

2016

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Recommended Citation

Lommers-Johnson, Tess A., "Stressful Scriptures: Gender Role Ideology, Gender Role Stress, and Christian Religiosity" (2016).
Scripps Senior Theses. Paper 761.
http://scholarship.claremont.edu/scripps_theses/761

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**STRESSFUL SCRIPTURES: GENDER ROLE IDEOLOGY, GENDER ROLE
STRESS, AND RELIGIOSITY**

by

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**SUBMITTED TO SCRIPPS COLLEGE IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS**

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DECEMBER 11, 2015

Abstract

The Gender Role Stress paradigm asserts that individuals experience distress when they cannot or do not want to live up to the roles prescribed to their gender, and this stress is related to Gender Role Ideology. Within American Christian culture, gender roles are socialized and shaped according to tradition and the Bible. To investigate the intersection of these factors, Christian adults will respond to questionnaires about their Gender Role Ideology, Gender Role Stress, and religiosity. Significant positive correlational relationships between Gender Role Ideology and Gender Role Stress, between religiosity and Gender Role Ideology, and between religiosity and Gender Role Stress are expected for both men and women. However, Gender Role Ideology is expected to partially mediate any relationship found between religiosity and Gender Role Stress. This will imply that for Christian individuals, religiosity and Christianity are related to Gender Role Stress but this relationship is dependent on an individual's beliefs about gender roles. Implications and further directions are discussed, including spiritual gender role negotiation and the sanctification paradigm.

Keywords: Gender Roles, Christian, Religiosity, Religiosity, Religious Fundamentalism, Gender Role Stress, Gender Role Ideology

Stressful Scriptures: Gender Role Ideology, Gender Role Stress, and Religiosity

Originating from the foundational text of the Bible, Christian theology has dictated gender role norms and gender role performance in Christian adherents, to different degrees (Mahalik & Lagan; 2001; Peek, Lowe, Williams, 1991). However, religion and religious doctrine are among a number of factors, including culture and historical context, that impact an individual's conceptions of gender roles, (Bartkowski, 1999; Burn & Busso, 2005). With the rise of egalitarian gender role beliefs as a result of second wave feminism, both men's and women's gender roles have changed and consequently changed the literature on gender roles as well, bringing up issues such as gender role conflict, gender role stress, and contributing factors (O'Neil, 2008). For individuals who profess and internalize Christian religious beliefs, their gender role ideologies are shaped in part by their theologies (Colaner & Warner, 2005; Peek, Lowe, & Williams; 1991). Because of the impact that gender roles have on psychological health (Hayes & Mahalik, 2000; Liu & Iwamoto, 2006), it is important for research to explore the connections between Christian religiosity and gender ideologies. This leads to the question of whether or not Christian religiosity is related to gender role ideology, gender role conflict, and gender role stress.

Gender role theory began in the 1970s with Sandra Bem's gender schema theory, which argues that individuals are socialized to exhibit certain gendered characteristics according to their sex (Bem, 1981). Individuals cognitively ascribe behaviors and traits to a particular gender, and use these gender schemata to categorize and compare the traits and behaviors of themselves and others (Bem, 1981). Gender roles, also referred to as sex roles, are a part of these schemata. Individuals develop conceptions of acceptable behaviors and attributes for each gender and can be externally and internally motivated to adhere to those gender role norms (Bem, 1981). The

Bem Sex Role Inventory, based on Bem's gender schema and gender role theories, measures adherence to traditional sex-typed roles of masculine and feminine behaviors. According to classifications from the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), individuals can be classified into four categories of role endorsement and fulfillment: of the gender roles commonly associated with their sex, of the gender roles associated with the other sex, of neither set of gender roles, or of both sets of gender roles (Bem, 1977). In addition to Bem's gender role model that measures gender on a unifactorial polar scale, multifactorial gender models have been proposed, acknowledging that gender may not be a singular developed trait but rather a combination of factors that comprise "gender identity" (Spence, 1993). Gender may be classified by a polar scale of masculinity or femininity, but could also be described by a more complex web of attitudes, attributes, behaviors, and traits (Spence, 1993).

Regardless of the way that gender is categorized or described by a particular theory, gendered socialization has real outcomes for individuals in the gender roles that it teaches individuals. Masculinity and femininity are socialized from an early age and certain behaviors are reinforced or punished to indicate appropriate masculine or feminine behaviors (Mahalik, Cournoyer, DeFranc, Cherry, & Napolitano, 1998; O'Neil, 1981). Society socializes men and boys to exhibit masculine behaviors and traits, including domination of others, homophobia, and emotional restriction (Mahalik et al., 1998). Women and girls are socialized to exhibit feminine behaviors and traits, including emotional expressiveness, submission, and nurturing of others (Bem, 1977). The gender role socialization process not only teaches and encourages gendered behaviors, it also discourages behaviors of the opposite gender role, contributing to a fear of femininity in men and reluctance of women to engage in traditional masculine behaviors (Bem, 1977; Mahalik et al., 1998; O'Neil, 1981). Individuals are encouraged by external feedback and

internalized gender roles to maintain their gender role behaviors and avoid other gender role behaviors (Bem, 1977; Bem & Lenney, 1976; O'Neil, 1981). However, individuals do not always adhere to the gender roles assigned to them based on their biological sex or gender identification (Bem, 1974; Bem & Lemmey, 1976). The category of androgynous gender role was theorized in response to the impact of Second Wave Feminism on the field of psychology and the cognition of individuals, resulting in an androgynous gender role where individuals are flexible with their gender role adherence depending on the situation (Bem & Lenney, 1976; Bem & Lewis, 1975; Jones, Chernovetz, & Hansson, 1978). Although these categorizations of gender have been questioned, evaluated, and transformed throughout the last half-century of gender research, the psychological constructs of socialized gender and gender role dynamics have persisted in new theories within gender research, including gender role conflict (Beaglaioich, Sarma, & Morrison, 2013; Luyt 2015; O'Neil, 1981; Woo & Oei, 2006).

Gender Role Conflict

Gender Role Conflict occurs when a person is subject to gender roles that are constraining, incompatible with the self, or harmful to the individual (O'Neil, 1981). Role conflict can be conceptualized in the sense of potential harm and restriction, or relate to multiple gender roles, as in the case of *interrole conflict*, where multiple roles place contradictory or excessive demands on an individual (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). These conflicts can prevent individuals from reaching their potential depending on the multiple or harmful roles they are expected to fill and have been shown to result in negative psychological outcomes (Mahalik et al., 1998; Stillson, O'Neil, & Owen, 1991). Adhering to a particular traditional gender role can result in inadvertent harm; for example, when adherence to traditional masculine gender roles includes a lack of self-care, internalization and suppression of emotions, and risk-taking

behaviors. (Liu, Rochlen, & Mohr, 2005). Similarly, research has connected adherence to feminine gender roles with negative outcomes due to the need to prioritizing others over self (Richmond, Levant, Smalley & Cook, 2015; Zamarripa, Wampold, & Gregory, 2003).

