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The impact of gender ideologies on men's and women's desire for a traditional or non-traditional partner

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ABSTRACT

Two studies examine preferences for a long-term partner who conforms to traditional or non-traditional gender roles. The studies both demonstrate a link between benevolent sexism and preference for a traditional partner. However, Study 1 also demonstrates a strong preference among women for a non-traditional partner. We measured ambivalent sexist ideologies before introducing participants to either a stereotypically traditional or stereotypically non-traditional character of the opposite sex. In Study 1, women high in benevolence toward men reported a preference for a traditional man when compared to women low in benevolence toward men. We found no such link for hostility toward men. Study 2 showed that men high in benevolent sexism preferred a traditional woman more than men low in benevolent sexism. Again, this was not the case for hostile sexism. The studies provide evidence using both the Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory and the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory and demonstrate a relationship between benevolent ideology and partner choice that adds to a literature on partner preference which has to date been focused on preference dimensions of attractiveness and resources.

Ambivalent sexism theory purports that sexism is the combination of complementary gender ideologies, held by both men and women (Glick et al., 2000), that serve to maintain the social hierarchy. According to ambivalent sexism theory, benevolent sexism (BS) is a paternalistic ideology in which women are regarded as subordinate to men and in need of protection; they are cherished and revered for their virtue. Hostile sexism (HS) is a combative ideology that is hostile toward women who challenge traditional patterns and are seen as seeking to control men, either by using their sexuality or feminist ideology. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996) is a 22-item self-report measure, which includes both benevolent and hostile subscales and assesses the extent to which people maintain benevolent and hostile attitudes toward women. Heterosexual relations and sexual reproduction highlight the interpersonal interdependence of men and women. The hostile perspective of this interdependence is that women are able "to use sex" to control men, whereas the benevolent perspective asserts that women are a valuable resource (essential for family life and happiness, but inferior).

On the flipside of gender relations, women can hold hostile as well as benevolent beliefs about men, resulting in sexist ambivalence toward men (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Benevolence toward men (BM) is an upwardly directed ideology, based on women's admiration for the higher status of men and the need to protect women's positive distinctiveness from men by 'taking care of them' (e.g. Glick & Hilt, 2000). In contrast, hostility toward men (HM) is rooted in women's resentment of men's higher status, dominance (e.g. sexual aggressiveness, paternalism) and the continued inequality between women and men (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Glick and Fiske (1999) developed an instrument to measure ambivalent attitudes toward men, the Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory (AMI). This scale complements the original Ambivalent Sexism Inventory subscales (Glick & Fiske, 1996) by tapping both hostile and benevolent prejudices and stereotypes toward men. Hostility toward men is mainly related to attitudes to male dominance and stereotypes men as controlling and condescending; people with attitudes high in hostility toward men negatively characterize men based on their position of advantage over women in society. Benevolence toward men is related to beliefs about support and justification of male dominance. BM portrays men as emotionally stronger than women, more willing to take risks for success, and, on the whole, stereotypes men as being higher in competence and status than women (Glick et al., 2004).

Glick and Fiske (1996) view the systemic interpersonal dependency between women and men as crucial antecedent to sexism and a considerable body of research has addressed the relationship between gender ideologies and partner preferences. Research on partner preferences, precedes that on ambivalent sexism by many years and can be traced back to the 1940s (e.g. Hill, 1945). This work has examined sex

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differences in preferences for particular characteristics or traits in a potential partner. Generally studies have demonstrated that women prefer potential partners with high earning potential, whereas men report greater preference for attractiveness in a partner (e.g. Buss, 1989).

Recently, Eastwick, Luchies, Finkel, and Hunt (2014) conducted a meta-analysis of ninety-seven studies which examine preferences for physical attractiveness and earning prospects in relation to romantic evaluation of a potential partner, the meta-analysis included only studies in which a 'partner' was a person of the opposite sex who the participant had (at a minimum) met face to face. They found that physical attractiveness predicted romantic evaluations for both sexes with moderate to strong effect sizes and that earning potential also predicted romantic evaluations of both men and women with a small effect size. Sex differences in these correlations were small and non-significant indicating that men and women value both attractiveness and earning potential in a potential partner.

