, Martz and Agnew (1998) to assess commitment (e.g., "I am committed to maintaining my relationship with my partner"), and perceptions of partner's

[2] Across both studies the focal effects did not differ according to age, relationship length (log-transformed), and relationship status (cohabiting vs. not).

commitment (e.g., "My partner is committed to maintaining his/her relationship with me"; 1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

Daily Aggression. At the end of each day, participants rated two items used in prior studies to assess aggressive behaviours that are relevant to the day-to-day course of relationships (Overall & Sibley, 2009, 2010): "I was critical or unpleasant toward my partner", "I acted in a way that could be hurtful to my partner" (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). To ensure that these behaviours captured aggressive motivations directed toward the partner, we followed prior assessments of relationship aggression (e.g., Finkel et al., 2012; Overall et al., 2016) by gathering ratings of anger toward the partner ("I felt angry at my partner"; 1 = *not at all*, 7 = *extremely*). We averaged the three items to provide an overall index of daily aggression (α = .85; *M* across days = 1.53, *SD* = 1.02). Analysing the behavioural items and anger separately produced a similar pattern of results. Also see Appendix 1 for results examining partners' perceptions of participants' daily aggression.

Results

Table 2.1 presents descriptive statistics, reliabilities, and correlations. We tested our predictions using both (1) perceptions of partner's commitment, and (2) partner's actual self-reported commitment. We expected that both analyses would reveal that men's hostile sexism predicted greater daily aggression when partners were low (but not high) in relationship commitment, although we expected that the effects would be stronger for perceptions of partner's commitment. Following Kenny, Kashy and Cook's (2006) procedures for analysing repeated measures dyadic data using the MIXED procedure in SPSS 21, we regressed daily aggression on hostile sexism, perceptions of partner's commitment (or the partner's reported commitment), and the interaction between hostile sexism and perceptions of partner's commitment (or the partner's reported commitment). As is typical because hostile and benevolent sexism are positively correlated, we also included the main and interaction effects

Table 2.1. Descriptive statistics, Alpha Reliabilities, and Correlations Across All Measures (Study 1).

	Men		Women		Gender Diff	Correlations				
	M (SD)	*α*	*M (SD)*	*α*	*t*	*1.*	*2.*	*3.*	*4.*	*5.*
1. Hostile Sexism	-0.70 (1.10)	.87	-0.86 (1.09)	.87	0.85	**.33****	.38**	-.05	-.07	.12
2. Benevolent Sexism	-0.14 (0.87)	.68	-0.58 (1.00)	.80	2.85**	.60**	**.19***	.14	.13	.09
3. Own Commitment	6.25 (0.80)	.89	6.50 (0.64)	.84	-2.05*	-.16	.06	**.40****	.74**	.45**
4. Perceptions of Partners' Commitment	6.43 (0.75)	.88	6.25 (0.85)	.88	1.34	-.13	.02	.76**	**.50****	.60**
5. Partners' Self-Reported Commitment	6.50 (0.64)	.84	6.25 (0.80)	.89	2.05*	-.12	-.16	.45**	.64**	**.40****

Note. Possible scores range from −3 to 3 for Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism, and 1 to 7 for all other scales. Gender diff. *t* represents test of difference between men and women. Correlations for men are above the diagonal. Correlations for women are below the diagonal. Bold correlations on the diagonal represent correlations across partners. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

of benevolent sexism to ensure that the effects were due to hostile sexism. The hypothesised effects remained significant without controlling for benevolent sexism (see Appendix 1).

Predictor variables were grand-mean centered, intercepts were treated as random coefficients, and errors were allowed to covary across dyad members. We first estimated the effects pooled across men and women, modelling the main and interaction effects of gender (coded *-1* women, *1* men) to test whether the effects significantly differed across men and women. We then ran a two-intercept model to simultaneously estimate the effects for men and women separately while controlling for the dependence in the data (equivalent to decomposing the gender interactions; see Kenny et al., 2006). Table 2.2 displays the main and interaction effects for men and women (first two columns) as well as the gender interactions testing whether each effect differed across men and women (final column).

As predicted, a significant interaction between hostile sexism and *perceptions* of partners' commitment emerged for men, and not women, and this gender difference was significant (see upper half of Table 2.2). The interaction for men is shown in Panel A, Figure 2.1. Greater hostile sexism was only associated with greater daily aggression when men perceived their partners to be less committed (B = .24, t = 2.72, p = .008), and had the opposite effect when partners were perceived to be highly committed (B = -.14, t = -2.03, p = .046).

A similar effect emerged when modelling partners' reported commitment (lower half of Table 2.2). As displayed in Panel B, Figure 2.1, greater hostile sexism was only associated with greater daily aggression by men when their female partners reported being less committed (B = .18, t = 2.25, p = .028), but not when their female partners reported being highly committed (B = -.10, t = -1.41, p = .16).

Additional analyses demonstrated that the effects were specific to partners' level of commitment, and not men's own levels of commitment. The effects of hostile sexism were

Table 2.2. The Main and Interaction Effects of Hostile Sexism and (1) Perceptions of Partners' Commitment and (2) Partners' Commitment on Daily Aggression (Study 1).

	Men					**Women**					**Gender Difference**	
		95% CI					*95% CI*					
	B	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*B*	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*t*	*r*
Perceptions of Partners' Commitment												
Hostile Sexism	.05	-.05	.15	0.97	.11	.10	-.05	.26	1.34	.16	-0.61	.06
Perceptions of Partners' Commitment	-.37	-.51	-.23	-5.32**	.53	-.30	-.50	-.11	-3.21*	.35	-0.71	.08
Hostile Sexism *x* Perceptions of Partners' Commitment	**-.26**	**-.43**	**-.09**	**-3.10****	**.34**	.17	-.05	.40	1.55	.18	**-3.18****	**.31**
Partners' Self-Reported Commitment												
Hostile Sexism	.04	-.07	.14	0.71	.08	.17	.00	.34	2.01*	.24	-1.35	.14
Partners' Self-Reported Commitment	-.25	-.43	-.08	-2.89**	.32	-.08	-.28	.11	-0.84	.10	-1.44	.16
Hostile Sexism x Partners' Self-Reported Commitment	**-.22**	**-.39**	**-.05**	**-2.56***	**.29**	.13	-.12	.39	1.04	.12	**-2.45***	**.25**

Note. "Partners' commitment" refers to partners' self-reported commitment. The predicted effects are shown in bold. Gender difference coefficients test whether the effects significantly differed across men and women. Effect sizes (*r*) were computed using Rosenthal and Rosnow's (2007) formula: $r = \sqrt{(t^2 / t^2 + df)}$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$

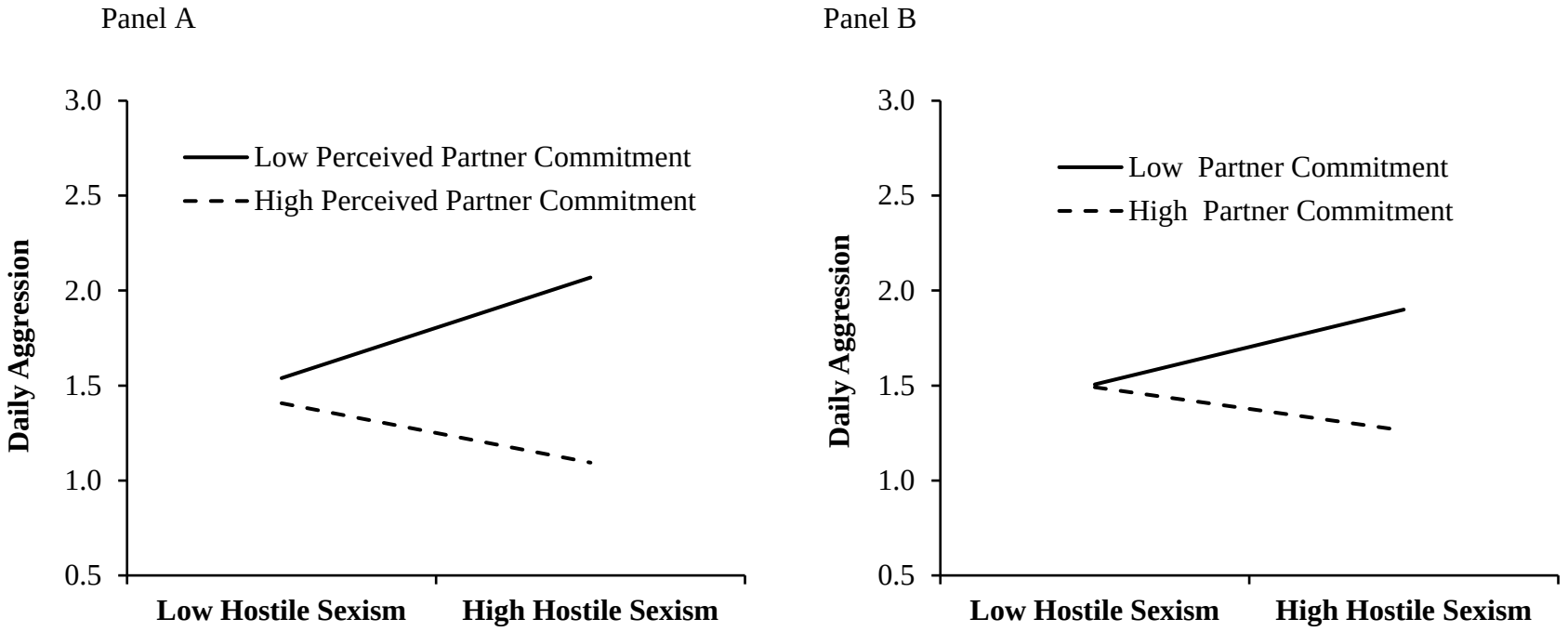

Figure 2.1. The moderating effect of men's perceptions of the partners' commitment (Panel A) and partners' self-reported commitment (Panel B) on the association between hostile sexism and daily aggression.

Note. High and low values represent 1 SD above and below the mean.

specific to partners' level of commitment, and not men's own levels of commitment. The effects of hostile sexism were not moderated by men's own commitment (B = -.06, t = -0.90, p = .37), and controlling for the main and interaction effect of own commitment did not reduce the effects shown in Figure 2.1.[3]

Study 2

Study 1 supported our prediction, but relied on self-reports of aggression. In Study 2, we tested our prediction by gathering observer-ratings of aggression exhibited within couples' conflict discussions. Discussing relationship conflicts involves partners trying to influence, and resist influence from, each other and thus is a key context in which the links between hostile sexism and relationship aggression will arise (Overall et al., 2011).

Method

Participants

Ninety-one heterosexual couples (total N = 182) were reimbursed NZ$70 for the procedures described below. Participants were on average 21.90 years of age (SD = 3.96 years). Couples were in serious (11% married, 42% cohabitating, 41% serious, 6% steady) relationships of an average length of 2.5 years (SD = 1.67).

Procedure

After completing measures assessing sexist attitudes and relationship commitment, participants were asked to identify and rank in order of importance three relationship

[3] We also tested whether the aggression-inducing effects of low partner commitment was greater when men high in hostile sexism were also highly committed, and thus the pain of any partner rejection or exploitation is greater (i.e., a 3-way interaction between hostile sexism, partners' commitment and own commitment). These analyses are summarized in the Appendix 1 (see Table SM1.1). Only one marginal interaction emerged of the four tests across Studies 1 and 2, which provided only tentative evidence that the aggression exhibited when partners are low, or perceived to be low, in partner commitment is magnified when men high in hostile sexism are also highly committed and thus the risks of dependence are more poignant.

problems that were caused by aspects of their partner that they want improved. This procedure ensures that each couple member identifies relationship problems that represent conflicting desires, goals and needs across partners (Overall, Fletcher, Simpson, & Sibley, 2009). The most important ranked problem identified by each couple member was chosen for discussion, unless there was overlap in topics across partners, in which case the next ranked non-overlapping problem was selected. Following a 5-minute warm-up discussion about non-conflictual events over the past week, couples engaged in two 7-minute discussions about: (1) the top-ranked problem the female partner identified, and (2) the top-ranked feature the male partner identified (order counterbalanced across couples). Both discussions involve partners trying to influence and resist influence, regardless of who identified the topic (Christensen & Heavey, 1990; Gottman, 1998). Thus, as in prior research (Overall et al., 2011), we expected men's hostile sexism to be associated with aggression in both discussions (see Appendix 1).

Measures

Sexist Attitudes. Participants completed the short form version of the ASI (Glick & Fisk, 1996), which has demonstrated good reliability and validity (Hammond & Overall, 2013a; Overall et al., 2011; Sibley & Perry, 2010).

Perceptions of Partners' Commitment. Participants reported on their (1) own, and (2) perceptions of their partner's, commitment using the same scales in Study 1.

Aggressive Communication. Two trained coders independently rated aggressive communication using an established coding scheme that incorporates the most commonly assessed hostile and destructive conflict behaviours that prior research has shown to have detrimental effects on relationship partners (Overall et al., 2009; also see Gottman, 1998 and Karney & Bradbury, 1995). Coded behaviours included derogating partners (e.g., criticising, insulting, belittling), displaying harsh negative affect (e.g., anger, frustration, yelling, cursing), and threatening punishment/negative consequences for the partner. Coders took into

account the frequency, intensity, and duration of these behaviours across each discussion (1 = *low*, 7 = *high*). Men and women were coded separately in independent viewings (order counterbalanced across couples). Coder ratings were reliable (see Table 2.3). Individuals' aggressive communication was highly correlated across the two discussions (r = .72 for men and .75 for women), and we averaged scores across the discussions to index each participants' aggressive communication. Additional analyses revealed there were no differences across discussions (see Appendix 1).

Results

Table 2.3 presents descriptive statistics, reliabilities, and correlations. As in Study 1, we tested the predicted effect using both (1) perceptions of partner's commitment, and (2) partner's reported commitment. Following the guidelines by Kenny et al. (2006) using the MIXED procedure in SPSS 21, we ran dyadic regression models predicting aggressive communication by hostile sexism, perceptions of partners' commitment (or partners' reported commitment), and the interaction between hostile sexism and perceptions of partners' commitment (or partners' reported commitment). We also included the main and interaction effects of benevolent sexism (although the results were the same without this control; see Appendix 1). All predictor variables were mean-centered. As in Study 1, we estimated the effects pooled across men and women, modelling the main and interaction effects of gender (coded *-1* women, *1* men), and ran a two-intercept model to estimate the effects for men and women separately while controlling for the dependence in the data (see Kenny et al., 2006).

As predicted, a significant interaction between hostile sexism and *perceptions* of partners' commitment emerged for men, but not women, and this gender difference was significant (see upper half of Table 2.4). As shown in Panel A, Figure 2.2, greater men's hostile sexism was only associated with greater aggressive communication when men

Table 2.3. Descriptive Statistics, Alpha Reliabilities, and Correlations Across All Measures (Study 2).

	Men		Women		Gender Diff	Correlations					
	M (SD)	*R*	*M (SD)*	*R*	*t*	*1.*	*2.*	*3.*	*4.*	*5.*	*6.*
1. Hostile Sexism	0.13 (1.20)	.78	-0.41 (1.09)	.63	3.20**	**.04**	.21*	-.04	-.11	-.15	.26*
2. Benevolent Sexism	0.60 (1.08)	.63	0.34 (1.09)	.60	1.66	.28**	**.13**	.20	-.07	-.01	-.00
3. Own Commitment	6.22 (0.88)	.83	6.51 (0.82)	.90	-2.25*	-.12	.16	**.34****	.40**	.38**	-.19
4. Perceptions of Partners' Commitment	6.44 (0.76)	.81	6.25 (0.97)	.88	1.50	.06	.05	.56**	**.38****	.50**	-.46**
5. Partners' Self-Reported Commitment	6.51 (0.82)	.90	6.22 (0.88)	.83	2.25*	.08	.09	.38**	.67**	**.34***	-.26*
6. Aggressive Communication	2.22 (1.53)	.91	3.18 (1.91)	.80	-3.72**	.04	.15	-.15	-.23*	-.17	**.40****

Note. Possible scores range from −3 to 3 for Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism, and 1 to 7 for all other scales. *R* = reliability. For the questionnaire measures, *R* represents Cronbach's alphas testing the internal reliability of the scales. For aggressive communication, *R* represent intraclass correlation coefficients testing the reliability of the coders' observational ratings. Gender diff. *t* represents test of difference between men and women. Correlations for men are above the diagonal. Correlations for women are below the diagonal. Bold correlations on the diagonal represent correlations across partners. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 2.4. The Main and Interaction Effects of Hostile Sexism and (1) Perceptions of Partners' Commitment and (2) Partners' Commitment on Aggressive Communication During Couples' Conflict Discussions (Study 2).

	Men					**Women**					**Gender Difference**	
		95% CI					*95% CI*					
	B	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*B*	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*t*	*r*
Perceptions of Partners' Commitment												
Hostile Sexism	.34	.10	.58	2.86*	.30	-.02	-.35	.31	-0.12	.01	1.75	.16
Perceptions of Partners' Commitment	-.50	-.96	-.04	-2.18*	.23	-.23	-.59	.14	-1.23	.13	-1.01	.10
Hostile Sexism *x* Perceptions of Partners' Commitment	**-.63**	**-1.00**	**-.26**	**-3.37****	**.34**	.12	-.25	.49	0.65	.07	**-2.86****	**.25**
Partners' Self-Reported Commitment												
Hostile Sexism	.24	-.04	.52	1.72	.18	.04	-.30	.37	0.21	.02	0.93	.08
Partners' Self-Reported Commitment	-.06	-.51	.39	-0.27	.03	-.12	-.55	.31	-0.56	.06	0.22	.02
Hostile Sexism *x* Partners' Self-Reported Commitment	**-.41**	**-.88**	**.06**	**-1.75†**	**.19**	.28	-.08	.64	1.55	.17	**-2.28***	**.19**

Note. The predicted effects are shown in bold. Gender difference coefficients test whether the effects significantly differed across men and women. Effect sizes (*r*) were computed using Rosenthal and Rosnow's (2007) formula: $r = \sqrt{(t^2 / t^2 + df)}$. †< .084. **p* < .05. ***p* < .01

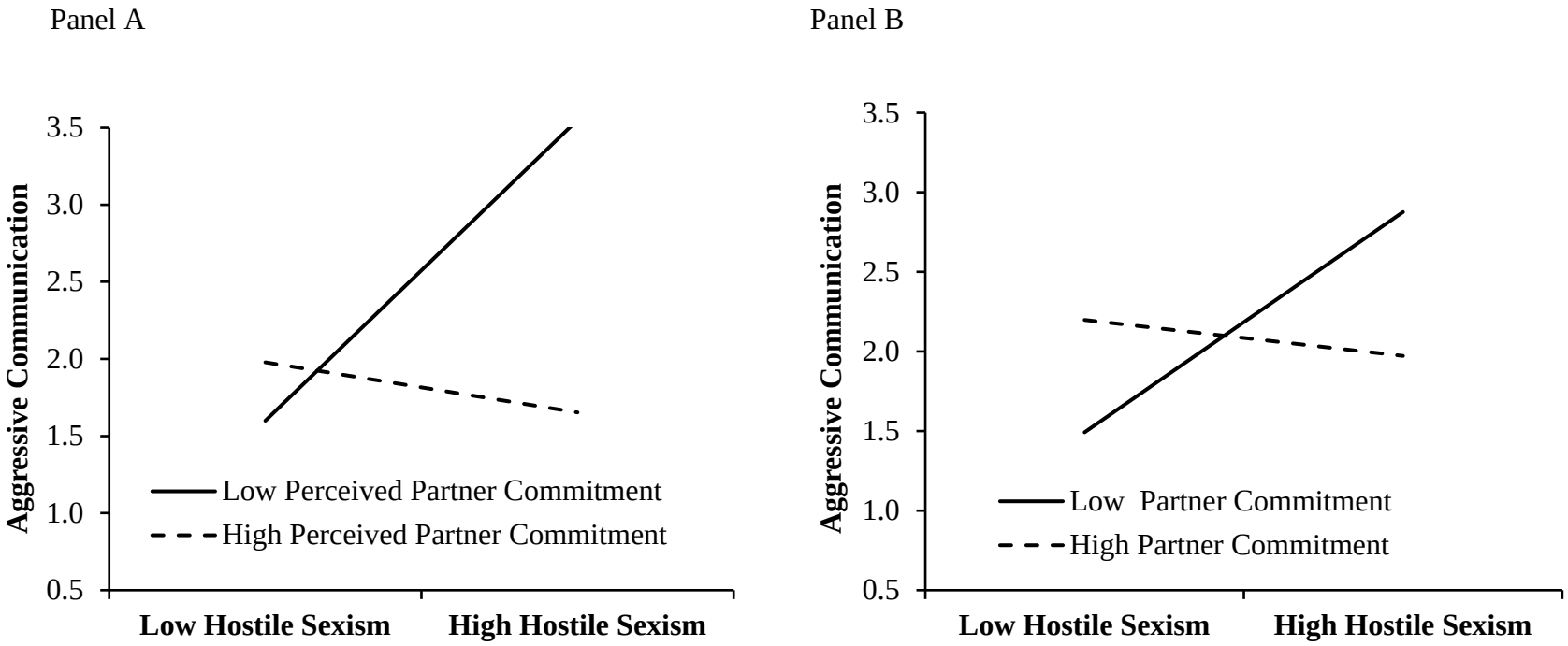

Figure 2.2. *The* moderating effect of men's perceptions of the partners' commitment (Panel A) and partners' self-reported commitment (Panel B) on the association between hostile sexism and aggressive communication during couples' conflict discussions.

Note. High and low values represent 1 SD above and below the mean.

perceived their partners to be low in commitment (B = .82, t = 3.60, p = .001), but not when partners were perceived to be high in commitment (B = -.14, t = -1.04, p = .30). A marginal interaction effect between hostile sexism and partners' reported commitment (lower half of Table 2.4) demonstrated the same pattern (Figure 2.2, Panel B): greater men's hostile sexism predicted more aggressive communication when female partners reported low levels of commitment (B = .58, t = 1.97, p = .052), but not when female partners' commitment was high (B = -.09, t = -0.57, p = .57). Finally, as in Study 1, the effects of hostile sexism were not moderated by men's own commitment (B = -.08, t = -0.58, p =.57), and controlling for the main and interaction effect of men's own commitment did not reduce the effects shown in Figure 2.2.

Discussion

Prior research indicates that men who strongly endorse hostile sexism will be more aggressive within intimate relationships. Given the damaging effects such aggression has on female partners (Arriaga & Schkeryantz, 2015; Holtzworth et al., 1997), it is crucial to understand when men's hostile sexism leads to relationship aggression and when men's hostile sexism does not. The current studies reveal that men who strongly endorse hostile sexism are not always more aggressive within their relationships. Instead, men's endorsement of hostile sexism was only associated with greater aggressive responses during couples' daily life (Study 1) and conflict discussions (Study 2) when female partners were perceived to be, or reported being, low in relationship commitment.

The moderating role of partner commitment provides insight into the underlying reasons why men who endorse hostile sexism are aggressive toward female partners. Prior theory and research have posited that men's hostile sexism is associated with relationship aggression because dependence on female partners clashes with the power concerns central to hostile sexism (Chen et al., 2009; Hammond & Overall, 2013a; Overall et al., 2011). Men

who endorse hostile sexism fear female partners will exploit their dependence and thus strive to maintain power in relationships (Chen et al., 2009; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Yakushko, 2005). However, if fears of dependence underlie their relationship aggression, then men who endorse hostile sexism should exhibit more aggression when they are at greater risk of being hurt, rejected and exploited. This risk is greatest when female partners are low in commitment, and thus it was in this relationship context that men high in hostile sexism were aggressive toward their partners. By contrast, the risks of dependence are minimal, and dependence fears and power concerns less pertinent, when partners are highly committed. Thus, men's hostile sexism did not predict relationship aggression when partners' commitment was high or perceived to be high.

The moderating role of partner commitment not only provides valuable insight into why hostile sexism is associated with aggression, but also helps to reconcile inconsistencies in the literature. Although prior research has indicated that men's hostile sexism is associated with relationship aggression (Forbes et al., 2004; Hammond & Overall, 2013a; Overall, et al., 2011), other influential research has indicated that hostile sexism will predict aggression toward women outside intimate contexts (e.g., career women), but not toward "supportive" women within intimate contexts (e.g., homemakers; Glick et al., 1997; Sibley & Wilson, 2004). Our results indicate that both positions may be correct. In particular, the latter results are understood to reflect that hostile sexism is associated with categorising women into "good" (e.g., homemaker) versus "bad" (e.g., career women) subtypes (Glick et al., 1997). Intimate partners who are highly committed fit the "good" woman subtype, and thus may be protected from the application of hostile attitudes and may even be responded to more positively. Indeed, in Study 1 (but not Study 2) men's hostile sexism was associated with *less* daily aggression when partners were perceived to be highly committed. However, intimate partners who are not committed fit the "bad" subtype because they may exploit men's

dependence and thus represent the type of women men need to aggressively protect their power from.

An alternative account of these contextual effects is that the pro-relationship goals and motives present in committed intimate relationships reduce or override men's hostile attitudes and associated aggressive responses toward women. Indeed, participants in the current studies were highly committed (see Tables 2.1 and 2.3), and people who are more committed resist aggressive impulses in favour of behaving more constructively (Rusbult et al., 1991), and thus exhibit lower relationship aggression (Slotter et al., 2012). However, the effects of hostile sexism on aggression was not moderated by men's own commitment, and controlling for the main and interaction effect of men's own commitment did not change the moderating role of partners' commitment. This pattern demonstrates that the dependence and power concerns central to hostile sexism, and associated relationship aggression, are focused on the partner and not driven by men's own investment or orientation toward the relationship. It is the female partner's commitment – or lack thereof – that indicates whether men are vulnerable to the potential hurt, rejection and exploitation that relationship dependence risks, because it is the female partner's commitment that determines whether female partners will meet men's relational needs or be hurtful and exploitative.

Strengths, Caveats and Future Research Directions

The current studies are the first to identify an important contextual factor that determines when men's hostile sexism predicts relationship aggression, and when it does not. The moderating role of partner commitment replicated across two studies examining aggression reported during couple's daily lives (Study 1) and couple's conflict discussions (Study 2). The effects were evident for men's perceptions of female partners' commitment as well as for partners' reported commitment, which reveals that the effects are not simply driven by more negative relationship perceptions. The effects held statistically controlling for

men's own commitment, demonstrating that the effects were independent of men's own level of commitment. Moreover, the effects were also shown with self-reported aggression (Study 1) and aggression observed by objective raters (Study 2), which illustrates that the effects are not simply men reporting more aggressive attitudes and desires. Our measures of aggression also captured forms of psychological aggression that commonly emerge in couples' interactions and have established harmful effects on partners and relationships (Arriaga & Schkeryantz, 2015; Gottman, 1998; Karney & Bradbury, 1995).

Although assessing aggressive responses as they naturally occur in couples' interactions is important, these ecologically-valid methods rely on correlational data that prevent causal conclusions. Reverse causal directions are less theoretically plausible; it is unlikely that relationship aggression increases men's endorsement of hostile sexism, and it is less likely that men's hostile sexism intensifies any feedback loop from aggression to partners' commitment. Our methods also precluded the assessment of *physical* aggression. The forms of aggression we measured are as psychologically harmful as physical forms of aggression (Arriaga & Schkeryantz, 2015), and precede physical aggression in relationships (Murphy & O'Leary, 1989). Nonetheless, in future studies it will be important to use additional methods to strengthen causal conclusions and to determine whether the results extend to more serious forms of physical aggression and intimate partner violence, or other detrimental long-term outcomes (e.g., reductions in commitment and satisfaction).

Finally, our samples involved relatively committed couples from a country with relatively high levels of gender equality and relatively low endorsement of sexist attitudes (see Brandt, 2011). The effects of hostile sexism appear consistent across nations, including attitudes towards intimate partner aggression (Glick et al., 2002; Yamawaki et al., 2009). Thus, we expect the results to replicate in less egalitarian countries, although they might be exacerbated or weakened in different social contexts. On the one hand, the threat of low

partner commitment (for men) might be lower in countries where women have less freedom to exit relationships due to economic dependence or lack of viable alternatives. On the other hand, men's aggressive reactions to low partner commitment are probably greater in more inequitable societies because of stronger support for the aggressive maintenance of men's power (Archer, 2006). These types of additional contextual moderators are important to examine in future research.

Conclusion

The present research identified an important contextual feature of relationships that determines when men's hostile sexism is, and when it is not, associated with relationship aggression. The results replicated across two studies assessing aggression during couples' daily life (Study 1) and observed conflict discussions (Study 2). Men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism were more aggressive toward their female partners, but only when their partners were perceived to be, or reported being, low in relationship commitment. These findings extend prior research by showing that men who endorse hostile sexism do not always enact aggression toward female partners. Instead, the relationship aggression associated with men's hostile sexism occurs in contexts relevant to their fears that women could exploit relational dependence and undermine men's power.

CHAPTER THREE: WHY DOES MEN'S HOSTILE SEXISM PREDICT RELATIONSHIP AGGRESSION?

The two studies reported in Chapter Two examined, for the first time, the contexts in which men's hostile sexism is associated with relationship aggression. Results across two dyadic studies indicated that men who endorse hostile sexism do not always behave aggressively towards their female partners, but do so in contexts that signal female partners are more likely to exploit, reject or hurt the self because female partners were, or were perceived to be, low in relationship commitment. These findings support that dependence concerns are central to understanding the hostile sexism-aggression link.

In the next chapter, I move from the question of *when* to the question of *why*. Chapter Three builds on Chapter Two by examining one key reason men's hostile sexism is associated with aggression toward intimate partners. I argue that power related-concerns are central to why men who endorse hostile sexism behave aggressively towards partners because the interdependent realities of intimate relationships will clash with the principal concern that men need to protect against losing power to women. Accordingly, men who endorse hostile sexism should be more sensitive to the power constraints that inevitably arise in relationships, and thus, should be likely to perceive they have lower power in their relationship. Morover, because aggression is one key way in which people may try to restore power (see Bugental, 2010; Bugental & Lin, 2001; Worchel et al., 1978), these lower perceptions of power should be in turn associated with greater aggression toward intimate partners.

Accordingly, in Chapter Three, I present a model that proposes that men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism will perceive themselves to have lower power in their relationships, and this lower perceived power will, in turn, be associated with greater relationship aggression. I tested these predictions across four studies by assessing hostile sexism, perceptions of power, and aggression toward partners during couples' daily lives as

reported by both partners (Study 1), observer-rated aggressive communication as exhibited during couples' video-recorded conflict interactions (Study 2), and self-reported aggression over the past year (Studies 3 and 4). In addition, in Studies 1 and 2, I also tested whether these lower perceptions of power were biased, such that men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism *underestimated* the power they have in their relationships. Thus, these analyses tested whether gender-based attitudes bias how men who endorse hostile sexism experience power in their relationships. In Studies 3 and 4, I tested whether the predicted associations between hostile sexism, lower perceived power and aggression were distinct from a key alternative; namely, that men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism have a greater desire for power in their relationships, which in turn, is associated with greater aggression towards their female partners. Lastly, I tested several other theoretically relevant alternative explanations to provide robust support for my model, including ruling out that the links between hostile sexism, perceived power and relationship aggression were not simply the result of more general interpersonal dominance, desires to have power over women, or a greater propensity for violence.

The research article which follows is the author's copy of a manuscript published in Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. Please see:

Cross. E, J., Overall, N. C, Low, R. S. T., & McNulty, J. K. (2018). An interdependence account of sexism and power: Men's hostile sexism, biased perceptions of low power, and relationship aggression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.* Advanced Online Publication.

Abstract

Protecting men's power is fundamental to understanding the origin, expression, and targets of hostile sexism, yet no prior theoretical or empirical work has specified how hostile sexism is related to experiences of power. In the current studies, we propose that the interdependence inherent in heterosexual relationships will lead men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism to perceive they have lower power in their relationship, and that these perceptions will be biased. We also predicted that lower perceptions of power would in turn promote aggression toward intimate partners. Across four studies, men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism perceived lower power in their relationships. Comparisons across partners supported that these lower perceptions of power were biased; men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism underestimated the power they had compared to their partners' reports of that power (Studies 1 and 2). These lower perceptions of power, in turn, predicted greater aggression toward female partners during couples' daily interactions (Study 1), observed during couples' video-recorded conflict discussions (Study 2) and reported over the last year (Studies 3 and 4). Moreover, the associations between hostile sexism, power, and aggression were specific to men perceiving lower relationship power rather than desiring greater power in their relationships (Studies 3-4), and they were not the result of generally being more dominant and aggressive (Studies 3-4), or more negative relationship evaluations from either partner (Studies 1-4). The findings demonstrate the importance of an interdependence perspective in understanding the experiences, aggressive expressions, and broader consequences associated with hostile sexism.

Keywords: Hostile sexism, relationship power, relationship aggression, biased perceptions

An Interdependence Account of Sexism and Power: Men's Hostile Sexism, Biased Perceptions of Low Power, and Relationship Aggression

Despite increased efforts to combat gender inequality, women continue to confront sexism and the aggression that sexism promotes. Hostile sexism, which expresses antagonistic and aggressive views of women as unfairly contesting men's social advantages, prevails even in relatively egalitarian contexts (Brandt, 2011; Glick et al., 2000; 2004). Fears that men are losing control over social resources are central to the persistence of hostile sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996; 2001; Glick et al., 2000). Indeed, hostile sexism essentially involves protecting men's social power from women, which manifests in supporting less qualified men over more qualified women (e.g., Ratliff et al., 2017; also see Messer & Abrams, 2004; Rudman & Kilianski, 2000; Rudman et al., 2012). Accordingly, the majority of prior work has investigated how hostile sexism produces aggressive attitudes and behavioural motivations toward women who challenge men's advantaged social power, such as career women and feminists (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Glick, et al., 1997; Masser & Abrams, 2004; Sibley & Wilson, 2004).

Ambivalent Sexism Theory (AST; Glick & Fiske, 1996), and the mass of work AST has generated over the past 20 years, specifies that maintaining and protecting men's power is fundamental to understanding the origin, expression and targets of hostile sexism. Yet, no prior research has assessed how hostile sexism shapes men's or women's experiences of power. Moreover, the primary focus on women as outgroup members who contest men's advantaged societal-level power overlooks one of the most threatening contexts that challenges power—heterosexual intimate relationships (Smith & Hofmann, 2016). In no other context are men (or women) so vulnerable or their power so constrained because they are heavily dependent on their intimate partner for fundamental needs and goals (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978; Rusbult & Van Lange, 2003). Indeed, the ubiquitous nature of intimate

relationships means that close relationship contexts are where hostile sexism has the most prevalent, routine and potentially damaging impact, including psychological and physical aggression toward intimate partners (Cross, Overall, Hammond, & Fletcher, 2017; Forbes et al., 2004; Hammond & Overall, 2013a; Martinez-Pecino & Durán, 2016; Overall et al., 2011).

In the current research, we recognize that the interdependence inherent in intimate relationships is pivotal to understanding why the concerns about maintaining and protecting power that are central to hostile sexism promote aggression toward women. Indeed, although concerns about protecting power are integral to theoretical accounts of the effects of hostile sexism, prior theoretical or empirical work has not articulated exactly what it is about power that should account for why hostile sexism promotes aggression. We do this in the current research by outlining how the mutual dependence and influence inherent in intimate relationships constrains individuals' power. We posit that these interdependent realities will clash with concerns about losing power that are central to hostile sexism, and thus lead men who endorse hostile sexism to perceive they lack power in their relationship. Drawing on theory and research on the associations between power and aggression, we also propose that these lower perceptions of power, in turn, will be associated with greater aggression toward intimate partners. We present four studies to test these predictions, and assess whether these proposed links arising from our interdependence perspective are independent of alternative accounts, including that these associations arise from greater desires for power.

Hostile Sexism, Perceived Power, and Aggression in Intimate Relationships

Hostile sexism characterises relations between men and women as a contest for power, expressing that women pursue power "by getting control over men" (Ambivalent Sexism Inventory [ASI]; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Hostile sexism protects men's privileged societal status by expressing aggressive and threatening attitudes toward women who

challenge men's social power, such as female leaders, professionals, and feminists (Glick & Fiske, 1996). But, hostile sexism and the aggression arising from these attitudes is particularly apparent within intimate relationships. Men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism hold more accepting attitudes toward domestic violence and are more likely to believe women are responsible for domestic abuse (Chen et al., 2009; Glick et al., 2002; Sakalli, 2001; Yamawaki et al., 2009). Men's stronger endorsement of hostile sexism is also associated with greater self-reported verbal aggression toward dating partners (Forbes et al., 2004; Martinez-Pecino & Durán, 2016). Research extending global self-report measures of aggressive attitudes and behaviour has also shown that men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism behave more aggressively toward partners during couples' conflict discussions and routine daily life (Cross et al., 2017; Hammond & Overall, 2013a; Overall et al., 2011).

Researchers conducting these prior studies, and the majority of studies examining links between hostile sexism and aggression in non-intimate contexts, have assumed that concerns regarding power are why men's hostile sexism fosters aggression. Yet, no prior theoretical or empirical work has specified how or why power should underpin the hostile sexism-aggression link, or directly assessed the degree to which hostile sexism is associated with the experience of power in intimate relationships. We do this in the current research by (a) recognizing how mutual dependence and influence in intimate relationships constrains individuals' power, (b) outlining why these interdependent realities should be particularly problematic for men who endorse hostile sexism and are thus concerned about protecting their power, (c) describing how these power concerns should result in men who strongly endorse hostile sexism perceiving they have lower power in their relationships, and (d) reviewing theory and research linking lower perceptions of power to greater aggression in intimate relationships.

Interdependence and Power in Intimate Relationships. Interdependence theory

highlights that the source of interpersonal power, or lack thereof, is dependence (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). People possess power when they are able to control or influence another person's desired outcomes and thus when others are dependent on them. Similarly, people lack power when their needs, goals and desired outcomes are dependent on another's actions or preferences (also see Keltner et al., 2003). A large literature has examined power within hierarchical relationships in which specific roles mean one individual possesses asymmetrical power over desired resources (e.g., boss-employee, leader-subordinate). In these contexts, people who possess power are able to act as they desire without having to accommodate others' feelings, preferences and desires (Galinsky, Guenfeld & Magee, 2003; Galinsky, Magee, Inesi, & Gruenfeld, 2006). In contrast, those who are more dependent and less able to exert influence (i.e., have low power) often need to conform to the powerful others' preferences in order to attain desired resources.

Power dynamics are not as simple in committed intimate relationships because, even in highly satisfying and well-functioning relationships, both partners are inescapably dependent on each other. One person's ability to achieve fundamental needs and goals is dependent on their partner's cooperation and continued investment, and vice versa (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978). Moreover, because partners' outcomes are interdependent, intimates are continually influencing each other in order to attain their needs and goals (Kelley et al., 2003; Rusbult & Van Lange, 2003; Simpson, Farrell, Oriña, & Rothman, 2013). This mutual dependence and influence constrains individuals' power. Although partners' dependence affords individuals power to exert influence by fulfilling or thwarting their partner's desires, individuals own dependence also means that the partner can exert and resist influence by fulfilling or thwarting their own desired outcomes (Kelley et al., 2003; Simpson, et al., 2013). Thus, in committed relationships power is restricted or constrained because individuals' own dependence inevitably means that their partner can resist or counteract their influence.

Hostile Sexism and Power in Relationships. The ways in which interdependence constrains power within intimate relationships should be particularly problematic for men who endorse hostile sexism and are thus concerned about losing power to women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Such power concerns clash with the inherent interdependence in close relationships: men are inescapably dependent on their female partners, which affords their partner influence and constrains their own power. Indeed, the power concerns central to hostile sexism arise because men's dependence on women reduces men's power (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Hammond & Overall, 2017a; Jackman, 1994). For example, men who endorse hostile sexism fear that female partners will use their dependence to control, manipulate, and exploit them (e.g., by putting men "on a tight leash", ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996, also see Chen et al., 2009; Yakushko, 2005). These fears arise because heterosexual interdependence exacerbates beliefs that women are trying to take men's power and so men need to protect against losing their power to women. Accordingly, men's hostile sexism is associated with believing that losing power in relationships shames men (Chen et al., 2009), feeling more "threatened" and "provoked" when hypothetical female partners challenge decisions (Herrera et al., 2012), and exhibiting more hostile defensiveness in response to partners' influence attempts during couples' conflict interactions (Overall et al., 2011).

These concerns about protecting against losing power to women should influence how individuals will experience and perceive power in their relationships. Despite their motive to protect power, once in a committed relationship, men who endorse hostile sexism cannot escape the realities of interdependence: mutual dependence and influence will inevitably constrain their power. Moreover, because they harbor strong concerns about losing power, men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism should more keenly feel these constraints to power, and thus perceive they have lower power compared to men who more weakly endorse hostile sexism. Indeed, when people are orientated toward preventing losses, they are more

sensitive to negative outcomes and more vigilant toward threats that risk what they are trying to protect (see Higgins & Spiegel, 2004). Similarly, men who endorse hostile sexism should be more vigilant toward preventing the loss of power and experience typical interdependent dynamics as having a greater power-impeding impact compared to men who do not have the same need to protect their power. Thus, men who endorse hostile sexism should perceive they have lower power in their relationships compared to men who weakly endorse hostile sexism, and these lower perceptions are likely to be biased, such that men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism underestimate the power they have in their relationships.

There is good evidence that concerns of loss within relationships predicts negatively biased perceptions. Individuals who are anxiously attached deeply desire love, but believe that others will eventually be rejecting (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2003). The resulting vigilance toward losing acceptance produces negatively biased perceptions of their partners' love and support (e.g., Collins & Feeney, 2004). People low in self-esteem are equally preoccupied with being accepted and valued, and so underestimate their partners' regard (e.g., Murray, Holmes, & Griffin, 2000). Similarly, people who fear rejection interpret others' behaviour as more rejecting than is warranted (e.g., Downey & Feldman, 1996). Finally, people with elevated depressive symptoms demonstrate a vigilance toward social loss that produces more negatively biased perceptions of their partners' commitment and behaviour (Overall & Hammond, 2013; also see Allen & Babcock, 2003).

Men who endorse hostile sexism should similarly show negatively biased perceptions but do so in the domain they are most concerned about—losing power to female partners. One prior study provides evidence that hostile sexism biases perceptions in relationships. Hammond and Overall (2013) found that men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism perceived their partners' behaviour as being more negative than was justified based on their partners' reports. These biased perceptions likely arise because men who endorse hostile

sexism interpret their partners' behaviour in line with beliefs that women are intentionally trying to control men and so view their behaviour as more oppositional than it actually is. Not only will negatively biased perceptions of partner behaviour reinforce fears that partners are unjustifiably restricting power, but routine experiences of relationship dependence should similarly undermine perceptions of power more than is warranted. Thus, beyond negative interpretations of specific behaviours, repeatedly experiencing dependence and influence dynamics through the filter of power concerns should culminate into men who strongly endorse hostile sexism perceiving they generally have lower power in their relationship.

Perceptions of Low Power and Aggression toward Intimate Partners. The proposal that men who endorse hostile sexism will perceive they possess lower relationship power is important because a body of theoretical and empirical work suggests that lower power motivates aggressive responses to restore power (Bugental, 2010; Bugental & Lin, 2001; Overall et al., 2016; Worchel et al., 1978). For example, research in non-intimate contexts supports that people will respond more aggressively when they feel they are losing power or when their power is challenged or undermined (e.g., Case & Maner, 2014; Georgesen & Harris, 2006; Fast & Chen, 2009; Maner & Mead, 2010). Similarly, people who perceive lower power in intimate relationships report greater aggression toward their partners (e.g., Babcock, Waltz, Jacobson & Gottman, 1993; Ronfeldt, Kimerling, & Arias, 1998) and exhibit more aggressive communication behaviours during couples' actual interactions (Overall, et al., 2016; Sagrestano et al., 1999). Moreover, although intimates who perceive lower relationship power experience greater relationship dissatisfaction and insecurity (Caldwell & Peplau, 1984; Gray-Little & Burks, 1983; Sprecher, Schmeeckle, & Felmlee, 2006), lower power has been shown to be an independent and stronger predictor of aggression than these broad relationship variables (e.g., Overall et al., 2016). These prior

studies, and discriminant associations, support that lower relationship power is a specific risk factor for aggression toward intimate partners.

Our interdependence account outlining why men's hostile sexism should lead to lower perceptions of power, and the established links between low power and aggression, indicate that lower perceptions of power are likely one key reason men's hostile sexism is associated with aggression toward intimate partners. These predicted associations between hostile sexism, lower perceived power, and aggression are shown in the top pathway of Figure 3.1. First, men who more strongly (versus weakly) endorse hostile sexism should be more sensitive to the power restrictions that inevitably arise in relationships and thus should be more likely to perceive they have lower power in their relationship. Second, given aggression is one important way in which people may try to restore power, the lower perceptions of power we predict to be associated with men's hostile sexism should be positively associated with aggression toward intimate partners. We tested these associations across four studies.[4]

Alternative Associations: Hostile Sexism, Desire for Power, and Aggression

Our primary aim in the current research focused on testing the links between hostile sexism, lower perceived power and aggression (top pathway in Figure 3.1). However, hostile sexism and aggression may be differentially related to other power-related variables and thus we believed it was important to distinguish our predicted associations from a key alternative. In particular, theory and research connecting hostile sexism with an orientation toward

[4] The prior research we have reviewed, and our theoretical model, specifies that lower perceived power predicts greater aggression. However, the links between perceived power and aggression may be reciprocal. In particular, aggression toward intimate partners can produce partner resistance (e.g., Overall et al., 2009, 2011), which in turn could lead to lower power (Overall et al., 2011, 2016). In the current studies we recognize this possibility by testing whether the associations between men's hostile sexism and perceived power are independent of individuals own and their partner's aggression (which they were across studies). Nonetheless, as we consider in the general discussion, the potential bidirectional links between perceived power and aggression may reinforce hostile sexism.

