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Chair of Nudging: Behavioural Public Policies

Deconstructing Misogynistic Social Norms  
and Gender Biases:  
an Empirical Study on Romantic Relationships

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*A te che anche se ora non puoi vedermi,  
so che mi stai seguendo da lassù,  
grazie per aver sempre creduto in me.*

## **Abstract**

Gender equality is a topic of the outmost significance in these present times. Its relevancy has been recognized globally, as gender equality is goal number five in the agenda of the sustainable development goals for 2030 issued by the United Nations. Indeed, as the global organization contends, “gender equality is not only a fundamental human right, but a necessary foundation for a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world”. The reasons as to why inequality exists are multiple and they come from a variety of factors like access to resources, policy, legal reasons and many more. Within all of these, there are social norms. The latter are quite complex mechanisms that are embedded in a specific and precise social and cultural system. A greater understanding of normative behaviours is one of the answers when trying to comprehend social norms, as they tackle issues which are often not perceived as real problems and that are often treated as exceptions. Social norms are one of the catalyzers of misogynistic behaviours and gender inequality. Because of it, shifting norms might represent a great step into building a more inclusive and less biased society, which in turn shall promote a promising upturn.

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## CHAPTER 1

Breaking down a phenomenon such as that of misogyny in the contemporary world is no easy task to perform. An innovative and fresh perspective was, however, brought up by philosopher and writer Kate Manne. The goal behind her work was indeed to explicit the logic, the nature, and the effective realization of misogyny. Such job has been executed by the author in her book “Down Girl”, a book that posits its attention over the above-mentioned aspects and reveals how the structural system of the patriarchy operates, and as a cause and consequence, misogyny. Her analysis pivots around the asymmetrical role that men have put women in, a role that draws a specific stereotype of women and a relegated position in the social hierarchy. This chapter’s main objective is to go through Kate Manne’s logic and understand how misogyny is a fundamental stone with respect to social norms and also the role that expectations and biases play in the patriarchal society. Multiple aspects of the issue shall be analyzed, trying to understand what truly lies behind the multiple problematic facets of misogyny. The chapter will also comprise research and articles that pivot around the notion of patriarchy and how gendered norms and gender roles are a key component for the development of misogynistic behaviors.

In order to do comprehend all of this, we shall see and talk firstly about the epistemological value of misogyny.

### **1.1 Misogyny**

#### ***1.1.1 The logic of misogyny***

The “mainstream” definition, what everyone believes misogyny is, according to Kate Manne is the following: “[...] a property of individual agents that are prone to feel hatred, hostility, or other similar emotions toward any and every woman [...] simply because they’re women”. Misogynists are then people whose hatred is mainly triggered by their representing people: women. The person’s background also contributes to the level of hostility that spurs from it.

What this definition comprises is that a person is misogynist because of psychological inclinations, almost like a “phobia” or a “deep seated aversion”: therefore, a culture is simply misogynistic because there are a lot of misogynists.

According to the author, such definition is “naïve” as it leaves out a profound implication: misogyny is not a secondary branch in the societal setting we live in. It is rather a deep root that holds up the fundamentals of an even more eradicated system: the patriarchy.

Consequentially, misogyny is a system that operates within the patriarchal social order, that, in turn, relies on women's subordination and male dominance. Once we analyze such concept in this sense, we shall be allowed to understand that misogyny is a property of social systems, rather than a psychological consequence. Women shall face hatred not just because a man simply experiences hostility towards them, but specifically, they get targeted because they are women in a men's world and because, said women, have somehow failed to live up to patriarchal standards.

Furthermore, the women that will then be punished, if they do not conform to such standards, will be targeted selectively. The psychological factor plays a role to some extent, but what also stands out (and often forgotten about) is how broader social institutions have an important aspect. The outcome is that of a system that condemns, punishes, and targets women that represent a "threat" to the patriarchy. The patriarchal institutions will vary structurally and materially, but the core assumption is that the women are subordinated to men to some extent.

The subordination's notion can also be related to social pressures, which insert women in roles from which they are often incapable to succeed. The patriarchal vision also ensures that most men need to be "dominant" over some women, in order to adhere to its normative vision. Women's role is then relegated to what society classifies as feminine and womanly jobs (relating to social, domestic, or reproductive labor), which are also asked to be performed with respect to some expectations. Women will indeed have to be caring, enjoyable and lovable, piling up a specific expectation on their already predefined behavioral pattern.

The patriarchy implements this daily by internalizing in people's head specific social norms, as well as valorizing depictions of forms of care work as rewarding. The outcome looks like women have a say in all this and their drive towards such scenarios is totally up to them, when, in reality, they are not as free as they are made to be.

Finally, what happens is that this norm-enforcing mechanism will result to be punitive and hostile if women would want to rebel to it, as the place that has subtly been chosen for them is a "soft" form of social power, too "weak" to overturn the rules of the game.

What happens then when a woman is not willing to play the loving subordinate? The violation of such norms and expectations will result in some kind of punishment. The consequences will range from social marginalization to, in the worst cases, violence.

Kate Manne argutely explains this phenomenon by giving an illustration of a situation that can be considered analogous to some extent. When a person is in a restaurant, they expect that they will get served. To this, a person would add the expectation that their waiter shall be smiley and pleasant to interact with. If these expectations won't be met, the customer will feel disappointed as the way they are accustomed to, won't be regarded.

The application of such a scenario can be helpful when understanding the way misogyny works and who its targets are. Misogyny will in fact target women selectively, specifically, those who might be considered "out of order" or insubordinate. The distinction the author also makes is that of targets and victims. Misogyny's

targets will comprise the so-called unbecoming women, those type of women who have wronged their gender by not sticking to their status quo and who are not living up to their previously imposed expectations. Victims will then be those who opt-out of such schemas and patriarchal behaviors (i.e., feminists). It is important to further highlight that even though the target is not all women across the board, every woman has the potential to be vulnerable to misogynistic punishments. Women will in fact be targeted just because of perceived violations of patriarchal norms that may be purely symbolical. The result will be that of the Isla Vista Killings, where some women were used as the “scapegoat” of the “sins” of others<sup>1</sup>.

The apparatus that will smooth the logic of misogyny will overall be patriarchal norms and expectations, as well as the social roles that they posit on women.

Another point that is brought up by the author is that of meaning, use and significance of a specific word. When referring to misogyny, Manne asserts to have found the most efficient definition coming from “analytical” or “ameliorative” projects. Such study was brought up by Sally Haslanger, who explains what to consider whenever we ask ourselves “what is X?” With X being a concept, a definition, or an event. The analytical project highlights the need that, to formulate a concept, we shall be able to identify its significance and its purpose. What stands with this, is that the person, who understands such concept, is also drawn to actively make a decision when defining such word. Such conceptualization becomes crucial when we refer to social practices. Indeed, as Aristoteles says, we are social animals, and, as such, we shall adhere to norms that are developed from some basic concepts and schemas. We will enforce norms and expectations for which we are uncritical. Ameliorative projects are then a very important tool if we want to make some type of societal progress, as they shed a light on the need of a proactive element that often lacks. In the case of misogyny, the inactivity stands in the fact that people do not seem to fully comprehend or are even unaware of the architecture of the deeply enrooted mechanism of patriarchy.

### *1.1.2 Ameliorating misogyny*

Women who request something, according to patriarchal norms, have to (quite literally) “give something in return”, in order to reaffirm the subordinated status in the patriarchal setting. Women’s subordination results to be functional and relational.

As Manne suggests, “Women’s indifference becomes aversion, ignorance becomes ignoring, testimony becomes tattling and asking becomes extortion.” Another piece is added by the identification of the targeted

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<sup>1</sup> Kate Manne analyzed this homicide episode in order to explain how women who are not even deemed to be “bad” get end up being murdered because of eradicated concepts of patriarchy. In 2014, 22-year-old Elliot Rodgers killed six people and injured fourteen others, right before shooting himself. Before committing the crime, he published on social media YouTube, the "Elliot Rodger's Retribution", which was later referred to as his manifesto. In the video he explained why he wanted to kill women; the reason was because he despised them for rejecting him. The original plan was to break into a campus sorority at the University of Santa Barbara (USCB), California and commit the premediated crime. When he was unsuccessful, he then rammed the campus street and killed men and women. There are many components to this tragedy and the reaction to the media, however, the verdict sums up the concept very well. Rodgers was indeed found to be guilty of misogynist terrorism by the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism and a misogynist extremist by the US Secret Service.



women; the latter are often “represented” targets, that is a man’s projection of a woman (even an idea or a stereotype) that he despises upon another woman. Targets then become victims; *all* women become *that* woman.

To this extent, Manne argues that the definition of misogyny (in order to be ameliorated) shall shift its focus from actors to targets. With this, she implies focusing on the hostility women experience in the patriarchal environment, rather than to think about the misogynists themselves. The main reasons as why this change of focus is needed is because, first of all, it avoids psychologism, that is attributing the key factors of misogyny to conscious events or trauma responses. Secondly, it avoids individualism and finally, it puts a “reasonable standard” that allows women to understand whether the “threshold” of misogyny has been surpassed and, consequentially, identify to what extent the environment they are in results to be hostile.

Another crucial finding would be that women who resist to gendered norms and expectations are dealing more with challenging entrenched norms rather than gendered norms per se.

Misogyny is also regarded as a product of a collective activity that channels even more its reactions. Another etiquette comes from misogyny as a product of institutions and social practices that react whenever women refuse to be in line with their status.

Manne clearly depicts the main characteristics stating some facts.

First of all, the social environment of misogyny implies hostile social forces that in turn are faced by a selected range of women of a specific status. Also, such environment enforces patriarchal order because of the intersecting systems that work thanks to male dominance and female subordination.

Secondly, as a substantive matter, misogynistic social forces will assume a punitive mechanism that stems from actual or representative actions that often women react with to elude patriarchal norms. The latter include gendered contents, harsh enforcement mechanism for girls and women with respect to boys and men and intense forms of policing for women overall.

### ***1.1.3 Misogynistic hostility***

To further elaborate on the logic of misogyny based on the previous instances, we can now understand more concretely who a misogynist actor might be.

We define a misogynist individual as a person that perpetuates misogynistic actions or attitudes in a social context *particularly* and *consistently*.

Hostility is a key response of misogynist behavior, that can be linked to punishments and deterrents. It comes in “down girl” moves that range from infantilizing, sexualizing, desexualizing to silencing, shaming, patronizing, condescending women, as well as the enforcement of dismissive treatments. What also emerges is violence and threats; the target as said can be a specific person or a “projected target”, making practically any woman vulnerable to misogyny.

## 1.2 What's sexism

In her book, philosopher Manne draws an important line on two definitions that are very relevant to the patriarchal order: misogyny and sexism.

If misogyny results to be the “law enforcement” branch of a patriarchal order, we can identify sexism as a “justificatory” branch. The former will indeed enforce the patriarchal norms and expectations, whereas the latter will rationalize its patriarchal standards.

Sexism strikes to naturalize sex differences, using beliefs and stereotypes that suggest rational people into thinking that the patriarchal setting is more advantageous for everyone. The core discrimination is between man and woman, often using anatomical scientific evidence.

Anchoring woman to specific social roles and trapping them in precise gender roles is a product of what is known in literature as ambivalent sexism. Ambivalent sexism is a socio-cognitive construct that comprises two main notions: hostile and benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

Common knowledge mainly talks about what hostile sexism is; it as expression of “an attitude (according to which) women are inferior to men and unfit for positions of leadership, especially those involving power over men” (Hebl & O’Brien, 2010). Women and men will be then made to be rivals, and, in particular, women will be depicted as controlling through practices such as “marriage, sexual deceit or through fighting them in a battle of the sexes in the workplace” (Yzerbyt & Demoulin, 2010).

The other face of the coin, and one that is more subtle is the notion of benevolent sexism. The latter idealizes “women as mothers, wives, and caregivers who stand by their men and nurture their children”. The reason as to why this type of sexism is called benevolent is because the way women are as “giving, loving, and loyal”. However, “it is rooted in the notion that women are the “fairer sex”—they have a purity that men do not and need to be protected against those who might do them wrong (Hebl & O’Brien, 2010)”.

The diverging contents of these two notions is exactly what makes ambivalent sexism so impactful and rather pernicious. Indeed, on one hand, hostile sexism affirms women’s subjugation to men, whereas as social psychologists Alice Eagly and Antonio Mladinic contend, benevolent sexism proclaims that “women are wonderful.” (Eagly and Mladinic, 1989). Because of this, in our modern society, we are more likely to condemn hostile sexism, leaving out the toxic implications of the benevolent kind. The latter will enforce norms that suggest that if “women counter the benevolent sexist view and assume more stereotypically male behaviors, such as assertiveness and competitiveness, they trigger hostile responses”. (Heilman et al. 2004). The issue then lies within the fact that because of its “harmless nature”, benevolent sexism “is not taken as sexism, even by women and it’s rarely brought up or challenged. However, what has been found in studies contradicts this innocuous nature that is made to be out of benevolent sexism. Researches have indeed shown that women found that it was easier to defend themselves around matters of hostile sexism (even if it was very unpleasant to deal with).

As Dardenne and others contend, “because they could not dismiss them as outright sexism, these remarks planted actual doubt in (women’s) minds about their own competence (Dardenne, Dumont, & Bollier, 2007). This subtle form of sexism led women to question their own abilities, decreasing their self-esteem and self-confidence. These intrusive thoughts about their competence interfered with working memory capacity, and as a result, their performance suffered.”

At times, benevolent sexism’s false standards and biases also got to women’s psyche, as shown in a study conducted in the Netherlands. What researchers found was that “that women often reacted to benevolent sexism by conforming to stereotypes: they emphasized their communal qualities (their ability to get along with and care for others) and downplayed their competence, competitiveness, and academic achievement (Barreto, Ellemers et al., 2010”).

As is the case with biases and stereotypes which shall be analyzed in depth later on<sup>2</sup>, benevolent sexism (and sexism in general) is not a product of individual psychology, but rather an individual materialization of larger, societal determining forces which are located in the patriarchal system.

Similarly, misogyny enacts patriarchal social relations in a direct way, punishing the “bad women” and rewarding the “good ones”.

The common purpose of sexism and misogyny can thus be found in the system that generates them: the patriarchy’s social order.

An example that helps one to understand the difference amongst sexism and misogyny is represented by women’s sexual objectification.

Looking at such concept with the lenses of sexism, the agent is found to be ignorant of women’s ability to have an autonomous mind; they are led to think that women are vacant, stupid, and naïve. From a misogynistic perspective, an agent’s objectification relates to desire to “get inside her head”, violating the woman’s integrity on purpose. This latter point of view denominates women as an object, something that can be bought, paid for or broken; however her buyer pleases.

If sexism relies on man’s dominance upon the notion that they are superior to women in endless fields that range from politics to business to sports, then misogyny’s goal is to focus on the proper functioning of the patriarchal system and restoring its order if challenged.

Looking at misogyny from this angle, makes one able to broaden its scope. Indeed, misogyny relies on third personal hostility and indignation towards women who wrong others. Such concept is explained through an issue that is highly present in our society, that is that of reproductive rights. Indeed, “Abortion rights [...] validated a breakdown of traditional roles that required men to be prepared to kill and die in war and women to save themselves for marriage and [...] motherhood.” Shifting the focus from Christian religion and conservative ideas, Manne talks about the role of patriarchal order in such matter. Women who are to choose

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<sup>2</sup> See *infra* at section 1.3 and 1.4.

abortion are considered to neglect their nurturing role and are considered to have failed their societal task, refusing to take care for the “vulnerable”.

## 1.3 Gender roles and Gender Stereotypes

### 1.3.1 *The enforcement of gender stereotypes*

“Masterful, assertive, competitive. Friendly, unselfish, emotionally expressive. Though common adjectives, these are not gender-neutral terms. Both men and women are more likely to describe the first set of traits as masculine and the second set as feminine” (Wood et al., 2010). This affirmation is emblematic of what’s a quality that results to be present in men and lacking in women: agency, something which will be developed further when speaking about gender biases<sup>3</sup>. The key understanding from this is that, in the common understanding, women and men result to be encapsulated and represented by specific traits which are, in turn, the main representation of their roles in society. “When we’ve grown up seeing, both in the media and in our daily lives, women take care of children and the home and men go off to work, we come to understand these as gender roles. Like other social roles, gender roles specify what people—specifically, men and women—typically do, as well as what they should do” (Wood et al., 2010).

The problem with these stereotypes is that they have a descriptive and prescriptive nature and, because of the social consensus that has been piled up upon it, they are even more enforced, as sustained by researchers Crandall & Stangor.

The consistency of these factual beliefs has been kept throughout history as, from childhood through adulthood, the system keeps rewarding men and women who conform to gender roles, whilst penalizing those who do not. An example is when during the early stages of life, children are thought that there are “boy’s and girl’s toys”, they are also thought to disapprove of peers that do not conform to such rules, like being judgmental of a girl playing football or of a boy wearing a pink shirt. “Conformity to gender roles garners rewards because it validates shared beliefs about women and men and promotes social interaction that is easy to follow and understand” (Wood et al., 2010).

Furthermore, “patterns of disapproval and approval about gender-based behavior continue into adulthood, where women who behave in a dominant or very competent manner tend to lose likability and influence” (Rudman & Phelan, 2008), whereas, “modest and unassuming men are viewed as insufficiently competent for leadership roles” (Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 2001).

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<sup>3</sup> See *supra* at 2.

### ***1.3.2. Where do gender roles come from?***

Gender roles are a result of the societal division of labour. The phenomenon of classifying people depending on their job tasks is called, as said by Professor Gilbert, “correspondence bias”—“in other words, the idea that people are what they do”.

Whenever empirical expectations on a single member are then confirmed, it’s rather subsequential that people will start, deductively, applying them to bigger groups. For this reason, when a woman is perceived as docile, people will generalize this notion to other women and so on.

Furthermore, as women have historically been in charge of house work, whereas men have always been seen as the “bread winners”, people will tend to create notions such as female and male tasks.

“Even when women work, often they are engaged in occupations, such as teaching or nursing, that emphasize communal characteristics” (Cejka & Eagly, 1999). On the other hand, “we often see men in family roles of provider and head of household, as well as in occupations that emphasize assertive, task-oriented behaviors (Cejka & Eagly, 1999)”.

This also adds up to the solidification of gender roles and, “while gender roles are rooted in a historical division of labor, they breed gender stereotypes that continue to constrict opportunities in the present” .

Gender stereotypes ascribe what the abilities and achievements of a woman can be. Empirically, it has been shown that the different standards that gender roles draw have shown that women must be 2.5 times more productive than men to be rated equally as competent (Wenneras & Wold, 2001). As a result, we have entirely different evaluative scales of what qualifies as adequate, depending on gender (Biernat & Fuegen, 2001).

Another example is that when employees select someone to hire the value leadership potential over leadership performance among male applicants, but the opposite is true for women (Player, 2015). Overall, gender roles make one question women’s abilities more than men’s.

