WITH GREAT POWER COMES GREAT RESPONSIBILITY: REPOSITIONING GENDER (IN)EQUALITY AS MEN'S BURDEN OR MEN'S RESPONSIBILITY

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The responsibility for addressing gender inequality typically falls on women. More recently, evidence has shown that solidarity-based framing is a starting point for increasing men's support of gender equality efforts. This paper moves beyond these women's issue and solidarity approaches to examine whether positioning men as being either responsible for addressing inequality (Experiment 1; $N = 258$) or being directly affected by inequality themselves (Experiment 2; $N = 543$), shapes men's (and women's) attitudes toward male and female leaders promoting gender equality and their mobilization toward this cause. In Experiment 1, men evaluated male and female leaders as more prototypical and higher in leadership identification under common cause compared to women's issue frames (and also compared to men's responsibility frames for leadership identification). In Experiment 2 all participants evaluated (male) leaders more positively under common cause and covictimization framing compared to men's victimization framing. Contrary to predictions, men's (Experiments 1-2) and women's (Experiment 2) collective action intent remained stable across message frames. Yet when it comes to mobilization, in Experiment 2 women showed solidarity more readily (i.e., were committed to gender equality across frames) while men's mobilization was dependent on men being directly victimized. We discuss practical and theoretical implications of mobilizing support for gender equality, and important caveats of increasing male allies' involvement in the movement.

"Men are the gatekeepers of current gender orders and are potential resistors of change. If we do not effectively reach men and boys, many of our efforts will be either thwarted or simply ignored."
(Kaufman, 2004, p. 20)

Gender inequality is usually investigated as a women's issue, with the focus primarily on women's (rather than men's) intentions to address inequality given their status as a disadvantaged group (Ellemers & Barreto, 2009; Radke et al., 2016). Many initiatives that *do* directly engage men in gender equality work tend to focus on women as victims and men as protectors rather than allies (Flood, 2017). However, more recently attention has been given to men's intentions to support equality as allies alongside women (Ochoa et al., 2019; Radke et al., 2020; Stewart, 2017), or to initiatives that call on men to act as agents of change toward gender equality (Subašić et al., 2018). For example, Ochoa and colleagues (2019) found that within Japan and the Philippines, men's moral convictions and perceived group efficacy of collective action predicted

TPM Vol. 29, No. 1, March 2022
97-122 – Special Issue
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Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

their support for feminist collective action. These findings speak to the value of encouraging men to oppose women's discrimination on moral grounds, as well as increasing men's sense that they are an important force in propelling women's equality as allies (Ochoa et al., 2019). Doing so involves using their influence and access to resources to address gender inequality in ways that women, due to their lower position in the status hierarchy, simply cannot (de Vries, 2015). Certainly, by virtue of their gender and subsequent position within the socioeconomic hierarchy, men (especially male leaders) appear to have the formal positional and gendered power required to effect change within that hierarchy and mobilize fellow men toward equality (de Vries, 2015; Subašić et al., 2018). Research has demonstrated that male leaders are doubly advantaged in mobilizing followers because they possess a shared identity with male and female followers: shared gender identity and ingroup membership with men, and shared cause (in the form of equality) with women (Hardacre & Subašić, 2018).

In fact, leadership as a form of influence based on shared identities among leaders and followers is a key aspect of social change (Haslam et al., 2011; Steffens et al., 2014; Subašić et al., 2012). A shared social identity and shared sense of "us" is often necessary for those directly disadvantaged by the status quo (i.e., women), and those witnessing such disadvantage (i.e., men), to come together for a common cause (Subašić et al., 2008). Yet leaders' ability to mobilize followers goes beyond shared identity (i.e., gender) to encompass the rhetoric they adopt when discussing social issues such as gender inequality. By framing gender equality as a common cause for both women and men, leaders can achieve more positive evaluations. For example, Hardacre and Subašić (2018) found that common cause framing (compared to women's issue or meritocracy framing) boosted perceived leader prototypicality, legitimacy, and influence of those leaders calling for support of equality. The use of solidarity-based frames to position themselves as "one of us" demonstrates that leaders can utilise rhetoric to "locate themselves within the heart of the group" (Hornsey, 2008, p. 211).

The current research moves beyond women's issue and solidarity-based approaches to explicitly position men as either being responsible for (Experiment 1) or being fellow victims of (i.e., themselves being directly affected by; Experiment 2) gender inequality. Male-led initiatives seek to redefine men's roles within the equality movement by unequivocally positioning them as being largely *responsible* for achieving equality, rather than simply spearheading campaigns or working closely alongside women, as has been the focus of previous research (Hardacre & Subašić, 2018; Subašić et al., 2018). Key examples of these contemporary initiatives include the Australian Male Champions of Change (MCC) movement and the UN Women's HeForShe campaign. These initiatives recruit key groups of male corporate leaders (e.g., CEOs, military leaders) to act as agents of change rather than gatekeepers, who use their power and resources to address rather than maintain inequality (HeForShe, 2017).

Together, these male-oriented initiatives depart from the more traditional approach of placing the responsibility for addressing inequality on women (Rindfleish & Sheridan, 2003), toward a fresh alternative — placing the bulk of responsibility on the main perpetrators of said inequality. Subašić and colleagues (2018) investigated the success of this novel framework by attributing gender inequality's existence to either a lack of government regulation or due to increased numbers of men occupying leadership positions. When equality messages focused on *men's* role in the change process (rather than the government's; Experiment 1), men reported higher collective action intentions and stronger sense of common cause with women disadvantaged by inequality (Subašić et al., 2018). This effect was mediated by the emergence of men's sense of common cause with women affected by inequality. Subašić and colleagues (2018) argue that these findings speak to the need for equality initiatives to "(a) make explicit (rather than obfuscate) men's role in creating and addressing inequality, and (b) do so in a way that highlights a sense of common cause (e.g., as colleagues) between men and women" (p. 713). Together with the success of initiatives like the MCC and HeForShe,

TPM Vol. 29, No. 1, March 2022
97-122 – Special Issue
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Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

these findings demonstrate that explicitly highlighting men's role and responsibility in addressing gender inequality can have positive effects.

An alternative message frame which shifts the burden of responsibility from women (or men) alone to both women *and* men is that of covictimization or shared victimhood, referring to the victimization experience of two or more groups (Vollhardt, 2009). Covictimization can evoke a similar sense of common cause or solidarity as per common cause framing, however a fundamental difference exists between the two. Namely, common cause framing garners support for minorities from majority allies who are *not* negatively affected by the current status quo (Hardacre & Subašić, 2018; Subašić et al., 2008). Meanwhile, shared victimhood framing gains allies' support and solidarity by highlighting the negative consequences they *too* experience as a consequence of the status quo (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Vollhardt, 2012). For example, Vollhardt (2009, 2010, 2012) has provided extensive evidence that solidarity and prosocial behavior benefiting other victim groups can arise from victims focusing on how their experiences similarly compare to other victim groups. The positive intergroup consequences of common or shared victimhood have been empirically demonstrated across multiple intergroup conflict contexts, including the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Shnabel et al., 2018) and Northern Ireland (Cohrs et al., 2015). An example of shared victimhood successfully motivating social change is the Northern Ireland organization Peace People, which sees Protestant and Catholic women join forces to protest violence within their communities (Shnabel et al., 2018). Shnabel et al. (2018) maintain that the underlying psychological processes examined in these contexts likely apply to alternative settings of intractable conflicts that are viewed as zero-sum games, such as gender inequality.

In this sense, framing gender equality from a covictimization stance could potentially increase men's willingness to address gender inequality, because such a frame acknowledges the inequalities that men face alongside women. In line with a covictimization stance, Flood and colleagues (2018) argue that we should make men aware of the ways they have been oppressed and how it is in their own self-interest to strive for social change. Esplen (2006) further acknowledges that while initiatives should highlight how gender equality benefits society overall (e.g., solidarity framing), they should additionally address men's specific inequality concerns. Certainly, gender inequality affects men too, such as substantial pressure placed on them to be the financial breadwinner, and their struggles to obtain adequate paid paternity leave or access flexible workplace practices (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 2008). Furthermore, because workplace flexibility mutually benefits women by giving them the opportunity to participate more fully in the workplace, it can essentially be considered a common cause for men *and* women. Indeed, within the context of increased access to workplace flexibility for parents, Subašić and colleagues (2018) framed gender inequality at either the subgroup ("mothers," "fathers") or superordinate identity level ("parents"). They demonstrated that while men's (but not women's) collective action intent increased when the plight of parents was highlighted, it was reduced when those of fathers (or mothers) alone was focused on. This further cements the importance of making salient an inclusive higher-order identity (e.g., parents, women *and* men), rather than merely highlighting the ways that men (or women) suffer from inequality (Subašić et al., 2018). These results highlight the importance of drawing attention to the plight of *both* groups, rather than just one.