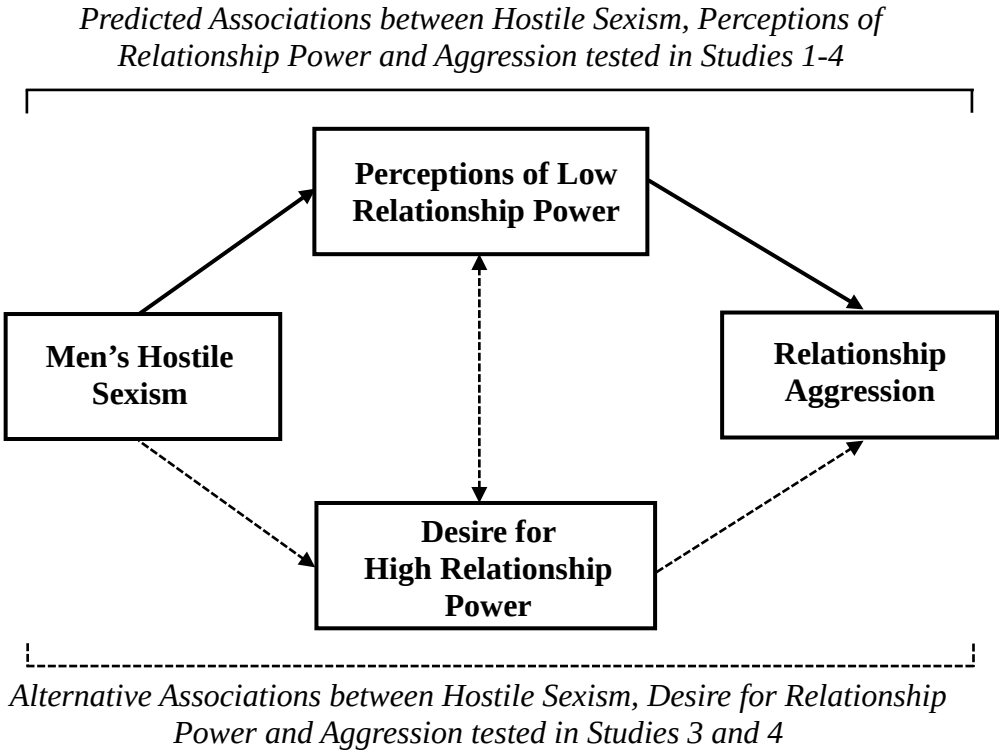

Figure 3.1. The Proposed Associations between Hostile Sexism, Perceptions of Relationship Power and Relationship Aggression (top pathway) versus Alternative Associations between Hostile Sexism, Desire for Relationship Power, and Relationship Aggression (bottom pathway)

Note. This figure depicts two ways in which power-related variables could help explain the link between men's hostile sexism and aggression toward intimate partners. The solid line represents our primary predictions that we tested across Studies 1-4: men who endorse hostile sexism should perceive themselves to have lower power in their relationships, and lower perceptions of power in relationships should in turn be associated with greater relationship aggression. The dashed line represents an alternative set of associations that we examine and compare in Studies 3-4: men who endorse hostile sexism may also desire high levels of power in their relationships, and greater desire for power may be associated with greater relationship aggression.

maintaining social hierarchies and group dominance (Christopher & Mull, 2006; Christopher & Wojda, 2008) suggests that men who endorse hostile sexism desire to possess power over others. Men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism possess stronger competitive-driven motivations to achieve dominance and power in intergroup relations (e.g., Social Dominance Orientation; Lee, Pratto & Li, 2007; Sibley, Wilson, & Duckitt, 2007) and they place greater value on power, control, and dominance (Feather, 2004). Moreover, some scholars argue that hostile sexism specifically encompasses a desire for social hierarchy where men dominate women (Christopher & Mull, 2006; Christopher & Wojda, 2008). Greater desires for social dominance are likely to apply beyond intergroup contexts to infiltrate desires for power in specific interpersonal relationships, perhaps particularly in intimate relationships given the threat interdependence poses to power. Although only one self-report study has provided evidence that men who endorse hostile sexism place greater importance on holding the dominant position in relationships (e.g., 'the man should be the king in the family'; Chen et al., 2009), the power concerns associated with hostile sexism are likely to manifest in men who endorse hostile sexism expressing a greater desire for holding power in relationships.

Accordingly, greater desires for power and dominance may play a role in explaining the aggression associated with hostile sexism. Although research has shown that lower perceived power is associated with aggressive responses (e.g., Babcock et al., 1993; Ronfeldt et al., 1998; Overall et al., 2016; Sagrestano et al., 1999), there is also evidence that greater desire for power promotes relationship aggression (e.g., Dutton & Strachan, 1987; Felson & Outlaw, 2007; Whitaker, 2013). For example, men who are violent within their relationships often report that their aggression is motivated by a need to control and dominate their partner (Barnett, Lee, & Thelan, 1997; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Dutton & Strachan, 1987; Hamberger, Lohr, Bonge, & Tolin, 1997). These types of associations are often understood to reflect that intimate partner violence arises as a means to achieve dominance or possess

power (see Holtzworth-Munroe et al., 1997; Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986; Whitaker, 2013). Outside close relationship contexts, greater orientation to possess social power also predicts more aggressive responses when competing for power (Case & Maner, 2014; Maner & Mead, 2010). Thus, as shown in the bottom pathway of Figure 3.1, an alternative or additional way in which power within relationships links hostile sexism to aggression is that men who endorse hostile sexism desire to have power in their relationships and these desires produce aggression to gain power over female partners.

In two studies, we examined whether our predicted associations between hostile sexism, lower perceived power and aggression (top pathway in Figure 3.1) were distinct from the potential associations between hostile sexism, greater desire for power, and aggression (bottom pathway in Figure 3.1). This aim is important for two reasons. First, it is possible that both pathways occur, but they represent opposing processes that impede reliable detection of the link between hostile sexism and either power variable. In particular, the predicted direction of the hostile sexism and perceived power association is in the opposite direction (negative) to that between hostile sexism and desire for power (positive) so any association between the two power variables could occlude or suppress the links with hostile sexism. People who desire to hold power may be more likely to enter and stay in relationships where they possess high levels of power, in which case hostile sexism may be associated with lower perceived power because of the interdependence constraints described above, but also indirectly associated with greater perceptions of power via desires for high relationship power. Alternatively, people who experience lower power may place a premium on having power and thus any links with greater desires for power actually arise because they feel they are losing or have lost power. Indeed, the beliefs that men are losing power central to hostile sexism should manifest in lower perceived power as we propose and should be why men who endorse hostile sexism may feel power is important to have in relationships.

Second, modeling the potential links between these two power variables helps to determine the extent to which the aggression associated with hostile sexism is motivated from a perceived loss of power or simply to fulfill a desire to possess power regardless of the level of power experienced in the relationship. Although there is evidence that both lower perceived power and desire for power are associated with greater aggression toward intimate partners, prior research has not examined whether these are independent predictors. This is important because prior research showing that violent men report greater need to control women may be due to relational dependence undermining power, and thus the reported need to control partners actually reflects a perceived lack of control and power. Similarly, the intergroup-based dominance motives associated with hostile sexism imply that men who endorse hostile sexism are aggressive to obtain or sustain power over women, despite the greater social power and advantages men possess. If this is the case in intimate relationships, then men's endorsement of hostile sexism, and greater desire for power, should predict greater aggression regardless of the level of power men experience in their relationship. Yet, we expect that it is the preoccupation with losing power central to men's hostile sexism that leads to feeling lower relationship power and, in turn, aggression toward intimate partners.[5]

[5] We acknowledge the possibility that there may be more complicated models in which desire for power could mediate the links between hostile sexism and lower power or mediate the associations between lower power and aggression. Our primary aim was to show that the links between hostile sexism, lower power and aggression were distinct from the possibility that hostile sexism promotes aggression in order to possess high levels of power, despite the greater social power and advantages men already have. Our strategy to test whether the paths are distinct inevitably accounts for these more complex alternative models. For example, if desires for power mediate either of the links between hostile sexism, lower perceived power, and aggression, then the direct associations we are testing will be reduced. Thus, by testing the independence of the pathways shown in Figure 3.1, our analyses test whether the perceived loss of power plays an important role in helping to explain the hostile sexism-relationship aggression link independent of the desire to possess power, including the relative importance of any serial mediation processes.

Current Research

The current research represents the first investigation of how hostile sexism shapes power in heterosexual relationships, which is fundamental to the theorised origins and aggressive expression of hostile sexism. The top pathway of Figure 3.1 outlines our primary predictions that we tested across four studies. We posited that the interdependent realities of intimate relationships would clash with the principal beliefs and concerns inherent in hostile sexism that men need to protect against losing power to women. In particular, men who endorse hostile sexism should be more sensitive to the power constraints that inevitably arise in relationships, and thus should be likely to perceive they have lower power in their relationship than men who more weakly endorse hostile sexism. Second, because aggression is one key way in which people may try to restore power, these lower perceptions of power should be in turn associated with greater aggression toward intimate partners.

We tested these predicted associations between men's hostile sexism, perceived power and aggression by assessing hostile sexism, perceptions of power, and aggression toward partners during couples' daily lives as reported by both partners (Study 1), observer-rated aggressive communication exhibited during couples' video-recorded conflict interactions (Study 2), and self-reported aggression over the past year (Studies 3 and 4). In Studies 1 and 2, we also focused on establishing that the lower perceptions of power associated with men's hostile sexism involve a negatively biased view of power in relationships. As we describe more fully in Study 1, following standard approaches to assess bias in relationships, a primary way to test whether an individuals' perceptions of relationship power are biased is to compare those perceptions to their intimate partners' reports of the power the individual has in the relationship (Fletcher & Kerr, 2010; Gagné & Lydon, 2004). Accordingly, we gathered perceptions of both dyad members' perceptions of their own and their partner's relationship power. The dependence and challenges to influence inherent in

intimate relationships may mean that people generally feel they have lower power than their partner reports them to have, but this should be particularly so for men who endorse hostile sexism and who will thus find their dependence and restricted influence in intimate relationships more threatening.[6]

In Studies 3 and 4, we also tested whether the predicted associations between hostile sexism, lower perceived power and aggression (top pathway in Figure 3.1) were distinct from any, potentially opposing, associations between hostile sexism, greater desire for power, and aggression (bottom pathway in Figure 3.1). To do this, we simultaneously examined the associations between hostile sexism, perceived versus desired relationship power, and self-reported aggression. These tests enabled us to examine whether the data supported that: (1) the preoccupation with losing power central to men's hostile sexism biases perceptions of low power and, in turn, prompts aggression as we predict, (2) men's hostile sexism and aggression promotes a desire to have and sustain greater power regardless of the power held in the relationship, or (3) whether both processes occur independently (also see Footnote 1).

Across studies, we also ruled out additional alternative explanations. First, we wanted to account for the possibility that the hostile sexism, perceived power and aggression links

[6] We predicted that the preoccupation with protecting men's power central to hostile sexism should mean men's hostile sexism is associated with perceptions of their own power irrespective of the power dynamics in the relationship, including their female partners' power. Nonetheless, we explored the possibility that men's hostile sexism was associated with men perceiving a power imbalance reflective of men perceiving they have lower power and their female partner having greater power. The associations across studies indicated that the results were specific to men's perceptions of their own power. Men's hostile sexism was not associated with perceiving partners to hold greater power (Studies 1 and 2) or partners' own perceptions of power (Studies 1-3). Moreover, controlling for perceptions of partners' power across studies revealed no differences in the primary associations across hostile sexism, perceived power, and aggression. Additional analyses also illustrated that the associations between greater hostile sexism and lower perceived power, or lower perceived power and greater aggression, were not magnified when men perceived female partners to be high in power. These additional analyses support that concerns about protecting against the loss of power to female partners that are central to hostile sexism result in perceiving lower relationship power regardless of the power the partner has in the relationship.

may simply be the result of more dissatisfying relationships or distrusting expectations within dependence-based relationships. In Studies 1-4, we ran additional analyses controlling for individuals and their partners' relationship satisfaction and attachment insecurity. Similarly, we wanted to rule out the possibility that men's hostile sexism creates general aggression in relationships that may feedback to undermine perceived power, and so we ran additional analyses testing the primary link between men's hostile sexism and perceived power controlling for individuals' and their partners' aggression. Finally, our focus was on how men's hostile sexism is associated with power within specific intimate relationships. However, given hostile sexism and aggression may be connected to more general orientations towards dominance, in Studies 3 and 4 we also ran additional analyses to rule out the possibility that the hostile sexism, perceived power and aggression links were due to general interpersonal dominance, desires for power over women, and propensity for violence.

Our predictions focused on men's hostile sexism, lower perceived power and aggression. Women who endorse hostile sexism also believe that women should support men's power and dominance (Chen et al., 2009; Glick & Fiske, 1996), and so are not concerned about competing for power and are unlikely to feel restricted by the inevitable constraints to power that occur within relationships. We also did not expect men's benevolent sexism, a second form of sexist attitudes, to predict lower or biased perceptions of power and thus aggression. Benevolent sexism prescribes that men are dependent on the love of a woman to be happy, and that men should be chivalrous and protective partners (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Instead of harboring concerns about women's relationship power, benevolent sexism acknowledges and values heterosexual men's reliance on women for the fulfillment of relational needs (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Thus, men who endorse benevolent sexism are less concerned with their relational dependence, more open to their partners' influence (Overall et al., 2011), and thus should not underestimate their relationship power or aggress to restore

power. Accordingly, we expected the links between men's hostile sexism, lower perceived power and aggression to be specific to men's hostile, and not benevolent, sexism.

Study 1

Study 1 provided an initial test of the predicted associations shown in the top pathway of Figure 3.1. We first tested whether men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism had lower perceptions of power by asking both members of heterosexual couples to complete established scales of perceived power. We expected that men's greater endorsement of hostile sexism would predict lower perceptions of relationship power. In Study 1, we also wanted to test whether these lower perceptions of power were biased. This is important because we propose that men's hostile sexism should be associated with lower perceived power due to a preoccupation and vigilance regarding losing power rather than actually possessing lower power in their relationship. Accordingly, not only should men who strongly endorse hostile sexism perceive they have lower power compared to men who weakly endorse hostile sexism; these perceptions should be biased and underestimate the power they have in their relationships.

To assess whether perceptions of relationship power were biased we followed the majority of prior research assessing bias in relationships by using partner reports as a benchmark (see Fletcher & Kerr, 2010). In addition to gathering perceptions of individuals' own power, we also asked participants to report on their partners' level of power in the relationship. A pattern of biased perceptions would be evident if men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism perceive they have lower power, but their female partner does not agree with those perceptions (i.e., men's hostile sexism is not associated with female partners reporting that men have lower power). We also utilised the latest techniques in modeling bias to directly compare the level of power individuals perceived they had in the relationship to the level of power the partner reported they had (West & Kenny, 2011). We predicted that

men who more strongly (versus weakly) endorsed hostile sexism would underestimate their own levels of power compared to their partner's reports of that power.

Partner reports are the standard, and arguably best, benchmark to assess bias because partners have a detailed view of the ongoing dynamics within relationships that is very difficult (perhaps impossible) to assess objectively (Fletcher & Kerr, 2010, Gagné & Lydon, 2004). Nonetheless, perhaps any discrepancies across reports of power could reflect other processes, such as men who endorse hostile sexism behaving in ways that make their partners perceive they have greater power. If this alternative is the case, then men's hostile sexism will not predict their own lower perceptions of power and instead predict greater partner reports of their power (which we did not expect to be the case). In addition, common self- or relationship- serving biases could mean that all partners will tend to under-or over-estimate the power that individuals have in their relationship (Fletcher & Kerr, 2010, Gagné & Lydon, 2004). Yet, the existence of other factors influencing the discrepancy between individuals' perception and partner reports would not change the meaning of any significant associations between hostile sexism and level of bias. That is, these other factors should equally apply to men's and women's perceptions and reports of power, and do so irrespective of levels of hostile sexism. Thus, if levels of bias significantly differ across men's (and not women's) endorsement of hostile sexism at the same level of power reported by the partner, then this will demonstrate that men who more strongly (vs. weakly) endorse hostile sexism are perceiving lower power in the context of the same interdependent realities.

After establishing the links between hostile sexism and lower power, we then tested whether men's hostile sexism and lower perceived power was associated with aggression during couple's daily lives. Both couple members reported on their daily psychological aggression for 21 days. Our assessment of daily aggression has been used in prior research (Cross et al., 2017; Overall et al., 2016) to target well-studied aggressive responses that: (1)

are relevant to the daily course of relationships, (2) represent psychological aggression involving communication that is intended, or would be reasonably perceived as intended, to hurt partners and cause psychological pain (Gelles & Straus, 1979; Straus, 1979), (3) have harmful consequences for partners (Arriaga & Schkeryantz, 2015), and (4) are precursors to physical aggression in relationships (Murphy & O'Leary, 1989). Moreover, to overcome the possibility that greater self-reports of aggression are a function of self-presentation effects or demand biases (e.g., lower power men trying to bolster their sense of control or image by reporting more aggression), we also gathered partners' reports of individuals' daily aggressive behaviour and tested whether female partners reported receiving greater aggression when men more strongly endorsed hostile sexism and perceived lower relationship power.

Method

Participants

This dyadic daily diary study was designed to examine how sexist attitudes and perceived relationship power shape daily relationship functioning (Hammond & Overall, 2013a; 2013b; Overall et al., 2016). Although prior papers have examined the effects of sexist attitudes and perceived power on daily behaviour separately, the tests presented here represent the first examination of the associations between sexist attitudes and perceived power. Seventy-eight heterosexual couples replied to recruitment advertisements posted across a city campus. Males ages ranged from 17-48 (M = 23.00, SD = 4.98 years), and females ages ranged from 17-43 (M = 21.88, SD = 4.62 years). Couples were in relatively serious relationships (11% married, 33% cohabitating, 49% serious, 7% steady) of an average length of 2.58 years (SD = 1.97). Couples were reimbursed NZD$70 for the procedures described below. See Appendix 2 for further sample and power information.

Procedure

During an initial session, participants completed scales assessing sexist attitudes and relationship power and received instructions regarding the completion of a web-based three-week daily record that included reports of daily aggression. On average, participants completed 19.3 diary entries, which represent 3,276 daily reports across the sample.

Measures

All measures were averaged across scale items. Table 3.1 presents descriptive and reliability statistics for all measures.

Sexist Attitudes. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996) measured participants' attitudes toward women. Eleven items assessed hostile sexism (e.g., "Women seek to gain power by getting control over men", "Once a woman gets a man to commit to her she usually tries to put him on a tight leash") and 11 items assessed benevolent sexism (e.g., "Women should be cherished and protected by men", "No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete unless he has the love of a woman"; -3 = *strongly disagree*, 3 = *strongly agree*).

Perceived Relationship Power. Participants completed the Sense of Power Scale with reference to their marriage (Anderson, John, & Keltner, 2012). This 8-item scale assesses individuals' perceived level of power (e.g., "I think I have a great deal of power in my relationship"), and ability to make decisions (e.g., "if I want to, I get to make the decisions"), influence their partner's behaviour or opinions (e.g., "My ideas and opinions are often ignored by my partner" reverse-coded), and satisfy one's own goals and desires (e.g., "even when I try, I am not able to get my way", reverse-coded; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*).

Partners' Reports of Individuals' Relationship Power. As described above, a key aim of this research was to test whether perceptions of power were biased by comparing

Table 3.1. Descriptive Statistics and Reliabilities Across Measures (Studies 1 and 2).

Measures	*Study 1*					*Study 2*				
	Men		**Women**		**Gender Diff.**	**Men**		**Women**		**Gender Diff.**
	M (SD)	*R*	*M (SD)*	*R*	*t*	*M (SD)*	*R*	*M (SD)*	*R*	*t*
Questionnaire Measures										
Hostile Sexism	0.09 (1.14)	.86	-0.06 (1.19)	.84	0.76	-0.69 (1.09)	.87	-0.96 (1.09)	.84	1.74
Benevolent Sexism	0.32 (0.99)	.77	-0.19 (1.01)	.76	3.19**	0.01 (0.99)	.77	-0.66 (1.08)	.81	4.55**
Perceived Relationship Power	5.25 (0.75)	.70	5.48 (1.10)	.90	-1.51	4.87 (1.01)	.86	5.33 (0.99)	.85	-3.19**
Partners' Reports of Individuals' Relationship Power	5.60 (0.83)	.80	5.63 (0.73)	.75	-0.23	5.44 (0.86)	.80	5.69 (0.70)	.76	-2.17*
Relationship Satisfaction	5.60 (0.77)	.84	6.03 (0.77)	.88	-0.29	5.59 (0.92)	.84	5.81 (0.84)	.88	-1.74
Attachment Anxiety	2.75 (1.00)	.82	3.23 (1.05)	.79	-2.92**	2.70 (0.92)	.76	2.62 (1.02)	.79	1.26
Attachment Avoidance	2.80 (0.97)	.76	3.03 (1.11)	.78	1.41	2.53 (0.89)	.79	2.71 (1.09)	.84	-2.37*
Daily Diary Measures										
Daily Aggression	1.93 (0.78)	.65	2.07 (0.76)	.70	-1.13	-	-	-	-	-
Partners' Reports of Individuals' Daily Aggression	1.91 (0.78)	.75	1.87 (0.74)	.71	0.30	-	-	-	-	-
Conflict Discussion Measure										
Observer-Rated Aggression	-	-	-	-	-	1.49 (0.64)	.94	1.75 (0.85)	.92	-2.37*

Note. Possible scores range from −3 to 3 for Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism, and 1 to 7 for all other scales. *R* = reliability. Daily Diary Aggression indexes average levels of aggression across 21-days. All reliabilities represent Cronbach's alpha with the exception of Daily measures which represent a correlation, and Observer-Rated Aggression, which represents an Intraclass Correlation (ICC). Gender diff. *t* tests whether average levels of each variable significantly differed between men (coded as 1) and women (coded as -1). * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

individuals' perceptions of their power to the power partners reported individuals to possess in their relationship. Thus, we also asked participants to complete the Sense of Power scale reworded to assess reports of their *partner's* relationship power (e.g., "I think my partner has a great deal of power"; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*).

Relationship Satisfaction and Attachment Insecurity. To rule out the possibility that the predicted associations were due to more negative relationship evaluations or poor relationship histories and associated distrust of partners, we also assessed and controlled for both partners' relationship satisfaction and attachment insecurity. To assess *relationship satisfaction*, participants rated five items from an established scale by Rusbult et al, (1998; "I feel satisfied with our relationship"; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). To capture distrusting expectations of others when dependent arising from negative relationship histories that may be associated with sexist attitudes (Hart, Glick, & Dinero, 2013; Hart, Hung, Glick, & Dinero, 2012), we also assessed *attachment insecurity* with the Adult Attachment Questionnaire (AAQ; Simpson, Rholes, & Phillips, 1996). Eight items assessed attachment-related avoidance (e.g., "I'm not very comfortable having to depend on romantic partners") and nine items assessed attachment anxiety (e.g., "I often worry that my romantic partners don't really love me"; 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*).

Daily Aggression. Two items captured aggressive responses relevant to the day-to-day course of relationships ("I was critical or unpleasant toward my partner", "I acted in a way that could be hurtful to my partner"; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). This measure has been previously associated with hostile sexism in a different sample (Cross et al., 2017). Cross et al. (2017) also included a rating of anger ("I felt angry at my partner") to assess the motivation for aggression, which we excluded to focus on aggressive behaviour as assessed across all studies in the current research. Including anger produced identical results.

Partners' Reports of Individuals' Daily Aggression. To assess whether individuals'

reports of daily aggression were corroborated by partners' reports that they received aggression, participants also rated the degree to which their *partners* behaved aggressively that day ("My partner was critical or unpleasant toward me", "My partner acted in a hurtful way toward me"; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*).

Results

Table 3.1 presents descriptives and reliability statistics for all measures. Table 3.2 displays correlations across variables for men (above diagonal) and women (below diagonal). To (a) account for the statistical dependence in dyadic data (see across partner correlations in Table 3.2), (b) simultaneously model associations with the competing power variables, and (c) test for gender differences in the effects, we conducted dyadic regression analyses following the guidelines and SPSS syntax provided by Kenny, Kashy, and Cook (2006). For all analyses, we ran a two-intercept model to estimate effects for men and women while accounting for the dependence within dyads. We pooled effects across men and women and modeled the main and interaction effects of gender to test whether the effects significantly differed across men and women (coded -1 women, 1 men; see Kenny et al., 2006; Overall et al., 2016). As is typical, we modeled both hostile and benevolent sexism to control for their positive association (see Table 3.2). Across studies, the results were virtually identical with or without controlling for benevolent sexism.

Hostile Sexism and Biased Perceptions of Relationship Power

We first assessed whether men's hostile sexism was associated with lower perceptions of relationship power, and tested whether these lower perceptions were biased. As shown in Table 3.2, men's (and not women's) hostile sexism was associated with lower perceived relationship power, but men's hostile sexism was not associated with partners' reports of men's power, indicating that these lower perceptions of power were biased. More formal analyses support these conclusions. Table 3.3 displays the results of dyadic analyses

Table 3.2. Correlations Across All Measures (Study 1).

		1.	*2.*	*3.*	*4.*	*5.*	*6.*	*7.*	*8.*	*9.*	*10.*	*11.*
1.	Hostile Sexism	**.43****	.39**	-.39**	-.27*	-.09	-.16	.39**	.27*	-.23*	.31**	.19
2.	Benevolent Sexism	.14	**.17***	-.12	.04	.18	-.05	-.05	-.01	.12	.30**	-.06
3.	Perceived Relationship Power	-.01	-.02	**.35****	.34**	.40**	.22	-.39**	-.34*	.20	-.12**	-.17
4.	Reports of Partners' Relationship Power	.05	-.16	.16	**-.05**	.26*	-.05	-.44**	-.08	.45**	-.10	-.31**
5.	Partners' Perceived Relationship Power	-.14	-.15	.40**	.22	**.35****	.16	-.36**	-.37**	.21	.05	-.21
6.	Partners' Reports of Individuals' Relationship Power	-.23*	.01	.26*	-.05	.34**	**-.05**	-.06	-.19	-.10	-.19	.04
7.	Daily Aggression	-.01	.16	-.16	-.21	-.23*	-.13	**.37****	.48**	-.41**	.20	.34**
8.	Partners' Reports of Individuals' Daily Aggression	.20	.18	-.33**	-.01	-.38**	-.41**	.28*	**.41****	-.11	.17	.25*
9.	Relationship Satisfaction	.19	.04	.58**	.19	.41**	.11	-.23*	.06	**.57****	-.22	-.42**
10.	Attachment Anxiety	.01	.05	-.19	.12	-.08	-.06	.09	.14	-.27*	**-.06**	.25
11.	Attachment Avoidance	-.17	.08	-.13	-.19	-.09	.22	.27*	-.02	-.19	.10	**.07**

Note. Correlations for men are above the diagonal. Correlations for women are below the diagonal. Bold correlations on the diagonal represent correlations across partners. Daily Aggression measures indicate average levels of daily aggressive behaviour across 21-days. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 3.3. The Effects of Hostile Sexism on Perceived Relationship Power and Partners' Reports of Individuals' Relationship Power (Studies 1 and 2)

Predictors	Men					Women					Gender Diff.	
		95% CI					95% CI					
	B	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*B*	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*t*	*r*
Study 1												
Predicting Perceived Relationship Power												
Hostile Sexism	**-.23**	**-.37**	**-.09**	**-3.19****	**-.34**	-.02	-.21	.18	0.87	.02	-1.87†	-.19
Benevolent Sexism	-.04	-.20	.12	-0.45	-.05	-.02	-.25	.22	-0.16	-.02	-0.12	-.02
Predicting Partners' Reports of Individuals' Relationship Power												
Hostile Sexism	-.13	-.31	.05	-1.49	-.17	-.14	-.28	-.00	-2.01*	-.22	0.04	.00
Benevolent Sexism	.02	.19	.23	0.20	.02	-.02	-.14	.17	0.29	.03	-0.03	-.00
Study 2												
Predicting Perceived Relationship Power												
Hostile Sexism	**-.46**	**-.65**	**-.27**	**-4.95****	**-.45**	-.11	-.31	.09	-1.09	-.11	-2.64**	-.20
Benevolent Sexism	.23	.03	.44	2.29*	.22	-.22	-.42	-.02	-2.20*	-.21	3.24**	.25
Predicting Partners' Reports of Individuals' Relationship Power												
Hostile Sexism	-.17	-.34	.01	-1.86	-.19	.02	-.12	.17	0.38	.04	-1.66	-.12
Benevolent Sexism	.10	-.09	.29	1.02	.10	-.11	-.26	.03	-1.51	-.15	-1.70	-.13

Note. Gender diff. coefficients test whether the effects significantly differed across men (coded as 1) and women (coded as -1). Predicted effects for men are shown in bold. Effect sizes (*r*) were computed using Rosenthal and Rosnow's (2007) formula: $r = \sqrt{(t^2 / t^2 + df)}$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

modeling the effects of sexist attitudes predicting (1) individuals' perceived relationship power, and (2) partners' reports of individuals' relationship power. As predicted, men's (but not women's) hostile sexism was associated with lower perceptions of relationship power (see Table 3.3, Study 1, "*Predicting Perceived Relationship Power*"). Moreover, men's hostile sexism was *not* significantly associated with partners' reports of individuals' power (see "*Predicting Partners' Reports of Individuals' Relationship Power*"). Thus, partners do not agree that men who endorse hostile sexism have lower power suggesting that their lower perceptions of power are biased.

To more rigorously assess bias in men's reports, and specify the direction of any bias, we utilised the truth and bias model (West & Kenny, 2011). Specifically, we used partners' reports of individuals' power as a benchmark to test whether individuals underestimated the power they possessed in their relationship compared to their partners' view of that power, and we tested the degree to which hostile sexism predicted this level of bias. As specified by West and Kenny (2011), we used dyadic models to regress individuals' perceptions of power on partners' reports of individuals' power. We centered both variables on the mean of partners' reports of individuals' power so that the intercept indicates level of bias (i.e., whether individuals' perceptions of power are lower, the same, or higher than partners' reports of individuals' power).[7] Zero indicates no discrepancy or bias. Negative values indicate an underestimation of relationship power compared to partner reports, and positive values indicate an overestimation of relationship power compared to partner reports.

[7] West and Kenny (2011) specify perceptions to be centered using the mean across all dyad members regardless of any distinguishing factor, such as gender. However, given that our aims and predictions specify gender differences, we centered male's perceptions of power on the mean of female partners' reports of power and female's perceptions of power on the mean of male partners' reports of power. This ensured that the resulting level of bias depicted in Figure 3.2 indexed the specific comparisons for men. However, running the analyses using the mean of partners' reports across dyad members irrespective of gender resulted in virtually identical results for both Studies 1 and 2. See Appendix 2 for more information.

We added hostile and benevolent sexism as predictors, which tested whether sexist attitudes predicted the level of bias in perceived power.

As shown in Table 3.4, the intercept was negative for both men and women. Although the intercept was significant for men, but not women, the gender difference testing the level of bias across men and women was not significant. This pattern indicates that participants generally perceived lower power in their relationship than the partner reported their relationship power to be. More important to the central aims of this study, men's hostile sexism predicted more biased perceptions of power, women's hostile sexism did not, and this gender difference was significant. To illustrate the effect of men's hostile sexism, Figure 3.2 plots the level of bias at high (+1 *SD*) and low (-1 *SD*) levels of hostile sexism. Men high in hostile sexism demonstrated a significant underestimation of power compared to their partner's reports (intercept representing bias, $B = -.59$, $t = -5.04$, $p < .001$, $r = -.46$), whereas men low in hostile sexism demonstrated no bias compared to their partner's reports ($B = -.06$, $t = -0.53$, $p = .60$, $r = -.05$).

Overall, the pattern of results indicates that men who endorse hostile sexism have biased perceptions of power in their relationship. Men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism perceived themselves to have lower power. However, female partners did not report that men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism had lower power than men who more weakly endorsed hostile sexism. Moreover, comparisons across individuals' perceptions and partner reports suggested that men who more strongly (but not weakly) endorsed hostile sexism underestimated their power compared to their partner reports. This shows that men who strongly endorse hostile sexism perceive lower relationship power than men who weakly endorse hostile sexism in the context of the same levels of power reported by their partners.

Table 3.4. Bias Analyses modelling the Effect of Hostile Sexism on Discrepancies in Perceived Relationship Power from Partners' Reports of Individuals' Power (Studies 1 and 2).

Predictors	Men					Women					Gender Diff.	
		95% CI					*95% CI*					
	B	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*B*	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*t*	*r*
Study 1												
Intercept (Discrepancy or Bias)	-.32	-.49	-.16	-4.00**	-.42	-.15	-.41	.10	-1.21	-.14	-1.34	-.17
Hostile Sexism	**-.23**	**-.38**	**-.08**	**-3.15****	**-.34**	.03	-.18	.23	0.25	.03	-2.16*	-.21
Benevolent Sexism	-.02	-.19	.14	-0.28	-.03	-.03	-.27	.20	-0.28	-.03	0.08	.01
Partners' Reports of Individuals' Power	.09	-.09	.27	1.04	.12	.27	-.06	.60	1.61	.18	-0.90	-.09
Study 2												
Intercept (Discrepancy or Bias)	-.58	-.76	-.40	-6.45**	-.56	-.45	-.65	-.25	-4.47**	-.42	-0.96	-.24
Hostile Sexism	**-.41**	**-.59**	**-.23**	**-4.59****	**-.43**	-.07	-.27	.13	-0.65	-.07	-2.55*	-.19
Benevolent Sexism	.20	.01	.40	2.09*	.21	-.24	-.45	-.04	-2.38*	-.24	3.15**	.24
Partners' Reports of Individuals' Power	.40	.20	.60	3.93**	.38	-.03	-.31	.25	-0.23	-.02	2.49*	.19

Note. Gender diff. coefficients test whether the effects significantly differed across men (coded as 1) and women (coded as -1). Predicted effects for men are shown in bold. Effect sizes (*r*) were computed using Rosenthal and Rosnow's (2007) formula: $r = \sqrt{(t^2 / t^2 + df)}$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$

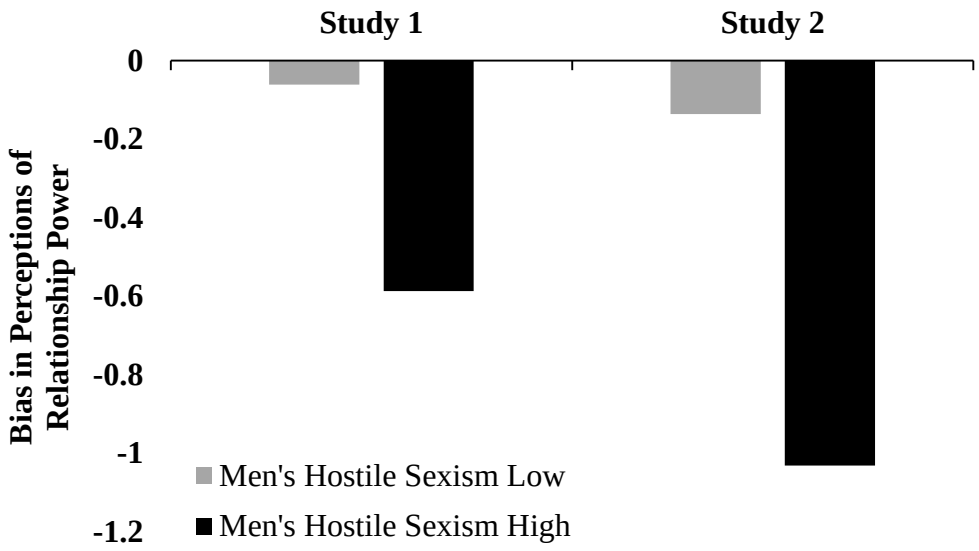

Figure 3.2. Effects of Men's Hostile Sexism predicting Biased Perceptions of Relationship Power (Studies 1 and 2).

Note. The values on the y axis represent the discrepancy between individuals' perceptions of relationship power and partners' reports of individuals' power. Zero indicates no discrepancy or bias. Negative values indicate underestimation of relationship power compared to partner reports, and positive values indicate overestimation of relationship power compared to partner reports. High and low values of hostile sexism represent 1*SD* above and below the mean.

Hostile Sexism, Lower Perceived Relationship Power, and Daily Aggression

Next, we tested whether the lower perceived power associated with men's hostile sexism was, in turn, associated with daily aggression toward relationship partners (see top pathway in Figure 3.1). Following Kenny et al.'s (2006) recommendations for analysing repeated measures dyadic data using the MIXED procedure in SPSS 24, we ran two nested models to test our prediction that the lower perceived power reported by men higher in hostile sexism would be associated with greater daily aggression. First, we assessed the direct effects between hostile sexism and individuals' reports of daily aggression by regressing the repeated daily reports of aggressive behaviour toward the partner on hostile and benevolent sexism (grand-mean centered). As shown by the correlations in Table 3.2 and the coefficients from dyadic models in Table 3.5 (Model 1), men's stronger endorsement of hostile sexism was associated with greater daily aggression.

Second, to test the indirect effects between hostile sexism and aggression via lower perceived power (see Figure 3.1), we added individuals' own perceptions of their relationship power (grand-mean centered) into the model (Model 2). As shown in Table 3.5 (Model 2), lower perceived power predicted greater aggression independent of the effect of hostile sexism. We followed the procedures outlined by MacKinnon, Fritz, Williams and Lockwood (2007) to calculate confidence intervals for the indirect effects linking the associations between hostile sexism and perceived power (Table 3.3) and the associations between perceived power and aggression controlling for sexism ("*Daily Aggression*", Model 2, Table 3.5) accounting for the asymmetric distributions of the product of standard errors. As shown in Table 3.6, the confidence intervals for men (but not women) did not overlap zero, supporting that men's hostile sexism indirectly predicted greater self-reported daily aggression towards female partners through lower perceptions of relationship power.

Table 3.5. The Effects of Hostile Sexism and Perceived Relationship Power on Self-Reported Daily Aggression and Partners' Reports of Individuals' Daily Aggression (Study 1).

	Men					**Women**					**Gender Diff.**	
		95% CI					*95% CI*					
	B	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*B*	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*t*	*r*
Daily Aggression												
Model 1												
Hostile Sexism	**.24**	**.18**	**.29**	**7.97****	**.67**	-.03	-.09	.03	-1.04	-.12	**6.90****	.50
Benevolent Sexism	-.16	-.23	-.10	-4.83**	-.48	-.01	-.07	.06	-0.19	-.02	-3.27**	-.27
Model 2												
Perceived Relationship Power	**-.21**	**-.29**	**-.12**	**-4.60****	**-.47**	.08	.02	.14	2.72**	.30	**-5.71****	-.43
Hostile Sexism	.18	.11	.24	5.54**	.54	-.03	-.09	.03	-1.01	-.12	5.11**	.40
Benevolent Sexism	-.14	-.21	-.08	-4.37**	-.45	-.01	-.07	.06	-0.20	-.02	-2.93**	-.24
Partners' Reports of Individuals' Daily Aggression												
Model 1												
Hostile Sexism	**.19**	**.11**	**.27**	**4.51****	**.46**	.01	-.06	.07	0.19	.02	**3.24****	.26
Benevolent Sexism	-.10	-.18	-.03	-2.48*	-.28	.04	-.03	.12	1.19	.13	-2.60**	-.21
Model 2												
Perceived Relationship Power	**-.22**	**-.32**	**-.13**	**-4.59****	**-.47**	-.13	-.19	-.08	-4.74**	-.48	**-1.80**	-.15
Hostile Sexism	-.12	.04	.21	2.80**	.31	.01	-.05	.07	0.22	.03	1.98*	.16
Benevolent Sexism	-.09	-.17	-.01	-2.24*	-.25	.04	-.03	.11	1.12	.13	-2.39*	-.20

Note. Model 1 tests the direct effects between hostile sexism and daily aggression. Model 2 tests the effects between perceived relationship power and aggression accounting for sexist attitudes. The indirect effects in Table 3.6 link the associations between hostile sexism and perceived power shown in Table 3.3 with the associations between perceived relationship power and aggression controlling for sexism shown here in Model 2. Gender diff. coefficients test whether the effects significantly differed across men (coded as 1) and women (coded as -1). Predicted effects for men are shown in bold. Effect sizes (*r*) were computed using Rosenthal and Rosnow's (2007) formula: $r = \sqrt{(t^2 / t^2 + df)}$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Table 3.6. Indirect Effects between Men's Hostile Sexism, Perceived Relationship Power and Daily Aggression (Study 1) and Observer-rated Aggression (Study 2).

Indirect Effect Tested	Indirect Effect	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower Limit	Upper Limit
Study 1			
Self-Reported Daily Aggression as Dependent Variable			
Men's hostile sexism → perceived relationship power → daily aggression	**.047**	**.016**	**.087**
Women's hostile sexism → perceived relationship power → daily aggression	-.001	-.020	.017
Partners' Perceptions of Individuals' Daily Aggression as Dependent Variable			
Men's hostile sexism → perceived relationship power → partners' reports of individuals' daily aggression	**.065**	**.021**	**.120**
Women's hostile sexism → perceived relationship power → partners' reports of individuals' daily aggression	-.008	-.040	.023
Study 2			
Observer-rated aggressive communication during couples discussions as Dependent Variable			
Men's hostile sexism → perceived relationship power → observer-rated aggressive communication	**.079**	**.021**	**.150**
Women's hostile sexism → perceived relationship power → observer-rated aggressive communication	.001	-.026	.028

Note. For Study 1, Tables 3.3 and 3.5 present the estimates for associations between variables indicated by →. For Study 2, Tables 3.3 and 3.9 present the estimates for associations between variables indicated by →. Predicted effects for men are shown in bold. Asymmetric Confidence intervals were calculated following Mackinnon et al., (2007). Confidence intervals shown in bold do not overlap "0".

Partners' Reports of Individuals' Daily Aggression. Analogous models replacing self-reported aggression with partners' reports of individuals' aggression corroborated that female partners experienced the aggression associated with men's hostile sexism and lower perceived power. As shown in the lower half of Table 3.5, men's stronger endorsement of hostile sexism predicted greater partner reports of individuals' daily aggression (Model 1), and lower perceived relationship power predicted greater partners' reports of individuals' aggression independent of the effect of hostile sexism ("*Partners' Reports of Individuals' Daily Aggression"*, Model 2). Finally, the indirect effect linking the significant associations between hostile sexism, lower perceived power and partners' reports of men's aggression was significant for men, and not women (see Table 3.6).

Alternative Explanations and Control Analyses

Our final aims were to consider a range of alternative explanations for the associations between hostile sexism, perceptions of relationship power, and aggression. We expected the associations to be specific to men's hostile sexism and not benevolent sexism, and wanted to rule out the possibility that the links between men's hostile sexism and lower perceived power arose because sexist attitudes facilitated aggressive responses in relationships. We also wanted to show that the associations were not simply the result of more dissatisfying relationships or distrusting expectations within dependence-based relationships as is most often indexed by attachment insecurity.

Benevolent Sexism. The associations between sexism and lower perceived power were unique to hostile sexism. Men's and women's benevolent sexism were not associated with perceived power (see Tables 3.3 and 3.4). However, as shown in Table 3.5, men's endorsement of benevolent sexism predicted less daily aggression toward partners, women's endorsement of benevolent sexism predicted greater daily aggression toward partners, and these effects remained unchanged when modeling perceived relationship power. These results

are consistent with men's benevolent sexism promoting a more open and accepting influence of women's power and influence, but women's benevolent sexism promoting more aggressive responses when their relationships do not live up to their lofty ideals (see Hammond & Overall, 2013b; Overall et al., 2011). Nonetheless, the pattern with benevolent sexism provides additional evidence that men's hostile sexism uniquely predicts the experience of lower power in relationships and associated aggressive responses toward female partners.

Aggression. Despite examining aggressive behaviour for the 3 weeks following couples' completion of the sexist attitudes and relationship power questionnaires, it could be possible that men who endorse hostile sexism perceive lower power because their aggressive responses in daily life undermine their power in the relationship. Alternatively, perhaps men's hostile sexism incites aggressive responses in the partner, which also reduces their relationship power (Overall et al., 2009, 2011). Although the bias analyses provide some evidence against these alternatives, we reran the analyses testing the links between sexist attitudes and perceived power controlling for individuals' and partners' daily aggressive behaviour averaged across the 21 daily reports. The significant association between men's hostile sexism and perceived power was not altered when controlling for men's own (B = -.20, 95% CI [-.35,-.05], t = -2.57, p = .012, r = -.28) or their female partners' (B = -.24, 95% CI [-.39,-.10], t = -3.26, p = .002, r = -.34) aggressive behaviour across the 3-week diary period.

Relationship Satisfaction and Insecurity. Finally, our perspective highlights that the dependence fears and need to protect power central to men's hostile sexism should be uniquely associated with perceptions of power, and that these perceptions are an important factor that predicts aggression toward partners. However, it is possible that more general relationship dissatisfaction and insecurities are associated with biased perceptions of power

or aggression, and these features account for the hostile sexism, perceived power and aggression associations. As shown in Table 3.2, men's (and not women's) hostile sexism was associated with lower relationship satisfaction and greater attachment anxiety. Thus, we reran all the analyses controlling for individuals' own and their partners' relationship satisfaction and individuals' own and their partners' attachment insecurity. As is typical, we modeled both attachment anxiety and avoidance as simultaneous predictors in analyses controlling for attachment insecurity. None of the effects of men's hostile sexism reported above were reduced in these analyses. To illustrate the robustness of the focal effects, Table 3.7 displays the association between men's hostile sexism and perceived power, perceived power and aggression, and the associated indirect effects when controlling for each alternative explanation. These results provide further evidence of the unique associations between men's hostile sexism, perceived power, and aggression.

Study 2

Study 1 provided initial evidence for our predictions. First, as predicted, men's hostile sexism was associated with lower perceptions of power. Moreover, comparisons across partners indicated that these lower perceptions were biased. Female partners did not agree that men who strongly endorsed hostile sexism had lower power than men who weakly endorsed hostile sexism, and dyadic bias analyses comparing perceptions of power with partners' reports supported that men who strongly endorsed hostile sexism underestimated the power they had in their relationships whereas men who weakly endorsed hostile sexism did not. Second, by collecting dyadic data across couple's daily lives, Study 1 also demonstrated the implications of the association between hostile sexism and lower perceived power for couples' daily lives. Men's stronger endorsement of hostile sexism and associated lower perceived power predicted greater aggressive responses toward partners during couples' routine relationship interactions as reported by both partners. Finally, these results

Table 3.7. Primary associations between Men's Hostile Sexism, Lower Perceived Relationship Power and Aggression controlling for Relationship Satisfaction and Insecurity (Studies 1-4).