Finally, as put by Professor Godsil: “[...] Even when gender roles shift, they have a lasting impact on our attitudes and expectations. For instance, the culturally prevalent idea through the 1970s that women weren’t suited to be doctors or lawyers meant that, until current generations, we saw few women in those positions. Now, these attitudes have changed, but it is very likely that we still tend most immediately to envision a man when we hear the word “doctor” or “lawyer”—which means that women in these positions are still upending stereotypes”. (Godsil et al, 2016).

### ***1.3.3 Why women?***

The previous section’s objective was to analyze how gender roles spur from the point of view that is rather historical and takes into consideration also the role of men. However, it seemed important to also provide the

reader with a complete view as to why women in particular are subject to gender stereotypes so vigorously. To find a possible solution to the eradication of misogyny and the enforcement of gender roles, it is indeed important to understand what the consideration of women is, also from a sociological and philosophical standpoint. This shall be done through the means of a concept that is humanity.

Women have always been seen as some characters in a play where men have been the protagonists for centuries. In order to explain this, some philosophers have gone to the concept of humanism, or better, how some individuals do not regard others as fellow human beings. The proposed argument uses different theories amongst which we find that by Langton that talks about “sexual solipsism”. Solipsism is the skepticism or denial about existence of other minds; the term sexual refers specifically to the agents’ minds being only male. The latter will then identify women as mere things and objects. Whenever humanism is not present, terrible consequences arise. It takes away people’s empathetic nature, something which enables social bonds.

Humanism is a broad concept that can be summarized with respect to descriptive and normative claims. An example of a normative claim is the moral psychological claim. This descriptive commitment asserts that humans are able to recognize one another as something more than an individual of the same species. They are thought as “fellow humans” and such condition is not only necessary, but it also motivates and disposes humans to treat interpersonally one another humanely. As Humean theory suggests, desire and world-guiding is what drives mental states, as beliefs and values are not the only aspects to take into account. Therefore, feelings like empathy and sympathy will be tied to such fellow humans and an individual will likely take into perspective the other’s person situation, becoming a pro-social helper.

Another relevant descriptive claim is the historical one. The latter suggests that whenever historically oppressed people start being seen like fellow humans by society, moral and social progress will be enforced. The dehumanizing propaganda is very important as well, as it gaslights people into mistreating targets of the oppressed minorities.

The normative claim that Manne talks about is the moral cum political claim. Whenever people get mistreated, one of the most important political goals would be to make their humanity more visible to one another.

When applying the humanist concept to misogyny, things are a bit more troubled. Indeed, misogyny can be practiced by both women and men. The phenomenon of internalized misogyny is indeed something which has been going for centuries. Some women grow up in contexts that have imposed some standards and have strictly imposed status affiliation to specific roles. When this happens, the outcome results to be that women are the enforcers of the social norms that the patriarchy upholds. A woman will then be less human to a woman who goes against such standards. What also emerges and that can be troubling with respect to humanism, is that an altruistic disposition can still be present, but it can be overshadowed or canceled by dispositions associated with hostile stances. With respect to misogyny, this can for instance happen whenever a woman withholds an important position in a workplace, and, because of patriarchal norms, she

can be considered as a threat, almost as a usurper. Even if a male colleague does not regard her as “an object”, as Langton says, he might feel that she shall not be in that position, that she needs to be put back in her place, as the game cannot be played according to a women’s rules.

Whenever the association of women is directly linked to traitors or usurpers, inhumane behaviors come into play. The man will not be an agent which is contextualized in a world where there are social institutions or hierarchical situations that might lead to disparity, but he will rather be appointed as the judge of such actions, assessing what’s right or wrong. Because of the power he withholds, he will be able to protect and enforce the norms he believes need to be safeguarded and that have not been respected by the “immoral” behaviors of the wrong doers. The aforementioned phenomenon will then lead to a sense of “aggrieved entitlement”, as noted by sociologist Kimmel. The social structures that come from this become invisible to such agents. Because of this, if someone tries to object or take down the entrenched social norms that empower such agents to a greater hierarchical position, the action will be seen as unfair and unjust. The dehumanization and mistreatment of subordinated people throughout history then happens because they are perceived as a threat to society. It is important to mention that such ideologies are internalized because of norms and expectations, as well as social structures and hierarchical relations. When it comes to misogynistic norms, women are the subordinated category indeed and as emphasized, the social pressure comes before any type of psychological inclination one might have with regards to the conception of woman and their position in society, following the moral cum social framework. The victim is identified as the guilty party, creating a moral delusion that spurs from the “toxic ongoing legacy of a white-patriarchal order.” (Manne, 2020).

In this context, also the dehumanizing propaganda is crucial. Dehumanizing speeches’ use intimidation, insults and belittlements as it helps to enforce in a more effective way social meanings. By choosing to humiliate a person by dehumanizing them, you actively put them down and they are degraded from their social status.

The way all of this relates to misogyny, argues Manne, lies in two focal points.

The first one asserts that being recognized as humans already implies that there will be a “social script” to which everyone has to conform to as a specific persona singularly and as a group member as well. With this concept, we can then understand how a role reversal can generate alarming reactions. The behavior will indeed be classified as socially anomalous and the entitled individual will feel a sort of dangerous feeling that can, subsequently, generate a “persecution complex” against those who threaten the system. Women, represented as the imposters, will then become the victims of revenge.

The second point instead, takes back to the notion that women are mainly regarded in society to owing human capacities to someone else. They will always be “somebody’s someone” because her personhood shall be about loving, labor and caring. Anything outside this scheme will then be judged as an act of evil and rebellion.

### ***1.3.4 The economy of giving and taking***

Men with high degree of privilege will be the ones who will feel entitled to something from women, as they owe them such services. Writer Manne comments that such enforcement of these obligations comes from an uneven, gendered economy of giving and taking moral cum social goods and services. In fact, a man feels like something lacks from a woman because of an entrenched silent norm that assesses a social framework for which the man is entitled to feel betrayed if the woman does not give him something. The key concepts here are those of proprietary with respect to the entitled individual and the consequence that comes whenever such obligation is violated or threatened. The man will feel like he has been annihilated by her, with the specific purpose of frustrating him. It is once again, important to highlight how any woman will result prone to such altercations (consequence of the misogyny click).

So, what is it that she has to give? The answer is found within the entrenched social norms of our society. What is expected from a woman (as mentioned above) is adoration, indulgence and feminine coded goods that go along that line. The latter ones are pure forms of emotional and social labor- tangible goods. The enforcing system has a specific structure that allows for such norms to be effective. Amongst these mechanisms there are moral sanctions which dictate what is ought to be done by women. Furthermore, there is the threat of withdrawal of social approval if these feminine codes are not followed. Parallely, incentives of love if their duties are done accordingly to expectations, are present. Finally, (and perhaps what drives women to follow these norms), the presence of negative punishments in case of neglecting their duties. The peculiarity of this latter enforcement is that it is referred not only to men, but to society.

As Manne sums up with efficacy: “She will give, and he will take [...] or else she will be punished.” The sanctions that will come with the punishments will also exercise social visibility as a result of the above-mentioned gendered economy of moral and social labor. Dutiful woman will set an example, whereas rebellious ones will set a path not to engage in because of social ostracism. This latter aspect combined with norms of loyalty will set the precedent for the phenomenon of misogyny amongst women themselves.

Why does he have to take something? Entrenched social norms are once again the answer.

The masculine privileges will lie in authority and forms of power in general. The social “face” and visibility is itself a key component, as in the patriarchal social system, absence of pride or recognition of the status quo will be core issues. For men, masculine pride, respect or prestige will be the main values that are not even constrained in the patriarchal system; they might become limited whenever disagreements arise. How does this happen? Whenever a woman violates the norm that she cannot take something from a man for said masculine coded goods. In this framework, women are to perform feminine coded tasks, while not deprive him from his masculine coded goods.

The model that relies on this indeed explains a few examples that we have in our real world, where such codes are the backbone of patriarchy. One example would be the success of right-wing women. Indeed, a



powerful woman will be tolerated if she enforces patriarchal objectives such as “family oriented” movements. Another everyday example would be that of a woman should be thrilled to receive a man’s attention and she ought to him to be thankful or respectful to such actions. Finally, some differential norms assert that women are not touch what is rightful to men. The masculine coded goods prohibit that a woman can be entitled to such privileges and if she does, she will be judged as a thief. Norms of genuineness and loyalty will ensure that masculine goods will be indeed of males, as well as will prevent her to detain more power than that of a man’s. Because of loyalty, she will also need to reassure him into knowing she will mean what she says and that she will not change her mind.

Something which goes unnoticed is how the figure of a woman is for sure a passive one, that of a side character, but in order to enforce the patriarchal setting, it is at the same time crucial.

Women’s approval is indeed key, that is of course when they are not disrupting the latter’s hierarchies. What the female admiration confers is status to a man and whenever women withdraw it or dedicate it to something else, the men will feel ashamed as these women are not abiding their role of “moral listeners”. Misogyny as it will later be explained, fuels up by the sense of entitlement men are “ought” to have; with this in mind, it is clear how a woman’s approval piles up to this need.

The “non null misogyny hypothesis” asserts that women have been assigned to the role of givers, whereas men have been the takers, following a moral cum social spectrum. The former have specific “feminine coded goods”, whereas the latter have “masculine-coded privileges and perks”. Since elementary school, data registered asserts that a boy is more likely to be called when raising his hand to answer a question, with respect to a girl. At the same time, with everything else being equal, a male candidate is more likely to get a job rather than a female one. On the work place a woman is advised to act more like a man, but not too much, or she will step on his toes. For her, being ambitious is synonym of being hostile, withholding sympathy makes her mean. She is the human giver, she ought to give love, attention, affection, emotional and social labor, all following the social norms that structure roles and relations. What is the rest of the world supposed to give her, after she gives so much? Rules.

## **1.4 Gender Biases**

Gender biases are a result of a phenomenon for which men and women are often put in competition with one and another and, mostly, we are more likely to make the men the winner. This is because women are made to be less deserving of success and as a result, the male party is portrayed to be more competent. Gender biases in fact dispose one to “prefer a man to his female counterpart, all else being equal”; this disposition will then result in people “supporting, promoting, liking, overestimating” the male party. A relevant case study to this extent would be the one by psychologist Heilman who sought to see whether, with the exact same competences in the workspace, a man and women were subject to the same treatment.

The study identified two “high status employees in a male-dominated industry”, in a company that manufactures airline parts. The population was divided in two and they were given identical information on the employees.

The first part of the experiment wanted to challenge the way the population perceived the two employees’ competency. The captured results were that James, the male employee, was judged more competent by 86% of the first group. The second part of the experiment, instead, made sure that their competency was unequivocal by giving to the second group additional notes that affirmed that the two employees were both “stellar performers”. The goal was to see who was more likeable. Again, a striking 83% named James the favorite. The reason? “Participants felt they had their reasons”. The judgement however was solemnly based on their thinking and judgment, as the information on the two was the same.

Psychologist Rudman found such answer in the willingness of keeping gender hierarchies stable. Women are subject to social penalties when found to be a threat to masculine positions. This is a result of “social dominance penalty”, something that connects agentic women, (that is confident and assertive females) to the perceptions that they are arrogant and aggressive. To this, Rudman explains that “people under a system tend to defend their worldviews [...] and because female agency was especially rejected by people under system threat, [...] backlash functions preserve gender hierarchy.” This is also an issue that relates to internalized misogyny, as “women will police other women, and engage in gendered norm enforcement behavior.” (Rudman, 1998) .

#### ***1.4.1 Caring, fakeness and double standards***

Gender biases also engulf the concept for which women are supposed to be caring at all times towards all types of male relationships they might encounter throughout their life, whether that is being their sisters, daughters, girlfriends or wives. Gender plays an important factor in these dynamics, as it determines how you will be evaluated. A study over this topic was conducted by sociologists Massoni and Sprague, who analyzed the perceptions of some students over a female and male professor. They indeed noticed that the former was judged as uncaring and cold, whereas the latter were ascribed with terms such as boring. As the researchers said “[...] reported student hostility toward women instructors (stemmed from the perception that they are not) properly enacting their gender role.”

Another sentiment that arises from gender biases is that of fakeness. From the scores over the rate-myprofessor.com by Schimdt, the opinions of over 14 million students have been collected over their professors. The result showed that words such as “fake”, “cold”, “unfair” or “mean” were used greatly for female professors, in comparison to genuine or nice to male professors. This is further evidence for the existence of a bias that indicates that women in position of authority are more likely to be judged as imposters.

In relation to the biases just described, it is possible to see how women are often perceived. However, it's possible to go into further detail as to what happens once these biases are in action and why women seem to be reluctant to challenge them. One of the first reasons would be because of disgust.

“Disgust is the emotion of social rejection”, according to Manne. Whenever social norms, hierarchies or conventions are not respected, this emotion shall play a defining role in modulating adherence to such standards. Disgust can insinuate itself easily as it spreads by association. On the other hand, the risk of becoming “disgusting” to the social community, becomes a crucial factor whenever someone wants to go against pre conceived norms because of several reasons. Firstly, people might experience social ostracism and marginalization. Furthermore, this adds up to sentiments such as vulnerability and precarity. Thirdly, disgust has a “moralizing influence” that heightens moral judgements and inserts in an individual suspicions and preconceptions about one’s morality, all based on irrational thoughts.

Furthermore, women are often victims of the judgement of other women whose goal is to enforce the patriarchal norms, firing the phenomenon of internalized misogyny.

Women who do not want to be socially ostracized have social incentives with respect to women who dare to challenge patriarchal standards. A study conducted by psychologist Heilman asserts that women often tend to have more negative valuations on other women who result to be successful or out of the preconstructed framework, as it “[...] defuses the threatening sense that a similar (woman) is more competent or accomplished than they are.” Indeed, “penalizing successful women serves an ego protective function for other women [...]”

Finally, a product of gender biases is gendered double standards. The latter relates to the notion that women are judged more harshly than males on the same actions. This is because there is often a layer which is difficult to unveil: one’s judgement will be clouded by prior suspicion and gendered division of labor which make it seem like the two actions are greatly different from one another. Why is she doing this in the first place? This is not right. What is she hiding? She seems suspicious.

How does such a mechanism come into play? Manne argues that we can find three main steps that lead us to such biased conclusions. Firstly, we see people doing something that we judge morally wrong or right. After that, we match the description of what they did to prior moral reactions. Finally, the moral judgement that is insinuated will be determinant of the opinion we will have of that person. Hence, a woman shall be insincere, fake, suspicious not because we necessarily think that what she is doing is wrong universally, but because it’s wrong for a woman to be doing that. Ultimately, her action will compromise her whole persona, making her a bad woman and only secondly a bad human being.

### ***1.4.2 Implicit Bias***

Implicit bias is a type of bias that a person has unconsciously. It happens because of the stimuli we perceive every day and, because there are so many, our brains process them by ordering into “schema,” or categories that enable a quick and effective acting that does not require much attention or thoughts.

Gender stereotypes are then implicit biases with whom we necessarily do not have to agree, but that, at the same time, are in our head. Something which is important to highlight is that, nevertheless, implicit biases are a product of a social phenomenon, rather than a psychological process. Once again, the patriarchal society we live in is responsible for such gender biases. Indeed, some categories that we associate are neutral and without negative connotation, however, for some others, like women it is not like that.

We often associate this category with adjectives like “emotional,” “submissive,” and “dependent.” The problem with this is that “such automatic associations may make us more inclined, for instance, to select a male candidate instead of an equally qualified female candidate for a job that calls for traits such as “assertiveness” and “decisiveness”” (Gorman, 2005).

As mentioned afore, gendered associations are instilled during our childhood and propagated by (Levinson & Young, 2010; see also Bridge, 1997) the media.

An example is a study made by researchers Conley and Ramsey who based their study on 790 ads from top magazines and found in each one of them that women result to be more submissive than men.

Implicit bias can also take the form of “in group bias”, that is showing a positive preference for something as a result of the group dynamic. (Brewer, 1999; Tropp & Molina, 2012). These types of individuals will likely be more “comfortable with, have more trust in, hold more positive views of, and feel more obligated to members of their own group,” whether that group consists of people from the same country, people with the same interests, or people of the same gender (Reskin, 2000). Particularly, as shown in a study conducted in the Netherlands, when participants were asked to allocate rewards or resources to others, they overwhelmingly favored people who shared their social identity (Stroebe, Lodewijcx, & Spears, 2005).

With respect to inequality and misogynistic behaviours in particular, this can be quite problematic, as Gorman has found in their study. They considered some law firms which did not consider race or ethnicity in its study design and found that when the hiring partners were all male, they were more likely to hire candidates from their in-group—that is, other men (Gorman, 2005).

Furthermore, this particular facet is problematic for women’s will to persevere in specific fields. Indeed, the the lack of representation of women in STEM jobs, puts the minority of women who work in scientific fields unease on the workplace, as “they will face subtle stereotypes that signal who belongs and is likely to succeed in these environments and, conversely, whose success is in doubt “(Cheryan et al., 2009; Logel et al., 2009; Settles, 2004; Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999; Steele, James, & Barnett, 2002; Stout et al., 2011;

Walton & Cohen, 2011). The result is that “significant consequence is that many of these high-performing women will in fact choose to leave their professional trajectory and opt for a path where they aren’t in the minority” (Ceci & Williams, 2011; Rosenbloom et al., 2008).

### ***1.4.3 Incongruity Theory of Bias***

A product of the mentioned biases might lead to hostile reactions when women prove themselves to be agentic (Rudman et al., 2012; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Rollero & Fedi, 2014; Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Because of this, “the hostile reaction—or backlash—often translates into social or economic penalties against those who engage in counter-stereotypical behavior” (Rudman, 1998).

“Backlash can negatively affect women in virtually all aspects of the workplace, including hiring, salary negotiations, promotion, and leadership evaluations (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Glick, & Phelan, 2012)”. As literature further sustains, “Backlash can take the form of social or economic penalties against “vanguards”—those whose actions are inconsistent with societal stereotypes, such as excelling at particular activities or playing roles generally dominated by people in other groups (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). The harmful effects of backlash are both direct, as penalties experienced by the vanguards and obstacles to their further success, and indirect, as the fear of backlash creates disincentives for others to behave in ways that counter stereotypical norms. Either way, these backlash effects serve to reinforce the power of gender stereotypes”.

### ***1.4.4 Stereotype Threat***

Social Identity Theory explains what’s needed to form an individual's self-concept; specifically, an important part of what people regards themselves as, comes from their presence in a relevant social group. To explain the concept of identity (with respect to what Social Identity Theory supports) we have to first explain the concepts of private and public self. The private self is what an individual thinks of their self as; it is everything that is related to reflections, thoughts or dreams that are not shared collectively with some other people. The public self is a dimension engulfs all the activities and thoughts that other people share, specifically their reference group, and hence the expectations that they build upon every member of the group. Because of the public self being a core concept of someone’s individual identity, people are prone to have a positive public identity.