A number of studies have also explored the degree to which benevolent and hostile gender ideologies influence partner preferences (e.g., Eastwick et al., 2006; Travaglia, Overall, & Sibley, 2009). These studies have fairly consistently demonstrated that, in women benevolent sexism is related to preference for provider characteristics in a partner, and in men, hostile sexism is related to preference for attractiveness. Sibley and Overall (2011) conducted a meta-analysis of 32 studies (16 male samples, 16 female samples, N = 5459) which examined the relationship between benevolent sexism, hostile sexism and preferences for attractive and high-resource partners by men and women. The results of the meta-analysis demonstrated that for women, higher benevolent sexism was related to an increased preference for a partner provider potential; for men higher hostile sexism was related to an increased preference for attractiveness in a partner. The role of homemaker characteristics in partner preference has also been examined. Eastwick et al. (2006), using a nine nation sample, demonstrated that traditional gender ideology was positively associated with the importance of "good cook and housekeeper" qualities in a partner for both men and women, it was however a stronger predictor of men's preferences. Traditional gender ideologies were associated with a stronger preference for provider characteristics among women and "good cook and housekeeper" among men. In contrast, Eagly, Eastwick, and Johannesen-Schmidt (2009) reported that women in a North American student sample valued a spouse's homemaker characteristics as much as men did. Eagly et al., also found that being asked to envision oneself in either a homemaker or a provider role created a shift toward preference for a partner taking the complementary role for both men and women. These findings may reflect the reality of the considerable convergence in marital partners' earnings in some Western countries in recent years. In the USA forty percent of families have the mother as the sole or main earner (Wang, Parker, & Taylor, 2013); in the UK thirty-one percent of women are also the main 'breadwinner' in the family (Ben-Galim & Thompson, 2013).

Research into partner preferences has been subject to criticism, it has been argued (e.g. Eastwick & Finkel, 2008) that while there may be a consistent relationship between gender ideology and stated preference for particular characteristics in partner, these characteristics do not necessarily relate to attraction or relationship interest in a particular person. Eastwick and Finkel (2008) demonstrated that individual preferences did not predict interest in real-life romantic partners when faced with a speed dating situation. They suggested that preferences may reflect a priori theories about the characteristics of a potential partner, rather than factors that will actually attract one individual to another. Most studies which have examined partner preferences tend to use specific characteristics - traits, dimensions or values, as the means of evaluating preferences. One suggestion in Eastwick et al.'s (2014) paper is that stronger predictive validity for ideal partner preferences could be obtained by using low-level construal information – concrete behaviour – rather than specific traits. Another notable gap in the

literature on gender ideology and partner preference has been the relatively low use of the Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory (AMI; Glick & Fiske, 1996). While Eastwick et al. examined mate preferences in relation to both the AMI and the ASI, much of literature and meta-analyses have featured only the ASI, examining men and women's gender ideologies toward women.

Our aim in the research presented here is to quasi-experimentally test whether women's and men's endorsement of gender ideologies concerning the opposite sex impact on their reported preferences for a traditional or non-traditional partner, a partner that will either fulfil a provider role, or, one in which work takes second place to caring for children. We investigate women's attitudes toward men (AMI scores) and men's attitudes toward women (ASI scores), and their respective impact on long-term partner preference.

We propose that benevolent gender ideologies will particularly affect people's preferences for a long-term partner. In general, the more individuals subscribe to benevolent gender ideologies, the more they will prefer involvement with partners adopting traditional gender roles (i.e. communal females and agentic males). The current research therefore focuses on roles that are traditional for females and non-traditional for males (child-focused, communal) or that are traditional for males and non-traditional for females (career-focused, breadwinner, agentic). The clearest finding in the literature reported above is that benevolent gender ideologies are consistently related to men prioritizing attractiveness and women prioritizing providing as traits in romantic partner preferences (e.g., Buss, 1989; Chen, Fiske, & Lee, 2009; Lee, Fiske, Glick, & Chen, 2010). The current research reassesses these findings using quasi-experimental methods and vignettes to examine how gender ideology relates to long-term partner preference in relation to actual lifestyles rather than traits. Study 1 assesses how women's ambivalence toward men affects their choice of a long-term male partner; Study 2 assesses how men's ambivalent sexism toward women affects their choice of a long-term female partner.

We propose the following set of hypotheses: In the female sample, benevolence but not hostility toward men will predict a stronger preference for a traditional, provider-type man than for a non-traditional, homemaker-type man (Study 1). In the male sample, benevolent sexism will predict a stronger preference and higher anticipated relationship satisfaction for a traditional, homemaker-type woman than for a non-traditional career woman (Study 2). For men, hostile sexism may predict negative evaluations of a relationship with a non-traditional woman, because such a role is challenging to traditional patterns and those high in hostile sexism feel negatively toward women who challenge traditional patterns.