Control Variables	Men's HS → Perceived Power (Path A)					Perceived Power→ Aggression (Path B)					Indirect Effect		
		95% CI					*95% CI*						
	B	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*B*	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*Indirect Effect*	*LL*	*UL*
Study 1													
Primary Associations	-.23	-.37	-.09	-3.19**	-.34	-.21	-.29	-.12	-4.60**	-.47	.047	.016	.087
Individuals' Satisfaction	-.23	-.39	-.07	-2.91**	-.32	-.19	-.28	-.10	-4.30**	-.45	.044	.012	.085
Individuals' Attachment Insecurity	-.16	-.30	-.02	-2.31*	-.25	-.20	-.29	-.10	-4.17**	-.43	.032	.004	.068
Partners' Satisfaction	-.25	-.39	-.12	-3.76**	-.40	-.11	-.21	-.01	-2.19**	-.25	.028	.003	.062
Partners' Attachment Insecurity	-.23	-.37	-.08	-3.14**	-.34	-.22	-.31	-.13	-4.77**	-.48	.049	.016	.091
Study 2													
Primary Associations	-.46	-.64	-.28	-4.95**	-.45	.17	-.29	-.10	-2.76**	-.27	.079	.021	.015
Individuals' Satisfaction	-.41	-.58	-.23	-4.65*	-.43	-.12	-.25	.01	-1.77†	-.18	.047	-.005	.011
Individuals' Attachment Insecurity	-.36	-.55	-.17	-3.69**	-.36	-.15	-.28	-.02	-2.30*	-.23	.053	.007	.116
Partners' Satisfaction	-.41	-.59	-.22	-4.44**	-.42	-.19	-.32	-.06	-2.83**	-.28	.077	.021	.148
Partners' Attachment Insecurity	-.43	-.62	-.24	-4.49**	-.42	-.15	-.28	-.03	-2.49*	-.25	.066	.013	.133
Study 3													
Primary Associations	-.20	-.37	-.03	-2.33*	-.21	-.15	-.24	-.06	-3.19**	-.29	.030	.003	.067
Individuals' Satisfaction	-.16	-.32	-.00	-2.01*	-.19	-.14	-.24	-.05	-2.91**	-.26	.023	.000	.057
Individuals' Attachment Insecurity	-.17	-.34	.00	-2.00*	-.19	-.14	-.23	-.04	-2.93**	-.27	.024	.000	058
Partners' Satisfaction	-.20	-.36	-.04	-2.49*	-.21	-.15	-.24	-.05	-3.04**	-.28	.030	.004	.067
Partners' Attachment Insecurity	-.19	-.36	-.02	-2.17*	-.20	-.15	-.24	-.05	-3.10**	-.28	.028	.002	.065
Study 4													
Primary Associations	-.31	-.41	-.20	-5.65**	-.37	-.26	-.39	-.14	-4.09**	-.28	.081	.037	.134
Individuals' Satisfaction	-.13	-.23	-.04	-2.86**	-.19	-.20	-.36	-.04	-2.50**	-.17	.027	.003	.060

Note. Effect sizes *r* for Studies 1-3 were computed using Rosenthal and Rosnow's (2007) formula: $r = \sqrt{(t^2 / t^2 + df)}$, *r* for Study 4 are standardized beta coefficients. Path A and B control for Desire for Power (in Studies 3 and 4 only), Path B controls for Hostile and Benevolent Sexism. Analyses controlling for Attachment Insecurity modeled both attachment anxiety and avoidance as simultaneous predictors. Asymmetric Confidence intervals were calculated following Mackinnon et al., (2007). *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. † = .080.

were specific to men's hostile, not benevolent, sexism and were not due to female partners' aggressive responses or general relationship satisfaction or insecurity.

Study 2 was designed to replicate and extend the associations between hostile sexism, lower relationship power, and aggression toward intimate partners. First, we gathered the same assessments of relationship power from both partners' perspectives to replicate that men higher in hostile sexism underestimate the power they have in their relationships. Second, we extended the self-report assessments of aggression in Study 1 by gathering observer-ratings of aggression during couples' video-recorded conflict discussions in the laboratory. Relationship conflicts involve partners trying to influence and resist influence from each other, and so are a key context in which the implications of hostile sexism and relationship power for relationship aggression should emerge (Cross et al., 2017; Overall et al., 2011, 2016). Replicating Study 1, we predicted that men's hostile sexism would predict biased perceptions of lower relationship power, and that lower perceptions of power would predict greater aggressive communication observed during couples' conflict discussion. Also replicating Study 1, we expected these associations to arise from men's hostile sexism, and not benevolent sexism, and to be independent of relationship satisfaction and insecurity.

Method

Participants

Study 2 was designed and run to test the predicted associations along with additional aims involving broader parent-child dynamics. We aimed to recruit 100 families (couples and their 5 year old child) which balanced the resources required for this large project with the power needed to detect small actor and partner effect sizes (Ackerman, Ledermann, & Kenny, 2016). After recruiting 104 families, and excluding six couples who did not provide the measures needed for this study, participants included members of 98 couples recruited from a database of parents who had registered interest in participating in response to

community advertisements and annual parenting events. Ages ranged from 22-66 years (M = 37.90, SD = 6.88) for men, and 21-46 (M = 35.46, SD = 5.58) for women. Couples were married (85%) or cohabiting (15%), with an average relationship length of 11.77 years (SD = 4.03). Couples were reimbursed NZD$100. See Appendix 2 for further sample information.

Procedure

Couples attended a lab-based session. After completing assessments of sexist attitudes and relationship power, each partner identified and ranked according to severity two ongoing conflicts. Following a warm-up discussion about non-conflictual events over the past week, couples had a video-recorded 7-minute discussion about their most serious conflict.

Measures

Sexist Attitudes, Relationship Power, and Partners' Reports of Individuals' Power. Participants completed the same scales as in Study 1 to assess sexist attitudes and relationship power (see Table 3.1).

Relationship Satisfaction and Attachment Insecurity. Participants completed the same scales as in Study 1 to assess these alternative explanations (see Table 3.1).

Observational Coding of Aggressive Communication. Three trained coders independently rated the aggressive communication each participant exhibited using an established coding scheme that incorporates the most commonly assessed hostile conflict behaviours (Overall, Fletcher, Simpson, & Sibley, 2009). This coding schedule has been used in prior research to assess the associations between hostile sexism and aggression (Cross et al., 2017; Overall et al., 2011) and low relationship power and aggression (Overall et al., 2016). Coded behaviours included derogating partners (e.g., criticising, insulting, belittling), expressing harsh negative affect (e.g., anger, frustration, yelling), and threatening partners. These behaviours represent oppositional, aggressive acts to undercut the partners' influence and restore power and control (Overall & McNulty, 2017; Overall et al., 2016). Coders took

into account the frequency, intensity, and duration of behaviours across the discussion (1 = *low*, 7 = *high*) to rate men's and women's aggression in independent viewings (order counterbalanced). Coder ratings were reliable and averaged to construct an overall score of each person's aggressive communication (see Table 3.1).

Results

Table 3.8 displays the correlations across all variables. We used the dyadic regression procedures outlined in Study 1 to appropriately calculate the predicted associations to account for the dependence across partners, control for the association between hostile and benevolent sexism (see Table 3.8), and test whether the gender differences were significant.

Hostile Sexism and Biased Perceptions of Relationship Power

We first examined whether men's hostile sexism was associated with lower perceptions of relationship power, and tested whether these lower perceptions were biased. The correlations in Table 3.8 replicate Study 1: men's hostile sexism was negatively associated with perceived relationship power, but was not associated with partners' reports of power, indicating that these lower perceptions of power were biased. Table 3.3 displays the results from dyadic analyses modeling the effects of sexist attitudes predicting (1) individuals' perceived relationship power, and (2) partners' reports of individuals' relationship power (see right side). Replicating Study 1, men's (but not women's) hostile sexism was associated with lower perceptions of relationship power for men (see Table 3.3, "*Predicting Perceived Relationship Power*"). Moreover, indicating that these lower perceptions were biased, partners did not agree that men who endorsed hostile sexism had lower power: that is, men's hostile sexism did not predict partners' reports that men had lower power (see Table 3.3, "*Predicting Partners' Reports of Individuals' Relationship Power*").

Table 3.8. Correlations Across All Measures (Study 2).

		1.	*2.*	*3.*	*4.*	*5.*	*6.*	*7.*	*8.*	*9.*	*10.*
1.	Hostile Sexism	**.30****	.45**	-.40**	-.17	-.15	-.15	.34*	-.16	.35**	.28**
2.	Benevolent Sexism	.47**	**.23****	.01	-.12	-.09	.03	-.09	-.03	.11	.07
3.	Perceived Relationship Power	-.20*	-.29**	**.13**	.22*	.17	.40**	-.42**	.44**	-.38**	-.28**
4.	Reports of Partners' Relationship Power	.01	-.09	.50**	**-.07**	.01	-.05	.00	.15	-.20*	-.15
5.	Partners' Perceived Relationship Power	.06	-.04	.17	.40**	**.13**	.50**	-.21*	.35**	-.11	-.14
6.	Partners' Reports of Individuals' Relationship Power	-.04	-.15	.01	-.05	.22*	**-.07**	-.30**	.37**	-.16	.00
7.	Observer-Rated Aggression	.01	.16	-.10	-.13	-.31**	**-.11**	**.44****	-.37**	.27**	.16
8.	Relationship Satisfaction	.11	.03	.38**	.47**	.38**	.17	-.26*	**.24****	-.31**	-.24*
9.	Attachment Anxiety	.14	.05	-.29**	-.25*	-.13	-.07	.03	-.37**	**.19****	.37**
10.	Attachment Avoidance	.08	.02	-.25*	-.35**	-.29**	-.10	.04	-.36**	.36**	**.25****

Note. Correlations for men are above the diagonal. Correlations for women are below the diagonal. Bold correlations on the diagonal represent correlations across partners. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

As in Study 1, we then used the truth and bias model (West & Kenny, 2011) to more clearly assess bias in perceptions of power by specifying the discrepancies across individuals' perceptions of relationship power and partners' reports of individuals' relationship power (see Study 1 for analytic details). As shown in Table 3.4, the intercept representing bias was negative and significant for both men and women, and there was no gender difference. As in Study 1, this pattern indicates that participants tended to perceive they had lower power than the partner reported their relationship power to be. Moreover, replicating the results of Study 1, hostile sexism predicted greater biased perceptions of power for men, but not women, and this gender difference was significant. As shown in Figure 3.2 (see right side), men high (+*1*SD) in hostile sexism underestimated their level of power compared to their partner's reports of their power (intercept representing bias, B = -1.03, t = -7.75, p <.001, r = -.63). Men low (-*1*SD) in hostile sexism demonstrated no bias in their perceptions of power (B = -.14, t = -1.02, p = .31, r = -.10). This pattern again supports that the lower perceptions of power associated with men's stronger endorsement of hostile sexism is due to their concerns and vigilance about losing power rather than actual differences in power between men who strongly versus weakly endorse hostile sexism.

Hostile Sexism, Lower Perceived Relationship Power, and Aggressive Communication

As in Study 1, we next ran two dyadic models to test the links between hostile sexism, perceived power and aggression. As shown in Table 3.9 (Model 1), assessing the direct effects between sexist attitudes and aggression revealed that hostile sexism predicted greater aggressive communication during couples' conflict discussions for men, not women, and this gender difference was significant. Moreover, adding perceived power into the model (Model 2) supported that lower perceived power played a mediating role in the links between hostile sexism and aggression: lower power predicted greater aggressive communication over and above the effects of sexist attitudes, and controlling for perceived power removed the

Table 3.9. The Effects of Hostile Sexism and Perceived Relationship Power on Observer-Rated Aggressive Communication during Couple's Conflict Discussions (Study 2).

	Men					**Women**					**Gender Diff.**	
		95% CI					*95% CI*					
	B	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*B*	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*t*	*r*
Model 1												
Hostile Sexism	**.13**	**.02**	**.25**	**2.22***	**.22**	-.07	-.23	.09	-0.83	-.08	2.31*	.20
Benevolent Sexism	-.12	-.24	-.01	-1.86	-.19	.12	-.05	.29	1.44	.14	-2.83**	-.24
Model 2												
Perceived Relationship Power	**-.17**	**-.29**	**-.04**	**-2.71****	**-.27**	-.02	-.19	.15	-0.23	-.02	-1.54	-.12
Hostile Sexism	.06	-.06	.19	0.99	.10	-.09	-.25	.08	-1.06	-.11	1.70	.15
Benevolent Sexism	-.09	-.21	.04	-1.44	-.15	.13	-.05	.30	1.47	.15	-2.46*	-.22

Note. Model 1 tests the direct effects between hostile sexism and observer-rated aggression during couples' conflict discussions. Model 2 tests the effects between perceived relationship power and aggression accounting for sexist attitudes. The indirect effects in Table 3.6 link the associations between hostile sexism and perceived power shown in Table 3.3 with the associations between perceived relationship power and observer-rated aggression controlling for sexism shown here in Model 2. Gender diff. coefficients test whether the effects significantly differed across men and women. Predicted effects for men are shown in bold. Effect sizes (*r*) were computed using Rosenthal and Rosnow's (2007) formula: $r = \sqrt{(t^2 / t^2 + df)}$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

associations between men's hostile sexism and aggressive communication. As shown in Table 3.6 (see Study 2), the indirect effect linking the significant associations between men's hostile sexism and lower perceived relationship power (from Table 3.3, Study 2) and lower perceived power and aggressive communication during couples' conflict interactions controlling for sexist attitudes (from Table 3.9, Model 2) was significant for men, and not women. Thus, as in Study 1, these results provide correlational evidence for the top pathway in Figure 3.1 suggesting that men who endorse hostile sexism communicate more aggressively during couples' interactions because they perceive they lack power in their relationships.

Alternative Explanations and Control Analyses

Benevolent Sexism. Greater men's benevolent sexism was associated with greater (not lower) perceived power in Study 2 (see Table 3.3), and so perceiving lower power was unique to men's endorsement of hostile sexism. In addition, women who more strongly endorsed benevolent sexism perceived lower power (see Table 3.3). However, these associations between benevolent sexism and perceived power were not replicated in the other studies.[8]

Aggression. As in Study 1, we wanted to rule out the possibility that the links between men's hostile sexism and perceived power were the result of greater aggression in

[8] To examine the reliability of these unexpected effects that were inconsistent across studies, we conducted a meta-analysis of the associations between benevolent sexism and perceptions of power. The association between benevolent sexism and perceived relationship power was *not* significant for men (t = 0.99, p = .32, 95% CI [−.04, −.13], r = .05) or women (t = -1.41, p = .16, 95% CI [−.23, .04], r = -.10). For completeness, we also conducted a meta-analysis of the associations between benevolent sexism and aggression across Studies 1-4. The results indicated that benevolent sexism was *not* significantly associated with relationship aggression for men (t = -1.60, p = .11, 95% CI [−.36, .04], r = -.17) or women (t = 1.44, p = .15, 95% CI [−.02, .14], r = .06). These non-significant main effects are consistent with prior research showing context-dependent associations between women's benevolent sexism and aggressive responses, such as when relationships do not deliver what benevolent sexism promises (e.g., Hammond & Overall, 2014; Overall et al., 2011).

the relationship by rerunning the models assessing the link between sexist attitudes and perceived power controlling for individuals' and partners' aggressive communication. As in Study 1, the significant association between men's hostile sexism and perceived power was not altered when controlling for men's own (B = -.37, 95% CI [-.56, -.19], t = -3.97, p < .001, r = -.38) or their female partners' (B = -.42, 95% CI [-.61,-.24], t = -4.53, p < .001, r = -.42) aggressive behaviour during the conflict discussion.

Relationship Satisfaction and Insecurity. Finally, as in Study 1, we reran all the analyses controlling for individuals' own and their partners' relationship satisfaction and attachment insecurity. As shown in Table 3.8, men's (but not women's) hostile sexism was associated with greater relationship insecurity (attachment anxiety and avoidance). However, as shown in Table 3.7, the links between men's hostile sexism and perceived power, perceived power and aggression, and the associated indirect effects, were unaltered when controlling for either partners' relationship satisfaction or insecurity.

Study 3

Study 2 replicated the effects of study 1 by showing that men's hostile sexism was associated with lower perceptions of power, and these lower perceptions were biased, such that men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism underestimated the power they had in their relationships compared to female partners' reports of their power. Moreover, extending the daily diary reports of routine aggressive behaviour in Study 1, lower perceived power was associated with greater aggressive communication during couples' conflict discussion as rated by objective observers. Finally, these results were robust to alternative explanations.

In Study 3, we aimed to replicate the associations between hostile sexism, perceived power, and aggression in a sample of newlywed couples. Replicating Studies 1 and 2, we expected that men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism would perceive themselves to have lower power in their relationships, and this lower perceived power, in turn, would be

associated with greater relationship aggression (top pathway in Figure 3.1). We also tested whether the predicted associations between hostile sexism, lower perceived power and aggression (top pathway in Figure 3.1) were distinct from any, potentially opposing, associations between hostile sexism, a greater desire for power, and aggression (bottom pathway in Figure 3.1). To do this, we simultaneously examined the associations between hostile sexism, perceived versus desired relationship power, and self-reported aggression. We expected the links between hostile sexism and perceived power to occur independently of any potential associations between hostile sexism and greater desire for power. Finally, we also wanted to rule out alternative explanations for the predicted effects, including both partners' aggression and relationship evaluations as in Studies 1 and 2, as well as ruling out that the associations were simply the result of general, trait-level interpersonal dominance.

Method

Participants

Participants were members of 119 newlywed couples who participated in a broader study of marriage. The measures analysed here were specifically included in this large study to examine the effects of sexist attitudes and power on aggression and other relationship processes. Due to the broader aims of the study assessing relationship development across the early years of marriage, participation required being married for fewer than 3 months and being at least 18 years of age. Couples were compensated $100USD for a lab-based session that included the questionnaires examined here. Males ranged from 20-72 years old (M = 32.09, SD = 9.88), and females ranged from 19-55 years (M = 30.15, SD = 8.09). Couples had been together for an average of 3.77 years (SD = 2.51) prior to marriage, and 27% of the couples had children. See Appendix 2 for more sample and power information.

Procedure and Measures

All measures were averaged across scale items. Table 3.10 presents descriptive and

Table 3.10. Descriptive Statistics and Reliabilities Across Measures (Studies 3 and 4).

Measures	Study 3					Study 4				
	Men		Women		Gender Diff.	Men		Women		Gender Diff.
	M (SD)	*α*	*M (SD)*	*α*	*t*	*M (SD)*	*α*	*M (SD)*	*α*	*t*
Hostile Sexism	-0.53 (1.05)	.87	-0.58 (1.13)	.88	0.36	-0.48 (1.32)	.92	-0.97 (1.34)	.92	4.11**
Benevolent Sexism	0.23 (0.99)	.82	-0.18 (1.12)	.86	2.99**	0.07 (1.16)	.88	-0.34 (1.22)	.89	3.83**
Perceived Relationship Power	5.29 (0.91)	.84	5.39 (0.94)	.83	0.85	5.07 (1.08)	.87	5.27 (1.17)	.90	-1.93†
Desire for Relationship Power	4.86 (0.77)	.70	5.04 (0.73)	.65	-1.90†	4.73 (0.95)	.81	4.99 (0.91)	.78	-3.15**
Self-Reported Aggression (Past Year)	1.43 (0.49)	.79	1.51 (0.55)	.82	-1.13	1.97 (0.96)	.90	2.06 (1.00)	.89	*0.93
Relationship Satisfaction	6.43 (0.67)	.91	6.41 (0.75)	.90	-0.30	5.59 (1.27)	.94	5.59 (1.32)	.94	-0.46
Attachment Anxiety	2.95 (1.14)	.82	2.88 (1.27)	.87	0.45	-	-	-	-	-
Attachment Avoidance	2.54 (1.00)	.81	2.71 (1.13)	.82	-1.20	-	-	-	-	-
Alternative Dominance-based Characteristics										
Interpersonal Dominance	4.55 (0.90)	.73	4.47 (0.97)	.80	0.72	3.58 (1.28)	.81	3.22 (1.23)	.80	3.17**
Desire for Power over Women	-	-	-	-	-	2.84 (1.14)	.77	2.54 (1.14)	.74	2.87**
Propensity for Violence	-	-	-	-	-	3.75 (1.48)	.81	2.95 (1.39)	.82	6.12**

Note. Possible scores range from −3 to 3 for Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism, and 1 to 7 for all other scales, with the exception of aggression in Study 3, which was assessed on a 1 to 4 scale. *α* represents Cronbach's alpha reliabilities. Gender diff. *t* tests whether average levels of each variable significantly differed between men (coded as 1) and women (coded as -1). * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. $^{\dagger}p < .06$.

reliability statistics for all measures.

Sexist Attitudes and Perceived Relationship Power. Participants completed the same scales assessing sexist attitudes and perceived relationship power as in Studies 1-2, with minor changes to the scale items to reference 'marriage' and 'spouse' rather than 'relationship' and 'partner'.

Desire for Relationship Power. To assess desire for power we followed prior assessments examining desires for power as well as preferences in relationships. In particular, the associations between hostile sexism and desires for power are evident in valuing power by rating power and dominance as very important (Feather, 2004; also see Schwartz, 1992). Similarly, assessments of desired attributes in relationships, such as mate preferences, ask individuals to rate how important it is for partners to possess relevant attributes (e.g., Fletcher, Simpson, Thomas, & Giles, 1999). Accordingly, to assess the degree to which participants desired to possess relationship power we adapted the Sense of Power Scale (Anderson et al., 2012) by rewording each item to assess the extent to which it was important for participants to have high levels of power (e.g., "It is important to me that I have a great deal of power in my marriage"; "It is important to me that I get to make the decisions in my marriage"; "It is important to me that I can get my partner to do what I want"; "It is not important to me that I get my way in my marriage", reverse-coded; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). Thus, items assessed how much people desired or preferred to possess high levels of relationship power independent of how much power they held in the relationship.

Relationship Aggression. Participants completed a 9-item version of the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS; Straus, 1979). From "*a list of some things that you and/or your spouse might have done when you had a dispute"*, participants indicated how often they engaged in each of nine aggressive acts over the past year (1 = *Never*, 2 = *Once*, 3 = *Twice*, 4 = *More*). Three items assessed verbal aggression (e.g., "insulted or swore at your partner") and six

items assessed physical aggression (e.g., "pushed, grabbed, or shoved your partner", "slapped spouse"). The pattern of effects was consistent when modeling verbal and physical aggression as separate dependent variables.

Relationship Satisfaction and Attachment Insecurity. Participants completed the same attachment scales as in Study 1 and 2. Relationship Satisfaction was assessed using the Kansas Marital Satisfaction Scale (KMSS; Schumm et al, 1986). Three items ("How satisfied are you with your partner?", "How satisfied are you with your relationship with your partner?", and "How satisfied are you with your marriage?"; 1 = *not at all satisfied*, 7 = *extremely satisfied*) were averaged so that higher scores represented greater satisfaction.[9]

Dominance. Finally, enabling us to distinguish the targeted power processes within relationships from more general interpersonal dominance, participants completed an adapted version of the Ambitious-Dominant Interpersonal Dimension developed by Wiggins (1979). Participants rated the degree to which eight items described themselves, including "Dominant", "Forceful", "Domineering", "Self-assured", "Assertive", "Self-confident", "Firm", and "Un-self-conscious" (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much so*). Items were averaged so that higher scores represented greater dominance.

Results

Hostile Sexism and Relationship Power

Table 3.11 displays correlations across variables for men (above diagonal) and women (below diagonal). Replicating Studies 1 and 2, men's (and not women's) hostile sexism was associated with lower perceived power and greater aggression. As expected,

[9] Study 3 assessed marital satisfaction using a different scale than the measure of relationship satisfaction used in Studies 1, 2 and 4. Of the two measures of satisfaction assessed in Study 3, the Kansas Marital Satisfaction Scale (KMSS; Schumm et al, 1986) was the most conceptually similar to the measure used in Studies 1, 2 and 4, and thus we report analyses with the KMSS here. However, the results and conclusions were the same when using the Quality Marriage Index (Norton, 1983) in the analyses controlling for marital satisfaction.

Table 3.11. Correlations Across Measures (Study 3).

	1.	*2.*	*3.*	*4.*	*5.*	*6.*	*7.*	*8.*	*9.*
1. Hostile Sexism	**.15***	.38**	-.21*	.22*	.23*	-.14	.11	.02	.03
2. Benevolent Sexism	.48**	**.28****	-.13	.07	.06	.05	-.08	-.20*	-.06
3. Perceived Relationship Power	-.09	-.25**	**.06**	.15	-.33**	.29**	-.19	-.09	.22*
4. Desire for Relationship Power	-.13	.07	.08	**.02**	.04	-.19*	-08	-.21*	.14
5. Aggression	.13	.24**	-.18*	.18*	**.38****	-.23*	.19*	-.01	-.04
6. Relationship Satisfaction	.06	-.16	.44**	-.16	-.34**	**.33****	-.12	-.03	-.03
7. Attachment Anxiety	.01	-.02	-.09	.02	.36**	-.11	**-.03**	.42**	-.28**
8. Attachment Avoidance	.07	.02	-.18	-.09	.18	-.28**	.42**	**.16***	-.12
9. Interpersonal Dominance	-.03	.09	.07	.12	-.06	**-.06**	-.13	-.09	**-.09**

Note. Correlations for men are above the diagonal. Correlations for women are below the diagonal. Bold correlations represent correlations across husbands and wives. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

men's (and not women's) hostile sexism was also associated with a greater desire for relationship power. A key goal of Study 3 was to test whether the links between hostile sexism and perceived power occurred independently of any potential associations between hostile sexism and greater desire for power (see Figure 3.1). Thus, we ran dyadic regression analyses as in Study 2 testing the links between hostile sexism (grand-mean centered) and perceptions of relationship power, controlling for desire for relationship power, and vice versa. As shown in Table 3.12, hostile sexism was independently associated with lower perceptions of relationship power for men, but not women, and the gender difference was significant (see Table 3.12, "*Predicting Perceived Relationship Power*"). Concurrent analyses revealed that men's hostile sexism was also independently associated with a greater desire for relationship power, women's hostile sexism was associated with a lower desire for relationship power, and this gender difference was significant (see Table 3.12, "*Predicting Desire for Relationship Power*").

Hostile Sexism, Lower Perceived Relationship Power, and Self-Reported Aggression

We then tested which of the two alternative power variables – lower perceived power versus greater desire for power – were associated with aggression toward relationship partners (see Figure 3.1). Mimicking the analytic strategy used in Studies 1 and 2, we ran two nested models examining the links between sexism, power, and aggression. First, we tested the direct effects between hostile sexism and self-reported aggression controlling for benevolent sexism (grand-mean centered). As shown in Table 3.13 (Model 1), men's stronger endorsement of hostile sexism was marginally associated with greater aggression when controlling for benevolent sexism. Second, to test the unique indirect effects between hostile sexism and aggression via the two alternative power variables (see Figure 3.1), we added both perceptions of relationship power and desire for relationship power (grand-mean centered) into the model. As shown in Table 3.13 (Model 2), only men's lower relationship

Table 3.12. The Independent Associations between Hostile Sexism and Perceived Relationship Power versus Desire for Relationship Power (Studies 3 and 4).

Predictors	Men					Women					Gender Diff.	
		95% CI					*95% CI*					
	B	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*B*	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*t*	*r*
Study 3												
Predicting Perceived Relationship Power												
Hostile Sexism	**-.20**	**-.37**	**-.03**	**-2.33***	-.21	.04	-.13	.21	0.48	.04	-1.98*	-.13
Benevolent Sexism	-.05	-.22	.13	-0.52	-.05	-.23	-.40	-.06	-2.65**	-.24	1.49	.10
Desire for Relationship Power	.24	.02	.45	2.21*	.20	.13	-.10	.37	1.16	.11	0.64	.04
Predicting Desire for Relationship Power												
Hostile Sexism	**.19**	**.05**	**.34**	**2.67****	.24	-.14	-.27	-.01	-2.07*	-.19	3.37**	.22
Benevolent Sexism	-.01	-.16	.14	-0.10	-.01	.12	-.01	.26	1.78	.16	-1.28	-.09
Perceived Relationship Power	.17	.02	.33	2.19*	.20	.08	-.06	.23	1.15	.11	0.82	.05
Study 4												
Predicting Perceived Relationship Power												
Hostile Sexism	**-.31**	**-.41**	**-.20**	**-5.65****	-.37	-.08	-.19	.03	-1.39	-.09	-2.89**	-.13
Benevolent Sexism	.05	-.07	.17	0.82	.05	.04	-.08	.16	0.68	.04	0.11	.00
Desire for Relationship Power	.42	.28	.56	5.75**	.37	.38	.24	.53	5.32**	.30	0.33	.01
Predicting Desire for Relationship Power												
Hostile Sexism	**.22**	**.12**	**.31**	**4.30****	.30	-.10	-.18	-.01	-2.26**	-.14	4.75**	.22
Benevolent Sexism	.03	-.08	.13	0.45	.03	.05	-.04	.15	1.16	.07	-0.41	-.02
Perceived Relationship Power	.34	.22	.45	5.75**	.38	.23	.14	.31	5.32**	.29	1.49	.06

Note. Gender diff. coefficients test whether the effects significantly differed across men (coded as 1) and women (coded as -1). Predicted effects for men are shown in bold. Effect sizes *r* for Study 3 were computed using Rosenthal and Rosnow's (2007) formula: $r = \sqrt{(t^2 / t^2 + df)}$. Effect sizes *r* for Study 4 are the standardized beta coefficients. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Table 3.13. The Effects of Hostile Sexism, Perceived Relationship Power versus Desire for Relationship Power, and Aggression (Studies 3 & 4).

Predictors	Men					Women					Gender Diff.	
		95% CI					95% CI					
	B	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*B*	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*t*	*r*
Study 3												
Model 1												
Hostile Sexism	**.08**	**-.00**	**.17**	**1.91**†	**.17**	.05	-.04	.14	0.98	.09	0.54	.04
Benevolent Sexism	-.02	-.11	.07	-0.35	-.03	.06	-.03	.16	1.33	.12	-1.25	-.09
Model 2												
Hostile Sexism	.06	-.03	.15	1.38	.13	.05	-.05	.15	1.06	.10	0.13	.01
Benevolent Sexism	-.02	-.11	.07	-0.49	-.05	.05	-.05	.15	1.09	.10	-1.17	-.08
Perceived Relationship Power	**-.15**	**-.24**	**-.06**	**-3.19****	**-.29**	-.05	-.15	.06	-0.90	-.08	-1.46	-.10
Desire for Relationship Power	.03	-.18	.14	0.52	.05	.12	.01	.26	1.89	.17	-1.12	-.08
Study 4												
Model 1												
Hostile Sexism	**.22**	**.12**	**.32**	**4.39****	**.29**	.20	.10	.29	4.12**	.24	0.38	.01
Benevolent Sexism	-.03	-.14	.09	-0.44	-.03	.04	-.07	.14	0.48	.03	-0.79	-.03
Model 2												
Hostile Sexism	.15	.04	.25	2.76**	.19	.17	.08	.25	3.86**	.22	-0.27	-.01
Benevolent Sexism	-.01	-.12	.10	-0.18	-.01	.05	-.04	.14	1.13	.06	-0.87	-.04
Perceived Relationship Power	**-.26**	**-.39**	**-.14**	**-4.09****	**-.28**	-.40	-.49	-.31	-8.93**	-.46	1.77	.08
Desire for Relationship Power	.07	-.08	.21	0.91	.06	.17	.05	.28	2.84**	-.16	-1.09	-.05

Note. Model 1 tests the direct effects between hostile sexism and aggression. Model 2 tests the effects between perceived versus desired relationship power and aggression accounting for sexist attitudes. The indirect effects in Table 3.14 link the associations between hostile sexism and perceived versus desired power shown in Table 3.12 with the associations between perceived versus desired relationship power and aggression controlling for sexism shown here in Model 2. Gender diff. coefficients test whether the effects significantly differed across men (coded as 1) and women (coded as -1). Predicted effects for men are shown in bold. Effect sizes *r* for Study 3 were computed using Rosenthal and Rosnow's (2007) formula: $r = \sqrt{(t^2 / t^2 + df)}$. Effect sizes *r* for Study 4 are the standardized beta coefficients. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. † = .059.

power, and not men's greater *desire* for power, was significantly associated with greater aggression toward partners.

Table 3.14 presents tests of the indirect effects linking the significant associations between hostile sexism and power in Table 3.12, with the associations between power and aggression controlling for sexism shown in Table 3.13. Although the association between perceived power and aggression did not differ by gender, the overall pathway shown in the top of Figure 3.1 was only significant for men. Men's (but not women's) hostile sexism was associated with lower relationship power (see Table 3.12, Study 3), and lower power in turn was associated with aggression controlling for hostile sexism and desire for power (see Model 2, Table 3.13). Accordingly, as shown in Table 3.14, the confidence intervals for the indirect effects revealed that the only significant indirect effect between hostile sexism, the competing power variables, and aggression (see Figure 3.1) occurred for men's hostile sexism → perceived relationship power → aggression. This process did not occur for women, and desire for power did not play a mediating role between men's hostile sexism and aggression.

Alternative Explanations and Control Analyses

Benevolent Sexism. As shown in Tables 3.11, 3.12 and 3.13, men's benevolent sexism was not associated with perceived power, desire for power, or aggression revealing that hostile sexism is uniquely associated with men's perceptions of power and associated aggressive responses toward intimate partners. However, as in Study 2, women's benevolent sexism was associated with lower perceived power (but see Footnote 8).

Aggression. As in Studies 1 and 2, we reran the models assessing the link between sexist attitudes and perceived power controlling for individuals' and partners' aggression. In Study 3, the significant association between men's hostile sexism and perceived power fell below .05 significance when controlling for men's own aggression (*B* = -.14, 95% CI [-.30,

Table 3.14. Indirect effects between Men's Hostile Sexism, Lower Perceived Relationship Power versus Greater Desire for Relationship Power, and Aggression (Studies 3 and 4).

Indirect Effect Tested	Indirect Effect	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower Limit	Upper Limit
Study 3			
Perceived Relationship Power as Mediator			
Men's hostile sexism → perceived relationship power → self-reported aggression	**.030**	**.003**	**.067**
Women's hostile sexism → perceived relationship power → self-reported aggression	-.002	-.018	.010
Desire for Relationship Power as Mediator			
Men's hostile sexism → desire for relationship power → self-reported aggression	.006	-.016	.031
Women's hostile sexism → desire for relationship power → self-reported aggression	-.017	-.048	.002
Study 4			
Perceived Relationship Power as Mediator			
Men's hostile sexism → perceived relationship power → self-reported aggression	**.081**	**.037**	**.133**
Women's hostile sexism → perceived relationship power → self-reported aggression	.031	-.013	.077
Desire for Relationship Power as Mediator			
Men's hostile sexism → desire for relationship power → self-reported aggression	.014	-.016	.048
Women's hostile sexism → desire for relationship power → self-reported aggression	-.016	-.037	-.001

Note. Tables 12 and 13 present the estimates for the associations between variables indicated by →. Predicted effects for men are shown in bold. Asymmetric Confidence intervals were calculated following Mackinnon et al., (2007). Confidence intervals shown in bold do not overlap "0".

.03], t = -1.62, p = .11, r = .15). But, this was not the case in any of the other three studies. A meta-analysis of the link between men's hostile sexism and perceived power controlling for aggression across studies supported that the association was reliable even with this control (t = -6.12, $p < .001$, 95% CI [−.35, −.19], r = .27). The association between men's hostile sexism and perceived power was not altered when controlling for female partners' reported aggression over the past year (B = -.18, 95% CI [-.35,-.01], t = -2.14, p = .04, r = .20).

Relationship Satisfaction and Insecurity. As in Studies 1 and 2, rerunning the models controlling for individuals' own and their partners' relationship satisfaction or attachment insecurity also did not reduce the associations between men's hostile sexism, perceived relationship power, and aggression (see Table 3.7).

Interpersonal Dominance. Finally, we wanted to show that the effects were specific to sexist attitudes and power in the relationship rather than a symptom of more general interpersonal dominance. As shown in Table 3.11, interpersonal dominance was not associated with men's hostile sexism but was associated with men's greater perceived relationship power and greater aggression. Nonetheless, controlling for interpersonal dominance did not change any of the effects described above. To illustrate, Table 3.15 (see Study 3) presents the effect of perceived power on men's hostile sexism (Path A), self-reported aggression on perceived power (Path B), and the indirect effect between men's hostile sexism, lower perceived relationship power and aggression (see right hand column) controlling for general interpersonal dominance. The effects were unaltered.

Table 3.15. Primary associations between Men's Hostile Sexism, Lower Perceived Relationship Power and Aggression controlling for Interpersonal Dominance, Desire for Power over Women, and Propensity for Violence (Studies 3 and 4).

Predictors	Men's HS → Perceived Power (Path A)					Perceived Power→ Aggression (Path B)					Indirect Effect		
		95% CI					*95% CI*						
	B	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*B*	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	Indirect Effect	LL	UL
Study 3													
Primary Associations	-.20	-.37	-.03	-2.33**	-.21	-.15	-.24	-.06	-3.19**	-.29	.030	.003	.067
Controlling for Interpersonal Dominance	-.20	-.37	-.03	-2.40**	-.22	-.16	-.25	-.06	-3.13**	-.28	.030	.004	.067
Study 4													
Primary Associations	-.31	-.41	-.20	-5.65**	-.37	-.26	-.39	-.14	-4.09**	-.28	.081	.037	.134
Controlling for Interpersonal Dominance	-.30	-.42	-.19	-5.10**	-.34	-.26	-.38	-.14	-4.20**	-.28	.078	.035	.130
Controlling for Desire for Power over Women	-.24	-.40	-.09	-3.15**	-.21	-.25	-.37	-.12	-3.91**	-.27	.060	.018	.116
Controlling for Propensity for Violence	-.29	-.40	-.19	-5.37**	-.35	-.25	-.38	-.13	-3.92**	-.27	.074	.033	.126

Note. Effect sizes *r* for Study 3 were computed using Rosenthal and Rosnow's (2007) formula: $r = \sqrt{(t^2 / t^2 + df)}$. Effect sizes *r* for Study 4 are the standardized beta coefficients. Primary associations for Path A are shown in Table 3.12, primary associations for Path B are shown in Table 3.13. Asymmetric Confidence intervals were calculated following Mackinnon et al., (2007).*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Study 4

Study 4 was a pre-registered replication (see osf.io/kjc4e) of the associations between hostile sexism, perceived power, and relationship aggression shown in Studies 1-3, and the alternative associations between hostile sexism, desire for power and aggression examined in Study 3. We collected the same questionnaire measures of the focal variables as in Study 3 in a large online sample using Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk). We then conducted the same analyses outlined in Study 3 differentiating the pathway between hostile sexism, perceived power and relationship aggression (see top of Figure 3.1) from the alternative, potentially opposing, pathway between hostile sexism, desire for power and relationship aggression (see bottom of Figure 3.1). We also collected additional measures to rule out the possibility that the predicted associations arise from more general interpersonal dominance, desires for power over women, and propensity for violence.

Method

Participants

We estimated an effect size of r = .20 for men's hostile sexism and perceived power based on our prior studies, but wanted to ensure we had enough power to detect potentially smaller differences across men and women (see Tables 3.11 and 3.12). Thus, we aimed to collect data from 200 women and 200 men involved in committed heterosexual relationships via Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk). We stopped collection the day we reached our target sample size. The final sample included 207 men and 299 women (total N = 506). Males ages ranged from 20-75 (M = 39.73, SD = 11.33 years), and females ages ranged from 20-70 (M = 38.39, SD = 10.05 years). Couples were in relatively serious relationships (68% married, 17% cohabitating, 5% serious, 10% steady) of an average length of 10.48 years (SD = 9.08). Participants were compensated US$1.00. See Appendix 2 for further details.

Procedure and Materials

The study description included examining questions on "*relationship experiences and beliefs, including how people think, feel and behave in their intimate relationships*". An initial demographic page identifying participants' relationship status screened for study eligibility. Respondents identifying as single were directed to a separate study on "*partner preferences and ideals*". Prior to variable construction and data analyses, 8 responses were removed because respondents completed the survey in the pre-specified time believed necessary to accurately complete measures (5 minutes). We also excluded 50 participants involved in same-sex relationships because the sexist attitudes we are investigating specifically relate to heterosexual gender roles (see Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Participants completed the following questionnaires. All measures were averaged across scale items. Table 3.10 presents descriptive and reliability statistics.

Sexist Attitudes, Relationship power, Desire for Relationship Power. Participants completed the same measures as in Study 3, although items referring to "marriage" or "spouse" were altered to "relationship" or "partner" to index all types of relationships (e.g., dating, cohabiting, and married).

Relationship Aggression. Participants completed the same measures as in Study 3, but we also included two items that were used in Study 1 to assess daily aggression ("acted in a way that could be hurtful to your partner", "been critical or unpleasant toward your partner"). The results and conclusions were the same when excluding these two items.

Relationship Satisfaction. Participants completed the same scale as in Studies 1 and 2 to assess relationship satisfaction. We were unable to collect an assessment of partners' relationship satisfaction because individuals and not couples completed the measures. In addition, we did not assess attachment insecurity due to length considerations.

Dominance, Power over Women, Violence. To rule out the possibility that the

predicted associations were due to a more general orientation towards dominance and violence, we also assessed and controlled for three different types of dominance that may be linked to men's endorsement of hostile sexism. Participants completed an adapted version of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI) by rating 22 items developed by Mahalik et al. (2003). We selected the most relevant categories of dominance norms assessed by the CMNI. Four items assessed *dominance* (e.g., "I should be in charge"), five items assessed *power over women* (e.g., "Men should not have power over women", reverse-scored), and four items assessed *violence* (e.g., "Sometimes violent action is necessary"). Participants rated their agreement with each item (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*) and items were averaged so that higher scores represented greater dominance, desire for power over women, and propensity for violence.[10]

Results

Replicating Studies 1-3, men's (and not women's) hostile sexism was associated with lower perceived relationship power, greater desire for relationship power, and greater aggression (see Table 3.16). Greater perceived power was also associated with a greater desire for power. As in Study 3, we tested whether the associations between hostile sexism, perceived power, and aggression (top pathway in Figure 3.1) were independent of the alternative associations between hostile sexism, desire for power, and aggression (bottom pathway in Figure 3.1), and whether the associations differed across men and women.

Hostile Sexism and Relationship Power

We first regressed perceived relationship power on hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, desire for relationship power (all grand-mean centered), gender, and all interaction effects of

[10] We also controlled for the remaining two sub-factors ("Self-Reliance" and "Status") of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI; Mahalik et al, 2003), which did not alter the effects.

Table 3.16. Correlations Across Measures (Study 4).

	1.	*2.*	*3.*	*4.*	*5.*	*6.*	*7.*	*8.*	*9.*
1. Hostile Sexism	-	.30**	-.29**	.20**	.30**	-.28**	.44**	.74**	.12
2. Benevolent Sexism	.47**	-	-.02	.11	.06	.07	.14	.28**	-.13
3. Perceived Relationship Power	-.11	.00	-	.30**	-.34**	.65**	-.00	-.26**	.12
4. Desire for Relationship Power	-.14*	.01	.31**	-	.02	.16*	.45**	.14*	.06
5. Aggression	.28**	.17**	-.45**	-.03	-	-.31**	.35**	.36**	.16*
6. Relationship Satisfaction	-.03	.07	.69**	.16**	-.30	-	-.11	-.27**	-.13
7. Interpersonal Dominance	.09	.16**	-.08	.35**	.36**	-.09	-	40**	.31**
8. Desire for Power over Women	.64**	.49**	-.10	-.24**	.22**	-.00	-.00	-	.17*
9. Propensity for Violence	.11	-.04	.12*	.05	.29**	-.07	.23**	.08	-

Note. Correlations for men are above the diagonal. Correlations for women are below the diagonal. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

gender (gender coded -1 women, 1 men). Mimicking the presentation of Studies 1-3, Table 3.12 presents the effects decomposed for men and women and the final column presents the tests of the gender differences. Replicating Studies 1-3, hostile sexism was associated with lower perceptions of relationship power for men, but not women, and this gender difference was significant (see Table 3.12, "*Predicting Perceived Relationship Power*"). Also replicating Study 3, concomitant analyses predicting desire for relationship power revealed that hostile sexism was independently associated with greater desire for power for men, lower desire for power for women, and this gender difference was significant (see Table 3.12, "*Predicting Desire for Relationship Power*").

Hostile Sexism, Lower Perceived Relationship Power, and Self-Reported Aggression

As in Study 3, we ran two nested models to examine the associations between sexist attitudes with aggression (Model 1), and then the additional, independent effects of the two competing power variables on aggression (Model 2; see Table 3.13, Study 4). The first model including hostile and benevolent sexism as predictors of aggression illustrated that men's, but not women's, hostile sexism significantly predicted greater aggression. Replicating Study 3, the second model including perceived power and desire for power (and all gender interactions) revealed that lower perceived power, but not greater desire for power, predicted greater aggression over and above the effects of sexist attitudes (see Table 3.13).

Table 3.14 presents tests of the indirect effects linking the significant associations between hostile sexism and power (shown in Table 3.12) with the associations between power and aggression controlling for sexism (shown in Table 3.13). As in Studies 1-3, only men's hostile sexism predicted lower perceived relationship power (see Table 3.12) and thus the indirect effect testing men's hostile sexism → perceived relationship power → aggression was only significant for men, and not women (see Table 3.14). Moreover, as in Study 3, given men's desire for power did not independently predict self-reported aggression (see

Table 3.13), the indirect effect linking hostile sexism to aggression via desire for power was not significant for men (or women; see Table 3.14).

Alternative Explanations and Control Analyses

Benevolent Sexism. As shown in Table 3.12 and 13, men's (or women's) benevolent sexism was not significantly associated with perceived power, desire for power, or aggression. Thus, as in Studies 1-3, the effects were unique to men's hostile sexism.

Aggression. As in Studies 1 and 2, the link between sexist attitudes and perceived power controlling for individuals' aggression was unaltered when controlling for men's own aggression over the past year (B = -.24, 95% CI [-.35,-.13], t = -4.39, $p < .001$, r = .27).