In fact, “just as one’s personal identity is threatened when one compares unfavorably to other individuals, a given social identity is threatened when one’s in-group compares unfavorably to out-groups. From this perspective, negative group stereotypes are implicit threats to one’s social identity simply because such stereotypes often define one group as inferior to another in a given domain” holds Professor Godsil.

To this extent, an important study was conducted by psychologist Schmader, who sought to seek how was gender identification related to women's performance on a math test. A sample of male and female college students was then picked upon the criteria that they all got similar scores on their SATs.

Their goal was to detect whether "individuals would be more susceptible to the performance-inhibiting effects of stereotype threat to the extent that they are highly identified with the group to which a negative stereotype applies". The findings confirmed that "when their gender identity was linked to their performance on a math test, women with higher levels of gender identification performed worse than men, but women with lower levels of gender identification performed equally to men. When gender identity was not linked to test performance, women performed equally to men regardless of the importance they placed on gender identity". More implications from such study shall also be discussed later<sup>4</sup>.

As also shown by other studies, it has been demonstrated that overall, stereotype threat ends up in cognitive depletion which can comprise a person's capacities to perform well and accordingly to the required standards. This highly relates to women, as they are subject, as previously discussed to a lot of gender stereotypes.

Finally, as contended by Shmader and later on by Wood, "One understanding of stereotype threat is that it involves the activation of three conflicting beliefs (Shmader, Johns, & Forbes, 2008; Wood et al., 2010): (a) the group stereotype of inferior ability (e.g., women cannot read maps), (b) identification with the group (e.g., I am a woman), and (c) knowledge of one's own ability (e.g., I am good at map reading)". The implication from these will be gender stigma and backlash, which will thoroughly discussed in the next section<sup>5</sup>.

#### ***1.4.5 How Bias Impacts Behavior***

All the afore mentioned, biases and the stereotype gender roles are all facts that point in a specific direction, which is called "the shift standards" phenomenon. The latter is said to be a result of low expectations and high demands (Biernat & Fuegen, 2001). As with ambivalent sexism, the outcome will be almost clashing with respect to two main concepts. The first one is that negative stereotypes surrounding competence contribute to our diminished expectations of women in comparison to men, as well as of black individuals in comparison to white individuals (Biernat et al., 2010). Consequently, this results in establishing lower baseline standards for these particular groups. However, paradoxically, these negative stereotypes also demand a higher level of evidence of competence to validate their capabilities and counteract the influence of these stereotypes. (Biernat et al., 2010).

This leads, as rightly pointed out by Professor Godsil, to the conclusion that "seemingly objective assessments are actually subjective because the nature of the evaluation differs based on the person being

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<sup>4</sup> See *infra* at 1.5.2, 21.

<sup>5</sup> See *infra* at 1.5.4, 21.

evaluated”. As further contended by researchers Biernat and Fuegen, for example, a man and a woman could both be both judged to be “very good” leaders, but due to our different standards, by assumption one would infer the man would be more capable than the woman (Biernat & Fuegen, 2001). The problem with implicit biases is that they do not just live in our minds, but they apply themselves in our reality, assuming the form of micro-behaviors as sustained by Basford and Offermann. (Behrend, 2014; Benokraitis, 1997).

Indeed, as once again Professor Godsil analyzes “Implicit gender bias exists in the assumption that a judge or a doctor will be a man, not a woman. It occurs when a female colleague is interrupted by her male colleagues without their even realizing it. It exists in the assumption that a working mother who is away from her desk is caring for her children, while a man, who is also a parent, is away from his desk because he is in a meeting. And it exists in separating toys in a store by gender due to the assumption that girls like to play dress-up and boys like to build Lego’s.”

In addition, once our biases permeate our behaviour we will be more likely to “pass them” to other people. The next section shall seek to better analyze how this happens and understand better the norms that enforce it.

## **1.5 Inequalities that stem from gender stereotypes and gender biases**

The economy of giving and taking and all the discussed stereotypes and biases translate themselves into the real world in different facets that find their common denominator in one concept that is inequality. Women’ subjugation indeed permeates various aspects of a women life, from the workplace to her role within in the household, from her education to the way she perceives herself.

### ***1.5.1 Workplace Inequalities and the role of Women in the Household***

In the workplace, statistics have shown that “where operations are often predicated upon hierarchy and power dynamics, women in authority positions have increased risk of being sexually harassed, likely due to gender role backlash effects” (McLaughlin, Uggen, & Blackstone, 2012).

As mentioned above, whenever we witness cases in which men have higher-status roles and women are put in lower-status positions, for the incongruity of the implicit bias, we are led to think that everyone should conform to such schema. The unequal nature of the norms that governs women’s participation in the workforce is becoming highly problematic then.

Such norms enforce limitations on women’s mobility and mainly maintain her to household chores. This issue rises in various facets all over the world, however statistics show that in South Asia the relegation of women in the household is particularly enforced.

Constraints on women's mobility emerge as a substantial obstacle to economic activity, notably in South Asian contexts where women express discomfort using public transportation in urban areas of Pakistan and where rural women are confined to their villages, limiting their access to opportunities such as training.

However, as GrOW studies contend, in cases where poverty conditions are acute, this might lead to other various problems. A subsequent result of this is that economic pressures override stereotypical norms, prompting women with low income to often work out of necessity.

On the other hand, if women are in a middle-income situation, they are likely to maintain domestic roles and enforce stereotypical rules about womanly tasks; this is once again particularly endorsed in South Asia, as well as in Sub Saharan Africa.

Norms that ascribe if women should work are closely entwined with cultural values related to decorum and respectability. Once again, in South Asia, norms are likely to favor women who perform in the stereotypical female activities like tutoring; the main reason as why women abide to them is because of social ostracism and the prospect of embarking “risky job choices”.

Other norms that deviate women from working are the ones regarding early marriage. Indeed, women who marry young are more likely to spend less time on their education, and hence, reduced future job prospects, as well as more likely hood to be subjected to violence and diseases and overall, of being less agentic.

As the GrOW reports show, “Labor markets remain deeply segregated along gender lines, with women often concentrated in specific occupations and sectors”. In fact, not only women are relegated to less rewarding tasks, but they also have less access to assets, which “[...] (keeps) contributing to job segregation as they were typically concentrated in self-employment activities that could be undertaken with limited capital”.

To support this evidence, a study was conducted in six Sub-Saharan African countries that analyzed the transition from school to work for women, The results indicated that, although women were overall more educated, they were not given access in proportion to many “white collar job opportunities”. Furthermore, for the very small minority of women who achieved such high-status positions, the studies showed that they were way more qualified than their males’ counterparts, confirming the bias mentioned afore as well, for which women are more subjected to screenings and have to be way more competent than men to obtain a higher position.

Another issue that arises when looking at women’s economic involvement is that of being fearful of sexual and gender-based violence. Indeed, as provided by GrOW, “quantitative studies using DHS data showed that increased labor force activity is associated with increased intimate partner violence in some contexts, for example in Latin America and East Africa and for women working in agriculture.

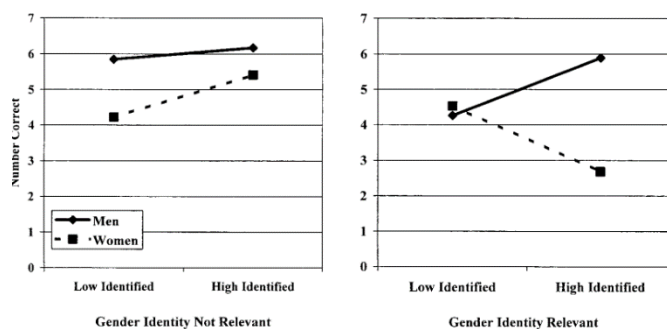
### ***1.5.2 The Impact of Biases on Education***

As mentioned, stereotype threat highly impacts women’s self-perception and often might lead them to perform less in contexts such as school or education in general. With regard to gender identification in particular, girls might find themselves already behind their male peers for different reasons. Indeed, looking



at the experiment that was mentioned before<sup>6</sup> about the preparation of male and female students for a math test, some more conclusions can be drawn. As hypothesized by Steele and later shown by Aronson, “that individuals are more susceptible to the debilitating effects of stereotype threat to the extent that they are domain identified.” What this entails is basically the notion that the more one’s identity is central to oneself, the more they feel anxious about performing poorly in a specific setting. Indeed, negative stereotypes become very relevant when the person feels like they belong a lot to a category. For this reason, in the experiment designed by Schmader, the woman who highly recognized their identity underneath the category “women” showed diverse results from the one’s who didn’t.

The experiment was set according to the following procedure: all the students were divided in two main groups before taking the test. As mentioned, all of them reported similar scores in their SATs results, hence making them academically at the same level. One group was not given information about the purpose of the research and gender was not mentioned. The other group instead was given the information on an audiotape (which presented a male voice) that the research’s goal was to see how women scored on the test with respect to men. The audio further stated that because he would be comparing women’s scores to men’s scores, he would be using each individual’s score as an indicator of women’s or men’s math ability in general. In this condition, participants identified their gender on the cover sheets of their tests in addition to providing their last names. The difference between conditions was whether their gender identity would also be implicated by their performance on the test. The results are shown in Figure 1 below:



**Figure 1**

According to the results, the hypothesis that contended that: “when performance is evaluated in light of a social identity that is negatively stereotyped, one’s ability to perform well will be inhibited to the extent that one is highly identified with that social group”, was confirmed (Schmader,2002).

From this study and similar ones, it has furthermore, been deducted that: “Girls’ tendency to have a weaker identification with mathematics and science is not innate but stems from culturally communicated messages linking math to boys, rather than girls”. (Schmader,2002).

<sup>6</sup> See *infra* at 1.4.4, 17.

Being a woman is not an asset to them, but rather an impediment and something that makes them feel like they won't be as equally competent as their male peers from the start.

To this extent, another informative study was conducted by Professor Lundgren in Northern Uganda, they sought to analyze how transforming gender norms over the life course of young people impacted the kids' perceptions of their future careers and lives. Amongst structural factors that influenced kids' disposition to gendered norms, they analyzed the educational systems and drew the conclusion that "access to education and interactions with teachers and classmates contributed to the construction of gender norms, sometimes offering a platform for enacting alternative norms." (Lundgren, 2016). They reported the situation of a young girl, aged 12, who at the beginning of the intervention declared that she was thrilled to be the 'head girl' at her school, because she was grateful to her school which "gave her access to esteemed 'masculine' roles, such as visibility and voice in public spaces and leadership resolving disputes". She indeed regarded such activities as a boy's task, and she felt like she was being an exceptional case.

As the intervention went on, however, "she also observed social consequences for transcending gendered norms, noting that others might 'say that I am a girl who is too sharp and confident, and that people might even think I am a boy'". (Lundgren, 2016).

### ***1.5.3 Gender stigma and awareness of gender stereotypes***

Entrenched stereotypes about gender can take a toll on how women experience their own identity and make them less likely to perform activities that are not coherent with gendered norms.

Awareness of gender stereotypes, as supported by Pinel, represents a key obstacle for women in their social relations and subsequent actions. As reported in their study "Stigma consciousness: The psychological legacy of social stereotypes", researcher Pinel found that "a woman who is presenting in front of an audience may have intrusive thoughts about whether the men in the room are paying more attention to her body than to the content of her presentation. These thoughts may arise from norms about women's sexuality and lack of respect for women in leadership positions. The experience can cause anxiety, and the interfering thoughts about gender may detract from her performance. In a more general sense, gender stigma consciousness can lead a woman to fear that devaluation in a professional setting is attributed to her gender rather than her work performance". (Pinel, 1999).

The results of this awareness of the gender stigma might range from isolation to disengagement. The problem with such self-protective responses is that they often "reduce opportunities for professional engagement and advancement" that consequentially result "in feelings of low self-esteem and loss of control" (Pinel, 1999). Furthermore, they may also ignite more stereotypes that women lack agency and assertiveness.

Ultimately, also fear of backlash can have negative outcomes for women. Indeed, women who work in stereotypically coded "manly jobs" may feel conflicted about how to act because acting in a "feminine way"

(warm, communal) might be seen as being “too nice” or display some type of need of reliance on someone else, yet behaving in a masculine pattern, (independent, assertive) could be seen as cold or “not a team player” attitude. Indeed, as Rudman and Glick contend, “although “masculine” traits are highly desired in many professional settings, the fear of backlash may keep women from displaying them” (Rudman & Glick, 2001). Women end up not knowing how to act or behave because of the above-mentioned reasons and often the result is that they might be seen as not qualifiable or professional.

## **1.6 Sexual Harassment**

Gender bias translates itself into sexual harassment and its definition take different meanings, upon diverse situations. Amongst the core definitions there is one which classifies sexual harassment as gender harassment, which includes “verbal, physical, or symbolic behaviors that convey hostile, offensive, and misogynist attitudes”. (Fitzgerald, Swan, & Magley, 1997). Another one by Gelfand describes it as the “unwanted sexual attention, which includes both verbal and nonverbal incidents such as sexual imposition, touching, or repeated requests for dates” (Gelfand et al., 1995).

Specifically, gender harassment—whose main objective is ridiculing, rather than gaining sexual access—is the most commonly reported form of harassment as Hitlan demonstrated (Hitlan et al., 2009) and it involves misogynistic micro behaviors such as jokes, comments or questions. Something that is often thought of, is that this form of harassment is to be taken lightly; however, as Hitlan once again counterargues, it has a great psychological impact on women. Amongst the main consequences there’s lower wellbeing and stress symptoms.

Pryor firstly applied the Person X Situation Model to sexual harassment’s behavior. The model explicates that individuals who already have characteristics which can make one infer that they are more likely to engage in sexual harassing behaviours, if they interact with some authoritative figures who have shown these behaviors, they are more prone to exhibit sexual harassing behaviors. Thus, the model takes into account how a person interacts with situational factors, particularly how environmental norms impact one’s behavior. Situations and context are then key elements to predict sexual harassment. Further, Willness have (2007) analyzed that “the existence of a social climate that is permissive of [sexual harassment] may be a necessary condition for such behaviors to occur.” Also, sexual harassment is more likely to happen in situations where victims are often discarded or even get sanctions for complaining or if offenders are unlikely to get punished. (Willness et. al, 2007; Williams, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1999; Pryor et al., 1993). Willness and Glick have contended as well that “gendered behavior, cultural symbols of masculinity, male superiority, and sexual bravado” (Willness et al., 1991; Stockdale, 1993) are more likely in environments where women represent the numerical minority or where the occupations are deemed traditionally “masculine.”” Parallely, something that enhances the possibility to engage in sexual harassment is masculinity threat. Indeed, once one’s masculinity is put into question, the key response for a lot of men is to exaggerate their own masculinity. Indeed, as studies have shown, “men attempt to correct the image they are projecting through

compensation (Cheryan et al., 2015), repositioning themselves in the gendered hierarchy”. The problem is that, because of the toxic masculinity culture, this might come out as harming women.

## **1.7 Victimhood culture and Victim Blaming**

### ***1.7.1 Himpathy and the economy of credibility***

Testimonial injustice is a phenomenon that comes from some type of biases. Professor Fricker sustains that this occurs in the so called “economy of credibility” especially. The latter engulfs biases that are typically towards a social group that has historically been socially subordinated. Whenever this social class asserts something, makes a statement, or refuses some standards especially, they are ought to be regarded as “less credible”. When relating these biases to women, they are judged as less credible for different reasons. For one, she is usually thought to be less competent, and, consequentially, whatever she claims is erroneous and dictated from lack of judgement. Women are also considered to be liars and more insidious than men. But why does this happen? Kate Manne asserts, by supporting the work of Miranda Fricker, that “negative identity prejudicial stereotypes” are at the core of the issue and that they are “widely held disparaging associations between a social group [... and that such association] embodies a generalization that displays some resistance to counter evidence, owing to an ethically bad affective investment.” These stereotypes are then what makes such subordinate members perceived as “incompetent and untrustworthy”. A phenomenon that comes from this would be that of testimonial injustice. Fricker describes it as: “the injustice done to a speaker S by a hearer H when, due to a negative identity-prejudicial stereotype she holds about S, H unjustly accords too little credibility to S.”

Testimonial injustice is then heavily related to social hierarchies (or better the lack of challenging them) and, as Professor Gaile Pohlhaus Jr. pointed out, to “the systematic and coordinated misinterpretation of the world, [alongside with] the ignorance of the willful variety.” The ignorance of such phenomena is indeed troubling because it “blocks the transmission of knowledge that ought to make a normative claim and [affirms instead] a distorted picture resulting from faulty epistemic resources.” Moreover, it also “allows for a coordinated experiencing of the world that is determined by knowers themselves without their realizing it”, according to the American philosopher.

Social injustice is heavily correlated to the misogynistic framework. As indeed mentioned, misogyny primarily manifests itself through the punishment of bad woman and the policing of women’s behavior. Punishment and reward that work alongside, enforcing gender conformity. The system will then reward women who conform to gendered norms and expectations, enforcing good behaviors in others as well. The other side of the coin will be punishing men who fault norms of masculinity and women who do not abide to their status norms. As these two types of norms enforcing styles coexist, we can also see a relation amongst forgiving privileged men’ sins, whilst being hostile with female victims. Going back to testimonial injustice,

the situation that stands out, (from a sociological point of view) is that of a subordinate group asserting themselves “in a domain in which the dominant group has all the answers.” Piecing everything up, Manne uses a very effective term, which is “himpathy”. Himpathy is the outcome of the biases, the radical enforced norms and the prewritten answers of the patriarchal hierarchy. The literal definition elaborated by the Cornell Professor is: “the inappropriate and disproportionate sympathy powerful men often enjoy in cases of sexual assault, intimate partner violence, homicide and other misogynistic behavior.” Manne links this to sexual perpetrators especially, but himpathy can be also applied to a whole lot of concepts and scenarios for which men are more likely to be judged less faulty or more likely to get justified and empathized with.

If empathy then does not seem like a troubling exercise to enforce, we shall think about how this might go on and influence what Manne calls the “banality of the evil”. The remark here is how misogyny is often reported as something banal, bleak or unimportant. The reality is that justifying acts of catcalling or reinforcing specific derogatory vocabulary only reinforces the social system that keeps belittling women. Manne points out that there are indeed a variety of “social scripts, permissions and material deprivations that work to *extract* feminine coded goods *from* women”. To these, there are also dispositions and mechanisms that ward and warn women off from trying to take possession of masculine coded statuses, power and authority, among which, testimonial injustice, mansplaining and victim-blaming. Regarding this latter one, misogyny assumes the form of being, first of all, epistemical, as the woman is made out to be crazy or hysterical. Secondly, it is ascribed as moral, because a victim is automatically a liar as she shouldn’t even been questioning her status. Thirdly misogyny results to be both moral and epistemical, because a woman is judged to be making all of this at the men’s expenses. These classifications spur from the fact that men’s interest shall always be taken care of because of moral necessity.