O'Neil and Denke suggest that Gender Role Conflict occurs in different psychological contexts: cognitive—thinking about gender roles, behavioral—acting in ways that uphold gender roles but harm the self or others, emotional—negative affect resulting from fulfilling or failing to exhibit gender role norms, and unconscious—actions and thoughts that are not consciously expressed (2016). Gender Role Conflict patterns for masculine roles include “restrictive emotionality”, “homophobia”, “control, power, competition”, “restricted sexual and affectionate behavior”, “obsession with achievement and success”, and “healthcare problems” (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986). These patterns could occur in the different psychological contexts; such as when restriction of emotion occurs in a behavioral sense by internalization of emotions or in a cognitive sense through active cognitive denial of emotion (O'Neil & Denke, 2016).

There is no comprehensive or definitive theory of feminine Gender Role Conflict patterns. However, research has connected traditional feminine roles to harmful outcomes for the self (Côté, 1986; Curtin, Ward, Merriwether, & Caruthers, 2010). Negative outcomes can result from roles and feminine norms including objectification of the body, unassertiveness, deference to men and submission to men, and prioritization of household labor, motherhood, and family over self and career (Côté, 1986; Coyle, van Leer, Schroeder, & Fulcher; 2015; Zamarripa et al., 2003). When confronted with role-atypical situations such as an occupation overseeing men, a career, or infertility, women show negotiation and strategizing of their roles to manage the resultant conflict between their expected gendered behaviors and their atypical needs or

limitations (Allison, 1979, Coyle et al., 2015; Colaner & Warner, 2005). Though not always expressed as Gender Role Conflict by the definition in O'Neil's paradigm, gender research has described many patterns of gender role conflict and ensuing predictors and outcomes as a result of conflicting gender expectations or harmful gender expectations (2015).

Masculine Gender Role Conflict is positively correlated with psychological distress, such that men high in gender role conflict are more likely to have higher psychological distress levels (Liu, Rochlen, & Mohr, 2005). Gender roles vary by culture, and the stress resulting from gender role conflict varies by culture as well (Levant, Richmond, Cook, House, & Aupont, 2007; Liu, 2002; Liu & Iwamoto, 2006). Men experiencing Masculine Gender Role Conflict display related psychological defense mechanisms including turning against an object, when an individual rejects someone or something in their life that threatens their masculinity, and projection, when an individual denies a negative trait of their own by projecting it on another person (Mahalik et al., 1998). Men exhibit these defense mechanisms in order to prevent feelings of insecurity or inferiority that conflict with masculine norms of confidence and superiority (Mahalik et al., 1998). Masculine Gender Role Conflict has been linked to violence, such that men high in Masculine Gender Role Conflict are more likely to have a history of violence, which has been explained through a masculine gender role norm of domination and victimization of others (Amato, 2012).

Although feminine gender roles are included in the Gender Role Conflict paradigm, research has focused on masculine Gender Role Conflict. In women, feminine gender role conflict has been positively correlated with low self-esteem, depression, disordered eating, shame, and anxiety (Efthim, Kenny, Mahalik, 2001; Richmond et al., 2015). Though the Gender

Role Conflict paradigm primarily has been applied to men, its tenets also apply to the gender role conflicts that women encounter in their lives (Fallon & Jome, 2007; Zamarripa et al., 2003).

Gender Role Strain

When gender roles result in trauma, danger, or are not fulfilled, ensuing psychological distress occurring as a result of these Gender Role Conflicts is described as *Gender Role Strain* (Garnets & Pleck, 1979; Liu et al., 2005). Also referred to as sex role strain or Gender Role Stress, Gender Role Strain refers to the psychological distress related to gender roles as a recognizable paradigm within gender theory (Garnets et al., 1979). It must be clarified that Gender Role Strain and Gender Role Stress are often used interchangeably in the literature, but Gender Role Strain originally refers to Pleck's paradigm involving 10 aspects of gender role norm fulfillment and failure whereas Gender Role Stress is the measured distress that results from Gender Role Strains (Beaglaioich et al., 2013, Pleck, 1995). Research on Gender Role Strain has primarily looked at Masculine Gender Role Strain, though it has been applied to women as well (Barnett, 1986; Chusmir & Koberg, 1988; Enns, 2008; Zamarripa et al., 2003).

When individuals exhibit behaviors that are contradictory to the traditional gender role they are expected to fulfill, they may experience Gender Role Strain as the result of internal dissonance or as the result of devaluation and negative feedback from others (O'Neil, 1981; O'Neil et al., 1986; Pleck, 1995). Gender Role Strain includes three types of strains or stresses resulting from Gender Role Conflict. *Discrepancy strain* occurs when internalized gender role norms are not fulfilled or when fulfillment is not possible (Pleck, 1995). *Dysfunction strain* occurs when fulfillment of traditional gender roles causes harm (Pleck, 1995). *Trauma strain* occurs when the socialization processes of gender roles themselves cause harm (Levant & Richmond, 2016, Pleck, 1995). These types of Gender Role Strains can result in multiple

negative psychological outcomes, including anxiety, anger, depression, and lowered self-esteem in both genders and eating disorders in women (Barnett, 1986; Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Eisler, Skidmore, & Ward, 1988; Mahalik et al., 1998; O'Neil, 1981).

Gender Role Stress

Gender Role Stress, distress resulting from Gender Role Strains, has relationships with many negative mental health outcomes, including anger, anxiety, depression, and substance abuse, and disordered eating (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Eisler et al., 1988; Gillespie & Eisler, 1992; Thorton & Leo, 1992). Richmond, Levant, Smalley, and Cook found that Feminine Gender Role Stress mediates the relationship between feminine ideology and anxiety, such that feminine ideology itself does not predict anxiety, but that the presence of gender role stress facilitates the connection between ideology and anxiety (2015). In addition to various mental health outcomes, Gender Role Stress has been associated with behavioral outcomes, including intimate partner violence and related affective patterns. Moore & Stuart found that when confronted with vignettes of intimate relationship conflicts, men with higher Masculine Gender Role Stress are more likely to respond with anger and verbal aggression (2004). In response to theories connecting masculine gender roles with intimate partner violence, Masculine Gender Role Stress was found to be a predictor of intimate partner violence, where higher masculine discrepancy stress was positively correlated with reported previous engagement in physical, sexual, and psychological intimate partner violence (Reidy, Berke, Gentile, & Zeichner, 2014).

Following the conceptualization of Gender Role Strain within the Gender Role Conflict paradigm, scales were developed to measure Gender Role Stress and other aspects of Gender Role Strain and Gender Role Conflict (Levant, 2011). The Gender Role Conflict Scale and the Discrepancy Strain Inventory measure masculine discrepancy stress, when stress results from

internalized gender norms that are not met (O'Neil et al., 1986; Rummell & Levant; 2014).

These scales have been used to further investigate aspects of the Gender Role Conflict paradigm.

In order to measure stress experienced as a result of situations involving gender roles, two scales of Gender Role Stress were developed, the Masculine Gender Role Stress (MGRS) scale and the Feminine Gender Role Stress (FGRS) scale (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Gillespie & Eisler, 1992). The MGRS scale specifically measures stress related to “physical inadequacy”, “emotional inexpressiveness”, “subordination to women”, “intellectual inferiority”, and “performance failure”, whereas the FGRS scale measures stress related to fear of “unemotional relationships”, “physical unattractiveness”, “victimization”, “behaving assertively”, and “not being nurturant” (Eisler et al, 1987; Gillespie et al, 1992). Although these scales are often used in research, they do not fully encompass all aspects of Pleck's Gender Role Strain Paradigm, including dysfunction strain and trauma strain (Levant, 1992; Levant, 2011).