Meanwhile, in a study Subašić and colleagues (2011) investigated how consumers' collective action intentions supporting disadvantaged sweatshop workers differed depending on the presence or absence of covictimization. Presence of covictimization was manipulated by stating that a fictitious fashion company in the study's scenario not only acted unethically toward their employees, but additionally victimized consumers via misleading prices and advertisements (Subašić et al., 2011). Subašić and colleagues (2011) found that the *presence* of covictimization increased consumers' likelihood of acting collectively against the government (i.e., "service providers") in support of disadvantaged sweatshop worker employees. However, this

TPM Vol. 29, No. 1, March 2022
97-122 – Special Issue
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Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

finding was mediated by consumers' sense of inclusive "identification, solidarity, and shared values with employees" (Subašić et al., 2011, p. 715). Namely, the extent to which covictimization led to a rise in consumers' sense of common cause (i.e., solidarity) was dependent upon an inclusive identity emerging between the majority advantaged and minority disadvantaged groups (Subašić et al., 2011). Subašić and colleagues (2011) also found that covictimization had negative effects on consumers' solidarity with the minority employee group "when experienced in the absence of a higher-order normative framework that allows for unjust actions to be perceived and interpreted as *shared* grievance" (p. 721). Specifically, when *non-inclusive* consumer identity was salient, covictimization *reduced* consumers' collective action supporting employees. Subašić et al. (2011) argued that this was due to the consumers' subgroup concerns overshadowing the shared goals of both groups due to consumers concentrating on their own victimization.

CURRENT RESEARCH

Little empirical research has investigated (a) whether shifting the burden of responsibility for addressing inequality from women to men, or (b) positioning both women *and* men as victims of inequality, increases support for gender equality leaders or intentions to engage in collective action for gender equality. It is important to investigate these frames given the effectiveness of initiatives that explicitly engage men as change agents for equality (e.g., MCC, HeForShe) and because it appears necessary to explicitly outline the role that men can play in achieving equality (Subašić et al., 2018). Finally, given the success of covictimization framing in zero-sum contexts (e.g., Northern Ireland; Shnabel et al., 2018) it is important to consider whether similar effects might occur within gender equality contexts.

To address these gaps, our research (Experiment 1) positions men as agents of change and frames inequality as an issue that men alone can and should mobilize against due to their gender group holding the majority of power and resources within society (Iyer & Ryan, 2009). As such, Experiment 1 examines how assigning responsibility for gender inequality to men as the majority subgroup affects both their evaluations of gender equality leaders and mobilization for gender equality (e.g., common cause, collective action intentions). More specifically, Subašić and colleagues (2018, Experiment 1) contrasted whether gender equality was framed as men's or the government's responsibility but did not contrast these directly with a solidarity-based framing. The present work addresses this gap by contrasting three gender inequality frames: men's responsibility, women's issue, and common cause (before turning to examine the effects of covictimization framing in Experiment 2).

The current work allows us to compare the effectiveness of men's responsibility frames. In Experiment 1, we expect that although men's mobilization will be higher under men's responsibility compared to women's issue framing, ultimately men's mobilization will be highest under common cause messages. Specifically, based on prior work (Hardacre & Subašić, 2018; Subašić et al., 2018) we predict that when equality is framed as a common cause rather than a women's issue or men's responsibility, men will evaluate leaders as being higher in prototypicality, influence, and leadership identification (H1). Based on previous research (Hardacre & Subašić, 2018; Subašić et al., 2018), we also predict that men's collective action intentions and sense of common cause will be higher when the equality message is attributed to a male leader rather than a female leader, particularly under common cause compared to women's issue or men's responsibility messages (H2).

In Experiment 2, we predict that when gender (in)equality is framed as a covictimization issue rather than a common cause, a men's victimization, or a women's victimization issue, men will evaluate leaders as being higher in prototypicality, influence, and leadership identification (H1a). In contrast, we predict that

Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

when gender equality is framed as a common cause rather than a covictimization, a men's victimization, or a women's victimization issue, women will evaluate leaders as being higher in prototypicality, influence, and leadership identification (H1b). In line with Subašić et al.'s (2018) finding that men reported higher mobilization under frames highlighting both women's and men's (i.e., parents') inequality, we also predict that male participants will report higher collective action intentions supporting women and higher sense of common cause with women under covictimization compared to common cause, men's victimization, or women's victimization frames (H2a). This would demonstrate the importance of acknowledging men's inequality *in addition* to highlighting a common cause. Finally, Subašić and colleagues (2018) found that women's collective action intentions did not increase when the dual plight of parents was highlighted. In line with this we expect that women will report higher collective action intentions supporting women and sense of common cause with women under common cause compared to covictimization, men's victimization, or women's victimization frames (H2b).

EXPERIMENT 1

Method

Participants and Design

Participants comprised 300 American men (Mage = 33.50 years, SD = 11.30) recruited online via Prolific. The majority of the sample were American citizens (98.7%; 1.3% permanent residents), whose employment status was either full-time (52.3%), part-time (14.7%), self-employed (10.7%), casual (3.1%), unemployed (14.3%), or other (4.9%). Only 24.7% of the sample were currently studying (15% full-time domestically; 8.3% part-time domestically; 1.4% internationally), while the remaining 75.3% were not studying.

Participants were randomly assigned to one of six experimental conditions in a 2 (Leader gender: male leader, female leader) × 3 (Message framing: men's responsibility, women's issue, common cause) between-participants balanced factorial design, with 50 participants per cell. An a priori statistical power analysis using G*Power (Faul et al., 2007) indicated that for a power of .80 (α = .05), the minimum sample needed to detect a small effect size of η_p^2 = .0225 (or f = .151) using a 2 × 3 ANOVA was 343 participants (approximately 57 per cell). We recruited 300 participants (50 per cell), although sensitivity power analyses demonstrated that our final sample (258 participants after excluding participants who failed the leader gender manipulation check) still had sufficient power to detect effect sizes of: η_p^2 = .0305 (or f = .177) for the leader gender main effect, and η_p^2 = .0375 (or f = .197) for the message framing main effect and leader gender × message framing interaction.

Procedure and Materials

Participants completed a 15-minute self-report questionnaire which contained the experimental vignettes and dependent measures.

Leader gender and message framing manipulations. The vignettes had a (fictional) Chief Delegate to the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development outline their recent workplace gender equality initiative. Leader gender and message framing were manipulated by the language (e.g., "Matthew" vs.

TPM Vol. 29, No. 1, March 2022
97-122 – Special Issue
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Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

"Margaret" Jamieson and "he" vs. "she" pronouns) and group name used ("American Men for Gender Equality" vs. "American Women for Gender Equality" vs. "Men and Women for Gender Equality – America").

Message framing was further manipulated via language which framed achieving gender equality as either men's responsibility (e.g., "… there's never been a more important time for men around America to act"), a women's issue (e.g., "it's important that American women are engaged and committed to tackling this issue"), or a common cause for both women and men to address together (e.g., "… men and boys working together with women and girls to promote gender equality across the country"). Importantly, our men's responsibility message frame referred solely to the effects of gender inequality on women (*not* men), and positioned men as being responsible for addressing inequality rather than as being victims themselves of inequality.

Dependent Measures

Manipulation checks. All measures used 7-point Likert scales (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*) unless otherwise stated. To assess the manipulation's success, participants identified the gender of the Chief Delegate (male [Matthew]/female [Margaret]) and the equality group's name (American Men for Gender Equality/American Women for Gender Equality/Men and Women for Gender Equality - America). Participants then rated the degree to which the article discussed gender equality as being (a) an American women's issue, (b) American men's responsibility, or (c) a common cause for American men and women.