1. Study 1

1.1. Method

1.1.1. Participants

One hundred and twenty-eight heterosexual women participated in this study online. Six participants who indicated homosexual orientations were excluded from the dataset. The average age of participants was 24.20 years old ($SD = 3.72$), 59.8% of participants (N = 73) were in a relationship and 9.8% of participants (N = 12) reported having children. All participants were German and spoke German as their first language.

1.1.2. Design

This study employed a quasi-experimental between-subjects design with type of partner (traditional vs. non-traditional) and levels of gender ideology (hostility toward men: HM and benevolence toward men: BM) as independent variables. We based the description of the traditional and non-traditional hypothetical man on the vignettes used by Siebler, Sabelus, and Bohner (2008). A pilot study conducted online with N = 89 German women revealed that the traditional target

was perceived as equally competent ($M = 3.52$, $SD = 0.69$) but significantly less warm ($M = 2.16$, $SD = 0.60$) than the non-traditional target ($M_{Competence} = 3.65$, $SD_{Comptence} = 0.84$, $F(1, 87) = 0.62$, $p = .432$; $M_{Warmth} = 3.98$, $SD_{Warmth} = 0.85$, $F(1, 87) = 133.33$, $p < .001$). The vignettes are shown in Appendix A. The dependent variable was the desire for a relationship with the hypothetical man. Participants were randomly assigned to either the traditional ($n = 59$) or the non-traditional partner condition ($n = 63$).

1.1.3. Measures

1.1.3.1. Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory. The Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory (AMI, Glick & Fiske, 1999) is a 20-item measure consisting of a 10-item hostility toward men subscale (HM) and a 10-item benevolence toward men sub-scale (BM). In the present study, we used Werner and von Collani's (2004) German translation of the AMI. Participants indicated their level of agreement on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree). Example items are "Every woman needs a male partner who will cherish her" (BM) and "A man who is sexually attracted to a woman typically has no morals about doing whatever it takes to get her in bed" (HM).

1.1.3.2. Relationship Scale. The Relationship Scale (REL) was devised by Thomae (2010) to capture the wish for a long-term relationship with a target person (for this study the traditional versus the non-traditional man). The measure was designed following discussion with colleagues and examination of similar scales utilized in the literature. A 12-item scale was devised in which participants indicate their level of agreement on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree). The twelve items are presented in Appendix B. Example items are "I could imagine marrying a person like (target name)" and "I think people like (target name) endorse goals in life which are similar to mine".

1.1.3.3. Vignettes. One vignette presented a "traditional" male character who is career-oriented and driven, who is expecting to take the provider role for a future family and have a wife who would take responsibility for home and family. The other presented a "non-traditional" male character, who had reconsidered his career ambitions and was focused on being able to care for his future children and have time for family life.

1.1.3.4. Measure Reliability. Reliability analyses using Cronbach's alpha indicated satisfactory scale qualities for all measures (HM: $\alpha = .84$, BM: $\alpha = .84$, REL: $\alpha = .96$). Composite scores were created for each scale by averaging the relevant items.

1.1.4. Procedure

The data for this study were collected via an advertisement posted on Facebook. Participation was voluntary and no reward or financial compensation was given for participation. Participants completed the AMI and were randomly introduced to either the traditional or the non-traditional target character. Participants were then asked to read the description of this character and to complete the Relationship Scale with reference to the target character and irrespective of their own relationship status. The participants had to complete the study in one continuous period on-line; pilot work indicated that the time taken to complete was 15–20 min. A written debrief was given at the end of the questionnaire.

1.2. Results

1.2.1. Preliminary Analyses

Correlation analyses of composite scores indicated a significant positive correlation between HM and BM ($r (120) = .45$, $p < .001$). There were no significant correlations between HM and BM and REL. Table 1 presents means and standard deviations for all three variables along

Table 1
Means, Standard Deviations and Correlations for Hostility toward Men, Benevolence toward Men and Desire for a Relationship with 'Tobias'.