### ***1.7.2. Demanding and victimhood culture***

In a world where the culture of “dignity” and the culture of “honor” become radical concepts, there seems to be no place for the culture of victimhood. The latter is related to how a victim will be perceived. Because of the former models, a victim will indeed be perceived as “melodramatic character”, “*demanding* sympathy and attention.” As sociologists Campbell and Manning point out, these demands go hand in hand with “microaggressions”. Microaggressions are “unintended slights and hostilities” that pile up and they “[...] systematically harm members of historically marginalized groups.”

Coming out as a victim, is more than what one might think, asserts Manne. First of all, a victim is a person who has been wronged wounded or injured at the hands of another agents. The concept of the victim highly relies on the moral narrative that is currently accepted in that historic moment. The narrative we are used to currently, is that of a victim we are supposed to sympathize with, and an aggressor we are supposed to resent. However, the social framework afore described, indicates something more. Indeed, coming forward as a victim entails some kinds of assumptions. One of these is that claiming to be one entails that you are

choosing to put yourself at the center of the story. A prejudgment that comes from this will be that you are a self-dramatizing and egocentric person. This will also spark accusations of “hypocrisy and manipulateness.”

Analyzing this in the context of misogyny, it all plays down to the model taken in consideration so far. Indeed, “if women are supposed to give their sympathetic attention and moral focus to men [...], then women’s claims to have been victimized may be especially salient and attract jealousy or envy [...]. Women will be perceived as much like the new baby competing for the attention of a parent, from the point of view of a jealous older sibling.”

From what does all of this come from? The base lies in the “illicit sense of entitlement” that comes from patriarchal norms: they are so entrenched that they often go unnoticed. Because of this, claiming to be a victim will be perceived very differently. The victim won’t be an injured party anymore, but rather a person who was not given what she needed or someone who is claiming to be entitled to the same as others. This might not seem to be problematic at a first glance, but once it is contextualized, issues might rise with it. Indeed, from these stances, the misperception will be that we shall be critical of the victims that come forward.

In fact, according to the model used so far, women shall not be the center of attention, just side characters, a loving audience that provides moral care and sympathy. They are supposed to give “moral focus and emotional energy” to the protagonists of the patriarchy, alas men.

In front of subordinate group members in general, society has put many structural barriers. For women, for instance, it will be hard to press charges as people might not believe her because of the social narrative we are made to follow that represents women as liars and not trustworthy. She might also be subject to counteraccusations that range from mendacity to manipulateness. She might be belittled or harassed or blamed.

Professor Rini argues that a way to stop these types of injustices can come from showing solidarity with other people in a similar setting. The problem, however, is that “[...] (with) a “system of social sanctions (formal or informal), that are geared to holdup the patriarchal values and interests, the strength cannot always be found in the numbers per se.” Crowdsourced power will indeed increase, but also the attempts at discrediting such numerous acts of solidarity. However, social support is key for an enhanced pattern of recognition, making it also strikingly fundamental. All of these, even if it might backfire in some situations, might be very important in re shaping the role of victims. It is also key for attempts to disrupt power relations and those models that have been installed over the years.

Finally, we should always keep in mind, if “playing the victim” is deplorable and has such a negative connotation, why would a woman speak up?

## CHAPTER 2

This chapter takes into consideration gender norms and social norms. The latter's main insights are drawn accordingly to the work of Cristina Bicchieri and her book "Norms in the Wild" in which the Professor asserts how social norms work and how one can change them. Therefore, this chapter shall highlight the main connections amongst social norms within the patriarchal society and the subsequent behavior that might spur from maladaptive gender norms and stereotypical biases.

### 2.1 Gender Norms and Social Norms

The word gender firstly emerged in 1970s by feminist activists in order to address gender inequalities as a social phenomenon. Sociologists indeed started constructing the concept of patriarchy and analyzing the roles and entitlements' difference a person could have depending on their gender. Overall, as Heise and Weber have with efficacy summarized, "Most existing gender systems are deeply hierarchical, privileging that which is male or masculine over that which is female or feminine" (Heise et al. 2019, Weber et al. 2019) Relating gender norms to social norms, one could say that the former are the social standards and expectations that holdup patriarchal norms and enforce misogynistic behaviors.

Nevertheless, as contended by Professors Cislighi and Heise, there are some clarifications to be made about the classifications of gender and social norms.

Firstly, gender norms are embedded in institutions and reproduced by people's actions, whereas social norms are built upon normative and empirical experiences of other people, and they rely on manifestations of approval and disapproval of a specific group.

Secondly, gender norms are endorsed by society and, particularly, by people who have an advantage upon compliance of other people; social norms, on the other hand, are equilibria that maintain themselves, Nash Equilibria that can even make two players worsen off.<sup>7</sup>

Gender norms form people's individual attitudes, whereas social norms (even when enforced) do not reflect people's individual attitudes.

The degree of endorsement of gender norms depends on one's of culture, degree of education or more in general society. On the other hand, even if social norms take into account all the above-mentioned factors, they mostly rely on the notion of reference group, that does not necessarily entail for instance society as a whole, but even just a small net of people which impacts one's expectations and beliefs. This latter notions shall be better analyzed in the following sections<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> The author feels important to precise that even some patriarchal standards can be considered as worsening off both men and women. Men suffer from toxic masculinity standards and their impotence to often express their emotions. Such standards can then be considered as a case in which social norms do not benefit both parties.

<sup>8</sup> See *intra*, 2.2 and 2.3.

From the above-mentioned phrases, the main conclusion that one can draw is that *not all* gendered norms are social norms, but nevertheless a big group of gender norms is a social norm. For this reason, Professors Cislighi and Heise have given a plausible definition of what gender norms are; that is: “Gender norms are social norms defining acceptable and appropriate actions for women and men in a given group or society. They are embedded in formal and informal institutions nested in the mind and produced and reproduced through social interaction. They play a role in shaping women and men’s (often unequal) access to resources and freedoms, thus affecting their voice, power and sense of self” (Heise et al. 2019).

They motivate such definition as it “[...] acknowledges the cognitive nature of norms as beliefs, while, at the same time, suggesting that those beliefs are the result of (and shape) very concrete and material realities in which people live and learn. Adopting such a definition also requires accepting that quantitative measures might only partially grasp changes in gender norms. Sometimes measurement is essential and important, researchers should be aware that aspects of gender norms likely remain beyond their reach. For instance, while a part of gender norms might be uncovered by measuring people’s expectations of appropriate behavior for men and women, the institutional aspects or the related power relations might not be captured by these same measures. A multiplicity of methods that include qualitative strategies would thus be better suited to capture how gender norms affect people’s lives, and how they shift over time” (Heise et al. 2019).

## **2.2 Social norms formation**

Everyday people engage in what it’s known as collective behaviours. These latter are behavioural patterns in which a multitude of people engages with. We might think that such behaviors would be the product of a pondered choice, something that strikes out for the collective welfare. However, quite often these behaviours are considered to be maladaptive and harmful. The core of these patterns is way more intricated than it looks, as norms, cultural factors, economics and many more elements come into play.

Indeed, the choices behind these types of behaviours are said to be dependent or interdependent. When considering the collective behaviours that regard misogyny we shall take into consideration interdependent choices, that is choices that concern entire communities. The patriarchy is indeed a system which can be said to have created a widespread community that continuously conveys specific messages to many people.

Interdependent choices have also a clear impact on social pressure because of factual beliefs, social expectations and normative constraints that are engulfed within said decisions. Misogynistic behaviours indeed comprehend beliefs such as what the role of a woman should be (and the feminine coded norms that have to be respected), social expectations such as what men think of women and what other women have to say on their peers, as well as normative constraints like what a *good* woman shall do and act like.

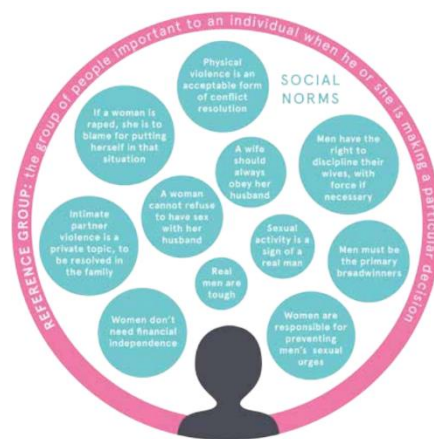
Classical economics theory proposes a positive correlation amongst choices and preferences. Preferences, considered in a social framework will then be conditional or unconditional. Conditional preferences will be those that change because of some kinds of social pressures, whereas the unconditional types are because of



something that the individual wants regardless. For example, a woman might prefer an arranged marriage not because she necessarily believes in it, but because social pressures, the fact that her peers are doing it or due to social ostracism, she might elect it over other options. Something which is linked to social preferences is attitudes. The latter, using the words of Bicchieri, is “[...] an evaluative disposition toward an object or a behavior.” Attitudes will comprehend personal normative beliefs that in turn, have a positive or negative connotation towards that object or behaviour. An example that the author reports is that of smoking. Smoking is well known to be bad for anyone. However, throughout history, women were particularly judged for it, as it was an action that was not “lady-like”, as it went against the common feminine codes. The underlying element is then that of an ethical motivation, a moral judgement that brings value to these beliefs. With social preferences and attitudes come social expectations. What expectations are is simply beliefs. Beliefs can in turn be factual or normative. The former entails “states of affairs” and one can change them by making the agent understand that they are false, hence by giving reasons as to why they should change. The latter instead have an evaluation within themselves. Going back to social expectations we can further divide them into empirical or factual and normative or social. The former concerns how other people are going to react to certain situations based on past scenarios, forming future (empirical) expectations on them. The latter instead regards our belief about what other people think. It is important to stress that some people’s normative thoughts might not coincide with the normative expectations that they are subjected to. An example could be a woman who wants to have an abortion, but she refrains from doing it because she thinks other women might consider it wrong and that she will be judged for it by her family, friends and her community.

The reference network, as Bicchieri calls it, is the people whose expectations we want to live up to. It does not have to be necessarily people we know, but it can also be related to our community more broadly. Descriptive norms exist because of the existence of said reference network; they are indeed norms that individuals prefer to conform to because they think most people in their reference group will stick to. Why do people feel like they ought to perform as the others do? Imitation is a possible explanation. People tend to imitate one another consciously and they do it even if they know others do not expect them to do so. This happens because we seek sentiments such as “social appreciation, respect and acceptance”. At times people do it because of coordination. Coordination happens whenever expectations are multilateral, hence what an individual does is what the community expects them to do. This is due to the will to get harmonization within the community, so that the similar goals that people have align and get fulfilled. In this framework, things get more complicated, as if one expectation were to change, the behavior would change as well.

Overall, “descriptive norms have a causal influence on behaviour.” Figure 2 shows an example of how social norms condone gender violence on women.



**Figure 2**

When expectations are accompanied by sanctions, punishments and incentives we talk about social norms. Social norms offer two specific functions in the behavioral insights’ framework. The first one is that they tell what behavioural responses are looked for in similar situations. Secondly, they also point us to what is socially accepted and what is not, suggesting how one shall act. This last connotation is what makes them also injunctive norms, as they say what “we collectively believe ought to be done”. Social norms are then “socially conditional”, in the sense that our moral judgment is second to the collective compliance. Often the ethical element is different amongst culture as well, hence why there is diversity amongst the social norms. An example is countries where the patriarchal standards are profoundly eradicated. Here values such as purity for women and honor for men are fundamental to one’s social status. In these types of cultures, as researcher Feldner “stray woman’s actions bring shame to her entire family, and this shame must be washed away with her blood”. Similarly, norms that endorse female genital cutting (FGC) have at their base values such as pride and purity. As studies show, not all the communities that endorse these types of norms necessarily believe in them, but somehow, they are still enforced. These is because, once a norm has been internalized, the moral beliefs that go with it are often independent and unconditional, as the norm is the only beacon to follow. Your moral compass is not your guide anymore, because you stop even questioning if others think differently, if they do approve or not, because the only thing you’ll care about is what the expectations of the collective compliance are. Misogynistic behaviors are a clear example of this. Centuries of history have been built up over women’s qualities as purity, loyalty and subordination; it makes sense then that some communities, where such notions are still deeply embedded, have norms such as honor killings or erratic procedures such that of female genitalia mutilation, which in other countries, are considered as a violation of basic human rights.

Social norms overall comprise descriptive claims as we believe most people in their reference network conform to it, and that most people in their reference network believe they ought to conform to it. From this, non-compliance will often imply some types of punishments. These types of sanctions that will refrain an individual from going upstream, will show a range of sanctions whose intensity should determine the likelihood of a possible redo. As seen in the precedent chapter, a woman is subject to hostile sanctions, that, depending on what she has done, will range from being belittled verbally, to being humiliated, from being mocked to being hit, or in the worst-case scenarios, being murdered. The peculiarity of misogynistic practices is that often, the crime almost never matches the sanction. Indeed, as we have seen women end up getting murdered<sup>9</sup>, because they were a projection of another woman. Bicchieri further asserts that “the extent of a social reaction to a norm transgression varies, depending on how important or central to social life a norm is, how entrenched it is, and what sort of real or perceived harm disobedience creates”. For this, take as a reference what happened to women in the 1960s, when the domestic violence cases were described as “violent, temporary therapy” from men who drunk a lot. There was no harm in that, even according to doctors, as the beating “served to release him momentarily from his anxiety about his ineffectiveness as a man, while giving his wife apparent masochistic gratification and helping probably to deal with the guilt arising from the intense hostility expressed in her controlling, castrating behavior”. At that time, what is nowadays a grand violation of a human right, was not even something to get “warmed up over”, as it was so deeply enrooted, and no heavy regulation was present. In this case, the norm according to which men were entitled to beat up their wife to punish them of their “controlling behaviours” was a sanction to women, who was not contested. As Bicchieri holds, “the more disagreement there is on the importance of a norm that is considered “acceptable” the more disagreement will be on what kind of sanctions are appropriate, the more uncertainty there will be about sanctions’ magnitudes and likelihood.” The professor perfectly applies this concept to what has been discussed so far about misogyny as well. Indeed, “a culture that holds [...] beliefs that women’s are men’s property, are weak, and are easily seduced, will impose strict conduct on women and punish transgressions harshly.”

A key problem when there are maladaptive norms is pluralistic ignorance. This holds very well when speaking about misogynistic behaviours.

As reported in their compendium about mutilation of female genitalia, director De Vita asserts that in this particular practice, pluralistic ignorance is one of the reasons why women in Sudan make their daughters get genitalia mutilation, even though they are against it. In fact, “when there is “pluralistic ignorance”, individuals may incorrectly believe that most in their social group support a given behaviour because they see “others” conforming to it. Therefore, the norm persists, even though some, or even many, privately oppose it. The absence of transparent communication enables the norm to survive despite the fact that individual support for it has been eroded.” The reason why this happens is due to systematic biases which

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<sup>9</sup> See *supra* at 1,7.

cause an overestimation of private support for social norms, so people who are against the norm, will still endorse it, as for women who have gone through genitalia mutilation, know the pain and the harmful consequences of it and still decide to put their daughters through with it.

Furthermore, because of normative expectations, a person won't abandon a norm if they know there will be negative sanctions. The issue which will then rise is that of double credibility. As reported in the compendium, "they must believe that the information they receive about others' true beliefs and preferences is accurate, and they must also believe that everyone else is committed to change their ways."

## **2.2 How to change social norms**

To establish a change in a reference network, it's important to establish coordination for the behaviour to change: a deviation from the latter will be a very risky action, as it was collectively approved. Because of that, new *collective* expectations must be formed accordingly. People must have a collective problem to face for their social expectations to change; more precisely what will need to change would be empirical expectations first and secondly normative ones. The most effective programs are the ones which play on emotions as the change will impact the collective desire. Furthermore, in order to prevent deviance, it's important that sanctions are relevant. If this latter action is also decided collectively, it will be more efficient as it will insert itself as a normative expectation.

However, even when people have been displaying the same behaviour for a lot, a simple alternative won't change what they have been doing. In order to do this, studies have shown that people will be more prone to enact new behaviours once they have seen them being displayed from others.

The first thing that needs to happen is to understand that there are problems with the current norm. With misogyny, this is a tricky and long process because our society has been built for centuries over women subordination. Indeed, in the 50s, a man who wanted to promote a women would have been judged for his dubious character and self-interested. Furthermore, gender biases were heavily present, hence it was very difficult for people to understand that a woman had the qualities to do a job that a man could do.

Another issue that might spur is that people will keep enforcing a harmful norm and a subsequent maladaptive behaviour because they think they will lack alternatives to it. Once again, this can be illustrated by the example of the mutilation of female genitalia in some communities. A lot of the people were indeed unaware of other ways to bring a girl into adulthood and only after discussions and comparisons, they understood that there were safer ways to do it.

Another example of norm resistance is that of pluralistic ignorance, that, as discussed above, will make individuals form opinions on a specific norm and decide to enforce it or not because of a partial view they have.

### ***2.3.1 Factual beliefs and Personal Normative Beliefs***

People need to be presented with facts in order to change their behaviours. Testimony and presenting evidence will enable a shift in factual beliefs. Also, the authoritativeness of the source which is presenting the testimony has its importance. An example could be that in some villages, educated women have a hard time finding a husband. In communities where marrying off early their daughters is a question of social status and honor, some families are more likely to want their daughter to neglect her education and find her an husband. It has been shown by studies (Jensen, 2012) that simply informing these people that their daughter is very likely to get certain job opportunities if she stays more in school, has made families question this norm.

When referring to personal normative beliefs, can be prudential or moral. Prudential beliefs result to be those normative insights that make the individual understand they should not do something because of the repercussions that they might encounter. A moral belief is the way one feels about a norm, whether they think it is fair or not. As shown, adults are more likely to shift their prudential beliefs, whereas holding on to eradicated moral ones. On the other hand, the younger generation is more willing to change their moral standards when promoting social change. However, something which is important to stress is that prudential beliefs are more likely to be changed. Speaking of misogynistic behaviours, an example that Bicchieri reports is that of changing prudential assessments of early marriages. Indeed, providing families with financial incentives to keep their girls at home and continue their studies, might change their prudential beliefs, as they are going to see that they might be better off this way from a monetary point of view. Moral judgements towards topics such as female genitalia mutilation are instead anchored to values such as honor and justice which are more eradicated and harder to work with.

There are some key elements which influence compliance to a social norm. The first one is awareness; indeed, people are often unaware of the beliefs that they hold as long as someone does not questions them and initiates a comparison, as it is for the afore mentioned case about informing about future job prospects for young women can change people's perspective about early marriage and lack of education for wo A second factor to take into consideration is coherence. With this regard, one must understand how central a belief is. Indeed, the more a belief is central, the more we are likely to reject any information that disregards our belief and the more difficult the change is going to be. Openly talking about it has been proven to be very effective, as inconsistencies amongst thoughts and actions have been presented and have made people more aware.