Leader prototypicality. Five items (α = .90) assessed participants' perceived prototypicality of the leader (adapted from Platow and van Knippenberg, 2001). Example items include "Thinking of the gender equality movement and the people who support it, would you say that the Chief Delegate" . . . "represents what is characteristic about members of the movement," and "stands up for what people in the movement have in common."

Leader influence. Four items assessed the leader's perceived influence (adapted from Wiley et al., 2012); "To what extent do you think that the Chief Delegate and their statement is persuasive/convincing/ compelling/credible" (α = .92).

Identity Leadership Inventory–Short Form. Four items measured the extent to which participants identified with the leader (i.e., leadership identification; taken from Steffens et al.'s 2013, Identity Leadership Inventory – Short Form; α = .86). Example items include "Would you say that the Chief Delegate" . . . "acts as a champion for the movement," and "creates a sense of cohesion within the movement."

Collective action intentions. Six items (α = .90) assessed participants' collective action intentions supporting gender equality (adapted from Calogero, 2013 and Hardacre & Subašić, 2018). Example items included: "Imagine that the Chief Delegate has approached you directly to help with their campaign for gender equality. Within that context, could you please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements. . . "I would sign a petition (in person or online) in support of women's rights and gender equality," "I would tweet or post on social media about gender inequality."

Common cause. Four items (α = .94) assessed participants' sense of common cause with those women experiencing gender inequality (adapted from Hardacre & Subašić, 2018). Example items included: "Please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements . . . "The women calling for action on this issue reflect the values that I consider to be important," "I feel solidarity with the women affected by income inequality and leadership disparities."

Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

Results

Data Analysis and Analytical Strategy

SPSS Version 24 was used to perform between-participants ANOVA's on the dependent variables, using leader gender and message framing as factors. For all means and standard deviations see Table 1.

Manipulation Checks

Most participants (86%) identified the gender of the Chief Delegate correctly (male leader: 88.7%; female leader: 83.3%). Participants who did not correctly identify the leader's gender were excluded from further analyses, bringing the final sample to 258 men. Chi-Squared tests showed that participant exclusion distribution rates did not change significantly between conditions, $\chi(3) = 3.571$, $p = .312$. These are reported in Table 2 together with final participant gender distributions for each cell.

Most participants (75.3%) identified the equality group's name correctly (American Men for Gender Equality: 65%; American Women for Gender Equality: 77%; Men and Women for Gender Equality - America: 84%). ANOVAs conducted on our manipulation check statements demonstrated that our message framing manipulations were successful (see Appendix A).

Leadership Variables

Leader prototypicality. A significant main effect of message framing was found, $F(2, 252) = 3.668$, $p = .027$, $\eta_p^2 = .028$. Providing partial support for Hypothesis 1, post-hoc comparisons showed that participants rated (male and female) leaders as significantly more prototypical when they framed gender equality as a common cause for both men and women, rather than as an issue for women alone ($p = .038$). Contrary to Hypothesis 1 however, leader prototypicality ratings did not differ significantly between men's responsibility framing and common cause framing ($p = .102$; or women's issue framing, $p = .905$). No significant interaction was detected, $F(2, 252) = 1.099$, $p = 0.335$, $\eta_p^2 = .009$.

Leader influence. A significant main effect of leader gender revealed that (male) participants viewed female leaders as being significantly more influential than male leaders, $F(1, 252) = 5.339$, $p = .022$, $\eta_p^2 = .021$. Contrary to Hypothesis 1, no main effects (nor interactions) were found for message framing, all $F \leq 0.646$, $ps \geq .525$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .005$.

Identity Leadership Inventory–Short Form. There was a significant main effect of message framing, $F(2, 252) = 4.837$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = .037$. In line with Hypothesis 1, post-hoc testing revealed that (male) participants identified significantly more with leaders who promoted equality as a common cause for men and women, rather than as the responsibility of men alone ($p = .035$), or as a women's issue ($p = .018$). Mean ratings did not differ significantly between men's responsibility framing and women's issue framing ($p = .962$). No other significant main effects or interactions were detected, all $F \leq 2.653$, $ps \geq .105$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .010$.

TABLE 1
Experiment 1: Descriptive statistics as a function of a 2 × 3 (leader gender × message framing) design

Leader gender	Message framing	Leader prototypicality		Leader influence		Identity Leadership Inventory–Short Form		Collective action intentions		Common cause	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Male	Women's issue	5.17	1.25	4.83	1.53	5.17	0.94	4.55	1.60	4.88	1.77
	Men's responsibility	5.41	1.20	4.84	1.66	5.40	1.18	4.73	1.73	5.10	1.61
	Common cause	5.52	1.05	4.97	1.40	5.59	0.95	4.67	1.79	4.92	1.81
	Marginal	5.37	1.17	4.88	1.52	5.39	1.04	4.65	1.70	4.97	1.72
Female	Women's issue	5.40	0.92	5.19	1.27	5.49	1.01	4.59	1.61	5.10	1.72
	Men's responsibility	5.29	1.01	5.16	1.42	5.34	1.03	4.39	1.62	4.56	1.48
	Common cause	5.87	0.87	5.44	1.29	5.94	0.91	4.85	1.58	5.13	1.82
	Marginal	5.52	0.96	5.45	5.26	5.59	1.01	4.61	1.60	4.93	1.69
Marginal		5.44	1.07	5.07	1.44	5.49	1.03	4.63	1.65	4.95	1.70
	Women's issue	5.28	1.10	5.03	1.37	5.33	0.99	4.57	1.60	4.99	1.74
	Men's responsibility	5.35	1.11	4.99	1.55	5.37	1.10	4.57	1.68	4.85	1.57
	Common cause	5.69	0.98	5.21	1.31	5.76	0.94	4.75	1.68	5.02	1.81

Note. M and SD represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

TPM Vol. 29, No. 1, March 2022
97-122 – Special Issue
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Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

TABLE 2
Participant exclusion distribution rates and final participant gender distribution numbers by condition,
based on participants who failed the leader gender manipulation check

Condition	% of participants who failed the manipulation check	Number of overall participants remaining in cell
Male Leader, Women's Issue	16%	42
Male Leader, Men's Responsibility	8%	46
Male Leader, Common Cause	10%	45
Female Leader, Women's Issue	14%	43
Female Leader, Men's Responsibility	18%	41
Female Leader, Common Cause	18%	41
Totals	14%	258

Note. The third column represents the number of male participants remaining in each condition following the exclusion of those participants who failed the leader gender manipulation check.

Mobilization Variables

Collective action intentions. Contrary to Hypothesis 2, participants reported similar collective action intent regardless of the gender of the leader, $F(1, 252) = 0.028$, $p = .866$, $\eta_p^2 = .000$, or the way the equality message was framed, $F(2, 252) = 0.382$, $p = .683$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$. No significant interaction was detected, $F(2, 252) = 0.557$, $p = .574$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$.

Sense of common cause. Hypothesis 2 was not supported, with participants reporting similar levels of common cause irrespective of leader gender, $F(1, 252) = 0.031$, $p = .861$, $\eta_p^2 = .000$, or message framing, $F(2, 252) = 0.321$, $p = .725$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$. No significant interaction was detected, $F(2, 252) = 1.376$, $p = .254$, $\eta_p^2 = .011$.

Discussion

Experiment 1 investigated how leader gender and message framing (gender inequality as a women's issue, common cause, or men's responsibility) shape men's attitudes toward (male and female) leaders promoting gender equality and their mobilization toward this cause. We predicted that men would evaluate leaders more positively under common cause framing (H1). Providing partial support for H1, under common cause framing participants viewed leaders as being significantly higher in leader prototypicality (compared to under women's issue, but not men's responsibility frames). They also identified more with leaders who used common cause framing, compared to women's issue and men's responsibility frames. These findings provide evidence that leaders who use solidarity-based frames create the perception that they are "one of us" because such frames support collective group interests (Hardacre & Subašić, 2018; van Knippenberg, 2011). Furthermore, Steffens and colleagues (2013) state that "highly identified followers perceive themselves to share relational identity with a leader when that leader is representative of their ingroup, but not if that leader is representative of an outgroup" (p. 296). Therefore, the fact that male followers identified equally with male *and* female leaders under common cause frames (compared to women's issue or men's responsibility frames) indicates that common cause framing enhances men's view of female leaders as "one of us."

Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

While leaders were evaluated as more prototypical when they endorsed common cause rather than women's issue framing, men's leader prototypicality evaluations did not differ between common cause and men's responsibility frames. This finding suggests that, when it comes to enhancing the prototypicaly of gender equality leaders, frames that highlight men's responsibility for addressing gender equality may be as effective as common cause frames, though this finding is complicated by the fact that men perceived leaders as equally prototypical under men's responsibility and women's issue frames. Overall, then, when it comes to leading for gender equality, there are clear prototypicality benefits of common cause frames when contrasted with frames that ignore one's subgroup (i.e., women's issue framing), while the contribution of more subgroup-focused men's responsibility frames is less clear.

In contrast to leader prototypicality and identification, message framing did not significantly affect leader influence. Instead, a significant leader gender effect showed that our (male and female) participants evaluated female leaders as more influential than male leaders. This finding is in line with prior research showing that female leaders are typically perceived as more transformational than male leaders (e.g., Eagly et al., 2003), and transformational leadership is widely considered an *influence-focused* leadership style (Bass, 1985). Hence it follows that female leaders might be regarded as more influential than male leaders in contexts focused on leading change in social relations.

Finally, in light of absence of significant findings for our mobilization variables, there was no support for Hypothesis 2 in this study. We address this issue further in the General Discussion, though it is worth noting at this point that some of our male participants questioned (in an open-ended final question inviting feedback about the study) why our manipulation vignettes did not discuss the [negative] effects of gender inequality on men too. For example, "[It] specifically excludes the inequalities that effect men" and "equality involves men AND women, not just women." These comments signal that men within our sample may have been particularly sensitive to, and potentially demobilized by, the perceived lack of acknowledgement of men's experiences of victimization when it comes to gender inequality. Raising men's awareness of the ways in which inequality affects men too is crucial to involving them in gender equality efforts and changing the conversation around the issue (Esplen, 2006). Esplen (2006) argues that equality initiatives should highlight how equality benefits society overall (e.g., solidarity framing) but should additionally address men's specific concerns surrounding gender inequality. As such, Experiment 2 examines how *covictimization* in the context of gender equality affects men's (and women's) support for the issue.

EXPERIMENT 2

A key novel contribution of Experiment 2 is to highlight the ways that men too are affected by gender inequality. This is important because recent research has found that men, particularly Millennial men (i.e., those born 1982-2000), feel excluded from the equality movement and are "backsliding into traditional value systems" (Evans et al. 2018, p. 11). According to this research, men increasingly want to see men's issues given equal representation in public debate regarding gender equality issues. Indeed, almost half of male survey respondents agreed that "gender equality strategies in the workplace do not take men into account" (Evans et al., 2018, p. 13), while 48% of Millennial men agreed that "men and boys are increasingly excluded from measures to improve gender equality" (p. 13). Many men view equality initiatives as deepening rather than fixing prevailing inequalities, and these men are progressively viewing themselves as outsiders actively excluded from the movement (Evans et al., 2018). This kind of alienation risks losing men's support for broader gender equality.

TPM Vol. 29, No. 1, March 2022
97-122 – Special Issue
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Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

As explored earlier, the benefits of a covictimization approach have been empirically demonstrated across a variety of contexts, such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and Northern Ireland (Shnabel et al., 2018; Vollhardt, 2009, 2010, 2012). Moreover, Shnabel et al. (2018) argue that the underlying psychological processes occurring across such settings could be extended to others, such as gender inequality. Indeed, framing gender equality from a covictimization standpoint could potentially increase men's willingness to address gender inequality because rather than alienating men such frames instead actively acknowledge and include them in the fight for gender equality. Consequently, Experiment 2 contrasts our typical solidarity-based message frame with a traditional women's issue (women's victimization) frame, a men's issue (men's victimization) frame, and also a covictimization frame (men's and women's victimization). Additionally, we hold the male leader's gender constant across conditions to keep the design size manageable and to better focus on the effects of message framing on mobilization. This design allows us to uncover the effects of men's (in)subgroup victimization versus shared victimization on their support for equality. These frames extend our previous work which primarily focuses on either women's issue (or victimization) frames, or solidarity-based frames which are both premised on the idea of the majority *not* being directly affected by gender inequality (Hardacre & Subašić, 2018). As such, we are investigating whether solidarity-based framing (and a sense of common cause) is sufficient to mobilize men for equality — or whether it is more effective to instead argue that there is shared victimhood between women and men.

Experiment 2 seeks to include and engage men in gender equality on their own terms, and therefore differs from Experiment 1 in important ways. Centrally, whereas Experiment 1 placed the *responsibility* for addressing gender inequality solely onto men, Experiment 2 instead positions men as being directly affected by gender inequality themselves. Experiment 2 additionally reintroduces female participants to examine how message framing differentially affects their mobilization relative to men. Experiment 2 extends the collective action measure to assess participants' support for collective action supporting either women alone, men alone, or men and women together. Similarly, we include a measure of participants' sense of common cause with *men* affected by inequality. These measures were included to investigate whether individuals might act to advance their own ingroup but not in a way that advances an outgroup or both groups together. Finally, we used a British sample in an attempt to obtain a higher quality sample (e.g., participants who would more readily engage with the study materials and collective action measures compared to the American sample). We also wanted to explore whether our findings would generalize to the United Kingdom.

As outlined earlier, we expect that when gender (in)equality is framed as a covictimization issue rather than a common cause, a men's victimization, or a women's victimization issue, men will evaluate leaders as being higher in prototypicality, influence, and leadership identification (H1a). In contrast, we predict that when gender equality is framed as a common cause rather than a covictimization, a men's victimization, or a women's victimization issue, women will evaluate leaders as being higher in prototypicality, influence, and leadership identification (H1b). Furthermore, in line with Subašić et al.'s (2018) finding that men reported higher mobilization under frames highlighting both women's and men's (i.e., parents') inequality, we predict that men will report higher collective action intentions supporting women and higher sense of common cause with women under covictimization compared to common cause, men's victimization, or women's victimization frames (H2a). This would demonstrate the importance of acknowledging men's inequality *in addition* to highlighting a common cause. Finally, Subašić and colleagues (2018) found that women's collective action intentions did not increase when the dual plight of parents was highlighted. In line with this we expect that women will report higher collective action intentions supporting women and sense of common cause with women under common cause compared to covictimization, men's victimization, or women's victimization frames (H2b).

Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

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Method

Participants and Design

Five hundred and sixty participants (280 females; *M* age = 37.20 years, *SD* = 9.52) were recruited online using Prolific. Most identified as UK citizens (96.4%; 3.6% UK permanent residents), employed on a full-time (65.1%), part-time (21.3%), self-employed (8.9%), or casual basis (2%), or unemployed (2.5%), or other (0.2%). Students made up 11.6% of the sample (4.3% full-time domestically; 7.3% part-time domestically), with the remaining 88.4% not studying.

We randomly allocated equal numbers of men and women to one of the four experimental conditions in a 2 (participant gender: men, women) × 4 (message framing: men's issue, women's issue, common cause, covictimization) between-subjects balanced factorial design with 70 participants per cell. The male leader was held constant across conditions. An a priori statistical power analysis (Faul et al., 2007) revealed that for a power of .80 (α = .05), the minimum required sample to detect an effect size of η_p^2 = .0225 (or f = .151) using a 2 × 4 ANOVA is 478 participants (almost 60 per cell). We recruited 560 participants (70 per cell) to obtain sufficient power after the anticipated exclusion of those who had not passed the leader gender check. Post-hoc analyses showed the power of our final sample size (543) was capable of detecting effect sizes of: η_p^2 = .0144 (or f = .120) for the leader gender main effect, and η_p^2 = .0198 (or f = .142) for the message framing main effect and the two-way interactions.

Procedure and Materials

Participants completed a 15-minute self-report questionnaire including the manipulation vignettes and dependent measures.

Message framing manipulations. The manipulation vignette saw a male leader (Matthew Anderson – the UK Chief Delegate to the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development) discuss the issue of gender inequality and call upon certain gender groups to address the issue. Our message framing factor discussed gender inequality as affecting either women alone, men alone, or both men and women together. In the same vein, each message frame called on either women alone, men alone, or men and women together to address the issue of inequality.