	M	SD	HM	BM	REL
HM	3.91	1.15	-	.45**	−.11
BM	3.05	1.14		-	.12
REL	3.37	1.71			-

Note: HM - Hostility toward Men; BM - Benevolence toward Men, REL - Desire for a Relationship. Higher values indicate higher levels of either form of sexism, or stronger desire for a relationship, respectively.

with the correlations. Overall, participants who were introduced to the non-traditional man indicated a stronger wish for a relationship ($M = 4.34$, $SD = 1.48$) than the participants who were introduced to the traditional man ($M = 2.39$, $SD = 1.32$, $t (117) = 7.56$, $p < .001$).

1.2.2. Main Analysis

We conducted a moderated multiple regression analysis to test the impact of experimental condition (traditional; non-traditional), HM and BM on REL. As recommended by Jaccard and Turrisi (2003), all independent variables were centred. The model was tested using PROCESS Model 3 (Hayes, 2013) with 5000 bootstraps, which considers the unique contribution of the main effects and interactions among independent variables. We also added participants' actual romantic relationship status as a covariate in the model. Details of the results of this analysis can be found in Table 2.

Participants' actual romantic relationship status did not significantly predict the desire for a relationship with the target. In line with the bivariate correlations reported above, there was an effect of BM on REL, indicating that higher BM scores predict a stronger wish for a romantic relationship with either type of man. There was no significant effect of HM although the direction of the relationship was negative, indicating that higher HM levels were related to a lesser wish for a romantic relationship with either man. The effect of experimental condition was significant, reflecting the differences of preference in favour of the non-traditional target. The only significant interaction term was the predicted two-way interaction between BM and condition. The increase in R^2 due to the BM x Condition interaction was significant. $R^2 = .40$, R^2 change $= .024$, $F(1110) = 4.41$, $p = .038$. Simple slopes analyses were conducted using PROCESS Model 1. This showed that there was no significant relationship between BM and REL in the non-traditional condition ($B = −.02$, $SE = .16$, $t = 0.13$, $p = .89$) but a positive, significant relationship between BM and REL in the traditional condition ($B = .52$, $t = 3.29$, $p < .001$; see Fig. 1). These findings indicate that, while generally women preferred the non-traditional romantic partner over the traditional male partner, those high in benevolence toward men were more likely to desire a traditional rather than a non-traditional male partner.

Table 2
The effects of Hostility toward Men, Benevolence toward Men and Condition (Non-Traditional vs Traditional) on Desire for Relationship with the Target.

	coefficient	SE	t	P
Relationship Status	−.05	.14	−.37	.711
HM	−.20	.13	−1.55	.124
BM	.33	.13	2.56	.012
Condition	−.94	.14	−6.78	<.001
HM x Condition	−.04	.13	−.28	.778
BM x Condition	.27	.13	2.10	.038
HM x BM	.00	.09	−.03	.979
HM x BM x Condition	−.04	.10	−.38	.708

Note: The analysis used PROCESS Model 3 with 5000 bootstraps (Hayes, 2013). HM - *Hostility toward Men*; BM - *Benevolence toward Men*, REL - *Desire for a Relationship*. Participants are female. Condition is coded so that a higher number refers to the traditional Target. Relationship Status is coded so that −1 = "Single" and 1 = "in a relationship". HM and BM are mean centred.
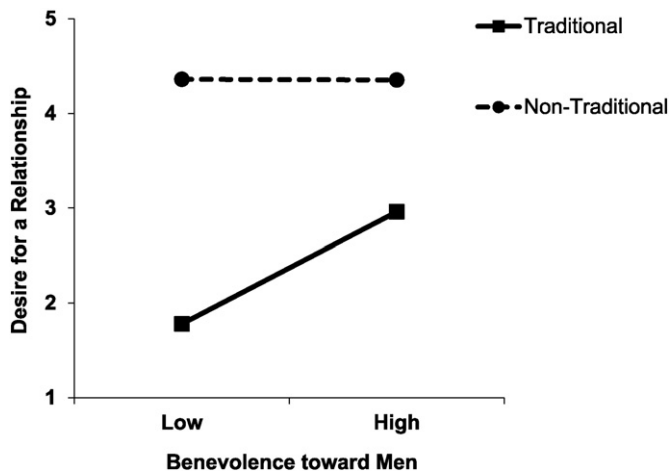
Fig. 1. Study 1. Effects of Female Benevolence toward Men on their Desire for a Relationship with a Male Target as a function of Condition (Non-Traditional Target vs. Traditional Target). Note: Low and High Benevolence are at 1 SD below and above the mean, respectively.