Finally, as mentioned multiple times, biases highly impact our compliance to a specific norm. We often treat information that is inconsistent with our beliefs as inconsistent, so that we do not challenge our motives and thoughts. Biases won't indeed be treated as such and we will endorse stereotypical roles further.

For example, in the context of female genitalia cutting, such practice is often not questioned even by doctors themselves, as the patients who die from it or feel ill after the surgery, are considered to be expectations and anomalies by the medical staff itself.

### ***2.3.2 Scripts and schemata***

The experiences we live are what are known in sociology as schemata, whereas when a schemata comes from an event we call it a script. As Bicchieri affirms, “norms are embedded into scripts because scripts contain empirical and normative expectations, and violations of scripts typically elicit negative emotions and remedial actions.” In the context of patriarchy, they are very relevant, because they are the means through which the patriarchal system conveys its misogynistic norms. A very straightforward instance is the schemata that depicts how a bride is ought to be to her husband. Payne was one of the first people to demonstrate how the stereotypes embedded in such scripts are harmful. He indeed noted how in the U.S.A people immediately associated a gun to a person of color’s face when they were asked to match a tool to them. Parallely, one can infer how schemata are problematic in gender norms. They indeed encompass both empirical and normative expectations, that, all together are rather difficult to dismantle. Going back to the ideal bride example, the society has always been promulgating that the qualities of a good wife would have are those of being compliant, caring, loving, faithful. Whenever these codes are broken and married men do not find these qualities in their own brides, hostilities arise. As Manne mentioned, “she will give, and he will take [...] or else she will be punished.”, entailing that once the schemata are broken, the reaction will be to sanction the person who dismantled them. As seen within the framework proposed by professor Manne, whenever a woman wants to go against feminine codes and patriarchal norms, the punishment will range from social marginalization to physical violence. The author contends that the schemata imposed by the patriarchy is a very tricky one, as the punishment with respect to the “degree of non-appliance” to the gendered norms, is made to be way harder than it would present itself as.

The cognitive biases are multiple here and, because of it, schemata are difficult to detangle and rebuilt. The *iter* that has enforced them is indeed quite intricate and because of this, biases are deeply eradicated. What happens first is that expectations on some types of behaviour will be formed accordingly to such scripts. Women ought to be givers, they ought to be loving, they ought to be caring. Such profusely enforced stereotypes then become prescriptive rules. Later, empirical expectations become “projectable regularities”, as one is now able to predict them, Finally, normative expectations shift, and what was first an ideal stereotype becomes what it’s appropriate, something deeply encored in the social script. Humans have also the tendency to fear change and the desire to have a consistent pattern. Because of this, any type of ambiguous inconsistency with such patterns is deemed to be a fallacy or an anomaly in the system. With respect to gender norms, people strike to match gender identity stereotypes because such congruency of beliefs and reality enforces self-esteem. As Aronson and the following researchers also add, “whenever one’s

stereotypical identity is made salient (which is the case for schema identity discrepancies), a tendency to conform even more to the stereotype will be present.

Often, discrepancies can question the whole schema, just by validating them with an observation. For instance, the belief that cut girls are honest and pure can easily be dismantled when we point out that other girls are honest and chaste. The Saleema campaign in Sudan against mutilation of female genitalia was indeed majorly based by rediscussing the role of women's bodies.

A final and important remark consists on core and peripheral thoughts. In Tanzania for instance, some men were taken up for interviews and they were asked what they thought a woman is ought to do. During the years, their opinion broadened as they held that a woman was not only to perform house duties, but also other types of tasks. However, her main task was to do household work. In this sense, these men recognized that a woman could do more than being a housewife, but, nevertheless, her main duty was still that one, as their core thought had not shifted. Indeed, core beliefs are the hardest to dismantle, whereas peripheral ones are more malleable.

## CHAPTER 3

After drawing out the main characteristics of social and gendered norms, this chapter shall focus specifically on stereotypes and misogynistic behaviors that permeate romantic cis-hetero relationships. This literature has been very relevant to for the construction of the consequent analysis of chapter 4, which shall seek to see how embedded patriarchy and gendered norms are within romantic relationships in young adults through empirical research.

### 3.1 Patriarchy and romantic relationships

According to Fincham and Cui, “Emerging adulthood (ages 18–25) is considered a period of identity exploration as individuals become independent of their parents and make their own choices with regard to work, love, living arrangements, and so on (Fincham & Cui, 2010)”. Emerging adulthood then represents a key factor in the construction of romantic relationships, which affect in some type of way a person’s ability to communicate, their identity and empathy and much more. This change and impact can be both positive and negative. In this latter case consequences can affect one’s mental and psychological health. Having a partner who lacks for instance communication or empathy, might trap the partner in sentiments of worry, guilt, and anxiety, for instance. Furthermore, evidence have shown that these individuals who found themselves in a “unhealthy relationship”, “[...] are also more likely to experience dating violence, which includes abusive behaviors such as physical and sexual violence, stalking, and psychological abuse in real life and in virtual settings “(Mendoza & Mulford, 2018).

Feminists have further assessed that “the social valorization of romantic love also helps to maintain gender inequalities through the naturalization of a culture of male dominance” (Monckton-Smith, 2012). Indeed, within many Western cultures, romantic heterosexual love is often used to maintain traditional gender relationships and to justify the order of women’s subordination to men” (Chung, 2005; Singh, 2013; Wood, 2001).

The main stereotypes that get reinforced are often those of picturing a woman as a damsel in need who needs to be rescued by a man, who will be fulfilled only once she finds love. Women are then portrayed as helpless without a romantic partner and men, on the other hand, as secure of themselves and the only hope for a woman to save herself from an unfulfilled life. According to Rudman and Glick, a crucial factor of romantic love is “[...] to contribute to the definition of gender roles in couple relationships (Rudman & Glick, 2008), in particular, by reducing women’s identity to their feelings of love as well as making love into a destiny they must achieve.” (Chung, 2005).

The main inequalities that arise from romantic relationships can be found in different aspects. The first one would be the relegation of women to the domestic sphere at the expense of their own needs, education and future careers. These sacrifices are often seen as “personal choices” but looking at it with the lenses of



gender stereotypes and gendered norms, one is able to infer that is rather a more complex social analysis. A second aspect is that of emotional labor, something which relates to main stereotypes of what is feminine and what is masculine. Indeed, as contended by writer Harilaou, “Emotional labour also falls hugely on the shoulders of people marginalized by patriarchy, with men constantly repressing their feelings and lacking basic skills in emotional communication. Emotionally supporting others without having any reciprocation is just another example of how patriarchy affects whose needs are ignored and whose are centered. Women, trans and non-binary people are seen as free therapists, there to soothe and solve other people’s problems, while their own are completely ignored, and everyone sees this as the status quo”.

Direct consequences to such notions, also according to the previous mentioned studies, would be that of ambivalent sexism and domestic violence, as they reaffirm stereotypical roles which all point to female subjugation. The account of ambivalent sexism has been covered in the previous section<sup>10</sup>, so the following sections shall analyze in more detail the account of domestic violence and harrassment.

Peters defined domestic violence myths as “stereotypical beliefs that are widely and persistently held to minimize or justify intimate partner violence (IPV) against women. As further assessed by social psychologist Lelaurain, “[...] the function of these myths is to support the patriarchal organization of society insofar as they are positively correlated to negative attitudes toward women and to certain restrictive visions of social gender roles”.

### **3.2 The culture of violence**

The following sections shall dive more thoroughly into the outcomes of romantic relationships that are heavily influenced by patriarchal standards, misogynistic behaviors and gendered norms and analyze the phenomenon called “the culture of violence”.

Following the analysis proposed, violence against women can be said to be as the outcome of gender socialization and the division of gender roles.

As explained by Schwartz and DeKeseredy and supported by Stark, “[...] (The) patriarchal system creates a relational context for men and women based on gender inequality and men's coercive control, which accepts, tolerates, and justifies violence against and the abuse of women as an affirmation of hegemonic masculinity and considers aggressive behavior and physical strength to be the cultural ideals of manhood and identical with the cultural script for masculinity” (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1993; Stark, 2010).

The culture of violence relies on toxic masculinity standards, such as violence, dominance, and an unwillingness to admit weakness (Jewkes & Morrell, 2018; Waling, 2019). M. P. Johnson's work (1995) is extremely valuable here, as they analyze patriarchal terrorism, or “intimate terrorism,” as “male violence against female partners” that has its “primary roots in male domination of women” and as “a violence that is

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<sup>10</sup> See *intra*, at 1.2, 5.

embedded in a general pattern of controlling behaviors, where the perpetrator is attempting to exert general control over his partner.” (Johnson & Leone, 2005). Johnson and Leone further ascribe intimate terrorism as an “attempt to dominate one's partner and to exert general control over the relationship, domination that is manifested in the use of a wide range of power and control tactics, and violence.”

The above-mentioned standards can cause three main types of abuses: physical, psychological, and sexual. The three of them can happen simultaneously, provoking great negative consequences upon their victims <sup>11</sup>.

### ***3.2.1 Psychological abuse***

Psychological abuse is a type of abuse which is very likely to happen within unhealthy relationships. It usually has a negative impact on feelings and perceptions, truly impacting a person's relationships and their own self-esteem, getting to the length of scarring one's mental health. Psychological abuse, as contended by Marshall, “are likely to cause violence, sexual aggression, and even abuse to have different relationships with outcome variables”.

Overall, “Psychological abuse has been addressed using such terms as nonphysical abuse, maltreatment, psychological aggression, verbal aggression, emotional abuse, controlling behaviors, competitive behaviors, and psychological torture (L. Marshall, 1996)”.

A recent study which is very insightful would be the one conducted by Mukherjee, who sought to see how male dominance was a core component amongst relationships of young adults in colleges in India.

The data was significant, as among the 187 responses, “59.35 percent of these females have reported that their male partners do/did not approve of their male friends or acquaintances; 45.45 percent have reported that their partners are/were constantly suspicious of them, their activities, behaviour, etc.; finally, 41.7 percent have reported that their partners would enquire about their whereabouts frequently”. All the above behaviours were considered as emotional abusive behaviours.

Furthermore, 28.34 percent declared that their partner had manipulated them by threatening to harm themselves and 36.89 percent was told that their partner loved them in spite on cheating on them. This dynamic relates to the concept of giving and taking, the narrative that puts men on a pedestal, upon which they can justify their actions, as they are supposed to be taken care of regardless.

These dynamics are also highlighting concepts such as that of controlling behaviors from men, that are related to the fact that women are often seen as a property that is owned. An important specification to be made is that emotional manipulation can also be insisting on engaging in sexual intercourse against what their partner is saying, hence manipulating consent. This is once again a byproduct of “[...] men's superior

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<sup>11</sup> The author feels like it is necessary to specify that abuse can happen in any kind of unhealthy romantic relationships. This study will focus, however, on how patriarchal norms allow for this type of abuse to happen in cis-heterosexual relationships especially and how women are the victims of these maladaptive standards. Further notions on abuse of male will be discussed in section 3.2.4.

position in a patriarchal society, where they consistently attempt to assert and maintain their dominance over their partners in particular and in the society in general”.

### ***3.2.3 Physical and Sexual Abuse and the Victim Blaming Culture***

“The urge to physically harm the ‘weaker sex’ emanates from men exerting their physical supremacy over their partners and stand true to the society’s created norm of masculinity” asserts Mukherjee. They reported that in their study “18.2 percent of the 187 female respondents have reported physical abuse by their male partners. However, in spite of being physically abused by their partner, 14.7 percent of them have said that they have not been in an abusive relationship. As before, this goes on to show how ‘normal’ it is to accept male violence in our society”. This data is profoundly significant as it shows how victims of sexual abuse have been victims of the patriarchal culture for so long, that they do are not even capable of acknowledging of what the latter is doing to them. Violence normalization and legitimization of intimate partner violence are then ordinary mechanism that enforce misogynistic behaviours, especially in romantic relationships. As the study by Professor Lelaurain and colleagues show, “[...] the more the participants adhered to romantic love, the more they blamed the victim and exonerated the perpetrator.” The study also linked elements such as ambivalent sexism and domestic violence myths to romantic relationships.

Statistics show that intimate partner violence (IPV) is a global issue that concerns between 10% and 71% of women throughout the span of their life (Garcia-Moreno, et Al, 2006).

Contributing to this, patriarchal standards shape the relation amongst genders by endorsing the refusal and non-acceptance of IPV whilst enforcing male dominance (Baldry & Pagliaro, 2014; Lelaurain et al., 2018). Correlated to violence myths, some key elements are also “[...] the attribution of victim responsibility, exoneration of the perpetrator, and to nonrecognition of IPV “(Lelaurain et al., 2018).

The main conclusion drawn by Lelaurain was indeed that people who were prone to exhibit behaviours that condoned ambivalent sexism, as well follow violence myths, “[...] perceive(d) the male aggressor as less accountable and the female victim as more accountable”. Overall, “behind the adherence to romantic love, the legitimization of IPV is determined by the internalization of patriarchal ideologies defining gender-symbolic roles and justifying male domination”.

### ***3.2.4 Electronic Dating Violence***

“Increased access to and ease of use of digital technology have encouraged the perpetration of electronic dating violence”. (Melander, 2010). Electronic violence, otherwise known as cyber intimate partner violence (CDA), is an issue that relates among young adults and college students mainly (Flach & Deslandes, 2017). Endleman asserts that (2021) CDA is “abusive behavior committed by romantic partners or an ex-partner using technology (e.g., social networking sites, texting, e-mail)”; further, it “can be sexual in nature or non-sexual” and may also “include using technology to threaten or harass a partner or using a partner's social

networking page without their permission.” Cyber dating abuse ranged from monitoring the partner’s location to invasion of privacy related behaviors like whom the partner is talking to (Doucette et al, 2021). An important remark is that both men and women are victims and perpetrators of CDA, but as studies indicate, (Deans & Bhogal, 2019) men are more likely to be perpetrators and women are more prone to face more critical consequences.

The reason as to why CDA occur is because of fights, jokes or societal beliefs. Indeed, this kind of abuse is greatly amplified as there is an overall condoning of these behaviours that stems from the fact that in romantic relationships people can do so because of their role as a partner (Gámez-Guadix et al., 2018). Van Ousytsel (2020) first found out that social norms and gender stereotypes are positively linked with digital monitoring in relationships by young adults.

As literature further supports (Doucette et al. (2021)), this kind of abuse can also evolve in physical and emotional violence in person.

The SIGI Institute in Jordan communicated that “violence and harassment threaten by almost 2.7 million female Internet users in Jordan, including one million underage girls” (SIGI-Jordan, 2020). As expressed by Alsawalqa, (2021) “clan and traditional thinking, societal structures, and norms lead men to divorce, or to stay in abusive relationships, and to perpetrate domestic abuse” are a very relevant reason as to why this phenomenon arose.

The study that is relevant to CDA is the one made by Professor Alsawalqa who sought to see how college male perpetrators in Jordan chose to engage in cyber intimate partner violence. The violators said that through means such as photos, videos, audio calls and on platforms such as WhatsApp/Facebook they would like private information about their female partners. They all knew when choosing to engage in these behaviours that they would be harmful to the victims, but they also acknowledged that these violations were the device to reach their goals. As the author further contends, all the perpetrators knew that “[...] (they were exploiting) societal norms forbidding romantic relationships before marriage, for which the women would bear the brunt of the punishment” Also they used “[...] their higher status in society, [...] to impose their control and dominance. These two factors enabled the men to abuse women; furthermore, they left the women unable to defend themselves or stop the abuse. The perpetrators were able to monitor their victims and interfere in their affairs, leading to abuse that was emotional, verbal, psychological, and physical”.

Because of this idea that they ought to maintain their masculinity and conform to patriarchal society standards, in order to avoid public stigma, they use violence to embrace said concepts. The main reason as to why they chose to display these kinds of behaviours was because their partners were not abiding their orders on how they should have dressed, used specific make up or talking to other male peers at the university. Some of them also asserted that “the physical attraction, her lack of emotional consciousness, and the victim's beauty played a key role in pushing the perpetrator to threaten the victim for sexual exploitation, especially in light of the bets that took place between the perpetrator and his male peers about who could win

the victim's affection, get close to her, and have sex with her”, once again reinforcing notions that objectify women and regard her as man’s property. What came out of this qualitative research was that control and aggressions were directly correlated to social norms and gender stereotypes. Further, because of patriarchal standards, women were too scared or felt shame into reporting their abusers, as they feared social stigma and ostracism from their families.

Masculinity in Jordan society is indeed highly linked to one’s social status, whereas femineity is once again synonym of submission.

### ***3.2.5 Patriarchal standards’ impact on teenagers and young adults in relationships***

Adolescents are slowly becoming very influenced by patriarchal standards, as the literature supports. A key study was made by Reed (2016) who affirmed that “male university students were more likely than their female counterparts to report pressuring their dating partner to take a sexual photo or video, and report more positive reactions than women to both sending and receiving sexually suggestive photos”. Also, Martinez-Pecino and Durán (2016) found that higher level of hostile sexism in men are more likely to cause male partners to cyberbully their female partners.

Parallely, an alarming data comes from the studies by Fernández-Antelo who demonstrated that teenage couples are normalizing violence and female partners are more accepting of these behaviours.

Further, in research by Ramiro-Sánchez (2018) the results commented that “adolescents who display attitudes that are more sexist have a more positive attitude toward intimate partner violence, greater sexual risk behaviors, greater attraction to sexist partners, greater support for the myth of idealized love and myth of love-abuse link, greater emotional dependence on the partner, and poorer quality in relationships.”

Finally, Professor Mahli concluded that in countries like the United States, Spain, South Africa, and Italy, that “male adolescents who had experienced, observed, and/or initiated abuse in their childhood, including alcohol use and/or emotional dysregulation, had a higher risk of perpetrating adolescent dating violence”.

Ultimately, young women are not the only victim of the patriarchal system. Expectations of toxic masculinity have indeed been detrimental to male victims of abuse.

Indeed, as previous studies show, abused men tend not to report their abuses as they feel emasculated and particularly shamed (Wright, 2016).

Furthermore, “they face social pressures to maintain standard ideals of masculinity in which men are self-reliant, independent, dominant, leaders, violent, cruel, fearless, and emotionless, and they should be the primary breadwinners, who are stronger and more assertive than women, exercising control over them” (Lupri & Grandin, 2016).

Overall, both young men and young women are “are victims of customs, traditions, and social norms that place them within limits that actually legitimize violence and perpetuate gender inequality” (Alsawalqa et al, 2022).