Despite the FGRS scale, there is a lack of research on gender role strain and conflict in women (Zamarripa et al., 2003). Women have been studied using a slight adaption of the Gender Role Conflict Scale, which was created to measure Gender Role Conflict in men and to examine masculine gender roles (O'Neil et al., 1986; Zamarripa et al, 2003). Although unconnected research has been done on the gender role conflicts of women, it has not been integrated or compared to the theoretical mass of research on men's gender role conflicts and has not fully been developed as a theoretically-based or definitive area of psychology (O'Neil, 2015).

In the existing research on Gender Role Conflict and Gender Role Strain, a number of factors have been studied in relation to Gender Role Strain and Conflict, including gender orientation categorizations, such as gender ideologies and gender role endorsement, and demographic variables, such as religiosity, sexual orientation, and race. Gender ideologies are

the attitudes and constructed norms that differentiate masculine and feminine behaviors and traits (Beaglaioich et al., 2013; Levant et al., 2007; Richmond et al., 2015).

Traditional Masculine Ideologies, also referred to as masculine gender ideologies, are an inherent part of the Gender Role Strain Paradigm, because the paradigm assumes that there is a spoken or unspoken distinction of the appropriate roles for particular genders, by which behaviors and traits are assessed and deemed stressful (Levant & Richmond, 2016). Traditional Masculine Ideology has found to have relationships with Gender Role Strain as well as various behavioral outcomes and attitudes, including rape myth endorsement, drinking behaviors, condom use, and negative attitudes towards women (Uy, Massoth, Gottdiener, 2014). Negative attitudes towards women were found to mediate the relationship between Traditional Masculine Ideologies and rape myth acceptance (Lutz-Zois, Moler, & Brown, 2015). In relation to substance use, Traditional Masculine Ideologies predicted alcohol consumption, but this relationship was mediated by the presence of Gender Role Conflict (Uy et al, 2014). High Traditional Masculine Ideologies was associated with lower condom usage and lower help-seeking tendencies (Shearer, Hosterman, Gillen, & Lefkowitz, 2005; Levant et al., 2007).

Although the Gender Role Strain Paradigm and gender ideologies contain theories about the gendered behaviors and norms of both genders, research about gender ideologies is separated by gender. Femininity Ideologies, also referred to as feminine gender ideologies, the set of norms that constitute acceptable behavior and traits for women, have been studied in relation to some of the same and similar factors studied in relation to Traditional Masculine Ideologies, depending on the relevance of the factor to women and femininity (Tolman, Impett, Tracy, & Michael, 2006; Impett, Schooler, & Tolman, 2006). Femininity Ideologies have been connected with lower sexual self-efficacy in adolescent women and lower assertiveness and condom use self-

efficacy in adult women (Curtin, Ward, Merriwether, & Caruthers, 2010; Impett et al, 2006). In addition to predicting negative mental health outcomes such as anxiety through the mediator of Feminine Gender Role Stress, the femininity ideology of body objectification predicted depressive symptoms and lowered self-esteem in adolescent women (Tolman et al, 2006). Specific femininity ideologies, including feminine deference and lowered assertiveness predicted higher risk of sexual assault, but overall femininity ideology adherence did not affect assault risk (Widgerson & Katz, 2015).

The above research demonstrates how Femininity Ideologies have significant impact on women's behaviors, sexual health, and mental health (Tolman et al., 2006; Widgerson & Katz, 2015). Therefore, Femininity Ideologies are an important factor to consider in clinical contexts and when evaluating mental health outcomes. Considering that the Femininity Ideology Scale was developed only recently and that the related Feminine Gender Role Stress Scale has been underutilized, further research into the relationships between Femininity Ideologies and Feminine Gender Role Stress needs to be done in order to identify other factors that impact both of these phenomena. Although much more research has been done to relate Masculine Ideologies to Masculine Gender Role Stress and Conflict, Femininity and Masculinity Ideologies are rarely studied together, perhaps due to the lack of gender-neutral scales that can be used to investigate these constructs and the overall lack of research on Femininity Ideologies and Feminine Gender Role Stress.

Gender Roles and Christianity

Feminine and masculine gender roles and their corresponding Gender Role Ideologies are socialized through internal and external feedback (Levant & Philpot, as cited in Levant et al., 2007). For certain subcultures, including evangelical Christianity in the United States, gender is

socialized in particular ways that may differ from the norms socialized in other cultures (Francis, 2005). In terms of psychological gender orientation, religiosity has been linked to psychological femininity in both genders and lower rigidity of traditional masculinity in men (Francis, 2005; Mahalik & Lagan, 2001). Thompson and Remmes confirmed that psychological femininity is a better predictor of men's religiousness than masculine ideology (2002). These findings, however, do not indicate a causal relationship where psychological gender orientation is caused by religious socialization of gender norms (Francis, 2005; Mahalik et al, 2001).

Apart from these findings about religiosity and psychological femininity, research supports other relationships between gender roles and religion. Within research on feminine norms, findings indicate that certain aspects of religiosity are associated with endorsement of specific feminine norms. For example, prayer, a component of internal religiosity, is positively correlated with the feminine norms of childcare, romantic relationships, and domesticity (Lyócsa, Bašistová, & Lyócsa, 2013). This, along with other research, indicates that there is a relationship between religiosity and gender norms beyond psychological femininity (Lyócsa, Bašistová, & Lyócsa, 2013).

Within Christian beliefs in the United States, there are two Christian gender role ideologies—complementarianism, where men and women perform fundamentally different but complementary roles in life, and egalitarianism, where men and women can fulfill any role regardless of gender (Colaner & Giles, 2007). Studied in relation to career, home, and motherhood goals of college-age women, positive correlations were found between complementarian gender ideology and goals of motherhood, meaning that complementarian beliefs were associated with the ambition to raise children, a traditional feminine norm (Colaner & Giles, 2007). There were negative correlations between complementarian gender ideology and

career aspirations, between egalitarian gender ideology and goals of motherhood, and between goals of motherhood and career (Colaner & Giles, 2007). This indicates that the differing gender ideologies dictate different behaviors for women, in line with or in opposition of traditional feminine roles. The goals of motherhood and career were negatively correlated, suggesting a conflict between these roles where women choose goal over the other (Colaner & Giles, 2007). These findings suggest further connections between gender role ideology, gendered behavior, and religion.

Aside from religious practices, fundamentalist Christian values could impact gender role beliefs and gender role behaviors for women. Foss and Warnke suggest that with regard to feminine gender roles, Fundamentalist Protestant Christian women are instilled with ideals of male dominance and female submission in ways that may prevent self-protective behaviors in the case of domestic violence (2003). This suggests that Christian beliefs about gender impact women's behavior in situations involving Gender Role Conflict, where the gender role of a submissive woman conflicts with the necessity for a woman to protect herself from domestic violence. Although not specifically referred to as Gender Role Conflict, the conflicting needs of self-protection and fulfillment of the submissive female norm are an example of Feminine Gender Role Conflict, here in a Christian religious context.