1.2.3. Discussion

Study 1 identified a significant main effect of benevolence toward men on female participants' desire for a long-term relationship. A significant main effect of condition was also found, women presented with the non-traditional target character had a stronger desire for a long term relationship than those presented with the traditional target. There was also a clear difference in reported preferences for a traditional man among women high in benevolence toward men, as compared to women low in benevolence toward men. There was no significant interaction effect of hostility toward men and condition on women's desire for a hypothetical romantic relationship.

2. Study 2

Study 2 examined the same questions as Study 1 but in a sample of men and employed the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and Siebler et al.'s (2008) vignettes. Study 2 further included Hendrick's (1988) Relationship Assessment Scale (RAS), an established measure of relationship satisfaction, as an additional dependent variable. Study 2 quasi-experimentally investigated whether ambivalent sexist ideology shapes men's romantic partner preferences. The prediction for this study is that benevolent sexism will predict a stronger preference and higher anticipated relationship satisfaction for a traditional, homemaker-type woman partner than for a non-traditional career woman. We also predict that hostile sexism may predict lower preference and lower anticipated relationship satisfaction with a non-traditional woman, because such a role is challenging to traditional sex roles and could be interpreted as a means of trying to control men.

2.1. Method

2.1.1. Participants

One hundred and ten German adult men participated in this paper-and-pencil study. All participants indicated a heterosexual sexual orientation. Participants' average age was 29.76 years ($SD = 2.54$). Seventy-seven percent of participants (N = 86) reported being in a relationship and 46% of participants (N = 52) reported having children, all were in employment. The participants were attending an adult education college for training required by their employers. As in Study 1, all participants in Study 2 were German and spoke German as their first language.

2.1.2. Design, measures and procedure

Study 2 employed the same design as Study 1, but used the ASI rather than the AMI. The same quasi-experimental between-subjects design was employed with type of partner (traditional vs. non-traditional) and levels of gender ideology (hostility toward women and benevolence toward women) as independent variables. The dependent variable was the desire for a relationship with the target character. Participants were randomly assigned to either the traditional ($n = 53$) or the non-traditional partner condition ($n = 57$). *Ambivalent Sexism Inventory.* Individual differences in hostile and benevolent sexism were assessed using the German adaptation of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory by Eckes and Six-Materna (1999). Responses were on a 7-point Likert scale, where 1 indicates "strongly disagree" and 7 indicates "strongly agree".

2.1.2.1. Relationship Scale.
As in Study 1, we used the measure for the hypothetical desire for a relationship with the target described in the manipulation (REL; Thomae, 2010). Responses were on a 7-point Likert scale, where 1 indicates "strongly disagree" and 7 indicates "strongly agree".

2.1.2.2. Relationship Assessment Scale.
An additional and well-established measure was included in Study 2. Anticipated relationship satisfaction was measured using Hassebrauck's (1991) German translation of the Relationship Assessment Scale (RAS; Hendrick, 1988). The RAS is a 7-item measure assessing relationship satisfaction in close romantic relationships. Examples of items used in this study are "*How good would your relationship with Julia be compared to most?*" and "*How often would you wish you hadn't gotten into this relationship with Julia?*" A 5-point Likert scale measured participants' responses where "1" indicated low levels of satisfaction and "5″ high levels (items 4 and 7 reversed scored).

2.1.2.3. Measure Reliability.
Cronbach's alpha indicated acceptable internal consistencies for all measures (HS: $\alpha = .81$, BS: $\alpha = .78$, RAS: $\alpha = .89$, REL: $\alpha = .95$).

2.1.2.4. Procedure.
The questionnaires were administered by the first author at an adult-education college in Germany. Participants completed the study individually at the end of a training session. Participation was voluntary and no reward or financial compensation was given for participation. A written debrief was given at the end of the questionnaire and the first author was available for discussion at the end of the session.

3. Results

3.1. Preliminary analyses

Inspection of bivariate correlations revealed no significant correlations between HS and BS or between HS and RAS/REL. The established Relationship Satisfaction Scale (RAS) and the Relationship Scale (REL) were highly and significantly correlated (see Table 3).

Table 3
Correlations between measures of Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism, Relationship Satisfaction and Desire for a Relationship.