### **3.3 Social Norms and Violence Against Women**

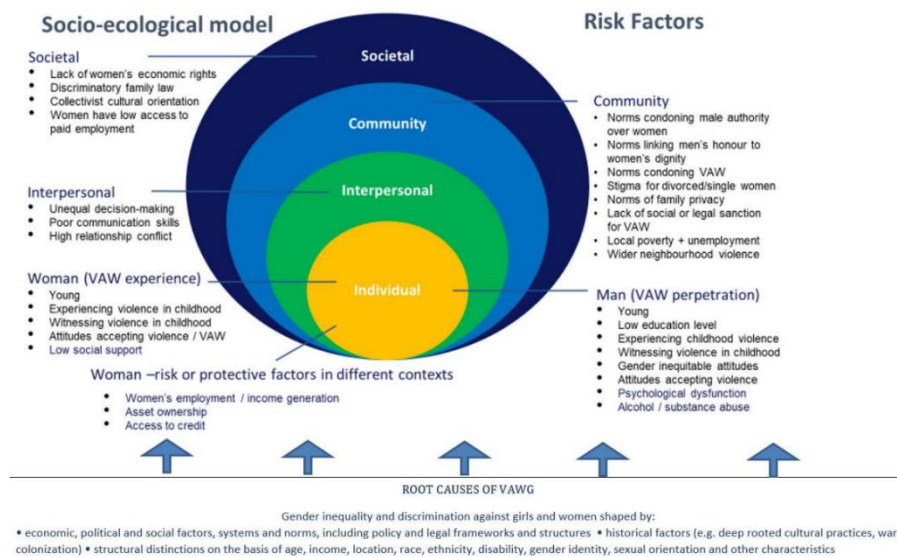
Statistics affirm that “On average, one in three women will experience some form of physical or sexual violence by an intimate partner, or sexual violence by a non-partner, in her lifetime”.

Gender inequality is what causes violence against women, according to the Equality Institute. As the institution further contends, gender inequality (to understand as the unequal distribution of “power, resources, opportunity and value between men and people of other genders, that positions and privileges men and boys over people of other genders”) is fomented by gendered drivers. The latter are factors which are capable of predicting violence against women, as they build up the social framework in which violence is instigated.

The factors are four and, according to the Equality Institute, they are: “the condoning of violence against women, men’s control of decision-making and limits to women’s independence in public and private life, male peer relations that emphasize aggression and disrespect towards women, rigid gender roles and stereotyped construction of femininity and masculinity.” (Equality Institute, 2020).

Of course, these factors are connected to others, which, according to the socio-ecological model, are known as risk and protective factor, alas, elements that increase or decrease the likelihood of a violence to happen. The socio-ecological model, as shown in Figure 3, “provides a conceptual framework for examining the interaction of factors contributing to violence across multiple levels of society: individual, family/relationship, community, society, and global” (Equality Institute, 2020).

The model is said to be intersectional, as it comprises multiple aspects that build up a single person or a group of people’s identity. These factors enlist characteristics such as ethnicity, age, religion and sexual orientation.



**Figure 3**

Violence is endorsed through two mechanisms. The first is because social norms are actively enforcing it, as the reference group will condone it, for instance in some communities, it's fine to use violence against a bride to discipline her. On the other hand, social norms can subtly enforce violent behaviour if for instance, in a household, values such as male sexual entitlement and women purity are spread.

Overall, “violence against women and girls is the product of a number of factors across the socio-ecological model, of which social norms are one key part”. Indeed, “Structural factors such as access to resources, existing infrastructure and institutions, legal and policy frameworks, conflict or instability, socio-economic development, and religious or political ideologies also impact upon women’s and girls’ experiences of violence. This has important consequences for the prevention of violence against women and girls. It means that programs targeted at social norm change must be implemented alongside various other initiatives that aim to address other factors, in order to reinforce change across all levels”. (Equality Institute, 2020).

Once again it's important to second that violence against women is based upon values of masculinity (such as dominance and the culture of violence) and values of femininity (such as childbearing and docility) which create expectations within a social group, which will condone as a punishment to discipline “bad women” who refuse to subjugate. The use of violence against women and girls is often a manifestation of dominant constructions of masculinity based on male dominance, aggression, sexual entitlement, toughness, and power over others (whether real or perceived).

Statistics show that violence is in general perpetrated by men and victims will be women and men themselves. For instance, in Australia, the 2012 Personal Safety Survey found that “around 95% of all victims of physical and sexual violence (both male and female) reported experiencing acts of violence (physical or sexual assault, or threats) from a male perpetrator”. Furthermore, data showed that “women are more likely to experience violence by a male partner or other known man, often in the home, while men are

more likely to experience violence by other men in public places .14 Women were also more likely to experience sexual violence since age 15 compared with men (19% of women compared with 5% of men), while men were more likely to experience physical violence compared with women (48% of men compared with 34% of women)".

These data further encourage the need to change harmful social norms in order to reduce phenomena of interpersonal violence.

### **3.4 Patriarcal standards in books and films: a problematic narrative for romantic hetero-relationships**

Romance fiction in books and movies has been an issue in terms of the embedding of patriarchal standards: indeed, women, according to statistics, are eager to read or watch mostly novels and films that attach them (as a social category) to men. According to Gender studies Professor Roach, "it's still a man's world out there, if the name of the game is patriarchy, then a woman is safer from the dangers that game poses to women—rape and other physical attack, diminished pay rates, employment discrimination, abandonment with children, restricted travel and other life options, general infantilization, misogyny, a life-long low-level anxiety over her sexual vulnerability—to the extent she is in committed relationship with, and thus protected by, a good man".

The fantasy of a good man is then an ideal standard of a romance hero, someone who is capable of protecting *his* woman, and who, at the same time, does not fit into the schema of the patriarchy. In reality this knight that books and films create is an illusion and conveys, according to professor Roach, three specific messages to the female readers or watchers: "you can't fight patriarchy, you must fight patriarchy, and patriarchy will end".

The "good man" becomes a contradiction: he is indeed capable of protecting his woman, full on embodying patriarchal standards, but at the same time he rejects such stereotypes as he is capable of loving and being servant to her. The problem with this is that the woman's chance to keep surviving in society is reduced to her capability to find "a good man". Once again, in the words of Roach, "She gets a good man. And she gets to love him".

Because of this narrative that we are presented with, gendered norms are enforced daily. Another maladaptive norm that gets enforced is the acceptance of intimate partner violence.

Within popular fiction indeed, there are "several representations of love which coexist, and which are not the object of the same social valorization depending on the sociocultural context" (Apostolidis & Deschamps, 2003). Specifically, "[...] in cultural productions for youth, romantic love remains one of the most socially valued representations of love". (Bonomi, Altenburger, & Walton, 2013; Hefner & Wilson, 2013). From these, specific expectations are created, and, furthermore, the factual belief that being in a relationship is central to one's identity increases. Studies confirm that "the role of adherence to romantic love in the



legitimization of IPV". According to Jackson (2001), "romantic narratives shape experiences, actions, and understandings of love and relationships, and in turn men and women learn what is love through them". Love and passion become main pillars of these romantic narratives and they often show scenes in which violence and husbands committing murders are treaded as having "too much pain" or being "too much in love" with their wives, rather than narrating these actions for what they are: a show of extreme violence. Women are also depicted as emotionally dependent on their partners, and, hence, more lenient towards their violent beahviours. These studies further confirm how problematically (especially if shown to or read by a younger audience) patriarchal permeated standards legitimize violence.

## CHAPTER 4

This research aims to understand maladaptive social norms amongst cis-heterosexual relationships that spur from misogynistic values and patriarchal settings. Because of the extensive work that has been done by Professor Bicchieri on social norms, most of the elements analyzed are regarding the literature proposed by her.

### **4.1 Case study: an empirical analysis on cis-hetero romantic relationships**

#### **4.1.1 Case study's objective and relevancy**

The proposed study wants to extensively explore the role of misogynistic biases and patriarchal norms within romantic relationships amongst young adults.

This study seeks to identify if harmful and misogynistic expectations, beliefs and preferences are already embedded within the participants. The data gathered shall be very valuable in terms of how the change of such social norms shall be implemented. Furthermore, the study seeks to identify how much misogynistic norms are present within women and ignite the phenomenon of internalized misogyny. This insight shall be particularly useful when administering future interventions. Overall, (despite the study targeting just a few of the maladaptive norms that enforce toxic standards) shall represent a step forward to the dismantlement of gender inequality.

#### **4.1.2 Sample methodology**

The sample that was chosen was adolescents and young adults between the age of 17 and 27. As indeed sustained by the literature, adolescents and young adults are more prone to accept and enact behaviors that build up upon gendered norms and patriarchal standards. This specific age span is also taken into account because normative and factual beliefs sediment themselves more deeply during this time. Peer comparison is also crucial at this age, and it is relevant as it can greatly form expectations and factual beliefs. (especially in the late teen years and early twenties). No monetary reward was offered to participants, whose willingness to participate was completely voluntary.

#### **4.1.3 Social norms related elements**

Social norms, as afore mentioned, have two main elements. The first is interdependency, that is a norm is endorsed once people have reciprocal and mutual expectations that they will each behave accordingly to the norm or exhibit a behaviour that will be approved collectively. The second factor is the presence of a reference network, that is a group of people which is the “judge” of the compliance to the norms and that

decides what's right or wrong. The research extensively made sure that both of these factors were covered when trying to find out if social maladaptive norms were spread amongst young adults.

Another key element considered was that the norm's endorsement will be conditional upon the expectations of the reference group; this entails that a change in expectations will imply a change in the norms. The type of expectations of the participants shall be mutual and consistent, that is most of the people should think that the other participants will have the same expectations as them.

The experiment also took into consideration five main elements that were: factual beliefs, empirical expectations, personal normative beliefs, normative expectations and conditional preferences. These past items were covered in groups three and four. The reference group that was asked to refer to the participants was that of peers of the same gender and similar age. The participants were told that by "peers", the researcher meant people with whom they would interact on a daily basis with, whether they were friends, work colleagues or university mates.

#### **4.1.4. Hypotheses**

##### **Group one (Importance Subscale of The Collective Self-Esteem Scale: Importance to Identity)**

***Hypothesis 1: Men who give high importance to the fact that they belong to the category "men" will relate more to the category "being in a relationship is not an important quality of my personal self", whereas they will relate less to the stance "being in a relationship is unimportant to how I feel about myself" when related to their social identity.***

The upon hypothesis was made upon the considerations made by precedent studies and upon social identity theory. In particular, the hypothesis regards a sub-category of what the literature calls "the collective self-esteem" and posits its attention on collective identity, which is known as a part of the public identity of individuals. Specifically, it builds upon the notions that, because of patriarchal settings which celebrate masculinity standards, men are more prone to give relevance to their identity as men. Subsequently, the results shall also find that men would likely not find "being in a relationship" a core element of their identity, as gender biases relegate women to identify core elements of their identity in their relationships. Indeed, according to such biases and stereotypes, men should adhere to such norms by not relating greatly to this stance. On the other hand, men should highly value the fact "of being in a relationship" as important to their own perception of themselves. In fact, the literature always seeks to highlight how men are always described as being "the alpha" and how this notion is related to their manliness which also comes from the perception that one has about themselves. Being in a relationship won't be key to men's identity, but rather key to one's perception of themselves. These concepts might seem in conflict, but they are in line with what the literature affirms. Men's entitlement comes from the fact that women ought to listen and comfort them. This

framework entails that perception of men's identity comes from the care mongering that a woman will put into her relationship. If this lacks, men might feel "less powerful" and "disrespected. Consequentially, what they seek is not really a relationship, but more of an external validation from their romantic partner, as an adherence to their duty. The hypothesis further analyzes how central and peripheral these beliefs are. Overall, the higher the adherence to the notion that men give relevancy to their "manliness" the lower the adherence they will give to being in a relationship as a significant element of their social identity, but the higher this latter category will impact men's own perception.

***Hypothesis 2: Women who give high importance to the fact that they belong to the category "women" will disagree with the stances that "being in a relationship is not an important quality of my personal self", as well as "being in a relationship is unimportant to how I feel about myself" when related to their social identity.***

The upon hypothesis was made upon the considerations made by precedent studies and upon social identity theory. In particular, the hypothesis regards a sub-category of what the literature calls "the collective self-esteem" and posits its attention on collective identity, which is known as a part of the public identity of individuals.

Because of gender stereotypes, women highly regard their romantic relationships when it comes to their identity. This phenomenon is particularly heightened by the media and novels that portray women as damsel in distress that need to be saved by a man. Also, because of gender biases, women are often regarded as "someone's someone", that entails that they are often connected to another male. Due to this notion, women's perceptions of themselves then will vary accordingly to whether they are in a romantic relationship or not. This hypothesis then seeks to assess how these beliefs are rooted in women themselves and how much of these gender biases are correlated to their factual beliefs. The key correlation should be specifically to the extent that "being in a relationship" should be very valuable to women in terms of how it makes them feel about themselves, which is linked to question number 4. This is in accordance to the belief that women build up a lot of their self-esteem to how their partner makes them feel and because of the stereotype "caregiver" role that women adhere to, they will likely build a lot of their own perception of themselves on the romantic relationship they are in.

Overall, the more a woman gives relevance to the notion of "being a woman", the researcher expects, upon the mentioned theories and biases, that a woman is likely to find a lot of her identity and self-perception in her relationship.

## **Group two (Gender Biases and Gender Stereotypes: Femininity and Masculinity Codes)**

**Hypothesis 3: *Men should find qualities as “loyal, caring, enjoyable and lovable” preferred to adjectives as “driven, passionate, self-confident”.***

This hypothesis was made in order to test implicit bias and predefined schemata in a norm, as well as the presence of hostile sexism.

The implicit bias analyzed regards the expectations of cis-hetero romantic relationships for which women are supposed to follow feminine coded stereotypes and hence fit in a heavily misogynistic schema.

Because of the presence of such feminine coded stereotypes and gendered norms on what femininity should be, men should answer accordingly in the survey. Indeed, as also supported by afore mentioned studies, women are stereotypically ascribed as docile and caring. This latter adjective is a gender bias that identifies women as the designated listeners, as people who should never complain and be dedicated to everyone, especially to their men. The afore mentioned principle is consisted with the concept that Kate Manne elaborated of “the economy of giving and taking”. Hostile sexism is further a latent element which is often present within male subject and is associated to positive messages, even though it’s rather poisonous.

Finally, this hypothesis is very relevant to adolescents and young adults as they are heavily influenced by media which often convey messages of unhealthy relationships based on male dominance and women submissiveness.

**Hypothesis 4: *Women should find qualities as “protective, self-confident, assertive, secure” more desirable in a partner over “loyal, caring, empathetic, sensitive”.***

This hypothesis was made in order to test implicit bias and predefined schemata.

Gender biases and gender stereotypes enforce schemata of toxic masculinity, for which men are supposed to be “alpha man”, that is emotionally unavailable individuals who need to be always protective and self-confident. As mentioned, this patriarchal standard is very detrimental towards men, as they are always taught not to express their emotions and bottle them up. Often, this stereotype is accompanied by the notion that men need to assess in their relationships their supremacy and their dominance over their significant other, which as mentioned, might end up in violent behaviors. Women are also made to believe (through films and books especially) that this stereotypical man is the one that they should want and pursue.

## **Group three (Male Dominance and Women Subordination)**

**Hypothesis 5: *Male young adults are likely to engage/know of peers of the same gender who are likely to engage in restricting behaviors in their romantic relationships.***

The upon hypothesis was drawn in order to measure the stance upon which male young adults are more likely to engage in psychological abusive manners. This notion, as the literature provides, draws once again gender stereotypes that condone male superiority and women's subjugation. From these norms also comes the notion of psychological and emotional abuse that is exercised by men on women because of patriarchal standards. Men indeed exercise their privileges on women because the latter are often disregarded as less empowered and as if they do not have the right to express their own needs.

**Hypothesis 6: *Female young adults are likely to have experienced/know of peers of the same gender who have experienced restricting behaviors in their romantic relationships.***

The upon hypothesis was drawn in order to measure the stance upon which female young adults are more likely to be victims of psychological abusive manners. This notion, as the literature provides, draws once again gender stereotypes that condone male superiority and women's subjugation. From these norms also comes the notion of psychological and emotional abuse that is exercised by men on women because of patriarchal standards. Women are often victims of emotional abuse in romantic relationships because of controlling behaviors that are the byproduct of standards that enforce narratives that portray woman not as victims, but rather as people to be suspicious of. Biases that arise are that they are fake and not credible, which enforce gender stereotypes and gendered norms.

#### **Group 4 (Male's Entitlement and Women's Internalized Misogyny)**

**Hypothesis 7: *Male young adults are likely to engage/ know of peers of the same gender who are likely to engage in maladaptive behaviors against women that rely on women's objectification and regard her as a property.***

The upon hypothesis was designed to detect how male's entitlement has a role in what women can do and what they can't and provide context for gender harassment. As mentioned, male's entitlement is regarded as the belief that men are ought to be in charge and are ought to control women. This is translated to controlling behaviours such as the need for men to tell women how to dress, which also heightens the phenomenon that is the objectification of women. Dehumanizing is a phenomenon that was explained within the literature and

that is relevant to this context. Women are indeed “made less human” and rather “regarded more as an object that is at dispose”. Finally, because she is regarded as a property, won’t be able to object. Gender harassment here can be traced by the presence of factual beliefs that regard jokes and belittling of women “as innocent comments”.

Furthermore, the hypothesis draws on social norms that “bad women” are to be punished. Indeed, the data should inspect if maladaptive social norms, that rely upon the notions that good women will dress in a specific manner compared to “bad women” are still spread amongst male young adults. If the norms are present, the latter will feel entitled to make comments and belittle women.

***Hypothesis 8: Female young adults are likely to have experienced / know of peers of the same gender who are likely to have experienced maladaptive behaviors that rely on women’s objectification and regard her as a property.***

The upon hypothesis was designed to detect how male’s entitlement has a role in what women can do and what they can’t. As mentioned, male’s entitlement is regarded as the belief that men are ought to be in charge and are ought to control women. This is translated to controlling behaviors such as the need for men to tell women how to dress, which also heightens the phenomenon that is the objectification of women.

Dehumanizing is a phenomenon that was explained within the literature and that is relevant to this context. Women are indeed “made less human” and rather “regarded more as an object that is at dispose”. Finally, because she is regarded as a property, won’t be able to object. The hypothesis overall seeks to understand how common the upon said phenomenon impacts other women and to what extent this norm is embedded.

***Hypothesis 9: Female young adults are likely to be subject to internalized misogyny when it comes to comparison to other women.***

The upon hypothesis was made to gather data on how sparse internalized misogyny is. The goal is to target, once again, maladaptive social norms, for which “bad women” are to be punished. Indeed, the data should inspect if maladaptive social norms, that rely upon the notions that good women will dress in a specific manner compared to “bad women” are still spread amongst female young adults. If the norms are present, the latter will feel entitled to make comments and belittle women. The researcher also made use of social comparison theory and the importance of social identity when belonging to a social group. Indeed, if maladaptive social norms and harmful factual beliefs and expectations are spread, women are likely to criticize peers who make their social category “look bad”. In this case, women feel threatened by other women expressing their identity through clothes as they might regard it as “promiscuous” and “overall

wrong for a woman”. They might also seem like attention seekers, something that also does not adhere to female coded stereotypes.