In addition to these relationships between feminine roles and Christian ideology, certain masculine norms are related with particular facets of religiosity. The masculine gender norm of homophobia is positively correlated with religious fundamentalism, extrinsic religiosity, and intrinsic religiosity (Ward & Cook, 2011). Additionally, the norm of power over women is positively correlated with religious fundamentalism (Ward & Cook, 2011). These findings suggest that disdain for same-sex relationships and preference for traditional male-dominated

hierarchies are associated with religious fundamentalism, suggesting that there is a link between fundamentalist religiosity and certain values of traditional masculinity (Ward & Cook, 2011). Furthermore, men who are more religious do not feel the need to restrict their emotions as much as men who are less religious, supporting the theory of a religion-related feminine psychological orientation that does not require emotional restrictiveness (Ward & Cook, 2011). Along with links to masculinity, internal and external religiosity and scriptural literalism have been positively correlated with benevolent sexism, operationalized as the endorsement of beliefs that women need male protection and should fulfill particular roles as the nurturing, gentle, fairer sex (Burn & Busso, 2005). This study shows that scriptural literalism is connected to the traditional gender roles dictated by benevolent sexism, as well as other traditional gender ideologies.

Despite these findings about gender role ideologies and religion, there is little research on the relationships between religion and gender role conflict. The current research on gender roles and religion may suggest gender role conflict or gender role stress, but the aspects of religion that have been studied in relation to gender, such as religiosity and scriptural literalism, have not been studied within the gender role conflict and gender role stress paradigms. Oates, Hall, Anderson, and Willingham proposed that there are negative consequences from assuming multiple roles for Protestant Christian women, which suggests gender role conflict because of the gendered expectations for their roles that place women in double binds between traditional and non-traditional roles (2008). Traditional conservative Evangelical gender role beliefs have been found to be negatively correlated with career goals and positively correlated with goals of motherhood, demonstrating the tension between personal aspirations and gender-ascribed roles (Colaner & Giles, 2007). These studies show that there may be a relationship between religion and gender role conflict that has yet to be investigated.

Regarding masculine gender roles and religion, several relationships have been found between religiosity, masculine behavior, hypermasculine ideology, and homophobia (Gelfer, 2013; Gerber, 2014; Sumerau, 2012). Proposed as reactions to fears of femininity, Sumerau frames hypermasculine behaviors as indicative of gender role pressures, in a case study at an LGBT church, proposing that these “compensatory acts”, which include adherence to patriarchal structures and emotional repression, occur to reaffirm an individual’s sense of masculinity (2012). Within the Evangelical Protestant Church, patterns of hypermasculinity and Godly masculinity have been proposed as reactions to the supposed feminization of Christian institutions, including specialized men’s ministries that emphasize masculine ideologies and include activities such as hunting and sports (Gelfer, 2013; Gerber, 2014). These findings, although not placed within a framework of Gender Role Conflict, show elements of the Gender Role Conflict Paradigm for men, including homophobia, restrictive emotionality, and desire for control, power, and competition. In order to investigate whether or not these types of religiosity are actually connected with Gender Role Conflict, further research must be done using the Gender Role Conflict Paradigm to investigate the tensions between men who feel the need to uphold a standard of masculinity and the perceived femininity of Christianity.

Sociological research has connected gender roles with religious ideology and resultant conflict and negotiation. Decision-making within heterosexual, conservative Protestant married couples shows negotiation between religious gender role ideology and actual behavior, showing that there is dissonance between belief and action as a resolution of gender role conflict (Denton, 2004). Gender traditionalism has been positively correlated to theological conservatism in women and strength of religious affiliation in men (Bartkowski & Hempel, 2009). In addition, adherence to traditional women’s roles within the home has been correlated with conservative

Christian beliefs (Bartkowski, 1999). Although these findings suggest relationships between conservative Christianity and traditional gender role behavior and could suggest gender role conflict, these relationships have not been investigated within the framework of gender role stress and psychological outcomes of gender role conflict.

One psychological study has investigated the relationship between Masculine Gender Role Conflict and religious orientation, finding that certain aspects of external religious orientation are related to specific elements of Masculine Gender Role Conflict including orientation towards success, power, and competition, restricted affection between men, limited emotional expression, and fear of intellectual inferiority (Mahalik & Lagan, 2001). Although this study did associate religious orientation to Masculine Gender Role Conflict, it did not take into account the degree of religiosity as a potential predictor of Masculine Gender Role Conflict. Additionally, it only investigated Masculine Gender Role Conflict and did not take into account the potential for relationships between a religious framework and Feminine Gender Role Conflict, Gender Role Stress, or endorsement of a traditional Western gender role ideology (Mahalik & Lagan, 2001).

Present Study

In order to address the lack of research examining the relationships between religiosity and religious beliefs, Gender Role Conflict, Gender Role Stress, and Traditional Gender Role Ideologies, this study investigates the potential correlations between these variables specifically in Protestant Christian individuals. The focus on Protestant Christian individuals seeks to build on the existing literature that details the relationship between Christian religious affiliation and gender role beliefs (Allison, 1979; Colaner & Warner, 2005; Denton, 2004; Gerber, 2014; Mahalik & Lagan, 2001). Research within the Gender Role Conflict Paradigm and has primarily

focused on Masculine Gender Role Conflict and Stress, rendering Feminine Gender Role Conflict and Stress underexplored. Because of the lack of research on Feminine Gender Role Conflict and the wealth of research that connects religious beliefs and Female Gender Role Ideology and gendered behavior in women, the relationship between Female Gender Role Ideology, Gender Role Conflict, and religiosity needs to be explored.

This study will investigate the relationships between religiosity and Masculine and Female Gender Role Ideologies and religiosity and Gender Role Stress, through a correlational design that employs the Gender Role Conflict paradigm to investigate the relationships between religiosity, Male and Female Gender Role Ideologies, and Masculine and Feminine Gender Role Stress. Under O'Neil's Gender Role Conflict paradigm, Masculine and Feminine Gender Role Stress will be investigated using scores on the Masculine and Feminine Gender Role Stress scales (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Gillespie & Eisler, 1992). Gender Role Ideologies will be used as a predictor to confirm a relationship with Gender Role Stress. An open-ended question about gender roles will be used to investigate whether participants cite scriptures as part of their conceptions of gender roles. Different facets of religiosity, including internal and external religiosity as well as religious fundamentalism, will be investigated in relation to Gender Role Ideologies and Gender Role Stress.

In confirmation of earlier findings, it is hypothesized that endorsement of Traditional Gender Role Ideologies will be positively correlated with religious attendance and involvement, scriptural literalism, and prayer for both men and women. Additionally, it is expected that endorsement of Traditional Gender Role Ideologies will be positively correlated with Gender Role Stress, as found in previous research. Religiosity will be positively correlated with Gender Role Stress, such that individuals with higher internal or external religiosity and religious

fundamentalism will have higher levels of Gender Role Stress. However, it is hypothesized that Endorsement of Traditional Gender Role Ideologies will partially mediate any relationships found between religiosity and Gender Role Stress. In addition, it is hypothesized that individuals who mention or quote scriptures will have higher religiosity and more traditional gender role ideologies. All of these predicted relationships are expected to be present in both men and women.