Relationship Satisfaction and Insecurity. As in Studies 1-3, rerunning the models controlling for individuals' own relationship satisfaction did not reduce the associations between men's hostile sexism, perceived relationship power, and aggression (see Table 3.7).

General Dominance, Desire for Power over Women, and Violence. Finally, the results were robust when controlling for general dominance, desire for power and violence. As displayed in Table 3.16, men's hostile sexism was associated with greater interpersonal dominance and desire for power over women, and men's greater interpersonal dominance, desire for power over women, and propensity for violence, were all positively associated with self-reported aggression over the past year. Nonetheless, rerunning the analyses controlling for each of these variables did not alter the primary associations. As shown in Table 3.15, the focal effects remained strong and significant providing further evidence of the unique links between hostile sexism, perceived power and aggression within relationships.

Discussion

A key theoretical assumption for why men's hostile sexism promotes aggression toward women is that hostile sexism involves protecting men's power. The current research is the first to specify how hostile sexism relates to experiences of power in intimate

relationships and examine whether these experiences of power help to explain why men's hostile sexism predicts aggression toward intimate partners. Four studies illustrated that men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism perceived themselves to have lower relationship power, which in turn predicted greater aggression toward female partners (see upper pathway in Figure 3.1). The associations between hostile sexism, perceived power, and aggression replicated across self and partner reported aggression during couples' daily lives (Study 1), observer-rated aggressive communication exhibited during couples' video-recorded conflict interactions (Study 2), and self-reported aggression over the past year (Studies 3 and 4). Moreover, dyadic analyses demonstrated that these lower perceptions of power were biased; men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism underestimated the power they had in their relationships when compared to the power their partners reported they had in the relationship (Studies 1 and 2). In addition, contrasts with desire for power (see lower pathway in Figure 3.1) revealed that perceptions of lower relationship power played a stronger role than greater desires for relationship power in the aggression associated with men's hostile sexism (Studies 3 and 4). Finally, additional analyses ruled out alternative explanations that the associations between hostile sexism, perceived power and aggression were the result of relationship satisfaction, attachment insecurity, or interpersonal dominance. Next, we consider how these novel results demonstrate key theoretical principles regarding the role interdependence plays in the concerns central to hostile sexism, and advance understanding of the role of power in explaining the expression of sexism and enactment of aggression.

The Importance of an Interdependence Perspective: Lower Perceived Power Informs the Association between Hostile Sexism and Aggression

Ambivalent Sexism Theory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) revolutionised understanding of gender-related prejudice by highlighting how *intergroup* competition clashes with *interpersonal* co-operation between men and women. Hostile sexism has traditionally been

understood to reflect the competitive intergroup motive to protect men's advantaged societal position by threatening and derogating women who challenge men's social power (Glick & Fiske, 1996; 2001; Glick et al., 1997). However, gender relations are unique precisely because competition for social power at the intergroup level cannot be separated from the need for co-operation at the interpersonal level (Hammond & Overall, 2017b). Indeed, the difficulty in protecting men's power while desiring interpersonal cooperation in intimate relationships is reflected in the content of hostile sexism, including fears that women will use men's relational dependence to control and manipulate them (Glick & Fiske, 1996). These fears arise because the interdependence within intimate relationships restricts and constrains power, and thus intimate contexts are a key context in which the power concerns central to hostile sexism will affect important gender-related perceptions and behaviour.

The current studies demonstrate the importance of an interdependence perspective in understanding how hostile sexism is likely to affect experiences of power. We proposed that men who endorse hostile sexism should more keenly feel the constraints to power that arise from mutual dependence and influence in intimate relationships. Accordingly, men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism perceived they had lower relationship power, and these perceptions of lower power were biased. Female partners did not agree that men who endorsed hostile sexism had lower power and dyadic bias analyses illustrated that men who endorsed hostile sexism underestimated the relationship power they held compared to their partner reports. By illustrating that men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism perceive lower power in the context of the same interdependent realities as reported by the partner, the results support that such perceptions of low power arise from a preoccupation and vigilance regarding losing power rather than actual differences in relationship power.

Men's hostile sexism was also associated with a greater desire for relationship power irrespective of the level of power men possessed in the relationship, supporting that hostile

sexism incorporates a desire for dominance that should infiltrate interpersonal contexts. However, the robust associations between hostile sexism and lower perceived power were independent of greater desires for power. Moreover, perceiving lower power rather than desiring greater power predicted greater aggression toward partners, and thus lower perceived power played a more central explanatory role in the links between hostile sexism and aggression. Thus, rather than trying to obtain more and more power, the unique associations between hostile sexism, perceived power and aggression that replicated across studies provide evidence that aggression occurs in response to protecting and restoring a loss in perceived power, which as our novel results show, may not reflect reality.

The links between hostile sexism, lower perceived power and aggression occurred for men, and not women, providing additional support that concerns about protecting power underlie these power and aggression dynamics. Women who endorse hostile sexism also support men's social power and dominance (Chen et al., 2009; Glick & Fiske, 1996), and therefore should not be concerned with protecting their power nor should they feel more restricted by the power constraints inherent in intimate relationships. Instead, women who more strongly versus weakly endorsed hostile sexism reported desiring less power in their relationships (Studies 1 and 2) but, given desired power did not independently predict aggression, these lower desires did not have implications for aggression toward partners.

Men's benevolent sexism also did not predict lower perceived power or greater desired power, providing an additional demonstration that concerns for protecting power clash with the interdependence needed within intimate relationships. Ambivalent Sexism Theory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) proposes that the challenge of interdependence is why benevolent sexism emerges. Rather than contesting women's relationship power, benevolent sexism acknowledges men's dependence on women for the fulfillment of relational needs, which helps bolster heterosexual cooperation and intimacy (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Thus, the

mutual dependence and influence that constrains power in relationships should be less threatening for men who endorse benevolent compared to hostile sexism (see Footnote 8).

Implications for Understanding Broader Effects of Hostile Sexism

The aggressive responses we assessed exacerbate conflict, undermine problem-solving and relationship satisfaction, and risk relationship dissolution (Arriaga & Schkeryantz, 2015; Hammett, Karney, & Bradbury, 2018; Karney & Bradbury, 1995; Overall et al., 2011). Moreover, beyond detrimental effects on partners and relationships, the biased perceptions and resulting aggressive responses shown by men who endorse hostile sexism have important implications for understanding how relationship processes might reinforce and compound sexist attitudes. A critical consequence of biased perceptions is confirmation of perceivers' fears (Downey & Feldman, 1996; Murray et al., 2000). The unjustified lack of power experienced, and the relationship deterioration likely to arise from the dynamics demonstrated here, are likely to confirm and consolidate hostile beliefs about women. Thus, highlighting that interpersonal and societal evaluations of women are inseparable, sexist attitudes will alter the way interdependence and power is experienced, and the resulting relationship dynamics are likely to feedback and shape societal-level beliefs about men and women.

Furthermore, the same types of biased perceptions of power and aggression associated with hostile sexism in intimate relationships, and the associated detrimental outcomes, should emerge in other interdependent contexts. Men who endorse hostile sexism use more assertive and aggressive dating strategies, which has been assumed to represent efforts to restrict women's agency to sustain authority and dominance (Hall & Canterberry, 2011). However, our results suggest that dating aggression may arise because men who endorse hostile sexism more keenly feel the loss of personal power that arises when desired outcomes depend on the reciprocal attraction of women. Unfortunately, biased perceptions of power and aggressive

efforts to restore power within dating interactions may fuel dangerous and coercive mate strategies. As in established relationships, not only do these put women at risk, the defensive reactions by potential female partners will hinder men's ability to initiate desired relationships and thereby reinforce hostile beliefs that women are using men's dependence to take away their power and control. Examining these damaging and reinforcing processes is a valuable goal for future research.

These interdependence processes should also apply to non-intimate contexts. For example, in workplace contexts when men need to share powerful positions with women, men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism should feel that their personal power is more constrained, and thus should respond in a more aggressive manner to protect and restore their power. However, perceived power may play a stronger role relative to desires for power in intimate relationships because intense motivations for interpersonal connection likely attenuate motivations for dominance. In workplace contexts, low affiliative motivations will not counteract motivations for dominance, which (unlike in the current studies) may predict the aggressive perceptions and motivations prior research has shown are associated with men's hostile sexism (Messer & Abrams, 2004; Rudman & Kilianski, 2000; Rudman et al., 2012). Consequently, the biased perceptions of power threats and subsequent aggression linked with men's hostile sexism may be magnified in non-intimate cross-sex interactions.

Of importance, however, targeting the threat of interdependence within relationship contexts should be beneficial for reducing wider hostile attitudes toward women more generally. As the current results highlight, attitudes toward women as a group guide responses to specific female partners and the challenges of interdependence within intimate relationships may potentially compound hostile attitudes toward women in general. Yet, it is within intimate relationships that men who endorse hostile sexism may be most motivated to overcome their aggressive tendencies in order to fulfill relationship needs and goals.

Specifying that these aggressive responses arise because of biased perceptions of low power offers valuable targets for interventions, such as enhancing awareness and understanding of dependence fears and power concerns, and developing more constructive ways to restore perceived power. Moreover, intervening within intimate relationships, where interdependence is likely to be the most threatening, may help reduce wider sexist attitudes (also see Overall & Hammond, 2018). Thus, in addition to efforts to change wider social structures and norms that support hostile sexism, a principal place to understand and reduce hostile sexism is within the threatening interdependent dynamics of intimate relationships.

Strengths, Caveats, and Future Directions

The associations between hostile sexism, lower perceived relationship power, and aggression replicated across four diverse samples and replicated across daily levels of psychological aggression, observations of aggressive communication during couples' interactions, and retrospective reports of verbal and physical aggression. Examining actual aggressive responses within specific relationships and interactions advances prior work assessing aggressive attitudes and behavioural motivations towards hypothetical women (see Glick et al., 1997, Rudman & Kilianski, 2000, Sibley & Wilson, 2004). Examining perceptions of power and aggression toward intimate partners as they naturally occur within couples' relationships is also critical because the interdependence couples face during daily and conflictual relationship interactions is precisely when having power matters the most, and when aggression will likely emerge to restore power (Overall et al., 2011; 2016). Moreover, showing that the self-reported aggression associated with men's hostile sexism and lower perceived power was also experienced by partners in daily life (Study 1) and evident to objective observers (Study 2) demonstrate that the greater aggression arising from men's hostile sexism and lower perceived power does not merely reflect a self-presentational strategy to bolster their sense of power by conveying a powerful image.

Despite the notable strengths of assessing perceived power and aggression occurring in couples' actual lives, these methods mean we inevitably relied on correlational data, which limits causal conclusions. A valuable experimental approach could involve exacerbating the challenge of interdependence to magnify biases in perceived power. In particular, the associations between hostile sexism, perceived power and aggression should be stronger in contexts when the balance of dependence and influence are particularly unfavorable (also see Cross et al., 2017). Another informative experimental approach could involve down-regulating the threat of dependence by bolstering perceptions of partners' commitment or temporarily enhancing and assuring power (e.g., Case & Maner, 2014), which should help reduce the biased perception of power and aggressive responses shown in the current studies. Experimental studies might also provide insight into successful interventions by challenging biased perceptions of power and/or providing more constructive ways to restore power. Experimental approaches, along with longitudinal tracking of sexist attitudes and relationship power dynamics, would also allow a test of our proposition that the sexist attitudes, power and aggression dynamics we have examined will reciprocally influence each other.

Future research could also provide further evidence of the novel perceptual biases demonstrated in the current studies by comparing discrepancies between perceived power and the power evident by third parties (see Goh, Rad & Hall, 2017; for example of biased perceptions of non-intimate others' sexist attitudes). We tested whether men who endorsed hostile sexism had biased perceptions by comparing men's perceived relationship power to their female partners' reports of the power men had in relationships. This approach represents the principal method of assessing biased perceptions within relationships (see Fletcher & Kerr, 2010; West & Kenny, 2011), particularly when evaluations represent interpersonal processes most evident to partners (also see Overall, Fletcher, Simpson & Fillo, 2015). Indeed, there are no established objective assessments of power in relationships and, given

power rests in the dependence and influence occurring across partners, partners' reports will provide the greatest insight to levels of relationship power. Yet, perhaps female partners generally overestimated the power males who endorsed hostile sexism had. The data do not support this possibility: Men's hostile sexism did not predict differences in partners' reports of power. Thus, the only consistent difference across levels of hostile sexism was men's perceptions of their own power, and these differences were meaningfully associated with differences in aggression across studies. However, replicating these biased perceptions using benchmarks across a range of third parties, such as reports from multiple colleagues in the workplace, would provide additional evidence of the pervasive biases in power we expect men who endorse hostile sexism to show in cross-gender relations.

Finally, future research should examine how these results generalise to other societal and relationship contexts. Although endorsement of sexist attitudes differs, the links between hostile sexism and partner aggression appear consistent across nations (Glick et al., 2002; Sakalli, 2001). However, the associations between hostile sexism, perceived power and aggression may be more pronounced, and have more severe consequences, in less egalitarian societies where hostile sexism is more prevalent and there exists stronger support for enacting aggression to protect men's power (Archer, 2006). In addition, the association between sexism, power and aggression may be greater in particularly threatening relationship contexts that align with the power-related concerns associated with hostile sexism, such as when female partners lack commitment or are unfaithful (see Cross et al., 2017; Glick & Fiske, 1997) or when potential mates reject initiation efforts. Nonetheless, the fact that these associations were evident across samples involving well-functioning couples living in egalitarian societies, and emerged across a variety of assessments measuring frequent forms of aggression within relationships, illustrates the relevance of hostile sexism and perceived power in the course of typical relationship life.

Conclusions

The current research advances the sexism, relationship, power and aggression literatures by revealing how the interdependent reality of relationships clash with gender-based attitudes that depict relations between men and women as a competition for power. The results suggest that men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism possess biased perceptions that they lack power in relationships, and these biased perceptions of low power (rather than greater desires for power) help explain why men's hostile sexism predicts greater aggression toward intimate partners. The pattern between hostile sexism, lower perceptions of power and aggression are likely to arise across interdependent contexts and have a pervasive impact on interpersonal relationships between men and women.

CHAPTER FOUR: WOMEN EXPERIENCE MORE SERIOUS RELATIONSHIP PROBLEMS WHEN MALE PARTNERS ENDORSE HOSTILE SEXISM

The four studies presented in Chapter Three highlight that the power constraints inherent in intimate relationships are challenging for men who endorse hostile sexism as they clash with the goal to protect men against women taking their power. Across four studies men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism perceived themselves to have lower power in their relationships, and this lower perceived power helped explain the link between men's hostile sexism and greater aggression towards female partners. Moreover, these perceptions were biased. Across two studies, men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism underestimated the power they had in their relationships compared to their female partners' reports of their power. These results highlight that these gender-based ideologies that emphasises men should maintain power bias men's perceptions of power *within* their intimate relationships, which in turn has important implications for how men behave towards their female partners.

In the Chapter Four, I move from discussing *when* and *why* men's hostile sexism predicts relationship aggression to focus on the flip side of the coin: *how* does men's endorsement of hostile sexism impact their *female partners'* experiences within intimate relationships? While a myriad of research supports that that aggression associated with men's hostile sexism is likely to have costs for female partners (see Arriaga & Schkeryantz, 2015; Karney & Bradbury, 1995; Holtzworth-Munroe et al., 1997; Overall et al., 2009), relatively little is known about how these aggressive attitudes specifically impact *women's* experiences within intimate relationships. Men's endorsement of hostile sexism should not only impact how men behave in their relationships, but should influence broader relationship dynamics. Accordingly, Chapter Four explores how men's endorsement of hostile sexism impacts the

types of problems couples face in their relationships, which in turn impacts female partners' relationship evaluations.

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Abstract

Men's hostile sexism promotes aggressive attitudes, motivations and behaviours toward women. Despite the costs these effects should have for women, prior research has failed to test how men's hostile sexism predicts the problems women experience in important domains. We address this oversight by utilising dyadic data from 363 heterosexual couples to test how male partners' hostile sexism predicts women's relationship experiences and evaluations. Male partners' hostile sexism was associated with women experiencing more severe problems across a greater number of domains. Moreover, the areas experienced as most problematic were consistent with the power, dependence, and trust concerns underlying men's hostile sexism, including problems with power dynamics, jealousy, and serious problems involving gender-role conflict, abuse, infidelity and alcohol/drugs. The greater problems associated with male partners' hostile sexism predicted more negative relationship evaluations for women. These results demonstrate the importance of examining how men's hostile sexism harms women in important life domains.

Keywords: Hostile sexism, relationship problems, relationship evaluations, partner effects.

Women Experience More Serious Relationship Problems when Male Partners Endorse Hostile Sexism

The prevalence of hostile sexism across the globe is startling given the overtly hostile and aggressive nature of these attitudes (Brandt, 2011; Glick et al., 2000; 2004). Hostile sexism encompasses antagonistic attitudes toward women who contest men's power and suspicions that women will manipulate men by exploiting their relational dependence. A large body of research has shown that men's endorsement of hostile sexism prompts aggressive attitudes and behavioural motivations toward women in both public (workplace, leadership) and private (intimate relationships) spheres. Yet, astonishingly, prior research has only focused on how hostile sexism predicts *men's* aggressive responses in ways that *should* affect women, but has not directly tested how hostile sexism affects women's experiences.

The current research addresses this important oversight by using dyadic data from heterosexual couples to examine how *men's* endorsement of hostile sexism affects *female partners'* relationship experiences and evaluations. First, we test whether female partners of men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism experience more serious problems in their relationships. Second, we explore whether the greater problems female partners experience involve specific difficulties that should arise from the power concerns associated with men's endorsement of hostile sexism (e.g., power struggles, gender-role conflict, and jealousy). Third, we test whether increased relationship problems are one important reason female partners of men who endorse hostile sexism are likely to be less satisfied and committed to their relationships. Lastly, we discuss how a dyadic approach to understanding the effects of sexism offers important insight into the ways men's hostile sexism harms women and men.

The Damaging Effects of Men's Hostile Sexism for Women

Hostile sexism characterises the relationship between men and women as a contest for power and expresses fears that women pursue power "by getting control over men" and using

the "guise of equality" to get ahead of men (Ambivalent Sexism Inventory; Glick & Fiske, 1996). These attitudes help protect men's privileged social status and dominance by derogating, intimidating, and punishing women who threaten men's societal power or challenge traditional gender roles (Glick et al., 1997; Sibley & Wilson, 2004). For instance, hostile sexism predicts negative attitudes toward women in leadership positions (Good & Rudman, 2010; Masser & Abrams, 2004; Sakallı-Uğurlu & Beydogan, 2002), perceptions that career women are aggressive, cold, and greedy (Glick et al., 1997), and discriminatory preferences for male leaders and political candidates over equally (or more) qualified female leaders and candidates (Rudman & Kilianski, 2000; Gervais & Hillard, 2011; Ratliff et al., 2017). Such aggressive and discriminatory perceptions and preferences should undermine women's success and create hostile and dissatisfying environments for women.

Yet workplace and leadership domains are not the only contexts in which hostile sexism will harm women. Intimate partners deeply affect one another on a daily basis, and thus hostile sexism may have the most prevalent, routine, and damaging impact on women within intimate relationships. Indeed, men who endorse hostile sexism distrust female partners' intentions; they express greater fears of intimacy (Yakushko, 2005), perceive female partners to lack commitment (Cross et al., 2017), and interpret female partners' behaviour to be more negative and manipulative than is warranted (Hammond & Overall, 2013a). These fears and suspicions likely underlie why men's hostile sexism predicts more accepting attitudes toward domestic violence and greater agreement that women are responsible for such abuse (Glick et al., 2002; Koepke et al., 2014; Sakalli, 2001; Yamawaki et al., 2009). Moreover, men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism are more verbally aggressive toward dating partners (Forbes, Adams-Curtis, & White, 2004; Martinez-Pecino & Durán, 2016), and behave more aggressively during couples' conflict discussions and daily life (Cross et al., 2017; Hammond & Overall, 2013a; Overall et al., 2011).

Ironically, although this prior research aims to examine how men's hostile sexism produces harmful effects toward women, these studies have almost exclusively focused on how men's hostile sexism predicts men's behaviour and relationship evaluations, rather than how men's endorsement of hostile sexism affects *women's* experiences and evaluations. Even the few studies that have assessed the detrimental relationship outcomes associated with hostile sexism have focused on how the aggressive perceptions and behaviour described above undermine men's satisfaction or men's influence in relationships (e.g., Hammond & Overall, 2013a; Overall et al., 2011; also see Hammond & Overall, 2017). This male-centric focus is problematic for two key reasons. Sexist attitudes are fundamentally directed toward women and thus will have disproportionate costs for women compared to men. Moreover, a core goal of most sexism research is to understand the origins, function, and consequences of sexist attitudes in order to protect women from the harmful outcomes assumed to arise from these attitudes. It is therefore puzzling that scant attention has been paid to the problems that hostile sexism produces for women, including in heterosexual relationships in which women are likely to encounter the effects of their male partners' hostile sexism on a daily basis.

There are several additional reasons why examining how men's hostile sexism affects female partners' experiences is important in understanding the outcomes associated with hostile sexism. First, examining the degree to which men's hostile sexism predicts relationship problems as experienced by their female partners provides the first test of whether the effects of men's hostile sexism found in prior research actually impact women's reported relationship experiences. Second, examining how men's hostile sexism affects female partners' experiences reduces the degree to which self-serving biases limit the accuracy of prior findings based on men's reports. Given that men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism have negatively biased perceptions of their partners' relationship behaviour (Hammond & Overall, 2013a), and their own relationship power (Cross, Overall,

Low, & McNulty, 2018), they may fail to accurately report the types of problems that occur in their relationship, and/or they may simply fail to perceive the impact they have on their female partner and relationship. Gathering reports of relationship problems from female partners' perspectives, however, directly examines the problems that men's endorsement of hostile sexism likely creates for female partners.

Does Men's Hostile Sexism Create Relationship Problems for Female Partners?

A variety of processes associated with men's hostile sexism should create relationship problems for their female partners. Hostile sexism is essentially about protecting men's power, but these power concerns clash with the dependence inherent in intimate relationships (see Hammond & Overall, 2017). Thus, protecting power is theorised to be a central reason why men who strongly endorse hostile sexism express punitive attitudes toward partners who challenge men's authority (e.g., partners who "do not behave well should be treated severely"; Chen et al., 2009, p. 771; Lee et al., 2010) and exhibit greater aggression toward female partners (Cross et al., 2017, 2018; Hammond & Overall, 2017). Indeed, displaying these struggles to protect power, men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism are more resistant to their partner's influence, including being less open to their partner's perspective and exhibiting more hostility during conflict interactions (Overall et al., 2011). These defensive reactions prompt reciprocal female partner resistance, which impedes immediate conflict resolution (Overall et al., 2011; also see Gottman, 1998) and contributes to greater problem severity and reduced relationship quality across time (Karney & Bradbury, 1995; Overall & McNulty, 2017). A lack of openness and greater hostile resistance to partners' influence also undermines partners' relationship evaluations and commitment (Overall, 2017; Wieselquist et al., 1999). Thus, the defensive hostility associated with men's hostile sexism will create problematic power and communication dynamics, which exacerbates areas of

conflict and harms partners' relationship satisfaction and commitment (Overall & McNulty, 2017).

Difficulties sharing power in intimate relationships should also cause wider problems in more general decision making and routine interactions. Hostile sexism is associated with a greater desire for power and dominance (Feather, 2004; Sibley et al., 2007), including a desire to be independent and have control within intimate relationships (e.g., "listening to his wife shames a man", Chen et al., 2009, p. 771). Yet, these beliefs clash with an important reality of intimate relationships—power is inevitably shared across couple members (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978; Simpson et al., 2015; Rudman & Glick, 2008). Indeed, sharing power, including the capacity to influence one another's' attitudes and contributing to making decisions in relationships, is a key ingredient for building satisfying and successful relationships (Anderson et al., 2012; Sprecher & Felmlee, 1997; Simpson et al., 2015). Thus, the power concerns and struggles associated with men's hostile sexism are likely to foster problems with making decisions and solving problems, which in turn should undermine relationship well-being.

The restrictive gender role prescriptions hostile sexism encompasses is also likely to cause conflict regarding gender roles. Men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism hold more stringent beliefs regarding masculinity and femininity norms (Chen et al., 2009; Hyatt, Berke, Miller, & Zeichner, 2016), including that men should be sexually dominant in intimate relationships (Davies, 2004), men are better suited to higher status roles (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 1997; Rudman & Glick, 2008), and female partners should support men's careers (e.g., "even at the price of her own career", Chen et al., 2009, p . 771). These traditional gender roles are difficult to maintain in contemporary relationships as norms increasingly encourage female independence, agency, and sexuality (Fine, 1988; Gill, 2003), and the cost of living often requires both men and women to work (U.S. Bureau of the

Census, 2000, 2001; Loo & Thorpe, 1998). For men who endorse hostile sexism, however, any agency or independence that female partners express is likely to violate role expectations. For example, female partners may be perceived to violate gender roles and norms if they take on non-traditional jobs (Masser & Abrams, 2004; Moya et al, 2007), express overt sexual desires, or demonstrate sexual agency (Glick & Fiske, 1997; Viki et al., 2003). Such conflict regarding gender roles should, in turn, undermine relationship satisfaction and commitment (see Rochlen & Mahalik, 2004).

Hostile sexism also encompasses suspicions that women will manipulate men by exploiting their relational dependence, which will likely create trust and intimacy problems (Cross et al., 2017; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Hammond & Overall, 2013a). For example, biased by fears that their female partners will manipulate them, men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism perceive their relationship partners as more cold, uncaring, and untrustworthy (see Hart, Hung, Glick, & Dinero, 2012), and less committed to their relationships (Cross et al., 2017). These trust-related fears are likely to manifest in greater jealousy (see Rudman & Glick, 2008), anger following a betrayal of trust (Forbes et al., 2005), and fears about infidelity, all of which are likely to create problems with intimacy and have been shown to undermine relationship satisfaction and commitment (Anderson, Eloy, Guerrero, & Spitzberg, 1995; Guerrero & Eloy, 1992; Holmes & Rempel, 1989; White & Mullen, 1989). Indeed, men who endorse hostile sexism hold more cynical views of relationships and are more likely to report a general tendency to avoid closeness, intimacy, and dependence (see Hart et al., 2012). Limiting intimacy undermines the degree to which partners feel close, valued, and satisfied in intimate relationships (Laurenceau, Barrett, & Pietromonaco, 1998; Reis & Shaver, 1988; Tan, Overall, & Taylor, 2012), and puts relationships at a greater risk of relationship dissolution (Kirkpatrick & Davis, 1994; Le, Dove, Agnew, Korn, & Mutso, 2010). Thus, men's stronger endorsement of hostile sexism may create a lack of trust and

intimacy in intimate relationships, and these types of problems should negatively affect female partners' relationship evaluations.

Current Research

The aim of the current research was to examine whether men's hostile sexism creates relationship problems for their female partners and, in turn, undermines female partners' satisfaction and commitment. Although it may seem obvious that hostile sexism will be problematic for women in intimate relationships, prior research has largely ignored these important effects. Indeed, no prior research that we are aware of has specifically examined partner effects involving the degree to which *male partners'* endorsement of hostile sexism predicts the problems *women* experience within intimate relationships. To make this important extension to the literature, we collected data from both members of heterosexual couples, including men's and women's endorsement of hostile sexism, the problems they experienced in their relationship, and their relationship satisfaction and commitment. To examine the relationship problems participants experienced we drew upon a widely-used inventory of the 25 most common problems or points of disagreement couples face in their relationships (Marital Problem Inventory; Geiss & O'Leary, 1981). Given the myriad ways men's hostile sexism undermines relationships described above, we expected that women would generally experience more severe problems across a greater number of areas in their relationship when their male partners more strongly endorsed hostile sexism.

Although the Marital Problem Inventory is typically summed to provide an overall scale of problem severity, we also aimed to explore the specific problems that would be associated with men's hostile sexism. We aimed to examine whether the *types of problems* women experience when their male partners endorse hostile sexism is closely related to underlying concerns associated with men's endorsement of hostile sexism, as indicated by the review of the literature above. In particular, given the power concerns central to men's

endorsement of hostile sexism, we expected women to report greater problems with (a) power struggles, (b) communication, (c) making decisions, and (d) solving problems, which are all issues listed in the Marital Problem Inventory. Similarly, given hostile sexism involves beliefs that men and women should uphold traditional gender roles, women are also likely to experience difficulties or conflict related to gender roles when their male partners more strongly endorse hostile sexism. Finally, we also tentatively expected that a range of other difficulties might arise from the lack of trust and fear of intimacy associated with hostile sexism that could manifest in women experiencing problems involving (a) jealousy, (b) fidelity and affairs, (c) lack of loving feelings, and/or (d) showing affection.

In our final set of analyses, we tested whether the increased problems we predicted women would experience when their male partner endorsed hostile sexism were, in turn, associated with women reporting more negative relationship evaluations. As our review highlights, the problems that likely arise from men's hostile sexism are all difficulties that are established as risk factors for poor relationship well-being. Moreover, many key relationship processes predict relationship satisfaction and commitment via the degree to which they minimise or exacerbate problems in relationships. For example, a central reason hostility during conflict interactions (as is exhibited by men who endorse hostile sexism) is associated with declines in relationship satisfaction across time is because these defensive behaviours predict growing relationship problems over time (McNulty & Russell, 2010; Overall & McNulty, 2017). Thus, one important reason male partners' hostile sexism should lead women to feel less satisfied and committed in their relationship is because of the problems that women experience when their male partner endorses hostile sexism. Accordingly, in addition to direct effects between men's hostile sexism and women's experiences of relationship problems, we modelled the indirect effects of male partners' hostile sexism on womens' relationship evaluations via relationship problems.

Testing the degree to which women experience greater relationship problems when their male partners endorse hostile sexism requires dyadic data analysis that models statistical dependence across partners, including across partner associations in the independent variable (hostile sexism). This approach also contrasts the effect of men's versus women's endorsement of hostile sexism on partners' relationship experiences and evaluations. There is no theoretical reason to expect that female partners' hostile sexism would create the same problems for men as male partners' hostile sexism should create for women. Women who endorse hostile sexism also believe that women should support men's power and dominance (Chen et al., 2009; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2000), and so are not concerned about protecting or maintaining power in relationships. Moreover, prior research suggests that women's hostile sexism is associated with a tolerance for difficulties in relationships, such as sustaining greater satisfaction even when couples face relationship problems (Hammond & Overall, 2013b). Accordingly, we did not expect men to experience more relationship problems when their female partners more strongly endorsed hostile sexism.

Across analyses, we also controlled for a second form of sexist attitudes associated with hostile sexism. Benevolent sexism prescribes that men are dependent on the love of a woman to be happy, and that men should be chivalrous and protective partners (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Benevolent sexism celebrates the mutual dependence in intimate relationships by highlighting that men are only 'complete' when they have the love of a woman and thus men should cherish, protect and provide for women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Men's endorsement of benevolent sexism is theorised to facilitate interpersonal co-ordination and satisfaction in intimate relationships (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Hammond & Overall, 2017), which has been supported by some evidence that men's benevolent sexism produces more positive relationship behaviour and perceptions (e.g., Overall et al., 2011, also see Cross, Overall, & Hammond, 2016). However, benevolent sexism is also associated with seemingly

positive but patronising processes that may counteract positive effects on women's well-being (e.g., Hammond & Overall, 2015, Kende & Shnable, 2017; Shnable et al., 2015; Oswald, Baalbaki, & Kirkman, 2018), and thus tends to foster greater satisfaction for men, but have null effects for women (e.g., Hammond & Overall, 2013a). Accordingly, we did not expect male partners' endorsement of benevolent sexism to be associated with women experiencing greater relationship problems as we did for male partners' endorsement of hostile sexism, nor did we expect male partners' benevolent sexism to be associated with women experiencing reduced relationship problems.

Method

Participants

The current research combined data from four dyadic samples to provide a large dataset appropriate for the across-partner nature of the investigation. The method and measures were identical across the samples, and thus we collapsed the data across the samples to maximise power (as recommended over alternative approaches, such as meta-analysis; see Curran & Hussong, 2009). The resulting dataset included 363 heterosexual couples (total N = 726 individuals).[11] Power analyses using the Actor-Partner Interdependence Model (APIM) power module (Ackerman, Ledermann, & Kenny, 2016) indicated this sample provides ample power (> .98) to detect small *partner* effects when predictor variables are moderately correlated across partners (r = .40) as sexist attitudes are in the current research. Males ages ranged from 17-74 (M = 29.71, SD = 11.02 years), and females ages ranged from 16-72 (M = 28.07, SD = 9.96 years). Most of the couples were

[11] Each study from which data were drawn was approved by the University of Auckland Human Ethics Committee and conducted in full compliance with ethical standards, including informed consent, right to withdraw, confidentiality and anonymity, and debriefing. We have archived electronic copies of the anonymised raw data and all materials, which is available from either author on request.

married (39%) or living together (30%), with less than a third in "serious/steady" dating relationships (31%). The average relationship length was 6.51 years (*SD* = 6.91). Details about the separate samples are provided in Appendix 3. Additional analyses revealed that the data source did not moderate any of the effects reported below.

Procedure and Measures

During a lab-based research session, participants completed the following scales assessing sexist attitudes, current relationship problems, and relationship evaluations, including satisfaction and commitment. See Table 4.1 for descriptive statistics and reliabilities.

Sexist Attitudes. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996) measured participants' attitudes toward women. The ASI includes 11 items assessing hostile sexism (e.g., "Women seek to gain power by getting control over men", "Once a woman gets a man to commit to her she usually tries to put him on a tight leash") and 11 items assessing benevolent sexism (e.g., "Men are incomplete without women"; -3 = *strongly disagree*, 3 = *strongly agree*). Items within each scale were averaged to generate scores indicating individuals' endorsement of hostile sexism and benevolent sexism.[12]

Relationship Problems. Participants completed the Marital Problems Inventory (Geiss & O'Leary, 1981), which asks participants to rate a list of 25 common points of disagreement within romantic relationships according to how much each area is a problem in their relationship (e.g., "Communication", "Making decisions", "Conflict about Gender

[12] Sample 1-3 used the full 24-item ASI, but Sample 4 used the shorter 12-item ASI (6 items assessed hostile sexism, and 6 items assessed benevolent sexism). The shorter scale has produced the same results as the full scale in prior research (see Hammond & Overall, 2014; Overall et al., 2011; Sibley & Perry, 2010).

Roles", "Power struggles"; 1 = *not a problem*, 7 = *major problem*).[13] The inventory is used to identify the presence of a variety of problems that are common in relationships, with the understanding that couples may experience difficulties in some areas and not others (Geiss & O'Leary, 1981; Jackson et al., 2016). Thus, the scores of all 25 items in the inventory are typically summed to assess overall problem severity (see Lavner, Karney, Williamson, & Bradbury, 2016). Possible scores ranged from 25 to 175, with higher scores indicating more severe problems. As an additional assessment of overall problems in relationships, we also calculated the number of problems that individuals rated as present (i.e., rated as 2 or higher). These two scores – *problem severity* (summed scores) and *number of problems* (> 1) – were used to test whether hostile sexism was associated with the overall severity and number of relationship problems experienced. In addition to examining the links between hostile sexism and overall problem severity, another central aim was to examine whether hostile sexism was associated with specific relationship difficulties. Thus, as described in further detail in the Results section, we also explored the links between hostile sexism and (1) individual ratings of severity of each specific problem listed in the inventory, as well as (2) categories of problems identified by an exploratory factor analysis (see Tables 4.1 and 4.5).

Relationship Evaluations. Participants completed items from the Investment Model Scale developed by Rusbult, Martz, and Agnew (1998). Five items were averaged to assess relationship satisfaction (e.g., "I feel satisfied with our relationship"; 1= *strongly disagree*, 7= *strongly agree*) and seven items were averaged to assess commitment ("I want our relationship to last a very long time"; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). To reduce the number of analyses when examining how partners' sexist attitudes and relationship

[13] Although originally developed to assess marriage the Marital Problem inventory has been used widely to assess problems across a range of relationship types, including cohabiting and serious dating couples as also included in the current data.

problems were associated with relationship satisfaction and commitment, we combined satisfaction and commitment measures to provide an overall index of relationship evaluations (α = .89 for women, α = .87 for men). Results were virtually identical modelling relationship satisfaction and commitment as separate dependent variables.

Results

Partner's Hostile Sexism and Experiences of Overall Relationship Problems

Table 4.1 presents descriptive and reliability statistics for all measures. Our first aim was to examine whether partners' hostile sexism predicted the degree to which individuals experienced greater overall problems in their relationship as indexed by the general severity of problems (the sum of severity ratings across the inventory) and the number of areas identified as a problem (number of problems rated > 1). As shown by the zero-order correlations in Table 4.2, *partner's* hostile sexism predicted greater overall problem severity and greater number of problems experienced by women (above the diagonal) and not men (below the diagonal). However, to calculate the effects of *partner's* hostile sexism on relationship problems while accounting for the dependence across men and women within each couple (see bold correlations in Table 4.2), and to test whether the effects significantly differed across men and women, we ran a series of dyadic regression models following the guidelines and SPSS syntax provided by Kenny, Kashy and Cook (2006).

To simultaneously estimate the effects for men and women while controlling for the dependence in the data across partners we first ran a two-intercept dyadic regression model (Kenny et al., 2006; also see Overall, Hammond, McNulty, & Finkel, 2016). Individuals' own and their partners' hostile sexism were entered as predictors (all grand-mean centred) of the overall severity and (in separate analyses) number of relationship problems experienced. These Actor-Partner Interdependence Models test whether partners' sexist attitudes predict individuals' experiences of relationship problems controlling for individuals' own sexist

Table 4.1. Descriptive statistics and alpha reliabilities across measures.

Measures	Women		Men		Gender Diff
	M (SD)	*α*	*M (SD)*	*α*	*t*
Hostile Sexism	-0.46 (1.21)	.83	-0.35 (1.15)	.83	1.18
Benevolent Sexism	-0.27 (1.10)	.76	0.22 (1.06)	.76	6.05**
Relationship Problems					
Problem Severity (Sum of Problem Ratings)	56.89 (19.17)	.87	57.80 (18.39)	.86	0.67
Number of Problems (Number of Problems > 1)	12.41 (5.18)	-	12.89 (5.10)	-	1.25
Factor 1: Relationship Connection & Communication	2.51 (1.13)	.75	2.60 (1.20)	.79	1.06
Factor 2: Finances, Employment & Family	2.64 (1.15)	.68	2.60 (1.11)	.68	-0.55
Factor 3: Power-Dynamics	2.50 (1.17)	.70	2.53 (1.24)	.72	0.30
Factor 4: Jealousy & Other Relationships	2.10 (1.15)	.58	2.09 (1.17)	.65	-0.10
Factor 5: Abuse, Affairs, Addiction & Gender-role Conflict	1.51 (0.78)	.63	1.48 (0.68)	.52	-0.66
Factor 6: Personal Problems & Differences	2.01 (1.12)	.62	2.06 (1.10)	.53	0.70
Factor 7: Time Together & Recreation	2.77 (1.46)	.44	2.95 (1.59)	.24	1.62
Relationship Evaluations					
Relationship Satisfaction	5.81 (0.88)	.87	5.86 (1.00)	.91	-0.62
Relationship Commitment	6.48 (0.70)	.85	6.61 (0.63)	.85	-2.59*

Note. Possible scores range from −3 to 3 for Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism, 25 to 175 for Relationship Problems, and 1 to 7 for all other scales. Reliabilities for Factor 7: Time Together & Recreation represent a correlation. Gender diff. coefficients test the differences between men and women. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 4.2. Correlations across measures.

Measures	*1.*	*2.*	*3.*	*4*	*5.*	*6.*	*7.*	*8.*	*9.*	*10.*	*11.*	*12.*
1. Hostile Sexism	**.40****	.39**	.01	.04	.12*	-.01	.41**	.16**	.05	.06	.01	-.15**
2. Benevolent Sexism	.34**	**.28****	.06	.03	-.06	-.01	.27**	.34**	.11*	.06	-.05	-.04
3. Problem Severity	.21**	.02	**.53****	.83**	-.62**	-.34**	.17**	.07	.53**	.33**	-.50**	-.22**
4. Number of Problems	.18**	.05	.82**	**.30****	-.47**	-.27**	.15**	.03	.42**	.30**	-.44**	-.25**
5. Satisfaction	-.10	.06	-.57**	-.47**	**.53****	.54**	-.06	.00	-.50**	-.34**	.53**	.24**
6. Commitment	-.19**	.12*	-.31**	-.24**	.46**	**.39****	-.08	.06	-.28**	-.16**	.26**	.41**
7. Partner's Hostile Sexism	.41**	.16**	.05	.06	.01	-.15**	**.40****	.35**	.20**	.18**	-.10	-.19**
8. Partner's Benevolent Sexism	.27**	.34**	.11*	.06	-.05	-.04	.39**	**.28****	.02	.05	.06	.12*
9. Partner's Problems Severity	.17**	.07	.53**	.33**	-.50**	-.22**	.01	.06	**.53****	.82**	-.57**	-.31**
10. Partner's Number of Problems	.15**	.03	.42**	.30**	-.44**	-.25**	.04	.03	.83**	**.30****	-.47**	-.24**
11. Partner's Satisfaction	-.06	.00	-.50**	-.34**	.53**	.24**	.12*	-.06	-.62**	-.47**	**.53****	.46**
12. Partner's Commitment	-.08	.06	-.28**	-.16**	.26**	.41**	-.01	-.01	-.34**	-.27**	.53**	**.39****

Note. Correlations for women are above the diagonal. Correlations for men are below the diagonal. Bold correlations on the diagonal represent correlations across partners on the same measures. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

attitudes (and thus the shared association in attitudes across partners; see Kenny et al., 2006, and associations in Table 4.2). Hostile and benevolent sexism were positively correlated (see Table 4.2) so, as is typical, we also modelled benevolent sexism to ensure that the effects were due to hostile and not benevolent sexism. Finally, to test whether the effects significantly differed across gender we pooled the effects across men and women and modelled the main and interaction effects of gender (coded -1 women, 1 men).

Table 4.3 displays the effects for men and women as well as the gender interactions testing whether the effects differed across men and women. As shown in Table 4.3, male partner's greater endorsement of hostile sexism was associated with women experiencing more severe relationship problems and a greater number of relationship problems (effects shown in bold), female partner's endorsement of hostile sexism was not associated with the severity or number of men's relationship problems, and these effects significantly differed across men and women (see effects in bold in final column marked "*gender diff*").[14] The effects of male partner's hostile sexism on women's experiences of relationship problems were corroborated by men's own reports of relationship problems; men (but not women) who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism reported more severe and a greater number of relationship problems (see right side of Table 4.3).

Partner's Hostile Sexism and Experiences of Specific Types of Relationship Problems

Analysis of Specific Relationship Problems. Our next aim was to examine whether male partners' hostile sexism was associated with women experiencing specific types of

[14] A reader might wonder whether specifying a Poisson distribution was more appropriate for models predicting the overall number of relationship problems. However, these data do not represent a count of discrete events, but rather an index we generated of the overall number of problems identified as problematic (rating > 1) across relationship areas. Accordingly, as shown in Figure SM3.1 in Appendix 3, the index of number of relationship problems was normally distributed (rather than conforming to a Poisson distribution), and therefore we proceeded with dyadic regression analyses.

Table 4.3. The Effect of *Partner's* Hostile Sexism on Women's and Men's Experiences of Overall Relationship Problems (Severity and Number of Problems).

Overall Relationship Problems	Women's Experiences of Relationship Problems					Men's Experiences of Relationship Problems					Gender Diff.	
		95% CI					*95% CI*					
	B	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*B*	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*t*	*r*
Predicting Severity of Problems (Sum of Problem Ratings)												
Hostile Sexism	-1.40	-3.27	0.47	-1.48	-.08	3.74	1.86	5.61	3.92**	.20	-3.52**	-.16
Benevolent Sexism	0.69	-1.34	2.72	0.67	.04	-1.52	-3.47	0.44	-1.53	-.08	1.44	.07
Partner's Hostile Sexism	**3.35**	**1.38**	**5.32**	**3.34****	.17	-1.01	-2.78	0.77	-1.12	-.06	**2.98****	.14
Partner's Benevolent Sexism	-0.09	-2.14	1.96	-0.09	-.01	1.66	-0.28	3.59	1.69	.09	-1.14	.05
Predicting Number of Problems (No. of Problems > 1)												
Hostile Sexism	-0.12	-0.63	0.39	-0.46	-.02	0.86	0.33	1.39	3.23**	.17	-2.52*	-.11
Benevolent Sexism	0.04	-0.52	0.59	0.14	.01	-0.13	-0.67	0.42	-0.45	-.02	0.40	.02
Partner's Hostile Sexism	**0.73**	**0.20**	**1.27**	**2.68****	.14	-0.13	-0.63	0.36	-0.52	-.03	**2.22***	.10
Partner's Benevolent Sexism	-0.10	-0.66	0.45	-0.38	-.02	0.16	-0.38	0.70	0.58	.03	-0.65	.03

Note. Gender diff. coefficients test whether the effects significantly differed across men and women. Predicted *partner* effects shown in bold. Effect sizes *r* were computed using Rosenthal and Rosnow's (2007) formula: $r = \sqrt{(t^2 / t^2 + df)}$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

relationship problems. The assessed inventory of relationship problems was not designed to capture specific categories or types of problems. Thus, we first explored whether hostile sexism was associated with the reported severity of specific problems by running the same dyadic analyses described above predicting severity ratings of the 25 relationship problems assessed across the inventory. Our theoretical analysis and review presented in the introduction identified several problematic areas that we expected would be associated with men's endorsement of hostile sexism and thus should reveal significant gender differences. Our large sample size offered a reasonable platform for examining these specific problems, but given the number of problems examined, we focused on theoretically relevant effects we *a priori* identified (as outlined in the introduction) that met a conservative value of $p < .01$ and were significantly different across men and women.

Table 4.4 displays the tests of each specific problem shown in the order presented in the problem inventory. The effects that we predicted *a priori*, were significant at $p < .01$, *and* significantly differed across gender are shown in bold. First, consistent with our expectations that men's hostile sexism would predict problems related to their underlying power concerns, male partner's endorsement of sexist attitudes were associated with women experiencing greater difficulties with "power struggles", "making decisions", and "solving problems". Female partner's sexist attitudes did not have the same effects on men's experiences of these problems, and the gender differences across these problems were significant. The effect of male partners' hostile sexism on "communication" was not significant ($p = .053$), despite a significant gender difference.