#### **4.1.5 Surveys’ methodology**

To investigate more thoroughly different aspects of misogynistic behaviors and gendered standards, two surveys have been prepared: one for individuals who identified as men and one for individuals who identified as woman. As mentioned by Professor Bicchieri, when speaking about detecting how spread social norms are, surveys and questionnaires represent a useful tool in order to get data. Indeed, they verify if a norm is relevant to a person’s situation. By asking questions about real and hypothetical situations, or by presenting individual scenarios, the researcher is able to evaluate motives and unconscious biases. The questions, except for the participants age, were all close ended and for each question, every participant could elect one. The answers ranged from two to five options, and they all provided different types of answers. The first set of questions was provided by previous study on “Collective Self-esteem” values. The related scale focused on social identity theory, and it was taken from studies conducted by Luhtanen and Crocker (1992). Most of the questions asked to provide the extent to which participants agreed or disagreed to a certain phrase with a scale that ranged from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”. Other questions were asked to give reasons that the researcher provided in advance, based on a meticulous study of precedent literature. Finally, some questions regarded personal experience of the participants, as well as that of their peers. For the men’s and women’s questionnaire there were respectively 26 and 27 questions (excluding the general instructions and the gender and age-related questions). The surveys were conducted on Qualtrics, an online platform that enabled sharing the questionnaires through an anonymous link on social media such Instagram and WhatsApp mainly. The reason as to why the survey has been spread on these platforms is because it was time saving and enabled a greater rate of respondents. The survey has been prepared in English and then translated to Italian to enable the researcher to reach a greater audience. The questions, as mentioned, were divided into 4 main groups and an introductory group of questions was made to gather data such as age and gender. Once the survey was indeed open, people had to select their gender (Male, Female, Non-Binary, Rather not say) and their age. Then the following message was presented to participants in order to understand the purpose of the research:

“The following survey is aimed at women/men (depending on which survey was been opened) between the ages of 17 and 27. The objective of this survey is to analyze dynamics in heterosexual relationships. Here are some clarifications:

It is not necessary for you to have had an official romantic relationship with someone, but if you haven't, please answer the questions related to personal experience with a "no" and respond to the rest as you see fit.



When we ask questions about your friends/group of friends, we are referring to peers of the same gender and similar age with whom you often interact (university/work colleagues, extended family members, or acquaintances).

The data you provide will only be used for research purposes. The author commits to not violating personal privacy.”.

After this initial prompt, participants were then asked to answer the questions that were scattered in the aforementioned four groups.

#### 4.1.6 Surveys' questions

The two surveys comprised 4 different groups of questions (taking out the first set of questions regarding gender and age) that targeted specific aspects of problematic social norms within cis-heterosexual romantic relationships.

The first set of questions was the same for the two sample groups; indeed, both men and women were asked to identify how strongly they felt towards two sets of categories that they belonged to. They were in fact asked if they felt that their identity and perception of themselves could be linked (and to what extent) to both their gender and to the category “being in a relationship”. The reason why these 4 questions were asked, was to assess individuals' social identity based on their membership to different groups. As mentioned, the subscale used was to test importance to identity (II). A key difference that has been made was amongst the concepts of “important quality of your identity” and “self- perception”, which were asked for this reason as two separate set of questions. Indeed, the researcher expects differences in the answers to these two notions because of the dissimilarities they entail. The two connotations are of course linked, but the main differences amongst a quality of one's identity and self-perception is that the former can be thought as an intrinsic value, whereas self-perception is a reflection that comes from social validation also. Indeed, a person's belief could be that being in a relationship, as a general belief, is not a core element or quality of their personality, whilst being in one can profoundly shift one's view of themselves. This is very relevant when thinking about toxic relationships, as maladaptive mechanisms can change a person's perception of themselves. Indeed, some men, by enforcing gender stereotypes, can create erratic dynamics that can cause episodes of verbal or even physical abuse. As the literature provides<sup>12</sup>, emotional abuse and manipulation is indeed a dynamic that is often enforced by male young adults as an exercise of their entitlement. Furthermore, because of the victimhood culture and disregard of women's feelings, as previously contended<sup>13</sup>, women might start seeing themselves as the problem and the way their partner will make them feel might dictate the way they perceive themselves. On the other hand, also women might enforce gendered norms and disregard a partner's feelings because he shall be “the alpha man” and judge him if he shows any kind of vulnerability. This can alter a

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<sup>12</sup> See *infra* at 3.2.1, 40.

<sup>13</sup> See *infra* at 1.7.2, 27.

man's perception of himself as he can start criticizing himself for being weak. A counter action to this, as literature further arguments<sup>14</sup>, is that, in order to show his "manliness", he might recur to violence.

The second group of questions identified if there were gender biases (GB) and gender stereotypes (GS) amongst male and female participants according to toxic masculinity standards and harmful female coded norms. Moreover, the questions sought to test specifically for the so-called correspondence bias (CB), that, as analyzed previously<sup>15</sup>, is central in the eradication of specific gender stereotypes. The questions asked about the ideal characteristics of a partner for both populations; question 8 also was formulated in order to assess normative expectations. Finally, question number 9 was set in a hypothetical scenario in order to avoid social desirability bias issues and in order to tackle conditional preferences.

The third and fourth group of questions were made specifically to test factual beliefs (FB), empirical expectations (EE), personal normative beliefs (PNB), normative expectations (NE) and conditional preferences, elements that are crucial for the enforcement of a social norm.

Group three sought to detect male dominance and women subordination standards within both groups. The translation of these standards was conveyed into restricting and manipulative behaviours that are considered by the literature as psychological abusive actions. Specifically, the questions asked about limiting women and refraining them to go to specific gatherings and if women condoned such behaviours and to what extent. Group four sought to identify how men entitlement puts women in subjugated positions and to what extent women condone such behaviours. The section specifically targeted experiences of controlling behaviours experienced by women and exercised by men. Furthermore, the last two questions aimed to see if men are likely to judge a woman for the way she dresses and hence to objectify her, as well as analyze how much intrinsic misogyny is sparse amongst women.

Testing for factual beliefs (FB) allows for a greater understanding of why certain people act in a specific manner. Indeed, they accompany behaviors, and they represent the local knowledge to which we refer to when people are asked why they perform certain actions. These actions that are performed in accordance to some factual beliefs are named in the survey as personal experience (PE), that is an empirical proof of a factual belief behind that specific action. Factual beliefs are also the reason why people are likely to resent those who do not act like them. In accordance with comparison to a specific reference network, conceptual structures are usually shared by all members of the group. Because of it, if individuals won't see that their reference network is willing to shift their schemas, they likely won't shift their own beliefs, as the consequences will mainly be negative, and they will think that they will be at disadvantage.

Analyzing empirical expectations (EE) infers understanding if behaviors are perceived as normal and common. Furthermore, this tells the researcher about the central tendency of the behavior and the dispersion of the collective behavior.

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<sup>14</sup> See *infra* at 3.2.5, 45.

<sup>15</sup> See *infra* at 1.3.2., 10.

Coupled with factual beliefs are personal normative beliefs (PNB) which give intel about positive or negative attitude towards a specific behavior. This information will explain the mutual consistency amongst normative expectations and conditional preferences. This is key because one of the goals is to understand what people expect others to think that they will do. An important factor is that many have negative personal normative beliefs that, however, they will think that their reference group will approve of.

Following up, there are normative expectations (NE), which, if they are consistent, create a social norm. Finally, the surveys tested for conditional preferences (CP). The key element of conditional preference is interdependency. A practice is interdependent if we prefer to act in a specific way because of what we think people in our reference group will say.

Hypothetical questions were asked in order understand how much the threat of the punishment will enforce compliance and if a punishment is considered legitimate.

At the end of the paragraph all the questions shall be presented and marked in relation to all the above abbreviations.

GROUP ONE (BOTH FOR MEN AND WOMEN): How much do you agree?

1. Being a man/woman is not an important part of my self-image,” (II)
2. “Being a man/woman is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am” (II)
3. “Being a relationship is not an important part of my self-image,” (II)
4. “Being in a relationship is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am” (II)

GROUP TWO (MEN): What’s a good partner?

5. What would be the most important pair of adjectives to describes the characteristics of your ideal partner?  
caring/loyal; enjoyable/ lovable; driven/ passionate; assertive/self-confident (GB) (CB)
6. What would be the least important pair of adjectives to describes the characteristics your ideal partner?  
caring/loyal; enjoyable/ lovable; driven/ passionate; assertive/self-confident (GB) (CB)
7. What do you think that majority of the participants chose as the most important pair of adjectives?  
caring/loyal; enjoyable/ lovable; driven/ passionate; assertive/self-confident (GB) (CB) (NE)
8. Would you approve of a partner who is mainly focused on their career path? (GS)
9. Do you think that in a long-term relationship it’s more important that your partner (hypothetically you are living together) (GS) (CP)
  - ➔ Shall be invested mainly in household chores.
  - ➔ Shall be dedicated to her own career path.
  - ➔ Shall contribute equally to the financial expenses.

GROUP THREE (MEN): What do you think ...?

9. Do you think that your partner should always keep you informed of their location? (FB)
10. Would you approve of your partner going to a specific a gathering without you (club, party, bar, pub)? (PNB)
11. Have you ever refrained your partner from going? (FB) (PE)
12. Would you let your partner go if they asked you to, but you did not agree? (CP) (PNB)
13. If not, would you think it would be disrespectful towards your relationship/ you? (PNB)
  - Disrespectful towards me. (GB)
  - Disrespectful towards my relationship. (GS)
  - I do not think it's disrespectful.
14. How many participants do you think said that refraining their partner from going somewhere is appropriate in certain circumstances?" (NE)
  - Less than 50%,
  - More than 50%,
  - 50%
15. Do you have friends that have engaged into limiting their partner to go to a gathering (club, pub, bar, party...)? (FB) (NE)
16. Would you think it's common within your friends for instance, to have people that behave this way? (EE)
17. Would you be willing to speak to your friend if you thought that it was wrong? (CP) (PNB)
  - Yes, because I think it's wrong.
  - No, I do not think it's wrong.
  - I don't think I would because it's not my place.
18. How many participants do you think are willing to say something about it in the same situation? (NE)
  - Less than 50%,
  - More than 50%,
  - 50%

GROUP FOUR (MEN): What do you think ...?

19. Do you think it's right that anyone should be able to dress as they want? (PNB)
20. Have you ever told your partner not to dress in a certain way? (FB) (PE)
21. Have you ever asked more than once that your partner should have changed when they told you they liked what they wore? (FB) (PE)
22. How many participants do you think said that their partner should change if asked? (NE)
  - Less than 50%,
  - More than 50%,
  - 50%

23. Do you have friends that have told that they were upset at how their partner dressed as? (FB) (NE)
24. Have you ever made comments on a girl's outfit (like the outfit being too revealing, too promiscuous)? (FB) (GB)
25. Has one of your male-friends ever made comments on a girl's outfit (like the outfit being too revealing, too promiscuous)? (FB) (PE) (GB)
26. Have you ever said something against such comments? (CP) (NE)
- Yes, because I think it's wrong to make these comments.
  - No, I do not think it's wrong because people can express their opinions.
  - I don't think I would because it's not my place.
  - I don't think I would because they are harmless comments.

GROUP TWO (WOMEN): What's a good partner?

5. What would be the most important pair of adjectives to describes the characteristics of your ideal partner? protective/confident; assertive/self-secure; empathic-sensitive; driven/passionate (GB) (CB)
6. What would be the least important pair of adjectives to describes the characteristics your ideal partner? protective/confident; assertive/self-secure; empathic-sensitive; driven/passionate (GB) (CB)
7. What do you think that majority of the participants chose as the most important pair of adjectvies? protective/confident; assertive/self-secure; empathic-sensitive; driven/passionate (GB) (CB) (NE)
8. Would you approve of a partner who is mainly focused on their career path? (GS)
9. Do you think that in a long-term relationship it's more important that your partner (hypothetically you are living together) (GS) (CP)
- Shall be invested mainly in household chores.
  - Shall be dedicated to her own career path.
  - Shall contribute equally to the financial expenses.

GROUP THREE (WOMEN)

10. Do you think that your partner should always keep you informed of their location? (PNB)
11. Do you think it's right that someone is made to not go to a place even if they want to? (PNB)
12. Do you think it's right that some girls are prohibited from going to specific places because her partner might say no? (PNB)
13. Have you ever been prohibited to go somewhere by your significant other? (FB) (PE)
14. How many participants do you think said that they have been refrained by their partner to go somewhere? (NE)
- More than 50%,

→ Less than 50%,

→ 50%

15. Do you have friends who could have not come to a specific gathering because her partner told them not to? (FB) (PE)

16. Would you say that it's common within your friend group for instance, that some of your friends might not come to a gathering because their partner told them not to? (EE)

17. Hypothetically, would you be willing to speak to your friend if you thought that it was wrong? (CP)

→ Yes, because I think it's wrong.

→ No, I do not think it's wrong.

→ I don't think I would because it's not my place.

18. How many participants do you think are willing to say something about it in the same situation? (NE)

→ Less than 50%,

→ More than 50%,

→ 50%

#### GROUP FOUR (WOMEN)

19. Do you think it's right that anyone should be able to dress as they want? (PNB)

20. Have you ever been told by your partner not to dress a certain way? (FB) (PE)

21. Has your partner ever insisted that you should have changed even if you were comfortable with what you were wearing? (FB) (PE)

22. Have you ever changed after your partner asked you to? (FB) (NE)

23. How many participants do you think have changed after their partner asked them to? (NE)

→ More than 50%,

→ Less than 50%,

→ 50%

24. Do you have friends that have told you about a similar experience? (FB) (PE)

25. Have you ever made comments (like the outfit being too revealing, too promiscuous) on a girl's outfit? (FB) (PE) (GB)

26. Has one of your females- friends ever made comments on a girl's outfit that (like the outfit being too revealing, too promiscuous)? (FB) (PE) (GB)

27. Have you ever said something against such comments? (CP) (NE)

→ Yes, because I think it's wrong to make these comments.

→ No, I do not think it's wrong because people can express their opinions.

→ I don't think I would because they are not directed at me.

→ I don't think I would because they are harmless comments.

## CHAPTER 5

This chapter is going to provide an analysis of the data gathered by the upon mentioned surveys and propose suggestions on how to dismantle some gender bias and misogynistic social norms' standards. Finally, the researcher shall illustrate the main limitations of the study and illustrate the most important conclusions.

### 5.1 Results and analysis

The two questionnaires were filled out wholly by 320 cis-hetero Italian men and women comprised between the age of 17 and 27. Specifically, 169 were women and 151 were men. The questionnaires will be provided with the data in the appendix.

#### 5.1.1 Data and Findings

The subsequent paragraph shall go through the main findings in relation to the previously made hypotheses.

##### *Hypothesis 1:*

*Men who give high importance to the fact that they belong to the category “men” will relate more to the category “being in a relationship is not an important quality of my personal self”, whereas they will relate less to the stance “being in a relationship is unimportant to how I feel about myself” when related to their social identity.*

Hypothesis 1 was validated by the data gathered. First of all, 65% of the male population asserted that they disagreed either entirely or highly with the statement that “being a man is not an important part of my self-image”. The population felt even smore strongly about the phrase “being a man is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am” as 72% of the population disagreed with the statement.

57% agreed that being in a relationship was not a core element of their identity, whereas it mattered to the perception they had of themselves (54%). These insights are overall significant to the study and future research; however, they do not constitute sufficient ground for hypothesizing maladaptive social norms.

##### *Hypothesis 2:*

*Women who give high importance to the fact that they belong to the category “women” will disagree with the stances that “being in a relationship is not an important quality of my personal self”, as well as “being in a relationship is unimportant to how I feel about myself” when related to their social identity.*

The hypothesis was not entirely confirmed by the data gathered. On one hand, women were overall highly 80% relating to both stances about being a woman as both “an important quality of their identity” as well as “important to how they feel about myself” (81%).

56% of the respondents asserted that being in a relationship was not key to their identity, disregarding the hypothesis. On the other hand, there was almost a draw amongst the participants when it came whether or not a relationship was meaningful towards how they would perceive themselves, as 45% said it was meaningful, whereas 39% said it was not and 17% was unsure. Because of the data gathered and as mentioned for hypothesis 1, these insights shall be very valuable with respect to future research on gendered norms.

### **Hypothesis 3:**

***Men should find qualities as “loyal, caring, enjoyable and lovable” preferred to adjectives as “driven, passionate, self-confident and assertive”.***

The data confirmed this hypothesis as 75% of the male population elected adjectives such as loyal, caring, enjoyable and lovable as the most important ones and 79% answered that adjectives like “driven, passionate, self-confident” were the least important ones to look for in a partner. The result indicates that there are gender biases amongst male young adults and, specifically implicit and correspondence biases. These data also imply basis for the construction of maladaptive social norms. Indeed, question number 9 was made to see normative expectations were shared upon these biases. The results clearly indicate that there is a consensus on this, as 86% of the participants answered that they thought majority elected adjectives such as “loyal, caring, enjoyable and lovable as the most preferred ones”. The main conclusion that was drawn to this stance was that male young adults are influenced by biases when looking for a partner in a romantic relationship and they are also influenced by the presence of normative expectations that induce compliance to such standards. The follow up questions implied that there were not strong expectations upon linking women to specific roles in the household. There was a draw however, when men were asked whether they would approve of a person who was career path oriented, as 38% strongly disagreed or disagreed, and other 38% agreed or strongly agreed, and 8% was unsure. Conditional preference about the role of women being relegated to household chores were disregarded as only 30% of the respondents said that they thought this was the most important quality in their partner. Overall, data show that there is the basis for the construction of a social norm that builds upon harmful feminine coded norms and benevolent sexism.



#### **Hypothesis 4:**

***Women should find qualities as “protective, self-confident, assertive, secure” more desirable in a partner over “loyal, caring, empathetic, sensitive”.***

The data disregarded the upon hypothesis, as 64% of the participants elected adjectives such as “loyal, caring, empathetic, sensitive” as the most important ones to look for in a partner and a 76% also denoted that characteristics as “protective, self-confident, assertive, secure” were less important when looking for in a partner. Normative expectations were also formed accordingly, as only 34% of the responders said that they thought the majority chose qualities as “protective, self-confident, assertive, secure” as the most important adjectives. Out of all the 4 answers, 50% of the population chose “loyal and caring” as the pair that they thought majority had elected. Women also did not feel strongly about their partner having a career focused mindset as only 51% said that they would approve of a partner who is manly devoted to their career and for 85% of the respondents found that their partner should contribute fairly to financial expenses. The main conclusion that can be drawn from this is that women are not influenced by toxic masculinity standards and because of the lack of consensual normative expectations, there is not a basis for the formation of a maladaptive norm that builds upon detrimental patriarchal standards on men, as instead hypothesized.