Method

Participants

A power analysis was conducted for 3-predictor multiple regression to determine the desired sample size with an estimated effect size of $f^2 = .30$, based on conservative estimates of previous research, $\alpha = .05$, and power at .80, resulting in a desired sample size of at least 76 participants. Because participants identifying as men and women cannot be compared because of the different scales that will be used for each gender, 76 participants of each gender will be necessary, for a total of 134 participants, evenly split between the genders. The participants will be individuals who are at least 18 years of age and who identify as Christian.

Due to the online nature of this study, individuals those who do not use the Internet will be excluded from the study. Upon completion of the study, participants will be eligible to win one of two \$50 Amazon gift cards as a means of compensation. The participants will be recruited online via Christian interest and church social media pages and flyers placed in local religious organizations, such as churches and religious centers. Because of the intended population of Christian individuals who identify as men or women, data from any individuals who do not

identify as men or women or who do not identify as Christian will be removed from the final analysis. However, they will still be eligible to win a gift card if they have completed the study.

Materials

Male Gender Role Ideology. The Male Role Norms Inventory-Short Form, (MRNI-SF) is a self-report scale that measures endorsement of traditional masculine gender norms such as “men should be able to fix most things around the house,” with higher scores indicating more traditional gender norms (Levant, Hall, & Rankin, 2012; Levant, Hall, Weigold, & McCurdy, 2015). It is an abbreviated version of the Male Role Norms Inventory-Revised, an updated version of the original Male Role Norms Inventory that was improved to better measure beliefs about the acceptable and unacceptable roles and behaviors for men. The MRNI-SF uses 21, 7-point (0 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree), items to measure seven subscales of traditional male gender roles, including Restrictive Emotionality, Self-Reliance Through Mechanical Skills, Negativity Towards Sexual Minorities, Avoidance of Femininity, Importance of Sex, Toughness, and Dominance. It has a comparable reliability and validity to the Male Role Norms Inventory-Revised, which was found to be internally consistent (Cronbach’s alphas from .73 to .96) and to be reliable and valid across races and genders (Levant, Hall, Weigold, & McCurdy, 2015; Levant, Smalley, Aupont, House, Richmond, & Noronha, 2007). The total scores for this scale and the subscales can be calculated by taking the average of all the scores (Levant et al., 2007).

Female Gender Role Ideology. The Femininity Ideology Scale (FIS) contains 45 self-report items that ask for the level of endorsement of norms relating to women’s roles and what it means to be feminine, for example, “women should be gentle,” (Richmond et al., 2015). Respondents are scored using a 5-point scale (0 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree) on five

subscales measuring different factors: Stereotypic Image and Activities, Dependence/Deference, Purity, Caretaking, and Emotionality (Levant et al., 2007). There is evidence for the validity and reliability of the FIS, as well as internal consistency (Cronbach's alphas for the five subscales ranged from .83 to .90) (Levant et al., 2007). It has no comparable relation to the MRNI scales, because it measures fundamentally different gender roles, but was developed by the same investigators. The subscale scores and overall scale scores can be averaged to find the total score of the FIS (Richmond et al., 2015).

Feminine Gender Role Stress. The Feminine Gender Role Stress Scale (FGRSS) was developed to assess the stress experienced in hypothetical situations that conflict with traditional female gender role norms, such as "being perceived by others as overweight," (Gillespie & Eisler, 1992). Like the FIS, there are five subscales that reflect particular feminine norms that are being violated in that situation, but these subscales are not directly related to the subscales in the FIS. The FGRS subscales include Fear of Unemotional Relationships, Fear of Physical Unattractiveness, Fear of Victimization, Fear of Behaving Assertively, and Fear of Not Being Nurturant. There are 39 self-report Likert-type items on the FGRS Scale, from 0 = not at all stressful to 5 = extremely stressful, which has been shown to have internal consistency with a total Cronbach's alpha of .93 and to have test-retest reliability of .82 for a two week retest, which is relatively good (Gillespie & Eisler, 1992). Women score higher on the FGRS Scale than men and the scores are correlated with anxiety and depression, showing that the scale measures stressors and that those stressors are particular to women (Gillespie & Eisler, 1992, Richmond, Levant, Smalley, & Cook, 2015).

Masculine Gender Role Stress. The Masculine Gender Role Stress Scale (MGRSS) contains 43 Likert-type items developed to measure perceived stress associated with situations

that violate traditional masculine gender role norms (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). Respondents state how stressful they would perceive a particular situation on a scale (0 = not at all stressful, 5 = extremely stressful) such as losing a competition to a woman. Men score significantly differently than women on the measures, and the items are associated with emotional distress but not with masculine identification (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). Five factors underlie the full scale, and are grouped into subscales, including Physical Inadequacy, Emotional Inexpressiveness, Subordination to Women, Intellectual Inferiority, and Performance Failure. The MRGS Scale is reliable with Cronbach's alphas in the lower .90s and two-week test-retest reliability (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Eisler, Skimore, & Ward, 1988),

Religiosity. Religiosity will be measured through three scales, two of religious orientation and one of religious fundamentalism. These measures will not be combined into one composite measure of religiosity, but will be used separately to investigate any relationships between these individual scales and gender role ideologies and gender role stress.

Religious Fundamentalism. The Revised Religious Fundamentalism Scale, which measures religious fundamentalism and Biblical literalism, is an abbreviated version of the original Religious Fundamentalism Scale, which was restructured and revised to be shorter, to have more construct validity, and to be more internally consistent (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004). The shortened scale has similar reliability to the original scale (Cronbach's alphas .91 and .92) (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004). It contains 12 self-report, 9-point Likert-type items which participants express their agreement or disagreement with (-4 = very strongly disagree, 0 = exactly neutral, +4 = very strongly agree), such as "The fundamentals of God's religion should never be tampered with, or compromised with other's beliefs" (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004).

Internal-External Religiosity. The Age-Universal Intrinsic-Extrinsic Scale-12 (Age-Universal I-E Scale-12) is a revised version of the Religious Orientation Scale from Allport and Ross (1967, Maltby, 1999). It measures the religiosity of individuals in two domains, intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations (I-E), where high scores indicate high religiosity. Intrinsic orientation (I) refers to religiosity that stems from internal motivation from the religious tradition itself and extrinsic orientation refers to external motivators of religion, including social pressures and perceived personal well-being (Maltby, 2002). The Age Universal I-E Scale measures two separate aspects of extrinsic orientation, Extrinsic Social (Es), including any social benefits that come from religiousness, and Extrinsic Personal (Ep), including any comforts or benefits to the individual that come from religiousness (Maltby, 2002). The 12 self-report items on the Age-Universal I-E Scale-12 are measured on a 3-point scale with possible responses of *yes*, *not certain*, and *no* to items such as “I have often had a strong sense of God’s presence.” (Maltby, 1999). The three factors on this scale, I, Es, and Ep, have been found to be distinctly different from one another, showing construct validity (Maltby, 2002). The previous Age Universal Scale had an overall alpha coefficient of .86, and the revised 12-item scale has further improved on that, as it removed several measures that were unnecessary, making the scale more reliable and applicable to non-religious individuals (Maltby, 1999; Maltby & Lewis, 1996).