	M	SD	HS	BS	RAS	REL
HS	4.58	.91	-	.02	.01	−.04
BS	4.57	.95		-	.08	.12
RAS	3.27	.72			-	.85**
REL	4.40	1.48				-

Note: HS – Hostile Sexism, BM – Benevolent Sexism, REL - Desire for a Relationship, RAS – relationship satisfaction. Higher values indicate higher levels of either form of sexism, or stronger desire for a relationship or anticipated relationship satisfaction, respectively. ** p < .01 level (2-tailed).

3.2. Main analyses

3.2.1. Desire for a relationship with the target (REL)

We conducted a moderated multiple regression analysis using PROCESS Model 3, as in Study 1, with BS, HS and Condition as independent variables (PROCESS Model 3). Relationship status was included as a covariate. There were no main effects for HS, BS, romantic relationship status or experimental condition on REL ($M_{non-traditional} = 4.43$, $SD = 1.45$; $M_{traditional} = 4.38$, $SD = 1.53$). However, in line with Study 1, we observed a significant interaction between BS and condition. The increase in R^2 due to the BS x Condition was significant, $R^2 = .07$, R^2 change $= .052$, $F(1,97) = 5.26$, $p = .024$. All other effects were non-significant (see Table 4). The findings are shown in Table 4. Simple slopes analyses yielded a significant relationship between BS and the wish for a relationship in the traditional woman condition ($B = .48$, $SE = .21$ $t = 2.31$, $p = .023$), but not in the non-traditional woman condition ($B = -.10$, $t = -0.46$, $p = .646$, see Fig. 2). These findings indicate that BS is significantly related to the desire for a traditional but not to a desire for a non-traditional romantic partner.

3.2.2. Anticipated relationship satisfaction (RAS)

The moderated regression analysis yielded no significant main effects of HS, BS, relationship status or condition on RAS and we found no significant interaction effect between HS and condition or BS, HS and condition ($M_{non-traditional} = 3.20$, $SD = 0.73$; $M_{traditional} = 3.34$, $SD = 0.71$). However, once again, there was a significant two-way interaction effect between BS and condition (see Table 5). The increase in R^2 due to the BS x Condition was significant, $R^2 = .10$, R^2 change $= .077$, $F(1,95) = 8.20$, $p = .005$. Simple slopes analyses revealed a significant relationship between BS and RAS in the traditional woman condition ($B = .24$, $SE = .10$ $t = 2.37$, $p = .020$) but not in the non-traditional woman condition ($B = -.09$, $SE = .11$ $t = -.88$, $p = .382$). Men who were higher in benevolent sexism anticipated greater relationship satisfaction from a relationship with the traditional woman compared to men lower in benevolent sexism (see Fig. 3). Our findings hence support the hypothesis that men's benevolent sexism impacts on their anticipated relationship satisfaction with a traditional but not with a non-traditional partner. The proposed negative association between hostile sexism and a relationship with a non-traditional partner was not found.

4. Discussion

Study 2 examined the impact of benevolent sexism on men's desire for a relationship with a traditional versus non-traditional woman and included a measure of anticipated relationship satisfaction as an additional dependent variable. Study 2 revealed a positive and significant correlation between desire for a relationship and anticipated relationship satisfaction as well as effects of the predictors on both variables convergent with Study 1. Most importantly, Study 2 indicates that
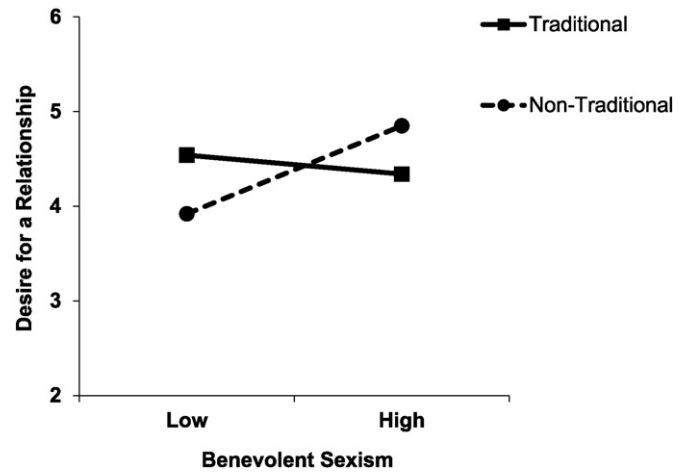

Fig. 2. Study 2. The Effects of Benevolent Sexism on Men's Desire for a Relationship with a Female Target as a function of Condition (Non-Traditional vs. Traditional target). Note: Low and High Benevolence are at 1 SD below and above the mean, respectively.

men high in benevolent sexism desire a relationship with a traditional, rather than a non-traditional, woman and expect high relationship satisfaction from this relationship. As in Study 1, we found no significant main or interaction effects for hostile sexism.