For example, in the women's issue condition, inequality was discussed solely in the ways that it affects women (e.g., "women continue to experience significant retirement and superannuation savings gaps compared to their male counterparts"), and women alone were called on to address the issue (e.g., "it's important that women in the United Kingdom remain engaged and committed to tackling this issue together"). In the men's issue condition, the ways that inequality affects men were discussed (e.g., "Men still receive on average only two weeks' paid paternity leave and are often denied access to flexible workplace arrangements, such as shorter hours, alternate starting and finishing times, or working from home"), and men alone were called upon to tackle the issue (e.g., "it's important that men in the United Kingdom remain engaged and committed to tackling this issue together").

Conversely, in the common cause condition, inequality was discussed as affecting only women (e.g., "women continue to experience significant retirement and superannuation savings gaps compared to their male counterparts"), yet both women and men were urged to help address the issue (e.g., "it's important that both men and women in the United Kingdom remain engaged and committed to tackling this issue alongside one another"). Finally, in the covictimization condition, the effects of gender inequality on both women *and*

TPM Vol. 29, No. 1, March 2022
97-122 – Special Issue
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Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

men were discussed (e.g., "Men still receive on average only two weeks' paternity leave and are often denied flexible workplace arrangements, while women continue to experience significant savings gaps and comprise only 22% of UK board members"), and both women and men were encouraged to address the issue (e.g., "it's important that both men and women in the United Kingdom remain engaged and committed to tackling this issue alongside one another").

Dependent Measures

Participants completed the same dependent measures as in Experiment 1: leader prototypicality (α = .93), leadership identification (α = .91), leader influence (α = .93), sense of common cause with women (α = .92), and demographics.

Participants additionally completed a sense of common cause with men scale, three separate collective action intentions scales aimed at supporting women alone, men alone, or both women and men, and manipulation checks.

Manipulation checks. Participants identified the gender of the Chief Delegate (male [Matthew Anderson]/female [Jessica Anderson]) and rated six statements regarding the extent to which the article discussed inequality being a) an issue affecting women alone (women's issue), b) an issue affecting men alone (men's issue), c) an issue affecting women alone but still a common cause for women and men (common cause), or d) an issue affecting both women and men (covictimization issue).

Collective action intentions (supporting women; supporting men; supporting men and women). Participants completed three separate six-item measures assessing their willingness to participate in collective action efforts supporting women's equality (α = .90), men's equality (α = .90), and women's and men's equality (α = .89) respectively (adapted from Calogero, 2013; and Subašić et al., 2018). This allowed us to investigate whether in certain instances participants would act in ways to advance their own ingroup, but not in ways to advance an outgroup, or even both groups together. For example, we could examine whether men would support their own gender ingroup, but not women's (out)group, or men's and women's groups simultaneously. An example item of our measure read: "Please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements" … "I would tweet or post on social media about women's (men's; men's and women's) gender inequality." To control for order of administration effects these measures were counterbalanced using Qualtrics' randomisation feature (i.e., alternating the order each measure was presented to participants; Pollatsek & Well, 1995).

Importantly, in a study exploring the effects of covictimization on consumer's (i.e., participants) intentions to act in solidarity with sweatshop workers, Subašić et al. (2011) acknowledged that including a measure recording collective action intentions supporting consumers (not just sweatshop workers) could shed additional light on the effects of covictimization, hence why we included the additional scales.

Sense of common cause with men. Participants completed a four-item measure measuring their sense of common cause or solidarity with those men affected by gender inequality (α = .90; adapted from Subašić et al., 2018). A sample item read: "Please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements" … "Those calling for action on these men's issues reflect the values that I consider to be important."

Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

Results

Data Analysis and Analytical Strategy

SPSS Version 25 was used to perform between-participants two-way ANOVA's on all dependent variables, with participant gender and message framing as factors. To examine the effects of message framing on men's and women's responses, two-way interactions were unpacked by performing one-way ANOVA's for each level of participant gender. Post-hoc comparisons for our four-level message framing factor were made using Tukey's HSD tests. For all means and standard deviations see Table 4.

Manipulation Checks

The majority of participants (97%) correctly identified the Chief Delegate's gender as male. Seventeen participants (3% of the sample) were excluded from further analyses due to misidentifying the leader as female, leaving a final sample of 543 participants (275 women). Participant exclusion distribution rates did not differ significantly by condition, $\chi(3) = 6.477$, $p = .091$, and are reported alongside final participant gender distributions for each cell in Table 3.

Success of our message framing manipulation was confirmed by conducting one-way ANOVA's on our manipulation check statements, which were combined to create 2-item scales for each condition. Each of our manipulations were deemed successful (see Appendix A).

Leadership Variables

Leader prototypicality. A main effect of message framing was found, $F(3, 535) = 4.742$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .026$. Tukey's post-hoc testing showed that participants perceived leaders as being significantly more prototypical of the equality movement when they promoted common cause ($p = .003$) or covictimization frames ($p = .016$) rather than men's issue frames. None of the remaining main effects or interactions reached significance, all $F \leq 0.262$, $ps \geq .811$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .001$.

Leader influence. A main effect of message framing demonstrated that participants rated leaders as significantly more influential when they discussed common cause ($p = .006$) or covictimization ($p = .018$) rather than men's issue frames, $F(3, 535) = 4.350$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .024$. No other significant main effects or interactions were detected, all $F \leq 1.864$, $ps \geq .135$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .010$.

Identity Leadership Inventory–Short Form. A main effect of message framing revealed that men and women identified significantly higher with leaders who endorsed common cause ($p = .001$) or covictimization frames ($p = .013$) compared to men's issue framing, $F(3, 535) = 5.443$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .030$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions found, all $F \leq 0.990$, $ps \geq .397$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .006$.

Mobilization Variables

Collective action intentions supporting women. A significant main effect of gender revealed that women expressed higher collective action intentions supporting women than men did, $F(1, 535) = 49.820$, $p \leq .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .085$. There was no significant two-way participant gender by message framing interaction

TABLE 3
Experiment 2: Descriptive statistics as a function of a 2 × 4 (participant gender × message framing) design

Participant gender	Message framing	Leader prototypicality		Leader influence		Identity Leadership Inventory–Short Form		Collective action intentions		Common cause	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Male	Women's issue	5.12	1.12	5.25	1.16	5.44	1.01	3.84	1.46	5.22	1.37
	Men's issue	4.88	1.25	5.21	1.08	5.07	1.00	3.75	1.42	5.09	1.21
	Common cause	5.26	1.10	5.41	1.09	5.46	0.91	4.06	1.55	5.46	1.16
	Covictimization	5.27	1.23	5.31	1.25	5.31	1.22	4.15	1.65	5.08	1.75
	Marginal	5.13	1.18	5.29	1.14	5.32	1.05	3.95	1.52	5.21	1.39
Female	Women's issue	5.09	1.09	5.36	1.25	5.25	1.03	5.15	1.45	6.08	0.88
	Men's issue	4.83	1.45	4.93	1.34	4.97	1.43	4.77	1.52	5.75	1.15
	Common cause	5.43	0.96	5.67	1.06	5.58	0.96	4.77	1.45	5.72	1.19
	Covictimization	5.27	1.02	5.65	1.12	5.52	0.97	4.77	1.49	5.91	0.90
	Marginal	5.15	1.16	5.40	1.23	5.33	1.14	4.86	1.48	5.87	1.04
Marginal		5.14	1.17	5.35	1.19	5.32	1.09	4.41	1.57	5.54	1.27
	Women's issue	5.10	1.10	5.30	1.20	5.35	1.02	4.50	1.59	5.65	1.22
	Men's issue	4.85	1.35	5.07	1.22	5.02	1.23	4.27	1.55	5.43	1.22
	Common cause	5.35	1.03	5.54	1.08	5.52	0.94	4.42	1.54	5.60	1.17
	Covictimization	5.27	1.12	5.48	1.19	5.42	1.10	4.46	1.60	5.50	1.44

Note. *M* and *SD* represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

TPM Vol. 29, No. 1, March 2022
97-122 – Special Issue
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Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

TABLE 4
Participant exclusion distribution rates and final participant gender distribution numbers
by condition, based on participants who failed the leader gender manipulation check

Condition	% of participants who failed the manipulation check	Number of male participants remaining in cell	Number of female participants remaining in cell	Number of overall participants remaining in cell
Male Leader, Women's Issue	16%	67	68	135
Male Leader, Men's Issue	8%	68	70	138
Male Leader, Common Cause	10%	65	67	132
Male Leader, Covictimization	14%	68	70	138
Totals	14%	268	275	543

Note: The third and fourth columns represent the number of male and female participants remaining in each condition following the exclusion of those participants who failed the leader gender manipulation check.

found, $F(3, 535) = 1.472$, $p \leq .221$, $\eta_p^2 = .008$. As such, there was no support for Hypotheses 2a or 2b. All other main effects and interactions were nonsignificant, all $F \leq 1.472$, $ps \geq .221$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .008$.