Procedure

Following recruitment, participants will begin the study online, using the website Survey Monkey, which hosts online questionnaires. Participants will first read through an informed consent page and, after giving electronic voluntary consent, will be able to access and begin the questionnaire.

Participants will then be asked to provide some demographic information about themselves, including their age and gender. Their gender response will determine which scales they will be completing, as the feminine and masculine gender role stress scales assess experiences with gender roles that are different for men and women. Participants identifying as men will complete the Male Role Norms Inventory-Short Form (MRNI-SF) and the Masculine Gender Role Stress Scale (MGRSS). Participants who identify as women will complete the Feminine Ideology Scale (FIS) and the Feminine Gender Role Stress Scale (FGRSS). The order of items for both sets of scales will be randomized. Then, participants of both genders will be asked to provide their beliefs about men, women, wives, and husbands, by responding to the question of “What should _____ (wives, husbands, women, or men) be like? Please comment on what they should do and be like.”

Following those measures, all participants will complete the religiosity measures. Then, participants will be asked for their religious affiliation, which will be coded by “Evangelical Protestant”, “Mainline Protestant”, “Historically Black Protestant”, “Catholic”, “LDS”, “Other” or “None”. Following this, participants will be thanked and compensated and directed to a debriefing page, which will inform them again about the purposes of the study, thank them for their participation, and provide them with contact information for the investigator.

Ethics

This study will proceed with a method intended to ensure that the study will maintain the dignity and safety of each participant. The population of individuals who will be recruited is not a protected category, but the well-being of participants is still being carefully considered in the execution of this study. When an individual decides to participate in the study, they will be

informed that there are no risks, that their participation is voluntary in that they are not required to participate and can withdraw at any time, and that there are no known direct benefits of the study. These principles will be communicated through an informed consent form, which will be given to the participants. The method of this study does not pose any risks above the level of minimal risk to participants, because participation will not expose individuals to any risks that are greater or more likely to occur than other situations in their lives. All questions asked are similar to those that they would be asked in every day life. The final page of the study will provide a link to a separate online form where they can provide their email address to be entered into a raffle for the Amazon gift cards, to ensure that no personal information can be connected with their responses. This form for the raffle will be completely separate and unconnected to the survey, to ensure the anonymity of the participant's answers. In addition, participants will not be asked to offer any sensitive information about themselves or others, will not be asked about any topics that could reasonably cause discomfort, and will not be deceived in any way about the study, its purpose, or the reason for their participation. Following their participation in the study, participants will be thanked for their help and informed of the proposed benefits to the field of psychology and the world.

The findings of this study have the potential to inform mental healthcare providers of the impact that a client's religion and religiosity can have on their chosen gender roles and any related stresses. It could assist those providers in efforts to be culturally sensitive to the different desires and concerns of Protestant Christian individuals, in regards to any issues surrounding their gender and gender roles. In addition, for religious groups concerned about the health of their members, the results could assist them in efforts to prevent gender role stress in their members and to understand the potential impacts of their doctrines. This research is important

because of the significant contributions it can make to the under-investigated Gender Role Conflict paradigm, and because there are no risks of this research and the cost to the participants does not outweigh the benefits of understanding the relationships between Gender Role Stress and Religiosity.

Proposed Results

Of the respondents, approximately 133 participants will identify as women with a mean age of 22.3 years and 114 identified as men with a mean age of 23.2 years ($N = 247$). In addition, 34 respondents will report no religious identification and their data were excluded from all analyses. Participants will identify with the following religious identities: 89 men and 98 women as Evangelical Protestant, 9 men and 12 women as Mainline Protestant, 1 man and 2 women as Historically Black Protestant, 12 men and 21 women as Catholic, based on data from the Pew Research Center (2015). For women, the average Religiosity-Internal/External (Religiosity-I/E) will be $M = x.xx$, $SD = x.xx$ and the average Religiosity-Fundamentalism (Religiosity-F) will be $M = x.xx$, $SD = x.xx$. For men, the average Religiosity-I/E will be $M = x.xx$, $SD = x.xx$ and the average Religiosity-F will be $M = x.xx$, $SD = x.xx$. The average Feminine Gender Role Stress score will be $M = x.xx$, $SD = x.xx$ and the average Female Gender Role Ideology score will be $M = x.xx$, $SD = x.xx$. The average Masculine Gender Role Stress score will be $M = x.xx$, $SD = x.xx$ and the average Male Gender Role Ideology score will be $M = x.xx$, $SD = x.xx$.

It must be noted that the groups of men and women cannot be compared for variables other than Religiosity-I/E and Religiosity-F because the variables of Masculine and Feminine Gender Role Stress and Male and Female Gender Role Ideology are operationally different. In addition, although the study contains an open-ended question to assess whether or not

participants would quote or reference Biblical scriptures when describing gender roles of men, husbands, women, and wives, of participants of both genders ($N = 247$), very few are likely to cite or quote Christian scriptures. Even with a large effect size, which is unlikely, there will not enough participants in the group that cited scripture to test the hypotheses that those who cite scripture will have greater religiosity and more traditional gender role beliefs than those who do not.

For the confirmatory hypothesis that religiosity would be significantly positively correlated with Gender Role Ideology, a multiple regression analysis will be conducted for the relationships between Gender Role Ideology and both Religiosity-I/E and Religiosity-F, separately for men and women, while controlling for age as a possible predictor. For the relationship between Male Gender Role Ideology and Religiosity-I/E, there will be a significant main effect of Religiosity-I/E Male Gender Role Ideology, $\beta = .XX, p \leq .05$. This indicates that for men, those who reported higher Religiosity-I/E would be significantly more likely to also report higher Gender Role Ideologies. For the relationship between Male Gender Role Ideology and Religiosity-F, there will be a significant main effect of Religiosity-F on Male Gender Role Ideology, $\beta = .XX, p \leq .05$. This indicates that for men, those who reported higher Religiosity-F would be significantly more likely to also report higher Gender Role Ideologies. For the relationship between Female Gender Role Ideology and Religiosity-I/E, there will be a significant main effect of Religiosity-F on Female Gender Role Ideology, $\beta = .XX, p \leq .05$. This indicates that for women, those who reported higher Religiosity-I/E would be significantly more likely to also report higher Gender Role Ideologies. For the relationship between Female Gender Role Ideology and Religiosity-F, there will be a significant main effect of Religiosity-F on Female Gender Role Ideology, $\beta = .XX, p \leq .05$. This indicates that for women, those who

reported higher Religiosity-F would be significantly more likely to also report higher Gender Role Ideologies. For these multiple regression analyses, age will have no significant main effects on any of the dependent variables of Male and Female Gender Role Ideology. The rationale for these expected results stems from previous research that has found the patterns of high religiosity and more traditional gender role ideology.