5. General Discussion and Conclusions

The current research adds to the evidence base, which has established a link between ambivalent gender ideologies and partner preferences. By employing vignettes which describe the roles and life-styles that potential partners are following, we were able to follow Eastwick et al.'s. (2014) suggestion to investigate partner preferences in a manner that focuses on behaviour rather than traits. The findings from both studies challenge some of the previous research based on trait preferences. The results from Study 1 show that women who were presented with a target man who was intending to take a non-traditional role in caring for children and prioritizing time with their family had a stronger desire for a relationship than women presented with a target man who was intending on taking the traditional provider role. This finding goes some way to illuminating previous findings in the literature. Being career-oriented, hard-working and ambitious are highly valued attributes in Western society, these are traits both genders value in potential partners (Eastwick et al., 2014) and may be more highly valued by women than men (Eagly et al., 2009). Despite growing work participation among women in the EU and the USA, men remain

Table 4
The Effects of Males' Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism and Condition on Desire for a Relationship with the Target.

	coefficient	SE	t	P
Relationship Status	−.10	.19	−.52	.608
HS	−.04	.17	−.23	.818
BS	.25	.17	1.49	.139
Condition	.03	.15	.19	.849
HS x Condition	−.16	.16	−1.01	.315
BS x Condition	−.44	.17	−2.59	.011
HS x BS	.26	.16	1.56	.121
HS x BS x Condition	−.14	.16	−.89	.376

Note: The analysis used PROCESS Model 3 with 5000 bootstraps (Hayes, 2013). HS – Hostile Sexism, BM – Benevolent Sexism. Participants are male. Condition is coded −1 for the traditional target and 1 for the non-traditional target. Relationship Status is coded so that −1 = "Single" and 1 = "in a relationship". HS and BS are mean centred.

Table 5
The Effects of Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism and Condition on Relationship Satisfaction.

	coefficient	SE	t	P
Relationship Status	−.10	.09	−1.06	.292
HS	.02	.08	.24	.809
BS	.10	.08	1.19	.236
Condition	−.05	.07	−.75	.455
HS x Condition	−.08	.08	−1.07	.288
BS x Condition	−.24	.08	−2.96	.004
HS x BS	.11	.08	1.35	.180
HS x BS x Condition	−.03	.08	−.44	.659

Note: The analysis used PROCESS Model 3 with 5000 bootstraps (Hayes, 2013). HS – Hostile Sexism, BM – Benevolent Sexism, REL - Desire for a Relationship, RAS – relationship satisfaction. Participants are male. Condition is coded so that −1 refers to the traditional target and 1 refers to the non-traditional target. Relationship Status is coded so that −1 = "Single" and 1 = "in a relationship". HS and BS are mean centred.
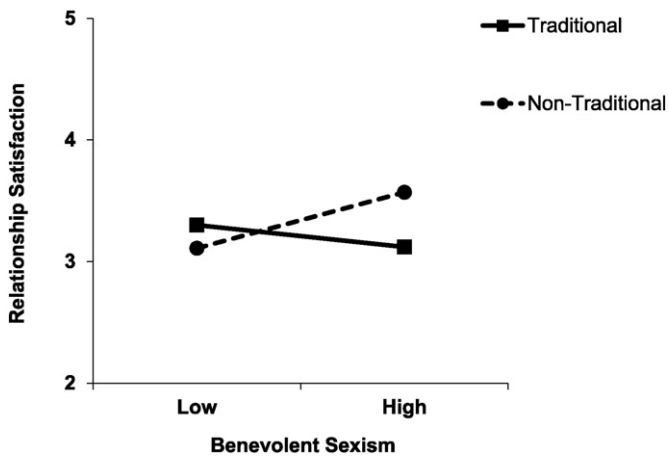
Fig. 3. Study 2. The Effects of Benevolent Sexism on Men's Anticipated Relationship Satisfaction with a Female Target as a function of Condition (Non-Traditional vs. Traditional Target). Note: Low and High Benevolence are at 1 SD below and above the mean, respectively.

more likely to hold the main provider role in a family, to work longer hours, and to earn more (OECD, 2012). Thus, women's preference for provider roles is expressed in a context in which this is the most likely role for a man. However, in Study 1 women presented with the non-traditional male partner who is prepared to make caring responsibilities a clear focus were more likely to express a desire for a relationship than women who are presented with a traditional man who intends to take a provider role. This is consistent with previous research that shows that when presented with different patterns for work and family life, women value a model in which both partners share work and childcare most strongly (Houston & Waumsley, 2003).