Second, as predicted, male partner's greater endorsement of hostile sexism was also associated with women experiencing greater "conflict about gender roles", female partner's endorsement of hostile sexism did not yield the same effect, and the gender difference was significant. Third, we also thought that male partner's endorsement of hostile sexism might

Table 4.4. The Effect of *Partner's* Hostile Sexism on Women's and Men's Experiences of Specific Relationship Problems.

Specific Relationship Problem	Women's Experiences of Relationships Problems					Men's Experiences of Relationships Problems					Gender Diff.	
		95% CI					*95% CI*					
	B	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*p*	*B*	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*p*	*t*	*p*
Communication	.17	.00	.35	1.95	.053	-.16	-.33	.00	-1.94	.054	2.54**	.011
Unrealistic Expectations of Relationship	.30	.14	.45	3.80**	.000	-.02	-.17	.13	-0.24	.814	2.77**	.006
Showing Affection	.07	-.10	.23	0.81	.416	-.15	-.30	.01	-1.84	.067	1.73	.085
Lack of Loving Feelings	.05	-.09	.19	0.72	.472	-.16	-.30	-.02	-2.31*	.021	2.02*	.044
Sex	-.02	-.21	.16	-0.24	.813	-.07	-.24	.11	-0.76	.448	0.32	.747
Amount of Time Spent Together	-.03	-.22	.16	-0.30	.768	-.02	-.26	.22	-0.18	.658	-0.04	.965
Power Struggles	**.32**	**.17**	**.47**	**4.13****	**.000**	-.16	-.30	-.01	-2.14*	.033	**4.23****	**.000**
Solving Problems	**.19**	**.04**	**.34**	**2.55****	**.011**	-.11	-.25	.04	-1.48	.140	**2.72****	**.007**
Making Decisions	**.23**	**.07**	**.38**	**2.86****	**.004**	-.15	-.30	.01	-1.87	.062	**3.22****	**.001**
Money Management/ Finances	.02	-.18	.21	0.19	.853	-.14	-.31	.04	-1.54	.125	1.08	.282
Household Management	.11	-.06	.28	1.23	.219	-.18	-.33	-.02	-2.25*	.025	2.26*	.024
Conflict about Gender Roles	**.25**	**.11**	**.39**	**3.55****	**.000**	-.14	-.26	-.02	-2.21*	.028	**3.94****	**.000**
Children	-.03	-.18	.12	-0.42	.678	-.12	-.26	.02	-1.63	.104	0.77	.441
Serious Individual Problems	.20	.02	.39	2.19*	.029	-.07	-.23	.10	-0.80	.423	2.05*	.041
Affairs or Infidelity	.17	.05	.28	2.90**	.004	.13	.04	.23	2.85**	.005	0.44	.662
Relatives	.18	-.02	.37	1.80	.073	.00	-.18	.18	0.00	.998	1.24	.217
Friends	.10	-.05	.24	1.31	.192	.12	-.03	.26	1.60	.110	-0.17	.867
Jealousy	.36	.19	.52	4.28**	.000	.19	.04	.33	2.54**	.012	1.44	.150
Problems Related to Previous Relationships	.18	.01	.34	2.07*	.040	.14	-.02	.29	1.74	.083	0.30	.766
Employment/Job	-.06	-.25	.13	-0.64	.521	-.06	-.24	.11	-0.73	.467	0.02	.984
Recreation/Leisure Time	.00	-.17	.17	-0.01	.996	.01	-.15	.17	0.12	.901	-0.08	.933
Alcohol or Drugs	.27	.14	.41	3.99**	.000	.03	-.09	.16	0.51	.614	2.39*	.017
Physical Abuse	.07	.00	.14	1.97*	.050	.00	-.06	.07	0.16	.873	1.34	.180
Religion Differences/Conflict over Values	.06	-.07	.18	0.87	.384	.04	-.09	.17	0.63	.530	0.16	.873
Health Problems	.04	-.11	.20	0.55	.585	-.01	-.16	.14	-0.10	.917	0.43	.665

Note. Gender diff. coefficients test whether the effects significantly differed across men and women. All models included the effect of partners' hostile sexism, and both actor and partner effects of benevolent sexism. Effects shown in bold are problems that were predicted *a priori*, were significant at a level of $p < .01$, and significantly differed across gender. $p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

significantly predict women rating "jealousy" and "infidelity and affairs" as more serious problems, but these effects were also predicted by female partner's hostile sexism, and thus there were no significant gender differences. In addition, male partner's hostile sexism *did not* predict women experiencing greater problems with a lack of intimacy ("showing affection" or "lack of loving feelings").[15]

Testing each specific problem in the problem inventory also revealed several results that we did not predict *a priori*. As shown in Table 4.4, male partner's greater endorsement of hostile sexism was also associated with women experiencing problems with "Alcohol or Drugs" and "Unrealistic Expectations", and these problems also were significantly different across men and women. "Serious Individual Problems" and "Physical Abuse" were also associated with male (and not female) partners' hostile sexism but did not reach the $p < .01$ criteria, despite significant gender differences.

In sum, as we expected, difficulties with power dynamics and gender-role conflict were prominent problems that women experience when their male partner's endorse hostile sexism, as were problems with trust, although trust issues were also associated with female partner's endorsement of hostile sexism. Male partners' hostile sexism was not associated with problems with intimacy as expected, and the results revealed women identified other areas as problems that we did not predict *a priori* (e.g., "Unrealistic Expectations of Relationship", "Alcohol or Drugs"). However, given this initial examination provided some evidence for specific types of problems associated with men's hostile sexism, we next examined whether these problems cohered into categories of problems relevant to men's hostile sexism. Thus providing a potentially stronger test of the types of problems women

[15] Men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism also reported problems in similar areas as their female partners, thus providing corroborating evidence that the problems female partners' experienced was a reality in the relationship. See Appendix 3 for more details.

experience when male partners endorse hostile sexism.

Factor Analysis of Relationship Problems. The problem inventory catalogues common problems that are not expected to co-occur in the same way for the same people (Geiss & O'Leary, 1981; McNulty & Russell, 2010). However, the above analyses do suggest that specific problems arising from power dynamics, such as "Power Struggles", "Solving Problems", and "Making Decisions" might cluster together. Thus, as recommended during the review process, we conducted an Exploratory Factor Analysis to determine the factor structure of the 25-item relationship problem inventory. Principal-axis factor extraction and the scree plot indicated a seven-factor solution. We used a Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalisation to interpret the seven factors. As shown in Table 4.5, most items loaded onto one of the seven factors. Loadings presented in bold represent items designated to that factor for further analyses. For items that loaded at similar levels across factors, we used the highest factor loading to determine the final designation.[16]

The factor analyses supported that "Power Struggles", "Solving Problems" and "Making Decisions" loaded well onto one factor, which we labelled "Power Dynamics" (see Table 4.5). Other factors were also relevant to areas that we identified as potentially problematic (in the introduction) and that initial analyses of specific problems indicated were associated with male partners' hostile sexism. "Jealousy" and "Problems Related to Previous Relationships", which were associated with hostile sexism in previous analyses of specific problems (see Table 4.5), loaded on a factor with "Friends" labelled "Jealousy & Other

[16] The item "Conflict about Gender Roles" loaded similarly onto two factors; one factor associated with "Physical abuse", "Affairs or infidelity", and "Alcohol or Drugs" and one other factor associated with power dynamics ("Power", "Making Decisions", and "Solving Problems"). We categorized this item onto the factor with the highest loading involving abuse, affairs, and addiction (see Table 4.5). However, the alpha reliabilities were comparable, and identical results emerged across all analyses if this item was designated to the alternative "Power Dynamics" factor.

Table 4.5. Factor Analysis of 25 Item Relationship Problem Inventory.

Items	Factors						
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
Factor 1: Relationship Connection & Communication							
1. Showing Affection	**.754**						
2. Lack of loving feelings	**.717**						
3. Sex	**.524**						
4. Communication	**.376**		.362				
5. Unrealistic expectations of relationship	**.365**		.333				
Factor 2: Finances, Employment & Family							
6. Money management/finances		**.657**					
7. Employment/Job		**.597**					
8. Household management		**.557**					
9. Children		**.330**			.316		
10. Relatives		**.325**					
Factor 3: Power Dynamics							
11. Solving Problems			**.676**				
12. Making decisions			**.579**				
13. Power struggles			**.517**				
Factor 4: Jealousy and Other Relationships							
14. Jealousy				**.709**			
15. Problems related to previous relationships				**.499**			
16. Friends				**.487**			
Factor 5: Abuse, Affairs, Addiction & Gender-role Conflict							
17. Physical abuse					**.567**		
18. Affairs or infidelity				.359	**.469**		
19. Alcohol or Drugs					**.410**		
20. Conflict about Gender Roles			.335		**.378**		
Factor 6: Personal Problems & Differences							
21. Health problems						**.614**	
22. Serious individual problems						**.541**	
23. Religion differences/conflict over values						**.344**	
Factor 7: Time Together & Recreation							
24. Amount of time spent together							**.569**
25. Recreation/Leisure Time		.414					**.490**

Note: Extraction Method used was Principle Axis Functioning and the Rotation method was Varimax with Kaiser Normalisation (results were identical without Kaiser Normalisation). Values under .250 are suppressed for interpretation purposes. Loadings presented in bold represent items designated to that factor for further analyses. For items that loaded across factors, we used the highest factor loading to determine the designation of each item. The subsequent results and conclusions based on analyses of each factor specifying different categories of relationship problems were the same if the item was designated to the alternative cross-loading factor.

Relationships". "Conflict about Gender Roles" most strongly loaded on a factor encompassing "Physical Abuse", "Affairs and Infidelity", "Alcohol or Drugs", which were all associated with male partners' hostile sexism in the analyses of specific problem items. The factor label "Abuse, Affairs, Addiction & Gender-role Conflict" recognises that these types of problems have been dubbed the three 'As', represent the most damaging and difficult to treat problems, and are central reasons for divorce (Geiss, & O'Leary, 1981; Hawkins, Willoughby, & Doherty, 2012; Scott et al., 2013; Whisman, Dixon, & Johnson, 1997). Finally, other specific problems unexpectedly associated with male partners' hostile sexism ("Unrealistic Expectations of Relationship" and "Serious Individual Problems") loaded distinctly onto two separate factors (see Table 4.5).

Next, to test whether hostile sexism was associated with particular categories of relationship problems we created scores for each factor, which revealed adequate reliability for the most theoretically relevant categories (see Table 4.1). Table 4.6 presents results of dyadic regression analyses (as described above) examining the effects of partners' sexist attitudes on each of the problem categories (controlling for individuals' own sexist attitudes). Male partners' hostile sexism was associated with three of the seven categories, and these categories were consistent with the specific problems identified in Table 4.4. Male partner's endorsement of sexist attitudes was associated with women experiencing *greater* problems with "Power Dynamics", whereas female partner's endorsement of hostile sexism was associated with men experiencing *fewer* problems with "Power Dynamics", and this gender difference was significant. Partner's endorsement of hostile sexism was also associated with both men and women experiencing problems related to "Jealousy & Other Relationships", but there were no significant gender differences. Lastly, male partner's endorsement of hostile sexism was associated with women experiencing problems related to "Abuse, Affairs, Addiction & Gender-role Conflict", the same effect did not emerge for female partners'

Table 4.6. The Effect of *Partner's* Hostile and Benevolent Sexism on Women's and Men's Experiences of Relationship Problem Categories.

Relationship Problem Categories	Women's Experiences of Relationships Problems					Men's Experiences of Relationships Problems					Gender Diff.	
		95% CI					*95% CI*					
	B	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*B*	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*t*	*r*
Predicting Relationship Connection & Communication												
Partners' Hostile Sexism	.11	-.01	.23	1.85	.10	-.11	-.23	.00	-1.89	-.10	-2.41**	-.11
Partners' Benevolent Sexism	-.03	-.16	.09	-0.57	-.03	.18	.05	.30	2.77**	.15	2.22*	.10
Predicting Finances, Employment & Family Problems												
Partners' Hostile Sexism	.03	.56	.58	0.57	.03	-.10	-.21	.01	-1.82	-.10	-1.50	-.07
Partners' Benevolent Sexism	.12	.00	.25	1.97*	.10	.04	-.08	.15	0.59	.03	-0.95	.04
Predicting Power Dynamics												
Partners' Hostile Sexism	-.24	.13	.36	4.00**	.21	-.13	-.25	-.02	-2.23*	-.12	-4.17**	-.18
Partners' Benevolent Sexism	-.13	-.26	-.01	-2.08*	-.11	-.09	-.04	.22	-0.93	-.07	2.31*	.10
Predicting Jealousy & Other Relationships												
Partners' Hostile Sexism	.21	.09	.32	3.59**	.19	.15	.03	.26	2.57**	.13	-0.72	-.03
Partners' Benevolent Sexism	.03	-.09	.15	0.47	.02	-.04	-.16	.08	-0.62	-.03	-0.72	-.03
Predicting Abuse, Affairs, Addiction & Gender-role Conflict												
Partners' Hostile Sexism	.19	.11	.27	4.75**	.24	.01	-.06	.08	0.29	.02	-3.26**	-.15
Partners' Benevolent Sexism	-.02	-.11	.06	-0.56	-.03	-.00	-.07	.07	-0.08	-.00	0.36	.02
Predicting Personal Problems & Differences												
Partners' Hostile Sexism	.10	-.02	.22	1.71	.09	-.01	-.12	.09	-0.21	-.01	-1.31	-.06
Partners' Benevolent Sexism	.00	-.13	.12	-0.07	.00	.13	.02	.25	2.25*	.12	1.50	.07
Predicting Time Together & Recreation												
Partners' Hostile Sexism	-.02	-.17	.13	-0.23	-.01	-.01	-.16	.15	-0.07	-.00	0.11	.00
Partners' Benevolent Sexism	.01	-.15	.16	0.07	.00	.06	-.11	.23	0.68	.04	0.43	.01

Note. Gender diff. coefficients test whether the effects significantly differed across men and women. All models included both actor and partner effects of hostile and benevolent sexism. For ease of interpretation, only partner effects are presented here. See OSM for actor effects. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

hostile sexism, therfore this gender difference was significant. These results support that men's hostile sexism promotes problematic power dynamics in relationships, problems with jealousy and managing other relationships, as well as very harmful relationship problems involving abuse, affairs, alcohol/drugs and gender-role conflict.

Partner's Hostile Sexism, Relationship Problems, and Relationship Evaluations

Our final set of analyses tested whether the increased problems associated with male partners' hostile sexism are linked to women reporting more negative evaluations of their relationship (lower satisfaction and commitment). First, we ran analyses equivalent to those described above modelling partners' and individuals' own hostile and benevolent sexism (grand-mean centred) as predictors of women's and men's relationship evaluations. As shown in Table 4.7 (Model 1), male partner's stronger endorsement of hostile sexism predicted women's more negative relationship evaluations. Second, we added to this model the different indices of relationship problems (grand-mean centred) shown in the above analyses to be significantly associated with male partner's hostile sexism to examine the independent effects of relationship problems on relationship evaluations (see Table 4.7, Model 2). We ran separate models to index (1) overall severity of problems, (2) number of problems, and (3-5) the three specific categories of problems associated with male partners' hostile sexism.

As shown in Table 4.7 (Models 2), the link between male partners' hostile sexism and women's relationship evaluations was reduced when relationship problems were included in the model, and relationship problems predicted more negative relationship evaluations for both men and women. This was the case for overall severity, number of problems, and all three specific problem categories: "Power Dynamics", "Jealousy & Other Relationships", and "Abuse, Affairs, Addiction & Gender-role Conflict". To test the indirect effects of partner's hostile sexism on relationship evaluations via experiences of relationship problems, we used the PRODCLIN utility that calculates the confidence interval for indirect effects accounting

Table 4.7. The Effect of *Partner's* Hostile Sexism and Relationship Problems on Relationship Evaluations.

Predictors	Women's Relationship Evaluations					Men's Relationship Evaluations.					Gender Diff.	
		95% CI					*95% CI*					
	B	***Low***	***High***	***t***	***r***	***B***	***Low***	***High***	***t***	***r***	***t***	***r***
Model 1												
Partner's Hostile Sexism	-.09	-.17	-.02	-2.50*	-.13	.01	-.06	.07	0.20	.01	1.86	.09
Partner's Benevolent Sexism	.06	-.02	.14	1.52	.08	-.04	-.12	.03	-1.25	-.07	-1.84	-.08
Model 2 – Problem Severity (Sum of Problem Ratings)												
Problem Severity	-.02	-.02	-.02	-12.35**	-.54	-.02	-.02	-.01	-10.53**	-.48	1.27	.05
Partner's Hostile Sexism	-.03	-.09	.03	-0.89	-.05	-.01	-.07	.05	-0.37	-.02	0.40	.02
Partner's Benevolent Sexism	.06	-.01	.12	1.79	.09	-.02	-.08	.04	-0.53	-.03	-1.60	-.07
Model 2 – Problem Number (Number of Problems > 1)												
Number of Problems	-.05	-.06	-.03	-7.44**	-.37	-.05	-.06	-.03	-7.65**	-.38	0.12	.01
Partner's Hostile Sexism	-.06	-.13	.01	-1.75	-.09	.00	-.06	.06	0.02	.00	1.26	.06
Partner's Benevolent Sexism	.05	-.02	.12	1.53	.08	-.04	-.10	.03	-1.14	-.06	-1.82	-.08
Model 2 – Power Dynamics												
Power Dynamics	-.24	-.30	-.19	-8.87**	-.42	-.15	-.20	-.10	-5.85**	-.15	2.71**	.12
Partner's Hostile Sexism	-.04	-.10	.03	-1.03	-.05	-.01	-.07	.05	0.67	.02	0.45	.02
Partner's Benevolent Sexism	.03	-.04	.10	0.79	.04	-.03	-.10	.03	-0.93	-.05	-1.16	-.05
Model 2 – Jealousy & Other Relationships												
Jealousy and Other Relationships	-.18	-.24	-.12	-5.97**	-.30	-.12	-.18	-.07	-4.60**	-.24	1.52	.07
Partner's Hostile Sexism	-.06	-.13	.01	-1.57	-.08	.02	-.04	.09	0.77	.04	1.57	.07
Partner's Benevolent Sexism	.06	-.01	.14	1.72	.09	-.05	-.12	.02	-1.42	-.07	-2.09*	-.09
Model* 2 *– Abuse, Affairs, Addiction & Gender-role Conflict												
Abuse, Affairs, Addiction & Gender-role Conflict	-.39	-.47	-.31	-9.67**	-.45	-.28	-.37	-.19	-6.15**	-.30	1.96†	.09
Partner's Hostile Sexism	-.02	-.09	.05	-0.57	.03	.01	-.05	.07	0.30	.02	0.59	.03
Partner's Benevolent Sexism	.05	-.02	.12	1.45	.08	-.05	-.11	.02	-1.34	-.07	-1.87	-.08

Note. Gender diff. coefficients test whether the effects significantly differed across men and women. All models included the effect of individuals' own and partners' hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. Relationship Evaluations index relationship satisfaction and commitment. Effect sizes *r* were computed using Rosenthal and Rosnow's (2007) formula: $r = \sqrt{(t^2 / t^2 + df)}$.). † <.051 *$p$ < .05. **p < .01.

for the asymmetric distributions of the product of standard errors (MacKinnon et al., 2007). As shown in Table 4.8, the indirect effects were significant for male's hostile sexism across the five indices of relationship problems.

In sum, the results support that male partners' hostile sexism predicts women experiencing more severe and a greater number of problems, and in particular, greater problems with power dynamics, jealousy and managing other relationships, and abuse, affairs, addiction, and gender-role conflict. These greater problems, in turn, predict women being less satisfied and committed to their relationship (see Table 4.8).[17] Importantly, female partners' hostile sexism was associated with men experiencing *less* problems with power dynamics, and in turn more positive relationship evaluations (see Table 4.8). However, female partners' hostile sexism was also associated with *greater* problems with jealousy and managing other relationships, which in turn undermined men's relationship evaluations.[18]

Benevolent Sexism, Relationship Problems, and Relationship Evaluations

Our analytic strategy controlling for benevolent sexism across analyses demonstrates that the problems described above were distinct to partners' hostile sexism and not a function of benevolent sexism. However, although partners' (or individuals' own) benevolent sexism did not predict overall problem severity or number of problems (see Table 4.3), analyses of

[17] Corroborating women's experiences, men's endorsement of hostile sexism also predicted men reporting the same problems and associated lower relationship evaluations. However, men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism also experienced greater difficulties with Relationship Connection & Communication and Personal Problems & Differences, both of which were in turn associated with lower satisfaction and commitment. These results highlight the array of difficulties men who endorse hostile sexism have in intimate relationships. See Appendix 3 for additional details.

[18] *Women's* endorsement of hostile sexism on *women's* experiences of relationship problems revealed similar patterns: *lower* problems with Power Dynamics and *greater* problems with Jealousy and Other Relationships. Women's endorsement of hostile sexism was also associated with women experiencing *less* difficulties with Relationship Connection & Communication. These results indicate that women's hostile sexism may align with a traditional gender role structure that reduces power struggles and soothes communication within the relationship, which we discuss further below. Also see Appendix 3.

Table 4.8. Indirect effects between *Partner's* Hostile Sexism Predicting Relationship Evaluations mediated by Greater Severity, Number, and Specific Categories of Relationship Problems.

Indirect Effect Tested	95% Confidence Interval		
	Indirect Effect	**Lower Limit**	**Upper Limit**
Effects on Women's Experiences of Relationship Problems			
Partners' Hostile Sexism → Problem Severity→ Relationship Evaluations	**-.066**	**-.108**	**-.027**
Partners' Hostile Sexism → Number of Problems → Relationship Evaluations	**-.034**	**-.062**	**-.009**
Partners' Hostile Sexism → Power-Dynamics → Relationship Evaluations	**-.059**	**-.093**	**-.029**
Partners' Hostile Sexism → Jealousy & Other Relationships → Relationship Evaluations	**-.037**	**-.063**	**-.015**
Partners' Hostile Sexism → Abuse, Affairs, Addiction & Gender-role Conflict → Relationship Evaluations	**-.075**	**-.112**	**-.042**
Effects on Men's Experiences of Relationship Problems			
Partners' Hostile Sexism → Problem Severity → Relationship Evaluations	.017	-.013	.048
Partners' Hostile Sexism → Number of Problems → Relationship Evaluations	.006	-.017	.029
Partners' Hostile Sexism → Power-Dynamics → Relationship Evaluations	**.020**	**.002**	**.041**
Partners' Hostile Sexism → Jealousy & Other Relationships → Relationship Evaluations	**-.018**	**-.036**	**-.004**
Partners' Hostile Sexism → Abuse, Affairs, Addiction & Gender-role Conflict → Relationship Evaluations	-.003	-.002	.016

Note. Tables 4.3, 4.6 and 4.7 present the estimates for paths between variables (indicated by→) for indirect effects. Asymmetric Confidence intervals were calculated following Mackinnon et al., (2007). Confidence intervals shown in bold do not overlap "0".

the specific categories of problems in Table 4.6 revealed two effects. First, male partners' benevolent sexism was associated with women reporting greater problems with Finances, Employment, & Family. However, this effect was only just significant (p = .05), did not differ by gender, and the indirect effect overlapped zero, indicating this did not have implications for women's relationship evaluations (*point estimate* = -.024, 95% CI = [-.051, .000]). Second, male partners' benevolent sexism was associated with women experiencing *less* problems with Power Dynamics, which in turn, was associated with women reporting greater satisfaction and commitment (*point estimate* = .034, 95% CI = [.002, .064]).[19] Thus, in general the results support that the mix of costs and benefits associated with men's benevolent sexism may generally produce null effects between male partners' benevolent sexism and women's relationship problems. However, the results also indicate that, in direct contrast to men's hostile sexism, men's benevolent sexism may reduce power struggles in relationships, consistent with the proposed function of benevolent sexism as reducing competition between men and women to facilitate heterosexual cooperation (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al, 2001; Hammond et al, 2016; Rudman & Glick, 2008).

Two effects across the 7 categories emerged for women's endorsement of benevolent sexism. Female partners' benevolent sexism was associated with men experiencing greater problems with Relationship Connection & Communication, the gender difference was significant, and indirect effects revealed that these problems were, in turn, associated with men reporting lower satisfaction and commitment (*point estimate* = −.051, 95% CI = [−.090, −.015]).[20] Female partners' benevolent sexism was also associated with men reporting greater

[19] Corroborating women's experiences, men who more strongly endorsed benevolent sexism also reported *less* problems with Power Dynamics, which in turn was associated with men reporting greater satisfaction and commitment (*point estimate* = .030, 95% CI = [.010, .054]). These results suggest that men's (but not women's) benevolent sexism facilitates more satisfying power dynamics for both partners. See Appendix 3 for details.

[20] The effects of women's benevolent sexism on women's own experiences of relationship problems (reported in the Appendix 3) demonstrated a similar pattern: women's benevolent

personal problems and differences (e.g., health problems, serious individual problems, and religion differences), and although the gender difference was not significant, indirect effects indicated that these problems were in turn associated with men evaluating their relationship more negatively (*point estimate* = −.017, 95% CI = [−.036, −.002]).[21] These results suggest that female partners' benevolent sexism may have some relational costs for men (and women; see Appendix 3; also see Hammond & Overall, 2013b, 2017).

Discussion

The disproportional costs hostile sexism has for women makes it crucial to understand the diverse ways in which these attitudes may cause harm to women. Yet prior research has primarily focused on how hostile sexism affects men's aggressive motivations, behaviours, and evaluations rather than how men's endorsement of hostile sexism is associated with women's experiences and evaluations. The current research is the first to directly examine whether men's endorsement of hostile sexism predicts *women* experiencing greater problems in an important domain of significant consequence for health and wellbeing—intimate heterosexual relationships. The results provide clear evidence that men's hostile sexism negatively affects women's relationship experiences and evaluations, and does so in specific

sexism predicted women reporting greater problems with relationship connection and communication, and in turn lower relationship evaluations (*point estimate* = -.042, 95% CI = [−.084, −.002]). By contrast, men who more strongly endorsed benevolent sexism reported *less* problems related to relationship connection and communication, which in turn was associated with *greater* satisfaction and commitment (*point estimate* = .037, 95% CI = [.001, .075]). This pattern is consistent with the proposed function of men's benevolent sexism in enhancing heterosexual intimacy (Glick & Fiske, 1996), whereas women's benevolent sexism creating rigid relationship expectations that are hard to consistently meet in relationships and thus can cause dissatisfaction (Hammond & Overall, 2013, 2017).

[21] Women's experiences did not show the same effect. Women's endorsement of benevolent sexism was *not* associated with women reporting greater personal problems and differences in the relationship (see Appendix 3). Accordingly, the effect of female partners' benevolent sexism on personal problems and differences appears to be related to men's perceptions only.

ways that are theoretically and empirically connected to the content of, and prominent concerns underlying, men's hostile sexism.

The more male partners endorsed hostile sexism, the more women experienced serious problems across a greater number of areas in their relationship, which were in turn associated with women feeling less satisfied and committed to their relationship. Moreover, analyses exploring specific types and categories of problems revealed that male partners' hostile sexism was specifically associated with women experiencing problems that are theoretically linked to the power and dependence-related concerns underlying men's hostile sexism, including power dynamics and jealousy and managing other relationships. In particular, consistent with recent examples examining when and why hostile sexism is associated with aggression, these specific problems align with concerns about women gaining power over men (and thus power struggles; see Cross et al., 2018) and suspicions that women will manipulate men by exploiting their relational dependence (and thus jealousy and interference with other relationships; see Cross et al., 2017). Extending prior research, however, these results show that these concerns central to hostile sexism manifest in the relationship experiences of women when their male partners' endorse hostile sexism, and in turn undermine women's satisfaction and commitment.

Male partners' hostile sexism was also associated with women reporting more serious problems with abuse, affairs, addiction and gender-role conflict. As outlined in the introduction, men's hostile sexism is associated with greater reports of aggression within intimate relationships (Cross et al., 2017; Cross et al., 2018; Forbes et. al., 2004; Hammond & Overall, 2015; Renzetti, Lynch, & DeWall, 2015). Prior research has also shown that men's hostile sexism is associated with heavier alcohol use (Lisco, Parrott & Tharp, 2012) and infidelity is consistent with the trust-related issues outlined in the introduction (Hammond & Overall, 2013a; Hart et al., 2012). These problems may be exacerbated by

restrictive gender role prescriptions that promote gender-role conflict and fears of trust (Glick & Fiske, 1996), which is likely why gender-role conflict loaded with this set of problems. Of importance, although we did not expect this set of problems to cluster together, clinical research and therapists agree that abuse, affairs and addiction (the three A's) are the most serious, persistent and difficult to treat problems, and are central reasons for divorce (Geiss & O'Leary, 1981; Hawkins et al., 2012; Scott et al., 2013; Whisman et al., 1997). Thus, these results suggest that men's hostile sexism is associated with very damaging problems in relationships, and that gender-role conflict coheres with these serious issues.

The effects of male partners' hostile sexism on women's problems were corroborated by male partners agreement that these problems existed in their relationship. Furthermore, the links between hostile sexism, relationship problems and lower relationship evaluations occurred primarily for men's and not women's endorsement of hostile sexism. Female partners' hostile sexism was *not* associated with men experiencing greater relationship problems, with one exception: female partners' hostile sexism also predicted greater problems with jealousy and other relationships. Female partners' hostile sexism was associated with men experiencing *less* problems with power dynamics. Indeed, women who more strongly endorse hostile sexism support men's power and dominance (Chen et al., 2009; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2000) and desire less power in their relationships (Cross et al., 2018), which appears to reduce power struggles in relationships. Accepting gender roles that position women as relationship caretakers, along with the fact that endorsing hostile sexism involves agreeing that women try to manipulate men, may also explain why women's hostile sexism predicted problems with jealousy and managing other relationships, perhaps reflecting heightened relationship protection and mate guarding efforts.

Finally, these results also show that men's hostile sexism is more directly harmful to relationships than men's benevolent sexism. The results generally supported our expectation

that the mix of costs and benefits associated with men's benevolent sexism would produce null effects between male partners' benevolent sexism and women's relationship problems. However, two effects emerged when examining categories of relationship problems revealing greater problems in one area and lower problems in another. First, male partners' endorsement of benevolent sexism was associated with women reporting greater problems with finances, employment, and family problems. This unexpected effect could indicate that expectations that men should be good protectors and providers, which are central elements of benevolent sexist beliefs, increases relational stress related to resource provision for the family (Chen et al., 2009; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Yet, this effect was not predicted *a priori*, was relatively weak (p = .05) compared to the consistent negative effects of male partners' hostile sexism, and was not associated with more negative relationship evaluations.

Male partners' benevolent sexism was also associated with *less* problems with power dynamics, which in turn was associated with more positive relationship evaluations for women (see Appendix 3). The divergent pattern across men's hostile and benevolent sexism is consistent with core principals of Ambivalent Sexism Theory (Glick & Fiske, 1996): the damaging effects of hostile sexism on heterosexual intimate relationships necessitates more benevolent attitudes to foster heterosexual intimacy. Indeed, men who endorse benevolent sexism are more comfortable with dependence and are more open to their partners' influence (Overall et al., 2011), which may facilitate more harmonious power dynamics. However, aside from the single beneficial effect on women's experiences related to power dynamics, the results indicate that benevolent sexism does not reliably reduce problems across important areas in intimate relationships. Perhaps the relationship enhancing effects assumed to arise from benevolent sexism will be more evident when examining the presence of the caring behaviour benevolent sexism promotes (e.g., Overall et al., 2011; also see Footnote 20). However, as also evident in the pattern of results here, benevolent behaviours and

expectations can also create costs in relationships, which may counteract any potential benefits for women in relationships (see Hammond & Overall, 2017).

In sum, the current dyadic investigation uniquely demonstrates how men's endorsement of hostile sexism can create problems for women in intimate relationships, particularly problems associated with power dynamics, jealousy in relationships, as well as serious problems involving gender-role conflict and the three A's (abuse, affairs, addiction). As we review next, the dyadic method and results have important implications for understanding the problems that are generated by sexist attitudes, and how these important problems within intimate relationships may also manifest in other domains.

Implications for Understanding the Effects of Sexist Attitudes on Women

Ambivalent Sexism Theory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) highlights how intergroup competition between men and women clashes with the interpersonal cooperation needed to sustain intimate relationships between men and women. Yet, hostile sexism has been disproportionally examined from an intergroup perspective, including investigating the ways men try to protect their advantaged societal position (Glick & Fiske, 1996; 2001; Glick et al., 1997). The focus on women as outgroup members who contest men's advantaged societal-level power overlooks one of the most threatening contexts that challenges the power, dependence, and gender-related concerns central to hostile sexism—heterosexual intimate relationships (Overall et al., 2016; Overall & Hammond, 2018; Smith & Hofmann, 2016). Men and women deeply affect one another on a daily basis within intimate relationships, and thus hostile sexism is likely to have a particularly prevalent, routine, and damaging impact on women. Indeed, the current research reveals that men's endorsement of hostile sexism is associated with women experiencing more serious problems in heterosexual relationships across a variety of important domains and, in turn, more negative relationship evaluations.

The existing evidence of how hostile sexism shapes attitudes, motivations and behaviours toward women indicate that these attitudes will have negative consequences for women, but the dyadic analyses presented here are unique because they present the first tests of how men's sexist attitudes predict women's experiences of problems. Examining the direct effects of men's sexist attitudes on women's experiences outside of relationship contexts is challenging. For example, work-related contexts are useful to examine how men's hostile sexism is associated with aggressive and discriminatory perceptions and preferences (Good & Rudman, 2010; Masser & Abrams, 2004; Rudman & Kilianski, 2000; Ratliff et al., 2017), but are difficult contexts to assess how *a particular* man's endorsement of hostile sexism impacts *a particular* woman's experiences. Similarly, vignettes are a useful method to test how sexist attitudes impact cross-gender perceptions (see Bohner, Ahlborn, & Steiner, 2010; Kallanski & Rudman, 1998), but such methods are uninformative regarding how sexist attitudes influence real-life interpersonal judgements and dynamics. By contrast, the dyadic unit within intimate heterosexual relationships provides a unique platform to directly assess how men's sexist attitudes affect the experiences and evaluations of female partners.

The results of the current research indicate that the associations between *men's* hostile sexism and *men's* behaviour and evaluations established in prior research do culminate to affect *women's* relationship experiences and evaluations. Female partners of men who endorsed hostile sexism experienced more serious problems across a greater number of areas in their relationship. Moreover, exploring the severity of specific problems provided additional evidence that the problems women experience when male partners endorse hostile sexism are linked to the power, dependence and trust concerns central to hostile sexism. For example, the fears of dependence and defensive need to protect losing power to women central to hostile sexism are reflected in women experiencing problems with power dynamics. Similarly, fears of dependence and suspicions regarding women's trustworthiness

are evident in women's experiences of problems related to jealousy. We also expect that these power, dependence and trust concerns, as well as rigid gender role prescriptions, feed into why women experience gender-role conflict along with very serious problems related to abuse, affairs and addiction (the three A's). Not only does the current investigation provide evidence supporting that women's experiences are directly affected by men's hostile sexism, the analyses of specific categories of problems also provide novel theoretically-relevant evidence of the kinds of relationship problems that likely arise from men's hostile sexism.

The results also support that the relationship problems associated with men's hostile sexism will undermine women's relationship satisfaction and commitment. However, these harmful effects will extend beyond women's happiness within their specific relationship. Intimate relationships have a powerful impact on psychological and physical health. Greater relationship problems and lower relationship satisfaction predict greater depression, lower life satisfaction, poorer general health, and greater risk of disease (Holt-Lunstad, Smith & Layton, 2010; House, Landis, & Umberson, 1988). Similarly, if direct exposure to hostile sexism promotes similar problems for women in workplace and professional domains as we suspect, then the resulting workplace dissatisfaction (Cikara, Fiske, & Glick, 2009) and disengagement from professional domains (Davies, Spencer, & Steele, 2005; Steele, 1997) will also have more general implications for women's well-being. Thus, the association between men's hostile sexism and the problems women experience in important domains is likely to have detrimental consequences for women's psychological and physical health.

Implications for Understanding the Effects of Sexist Attitudes on Men

Our primary focus was to extend prior research by directly examining how men's hostile sexism is associated with women's experiences of relationship problems and associated relationship evaluations. However, these negative effects will also be harmful to men. Indeed, although we primarily focused on the novel partner effects, the actor effects

revealed that men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism also reported a greater number of more serious problems in their relationships. These actor effects corroborated that men's, and not women's, hostile sexism is associated with greater relationship problems for both partners. Indeed, relationship problems are not just isolated to one person, but represent a feature of the relationship; both couple members will perceive similar problems (see correlations across partners in Table 4.2) and both partners' relationship evaluations will be affected. Accordingly, the greater relationship problems associated with men's hostile sexism will also have damaging effects on men's relationship satisfaction and commitment (see Appendix 3).

Moreover, independent of the shared experience of relationship problems, one person's experience of problems and dissatisfaction in the relationship is likely to damage relationships in ways that affect the other. For example, greater relationship problems and lower satisfaction and commitment predict a greater probability of relationship dissolution (Drigotas & Rusbult, 1992; Le et al., 2010; Rusbult, 1983). Moreover, intimates who are less satisfied and committed are less motivated to care for the other partner and are more likely to prioritise their own needs (Rusbult & Buunk, 1993; Rusbult & Van Lange, 2003), which also exacerbates greater relationship problems, further reduces satisfaction, and increases the likelihood of dissolution (Rusbult, 1980, 1983, Rusbult & Buunk, 1993 Wieselquist et al., 1999). Thus, the partner associations between men's hostile sexism and women's greater problems and negative evaluations also jeopardise men's health and well-being through increased relationship difficulties and a greater risk of relationship loss.

Of importance, these partner effects might also have broader effects by reinforcing men's sexist attitudes across time. Men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism are concerned about their relational dependence and wary of their female partners' commitment (Cross et al., 2017; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Ironically, the current data suggest that these

concerns are self-fulfilling: men's endorsement of hostile sexism creates greater relationship problems, undermining women's satisfaction and commitment, which in turn may reinforce hostile attitudes depicting women as untrustworthy. This potentially damaging cycle highlights another reason why examining dyadic effects of sexist attitudes within relationships is so important. Because female partners are the women men are most exposed and most vulnerable to, intimate heterosexual relationships represent a principal context in which hostile sexism can be reinforced or contradicted. Unfortunately, the greater problems and more negative relationship evaluations generated by men's hostile sexism will reinforce, rather than challenge, these hostile beliefs. Thus, men's endorsement of hostile sexism is not only systemically reinforced by larger cultural values, norms, and practices, but also creates self-fulfilling processes in intimate relationships by damaging relationships in ways that will also reinforce hostile sexism. Accordingly, finding ways to reduce the power and dependence-related concerns central to hostile sexism, and the serious relationship problems hostile sexism creates for women, is a crucial step for future research.

Strengths, Limitations and Future Directions

The current research is the first to directly test how men's hostile sexism impacts the problems women experience within intimate relationships. The large dyadic sample provided a solid foundation for examining across-partner associations and for exploring the specific types of problems that we theorised would be most relevant to men's hostile sexism. However, although assessing associations across couple members provides important insight into the problems women face when their male partners endorse hostile sexism, these methods rely on correlational data that prevent causal conclusions. Testing reverse causal directions is an important direction for future research given that, as we consider above, it is possible that women's experiences of relationship problems, or negative relationship evaluations, may reinforce male partner's endorsement of hostile sexism. Future research

employing longitudinal designs tracking changes in sexist attitudes, relationship problems and relationship evaluations, as well as experimental designs manipulating these constructs, will be particularly informative regarding the potential reciprocal links between hostile sexism and relationship difficulties.

We used an established measure of relationship problems which is frequently used to examine a range of problems that commonly arise in intimate relationships. Research has demonstrated that couples' experiences of these types of relationship problems determine important outcomes, including declining satisfaction and increased likelihood of relationship dissolution (Gottman & Levenson, 1992; Lavner et al., 2016; McNulty & Russel, 2010; Overall & McNulty, 2017). The evidence presented here that sexist attitudes predict a range of important problems highlights that close relationship research should attend more to the ways in which global social attitudes affect relationship functioning. Indeed, our finding that broad gender-role attitudes shape the type of problems that couples face in their relationships has important implications for relationship practice and theory. First, relationship therapists could benefit from considering how broader gender-based beliefs contribute to a range of difficulties in relationships. Second, empirical and therapeutic precision may be enhanced by considering how specific problems cluster together in theoretically-relevant ways.

Although the Marital Problem Inventory (Geiss & O'Leary, 1981) was not designed to capture categories of problems, exploratory factor analyses provided some initial evidence that common problems in relationships may reflect more general themes that align with central processes identified by prior theory and research in close relationships. However, some of the relationship problem categories demonstrated only adequate reliability, and the specific categories identified here require further testing and validation if they are to guide additional investigations into the factors that create specific types of relationship problems. Nonetheless, the specific types of problems that we expected *a priori* to be associated with

hostile sexism clustered together well and provided reliable assessments of theoretically-relevant problems tied to the power, dependence, and trust related concerns characteristic of hostile sexism. Accordingly, the current research provides important insight into the effects of hostile sexism on women's experiences in intimate relationships, but also indicates that future studies may benefit from considering groups of problems that are theoretically relevant to the principal focus of the investigation.

Lastly, our sample involved relatively committed couples from a country with relatively low levels of hostile sexism and relatively high levels of gender equality (see Brandt, 2011). The fact that the current results emerged across a large sample involving well-functioning couples living in relatively egalitarian societies illustrates the pervasive impact that hostile sexism has on couples' lives. The negative effects of hostile sexism appear consistent across nations (Glick et al., 2000; 2002; 2004; Herrero, Rodríguez, & Torres, 2018) and thus we expect the results to replicate in less egalitarian countries, although they may be exacerbated in different social contexts. For example, the association between male partners' hostile sexism and women's relationship problems may be more pronounced in less egalitarian societies where hostile sexism is more prevalent, gender roles are more rigid, and there is a greater emphasis on men's power (Glick et al., 2000). These types of additional contextual moderators are important to test in future research.

Conclusion

The current research represents the first test of whether men's hostile sexism is associated with the problems women experience in their intimate relationships. By gathering data from both couple members and modelling across-partner effects, the results indicate that women experience more severe problems across a greater number of areas in their relationship when their male partners more strongly endorse hostile sexism. Moreover, the areas experienced as most problematic were consistent with the power, dependence, and trust

concerns underlying men's hostile sexism, including problems with power dynamics, jealousy, gender-role conflict, and very serious problems involving abuse, affairs and addiction. The results also indicate that the relationship problems that men's hostile sexism creates will damage women's and men's relationship satisfaction and commitment. These harmful outcomes will not only undermine women's and men's psychological and physical health, but may also reinforce the power, dependence, and trust related fears and concerns that underlie men's hostile sexism.

CHAPTER FIVE: GENERAL DISCUSSION

Even in highly egalitarian countries like New Zealand, gender inequalities persist, in part because sexist attitudes sustain gender inequality in both overt and subtle ways (United Nations, 2017). This thesis has focused on hostile sexism: an overtly aggressive and antagonistic set of attitudes directed towards women who challenge traditional gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001). Prior work derived from Ambivalent Sexism Theory has claimed women who challenge men's *societal* dominance are the primary targets of hostile sexism (e.g., career women and feminists). Yet, as demonstrated across the seven studies presented in this thesis, hostile sexism has an important impact on how heterosexual men behave towards women they are closest to and deeply care about - their intimate female partners. Indeed, the dependence and power related concerns central to hostile sexism should be routinely activated in intimate heterosexual relationships. Accordingly, intimate heterosexual relationships are a domain where men's endorsement of hostile sexism will have particularly pervasive, damaging, and ongoing effects for both men and women.

This thesis examined the damaging effects that men's endorsement of hostile sexism has for men *and* women in intimate relationships by testing (1) when and why men's hostile sexism predict aggression within intimate relationships, and (2) how male partner's hostile sexism negatively impacts female partners' experiences within relationships. In this final chapter, I discuss the aims and findings across this thesis and review how sexist attitudes influence relationship functioning and experiences (see summary in Table 5.1). I discuss the implications of this research, highlight important directions for future research, and discuss several theoretical and empirical challenges facing sexism research moving forward.

Summary of Results: When, Why, and How Hostile Sexism Damages Relationships

This thesis set out to examine the costs that men's endorsement of hostile sexism has for intimate relationships. The research presented provides a consistent and coherent portrait

of when, why, and how men's hostile sexism damages intimate relationships. Across seven studies, spanning three chapters, men's hostile attitudes towards women in general were associated with more aggressive thoughts, feelings, and behaviour toward specific intimate partners and greater problems within intimate relationships. Not only do the results advance understanding of how societal attitudes impact relationship functioning, but the processes examined across the thesis inform theoretical models regarding the relationship processes that underpin, and likely reinforce, sexist attitudes.

Chapters Two and Three show that the interdependence inherent in intimate relationships is pivotal to understanding *when* and *why* men's hostile sexism promotes aggression toward women (see Table 5.1). Chapter Two provided evidence that men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism behave aggressively towards their partners when the risks of dependence run high because female partners are (or are perceived to be) less committed and thus are more likely to be hurtful, rejecting, or exploitative. Expanding the simple focus on main effects of hostile sexism that is prevalent in the literature, the two studies in Chapter Two offer a more nuanced understanding of the hostile sexism-aggression link. Men who endorse hostile sexism do not always enact aggression toward female partners as prior theory and research suggests. Instead, men who endorse hostile sexism enact aggression in contexts that are relevant to their fears that women will exploit men's relational dependence to take men's power. Moreover, by showing that men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism only behave aggressively when their dependence is not in safe hands, the results provided important insights into the underlying reasons why men who endorse hostile sexism enact aggression towards their partners—to rebalance the dependence and lack of power that exists in intimate relationships, especially when partners are (or are perceived to be) low in commitment.

Table 5.1. Summary of Chapters and Key Points Derived from the Current Research.