For the confirmatory hypothesis that Gender Role Ideology would be significantly positively correlated with Gender Role Stress, a main effect multiple regression analysis will be performed to investigate the relationships between Gender Role Ideology and Gender Role Stress, separately for men and women, while controlling for the potential effects of age. For the relationship between Male Gender Role Ideology and Masculine Gender Role Stress, there will be a significant main effect of Male Gender Role Ideology on Masculine Gender Role Stress, $\beta = .XX, p \leq .05$. This indicates that for men, those who reported higher Gender Role Stress would be significantly more likely to also report higher Gender Role Ideologies. For the relationship between Female Gender Role Ideology and Feminine Gender Role Stress, there will be a significant main effect of Female Gender Role Ideology on Feminine Gender Role Stress, $\beta = .XX, p \leq .05$. This indicates that for women, those who reported higher Gender Role Stress would be significantly more likely to also report higher Gender Role Ideologies. For these multiple regression analyses, age will have no significant main effects on any of the dependent variables of Masculine and Feminine Gender Role Stress. As with the above findings on religiosity, the relationships between gender role ideology and gender roles stress are expected because of previous research documenting positive correlations between these two variables.

For the hypotheses that Religiosity-F would be positively significantly correlated with Gender Role Stress and for the hypothesis that Religiosity-I/E would be positively significantly

correlated with Gender Role Stress, four separate multiple regression analyses will be done for each of these relationships while controlling for age, for the groups of respondents who identified as men and women and for the for the two religiosity variables. For the relationship between Masculine Gender Role Stress and Religiosity-I/E, there will be a significant main effect of Religiosity-I/E on Masculine Gender Role Stress, $\beta = .XX, p \leq .05$. This indicates that for men, those who reported higher Gender Role Stress would be significantly more likely to also report higher Religiosity-I/E. For the relationship between Masculine Gender Role Stress and Religiosity-F, there will be a main effect of Religiosity-F on Masculine Gender Role Stress, $\beta = .XX, p \leq .05$. This indicates that for men, those who reported higher Gender Role Stress would be significantly more likely to also report higher fundamentalist religiosity. For the relationship between Feminine Gender Role Stress and Religiosity-I/E, there will be a significant main effect of Religiosity-I/E on Feminine Gender Role Stress, $\beta = .XX, p \leq .05$. This indicates that for women, those who reported higher Gender Role Stress would also be significantly more likely to also report higher Religiosity-I/E. For the relationship between Feminine Gender Role Stress and Religiosity-F, there will be a main effect of Religiosity-F on Feminine Gender Role Stress, $\beta = .XX, p \leq .05$. This indicates that for women, those who reported higher Gender Role Stress would be significantly more likely to also report higher fundamentalist religiosity. Age will not have any significant main effects on Masculine or Feminine Gender Role Stress.

In order to investigate Gender Role Ideology as a potential mediator of the relationship expected between Religiosity (I/E or F) and Gender Role Stress, a Baron and Kenny mediation test will be conducted (1986). Significant correlational relationships are expected between both types of religiosity and both Masculine and Feminine Gender Role Stress. In addition, the predictors of Religiosity-I/E and Religiosity-F and the potential mediators of Female and Male

Gender Role Ideology will have significant relationships, as reported above. The mediators Female and Male Gender Role Ideology also will have significant correlational relationships with Feminine and Masculine Gender Role Stress, respectively. Therefore, to assess mediation of the relationship between Religiosity-I/E and Feminine Gender Role Stress, a multiple regression analysis will be run to test whether Female Gender Role Ideology mediated the relationship between Religiosity-I/E and Feminine Gender Role Stress while controlling for age. Figure 1 will illustrate the relationships found, where the standardized regression coefficients between Religiosity-I/E and Female Role Ideology and between Female Gender Role Ideology and Feminine Gender Role Stress will be statistically significant. However, the standardized regression coefficient for the main effect of Religiosity-I/E on Feminine Gender Role Stress will no longer be significant in this model, although it will still be present, indicating that Female Gender Role Ideology partially mediates this relationship.

To assess mediation of the relationship between Religiosity-F and Feminine Gender Role Stress, another multiple regression analysis will be run to test whether Female Gender Role Ideology mediates the relationship between Religiosity-F and Feminine Gender Role Stress, while controlling for age. Figure 1 will illustrate the relationships found, where the standardized regression coefficients between Religiosity-F and Female Role Ideology and between Female Gender Role Ideology and Feminine Gender Role Stress will be statistically significant. However, the standardized regression coefficient for the main effect of Religiosity-F on Feminine Gender Role Stress will no longer be significant in this model, although it will still be present, indicating that Female Gender Role Ideology partially mediates this relationship.

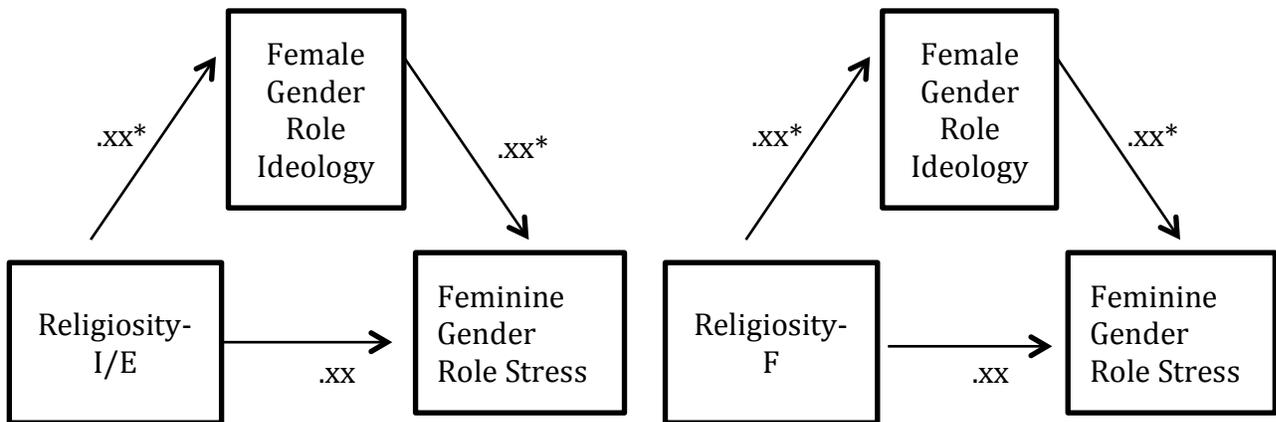


Figure 1. Regression coefficients for the relationships between Religiosity-I/E and Feminine Gender Role Stress and between Religiosity-F and Feminine Gender Role Stress, which are partially mediated by Female Gender Role Ideology when controlling for age. * $p < .05$

To test the same hypotheses in the group of participants identifying as men, another multiple regression analysis will be run to test whether Male Gender Role Ideology mediates the relationship between Religiosity-I/E and Masculine Gender Role Stress. Figure 2 will illustrate the relationships found, where the regression coefficients between Religiosity-I/E and Male Role Ideology and between Male Gender Role Ideology and Masculine Gender Role Stress will be statistically significant. However, the regression coefficient for the main effect of Religiosity-I/E on Masculine Gender Role Stress will no longer be significant in this model, although it will still be present, indicating that Male Gender Role Ideology partially mediates this relationship.