Collective action intentions supporting men. No significant main effects or interactions were found for this variable, all $F \leq 3.077$, $ps \geq .080$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .011$.

Collective action intentions supporting men and women. A significant main effect of participant gender showed that women reported significantly higher collective action intentions supporting men and women than men did, $F(1, 535) = 30.765$, $p \leq .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .054$. No remaining main effects or interactions reached significance, all $F \leq 1.435$, $ps \geq .232$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .008$.

Sense of common cause with women. Lack of a significant two-way participant gender by message framing interaction failed to provide support for Hypotheses 2a or 2b, $F(3, 535) = 1.716$, $p \leq .163$, $\eta_p^2 = .010$. A significant main effect of gender demonstrated that women expressed higher sense of common cause with women affected by inequality than men did, $F(1, 535) = 38.292$, $p \leq .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .067$. No other significant main effects or interactions were observed, all $F \leq 1.716$, $ps \geq .163$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .010$.

Sense of common cause with men. As depicted in Figure 1, a significant interaction between participant gender and message framing was found for sense of common cause with men, $F(3, 535) = 3.091$, $p = .027$, $\eta_p^2 = .017$. No other significant main effects or interactions were detected, all $F \leq 1.923$, $ps \geq .125$, $\eta_p^2 \leq .011$.

To investigate the two-way interaction, simple effects were performed at both levels of participant gender, showing a significant main effect of message framing for men, $F(3, 264) = 3.010$, $p = .031$, $\eta_p^2 = .033$, but not women, $F(3, 271) = 2.128$, $p = .097$, $\eta_p^2 = .023$. Post-hoc testing revealed that men reported significantly higher sense of common cause with fellow men under covictimization compared to women's issue conditions. In contrast, women reported equal sense of common cause with men regardless of how the equality message was framed.

Discussion

Experiment 2 further investigated how message framing (gender inequality as a women's issue, men's issue, common cause, or shared victimhood) influences men's and women's mobilization in support of gender equality. Specifically we examined whether common cause framing is sufficient to mobilize men

TPM Vol. 29, No. 1, March 2022
97-122 – Special Issue
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Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

(and women) for equality, or whether it is instead more effective to emphasise that there is shared victimhood between women and men.
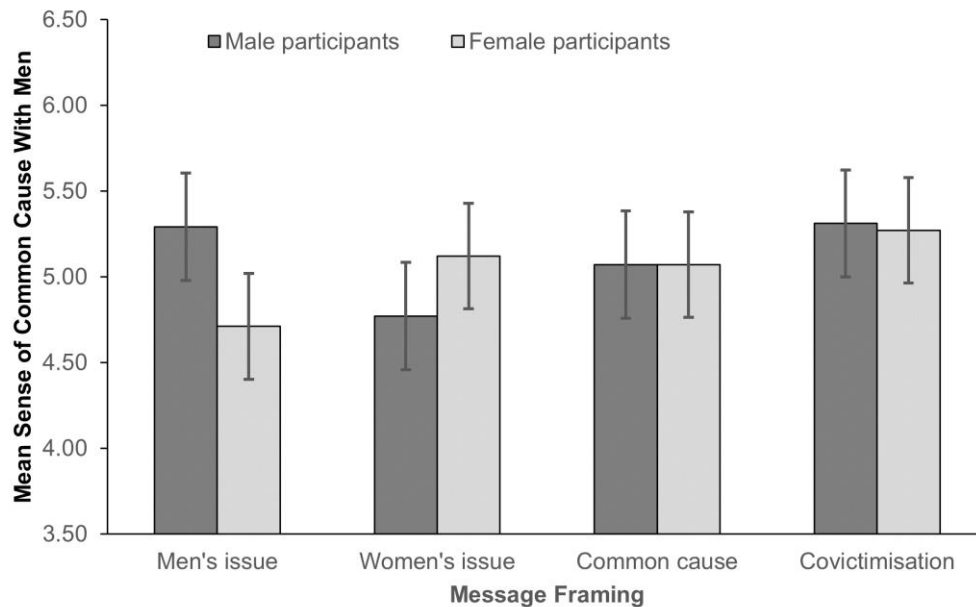

FIGURE 1
Mean sense of common cause with men as a function of message framing and participant gender.
Note. Error bars represent the standard errors. The measure used a 7-point likert scale ranging from 1-7.

We found partial support for the prediction that men would evaluate leaders most positively under covictimization framing (H1a), and that women would do the same under common cause framing (H1b). Both men and women evaluated (male) leaders as more prototypical, influential, and higher in leadership identification under covictimization *and* common cause framing compared to men's issue framing (but not women's issue framing). This pattern of positive evaluations under common cause frames demonstrates that leaders calling on women and men to act together in solidarity toward equality are perceived more favourably than leaders who call on men to act separately.

Yet Experiment 2 extends this pattern of findings to encompass when (male) leaders go beyond solidarity frames to discuss how women *and* men are victims of inequality. Men (and women) evaluating leaders more positively under covictimization compared to men's issue frames indicates that men's victimhood increases men's receptivity to equality leaders, but only when their suffering is highlighted directly alongside women's. This speaks to the importance of shared victimhood and potentially highlighting the contrastive effect between women's and men's inequality if the goal is to positively shape men's attitudes to equality leaders.

This finding is critical because it demonstrates that the contrastive element between men's and women's victimization appears necessary to foster men's solidarity with their fellow men. In this sense, it could be argued that covictimization acts as a proxy for common cause. If both groups are covictimized by the same third party (e.g., the government and structures perpetuating gender inequality), men and women could subsequently view themselves as sharing common cause. Indeed, that men did not also report higher common cause with men under common cause framing (relative to women's framing) indicates that it was the *shared victimhood* rather than the *solidarity* aspect of the covictimization message that increased their feelings of

TPM Vol. 29, No. 1, March 2022
97-122 – Special Issue
© 2022 Cises

Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

solidarity with their fellow men. Evidently, future work needs to examine differences between solidarity-motivated and covictimization-motivated behaviors when mobilizing support for gender equality.

The predictions that men would report their highest mobilization supporting women under covictimization frames (H2a), and that women would do the same under common cause frames (H2b) were not supported. Instead, both men and women reported similar levels of collective action intent irrespective of how the equality message was promoted. These findings are in contrast with extant work demonstrating that solidarity (and covictimization) framing typically leads to increased mobilization (e.g., Seyranian, 2014; Subašić et al., 2011; Subašić et al., 2018). Instead, women (compared to men) reported higher collective action intent and common cause supporting women, and higher collective action intent supporting men *and* women. Interestingly, although men's collective action intent remained stable across frames, men reported higher sense of common cause with men (but not women) under covictimization frames compared to women's issue frames. This speaks to the argument that men's inclusion in gender equality efforts is both a social problem and a social movement, and the notion of imperfect allies given this signals men's propensity to express solidarity primarily with their own ingroup. These findings are considered further in the General Discussion.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

This research moves beyond women's issue and solidarity approaches to examine whether positioning men as being either responsible for addressing inequality (Experiment 1), or being directly affected by inequality themselves (Experiment 2), affects support for gender equality leaders and the issue more broadly. Importantly, in Experiment 1, men evaluated all leaders as more prototypical and higher in leadership identification under common cause compared to women's issue frames (and also compared to men's responsibility frames for leadership identification). Meanwhile, in Experiment 2 all participants evaluated (male) leaders more positively under common cause and covictimization framing compared to men's victimization framing. These findings provide additional evidence that leaders who use solidarity-based frames (compared to men's victimization frames) are evaluated more favourably as a result of positioning themselves as "one of us," due to solidarity frames promoting collective group interests (Hardacre & Subašić, 2018; van Knippenberg, 2011). Moreover, this pattern emerged irrespective of leader gender, demonstrating that leader influence goes beyond their gender to include the rhetoric they advocate when discussing gender (in)equality. Common cause framing partly bridges the gap between male and female leaders' typical asymmetrical differences in evaluations. This is significant given the frequency with which female equality leaders are at best viewed cynically and more often dismissed entirely (de Vries, 2015; Eagly & Carli, 2003).