Thesis Chapter	Summary of Key Points Derived from the Current Research.
Chapter 2: When does Men's Hostile Sexism Predict Relationship Aggression?	• Chapter Two investigated *when* men's endorsement of hostile sexism predicts aggression towards female partners by examining the moderating role of (perceived) partner commitment—a primary marker of the risk of dependence. • Results across two dyadic studies illustrated that men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism were more aggressive towards their female partners when their dependence on female partners was most risky because female partners were, or perceived to be, less committed. These results emerged across couple's daily lives (Study 1; 21-day dyadic daily diary) and during important couple interactions (Study 2; video-recorded relationship conflict). • The results illustrate that men who endorse hostile sexism only enact aggression in contexts that are relevant to their fears that female partners will manipulate and exploit their dependence.
Chapter 3: Why does Men's Hostile Sexism predict Relationship Aggression?	• Chapter Three examined *why* men who endorse hostile sexism are more aggressive towards female partners. • Results across four methodologically diverse studies demonstrated that men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism perceived they had lower power in their relationship, which in turn was associated with greater aggression towards female partners. This pattern was consistent across different measures, samples, and couple members' perspectives, and was robust to control variables. • Results across two studies demonstrated that these lower perceptions of power were biased; men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism under-perceived the power they had in their relationships compared to partners' reports. • These findings were not the result of men desiring more power or generally being more dominant and aggressive (Studies 3-4). • These power-based perceptions and experiences are likely to manifest in other contexts and have important implications for understanding how to reduce aggression in relationships.
Chapter 4: How does Men's Hostile Sexism affect Female Partners' Relationship Experiences?	• Chapter Four tested how male partners' hostile sexism affects women's relationship experiences and evaluations. • Integrating data across four samples to maximise power, dyadic analyses demonstrated that women experienced more severe problems across a greater number of domains when their male partner endorsed hostile sexism. Moreover, the most prominent categories of problems were those that were tied to the core concerns associated with hostile sexism. • The increased problems arising from male partners' hostile sexism were, in turn, associated with women reporting more negative relationship evaluations, including poorer relationship satisfaction and lower commitment. • These results highlight the importance of directly testing how men's hostile sexism affects important outcomes for *women*, including the diverse and detrimental impact that men's hostile sexism has for women's experiences in intimate relationships, which is an important domain that has often been overlooked in prior investigations.

Chapter Three built on Chapter Two by specifically testing whether dependence and power-related processes are central to why men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism are more aggressive towards their female partners (see Table 5.1). Results across four studies supported that men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism were more aggressive, at least in part, because they perceived themselves to lack power in their relationships. Importantly, these lower perceptions of power were biased; men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism underestimated the power they had in their relationships compared to their partners' reports. These novel dyadic analyses reveal that broad gender-based attitudes about men and women in society bias perceptions of power *within* intimate relationships in ways that have damaging consequences. Moreover, highlighting the value of my interdependence perspective—which highlights the ways intimate interdependence limits and constrains individuals' power—the results across two studies demonstrated that lower perceived power played a stronger role in explaining the hostile sexism-aggression link than greater desires for power and dominance and more general aggressive tendencies.

Chapter Four extended Chapters Two and Three by investigating the costs that men's hostile sexism has for *women* within intimate relationships. In particular, Chapter Four revealed that men's hostile sexism is associated with diverse problems in intimate relationships that extend beyond aggression. Not only did women experience more severe problems across a greater number of areas when their male partners more strongly endorsed hostile sexism, but the types of problems they experienced were closely related to the power, dependence, and trust concerns central to men's hostile sexism. Men's hostile sexism was associated with female partners experiencing problems with power dynamics, jealousy, and serious problems involving abuse, affairs, addiction and gender-role conflict. These greater problems were, in turn, associated with women evaluating their relationship more negatively, including reporting lower relationship satisfaction and lower commitment. These dyadic

effects demonstrate how men's hostile sexism is associated with a range of serious problems for women in intimate relationships, and thus undermines women's wellbeing.

In sum, the current research advances the sexism *and* close relationships literature by demonstrating that men's general societal-level beliefs about men and women infiltrate intimate relationships. This work reveals when, why and how hostile sexism has detrimental effects for women and men. These results may seem obvious; of course hostile attitudes towards women will have damaging effects. Yet, prior theory and research has tended to focus on understanding, mitigating, and reducing the effects and existence of sexism within *non-intimate* domains, such as the workplace and in education settings. The dyadic approach I have employed illustrates that only examining sexist attitudes as they function in intergroup contexts limits knowledge of the way hostile sexism affects women and men in society. Consistent with my interdependence perspective, all three chapters highlight that men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism face certain difficulties and challenges in their intimate relationships because their dependence and power-related fears clash with the interdependent realities of intimate heterosexual relationships. Identifying these dependence and power-related processes provides insight into how sexist attitudes will be fostered and reinforced in intimate contexts between men and women, as well as the processes likely operating within non-intimate domains. Thus exploring how sexist attitudes affect intimate relationships is imperative to understanding the many and varied ways sexist attitudes harm women and sustain gender inequality.

Implications and Extensions: Men's Hostile Sexism in Intimate Relationships

In each chapter I outlined how the studies offered important theoretical, empirical, and practical implications for understanding sexist attitudes, relationship functioning, and aggression toward women. In this section, I more broadly consider how the studies across this thesis provide novel directions for future research to advance understanding of the links

between hostile sexism, power, and aggression, and the wide-ranging costs these effects should have for women and men across social contexts. I first consider how the findings and conclusion of each set of studies offer specific directions for future research, including: (I) examining whether aggressive behaviour can help restore a sense of power, (II) investigating how female partners respond to, and cognitively appraise, their male partners' aggression, (III) exploring more deeply the effects and consequences of women's endorsement of hostile sexism, and (IV) detailing how the increased problems associated with men's hostile sexism should lead to other costs for women. I then consider how the current investigation of processes within intimate relationships (V) provides a foundation for considering dynamics in non-intimate contexts, including whether the dependence, power and aggression processes are evident in workplace and familial relationships, and (VI) may advance understanding of interventions aimed at reducing the endorsement, and associated costs, of sexist attitudes.

I. Does Aggressive Communication and Behaviour Restore a Sense of Power?

One vital next step for future research is to test whether aggressive communication has a power-restoring effect. A key claim made in the aggression literature, that I drew upon to understand the hostile sexism-aggression link, was that lower power predicts aggression as a way of reclaiming or restoring power (e.g., Bornstein, 1996; Bugental, 2010; Overall et al., 2016; Shaver, Segev, & Mikulincer, 2011; Worchel et al., 1978). Indeed, research in non-romantic contexts supports that threats to power often lead to hostile and aggressive acts in a bid to assert and restore power (e.g., Bugental, 2010; Bugental & Lin, 2001; Case & Maner, 2014; Georgesen & Harris, 2006; Fast & Chen, 2009; Maner & Mead, 2010). Likewise, within romantic contexts perceptions of low power (Babcock et al., 1993) or greater partner influence (Sagrestano et al., 1999) predicts greater self-reported aggression. Aggression as a means to restore a perceived lack of power or control is also key to explaining why threats to power promote aggressive responses in other domains, such as when children undermine

their parents' power, when people are rejected by peers or strangers, when leaders' authority or competence is threatened, and when masculine independence is compromised (Bugental, 2010; Bugental & Lin, 2001; Case & Maner, 2014; Georgesen & Harris, 2006; Fast & Chen, 2009; Leary, Twenge & Quinlivan, 2006; Maner & Mead, 2010). Yet, no prior research has directly tested whether aggressive communication in intimate relationships actually affords individuals a greater sense of power, and thus whether enacting aggression has a power-restoring effect.

Assessing whether aggression has a power-restoring function is also important for understanding how the aggressive responses associated with men's hostile sexism may be reinforced despite the damaging effects aggression has for couples. Indeed, research has shown that aggressive communication exhibited by men who endorse hostile sexism elicits greater defensiveness and hostility from female partners, which in turn prevents men who endorse hostile sexism from affecting desired change in their relationships (see Overall et al., 2011). Moreover, a large body of other research illustrates that aggressive communication in intimate relationships is often ill received by partners (Heavey, Christensen, & Malamuth, 1995; Overall et al., 2009), exacerbates conflict between couples (Rusbult, Johnson, & Morrow, 1986; Rusbult, Zembrodt, & Gunn, 1982), leads to lower discussion success (Heavey, Layne, & Christensen, 1993; Overall et al., 2009), and places relationships at a greater risk of dissolution (see Arriaga & Schkeryantz, 2015; Karney & Bradbury, 1995; Holtzworth-Munroe et al., 1997). Examining whether the aggressive communication associated with men's hostile sexism actually affords men a greater sense of power in their relationships, and whether this is a key reason men who endorse hostile sexism continue to enact aggressive behaviour despite the obvious costs, is an important next step for future research.

Future investigations should also explore whether individuals are aware of the link between power and aggression in intimate relationships, and therefore whether individuals might intentionally enact aggression when they feel a lack of power. Prior research suggests that men's aggressive behaviour in intimate relationships represent coercive strategies focused on protecting men's power and autonomy (Forbes et al., 2004; 2005; Hart et al., 2012; Overall et al., 2011). Moreover, several clinical studies provide evidence that men who engage in intimate partner violence often explain their aggression as an attempt to gain or re-establish control (Barnett et al., 1997; Hamberger & Guse, 2002; Hamberger & Potente, 1994; Hamberger et al., 1994, 1997; also see White Ribbon, 2018). However, no prior research has directly tested whether individuals *intentionally* engage in aggression in a bid to restore a sense of power.

Assessing the potential power-restoring function of aggression poses methodological difficulties given ethical considerations of manipulating power—and thus aggressive responses—*within* couples' actual interactions. Moreover, partners' countering reactions to aggression may mitigate the short or long-term effectiveness of aggression in restoring (what might be a fleeting) sense of power. Accordingly, observing specific dyadic interactions is unlikely to provide clear insight given the cross-sectional associations and partners' resistance (see Overall et al., 2011). Yet, experience sampling of repeated interactions within and across days might provide a useful way to test whether being verbally or psychologically aggressive to intimate partners leads to a greater sense of power in *future* interactions. Despite the value of examining these processes in the ecologically valid context of couples' actual observed or daily interactions, as shown across this thesis, it is likely that these processes will need to be tested devoid of people's personal experiences or actual relationships. For example, manipulating individuals' perceived level of relationship power via hypothetical relationship scenarios, and then completing explicit and implicit measures of

aggression should provide stronger evidence. In addition, asking participants to rate a range of responses (including aggression) in terms of their likelihood to yield power would inform whether individuals are aware of the link between aggression and power.

II. How do Women Deal with Male Partner's Aggression?

Given that the interdependent dynamics between couples constrain individuals' power, and that power *might* be gained by exerting aggression, a crucial next step for future research is to examine how women *respond* to the aggression associated with male partners' hostile sexism. In particular, investigating how men's aggressive behaviour influences dyadic patterns of communication and daily dyadic behaviour is important to understanding how this process impacts couples' daily lives. The aggressive behaviour associated with men's hostile sexism is likely to produce a cascade of destructive dyadic patterns that will undermine intimate relationships. A large body of research has focused on two primary ways people respond when faced with destructive partner behaviour, such as hostility and aggression. First, individuals often respond to their partner's hostility and aggression by defensively withdrawing (e.g., avoiding, ignoring, or disengaging from their partners, see Christensen & Heavey, 1990; Heavey et al., 1995). Second, individuals often respond by reciprocating their partners' hostility and negativity, which escalates negativity across partners (see Gottman, 1979, 1998). Similarly, some prior work suggests that the hostile communication associated with men's hostile sexism elicits greater defensiveness and resistance from female partners, which reduces men's influence (Overall et al., 2011). Beyond this, however, we know very little about how female partners respond to the aggression associated with men's hostile sexism.

One way to test how female partner's *respond* to male partner's aggression is to assess aggression across repeated intervals *within* couples' video-recorded interactions. For example, future research would benefit from having trained coders rate the degree to which

individuals' exhibit aggressive and hostile communication during 30-second intervals across couple's interactions, and testing how the aggressive behaviour associated with male partners' hostile sexism in one segment predicts female partners' behavioural responses in the *next* segment. Testing whether female partners of men who endorse hostile sexism respond to their male partner's aggression in a specific way, such as by disengaging and withdrawing, would provide a more detailed understanding of the dyadic communication patterns that hostile aggression is likely to produce. For example, examining partner responses would shed light on whether aggressive attempts to restore power might actually exacerbate power struggles and threaten interdependent dynamics, rather than help attain balance and comfort with dependence.

Although close relationships research has tended to focus on destructive withdrawal or reciprocal hostility as responses to partners' aggression (see Heavey et al., 1995; Holtzworth-Munroe et al., 1997; Gottman, 1995), other viable outcomes of aggressive behaviour may be inhibition or submission. These responses to male partners' aggression may be particularly relevant when women face ongoing instances of partner aggression as women may learn that responding with aggression escalates negativity, and thus may respond in more passive ways in an attempt to down-regulate their partners' aggression. For example, communicating in a softer and warmer manner during conflict helps to down-regulate avoidant partners' anger (Overall, Simpson, & Struthers, 2013). Women who more strongly endorse hostile sexism, and thus accept traditional gender roles, should be even more likely to engage in inhibitory behaviour (i.e., suppress emotions, hold back, give in). Indeed, recent research provides some preliminary evidence that female partners who accept structural gender differences in power may be especially likely to hold back and give in when they feel they lack power and cannot influence their male partner during conflict (Pietromonaco, Overall, Beck, & Powers, under review).

Examining whether female partners of men who endorse hostile sexism *downplay* their male partners' aggression is also vital to understanding how men who endorse hostile sexism maintain intimate relationships despite behaving in destructive and damaging ways. Aggression within intimate relationships violates culturally-accepted norms in Western society regarding how partners should treat each other, but experiencing partner aggression does not uniformly result in immediate relationship dissolution. Research shows that individuals engage in cognitive processes to downplay their partners' aggression to manage the dissonance associated with being in a relationship that *should* be loving and respectful, but involves harmful relationship dynamics and behaviours (Arriaga et al., 2018; Goodfriend & Arriaga, 2018). This can involve, (a) attributing the causes of aggression to issues external to the person (e.g., substance problems, stress, or dysfunctional communication), (b) justifying partner's aggressive behaviour (e.g., taking personal responsibility for the partner's behaviour, see Flynn & Graham, 2010), and (c) minimising the importance of aggressive acts (e.g., they were "just joking around", see Arriaga, 2002; Goodfriend & Arriaga, 2018). Importantly, downplaying partner's aggression is likely to prolong the distress caused by such aggression (see Arriaga et al., 2018 for review), and sustain aggressive relationships (Arriaga, Capezza, & Daly, 2016; Arriaga, Cobb, & Daly, 2018). In sum, testing whether female partners of men who endorse hostile sexism downplay their male partners' aggression is an important direction for future investigation that is likely to offer important insights into how these harmful relationship dynamics might be maintained.

Examining who may be more likely to *downplay* male partners aggression will also inform how and why the aggressive communication and behaviour associated with men's hostile sexism persists. For example, individuals who are more committed to their relationship are more likely to deny, minimise, or justify their partner's aggression (Arriaga & Capezza, 2011; Arriaga et al., 2016; Goodfriend & Arriaga, 2018). I expect women who

more strongly endorse hostile sexism, and thus support men's dominance and the restriction of women's power, may be particularly likely to downplay their partners' aggressive behaviour. Given that women who more strongly endorse hostile sexism are more accepting of intimate partner violence (Lee, Begun, DePrince & Chu, 2016; Pozo et al., 2010; see Table 1.1), including agreeing with the sentiment that some women deserve to be beaten if they behave badly (Chen et al., 2009; Glick et al., 2002; Sakallı, 2001) it is possible that women who endorse hostile sexism may internalize blame for their partner's aggression. Accordingly, examining how female partners' hostile sexism may be a barrier to reducing these harmful relationship dynamics is an important next step for future research. Indeed, as I discuss next, examining the function and consequences of women's endorsement of hostile sexism is a crucial component of understanding how sexist attitudes contribute to gender inequality.

III. Understanding Women's Hostile Sexism

Nearly two decades of research, conducted across various individuals, groups and nations, provide overwhelming support that hostile and benevolent sexism represent complementary ideologies that work in tandem to maintain gender inequality (see Connor et al., 2017 for review; Glick et al., 2000, 2004). Yet, women's endorsement of hostile sexism is still poorly understood and appears bizarre given the widespread damaging effects these attitudes have on women as a group (e.g., Glick et al., 1997, 2000, 2004; Hammond & Overall, 2018; Overall & Hammond, 2018). So why do women support ideologies that are overtly hostile and derogatory towards their own gender? The little work that has examined women's hostile sexism suggests that cognitive dissonance, dominance, and system-justifying ideologies underpin women's endorsement of hostile sexism towards women (Christopher & Mull, 2006; Christopher & Wojda, 2008; Fraser, Osborne, & Sibley, 2015; Kteily, Ho, & Sidanius, 2012; Sibley & Overall, 2011). Although the studies across this

thesis focused on men's hostile sexism, the dyadic nature of the methods, analyses, and aims of my research mean that the results also shed light on how women's hostile sexism functions in intimate relationships. Below I discuss several findings across this thesis that inform current understanding of women's endorsement of hostile sexism.

The results across studies suggest that women's endorsement of hostile sexism might facilitate "smoother" power dynamics in intimate heterosexual relationships because women who endorse these attitudes also support men's power. Indeed, women who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism desired *less* power in relationships (see Studies 3 and 4 of Chapter Three), and perceived power dynamics to be *less* problematic in their relationships, which in turn was associated with greater relationship satisfaction and commitment (Chapter Four). These results are consistent with prior work showing that women who more strongly endorse hostile sexism support men's dominance and power within the family (e.g., "the man should be the king in the family", "It is the duty of the wife to actively uphold the husband's authority"; Chen et al, 2009, p. 771) and have greater preferences for hierarchical structures (Christopher & Wojda, 2008; Fraser et al., 2015; Kteily et al., 2012; Sibley & Overall, 2011). Taken together, this suggests that women's hostile sexism facilitates gender inequality by supporting men's power and dominance.

Understanding why women endorse hostile attitudes towards their own gender is a vital area for future work. The results from this thesis, and that of prior research, suggest that intimate relationships are important in understanding why women might endorse hostile sexism. For example, some researchers have suggested that women's hostile sexism may be fostered by investment in a romantic relationship as women incorporate their male partner into their identities, and view men and women as forming a 'team' made up of complementary relationship roles (see de lumus et al., 2010; Hammond, 2015). As women invest in their male partner's opportunities to gain power, status, and resources, they may be

incentivised to support men's power and dominance in order to gain such resources "as a couple". This might be particularly the case when wider social structures limit women's ability to attain resources themselves, and thus intimate relationships are the best or only means to social, economic and political power.

Even in more egalitarian contexts, however, women's hostile sexism might be fostered by stronger desires to maintain intimate relationships. For example, some research supports that young women (but not men) who have had more relationship experience are likely to endorse hostile sexism more strongly (de Lumus, Moya, & Glick, 2010). This may be because, despite hostile sexism negatively affecting women in intimate relationships, as demonstrated across this thesis, hostile attitudes toward other women may reduce potential threats to women's specific intimate relationships. For example, some researchers believe that women's hostile sexism should manifest most strongly when competition with other women is salient, such as during the initial stages of mate selection and attraction (see Hammond, 2015). In these contexts, hostile attitudes toward other women may arise from and reinforce concerns that women need to protect male partners, and their own intimate relationship, from potential female rivals. These possibilities are important targets for future research.

IV. The Wider Costs associated with Increased Relationship Problems

The increased problems associated with male partners' hostile sexism is likely to have damaging effects for women within and *outside* of intimate relationships. For example, the burden of having to deal with the increased aggression and relationship problems associated with men's hostile sexism is likely to fall on female partners. Men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism perceive women to be the relational caretakers who are in charge of maintaining the home, including domestic duties and familial relationships (Chen et al., 2009; Glick et al., 1996). Thus, women who have male partners who endorse hostile sexism may be

expected to manage and solve difficulties within their relationship, which is likely to further undermine women's relationship satisfaction.

The greater aggression and problems that women experience when their male partners endorse hostile sexism is also likely to spill over and affect other domains of life. For example, the increased problems that women experience when they have male partners who endorse hostile sexism may impact women's competency, ability, and performance in the workplace. The increased pressure that female partners of men who endorse hostile sexism should feel to manage their relationships is likely to suck up resources in ways that make it difficult for women to equitably allocate cognitive and emotional resources needed in other domains. The disproportionate focus and attention needed for the relationship domain may lead women to disidentify with career goals and roles, and undermine women's career development and success. Indeed, feeling pressure to be a perfect mother and partner is associated with parental burnout and lower career ambitions (Meeussen & Van Laar, 2018). Other research supports that work and family are closely interconnected domains of human life (Burke & Greenglass, 1987; Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Voydanoff, 1989), and difficulties at home are associated with difficulties at work (Byron, 2005; Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992a; 1992b; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998).

Future investigation should build on the results from Chapter Four by testing even more specific processes and outcomes that are likely to arise from the problems associated with men's hostile sexism. For example, moving beyond general satisfaction and commitment to examine how "conflict about gender roles" impacts women's work-life balance and the career-related support they receive from their male partners. Examining these specific types of outcomes facilitates more specific understanding of how sexist attitudes function in intimate relationships, but is also likely to illustrate how relationship processes

impact important domains outside the relationship contexts, such as careers and personal achievement (also see Overall & Hammond, 2018).

V. Hostile Sexism, Power, and Aggression in Non-Intimate Interpersonal Contexts.

The research presented in Chapter Three demonstrated that perceptions of power inform why men who endorse hostile sexism are more aggressive towards their female partners. But, examining these links in other interpersonal contexts will help to further clarify both the generality and boundaries of the power-relevant processes demonstrated across this thesis. Although no other context is likely to be as challenging to men's power as intimate heterosexual relationships, there are other interpersonal relationships where I expect to see similar results. For example, parent-child relationships are often characterised by a contest for power and control, especially as children grow older and challenge their parents' power and authority (see Padilla-Walker, Nelson, & Knapp, 2014; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). Although parents' power and control is unlikely to be inherently challenged in parent-child relationships (as it is in intimate relationships), men who endorse hostile sexism are likely to respond in a more assertive or aggressive manner when they perceive their power and authority is threatened or undermined by their children (e.g., when children talk back to parents, or challenge their authority). This should be particularly so when daughters (versus sons) challenge their fathers' power or authority, given the restrictive and traditional gender-roles hostile sexism prescribes. Thus, examining the link between men's hostile sexism and aggressive communication during parent-child dyadic interactions will inform our understanding of the role dependence, and specific threats to power, play in threatening men's power and control, and prompting aggressive behaviour.

The power concerns and power-relevant behaviours associated with hostile sexism should not only create more conflictual family interactions, but should also stifle children's independence and autonomy which is critical for healthy child development (Chorpita &

Barlow, 1998; Grolnick, Deci, & Ryan, 1997). I am currently in the process of testing these important research questions using data from Chapter Three, Study 2. This study was specifically designed to examine both adult interactions and parent-child interactions. After discussing an area of conflict in their relationship, both parents engaged in video-recorded play activity with their child, in which families were instructed to work together to build a tower. Examining the family as a triadic unit enables me to test how sexist attitudes shape family dynamics, including building versus undermining competence in young children. I expect fathers' hostile sexism will be associated with more intrusive, dismissive and controlling behaviours towards their children during the tower building task as assessed using both parents' reports and observational coding of parents' behaviour. These detrimental effects may be especially prevalent with daughters, when children are challenging within the family activity (e.g., being inattentive) or are more generally challenging (e.g., difficult temperament), or when fathers emerge from a particularly difficult conflict interaction with their partner and thus have a greater need to restore power. This planned research has important implications for understanding how sexist attitudes shape family dynamics, including building or undermining competence in young children.

Examining how men's endorsement of hostile sexism and associated aggression may hinder men's ability to establish relationships is another important area for future research. Supporting the current pattern of results, prior research demonstrates that men who endorse hostile sexism use more assertive and aggressive dating strategies which are believed to facilitate men's expression of authority and power and restrict women's agency (Hall & Canterberry, 2011). Moreover, research has shown that women find men who are described as endorsing hostile sexism to be relatively unattractive (Bohner et al., 2010; Chisango & Javangwe, 2012; Cross & Overall., 2017; Kilianski & Rudman, 1998). Examining whether these assertive and aggressive dating strategies are off-putting for women and prevent men

who endorse hostile sexism from establishing intimate relationships is an important next step for future research. Indeed, aggressive strategies or behaviours are likely to elicit negative evaluations and responses from potential female partners, which may reinforce men's animosity and distrust of women. Following the dating practices of men and women across time, and assessing how the aggressive behaviours associated with hostile sexism naturally manifest and are responded to by potential female partners, is one way to assess whether the aggression and assertiveness associated with men's hostile sexism restricts men from establishing and maintaining intimate relationships with women.

Investigating whether lower perceived power mediates the relationship between men's hostile sexism and aggression towards women outside of romantic relationships is also needed to further clarify the role of perceived power. Indeed, a perceived lack of power is (at least implicitly) a key element of theoretical rationales for men's animosity towards women. For example, Glick and colleagues (1997) argue that men who endorse hostile sexism express animosity toward feminists and career women because they are likely to be perceived as challenging men's societal power. Other research suggests that men who endorse hostile sexism are more accepting of sexual aggression when women decline men's sexual advances, as this is believed to undermine men's power and control (Masser, Viki, & Power, 2006; Yamawaki, 2007; Yamawaki, Darby, & Queiroz, 2007). Moreover, consistent with our findings that a perceived lack of power, rather than greater desires for power, underlie the hostile-sexism aggression link, recent work demonstrates that priming men with the concept of male structural power had little impact on the connection between hostile sexism and sexual harassment (Diehl, Rees, & Bohner, 2018). These studies, in conjunction with the present research, suggest that manipulating threats to men's felt personal power, versus societal power or greater desires for power, would offer an important test of the mechanism

that I hypothesise is central to the aggression associated with men's hostile sexism across different domains.

VI. Informing Interventions: Reducing the Aggression Associated with Men's Hostile Sexism

The need to reduce the aggression associated with men's hostile sexism is particularly relevant in the context of New Zealand where the majority of the current research was conducted. New Zealand has one of the highest rates of intimate partner violence in the OECD, and this alarming rate is not improving (see Crichton-Hill, 2010; Fanslow & Robinson, 2004; Garcia-Moreno et al., 2006; Women's Refuge, 2015). Partner aggression and violence is recognised as a significant public health problem (see McCarthy, Mehta, & Haberland, 2018; Roberts et al., 1998) and has substantial social and economic costs to both individuals facing aggression and the wider community (see Mitchell, 2011).[22] Moreover, there is growing consensus that reducing gender-based prejudice is central to reducing gender-based aggression and violence (Gender Equal NZ, 2017; McLaren, 2010). Indeed, many social-level interventions focus on the gender-related attitudes that foster specific types of gender-based violence. For examine, the White Ribbon campaign aims to end men's violence towards women by encouraging men to "show they respect women" and "lead by example" (White Ribbon, 2018). A key feature of several gender-based violence campaigns is the emphasis on "respectful relationships" and highlighting that respect is earnt by treating others' in a respectful way, rather than being entitled to respect because of an individual's masculinity, power, or gender (McLaren, 2010; Pritchard, Pryor, & Murphy, 2007; also see White Ribbon, 2018).

[22] Detailing the numerous ways in which partner aggression and violence harms individuals and has wider costs related to national development, health, and economy is outside the scope of this thesis. However, the papers listed in this section provide a thorough overview of these important costs.

The relationship processes and dynamics outlined in this research provide the breeding ground for more serious relationship violence. Although Chapters Two and Three do not assess severe forms of domestic violence, the dyadic processes discussed across these chapters provide important insights into how and why violent relationship behaviour may emerge. While the verbal and psychological forms of aggression assessed across studies can be as psychologically harmful as physical forms of aggression (Arriaga & Schkeryantz, 2015; Follingstad et al., 1990), they also precede, and increase the risk of, more serious physical aggression (Murphy & O'Leary, 1989). Intervening prior to the escalation to physical violence is an important way forward in helping to promote and sustain healthy relationships, stopping damaging process that might escalate, and ensuring that partners are motivated and able to produce necessary changes. Below I highlight the ways this research can inform interventions to reduce relationship aggression before this behaviour and communication becomes even more severe.

Helping to prevent relationship aggression is important for the health and stability of intimate relationships and couple members' well-being. Hundreds of studies show that aggressive behaviour and hostile and critical communication within intimate relationships undermines relationship satisfaction and risks relationship dissolution (for reviews, see Gottman & Notarius, 2000; Karney & Bradbury, 1995; Weiss & Heyman, 1997). Although there are various reasons aggression and hostile communication undermine intimate relationships, the most widely accepted explanation–that is relevant to the processes discussed across this chapter–is that hostile and aggressive communication impedes problem solving by evoking destructive affective and behavioural responses from partners, including aggression and defensive withdrawal (see Christensen & Heavey, 1990; Heavey et al., 1995), all of which erode relationship quality. Indeed, recent longitudinal research shows that decreases (vs. increases) in aggression are beneficial (vs. costly) because increased

aggression promotes greater stress and more hostile communication over time (Hammett, Karney & Bradbury, 2018).

The current research provides some tangible targets for interventions aimed at reducing aggression within heterosexual relationships. Chapter Two highlights that men who endorse hostile sexism behave aggressively towards their partners when they perceive their partners is less committed to the relationship (or partners *actually are* less committed). Importantly, viewing partners as not committed to the relationship is likely to amplify the dependence and power-related concerns associated with men's hostile sexism as lower partner commitment increases the risks of dependence (see Chapter Two). Chapter Three demonstrated that the aggression associated with men's hostile sexism occurs because their power concerns lead to a perceived lack of relationship power rather than (a) greater desires for power, (b) wanting to have power over women, or (c) a more general orientation towards dominance and violence. Moreover, the lower perceptions of power associated with men's hostile sexism were biased; men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism underestimated the power they had in their relationships. Thus, this research suggests that interventions should target (1) concerns about dependence, and (2) the threat of losing power (as opposed to general desires for dominance) to reduce the aggression associated with men's hostile sexism. Indeed, given that these perceptions of lower power were biased, targeting the perceived threat of interdependence within relationship contexts, may be particularly useful in helping reduce the aggression associated with men's hostile sexism.

Unfortunately, despite the importance of developing ways to enhance understanding of dependence and power in intimate relationships, this may be difficult to do. Researchers ought to be careful when highlighting men's and women's intimate interdependence not to reinforce central fears of hostile sexism: that intimate relationships are a context where women might exploit, manipulate, and hurt men. Highlighting that women are *similarly*

vulnerable within relationships and face constrained power due to intimate interdependence, is essential when trying to increase awareness and understanding of dependence and power in intimate relationships. One way to avoid perpetuating the threat of dependence is to incorporate information regarding intimate interdependence into existing interventions so individuals are provided with a more comprehensive understanding of why and how people feel low power in intimate contexts, and how damaging responses can arise from these feelings. Such information is well-suited to be incorporated into initiatives like de Lumus and colleagues' (2014) intervention which covers content related to the social construction of gender, the four pillars of gender-based power (see Pratto & Walker, 2004), ambivalent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996), social dominance (Sidanius et al., 2004), and conflicting masculinities (see Ferrer, & Bosch, 2016; Vescio et al., 2010). Indeed, this comprehensive scientific-based, cross-national, intervention targeting young university-based professionals was shown to reduce benevolent and hostile sexism, essentialist views, system-justifying and homophobic beliefs, and increase support for collective action (see de Lemus et al, 2014, also see Navarro et al., 2011). Accordingly, establishing how information about how intimate interdependence constrains individual's power can be incorporated into established interventions is an important next step.

Providing early education about how gender and relationship-related beliefs and expectations impact the way people perceive and experience their intimate relationships is also an important direction for future work. Targetting adolescence sexist attitudes appears especially important. Indeed, numerous studies show that adolescence endorse sexist attitudes (Carrera-Fernández, Lameiras-Fernández, Rodríguez-Castro, & Vallejo-Medina, 2013; Chahín-Pinzón & Briñez, 2015). Acoss cultures, adolesences who hold more traditional sexual role ideology are more accepting of the use of physical violence by men towards women (Fernández-Fuertes, Carcedo, Orgaz, & Fuertes, 2018; Garaigordobil & Aliri, 2013,

Pozo, Martos & Alonso, 2016; Reyes et al., 2016), and report greater aggression towards women (Pazos, Oliva, & Hernando, 2014; Rodríguez-Domínguez et al., 2017; Shen, Chiu, & Gao, 2012). This growing body of research highlights the need to prevent and intervene in reducing sexist attitudes in adolescent populations (see Ramiro-Sánchez et al., 2018), and target adolescents' understanding of dependence within relationships, in particular, adolescence men's need for power and control (see Fernández-Fuertes et al., 2018). Thus, incorporating information about depenence, power, and aggression into programmes targetting young adolesence is an important avenue for future work.

Utilising experimental designs to inform interventions is also a vital area for future research. Experimental designs are critical for understanding how to target and reduce sexist attitudes, and the negative consequences of such attitudes. Indeed, recent work demonstrates that exposure to sexual economics theory, which argues that women exchange sex for men's resources (see Baumeister & Vohs, 2004), promotes a hostile view of heterosexual relationships (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2017). However, reading a critique of sexual exchange theory which highlighted gender similarity, mutual respect, and attraction as key components of heterosexual intimacy counteracted the consequences of exposure to sexual economics theory. Learning from this work, emphasising the similarities across men and women's in terms of their experiences of intimate interdependence may be a useful tool to reduce the fears of dependence that are central to men's hostile sexism.

Lastly, the results across chapters also highlight that counsellors and therapists working with heterosexual couples should be concerned with how broader attitudes and ideologies can impact aggressive behaviour within intimate relationships and shape the types of problems that couples face. Given that broader gender-based attitudes bias perceptions within intimate contexts and in turn impact relationship behaviour, discussing how people perceive power-related dynamics within relationships may inform how couple members

understand one another's behaviour. Couple members openly discussing gender-related beliefs and expectations may be an important step to helping couples deal with the increased number and seriousness of difficulties associated with men's hostile sexism, which as the results here suggest, will improve both women's and men's relationship satisfaction and commitment.

Further Extensions: Benevolent Sexism, Power, Aggression, and Relationship Problems

The current research contributes to the distinction between hostile versus benevolent sexist attitudes. A fundamental principle of Ambivalent Sexism Theory is that hostile and benevolent sexism operate differently within intimate relationships (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Rudman & Glick, 2008). In contrast to hostile sexism, which is believed to impede men's ability to fulfil their relational needs, benevolent sexism is theorised to foster heterosexual cooperation and intimacy in intimate relationships (Glick & Fiske, 1996, also see Hammond & Overall., 2017; Overall et al, 2011). Indeed, men's benevolent sexism was *not* associated with greater relationship aggression across any of the six studies across Chapters Two and Three, and was *not* associated with female partners experiencing increased problems in their relationship. Furthermore, the types of problems associated with male partners' endorsement of benevolent sexism were distinct from the problems associated with male partners' endorsement of hostile sexism (see Chapter Four Appendix for details). Male partners' hostile sexism was associated with problems relating to power dynamics, jealousy, and serious problems involving gender-role conflict and the three A's (abuse, affairs, addiction). In contrast, male partners' benevolent sexism was associated with women experiencing problems with relationship connection/communication, and finances, employment and family. Accordingly, the power-based dynamics that I argue produce aggression and relationship problems appear to be specific to hostile sexism.

Nevertheless, there were some interesting, albeit inconsistent, effects relating to men's and women's benevolent sexism across studies. In two of the four studies in Chapter Three, women who more strongly endorsed benevolent sexism perceived lower relationship power, but this pattern was not reliable across studies (see meta-analysis reported in Footnote 8). These inconsistent associations are interesting given that Ambivalent Sexism Theory claims one of the key reasons benevolent sexism is appealing is because of the dyadic power these attitudes afford women within relationships, benefits which offset the costs of women having relatively lower power outside of the home (see Glick & Fiske, 1996; Overall & Hammond, 2018; Jackman, 1994, also see Vial & Napier, 2017). Yet, a growing body of work supports that women's benevolent sexism is associated with a range of processes that undermine women's relationship power, including women forgoing independence, ambition, and personal success in favour of investing in relationships (see Rudman & Heppen, 2003; Moya et al., 2007), which serves to amplify relational dependence, and thus will likely reduce perceived power (Overall & Hammond, 2018). Given their sacrifices for their relationships, and their heightened dissatisfaction when their relationships do not live up to their lofty expectations (Hammond & Overall, 2014; Overall et al., 2011), women who more strongly endorse benevolent sexism should behave more negatively and be less satisfied when they do not occupy the privileged position of power that benevolent sexism promises.

Similarly, men who more strongly endorse benevolent sexism behave in covert ways that reinforce men's social power. For example, men who endorse benevolent sexism are more likely to take over their female partners' goal pursuits by providing plans and solutions while ignoring their partners' own abilities to strive and achieve their goals, which leads partners to feel less competent (Hammond & Overall, 2015; also see Shnabel et al., 2016). Perhaps, then, benevolent sexism is best understood to promote processes which both affords *and* undermines women's power in intimate relationships, resulting in an overall null

association between women's benevolent sexism and relationship power. These contextual effects, and the ways in which relationship level power and societal level power may intersect or trade-off, are important avenues for future investigation.

Another way to better understand how benevolent sexism may subtly reinforce men's power is to test whether men's benevolent sexism promotes more patronising and autonomy-limiting behaviours towards children within familial contexts. I expect parents endorsement of benevolent sexism to promote more caring yet patronising behaviours towards daughters, and more autonomy-enabling behaviours towards sons. Indeed, recent work supports that parent's sexist attitudes powerfully impact their children's outcomes and endorsement of sexist attitudes. For example, mothers' and fathers' benevolent sexism is negatively associated with daughters' academic performance and goals (see Montañés et al 2012), fathers' benevolent sexism is also negatively associated with daughters' self-esteem (Ashrah, 2015), and fathers perceived communication about gender predicts their sons' sexist attitudes (Klann, Wong, & Rydell, 2018). Yet, no prior work has examined how parents' sexist attitudes impact how they *behave* towards their young daughters versus sons within familial interactions, which over time should impact the qualities and characteristics that their children prioritise and develop. Thus, examining how sexist attitudes promote differential treatment and behaviour towards sons and daughters is a particularly important area for future research.

Exploring whether the aggression associated with male partners' hostile sexism encourages women to adopt benevolent sexism is another vital area for future research. Indeed, in societies where men more strongly endorse hostile sexism women show stronger endorsement of benevolent sexism, presumably to gain the protection that benevolent sexism offers (Glick et al. 2000; 2004). Experimental research also demonstrates that women who are told that men strongly endorse hostile sexism show greater endorsement of benevolent

sexism compared to a control group (Fischer, 2006). This suggests that women endorse benevolent sexism out of self-protective motives which is driven by perceived danger from men, as well as societal structures and attitudes that amplify this danger. However, research is yet to study this process within intimate relationships. Perhaps one of the reasons women adopt benevolent sexism is to protect themselves against their male partner's aggression. Following couples longitudinally and modelling the extent to which the aggression associated with men's hostile sexism uniquely predicts women's benevolent sexism would shed light on how societal-level protection processes function similarly within intimate relationships.

Ambivalent Sexism Theory: Challenges Moving Forward

Ambivalent Sexism Theory (Glick & Fisk, 1996) has undoubtedly transformed our understanding of the function, expression, and consequences of sexist attitudes. Yet, Ambivalent Sexism Theory, and sexism research more generally, face several challenges moving forward. For example, changes within contemporary Western society, such as double income families and the increased encouragement of female independence and agency (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000, 2001; Loo & Thorpe, 1998; Gill, 2003), means traditional gender role structure that underpin and facilitate sexist attitudes are being increasingly challenged. Societal changes also mean that sexist attitudes are not just directed towards women, but sexism directed towards men is becoming increasingly important to examine (see Connor et al., 2017). In addition, increasing diversity in sexual identities and types of relationships (see Greaves et al., 2017) means that understanding sexist attitudes and gender-based prejudice for people whose sexual orientation or relationships do not confirm to traditional gender roles is now paramount. Moreover, there is growing awareness that intersecting identities mean people experience the world in vastly different ways, including how they understand gender-relations and experience gender-based prejudice (see Goff & Kahn, 2013), revealing that we need to broaden our approach to studying gender inequality.

Accordingly, in this final section, I briefly highlight these broader issues that are important for future sexism and close relationship research to address.

Ambivalent Sexism towards Men. The current research focused specifically on sexist attitudes towards *women*. But sexist attitudes towards men do exist. The Ambivalence toward Men Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1999) measures hostility toward men, which assumes men's greater power whilst expressing antipathy towards it. Hostile sexism towards men characterises men as controlling, condescending, likely to sexually harass, and resistant to viewing women as equals (Glick & Whitehead, 2010). Ambivalent sexism toward men has been found to be positively associated with ambivalent sexism toward women, arises from the same structural factors, and predicts national-level gender inequality (Glick & Fiske 1999; Glick et al, 2004).

Given that hostility towards men involves antipathy towards men, would similar results emerge for female partners who endorse hostile attitudes towards men (i.e. increased aggression and greater relationship problems)? No. Women's hostility towards men is unlikely to be associated with aggression towards male partners for two reasons. First, women's aggression violates traditional gender role norms (see Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1997), and given the positive association between ambivalent sexism towards men and women, women who endorse hostility towards men should be concerned about maintaining traditional gender role norms. Second, hostility towards men represents an essentialist view that men are designed for, and oriented towards, dominance (see Glick et al, 2004; Glick & Whitehead, 2010), which should deter women from aggressing towards male partners and might be related to lower desires for power in intimate contexts (similar to women's endorsement of hostile sexism towards women). Indeed, Glick and colleagues (2010) note that hostility towards men expresses negativity toward men who are characterised in stereotypically masculine ways (e.g., arrogant, competitive, dominant), and show that hostility towards men

relates to the perceived stability of gender hierarchy. Although the processes assessed across this thesis are likely to be specific to hostile attitudes towards women (and not hostile attitudes towards men) exploring the costs associated with hostile attitudes towards men is an important direction for future research.

Heterosexuality and Sexist Attitudes. The current research focused specifically on heterosexual intimate relationships. Accordingly, the current results should not be generalised to same-gender or queer relationships (i.e., Gay, Lesbian or Bisexual). It remains unclear whether similar processes would occur across these and other relationships. Sadly, there is a distinct lack of research examining how individuals' sexual orientation and identification impacts their endorsement of hostile and benevolent sexism. This is in part because Ambivalent Sexism Theory specifically applies to understanding how heterosexuality underpins sexist attitudes. Indeed, Glick and Fiske (1996, pp. 293) state that "Heterosexuality is, undoubtedly, one of the most powerful sources of men's ambivalence towards women." To date only one paper has explicitly examined sexist attitudes and sexual orientation (gay/lesbian, bisexual, and heterosexual individuals; Cowie, Greaves, & Sibley, under review). This recent research, testing mean differences in a nationally representative sample, showed that men who identified as gay endorsed hostile sexism at similar levels compared to heterosexual men. Moreover, gay/lesbian and bisexual people more weakly endorsed benevolent sexism than heterosexual men and women. This research is consistent with prior work that argues gay men are equally misogynistic compared to heterosexual men (Johnson & Samdahl, 2005), view women as opposing male interests and power, and thus perceive women as threatening (Taywaditep, 2002; Ward, 2000). Moreover, these findings also support a core tenant of Ambivalent Sexism Theory that a central reason men and women endorse benevolent sexism is because these attitudes facilitate heterosexual intimacy. Indeed, prior work shows that women endorse benevolent sexism when the benefits of these attitudes

are made readily available to them (see Becker, 2001; Hammond et al., 2016), including the promise that they will be revered and cared for by devoted male partners (Cross et al., 2016).

Although these findings generally align with the notion that heterosexual intimacy is an important driver of men's and women's benevolent sexism, testing mean level differences provides limited information about the reasons people endorse sexist attitudes. Another approach to assessing difference across sexism and sexual orientation that would provide a stronger theoretical test is to assess measurement invariance across different groups. That is, do individuals who identify as gay/lesbian versus heterosexual answer the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory in substantially different ways? I expect the patterns of measurement to be fundamentally different across individuals who identify as gay/lesbian versus heterosexual, in part because the heterosexual intimacy that underpins benevolent sexism (one of three sub-factors) is not relevant for men and women involved in same-sex reationships, which should influence mean differences in sexist attitudes. Restricting the item loadings to equality across gay/lesbian versus heterosexual groups (i.e. testing metric invariance) should provide important information regarding the extent to which the construct of benevolent sexism is similar across gay/lesbian and heterosexual populations. This test will also provide a good test of the fundamental premise that heterosexual intimacy is central to the appeal of benevolent sexism, and how interdependence within intimate relationships may exacerbate hostile sexism.

Ambivalent Sexism Theory and Intersectionality. Intersectionality represents another complication in confronting and reducing sexism. An increasingly important critique of Ambivalent Sexism Theory, and the state of current sexism research more generally, is that it does not take into account the nuanced and varied ways in which sexist attitudes are expressed and understood across different identities. Intersectionality refers to the intersection and interaction of multiple identities and experiences of exclusion and

subordination (Crenshaw, 1989; Davis, 2008). Intersectionality describes how identities interact, and how experiences related to one identity (e.g., gender) shape experiences related to another identity (e.g., race or ethnicity; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Warner, 2008; Woods- Giscombé & Lobel, 2008). Indeed, gender interacts with multiple identities including class, race, ethnicity, and sexuality. People do not experience these identities in isolation but in *combination* (Bowleg, 2008). Treating sexism and racism as if they occur separately may have help researchers isolate the consequences of specific identities, such as being a women or a person of color. But by viewing gender and race as separate identities, we fail to consider intersectionality: the context of one's social identity in relation to other social identities that an individual possesses (Remedios, 2015; Warner, 2008). This is important because intersectionality research shows that the multiple social identities that people embody powerfully influence people's beliefs about, and experiences of, gender, and therefore sexism (Cole, 2009; Shields, 2008, also see Becker, Zawadzki, & Shields, 2014).