To assess mediation of the relationship between Religiosity-F and Masculine Gender Role Stress, yet another multiple regression analysis will be run to test whether Female Gender Role Ideology mediates the relationship between Religiosity-F and Masculine Gender Role Stress, while controlling for age. Figure 1 will illustrate the relationships found, where the standardized regression coefficients between Religiosity-F and Male Role Ideology and between Male Gender Role Ideology and Masculine Gender Role Stress will be statistically significant. However, the standardized regression coefficient for the main effect of Religiosity-F on

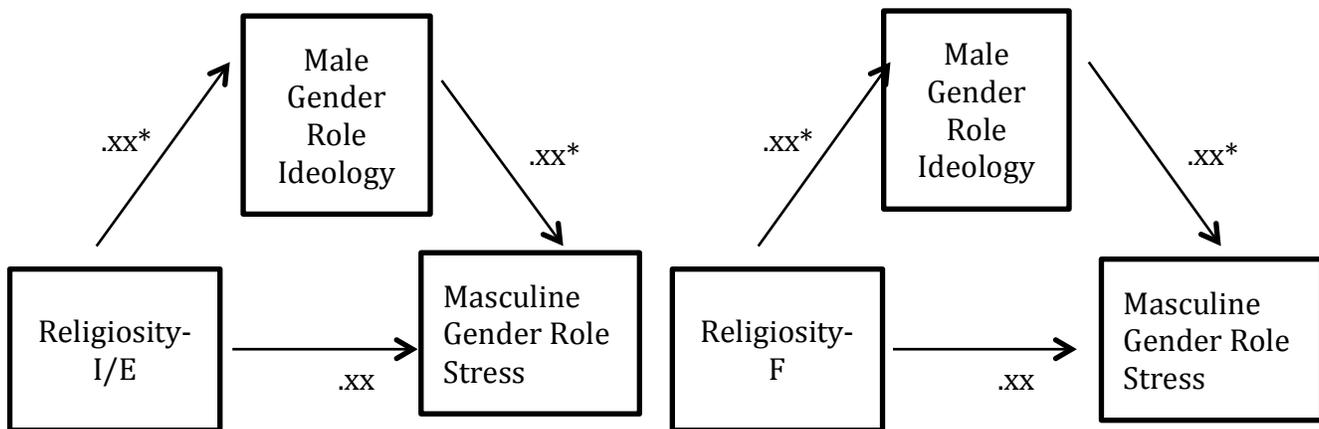


Figure 2. Regression coefficients for the relationships between Religiosity-I/E and Masculine Gender Role Stress and between Religiosity-F and Masculine Gender Role Stress, which are partially mediated by Male Gender Role Ideology when controlling for age. * $p < .05$

Masculine Gender Role Stress will no longer be significant in this model, although it will still be present, indicating that Male Gender Role Ideology partially mediates this relationship.

The rationale for the findings of Gender Role Ideology as a mediator comes from the theory that one's religion would have an impact on the gender role beliefs that a person holds and that those beliefs would affect the stress they experience as a result of their religion and religiosity. The degree of endorsement of those beliefs about gender, in this case, Gender Role Ideology, will determine the amount of stress that they would experience as a result of internalized gender role norms. Other potential reasons for this expected relationship, including the sanctification paradigm, are discussed below.

Discussion

Because of the relationships found between religiosity and gender role ideology, the above findings suggest that religion either instills or attracts those with traditional gender role beliefs. The Christian adults studied showed that their religiosity was related to their gender role ideologies, but this could indicate either that their religiosity and ideologies follow a related pattern of traditionalism or that one causes the other. Because of the ways that areas of Christian

culture in the United States socialize and uphold traditional gender roles, these findings make sense (Miller & Hoffmann, 1995, Colaner & Warner, 2005). Future research into these relationships needs to account for other potential confounding variables such as socioeconomic status, as well as investigate the particular facets of religiosity that could be more related to these ideologies than others. In this study, Internal and External Religiosity and Religious Fundamentalism were explored as potential factors, but those overarching categories of religiosity do not fully explain the particulars of these relationships. Research must be done to examine which aspects of religiosity are more related to gender than others.

Although no conclusions could be made about the differences in religiosities or level of Gender Role Ideology between participants who cited or quoted scripture and those who did not, the fact that some participants did quote scripture ($n = 24$), indicates that there are relationships between Christian texts and gender role beliefs. However, that single measure does not allow conclusions about Christianity and gender role beliefs, since quoting Christian scriptures does not definitively indicate a familiarity with the Bible or with Christianity, rather just a knowledge of what is in the text. The underlying reasons for a person's association between Christian scripture and gender roles is unknown, but should be examined, as it could inform understandings of the relationships found between religiosity and Gender Role Ideology and the role of religion in the socialization process of gender roles.

The findings of Gender Role Ideology as a mediator between religiosity and Gender Role Stress point to a possible relationship where religiosity acts as a proxy for a religion-based personal belief system. Such a belief system could determine how individuals evaluate the self, which could include beliefs about gender roles and stress resulting from self-evaluation. Personal religious belief systems can influence behaviors and the perceived nature of those behaviors—as

positive, negative, feminine, masculine, godly, or ungodly. It may be that the relationship between religiosity and gender role stress stems from religious beliefs and behavioral standards that result in distress when not met. The sanctification paradigm, which asserts that individuals place a greater importance on and more effort into upholding roles that they view as having a spiritual or divine significance, supports this explanation as well (Mahoney et al., 2005; Oates, Hall, & Anderson, 2005). For individuals who view their lives and behaviors as having spiritual significance, their gender roles included, they may put more effort into maintaining these prescribed roles and experience more distress when they cannot maintain those roles. Research has demonstrated that not meeting behavioral religious standards such as church attendance and scripture reading is correlated with higher levels of psychological distress, which could be similar for unmet gender standards related to religion (Mannheimer & Hill, 2015).

However, because this study was purely correlational, these conclusions about the particular causes of these relationships cannot be determined. Additionally, these findings may be flawed because they rely on self-report variables, which are biased and can be unreliable (Fan et al, 2006). Further research in the form of measuring physiological responses as measures of distress could add reliability to the findings on these relationships. Furthermore, more qualitative research on individual understandings and cognitive negotiation of gender roles could lead to understandings of how Gender Role Conflict and Stress are experienced by people.

Another limitation of this research is the construct of gender itself. Because of the differing facets of male and female gender roles, the data from men and from women cannot be compared. Additional research could develop gender-neutral scales to use to investigate the differences between the genders in regards to Gender Role Stress. This study is dependent on the gender binary and the existence of gender roles. As time goes on, the changing content of gender

roles will change these relationships and influence the nature of these relationships. For non-binary identified individuals, these relationships between religiosity and gender role ideologies and stress may not exist or may be more pronounced.

These findings of the relatedness of religiosity, Gender Role Ideologies, and Gender Role Ideologies fit into the larger area of Gender Role Stress research. In particular, the findings of Gender Role Stress in women extend the very limited body of research that extends the Gender Role Stress paradigm to women as well as men. In regards to Christian communities that could potentially influence or encourage traditional conceptions of gender roles, the relationship between these religious-related gender roles and stress implores these communities to care for the religious members of their communities that may be experiencing difficult emotions as a result of these defined gender roles. Religion has been suggested as a cause for mental health issues due to the restricted gender roles in dominant Judeo-Christian religions in the United States (Bridges & Spilka, 1992). With further supporting research, these findings can contribute to clinical applications for clients who are Christian or who may be experiencing excessive stress as a result of the Christianity-related gender roles that they ascribe to. For clinical psychologists who may need to address Gender Role Stress related issues, the religiosity of the client may be a factor that they need to consider.

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