Indeed, articulating a shared identity with followers is crucial for leader success (Hogg et al., 2012), and our results provide concrete evidence that message framing can act as a vehicle through which leaders can achieve this common identity. Leaders typically use rhetoric to position themselves as "one of us," and our findings demonstrate that the crafting of a shared identity can be achieved via solidarity-based message framing, and even covictimization framing (Seyranian, 2014). This is in line with work by Seyranian (2014), who found that leaders who employed inclusive framing were evaluated more positively by followers and inspired greater collective action. By emphasising the need for women *and* men to engage in equality as "comrades in struggle" (hooks, 1984, p. 67), solidarity framing promotes shared leader-follower identities — a crucial aspect of the mobilization process (Subašić et al., 2008).

These findings are important because they indicate that solidarity-based common cause frames play a key role in affecting support for social change toward equality. To engender support for their cause, leaders

TPM Vol. 29, No. 1, March 2022
97-122 – Special Issue
© 2022 Cises

Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

must be seen as "one of us" (Steffens et al., 2014). We provide evidence that common cause framing can prompt perceptions of prototypical leaders by making leaders appear more prototypical and subsequently more legitimate and influential to followers. Certainly, prototypical leaders derive their influence partly from perceptions that they embody such collective interests (van Knippenberg, 2011). Moreover, "highly identified followers perceive themselves to share relational identity with a leader when that leader is representative of their ingroup, but not if that leader is representative of an outgroup" (Steffens et al., 2013, p. 296).

Meanwhile, contrary to predictions, and in contrast to previous research (e.g., Subašić et al., 2018), men's (Experiments 1-2) and women's (Experiment 2) collective action intent remained stable across message frames. Whereas Experiment 1 yielded no significant differences for our mobilization measures, in Experiment 2 women (compared to men) reported higher sense of common cause with fellow women, and higher collective action intent not only supporting women alone, but also supporting men and women together, which was a novel mobilization measure introduced in Experiment 2. This mirrors the strong gender difference typically found in the collective action literature (e.g., van Zomeren & Spears, 2009).

In contrast, men and women reported similar collective action intentions supporting men alone, making this the only collective action measure where men and women came together in their level of collective support and indicating that they are equally likely to support men's equality. Importantly, this was the only collective action measure where a participant gender effect was not present. One could thus argue that while men are willing to support their own ingroup individually, they may not be willing to extend that support to situations which would entail them simultaneously supporting an outgroup (i.e., women). This is evidenced by their significantly lower intentions (compared to women) to support women alone, or to support both men and women. Our collective action results hint that in order to bring men's collective action in line with women's, future mobilization strategies could frame equality efforts in ways highlight benefits (and concerns) that may (appear to) be exclusive to men, but inevitably assist women too. For example, calls for increased paid paternity leave primarily benefit men and will be interpreted as such, but actually have far-reaching advantages for mothers too (e.g., more equitable domestic labour division). Certainly, while highlighting what men stand to gain from increased equality is valuable, when framing equality work from a "benefits to men" approach it is crucial that men's issues and concerns are not given center stage at the sake of marginalizing women's issues (Droogendyk et al., 2016). Rather, acknowledging similarities and differences between ingroup and outgroup victimization need not be mutually exclusive, and instead, both can be acknowledged simultaneously and to differing degrees (Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015).

Finally, despite mens' collective action remaining unaffected by message framing, they reported higher sense of common cause with men (but not women) only when men's inequality issues were discussed alongside women's issues (i.e., under covictimization framing; Experiment 2). Therefore, it was only when men's inequality issues were discussed directly alongside women's issues that male participants reported higher common cause with their own gender group. This finding is critical because it demonstrates that the contrastive element between men's and women's victimization appears necessary to foster men's solidarity with their fellow men. In this sense, it could be argued that covictimization acts as a proxy for common cause. If both groups are covictimized by the same third party (e.g., the government and structures perpetuating gender inequality), men and women could subsequently view themselves as sharing common cause. Indeed, that men did not also report higher common cause with men under common cause framing (relative to women's framing) indicates that it was the *shared victimhood* rather than the *solidarity* aspect of the covictimization message that increased their feelings of solidarity with their fellow men. Evidently, future work needs to examine differences between solidarity-motivated and covictimization-motivated behaviors when mobilizing support for gender equality.

TPM Vol. 29, No. 1, March 2022
97-122 – Special Issue
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Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

Overall, the increasing alienation of men (particularly Millennial men) from the equality movement risks losing their support altogether (Evans et al., 2018). Future research might thus consider ways to increase men's solidarity not only with fellow gender group members but across gender boundaries, keeping in mind that covictimization framing did *not* increase mens' sense of common cause with women. While the contrastive element between men's and women's victimization appears necessary to foster men's solidarity with their fellow men, the same covictimization framing may not be sufficient to foster men's solidarity with, or collective action supporting women affected by inequality.

Limitations and Future Directions

Experiment 1 assigned the responsibility for inequality to either men, women, or men and women together. However this framing does not take into account the broader forces at play that create and maintain social inequality (e.g., government policy; Subašić et al., 2018), thus future efforts would benefit from broadening the current responsibility frame to include the government and even workplaces. Additionally, Experiment 1's vignettes did not sufficiently highlight avenues for collective action as much as previous work (e.g., Subašić et al., 2018) which could explain the discrepant findings. Indeed, this lack of outlining concrete steps for men to follow goes against Subašić and colleagues' (2018) advice to "make explicit (rather than obfuscate) men's role in creating and addressing inequality" (p. 713). Future manipulation vignettes could suggest more explicit steps that men (and women) can take to reduce inequality, and could more explicitly manipulate the perceived *source* of inequality (e.g., due to men, the government, or women).

Regarding Experiment 2, a key aim was to examine whether solidarity-based framing in itself was sufficient to mobilize collective action relative to covictimization framing. However, signifying a design constraint of our common cause and covictimization frames, it could be argued that our covictimization frame still comprised an element of solidarity. More specifically, both of these vignettes included a normative statement that women and men should work together to address inequality. It is therefore difficult to determine whether the actual victimization aspect of these message frames affected participants' leadership evaluations (which remained stable across these two conditions) and mobilization, or if participants additionally viewed the covictimization condition as also comprising an aspect of solidarity.

Our definition of solidarity rests on the idea that men might support equality efforts supporting women *irrespective* of whether they themselves are affected by gender inequality. This is what our common cause frame put forth compared to our covictimization frame, which in contrast explicitly described how men too are affected by inequality. In this sense, our covictimization vignette is somewhat at odds with the true definition of solidarity. Certainly, more work is required to tease out the differences between the two. It is possible that rather than being separate and orthogonal concepts, covictimization and common cause are part of the same process toward solidarity but are instead located at different stages of that process. To further disentangle covictimization from solidarity, future work could remove the normative statement regarding women and men working together from the covictimization condition. Methodologically, this would remove any potential for the covictimization frame to be interpreted as invoking solidarity between women and men.

Finally, some researchers question the representativeness of samples provided by crowdsourcing websites such as Prolific (used in the current experiments; Kahan, 2013). Certainly, this participant portal may not have been the optimal source of participants for the experimental vignette paradigm we employed, due to a mismatch between the nature of our manipulations and our samples. Paid online crowdsourcing participants are typically more familiar with short cognitive-based tasks (Crump et al., 2013), which is

TPM Vol. 29, No. 1, March 2022
97-122 – Special Issue
© 2022 Cises

Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

dissimilar to the current experiments. Indeed, we required participants to carefully consider large amounts of written text and remember subtle differences in key details, in addition to engaging with collective mobilization work which arguably requires more emotional labour than cognitive tasks. Moreover, Meade and Craig (2012) claim that interest in a given survey topic typically results in more careful responding. The lack of engagement with our collective action variables compared to our leadership ones indicates that these variables did not resonate with participants in the same manner as evidenced in community samples (e.g., Subašić et al., 2018). It is possible the online sample was more interested in evaluating the presented leader rather than expressing active engagement in the collective action materials. Future work could use more representative non-paid community and organizational samples to increase the generalizability of our findings and to engage with an audience who are perhaps more readily moved by collective action-oriented study materials.