The findings from both studies also demonstrate that women and men high in benevolent gender ideologies are more likely to want to have a relationship with a partner who intends to undertake traditional gender roles. This provides evidence in relation to partner roles and behaviours that is consistent with the trait-based research on partner preference (e.g. Travaglia et al., 2009). We found no evidence for hostile gender ideologies in predicting partner preference in our studies.

A key strength of the present research is that both studies drew samples from non-student populations. Our sampling methods allowed us to avoid using the white, middle-class, mainly female undergraduate samples on which so much psychological research relies. Both samples are older than the commonly used undergraduate student samples and have had a much longer period in which to experience both relationships and work. There are also limitations to our studies. The self-report data requires respondents to make decisions on hypothetical potential partners with limited information; the actual choice of a real life long-term partner is generally made with much more information over a much longer time period and usually in the context of romantic attraction. Although there are opportunities in most Western countries for women to take a non-traditional role, our findings may not be replicated in more traditional cultures where there is less opportunity for women to work outside the home.

A limitation of previous research on partner preferences is that the majority of it (exceptions being Eastwick et al., 2006; Lee et al., 2010) has focused on ambivalent sexism, ideologies which explicitly make claims about women. Ambivalent attitudes toward men, in contrast, explicitly address prejudice directed at men. Both forms of ambivalent gender ideologies are relevant in an intergroup context in which there is a clear hierarchy implied: While ambivalent sexism is a downward directed ideology (from the higher to the lower status group), ambivalence toward men is upwardly directed (from the lower to the higher status group; Glick & Hilt, 2000). We feel that the inclusion of the AMI

in research on partner preferences is important. Future research might further explore all four types of gender ideologies in both sexes to further distinguish the effects of gender ideologies on partner preferences. While our female sample showed a strong preference for a non-traditional man who was keen to assume caring responsibilities, the male sample did not differ in their rating of a traditional versus non-traditional female partner. Further research should investigate male preferences for being a non-traditional partner and the role of gender ideology in these preferences.

Appendix A. We now would like to introduce you to Tobias. *Tobias* studies business administration and comments

"In my opinion studying business administration is ideal as you can demonstrate your skills, especially because I am aiming at a career in the management of a bank. Indeed, I do get to hear a lot that a management position isn't ideal because you hardly have enough time for family and children, but I think that I have many skills that are useful in management and that therefore can be very successful in this job. I am sure that my future wife will cope with family and household even without much of my input. I will instead bring home an income to support the family."

A.1. We now would like to introduce you to Tobias. Tobias trains to become a primary school teacher and comments

"In my opinion the job of a teacher, especially a primary school teacher, is ideal for a man because you can have enough time for family and children. At first I intended to study law but I don't think the competition and all the overtime would have been right for me and that's why I've changed my mind. As for my plans, I will soon be working at a primary school for a couple of weeks. Other than that, I will just be finishing my studies. Later I also want to have children and so I probably won't be working for a while."

Appendix B. Desire for a Relationship scale (REL): 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*

	English REL Items
Item 1	I would be interested in dating a person like Julia/Tobias.
Item 2	I would be interested in having a sexual relationship with a person like Julia/Tobias.
Item 3	I could imagine having a long-term romantic relationship with a person like Julia/Tobias.
Item 4	I could imagine marrying a person like Julia/Tobias.
Item 5	I can see a person like Julia/Tobias being the mother/father of my children.
Item 6	I can picture growing old with a person like Julia/Tobias.
Item 7	Julia/Tobias's aims in life are similar to my aims.
Item 8	I can imagine living with a person like Julia/Tobias.
Item 9	I don't like the attitudes of people like Julia/Tobias. (reverse coded)
Item 10	Dealing with a person like Julia/Tobias would probably cause lots of problems and result in many fights. (reverse coded)
Item 11	I dislike people like Julia/Tobias. (reverse coded)
Item 12	I think a person like Julia/Tobias would be a good match for me in a romantic relationship.

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