The rise of Intersectionality Theory (Crenshaw, 1989) in the last decade has transformed current understanding of disadvantage, discrimination, oppression, and exclusion (see McCall, 2005). Adopting an intersectional approach to studying sexist attitudes will reveal novel directions for theory and research, but perhaps more notably, *ignoring* intersectionality *deprives* theory and research, leads to inaccurate overgeneralisations, and slows the rate of progress in achieving gender equality. Intersectionality theorists encourage social psychologists to consider how intersectional approaches to psychology can challenge fundamental assumptions about psychological processes and methodologies (see Goff et al., 2008; Goff & Kahn, 2013; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Sesko & Biernat, 2010; Shields 2008). Cole (2009) notes three ways intersectional approaches advance current thinking, and encourages psychologists and researchers to ask three questions; "Who is included within a category?" "What role does inequality play?" "Where are there similarities?" (p. 170). In

terms of who is included, sexism research has disproportionately studied able-bodied, heterosexual, young, middle-class, Pākehā/European women. In terms of the role of inequality, sexism research ought to consider how priviledged social identities impact how people experience, and confront, sexism (see Becker et al., 2014; Glick, 2004). In terms of similarities, an intersectional approach may help reveal surprising similarities between groups that are typically not associated. For instance, Glick (2004) notes similarities between Black women and White men as both are socially permitted to display agentic and assertive behaviour (see Livingston, Rosette, & Washington, 2012), whereas White women and Black men are proscribed from displaying dominance (Hall et al., 2014).

By using what sociologist McCall (2005) termed a "categorical approach" to intersectionality, future research may benefit from considering how well-established effects might differ depending on multiple identities. However, when doing so, social psychologists need to be careful not to reduce the importance of intersectionality to a mere "methodological challenge" (Shields, 2008, pg. 301) or apply a long list of qualifying categorical combinations (see Bowleg, 2008; Glick, 2014; Remedios, Snyder & Lizza, 2016; Warner, 2008). Instead, intersectionality should be used as an analytic tool to explore how similar social and historical processes cut across different identity groups. In this way, understanding the commonalities of *processes* across groups (i.e., oppression and marginalisation) informs how we understand differences and similarities across different identities (i.e. gender and ethnicity). Although the size of the samples presented across this thesis prevented us from having the power to assess differences across different ethnic, class, or socio-economic groups, it is vital to consider how intersecting identities may impact the effects presented here as well as other effects that have been established in the wider sexism literature. Incorporating intersectionality into sexism research is not without its challenges (see Cole, 2008; Sheilds, 2008; Becker et al., 2014), and will likely involve expanding research projects

and samples, and incorporating multiple theories and multi-disciplinary collaborations (e.g., applying feminist scholarship to quantitative sexism research). However, these challenges are vital to address. Incorporating intersectionality into quantitative sexism research is an important, and somewhat urgent, contemporary challenge to the future research on sexism research.

Final Conclusions

The research presented in this thesis highlights the value of taking a dyadic-based, interdependence perspective to examine how sexist attitudes harm women and men. The primary aim of this thesis was to examine the costs associated with men's hostile sexism. The research presented here provides novel insight to understanding when and why men's hostile sexism leads to relationship aggression, and how men's hostile attitudes towards women negatively impact women's experiences within intimate relationships. Chapters Two and Three demonstrates that dependence and power are important elements that help explain when and why men's hostile sexism is associated with aggression towards female partners. Men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism only enact aggression when they are particularly vulnerable to being hurt, exploited or manipulated by their female partners (Chapter Two). Moreover, concerns about maintaining and protecting men's power are central to why men's hostile sexism impacts perceptions and behaviour within intimate relationships (Chapter Three). Men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism perceived themselves to have lower relationship power, and these lower perceptions of power predicted greater aggression toward female intimate partners. Moreover, men's hostile sexism also has costs for female partners that extend beyond aggressive behaviour (Chapter Four). Female partners of men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism experienced more severe problems across diverse domains, and the problems women faced were theoretically tied to the concerns underpinning hostile sexism.

Taken together, the results across the seven studies presented in this thesis enrich understanding of how overtly antagonistic and aggressive attitudes about women infiltrate intimate relationships and harm women (and men). These results add to an increasing body of work that illustrates the value of examining how sexist attitudes shape intimate heterosexual relationships in ways that provide insight into how sexist attitudes affect women and men and create processes that likely uphold gender inequality. The results also pave the way for future research examining how processes within intimate relationships likely explain the functioning of sexist attitudes across social domains, including intimate, familial, and workplace contexts. This discussion also highlights the challenges that face the field, including (1) acknowledging how women's sexist attitudes shape relationship and personal wellbeing and ultimately gender inequality, (2) examining more carefully how social psychological research can be applied to reduce aggression and sexist attitudes, and (3) considering how these important processes are apparent, different, or perhaps less relevant, to different groups in society.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 - Chapter Two Supplemental Materials

In these Supplemental Materials, we present (1) sample information, (2) additional information regarding the aggression measures, (3) the effects of benevolent sexism, (4) we report additional analyses that were conducted to test 3-way interactions between hostile sexism, partners' commitment, and own commitment (see Figure SM1.1), and (5) provide example of synatx used for the primary analyses reported in Chapter Two.

1. **Sample Information (Studies 1 and 2)**

   Table SM1.1. Demographic Information Across Studies 1 and 2.

2. **Measures of Aggression**

3. **Effects of Benevolent Sexism**

4. **Additional Analyses**

   Partner Reports of Aggression (Study 1)

   Interactions between Partners' Commitment and Own Commitment (Studies 1 and 2)

   Figure SM1.1. The moderating effect of men's own commitment on the association between hostile sexism and perceptions of the partners' commitment on aggressive communication during couples' conflict discussions (Study 2).

5. **Examples of Syntax used for Primary Analyses**

1. Sample Information (Studies 1 and 2)

Study 1. Dyadic daily diary studies are time and resource intensive. This has two implications. First, the sample size obtained is often constrained by funding and participant compliance, although repeated measures offer a high powered design. Second, such resource intensive dyadic studies are often designed to examine multiple, independent processes (as is necessary and appropriate; see APA manual, p. 14). The sample size of this study was determined based on prior research underpinning the multiple aims of this study (see below), including reliable gender differences in the effects of sexist attitudes. We aimed (and received funding) to collect 80 couples. Of the 82 couples who began the study, 9 couples did not complete the diary portion of the research, leaving a sample of 73 couples (total $N = 146$). This sample has been used in two prior papers, but the links between sexist attitudes, relationship commitment and daily aggression have not been explored or reported previously. First, Overall et al (2015; Study 2B) used these diary data to examine the links between attachment insecurity, biased perceptions of partners' emotions, and defensive behaviours, which was a broader index of damaging responses including aggressive behaviours as in the current research as well as additional items specifically relevant to the withdrawal and defensive strategies associated with attachment avoidance (e.g., "*I withdrew from my partner and did my own thing*"). The aims, hypotheses, analyses, specific measures, and results presented in this article that focused on hostile sexism, partner commitment and daily aggression are entirely separate from those in Overall et al. (2015). Second, Girme, Overall, Simpson, and Fletcher (2015) used this sample to examine the links between partner support, distress and distancing by highly avoidant individuals. None of the diary items or measures used in the current research overlap, and the support and attachment processes examined by Girme et al. (2015) have no connection to the focus and aims of the paper presented in

Chapter Two. In sum, the aims, predictions and analyses presented here are completely novel and independent of these prior papers that focused on attachment insecurity.

Study 2. As in Study 1, this resource intensive behavioural observation study was designed for multiple aims (see below). The target sample size was for 90 couples, which balanced funding received with the power needed to detect small actor and partner effect sizes given the diverse aims of the project (current procedures indicate this sample size has power > .95 to detect small actor and partner effect sizes; Ackerman et al., 2016). A principal aim of this study was to investigate the links between sexist attitudes and individual's resistance to influence during relationship conflict (Overall et al., 2011). Accordingly, there are two measures that overlap between Chapter Two and Overall et al. (2011). First, the sexist attitudes measure is the same in both studies. Second, Overall et al. (2011) also gathered observer ratings of hostile communication that incorporated the aggressive behaviours we focus on in Chapter Two and other more soft, positive communication behaviours (e.g., accommodation, affection) that were predicted to be related to another form of sexist attitudes labelled benevolent sexism (see additional analyses on page 4). We focus specifically on the ratings of aggressive behaviour that: (1) fit the definition of psychological aggression that is the focus of this study (communication that is intended, or can be reasonably perceived as intended, to hurt partners and cause psychological pain; Gelles & Straus, 1979; Straus, 1979), and thus (2) have been specifically shown to have harmful and detrimental consequences for partners (Gottman, 1998; Karney & Bradbury, 1995). Finally, although Overall et al. (2011) reported that hostile sexism was associated with the broader index of hostile communication they used, the current research extends their findings by demonstrating that men who endorse hostile sexism are not always aggressive toward their partners even in conflict situations, but instead respond aggressively when their partners are low, or perceived to be low, in relationship commitment.

Table SMI.1 provides detailed information about the demographics of the samples in Chapter Two.

Table SM1.1. Demographic Information Across Studies 1 and 2.

	Study 1	**Study 2**
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*
N Couples	73	98
Age (years)	23.53 (6.83)	21.90 (3.96)
Relationship Length (years)	3.20 (3.56)	2.66 (2.16)
Relationship Status		
Steady	9.6%	6.6%
Serious	43.8%	42.3%
Living Together	32.9%	41.2%
Married	13.7%	9.9%
Ethnicity		
New Zealand European	82.1%	47%
Maori	0.7%	5%
Pacifika	0.7%	6%
Asian	2.1%	18%
Indian	-	6%
European (non-NZ)	9.0%	9%
Other (Please specify)	5.5%	9%
Employment		
Student (part-time)	5.5%	3.3%
Student (full-time)	72.6%	73.1%
Employed (part-time)	4.8%	1.6%
Employed (full-time)	15.8%	20.3%
Unemployed	1.4%	1.6%
Education		
Postgraduate Qualification	5.5%	7.2%
Tertiary Qualification	33.6%	30.9%
Higher School Certificate/Bursary	32.9%	48.1%
School Certificate	17.8%	7.7%
Other (Please specify)	10.3%	6.1%
Personal Annual Income		
Less than $10,000	-	54.1%
$11-20,000	-	21.0%
$21-30,000	-	6.6%
$31-40,000	-	6.6%
$41-50,000	-	7.2%
$51-60,000	-	2.8%
$61-70,000	-	1.1%
$71-80,000		0%
More than $81,000	-	0.6%

Note: Study 1 did not include measures of Peronal Annual Income and did not include “Indian” as an option for ethnicity.

2. Measures of Aggression

Study 1. Our measure of aggression in Study 1 incorporated ratings of aggressive behaviour and aggressive feelings toward the partner (i.e., anger). This follows previous assessments of aggression and aggressive motives (Finkel et al., 2012; Overall et al., 2016). In particular, partner-oriented aggressive feelings of anger are strongly linked with antagonistic motivations and hostile behaviour (Fitness & Fletcher, 1993; Lemay, Overall & Clark, 2012; also see Fischer & Roseman, 2007) and thus including ratings of anger helps ensure our index of aggressive responses captures aggressive and antagonistic motivations toward the partner (e.g., Fitness & Fletcher, 1993; Lemay et al., 2012; also see Fischer & Roseman, 2007). Nonetheless, using the behavioural items and anger as separate dependent variables produced similar results. The interaction between hostile sexism and perceived partner commitment significantly predicted aggressive behavioural responses (t = -2.40, p = .019) and feelings of anger (t = -3.30, p = .001) toward the partner, and decomposing the interactions produced patterns identical to those shown in Figure 2.1, Panel A. The same patterns also emerged when modeling the interaction between hostile sexism and partners' reported commitment on aggressive behaviours (t = -2.51, p = .014) and feelings of anger (t = -1.64, p = .11), despite the latter effect not being statistically significant at the .05 level.

Study 2. Discussions of relationship problems involves both partners trying to influence and resist influence, regardless of who identified the topic (Christensen & Heavey, 1990; Gottman, 1998). Accordingly, men's hostile sexism has been associated with aggressive communication during discussions of topics that men identify as a relationship problem as well as discussions of topics identified by the partner as a relationship problem (Overall et al., 2011). Moreover, aggressive communication was highly correlated across the two discussions (r = .72 for men and .75 for women), and so we assessed aggression by averaging aggressive communication across the two discussions. To ensure there were no

differences across the two discussions, we also ran additional models nesting each discussion within person and couple, and added the main and interaction effects of discussion topic (self-identified versus partner-identified topic) into models testing the interactive effects of hostile sexism and partner commitment on aggressive communication. The interactions shown in Figure 2.2 did not differ across discussions (t = -1.33, p = .18 for perceptions of partner's commitment; t = 0.52, p = .60 for partner's reported commitment).

3. Effects of Benevolent Sexism

To demonstrate that the predicted effects were specific to hostile sexism rather than benevolent sexism, we measured and controlled for participants' endorsement of benevolent sexism in all analyses. Benevolent sexism encompasses subjectively positive, yet patronizing, attitudes towards women (e.g., "*Women should be cherished and protected by men*"; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Benevolent sexism prescribes women should be cherished for conforming to traditional relationship roles, but it does not encompass fears of relationship dependence or aggressive power-sustaining attitudes toward women.

Study 1. As predicted, men's benevolent sexism did not predict men's aggression (B = .00, t = 0.05, p = .96) or interact with perceptions of partners' commitment (B = -.05, t = 0.44, p = .66) or partners' reported commitment (B = -.03, t = -0.19, p = .84). Moreover, the moderating effect of perceived partner's commitment (B = -.20, t = -2.91, p = .003), and partner's reported commitment (B = -.18, t = -2.38, p = .020), on the association between hostile sexism and daily aggression remained significant, and demonstrated the same pattern, when benevolent sexism was not included in the model.

Study 2. Similar to Study 1, men's benevolent sexism did not predict aggression (B = -.05, t = -0.37, p = .72) or interact with perceptions of partner's commitment (B = .28, t = 1.25, p = .22) or partner's reported commitment (B = -.08, t = -0.40, p = .69). The interaction effects between hostile sexism and perceived partner's commitment (B = -.59, t = -3.10, p =

.005), or partner's reported commitment (B = -.41, t = -1.89, p = .062), and associated simple effects shown in Figure 2, demonstrated the same pattern when the main and interaction effects of benevolent sexism were not included in the model.

4. Additional Analyses

This section presents additional analyses and associated conclusions examining (a) partners perceptions of aggression in Study 1, and (b) potential interactions between partners' and own commitment in both studies.

Partner Reports of Aggression (Study 1)

Each day participants also rated their perceptions of their partner's daily aggression ("*My partner was critical or unpleasant toward me*" and "*My partner acted in a hurtful way toward me*") and anger ("*My partner felt angry at me*"). This allowed us to examine whether the greater daily aggression reported by men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism when men perceived their partners to be low in commitment was also perceived by their female partners. On the one hand, we thought these analyses could provide additional validation of the daily self-reported aggression assessed in Study 1. On the other hand, we also thought that men's reported aggression would provide a stronger indication of their *intention* to be aggressive and hurtful toward the partner. Thus, as perceptions of partners' commitment are a stronger indicator of the perceived vulnerability of dependence and risk of exploitation than are partners' actual reports of commitment, males' reports of their daily aggression might better capture the intended hurtful, critical and aggressive nature of their behaviour during daily life that may not be fully perceived by their female partners.

For these additional analyses, we reran the primary analyses presented in Table 2.2 replacing men's reports of their daily aggression with their female partners' perceptions of men's daily aggression. The two-way interactions between hostile sexism and (a) perceptions of partners' commitment (B = .11, t = 0.94, p = .35) and (b) partners' reported commitment

(B = .11, t = 0.94, p = .32) were not significant. These results could indicate that men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism were reporting greater hostile intentions or desires to aggress rather than actually enacting greater aggressive behaviour, or the results could be due to female partners not noticing or perceiving the behaviour of men who endorsed hostile sexism as more aggressive in the context of their day-to-day interactions. Importantly, the limitation of self-reports, and the associated potential that the effects in Table 2.2 and Figure 2.1 represented men's desires and intentions to aggress (rather than the enactment of aggressive behaviour), was overcome in Study 2 which involved independent coders rating the aggressive communication observed within couples' actual conflict interactions. The results of Study 2 replicated men's reports of daily aggression in Study 1 providing good evidence that men who strongly endorse hostile sexism are more likely to behave more aggressively when their partner is perceived to be, or reports being, less committed.

Interactions between Partners' Commitment and Own Commitment (Studies 1 and 2)

We predicted that men high in hostile sexism would be aggressive when partners were low in commitment because low partner commitment signals that men are vulnerable to the potential hurt, rejection and exploitation that relationship dependence risks. An additional possibility is that the aggression-inducing effects of low partner commitment is greatest when men high in hostile sexism are also highly committed, and thus men's relative level of dependence and the hurt of any partner rejection or exploitation is greatest. Indeed, the level of relationship dependence is often assessed according to the *principle of least interest* (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978; Waller & Hill, 1951), which proposes that the couple member who is less invested in the relationship, and thus less affected by their partners' actions, possesses relatively greater relationship power to get what they want in relationships. In contrast, the person who is more invested is more heavily dependent on their partner's actions and less able to get their needs met because they do not have as much sway over the partner's desired

outcomes (also see Sprecher, Schmeeckle, & Felmlee, 2006; Simpson et al., 2013). Thus, in both studies we tested the possibility that the effects of low partner commitment would be magnified when men who were high in hostile sexism were more highly committed.

We reran the analyses presented in Table 2.2 and 2.4 but added in (1) the main and interaction effect of own commitment, (2) the interaction between perception of partners' commitment (or partners' reported commitment) and own commitment, and (3) the 3-way interaction between hostile sexism, perception of partners' commitment (or partners' reported commitment) and own commitment. The 3-way interaction tests whether the aggression-inducing effects of low perceived partner commitment (or low partners' reported commitment) demonstrated in Figure 2.1 and 2.2 of the manuscript occur more strongly when men who are high in hostile sexism are high in commitment.

Across all 4 analyses the three-way interactions were not significant, and the 3-way interactions did not differ by gender. However, given that we likely did not have the power to detect 4-way interactions assessing gender differences in the three-way interaction, and the significant effects we found for men, we examined whether the specific interaction effects of perceived partner commitment and partner commitment for men (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2) were modified by their own level of commitment. One of the four tests was marginally significant. This marginal interaction between hostile sexism and perception of partners' commitment on men's aggressive communication in Study 2 (B = -.48, t = -1.77, p = .08) is shown in Figure SM1.1 Decomposing the interaction and calculating the simple effects revealed that for men low in commitment (see Panel A), hostile sexism was positively associated with greater aggressive communication when men perceived their partners to be low in commitment (B = .34, t = 1.35, p = .18), and negatively associated when partners were perceived to be high in commitment (B = -.13, t = -1.69, p = .09), but these simple effects were not significant. However, when men were high in commitment (see Panel B), hostile

sexism was strongly associated with aggressive communication when men perceived their partners to be low in commitment (B = 1.57, t = 2.97, p = .004, solid line) and not when men perceived their partners to be high in commitment (B = -.17, t = -1.35, p = .18, dashed line). This pattern provides some tentative evidence that the aggression-inducing effects of low perceived partner commitment shown in Figures 2.1 and 2.2 in Chapter Two may be magnified when men high in hostile sexism are also highly committed and thus the risks that partners' will exploit their dependence are more poignant. We are cautious to make strong conclusions, however, given that these analyses were constrained by low power, high correlations across own and partners' commitment, and examination of the other 3 interactions reported in Chapter Two did not reveal a consistent pattern.

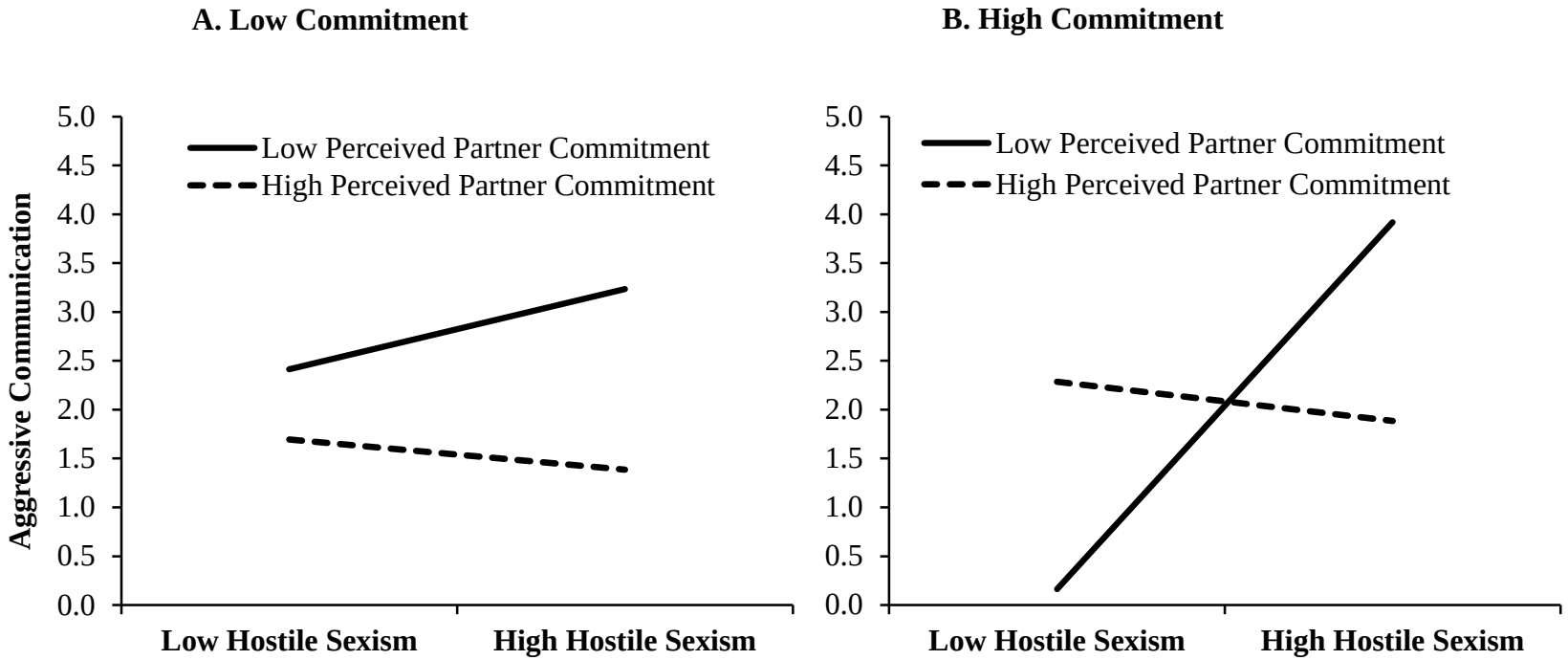

Figure SM1.1. The moderating effect of men's own commitment on the association between hostile sexism and perceptions of the partners' commitment on aggressive communication during couples' conflict discussions (Study 2).

Note. High and low values represent 1 SD above and below the mean

5. Examples of Syntax used for Primary Analyses.

This section presents an example of the syntax used for the primary analyses presented in Chapter Two. The syntax below was used for the analyses presented in Table 2.2. Please note that the labelling of variables is to maintain consistency with other variables in the datafile as some of these variables have been used in prior studies (as outlined in footnotes). The syntax for all analyses presented in Chapter Two are available upon request from the Author. Please email e.cross@auckland.ac.nz

Perceptions of Partners' Commitment

```
MIXED AngerAggression WITH woman man HS_c infComm_c  BS_c
  /CRITERIA=CIN(95) MXITER(100000) MXSTEP(5) Scoring(10)
SINGULAR(0.000000000001) HCONVERGE(0,
    ABSOLUTE) LCONVERGE(0, ABSOLUTE) PCONVERGE(0.000001, ABSOLUTE)
  /FIXED= man man*HS_c man*infComm_c man*HS_c*infComm_c man*BS_c
man*BS_c*infComm_c
woman woman*HS_c woman*infComm_c woman*HS_c*infComm_c woman*BS_c
woman*BS_c*infComm_c  | NOINT
/PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /RANDOM= woman man | SUBJECT(dyadid) COVTYPE(UN)
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(dyadid*day) COVTYPE(CSH).

MIXED  AngerAggression WITH woman man infComm_c HS_c BS_c GENDER
  /CRITERIA=CIN(95) MXITER(100000) MXSTEP(5) Scoring(10)
SINGULAR(0.000000000001) HCONVERGE(0,
    ABSOLUTE) LCONVERGE(0, ABSOLUTE) PCONVERGE(0.000001, ABSOLUTE)
  /FIXED= infComm_c HS_c infComm_c*HS_c BS_c infComm_c*BS_c
GENDER GENDER*HS_c GENDER*infComm_c GENDER*infComm_c*HS_c
GENDER*BS_c GENDER*infComm_c*BS_c
/PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /RANDOM= woman man | SUBJECT(dyadid) COVTYPE(UN)
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(dyadid*day) COVTYPE(CSH).
```

Partners' Self-Reported Commitment

```
MIXED AngerAggression WITH woman man HS_c P_Comm_c BS_c
  /CRITERIA=CIN(95) MXITER(100000) MXSTEP(5) Scoring(10)
SINGULAR(0.000000000001) HCONVERGE(0,
    ABSOLUTE) LCONVERGE(0, ABSOLUTE) PCONVERGE(0.000001, ABSOLUTE)
  /FIXED= man man*HS_c man*P_Comm_c man*HS_c*P_Comm_c man*BS_c
man*BS_c*P_Comm_c
woman woman*HS_c woman*P_Comm_c woman*HS_c*P_Comm_c woman*BS_c
woman*BS_c*P_Comm_c   | NOINT
/PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
```

```
  /RANDOM= woman man | SUBJECT(dyadid) COVTYPE(UN)
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(dyadid*day) COVTYPE(CSH).

MIXED  AngerAggression WITH woman man P_Comm_c HS_c BS_c GENDER
  /CRITERIA=CIN(95) MXITER(100000) MXSTEP(5) Scoring(10)
SINGULAR(0.000000000001) HCONVERGE(0,
    ABSOLUTE) LCONVERGE(0, ABSOLUTE) PCONVERGE(0.000001, ABSOLUTE)
  /FIXED= P_Comm_c HS_c P_Comm_c*HS_c BS_c P_Comm_c*BS_c
GENDER GENDER*HS_c GENDER*P_Comm_c GENDER*P_Comm_c*HS_c
GENDER*BS_c GENDER*P_Comm_c*BS_c
/PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /RANDOM= woman man | SUBJECT(dyadid) COVTYPE(UN)
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(dyadid*day) COVTYPE(CSH).
```

The following syntax was used for the results presented in Table 2.4.

Perceptions of Partners' Commitment

```
MIXED Coersion WITH women men HS_c PCOMM_c BS_c
  /FIXED=men men*HS_c men*PCOMM_c men*HS_c*PCOMM_c men*BS_c
men*BS_c*PCOMM_c
women women*HS_c women*PCOMM_c women*HS_c*PCOMM_c women*BS_c
women*BS_c*PCOMM_c | NOINT
  /PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(dyadid) COVTYPE(CSH).

MIXED Coersion WITH gender HS_c PCOMM_c BS_c
  /FIXED= HS_c PCOMM_c HS_c*PCOMM_c BS_c BS_c*PCOMM_c
gender gender*HS_c GENDER*PCOMM_c GENDER*HS_c*PCOMM_c gender*BS_c
GENDER*BS_c*PCOMM_c
  /PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(dyadid) COVTYPE(CSH).
```

Partners' Self-Reported Commitment

```
MIXED Coersion WITH women men HS_c P_COMM_c BS_c
  /FIXED=men men*HS_c men*P_COMM_c men*HS_c*P_COMM_c men*BS_c
men*BS_c*P_COMM_c
women women*HS_c women*P_COMM_c women*HS_c*P_COMM_c women*BS_c
women*BS_c*P_COMM_c | NOINT
  /PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(dyadid) COVTYPE(CSH).

MIXED Coersion WITH gender HS_c P_COMM_c BS_c
  /FIXED= HS_c P_COMM_c HS_c*P_COMM_c BS_c BS_c*P_COMM_c
gender gender*HS_c GENDER*P_COMM_c GENDER*HS_c*P_COMM_c gender*BS_c
GENDER*BS_c*P_COMM_c
  /PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(dyadid) COVTYPE(CSH).
```

Appendix 2 - Chapter Three Supplemental Materials

In these Supplemental Materials, we present (1) sample and power information (Studies 1-4), (2) additional analyses to support the conclusions presented in the Chapter Three, and (3) provide example of synatx used for the primary analyses reported in Chapter Three.

1. Sample and Power Information (Studies 1-4)

2. Additional Analyses

Bias Perceptions of Lower Power

Serial Mediation

3. Examples of Syntax used for Primary Analyses

1. Sample and Power Information (Studies 1-4)

The types of dyadic studies used to test our predictions, particularly Studies 1, 2 and 3, are time and resource intensive, which has two important implications. First, sample sizes are necessarily constrained by funding and participant compliance, although the dyadic and repeated measures nature of our studies offer highly powered designs. Second, these studies are designed to examine multiple, independent processes (as is necessary and appropriate; see APA manual, p. 14). As we describe below, across all of the studies, we had adequate power to test the associations focused on in Chapter Three. In addition, although the samples from Studies 1 and 3 have been the basis of prior papers, the associations presented Chapter Three were independent of any reported in prior publications.

Study 1. The sample size of Study 1 was determined based on prior research underpinning the multiple aims of a broad project on daily relationship dynamics (see below), including reliable gender differences in the effects of sexist attitudes. The target sample size was for 90 couples, which balanced funding received with the power needed to detect small actor and partner effect sizes given the diverse aims of the project (Ackerman et al., 2016).

A principal aim of the study was to investigate the impact of sexist attitudes and relationship power on daily relationship functioning. Two prior studies have used these data with regard to this aim, but neither have assessed the connections between hostile sexism, relationship power and aggression as we do here. Hammond and Overall (2013) examined the links between sexist attitudes and daily relationship perceptions and behaviour, and Overall et al. (2016) examined the moderating role of perceived power on the links between (a) daily influence, daily support need, and individuals own reports of daily behaviour. Both prior studies used a wider index of daily behaviour, including negative and positive responses, than the targeted items to assess aggressive responses we analyzed here. Our assessment of daily aggression has been established in prior research examining the links between hostile sexism

and aggression using a different diary sample (see Cross et al., 2017, which did not include measures of perceived relationship power and so could not be used to replicate the effects in this study). Most important, the research questions, associations between hostile sexism and perceptions of power, measure of partners' perceptions of power and assessment of biased perceptions of power, and examination of the associations across hostile sexism, perceived power and aggression (reported by individuals and their partners) shown in Figure 1, have not been examined or reported previously. Thus, the aims and the results are separate from the prior papers, and offer unique advances beyond these and other prior studies.

Study 2. The sample in Study 2 is new and was collected for the current investigation and additional aims beyond couple functioning. A large study of 104 families (two partners and one child) were recruited to examine how sexist attitudes, communication and emotion regulation in parents shape couple functioning and broader family dynamics. The target sample size that balanced resources with power considerations was for 100 families, and we stopped active recruitment once we completed data collection procedures on the 100th family. Families were recruited from a database of parents who had registered interest in response to widespread community advertisements and large annual parenting events recruiting for research investigating children's socio-emotional, cognitive and language development. To be eligible for the current study, parents had to be cohabiting for at least one year, speak fluent English, and have a child between 4.5-5.5 years old. Six couples were excluded from the current analyses; 2 couples did not complete measures of perceived power, 3 couples were not video recorded, and 1 lesbian couple was not included in the current analyses due to the focus on sexist attitudes. The resulting sample of 98 couples provide adequate power for the actor effects assessed here. In particular, power analyses using the Actor-Partner Interdependence Model (APIM) power module (Ackerman et al., 2016) indicates this sample provides adequate power (.81) to detect small (r = .20) actor effects when variables are

correlated across partners as they were in this study (see Table 3.8). The association between men's hostile sexism and perceived relationship power represented an *r* of .45 (see Table 3.3), and the effect size of the association between perceived power and aggression was higher (*r* of .27, see Table 3.9). Thus, power for these effect sizes was much greater (> .95). No prior studies have used data from this sample.

Study 3. This sample was drawn from a broader study of marriage of 120 couples. The study specifically targeted newlyweds to examine relationship development during a uniform, and important, time period that involves many challenges internal and external to the relationship. Couples were recruited via fliers, facebook and letters sent to couples who recently applied for marriage licenses, and participation required being within three months of their marriage. The specific measures of sexist attitudes and power were added to this study for the purposes of our research on sexism and power. One lesbian couple was not included in the current analyses because hostile sexism specifically concerns beliefs about heterosexual gender roles, leaving the 119 couples whose data we present in Chapter Three. Power analyses using the APIM power module (Ackerman et al., 2016) indicates this sample provides adequate power (.88) to detect small (*r* = .20) actor effects when variables are correlated across partners as they are in the current study (see Table 3.11). The association between men's hostile sexism and perceived relationship power represented an *r* of .21 (see Table 3.12), and the effect size of the association between perceived power and aggression was higher (*r* of .29, see Table 3.13).

Participation involved completing the questionnaires we analysed here as well as a daily diary procedure that has been the basis of prior publication from this sample. Full details of the sample and procedure can be found in Meltzer et al. (2017, Study 2), who report the diary data examining the benefits of sex and their implications for pair bonding (see Meltzer et al., 2017, Study 2). These diary data have also been used to examine the links between

relationship power (as assessed in the current research), daily feelings of manliness, and aggressive reactions to partners' daily unwillingness to change to resolve relationships problem (Overall et al., 2016, Study 5). The measure of perceived relationship power is the only overlapping measure used in prior studies. None of the prior studies have examined hostile sexism, desires for relationship power, or aggressive behaviour over the past year, and none of the associations we report in the current manuscript have been previously examined. Thus, the results are completely unique, and test novel and separate associations than those reported by Meltzer et al. (2017) or Overall et al. (2016).

Study 4. This is a new sample that was collected specifically for Chapter Three of the thesis in order to replicate the effects of Study 1-3 (see osf.io/kjc4e). We estimated an effect size of r = .20 for men's hostile sexism and perceived power based on our results from Study 1-3, but wanted to ensure we had enough power to detect potentially smaller differences across men and women (see Tables 3.12 and 3.13). Thus, we aimed to collect 200 women and 200 men involved in committed heterosexual relationships via Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk), a source of participants who reliably complete questionnaires (see Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011) for a small monetary compensation ($1.00 USD in this study).

Eligibility required being involved in a committed heterosexual relationship, living in the United States or Canada, and holding a successful completion rate on MTurk of at least 95% with an approved number of completions ≥ 500.The study description included examining questions on "*relationship experiences and beliefs, including how people think, feel and behave in their intimate relationships*". An initial demographic page identifying participants' relationship status screened for study eligibility. Respondents identifying as single were directed to a separate study on "*partner preferences and ideals*". We stopped collection the day we reached our target sample size. Prior to variable construction and data analyses, 8 responses were removed because respondents completed the survey in the pre-specified time

believed necessary to accurately discriminate across variables (5 minutes). In addition, we excluded 50 participants involved in same sex relationships because sexist attitudes relate specifically to heterosexual gender roles.

The final sample included 207 men and 299 women. Power analyses G*Power (Erdfelder, Faul, & Buchner, 1996) indicates this sample provides adequate power (.99) to detect small (r = .20) effects. As shown in Tables 3.12 and 3.13 the effects sizes presented exceeded our estimated effect size of .20, the association between men's hostile sexism and perceived relationship power represented an r of .37 (see Table 3.12), and the effect size of the association between perceived power and aggression was higher (r of .28, see Table 3.13).

The following tables provide more detailed information about the demographics of the samples used in Chapter Three. Table SM2.1. provides information about age, relationship length and status across all studies, Table SM2.2. provides information about personal annual income across studies. Table SM2.3 and SM2.4 provide information about participants ethnic background, employment, and education. Table SM2.3 provides information for Studies 1 and 2 as these data were collected in New Zealand and used similar measures, Table SM2.4. provides information for Studies 3 and 4 as these data were collected in the United States and Canada and therefore the measures are slightly different.

Table SM2.1. Age, Relationship Length and Status Information Across Studies 1-4.

	Study 1	**Study 2**	**Study 3**	**Study 4**
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*
N Couples	78	98	119	506*
Country Study was Based	NZ	NZ	USA	USA/CAN
Age (yrs)	22.44 (4.82)	36.67 (6.36)	31.11 (9.06)	38.94 (10.60)
Relationship Length (yrs)	2.58 (1.97)	11.75 (4.07)	3.77 (2.51)$^{+}$	10.48 (9.07)
Relationship Status				
Casual	0.6%	0%	0%	0%
Steady	6.4%	0%	0%	9.5%
Serious	49.4%	0%	0%	5.1%
Living Together	32.7%	15.3%	0%	17.2%
Married	10.9%	84.7%	100%	68.2%

Note: NZ refers to New Zealand, US refers to United States of America, CAN refers to Canada. *Individuals not couples. $^{+}$ Refers to how long couples were together *before* getting married (not the entire length of their relationship).

Table SM2.2. Personal Annual Income Information Across Studies 1-4.

Study 1	
Less than $10,000	56.1%
$11-20,000	18.1%
$21-30,000	7.1%
$31-40,000	5.8%
$41-50,000	5.2%
$51-60,000	1.9%
$61-70,000	2.6%
$71-80,000	0.6%
More than $81,000	2.6%
Study 2	
$40,000 or under	33.2%
$41,000 - $60,000	13.3%
$61,000 - $80,000	15.8%
$81,000 - $100,000	18.4%
$100,000 +	19.4%
Study 3	
M (SD)	$30,098 ($39,259)
Below $20,000	39.1%
$20,000 - $29,999	14.0%
$30,000 - $39,999	16.3%
$40,000 - $49,999	12.8%
$50,000 - $59,999	6.4%
$60,000 - $69,999	2.4%
$70,000 - $79,999	2.5%
$80,000 - $89,999	1.2%
$90,000 or more	2.6%
Missing	2.7%
Study 4	
Below $20,000	10.1%
$20,000 - $29,999	9.5%
$30,000 - $39,999	12.8%
$40,000 - $49,999	17.6%
$50,000 - $59,999	15.0%
$60,000 - $69,999	10.3%
$70,000 - $79,999	10.1%
$80,000 - $89,999	3.0%
$90,000 or more	11.7%

Table SM2.3. Ethnic, Employment, and Educational Information for Studies 1 & 2.

	Study 1	Study 2
Ethnicity		
New Zealand European	57.7%	129
Maori	0%	17
Pacific	4.5%	7
Asian	20.5%	15
Indian	2.6%	2
European (non-NZ)	10.9%	34
Other (Please specify)	3.8%	14
Employment		
Student (part-time)	3.2%	-
Student (full-time)	75.6%	-
Employed (part-time)	0.6%	26.0%
Employed (full-time)	17.9%	59.2%
Unemployed	2.6%	14.8%
Education		
Postgraduate Qualification	13.0%	32.8%
Tertiary Qualification	34.4%	45.1%
Higher School Certificate/Bursary	38.3%	8.7%
School Certificate	11.0%	9.7%
Other (Please specify)	3.2%	3.6%

Note: In Study 2 participants could indicate multiple ethnicities hence frequencies are reported not percentages.

Table SM2.4. Ethnic and Educational Information for Studies 3 & 4.

Study 3	
Ethnicity	
Asian	0.8%
American Indian or Alaska Native	0.8%
Black or African American	12.6%
Hispanic or Latino/a	3.4%
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	0.4%
White or Caucasian	77.3%
Another ethnicity	1.3%
Two or more ethnicities	3.4%
"How many years of undergraduate study did you complete?"	
0 years	9.7%
1 year	3.4%
2 years	10.9%
3 years	7.6%
4 years	66.8%
Missing Data (*N* = 4)	1.7%
"Did you earn and undergraduate degree?"	
Yes	73.5%
No	15.1%
Missing Data (*N* = 27)	11.3%
"Did you earn and graduate degree?"	
Yes	26.9%
No	12.6%
Missing Data (*N* = 144)	60.5%
"How many years of graduate study/professional school did you complete?"	
0 years	0.4%
1 year	9.7%
2 years	14.3%
3 years	10.5%
4 years	0.8%
5 years	1.3%
6 years	1.3%
7 years	0.4%
More than 7	0.8%
Missing Data (*N* = 144)	60.5%
Study 4	
"What is the highest level of education you have completed?"	
Less than High School	0.6%
High School / GED	10.9%
Some College	20.2%
2-year College Degree	13.6%
4-year College Degree	38.7%
Masters Degree	12.1%
Doctoral Degree	1.6%
Professional Degree (JD, MD)	1.8%
Missing Data (*N* = 3)	0.6%

Note: Study 3 involves data from Newlywed Study based in the United States, and Study 4 involves data from participants from the United States or Canada and was collected via Mturk. Information about participants ethnic background was not asked in Study 4.

2. Additional Analyses

Bias Perceptions of Lower Power. Given our aims and predictions specify gender differences, we centered male's perceptions of power on the mean of female partners' reports of power and female's perceptions of power on the mean of male partners' reports of power. This ensured that the resulting level of bias depicted in Figure 2 indexed the specific comparisons for men. However, because the standard approach outlined by West and Kenny (2011) specify perceptions to be centered using the mean across all dyad members regardless of any distinguishing factor, such as gender, we also rerun the analyses using the mean of partners' reports across dyad members irrespective of gender. As shown in Table SM2.5 and Figure SM2.1 the results were identical to those presented in Table 3.4 and Figure 3.2.

Table SM2.5. Bias Analyses modelling the Effect of Hostile Sexism on Discrepancies in Perceived Relationship Power from Partners' Reports of Individuals' Power (Studies 1 and 2).

Predictors	Men					Women					Gender Diff.	
		95% CI					95% CI					
	B	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*B*	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*t*	*r*
Study 1												
Intercept (Discrepancy or Bias)	-.34	-.50	-.16	-4.16**	.43	-.14	-.40	.11	-1.13	.14	-1.53	.17
Hostile Sexism	**-.23**	**-.38**	**-.08**	**-3.15****	**.34**	.03	-.18	-.22	0.25	.03	-2.16*	.21
Benevolent Sexism	-.02	-.19	.14	-0.28	.03	-.03	-.27	.20	-0.28	.03	0.07	.01
Partners' Reports of Individuals' Power	.09	-.09	.27	1.04	.12	.27	-.06	.59	1.61	.18	-0.90	.09
Study 2												
Intercept (Discrepancy or Bias)	-.66	-.84	-.48	-7.18**	.59	-.33	-.53	-.12	-3.20**	.31	-2.38*	.24
Hostile Sexism	**-.41**	**-.59**	**-.23**	**-4.59****	**.43**	**-.07**	**-.27**	**.13**	**-0.65**	**.07**	**-2.55***	**.19**
Benevolent Sexism	.20	.01	.40	2.09*	.21	-.24	-.45	-.04	-2.38*	.24	3.15**	.24
Partners' Reports of Individuals' Power	.40	.20	.60	3.93**	.38	-.03	-.31	.25	-0.23	.02	2.49*	.19

Note. Gender diff. coefficients test whether the effects significantly differed across men (coded as 1) and women (coded as -1). Predicted effects for men are shown in bold. Effect sizes (*r*) were computed using Rosenthal and Rosnow's (2007) formula: $r = \sqrt{(t^2 / t^2 + df)}$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

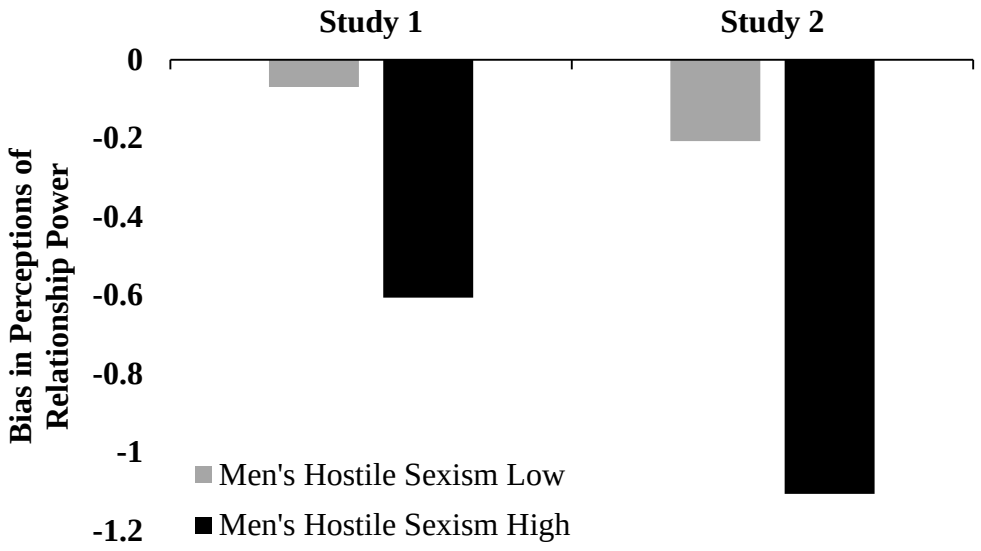

Figure SM2.1. Effects of Men's Hostile Sexism predicting Biased Perceptions of Relationship Power (Studies 1 and 2).

Note. The values on the y axis represent the discrepancy between individuals' perceptions of relationship power and partners' reports of individuals' power. Zero indicates no discrepancy or bias. Negative values indicate underestimation of relationship power compared to partner reports, and positive values indicate overestimation of relationship power compared to partner reports. High and low values of hostile sexism represent 1SD above and below the mean

Serial Mediation. The analyses presented in the manuscript illustrate that, as predicted, men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism perceived lower power in their relationships, which in turn, predicted greater aggression toward female partners (Studies 1-4). Moreover, the associations between hostile sexism, power, and aggression were specific to men perceiving lower relationship power rather than desiring greater relationship power (Studies 1 and 2). It is also possible that a sequential mediation be a viable model to explain this process. Accordingly, we also ran supplementary, exploratory analyses examining the possibility that the lower perceived power associated with hostile sexism in Studies 3 and 4 was because men who strongly endorse hostile sexism had greater desires of power. In particular, we examined a sequential mediation model which specified that hostile sexism predicted a greater desire for power, which predicted lower perceived power, and in turn aggression. We acknowledge that lower perceived power may be positively associated with desiring greater power, and that desiring power could also be one reason that men who endorse hostile sexism underestimate the power they have. We tested this possible pathway across studies 3 and 4 using PROCESS (Hayes, 2018). All partner variables were included in models as covariates for Study 3 (dyadic data).