Concluding Remarks

Overall, the current studies speak to the important role that solidarity-based common cause frames play in engendering support for social change toward equality. As Steffens and colleagues (2014) assert, "leaders need not only to 'be one of us' … but also to 'do it for us' … to 'craft a sense of us' … and to 'embed a sense of us'" (p. 1001). The current work demonstrates that common cause framing achieves this perception of leaders being "one of us" by making them appear more prototypical and subsequently more legitimate and influential to followers. Leaders are able to create this perception because such solidarity-based frames promote collective group interests (Hardacre & Subašić, 2018; van Knippenberg, 2011). Because leader influence is a crucial aspect of mobilizing support for social change, policymakers and campaign leaders should heed our findings and seek to move away from women's issue approaches toward incorporating common cause messages into their campaigns if they wish to reap more positive receptions. Importantly however, increasing receptivity to equality leaders is only part of the battle toward effective mobilization. While the current work provides further evidence that common cause framing is a starting point for social change toward gender equality, it is not sufficient to mobilize action by male followers, which would arguably serve as the ultimate form of influence (i.e., getting followers to do what you want; Hogg, 2001). Future work needs to uncover how exactly we can translate leaders' positive evaluations under solidarity framing into tangible collective action mobilization of followers.

Our results also indicate that a) shifting the bulk of the responsibility for addressing gender inequality from women to men, or b) highlighting the ways in which men too suffer from inequality is important if we are to maintain hopes of mobilizing them toward gender equality. However, it is important to consider that the motives behind advantaged group members participating in movements supporting disadvantaged groups can be "misguided," such as acting on the condition that their group status is upheld or expecting something from disadvantaged groups in return (Droogendyk et al., 2016; Radke et al., 2020). Moreover, some forms of allied support are not wanted at all — and can in fact harm rather than help certain movements. For example, Wiley and Dunne (2018) found that strongly identified female feminists prefer male feminists (or allies) who offer *autonomy-oriented* support (e.g., taking a backseat and offering partial support) rather than *dependency-oriented* support (e.g., attempting to solve the problem themselves and dominating the movement). For allies to remain effective, Droogendyk and colleagues (2016) suggest they must take into account their own privilege and "resist the urge to increase their own feelings of inclusion by co-opting relevant marginalised social identities" (p. 315). Overall, given increasing attempts to involve men in the gender

TPM Vol. 29, No. 1, March 2022
97-122 – Special Issue
© 2022 Cises

Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

equality movement, it remains important that (male) allies allow space for women in the movement, regardless of how successfully theiy can achieve widespread mobilization. Future work needs to investigate the nuanced balance between welcoming allies' support by leveraging men's advantage, while still continuing to amplify women's experiences and voices (Rodriguez, 2017). Otherwise, feminist men are at risk of contradictorily reinforcing the very hierarchy they are attempting to disassemble (Wiley & Dunne, 2018).

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Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

TPM

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Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

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Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

APPENDIX A

Experiment 1 – Manipulation Check Results

ANOVAs conducted on our manipulation check statements demonstrated that our message framing manipulations were successful. A significant main effect of message framing demonstrated that participants in the men's responsibility conditions ($M = 3.70$, $SD = 1.59$) were significantly more likely than participants in the women's issue ($M = 2.18$, $SD = 1.31$, $p = .000$) and common cause conditions ($M = 2.58$, $SD = 1.77$, $p = .000$) to agree that the article discussed "The need for *American men alone* to stand up for equality" and "Inequality being an *American men's only* issue" — $F(2, 252) = 21.579$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .146$. A significant main effect of message framing also showed that participants in the women's issue condition ($M = 3.74$, $SD = 1.80$) were significantly more likely to agree with the statements "The need for *American women alone* to stand up for equality" and "Inequality being an *American women's only* issue" than were participants in the men's responsibility ($M = 2.95$, $SD = 1.57$, $p = .008$) and common cause conditions — $M = 2.75$, $SD = 1.77$, $p = .001$; $F(2, 252) = 8.202$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .061$.

Finally, a significant main effect of message framing for the common cause manipulation check statements — "The need for *both American men and women* to stand up for equality" and "Inequality being an *American men's and women's* issue," $F(2, 252) = 21.481$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .146$ — demonstrated that participants in the common cause condition ($M = 6.07$, $SD = 1.23$) were significantly more likely to agree with the statements compared to participants in the men's responsibility ($M = 4.78$, $SD = 1.69$, $p = .000$) and women's issue conditions ($M = 4.55$, $SD = 1.94$, $p = .000$). No other significant main effects or interactions detected. Overall, these findings indicate that our message framing manipulation was successful.

Experiment 2 – Manipulation Check Results

Success of our message framing manipulation was confirmed by conducting one-way ANOVA's on our manipulation check statements, which were combined to create 2-item scales for each condition. Each of our manipulations were deemed successful.

Dunnett's post-hoc tests were used, with the relevant message frame being set as the control condition. For example, to investigate the success of our women's issue manipulation, women's issue framing was set as the control. There was a significant main effect of message framing, $F(3, 535) = 359.004$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .668$, for the women's issue condition ("Only discussed how women alone struggle with gender inequality [leadership promotions and retirement savings], with NO reference to men's inequality" and "Urged women and girls alone to 'combine efforts' to tackle inequality, and did NOT call on men to help"). With women's issue framing as the control, Dunnett's post-hoc comparisons revealed that participants in the women's issue condition ($M = 5.35$, $SD = 1.64$) were significantly more likely to agree with these statements than participants in men's issue ($M = 1.47$, $SD = 0.99$, $p < .001$), common cause ($M = 3.73$, $SD = 1.04$, $p < .001$), or covictimization conditions ($M = 1.46$, $SD = 0.86$, $p < .001$). This indicates success of our women's issue manipulation.

We found a significant main effect of message framing, $F(3, 535) = 359.989$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .669$, for the men's issue condition ("Only discussed how men alone struggle with gender inequality [parental leave, breadwinner pressure, and workplace flexibility], with NO reference to women's inequality" and "Urged men and boys alone to 'join forces' to tackle inequality, and did NOT call on women to help"). Post-hoc

TPM Vol. 29, No. 1, March 2022
97-122 – Special Issue
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Hardacre, S. L., & Subašić, E.
Repositioning gender (in)equality
as men's burden

analyses using the men's issue condition as the control showed that participants in the men's issue condition ($M = 5.65$, $SD = 1.64$) were significantly more likely to agree with these statements than participants in women's issue ($M = 1.63$, $SD = 1.02$, $p < .001$), common cause ($M = 1.65$, $SD = 1.03$, $p < .001$), or covictimization conditions ($M = 1.65$, $SD = 1.13$, $p < .001$). This indicates success of our men's issue manipulation.

There was also a significant main effect of message framing, $F(3, 535) = 338.403$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .655$, for the common cause condition ("Only discussed how women alone struggle with gender inequality [leadership promotions and retirement savings], with NO reference to men's inequality" and "Urged men and boys to 'act as one' with women and girls to tackle inequality, because 'together we are stronger'"). Post-hoc testing established that participants in the common cause condition ($M = 5.73$, $SD = 1.31$) were significantly more likely to agree with these statements than participants in women's issue ($M = 4.22$, $SD = 0.59$, $p < .001$), men's issue ($M = 2.09$, $SD = 1.14$, $p < .001$), or covictimization conditions ($M = 3.74$, $SD = 0.47$, $p < .001$). This demonstrates success of our common cause manipulation.

Finally, we found a significant main effect of message framing, $F(3, 535) = 228.677$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .562$, for the covictimization condition ("Discussed how men struggle with parental leave, breadwinner pressure, and workplace flexibility, and ALSO how women struggle with leadership promotions and retirement savings" and "Urged men and boys to 'act as one' with women and girls to tackle inequality, because 'together we are stronger'"). Post-hoc comparisons showed that participants in the covictimization condition ($M = 6.26$, $SD = 0.99$) were significantly more likely to agree with the statements than participants in women's issue ($M = 2.41$, $SD = 1.45$, $p < .001$), men's issue ($M = 2.77$, $SD = 1.64$, $p < .001$), or common cause conditions ($M = 4.06$, $SD = 1.21$, $p < .001$). This indicates success of our covictimization manipulation.