Table SM2.6 presents a series of sequential mediation models. The serial mediation testing men's hostile sexism → desire for relationship power → perceived relationship power → self-reported aggression was only weakly supported. This pathway was not significant in Study 3, but was marginally significant in Study 4 (*point estimate* = -.006 95% CI = [−.021, .001]). Accordingly, these results do not provide robust support for the sequential mediation pattern. Moreover, we are cautious to make strong conclusions given that these analyses were constrained by low power, and this pattern using individual, not dyadic, data. The mediation presented in Chapter Three provides clearer and stronger evidence as the focal pattern is replicated across all 4 studies (3 dyadic studies and 1 using individual data).

Table SM2.6. Serial Mediation between Men's Hostile Sexism, Greater Desire for Relationship Power, Lower Perceived Relationship Power, and Self-Reported Aggression (Studies 3 and 4).

Indirect Effect Tested (Serial Mediation)	Indirect Effect	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower Limit	Upper Limit
Study 3			
Men's hostile sexism → desire for relationship power → perceived relationship power → self-reported aggression	-.006	-.021	.001
Men's hostile sexism → dominance → perceived relationship power → self-reported aggression	-.002	-.013	.003
Study 4			
Men's hostile sexism → desire for relationship power → perceived relationship power → self-reported aggression	-.014	-.034	-.001
Men's hostile sexism → dominance → perceived relationship power → self-reported aggression	-.015	-.037	.000
Men's hostile sexism → power over women → perceived relationship power → self-reported aggression	.015	-.010	.047
Men's hostile sexism → violence → perceived relationship power → self-reported aggression	.003	-.002	.009

Note. Asymmetric Confidence intervals were calculated following Mackinnon, Fritz, Williams, and Lockwood (2007). Confidence intervals shown in bold do not overlap "0". Indirect Effects were calculated using PROCESS (Hayes, 2018). In Study 3, all partner variables were entered into the model as covariates to account for the statistical dependence in dyadic data.

We also ran several other discriminant tests ruling out alternative explanations in Study 4, including whether men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism are more (a) dominant interpersonally, (b) desire power over women, and (c) have a propensity towards violence, which each in turn, predicts greater aggression toward female partners. As shown in the lower half of Table SM2.6 none of the indirect effects testing these sequential pathways were significant.

Commitment and Perceived Commitment. We conducted a series of additional analyses to rule out several alternative explanations for the predicted associations between men's hostile sexism, lower perceptions of power and aggression. First, we wanted to rule out the alternative explanation that men who more strongly endorse hostile sexism may be less committed, and thus behave more aggressively. Indeed, prior research has shown that individuals who are more committed exhibit lower relationship aggression (Slotter et al., 2012), most likely because individuals who are more committed are more likely to resist aggressive impulses (Rusbult et al., 1991). Second, given the important role that perceived (and actual) partners' commitment in moderating the link between men's hostile sexism and relationship aggression (see Chapter Two) we also ran additional analyses controlling for the effects of partner's reported commitment and perceptions of partners' commitment.

The associations between hostile sexism, perceived power and aggression remained robust to controls. The three competing variables only slightly reduced the focal associations in 3 out of 11 tests, probably due to general valence effects and method-variance.[23] The

[23] The exceptions were, in Study 1, the effect of men's hostile sexism on men's perceived power was reduced to marginal significance when controlling for men's own commitment (t = -1.89, p = .061), but the links between perceived power and aggression remained significant controlling for men's own commitment. In Study 1, the association between men's perceived power and aggressive communication was reduced controlling for perceived partner commitment (t = -1.38, p = .171), whereas perceived partner commitment remained a significant predictor (t = -3.86, p <.001). However, the association remained robust across the other three studies. Lastly, In Study 4, the effect of men's hostile sexism on perceived power was reduced to marginal significance when controlling for perceived partner commitment (t = -1.83, p = .071) due to the strong associations between perceived partner commitment and perceived power (t = 3.27, p < .001).

alternatives did not produce consistent associations across studies, unlike the links between hostile sexism, perceived power and aggression, which replicated across all four studies. Thus, these additional analyses demonstrate that lower perceived power plays a more robust explanatory role in the association between men's hostile sexism and aggression than men's own commitment, partners' commitment or perceptions of partners' commitment.

3. Examples of Syntax used for Primary Analyses

The following section notes the table title and corresponding syntax for the primary analyses reported in Chapter Three. Given the number of studies, and large number of analyses presented in Chapter Three the syntax outlined below is an example of the type of syntax used. The syntax for all analyses is available upon request from the Author. Please email e.cross@auckland.ac.nz

Table 3.3. The Effects of Hostile Sexism on Perceived Relationship Power and Partners' Reports of Individuals' Relationship Power (Studies 1 and 2)

Perceived Relationship Power

```
MIXED Power WITH WOMAN MAN BS_c HS_c gender
  /CRITERIA=CIN(95) MXITER(1000) MXSTEP(5) SCORING(10)
SINGULAR(0.000000000001) HCONVERGE(0,
    ABSOLUTE) LCONVERGE(0, ABSOLUTE) PCONVERGE(0.000001, ABSOLUTE)
  /FIXED=  HS_c BS_c gender gender*HS_c gender*BS_c
  /PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(dyadid) COVTYPE(CSH).

MIXED Power WITH WOMAN MAN  BS_c HS_c gender
  /CRITERIA=CIN(95) MXITER(1000) MXSTEP(5) SCORING(10)
SINGULAR(0.000000000001) HCONVERGE(0,
    ABSOLUTE) LCONVERGE(0, ABSOLUTE) PCONVERGE(0.000001, ABSOLUTE)
  /FIXED=WOMAN  WOMAN*HS_c WOMAN*BS_c
MAN  MAN*HS_c MAN*BS_c | NOINT
  /PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(dyadid) COVTYPE(CSH).
```

Partners' Reports of Individuals' Relationship Power

```
MIXED p_InfPower WITH WOMAN MAN BS_c HS_c gender
  /CRITERIA=CIN(95) MXITER(1000) MXSTEP(5) SCORING(10)
SINGULAR(0.000000000001) HCONVERGE(0,
    ABSOLUTE) LCONVERGE(0, ABSOLUTE) PCONVERGE(0.000001, ABSOLUTE)
  /FIXED=  HS_c BS_c gender gender*HS_c gender*BS_c
  /PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(dyadid) COVTYPE(CSH).

MIXED p_InfPower WITH WOMAN MAN  BS_c HS_c gender
  /CRITERIA=CIN(95) MXITER(1000) MXSTEP(5) SCORING(10)
SINGULAR(0.000000000001) HCONVERGE(0,
    ABSOLUTE) LCONVERGE(0, ABSOLUTE) PCONVERGE(0.000001, ABSOLUTE)
  /FIXED=WOMAN  WOMAN*HS_c WOMAN*BS_c
MAN  MAN*HS_c MAN*BS_c | NOINT
  /PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(dyadid) COVTYPE(CSH).
```

Table 3.4. Bias Analyses modelling the Effect of Hostile Sexism on Discrepancies in Perceived Relationship Power from Partners' Reports of Individuals' Power (Studies 1 and 2).

```
MIXED Seperate_Bias_POWER  WITH WOMAN MAN BS_c HS_c gender
Seperate_p_InfPower_c
  /CRITERIA=CIN(95) MXITER(1000) MXSTEP(5) SCORING(10)
SINGULAR(0.000000000001) HCONVERGE(0,
    ABSOLUTE) LCONVERGE(0, ABSOLUTE) PCONVERGE(0.000001, ABSOLUTE)
  /FIXED= HS_c BS_c  Seperate_p_InfPower_c
gender  gender*HS_c gender*BS_c gender*Seperate_p_InfPower_c
  /PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(dyadid) COVTYPE(CSH).

MIXED Seperate_Bias_POWER  WITH WOMAN MAN  BS_c HS_c gender
Seperate_p_InfPower_c
  /CRITERIA=CIN(95) MXITER(1000) MXSTEP(5) SCORING(10)
SINGULAR(0.000000000001) HCONVERGE(0,
    ABSOLUTE) LCONVERGE(0, ABSOLUTE) PCONVERGE(0.000001, ABSOLUTE)
  /FIXED=WOMAN  WOMAN*HS_c WOMAN*BS_c  woman*Seperate_p_InfPower_c
MAN  MAN*HS_c MAN*BS_c  man*Seperate_p_InfPower_c | NOINT
  /PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(dyadid) COVTYPE(CSH).
```

Table 3.5. The Effects of Hostile Sexism and Perceived Relationship Power on Self-Reported Daily Aggression and Partners' Reports of Individuals' Daily Aggression (Study 1).

Daily Aggression
Model 1

```
MIXED Exit WITH WOMAN MAN  HS_c BS_c gender
  /CRITERIA=CIN(95) MXITER(1000) MXSTEP(5) SCORING(10)
SINGULAR(0.000000000001) HCONVERGE(0,
    ABSOLUTE) LCONVERGE(0, ABSOLUTE) PCONVERGE(0.000001, ABSOLUTE)
  /FIXED= HS_c BS_c gender  gender*HS_c gender*BS_c
  /PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(dyadid*day) COVTYPE(CSH).

MIXED Exit  WITH WOMAN MAN  HS_c BS_c gender
  /CRITERIA=CIN(95) MXITER(1000) MXSTEP(5) SCORING(10)
SINGULAR(0.000000000001) HCONVERGE(0,
    ABSOLUTE) LCONVERGE(0, ABSOLUTE) PCONVERGE(0.000001, ABSOLUTE)
  /FIXED=WOMAN  WOMAN*HS_c  WOMAN*BS_c
MAN  MAN*HS_c MAN*BS_c  | NOINT
  /PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(dyadid*day) COVTYPE(CSH).
```

Model 2

```
MIXED Exit WITH WOMAN MAN BS_c HS_c power_c gender
  /CRITERIA=CIN(95) MXITER(1000) MXSTEP(5) SCORING(10)
SINGULAR(0.000000000001) HCONVERGE(0,
    ABSOLUTE) LCONVERGE(0, ABSOLUTE) PCONVERGE(0.000001, ABSOLUTE)
  /FIXED= power_c HS_c BS_c gender gender*power_c gender*HS_c  gender*BS_c
  /PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(dyadid*day) COVTYPE(CSH).

MIXED Exit  WITH WOMAN MAN  BS_c HS_c power_c gender
  /CRITERIA=CIN(95) MXITER(1000) MXSTEP(5) SCORING(10)
SINGULAR(0.000000000001) HCONVERGE(0,
    ABSOLUTE) LCONVERGE(0, ABSOLUTE) PCONVERGE(0.000001, ABSOLUTE)
  /FIXED=WOMAN  WOMAN*power_c WOMAN*HS_c WOMAN*BS_c
MAN   MAN*power_c MAN*HS_c MAN*BS_c  | NOINT
  /PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(dyadid*day) COVTYPE(CSH).
```

Appendix 3 - Chapter Four Supplemental Materials

In these Supplemental Materials, we present (1) sample information, (2) descriptive data for the number of relationship problems, (3) the effects for hostile sexism and own experiences of relationship problems, (4) the effects testing benevolent sexism and partner and own experiences of relationship problems and (5) example syntax of the primary analyses.

1. **Sample Information**

   Table SM3.1. Demographic information across all four samples.
   Table SM3.2. Descriptive statistics and alpha reliabilities across all four samples.
   Table SM3.3 Employment, Education, Ethnic, and Income Information.
   Table SM3.4 Ethnic and Income Information for Sample 2.

2. **Descriptive Data for Number of Relationship Problems**

   Figure SM3.1. Histogram showing distribution of Number of Relationship Problems

3. **Hostile Sexism and Own Experiences of Relationship Problems**

   Table SM3.5. The Effect of Hostile Sexism on Women's and Men's Experiences of Specific Relationship Problems.
   Table SM3.6. The Effect of Hostile and Benevolent Sexism on Women's and Men's Experiences of Relationship Problems.
   Table SM3.7. The Effect of Hostile Sexism and Relationship Problems on Relationship Evaluations.
   Table SM3.8. Indirect effects between Hostile Sexism Predicting Relationship Evaluations mediated by Greater Severity, Number, and Specific Categories of Relationship Problems.

4. **Benevolent Sexism and Partner and Own Experiences of Relationship Problems**

   Table SM3.9. Indirect effects between Partners' and Individuals' Own Benevolent Sexism Predicting Relationship Evaluations mediated by Categories of Relationship Problems.

5. **Examples of Syntax used for Primary Analyses.**

1. Sample Information (Samples 1-4)

The current research combined data from four dyadic samples to provide a large data set appropriate for assessing across-partner associations. The method and measures were identical across all four samples, thus we collapsed the data across the samples to maximize power (as recommended over alternative approaches, such as meta-analysis; see Curran & Hussong, 2009). See Table SM3.1 and Table SM3.2 for demographic information, descriptive statistics, and alpha reliabilities across samples. As we describe below, the associations presented in Chapter Four were independent of any reported in prior publications using data from the separate samples, and the data and analyses here are completely new and offer unique advances beyond prior studies.

Sample 1. This study was designed to investigate the impact of sexist attitudes on daily relationship functioning. Two studies have previously used these data with regard to this aim, but neither have assessed the actor or partner effects between hostile sexism, relationship problems and relationship evaluations as we do here. Hammond and Overall (2013) examined the links between sexist attitudes and daily relationship perceptions and behaviour. Cross et al., (2018, Study 1) examined the links between hostile sexism, perceived power, and daily aggression. The aims and the results in these prior papers are entirely separate, and none of the papers examine or report the associations between hostile sexism, relationship problems, and relationship evaluations as we do in the current study.

Sample 2. This sample was collected to examine dyadic processes during couple's interactions. These data have been used to examine the links between benevolent sexism, support provision, and felt competence and intimacy (Hammond and Overall, 2015). Thus, although Hammond and Overall (2015) reported and controlled for hostile sexism, the focus of their investigation was completely separate from the processes examined in the current

Chapter, and they did not report or examine the actor and partner effects of hostile sexism on relationship problems or evaluations.

Sample 3. This sample is new and was collected for the current investigation and additional aims. A large study of 104 families (two partners and one child) were recruited to examine how sexist attitudes, communication and emotion regulation in parents shape couple and family (i.e., parent-child) dynamics. Cross et al., (2018, Study 2) used these data to examine the links between hostile sexism, relationship power, and aggressive communication during couples' conflict interactions. Cross et al. (2018) did not examine or report the actor or partner effects of hostile sexism on relationship problems and evaluations. Thus, the current aims, measures and results are entirely separate and novel. 2 couples were not used in the analyses as they did not complete the required measures, and 1 other couple was not included as they self-identified as a lesbian couple.

Sample 4. This sample was collected to investigate support processes and wellbeing in romantic relationships. These data have been used previously to examine the reciprocal associations between self-esteem, self-efficacy, and support in close relationships (Jayamaha & Overall, 2018). The measures of sexist attitudes, relationship problems, and relationship evaluations were not included in that prior paper, and have never been reported previously.

The following tables provide more detailed information about the demographics of the samples used in Chapter Four. Table SM3.1. provides information about age, relationship length and status across each sample, Table SM3.2. provides descriptive statistics and alpha reliabilities across each sample. Table SM3.3 provides information about participants employment, education, ethnicity, and income. Given that some of the measures were different across samples Table SM3.4 provide some separate information for data from sample 2.

Table SM3.1. Demographic Information Across All Four Samples.

	Sample 1	**Sample 2**	**Sample 3**	**Sample 4**
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*
N Couples	78	100	100	85
Age	22.44 (4.82)	22.64 (6.51)	36.68 (6.30)	33.05 (13.55)
Relationship Length	2.58 (1.97)	3.28 (4.13)	11.67 (4.26)	7.83 (10.14)
Relationship Status				
Steady	7%	4%	-	1%
Serious	49%	47%	-	20%
Living Together	33%	36%	15%	37%
Married	11%	13%	85%	42%

Note: Demographics collapsed across samples are reported in Chapter Four.

Table SM3.2. Descriptive Statistics, Alpha Reliabilities and Gender Differences Across All Four Samples.

	Men		Women		Gender Diff
	M (SD)	*α*	*M (SD)*	*α*	*t*
Hostile Sexism (Sample 1)	0.09 (1.14)	.86	-0.06 (1.19)	.84	-0.76
Hostile Sexism (Sample 2)	-0.21 (1.01)	.82	-0.14 (1.16)	.87	0.47
Hostile Sexism (Sample 3)	-0.69 (1.10)	.87	-0.97 (1.08)	.85	-1.84
Hostile Sexism (Sample 4)	-0.54 (1.22)	.76	-0.60 (1.21)	.77	-0.34
Benevolent Sexism (Sample 1)	0.32 (1.00)	.77	-0.19 (1.01)	.76	-3.19**
Benevolent Sexism (Sample 2)	0.49 (1.06)	.79	-0.04 (1.10)	.79	-1.64
Benevolent Sexism (Sample 3)	0.01 (0.98)	.78	-0.66 (1.07)	.79	-4.66**
Benevolent Sexism (Sample 4)	0.49 (1.16)	.69	-0.04 (1.20)	.70	-2.91**
Relationship Problems (Sample 1)	54.46 (16.66)	.79	53.42 (16.21)	.83	-0.40
Relationship Problems (Sample 2)	59.51 (18.76)	.87	56.23 (21.07)	.89	0.32
Relationship Problems (Sample 3)	59.37 (16.22)	.87	55.82 (16.63)	.86	-1.41
Relationship Problems (Sample 4)	60.58 (21.32)	.90	60.51 (21.67)	.89	-0.05
Relationship Satisfaction (Sample 1)	5.99 (0.77)	.84	6.03 (0.89)	.88	0.29
Relationship Satisfaction (Sample 2)	5.80 (0.71)	.79	5.67 (0.81)	.85	0.22
Relationship Satisfaction (Sample 3)	5.59 (0.92)	.88	5.82 (0.84)	.88	1.77
Relationship Satisfaction (Sample 4)	5.80 (1.06)	.91	5.67 (1.37)	.94	-0.73
Relationship Commitment (Sample 1)	6.23 (0.82)	.89	6.51 (0.66)	.88	2.44*
Relationship Commitment (Sample 2)	6.58 (0.67)	.83	6.61 (0.62)	.85	1.44
Relationship Commitment (Sample 3)	6.67 (.054)	.81	6.74 (0.48)	.71	1.10
Relationship Commitment (Sample 4)	6.58 (0.68)	.85	6.61 (0.74)	.88	0.26

Note. Possible scores range from −3 to 3 for Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism, 25 to 175 for Relationship Problems, and 1 to 7 for all other scales. The full scale Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) was used in samples 1-3, sample 4 utilized the short-scale ASI. Gender diff. *t* represents test of difference between men and women. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table SM3.3 Employment, Education, Ethnic, and Income Information.

	Percentage
Employment	
Student (part-time)	43.3%
Student (full-time)	7.6%
Employed (part-time)	13.7%
Employed (full-time)	25.0%
Unemployed	10.5%
Missing *N* = 1	
Education	
Postgraduate Qualification	21.0%
Tertiary Qualification	36.5%
Higher School Certificate/Bursary	25.0%
School Certificate	12.6%
Other (Please specify)	4.9%
Missing *N* = 13	
Ethnicity*	
New Zealand European	57.1%
Maori	4.7%
Pacific	2.2%
Asian	10.2%
Indian	6.6%
European (non-NZ)	12.9%
Other (Please specify)	6.3%
Missing *N* = 362	
Personal Annual Income*	
Less than $10,000	49.7%
$11-20,000	16.4%
$21-30,000	11.8%
$31-40,000	5.6%
$41-50,000	5.4%
$51-60,000	4.4%
$61-70,000	3.7%
$71-80,000	0.8%
More than $81,000	2.3%
Missing *N* = 207	

Note: *This does not include participants from Sample 3 as the measures used were different and were unable to be recoded. See separate Table below.

Table SM3.4 Ethnic and Income Information for Sample 2.

N = 200 Individuals (100 Couples)	
Ethnicity	
New Zealand European	131
Maori	17
Pacific	7
Asian	17
Indian	2
European (non-NZ)	34
Other (Please specify)	14
Personal Annual Income	
$40,000 or under	33.0%
$41,000 - $60,000	14.0%
$61,000 - $80,000	16.0%
$81,000 - $100,000	18.0%
$100,000 +	19.0%

Note: Participants could identify with multiple ethnic groups, hence frequencies are reported (not percentages).

2. Descriptive Data for Number of Relationship Problems

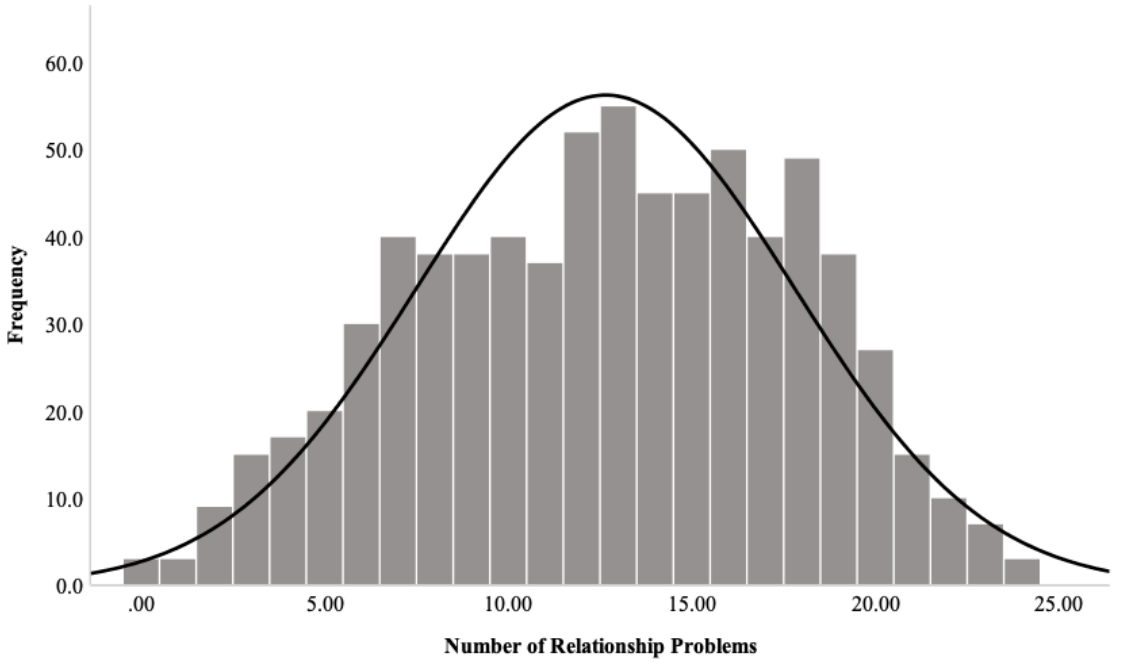

Figure SM3.1. Histogram showing distribution of Number of Relationship Problems (rated > 1) with distribution curve (M = 12.65, SD = 5.14).

3. Hostile Sexism and Own Experiences of Relationship Problems

As described in Chapter Four, individuals' own sexist attitudes were included in all models to appropriately model partner effects (see Kenny et al., 2006). Although our primary focus was on partner effects (male partners' hostile sexism on women's experiences of relationship problems), the actor effects of men's hostile sexism on men's own reports of relationship problems should provide corroborating evidence of the problems women experience. Indeed, similar patterns should emerge across dyads given that problems are a feature of the dyadic dynamics that occur across couple members. The actor effects of specific problems and categories of problems provide this corroborating evidence, which is summarized in Footnotes 15, 17, and 18 in Chapter Four.

Specific Relationship Problems. As shown in Table 4.3 in Chapter Four, men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism experienced more severe, and a greater number of, relationship problems. Moreover, as shown in Table SM3.5 below, men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism identified similar relationship problems as did their female partners, such as "Power Struggles", "Solving Problems", "Making Decisions", and "Affairs and Infidelity". However, unlike their female partners, men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism *did not* report greater problems with "Conflict about Gender Roles" and "Jealousy", but did experience greater problems with "Lack of Loving Feelings" and "Friends".

Relationship Problem Factors. As shown in Table SM3.6, and corroborating female partners' reports of relationship problems shown in Table 4.6 of Chapter Four, men's hostile sexism was also associated with men reporting experiencing *greater* difficulties with (1) Power Dynamics, (2) Jealousy and Other Relationships, and (3) Abuse, Affairs, Addiction & Gender-role Conflict. Men's hostile sexism also was associated with men experiencing additional problems not reported by female partners, including problems with Relationship Connection and Communication, and Personal Problems & Differences.

Table SM3.5. The Effect of Individuals' Own Hostile Sexism on Women's and Men's Experiences of Specific Relationship Problems.

Specific Relationship Problem	**Women's Relationships Problems**					**Men's Relationships Problems**					**Gender Diff.**	
		95% CI					*95% CI*					
	B	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*p*	*B*	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*p*	*t*	*p*
Communication	-.13	-.27	.01	-1.88	.060	.07	-.08	.22	0.95	.342	2.17*	.030
Unrealistic Expectations of Relationship	-.04	-.18	.09	-0.60	.552	.27	.13	.41	3.71**	.000	3.25*	.001
Showing Affection	-.07	-.21	.06	-1.12	.264	.09	-.04	.23	1.33	.186	1.89*	.060
Lack of Loving Feelings	-.05	-.16	.07	-0.80	.422	.20	.07	.32	3.00**	.003	2.96*	.003
Sex	-.14	-.28	.00	-1.95	.052	.09	-.06	.24	1.22	.225	2.47*	.014
Amount of Time Spent Together	-.09	-.25	.06	-1.17	.242	.05	-.17	.26	0.43	.667	1.11	.270
Power Struggles	.09	-.04	.22	1.36	.175	.27	.13	.40	3.95**	.000	2.01*	.046
Solving Problems	-.04	-.17	.09	-0.61	.545	.20	.06	.33	2.87*	.004	2.64*	.008
Making Decisions	-.11	-.24	.03	-1.57	.118	.15	.00	.29	1.96*	.051	2.62*	.009
Money Management/ Finances	.10	-.05	.25	1.33	.185	.06	-.09	.21	0.83	.407	-0.39	.696
Household Management	.06	-.08	.20	0.87	.383	.01	-.13	.15	0.13	.898	-0.57	.567
Conflict about Gender Roles	-.01	-.12	.11	-0.09	.929	.10	-.02	.21	1.63	.104	1.26	.209
Children	-.07	-.19	.05	-1.18	.240	.03	-.09	.16	0.55	.582	1.32	.187
Serious Individual Problems	.17	.01	.32	2.15*	.032	.09	-.06	.25	1.21	.226	-0.72	.472
Affairs or Infidelity	.05	-.05	.15	0.96	.340	.12	.03	.20	2.63**	.009	1.09	.275
Relatives	.02	-.14	.17	0.20	.839	.04	-.11	.20	0.57	.568	0.28	.779
Friends	.14	.02	.27	2.36*	.019	.20	.07	.34	2.99**	.003	0.62	.537
Jealousy	.14	.01	.28	2.05*	.041	.11	-.02	.24	1.71	.087	-0.32	.747
Problems Related to Previous Relationships	.14	.02	.27	2.22*	.027	.00	-.13	.13	-0.02	.984	-1.73	.084
Employment/Job	-.02	-.17	.13	-0.23	.817	.13	-.02	.29	1.69	.092	1.49	.137
Recreation/Leisure Time	-.08	-.22	.07	-1.03	.305	.04	-.11	.19	0.54	.591	1.17	.241
Alcohol or Drugs	-.04	-.15	.07	-0.65	.514	.06	-.04	.17	1.16	.246	1.41	.161
Physical Abuse	.00	-.07	.06	-0.16	.875	.03	-.03	.09	1.00	.318	0.83	.407
Religion Differences/Conflict over Values	.03	-.07	.13	0.64	.524	.11	.00	.22	1.89	.059	1.07	.286
Health Problems	-.03	-.15	.09	-0.47	.636	.11	-.03	.24	1.57	.117	1.60	.110

Note. Gender diff. coefficients test whether the effects significantly differed across men and women. All models included the effect of benevolent sexism, and partners' hostile and benevolent sexism. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table SM3.6. The Effect of Individuals' Own Hostile and Benevolent Sexism on Women's and Men's Experiences of Relationship Problems.

Relationship Problems	Women's Experiences of Relationships Problems					Men's Experiences of Relationships Problems					Gender Diff.	
		95% CI					*95% CI*					
	B	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*B*	*Low*	*High*	*t*	*r*	*t*	*r*
Predicting Relationship Connection & Communication												
Hostile Sexism	-.16	-.27	-.05	-2.92**	-.15	.19	.07	.31	3.09**	.16	-3.89**	-.18
Benevolent Sexism	.12	.00	.24	2.03*	.11	-.13	-.25	-.00	-2.00*	-.11	-2.64*	-.12
Predicting Finances, Employment, Family												
Hostile Sexism	-.04	-.15	.08	-0.64	-.02	.12	-.02	.21	1.67	.09	1.50	.07
Benevolent Sexism	.05	-.18	.07	-0.85	-.04	.04	-.09	.15	0.46	.02	0.86	.04
Predicting Power Dynamics												
Hostile Sexism	-.13	-.24	-.02	-2.25*	-.12	.31	.18	.43	4.83**	.25	4.82**	.21
Benevolent Sexism	.07	-.05	.20	1.19	.07	-.20	-.33	-.07	-3.05**	-.16	-2.89**	.13
Predicting Jealousy & Other Relationships												
Hostile Sexism	.14	.04	.25	2.61**	.14	.14	.02	.25	2.25*	-.12	-0.10	.03
Benevolent Sexism	.01	-.11	.13	0.13	.01	.04	-.08	.16	0.62	.03	0.34	.03
Predicting Abuse, Affairs, Addiction & Gender-role Conflict												
Hostile Sexism	-.06	-.13	.02	-1.37	-.07	.13	.06	.20	3.63**	.19	3.24**	.14
Benevolent Sexism	.01	.07	.09	0.28	.02	-.03	-.10	.04	-0.78	-.04	-0.68	-.03
Predicting Personal Problems & Differences												
Hostile Sexism	.02	-.09	.13	0.32	.02	.12	.01	.23	2.15*	.11	1.20	.05
Benevolent Sexism	-.01	-.13	.11	-0.09	-.00	-.09	-.20	.03	-1.45	-.08	-0.88	-.04
Predicting Time Together & Recreation												
Hostile Sexism	-.08	-.23	.06	-1.11	-.06	.03	-.14	.20	0.36	.02	0.93	.04
Benevolent Sexism	.05	-.11	.21	0.64	.03	-.09	-.26	.08	-1.03	-.05	-1.13	-.05

Note. Gender diff. coefficients test whether the effects significantly differed across men and women. All models included both actor and partner effects of hostile and benevolent sexism. The partner effects are presented in Chapter Four, and the actor effects are presented here. $p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$.

Relationship Evaluations and Indirect Effects. Moreover, as shown in Table SM3.7, men's endorsement of hostile sexism predicted more negative relationship evaluations (Model 1), but this effect was reduced when modelling each measure of relationship problems (Model 2). The related indirect effects (see Table SM3.8) also supported that men's own experiences of overall relationship problems and the diverse categories of relationship problems mediated the relationship between men's hostile sexism and men's more negative relationship evaluations. These results highlight the array of difficulties men who endorse hostile sexism experience in intimate relationships.

Women's Endorsement of Hostile Sexism. The effects of women's endorsement of hostile sexism on women's experiences of relationship problems also corroborated the partner effects reported in Chapter Four. Women's endorsement of hostile sexism predicted women reporting lower problems with Power Dynamics and greater problems with Jealousy and Other Relationships (see Table SM3.6). In addition, women's endorsement of hostile sexism was associated with women reporting less problems with Relationship Connection & Communication. Moreover, women's hostile sexism was associated with women reporting more positive relationship evaluations (see Table SM3.7), and this effect was reduced when modelling the lower problems with Relationship Connection & Communication women who endorsed hostile sexism reported. Significant indirect effects also indicated that women's endorsement of hostile sexism is linked with women possessing more positive relationship evaluations via lower problems with Power Dynamics and Relationship Connection & Communication, along with an opposing negative indirect effect via greater problems with Jealousy and Other Relationships (see Table SM3.8). Taken together, these results indicate that women's hostile sexism may align with a traditional gender role structure that reduces power struggles and soothes communication within the relationship, but also increases problems with managing other relationships outside the dyad.

Table SM3.7. The Effect of Hostile Sexism and Relationship Problems on Relationship Evaluations.

Predictors	Women's Relationship Evaluations					Men's Relationship Evaluations					Gender Diff.	
	B	***LL***	***UL***	***t***	***r***	***B***	***LL***	***UL***	***t***	***r***	***t***	***r***
Model 1												
Hostile Sexism	.10	.03	.17	2.85*	.15	-.13	-.19	-.06	-3.64**	.19	-4.23**	-.19
Benevolent Sexism	-.07	-.15	.01	-1.78	-.09	.13	.06	.20	3.53**	.18	3.48**	.16
Model 2 – Problem Severity												
Problem Severity	-.02	-.02	-.02	-12.35**	-.54	-.02	-.02	-.01	-10.53**	-.48	1.27	.06
Hostile Sexism	.07	.02	.13	2.52*	.15	-.06	-.12	.00	-2.06*	-.19	-3.10**	-.14
Benevolent Sexism	-.06	-.12	.01	-1.74	-.09	.10	.04	.16	3.26**	.18	3.41**	.15
Model 2 – Problem Number (> 1)												
Problem Number (> 1)	-.05	-.06	-.03	-7.44**	-.37	-.05	-.06	-.03	-7.65**	-.38	0.12	.01
Hostile Sexism	.10	.03	.16	2.98**	.16	-.09	-.15	-.02	-2.72*	-.14	-3.81**	-.17
Benevolent Sexism	-.07	-.14	.00	-1.92	-.10	.12	.06	.19	3.69**	.19	3.75**	.17
Model 2 – Relationship Connection & Communication												
Relationship Connection & Communication	-.34	-.39	-.29	-12.53**	-.55	-.29	-.34	-.24	-11.82**	-.53	1.52	.07
Hostile Sexism	.05	-.01	.10	1.57	.08	-.07	-.3	-.01	-2.40*	-.13	-2.70*	-.13
Benevolent Sexism	-.03	-.09	.04	-0.85	-.04	.09	.03	.15	2.96**	.15	2.58*	.12
Model 2 – Power Dynamics												
Power Dynamics	-.24	-.30	-.19	-8.87**	-.42	-.15	-.20	-.10	-5.85**	-.29	2.71**	.12
Hostile Sexism	.07	.01	.13	2.21*	.12	-.08	-.15	-.01	-2.41*	-.13	-3.08**	-.14
Benevolent Sexism	-.05	-.12	.02	-1.48	-.08	.10	.03	.17	2.84**	.15	2.91**	.13
Model 2 – Jealousy & Other Relationships												
Jealousy & Other Relationships	-.18	-.24	-.12	-5.97**	-.30	-.12	-.18	-.07	-4.60**	-.24	1.51	.07
Hostile Sexism	.13	.06	.20	3.71**	.19	-.11	-.18	-.04	-3.23**	-.19	-4.57**	-.21
Benevolent Sexism	-.07	-.14	.01	-1.83	-.10	.13	.06	.20	3.77**	.20	3.68**	.17
Model 2 – Abuse, Affairs, Addiction & Gender-role Conflict												
Abuse, Affairs, Addiction & Gender-role Conflict	-.39	-.47	-.31	-9.67**	-.45	-.28	-.37	-.19	-6.15**	-.30	1.96†	.09
Hostile Sexism	.08	.02	.14	2.59**	.14	-.09	-.16	-.03	-2.72**	-.14	-3.52**	-.16
Benevolent Sexism	-.06	-.13	.00	-1.89	-.10	.12	.05	.19	3.51**	.18	3.61**	.17
Model 2 – Personal Problems & Differences												
Personal Problems & Differences	-.10	-.16	-.04	-3.47**	-.18	-.13	-.19	-.07	-4.53**	-.23	-0.67	.03
Hostile Sexism	.10	.03	.17	2.95**	.15	-.11	-.18	-.04	-3.28**	-.17	-4.09**	-.18
Benevolent Sexism	-.07	-.14	.01	-1.83	-.09	.12	.05	.19	3.33**	.17	3.38**	.15

Note. Gender diff. coefficients test whether the effects significantly differed across men and women. All models included the effect of individuals' own and partners' hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. The partner effects are presented in Chapter Four, and the actor effects presented here. Effect sizes *r* were computed using Rosenthal and Rosnow's (2007) formula: $r = \sqrt{(t^2 / t^2 + df)}$. † <.051 *$p$ < .05. **p < .01.

Table SM3.8. Indirect effects between Individuals' Own Hostile Sexism Predicting Relationship Evaluations mediated by Greater Severity, Number, and Categories of Relationship Problems.

Indirect Effect Tested		95% Confidence Interval	
	Indirect Effect	**Lower Limit**	**Upper Limit**
Effects on Men's Experiences of Relationship Problems			
Hostile Sexism → Problem Severity → Relationship Evaluations	**-.064**	**-.099**	**-.031**
Hostile Sexism → Number of Problems → Relationship Evaluations	**-.039**	**-.067**	**-.015**
Hostile Sexism → Relationship Connection and Communication → Relationship Evaluations	**-.055**	**-.093**	**-.020**
Hostile Sexism → Power Dynamics → Relationship Evaluations	**-.046**	**-.072**	**-.024**
Hostile Sexism → Jealousy & Other Relationships → Relationship Evaluations	**-.017**	**-.035**	**-.002**
Hostile Sexism → Abuse, Affairs, Addiction & Gender-role Conflict → Relationship Evaluations	**-.036**	**-.061**	**-.015**
Hostile Sexism → Personal Problems & Difficulties → Relationship Evaluations	**-.016**	**-.034**	**-.001**
Effects on Women's Experiences of Relationship Problems			
Hostile Sexism → Problem Severity→ Relationship Evaluations	.028	-.009	.065
Hostile Sexism → Number of Problems → Relationship Evaluations	.006	-.018	.030
Hostile Sexism → Relationship Connection and Communication → Relationship Evaluations	**.056**	**.018**	**.095**
Hostile Sexism → Power Dynamics → Relationship Evaluations	**.032**	**.004**	**.061**
Hostile Sexism → Jealousy & Other Relationships → Relationship Evaluations	**-.026**	**-.048**	**-.006**
Hostile Sexism → Abuse, Affairs, Addiction & Gender-role Conflict → Relationship Evaluations	.021	-.009	.051
Hostile Sexism → Personal Problems & Difficulties → Relationship Evaluations	-.002	-.015	.010

Note. Asymmetric Confidence intervals were calculated following Mackinnon, Fritz, Williams, and Lockwood (2007). Confidence intervals shown in bold do not overlap "0".

4. Benevolent Sexism and Partner and Own Experiences of Relationship Problems.

As described in Chapter Four, individuals' own sexist attitudes were included in all models to control for the shared variance across hostile and benevolent sexism, and ensure we were testing the distinct effects of hostile sexism. The effects of partners' benevolent sexism are reported and discussed in Chapter Four. Here we present the effects of individuals' own Benevolent Sexism on individuals' own experiences of particular categories of relationship problems (Table SM3.6), and whether these are linked to relationship satisfaction and commitment (Table SM3.7) as summarized in Footnotes 19-21 of the Chapter Four. As shown in Table SM3.9, women's endorsement of benevolent sexism was associated with women reporting more problems related to relationship connection and communication, which in turn was associated with women reporting lower satisfaction and commitment. Interestingly, the opposite effect emerged for men's benevolent sexism: Men who more strongly endorsed benevolent sexism reported less problems related to relationship connection and communication, which in turn was associated with men reporting greater satisfaction and commitment. Moreover, the same pattern emerged for Power Dynamics: Men who more strongly endorsed benevolent sexism reported less problems with Power Dynamics, which in turn was associated with men reporting greater satisfaction and commitment. These results suggest that benevolent sexism has divergent implications for relationship problems for women versus men. As noted in Footnote 20, this divergent pattern is consistent with the proposed function of men's benevolent sexism in enhancing heterosexual intimacy (Glick & Fiske, 1996), whereas women's benevolent sexism creating rigid relationship expectations that are hard to consistently meet in relationships and thus can cause dissatisfaction (Hammond & Overall, 2013, 2017).

Table SM3.9. Indirect effects between Partners' and Individuals' Own Benevolent Sexism Predicting Relationship Evaluations mediated by Categories of Relationship Problems.

Indirect Effect Tested	95% Confidence Interval		
	Indirect Effect	**Lower Limit**	**Upper Limit**
Effects on Women's Experiences of Relationship Problems			
Partners' Benevolent Sexism → Finances, Employment & Family → Relationship Evaluations	-.024	-.051	.000
Partners' Benevolent Sexism → Power Dynamics → Relationship Evaluations	**.032**	**.002**	**.064**
Own Benevolent Sexism → Relationship Connection & Communication → Relationship Evaluations	**-.042**	**-.084**	**-.002**
Effects on Men's Experiences of Relationship Problems			
Partners' Benevolent Sexism → Relationship Connection & Communication → Relationship Evaluations	**-.051**	**-.090**	**-.015**
Partners' Benevolent Sexism → Personal Problems & Difficulties → Relationship Evaluations	**-.017**	**-.036**	**-.002**
Own Benevolent Sexism → Relationship Connection & Communication → Relationship Evaluations	**.037**	**.001**	**.075**
Own Benevolent Sexism → Power Dynamics → Relationship Evaluations	**.030**	**.010**	**.054**

Note. Asymmetric Confidence intervals were calculated following Mackinnon, Fritz, Williams, and Lockwood (2007). Confidence intervals shown in bold do not overlap "0".

5. Examples of Syntax used for Primary Analyses.

This section presents an example of the syntax used for the primary analyses presented in Chapter Four. The syntax for all analyses included in Chapter Four is available upon request from the Author. Please email e.cross@auckland.ac.nz.

Table 4.3. The Effect of Partner's Hostile Sexism on Women's and Men's Experiences of Overall Relationship Problems (Severity and Number of Problems).

Predicting Severity (Sum of Problem Ratings)

```
MIXED RelProblemsSUM WITH WOMAN MAN BS_c HS_c p_BS_c p_HS_c gender
  /CRITERIA=CIN(95)MXITER(1000) MXSTEP(5) SCORING(10)
SINGULAR(0.000000000001) HCONVERGE(0,
    ABSOLUTE) LCONVERGE(0, ABSOLUTE) PCONVERGE(0.000001, ABSOLUTE)
  /FIXED= BS_c HS_c  p_HS_c p_BS_c gender  gender*HS_c gender*BS_c gender*p_HS_c
gender*p_BS_c
  /PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(DyadID) COVTYPE(CSH).

MIXED RelProblemsSUM WITH WOMAN MAN  BS_c HS_c p_BS_c p_HS_c gender
  /CRITERIA=CIN(95)MXITER(1000) MXSTEP(5) SCORING(10)
SINGULAR(0.000000000001) HCONVERGE(0,
    ABSOLUTE) LCONVERGE(0, ABSOLUTE) PCONVERGE(0.000001, ABSOLUTE)
  /FIXED=WOMAN  WOMAN*HS_c WOMAN*BS_c WOMAN*p_HS_c
WOMAN*p_BS_c
MAN  MAN*HS_c MAN*BS_c MAN*p_HS_c  MAN*p_BS_c | NOINT
  /PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(DyadID) COVTYPE(CSH).
```

Predicting Number of Problems (No. of Problems > 1)

```
MIXED RelProblemsCount WITH WOMAN MAN BS_c HS_c p_BS_c p_HS_c gender
  /CRITERIA=CIN(95)MXITER(1000) MXSTEP(5) SCORING(10)
SINGULAR(0.000000000001) HCONVERGE(0,
    ABSOLUTE) LCONVERGE(0, ABSOLUTE) PCONVERGE(0.000001, ABSOLUTE)
  /FIXED= BS_c HS_c  p_HS_c p_BS_c gender  gender*HS_c gender*BS_c gender*p_HS_c
gender*p_BS_c
  /PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(DyadID) COVTYPE(CSH).

MIXED RelProblemsCount WITH WOMAN MAN  BS_c HS_c p_BS_c p_HS_c gender
  /CRITERIA=CIN(95)MXITER(1000) MXSTEP(5) SCORING(10)
SINGULAR(0.000000000001) HCONVERGE(0,
    ABSOLUTE) LCONVERGE(0, ABSOLUTE) PCONVERGE(0.000001, ABSOLUTE)
```

```
  /FIXED=WOMAN  WOMAN*HS_c WOMAN*BS_c WOMAN*p_HS_c
WOMAN*p_BS_c
MAN  MAN*HS_c MAN*BS_c MAN*p_HS_c  MAN*p_BS_c | NOINT
  /PRINT=SOLUTION TESTCOV COVB
  /REPEATED=obs | SUBJECT(DyadID) COVTYPE(CSH).
```

Table 4.5. Factor Analysis of 25 Item Relationship Problem Inventory.

```
FACTOR
  /VARIABLES diffcomm diffexpect diffaffection difflove diffsex difftime diffpower
    diffsolveprob diffdecison diffmoney diffhousem diffgenderrole diffchildren
    diffindivprob diffinfidelity diffrelatives difffriends diffjealous diffprevrelation
    diffjob diffrecreation diffalcdrugs diffabuse diffreligion diffhealth
  /MISSING LISTWISE
  /ANALYSIS diffcomm diffexpect diffaffection difflove diffsex difftime diffpower
    diffsolveprob diffdecison diffmoney diffhousem diffgenderrole diffchildren
    diffindivprob diffinfidelity diffrelatives difffriends diffjealous diffprevrelation
    diffjob diffrecreation diffalcdrugs diffabuse diffreligion diffhealth
  /PRINT UNIVARIATE INITIAL CORRELATION SIG DET KMO INV REPR AIC
EXTRACTION ROTATION FSCORE
  /FORMAT SORT BLANK(.25)
  /PLOT EIGEN ROTATION
  /CRITERIA MINEIGEN(1) ITERATE(25)
  /EXTRACTION PAF
  /CRITERIA ITERATE(25)
  /ROTATION VARIMAX
  /SAVE AR(ALL)
  /METHOD=CORRELATION.
```