#### **Hypothesis 5:**

***Male young adults are likely to engage/know of peers of the same gender who are likely to engage in restricting behaviors in their romantic relationships.***

The hypothesis entailed a lot of elements which overall, confirmed the hypothesis. Question which concerned personal normative beliefs showed that 74% of the respondents believed that their partner could go wherever they pleased, that only 33% refrained their partner from going and 63% said that they would let their partner go even if they did not agree with such decision. An interesting result was however gathered when respondents were asked whether they thought that letting their partner go was a sign of disrespect. There was a draw, as 50% thought of it as not disrespectful, whereas the reminder thought it was. More specifically, 23% thought it was disrespectful towards themselves and 27% found it disrespectful towards their relationship. The latter notion relies on the “economy of giving and taking” as participants confirmed that there are personal normative beliefs amongst male participants for which their partners are not allowed to contradict them, as it would mean going against their own relationships. This shows how men think of women as submissive who are not entitled to disagree as this is regarded as disrespect. On the other hand, majority (58%) agreed that they thought their partner should always inform them of their location. Furthermore, there was an overall consensus regarding their reference’s group’s experience as 76% of the participants said that they knew of people who engaged in this behavior, validating normative expectations.

Confirming once again normative expectations, 74% said that they thought 50% or more of the respondents affirmed that they had refrained their partner from going somewhere. On the other hand, only 44% affirmed that they thought that such behaviour was common amongst their reference group, whereas 44% affirmed the opposite and 12% was unsure. Because of it, empirical expectations were not fully confirmed. However, when it came to conditional preferences and personal normative beliefs, 59% of the participants asserted that they would not speak to their friends even if they thought what they were doing was wrong, majority because they thought of it “as relationship compromises”. This represents further intel on the fact that men have biased normative expectations on women’s role in romantic relationships. Furthermore, confirming once again normative expectations, 61% said that they thought that less than 50% of the participants would say something even if they thought it was wrong. The lack of willingness to “condemn” or even to just speak up against such behaviours enhances the concept for which male participants do not seem to see the condition as an issue. Because of the presence of the afore mentioned beliefs and expectations, there seem to be pluralistic ignorance amongst the participants on what these types of mechanisms might lead to. On this ground, the hypothesis was hereby confirmed and leads the researcher to believe that there are reasons to the formation of maladaptive social norms.

***Hypothesis 6: Female young adults are likely to have experienced/know of peers of the same gender who have experienced restricting behaviors in their romantic relationships.***

As for hypothesis number 5, a number of factors were taken into consideration when deciding whether to reject or not the hypothesis. 93% of the participants strongly or simply disagree with the statement that some girls could not go whether they pleased. Only 19% further asserted that they were refrained from going to a gathering when asked by their partner. However, it was striking to see that 79% of the female participants thought that 50% percent or more of the respondents answered that they had been stopped from going somewhere, hereby, confirming normative expectations. 67% then affirmed that they knew of people in their reference group that were stopped from going somewhere because of their partner and 32% said that they considered such occasion as common, not entirely confirming empirical expectations. Important insights were gathered from the last two questions, as 93% of the participants said that they would speak up to their friend as they thought that such actions were wrong and limiting. Furthermore, 67% also thought that 50% or more of the female respondents would speak up against such behaviours for the above-mentioned reason. Because of it, conditional preferences and personal normative beliefs were heavily sustained. The answers given entail that women are aware of the issues that come with the experience of restricting and abusive behaviours. Due to these findings, it seems rather important to propose suggestions to counter act norms that enforce such behaviours.

**Hypothesis 7: *Male young adults are likely to engage/ know of peers of the same gender who are likely to engage in maladaptive behaviors against women that rely on women's objectification and regard her as a property.***

Factual beliefs were partially inconsistent with what the hypothesis said. Indeed 87% of the participants affirmed that anyone should be able to dress as they wish and 45% said that they told their partner not to dress in a specific way, of which only 36% asked their partner to change even if they were comfortable with what they were wearing. However, normative expectations were coherent with the hypothesis once again as 70% of the respondents said that they believed that 50% or more of the participants had asked their partner to change. Also, 62% said that they knew of friends that had asked their partner to change. Normative expectations were very important to this regard. Valuable insight was then found when participants were asked whether they had ever made comments regarding a girl's outfit. Indeed, 75% said that they had made comments on a girls' outfit and 93% of them knew of friends who made such comments as well. Conditional preference and normative expectations were once again coherent with the hypothesis as 53% thought that such comments were not significant as they are just "someone's opinion", 31% said that they would not say anything about it because such comments are either harmless or because it would not be up to them to speak against it; only 16% said that they would say something because they thought it was wrong. Because of it, we can attest that there are foundations to say that gender harassment might happen and consequentially, be disregarded amongst male young adults. The data overall confirms the hypothesis and demonstrates a lack of knowledge on gendered stereotypes and men's view of women as objects which sustains the presence of maladaptive social norms.

**Hypothesis 8: *Female young adults are likely to have experienced / know of peers of the same gender who are likely to have experienced maladaptive behaviors that rely on women's objectification and regard her as a property.***

Similarly, to hypothesis 6, female respondents were overall unanimous on the stance that anyone could dress as they wanted (94%) and only a 27% was told not to dress in a specific way by their partner, out of which 21% experienced episodes in which their partner asked them to change multiple times and 18% actually ended up changing their outfit. However, confirming normative expectations, 68% said that they believed that either 50% or more of the respondents changed when they were asked by their partner and 64% affirmed that they knew of friends with a similar experience. The data then confirms the hypothesis because of the presence of normative expectations despite negative factual beliefs which are key foundations of maladaptive social norms that build upon the objectification of women.

**Hypothesis 9: Female young adults are likely to be subject to internalized misogyny when it comes to comparison to other women.**

The upon hypothesis was confirmed by female respondents; indeed 54% of the participants made comments about another girl's outfit and a surprising 94% answered that their female-friends made these types of comments. The insights are key for understanding that internalized misogyny is overall very spread and that it is a byproduct of misogynistic norms that reward women who persist with these types of behaviours and that endorse women's comparison in a toxic way.

### **5.1.2 Key conclusions**

The social norms that have been distilled from the above-mentioned hypotheses are the following:

**Girls' main qualities in a relationship should be to be always caring and nurturing towards their partner.**

There are predefined schemata that endorse gender stereotypes and thus maladaptive social norms. These latter portray women as submissive and care giver figures which result to be highly detrimental to women's perception of themselves and that can lead to forms of violence (psychological or physical). Indeed, male young adults are likely to look for a romantic partner who conforms to standardized stereotypes of what a "good woman" should be. Overall, even young adults are likely to engage in benevolent sexism, that, as analyzed in the literature, is truly detrimental to women, as it makes them question their own identity<sup>16</sup>.

**Men are entitled to tell their partner whether they should go somewhere or not and have a say on what they wear.**

Because of notions such as that of male entitlement and the "economy of giving and taking" male young adults are likely to think that romantic relationships are a social dynamic in which they can exercise specific beliefs that concern predefined misogynistic schemata. Due to the existence of normative expectations and an overall pluralistic ignorance on the male's part behaviors that regard abusive behaviours as "exceptional" and of only a few, the researcher states that there is an embedded norm that relies upon the mentioned concepts. The overall result is that these norms translate themselves into specific actions. Indeed, in cis-hetero romantic relationships men are likely to engage in restricting and controlling behaviours that regard the way women dress and the way they conduct their lifestyles. Men feel like they are entitled to have a say to what women are ought to do and what they can and cannot, forming a rather serious and maladaptive

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<sup>16</sup> See *infra* at 1.2.

social norm. Such norms are confirmed by the experience of women and because of this, a symmetrical norm can be drawn on women's part.

**Women have to decide in accordance with their partner's requests where to go or what to wear.**

In cis-hetero romantic relationships women are likely to experience psychological abusive behaviours. Once again, because of the presence of consensual normative expectations, majority of the women know of someone who has had such experiences in their own relationships. The perception of such experiences has been overall been negative, with women denouncing these actions as wrong and limiting.

Indeed, as women have signaled, they feel like these abusive actions shall have some type of "sanction" as majority believes that they are wrong. For this reason, it's important to extend such knowledge to the male counterpart and provide a solution.

**Men are entitled to make comments on a girls' outfit if they want.**

**Women are entitled to make comments on a girl's outfit if it seems to be attention seeking and inappropriate.**

Female and male young adults are likely to act in accordance with misogynistic standards and condemn women who do not obey to them, specifically when it comes to how a woman should dress like.

This norm is probably the greatest example of how embedded patriarchal standards are. Indeed, the greatest percentage of norm's adherence have been with respect to these specific behaviours. However, the response on the male's and female's parts was somewhat different with respect to whether they thought such actions were right or wrong. Indeed, majority of the men thought that degrading women and judging them for the way they dressed was not wrong (with differences with regards to the extent), meanwhile majority of the women condemned these actions even if they were the firsts to do it. Such difference is given by the fact that women are firstly victims of gender harassment, so they know what's wrong behind it, but, despite this, they still choose to act in favor of it, whereas men do not acknowledge gender harassment as a "wrong" action.

Further, the norm builds up upon the notion that "good women" shall not seek for attention from anyone, but at the same time they are taught that a crucial validation in their life comes from the male's approval. Within this setting, women are also influenced by this when comparing to one another. Indeed, the societal framework we live in relies on the "condemnation" or the social ostracism of women who do not conform to predefined standards. Because of it, women are prone to judge them and "inflict" a moral sanction by commenting and looking down on them. Finally, most of the men did not find this as an issue itself as notion of male's entitlement and sexual solipsism make them feel like they should be judges of what's right or wrong when it comes to women. This mechanism is once again seriously harmful because this extent can be widened to even more serious matters or disregard such situations. A woman indeed becomes a product, something to look at and be criticized by fellow peers and "male judges".

## 5.2 What's Next: How Changing Social Norms is Key for Achieving Gender Equality

The research conducted represents a possible first step of a long and complex journey into assessing gender equality in hetero romantic relationships. A positive change within such dynamics is possible, but it requires time and careful consideration. As indeed noticed, social norm change is just a small part of what social change actually entails. The latter is indeed very contextual and rather a torturous process.

The following suggestions are then just possible key starting points from which greater actions can work towards a concrete change within toxic dynamics of hetero romantic relationships.

A possible intervention could be done mainly on two age gaps. The first one would be young adults and adolescents and the second one on kids, who could be taken as a control group.

The necessity for the next generation to have increased awareness of what gender inequality entails, is indeed very significant, as it might represent a key action in order to avoid getting young boys' and girls' expectations trapped in gendered norms. Moreover, because younger generations, as also held by Bicchieri, are the ones who are most likely to shift their normative moral beliefs, a good target would be children and teenagers between 6 and 16 years old to get a long-term effect.

Young adults are instead in a phase where their expectations are being solidified, so it's quite important to operate on a short-term basis on this population.

To shift factual beliefs of what a woman should be, what could be done is showing kids from an early age that a woman shall not be labeled and identified as the stereotypical standards that the society portrays her as. This could be done by showing kids a figure of a father being the housekeeper or of a mother going to work, rather than the stereotypical vignettes in books which display the other way around. By choosing this strategy, kids should be able to develop personal normative beliefs for which they shall not be biased when assessing what's feminine or masculine coded. This would also allow for normative expectations to be built accordingly: so, even if their own mother's task is to do household chores, they won't be immediately associate it with what "females are ought to be". When kids instead start being in their early teen years, institutions such as school could start implementing in their classes informational insights about what boundaries are in a relationship via counselling meetings or by endorsing the reading of books that account for gender equality.

Young adults have to be analyzed in a different setting as their personal normative belief have started to enroot themselves. As the data suggests, a key issue within young adults (mostly young men) is the fact that there is low sensitivity with respect to gendered norms. Sensitivity is indeed "inversely related to the relative influence of one's social expectations in motivating compliance. The greater the proportion of a reference network [...] the stronger one expects such beliefs to be, and the more weight will be assigned to those

beliefs when making a decision.” (Bicchieri, 2016). Young men are heavily influenced by their reference network, as majority has always voted in the survey that, even if their friend were to make a comment on a girl, they would not speak against it. Furthermore, the data suggest high level of pluralistic ignorance on the male’s part. Also, impact of the self-servicing bias is a factor to consider. Indeed, as game theory suggests, a player will have its own best interest at heart, so they will play selfishly and accordingly to it because of the bias. The outcome would be that in a social setting, the player will be justifying themselves. Overall, the best way to tackle the issue would be to inform (to counteract pluralistic ignorance) and to sanction (because for low sensitivity people only punishments will induce compliance). A crucial aspect to reckon is that awareness campaigns won’t be effective to endorse norms change in the long run. Indeed, they leverage on descriptive norms, rather than social ones. The outcome is that often these campaigns pivot on the fact that a maladaptive behaviour is typical and hence, very spread, making people think that if so, many people do it, then they are also entitled to do so. Furthermore, these campaigns do not propose an alternative positive behaviour. Because of the crucial role of online platforms and the rising influence of the feminist movement, some actions could be taken from there. Indeed, many advocates of gender equality are enlarging their user base on social media. The algorithm of social media such as Instagram or X could be restructured as to make these types of users more visible, to reach a greater audience and inform users. Secondly, in order to have men to shift their expectations on women, the judicial system, in accordance with policies reforms, shall work to punish verbal and psychological abuse within relationships more firmly.

Also, the fact that both men and women feel entitled to comment on another’s women outfit comes from the fact that frequent behaviour to a maladaptive norm entails that there is acceptance of such behaviour.

Majority of women, however, knew it was wrong to make such comments, despite the fact that they did it. As Bicchieri indeed confirms, many have negative personal normative beliefs that, however, they will think that their reference group will approve of, hence their thoughts and actions would be in conflict.

This divergence is important, as making private beliefs public knowledge would help change the behavior. Great actions could also be taken, once again, from online media, in order to form new expectations on what should be regarded as positive actions.

Finally, a key element in all the above-mentioned issues would be the role of institutions such as universities, which should convey more consistently an inclusive and dignifying narrative when addressing topics of gender equality.

### **5.3 Limitations of the study and Improvement for Future Research**

The limitations of the study and improvement points are several.

First of all, the presence of “what if questions” creates issues of social desirability biases. The latter is the tendency of respondents to give a specific answer to questions in a socially desirable way, which might compromise the accuracy of the surveys. Another bias is the self-report bias, that is correlated to the fact that

respondents might lack knowledge and answer incorrectly because of assumptions. Furthermore, the range of questions could be broadened and tackle even more empirical expectations, personal normative beliefs, and conditional preferences. Also, the questionnaires should be accompanied by vignettes, which as mentioned by Professor Bicchieri, are incredibly reliable when it comes to detecting social norms. Something that should also be considered is that the questionnaires were directed only to cis-hetero individuals. More in-depth studies shall also consider trans-hetero romantic relationships. Alongside with it, women of minority ethnic group were not addressed, so this is something which shall also be discussed. Future studies shall also take into account more gender inclusive questions. Furthermore, the sample size could be expanded and enable the experiment to be widened. Something which could also be implemented would be data gathering from other countries and compare the results, in order to assess different types of social norms. Future studies could also add more variables, taking as a reference the socio-ecological model or the return model. Finally, longitudinal studies could detect the impact of norms' change on young adults, using as the control group the kids whose expectations the intervention sought to form in accordance to have a more aware and equality-oriented generation.

## **5.4 Conclusions**

The study sought to deconstruct misogyny and look at it from different perspectives that analyzed the main related issues in Chapter one. Gendered norms and social norms were further assessed in order to understand how misogyny is rather a cultural phenomenon of our modern-day society, as discussed in Chapter two. Chapter three then looked to illustrate how all of the above-mentioned facts interacted in romantic relationships, with specific links to gender violence, the most extreme episode of how dangerous patriarchal standards are. Chapter four then provided an empirical analysis of how such social norms work on hetero-romantic relationships of young adults. Chapter five then offered a comprehensive view of the main findings from the study and its limitations, as well as some insights for possible future interventions. In conclusion, the researcher contends that misogyny is the byproduct of a society where agency and advocacy are lacking: the need to do speak and act against inequalities has indeed become imperative and a shift in social norms could be a crucial first step.



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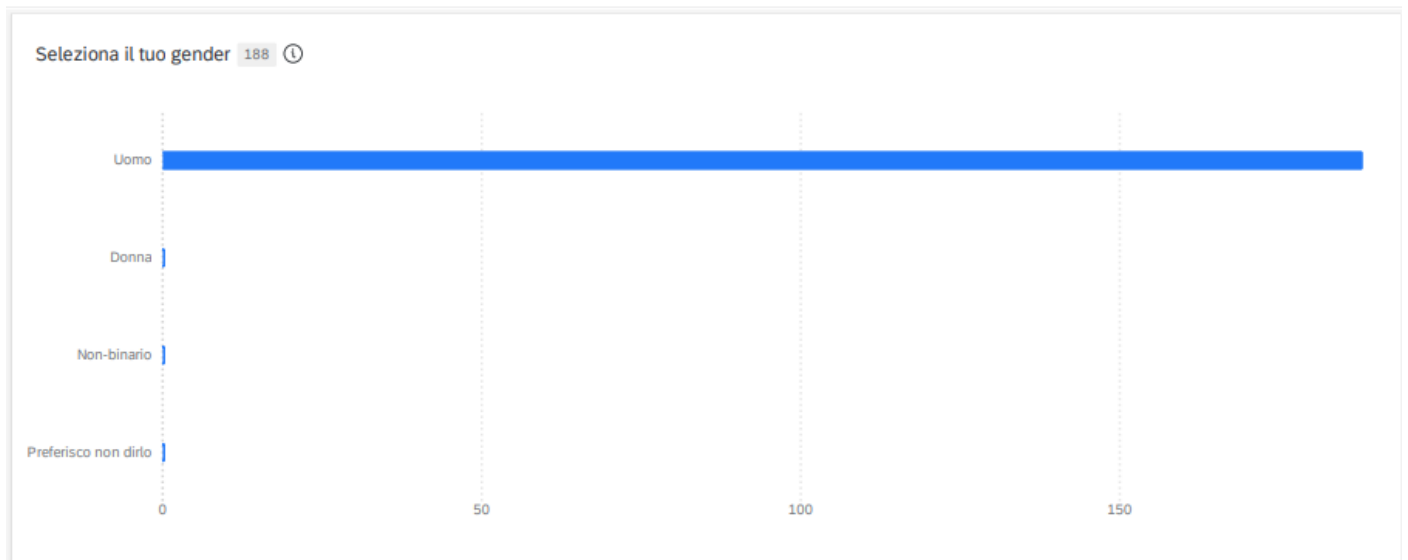
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# Appendix

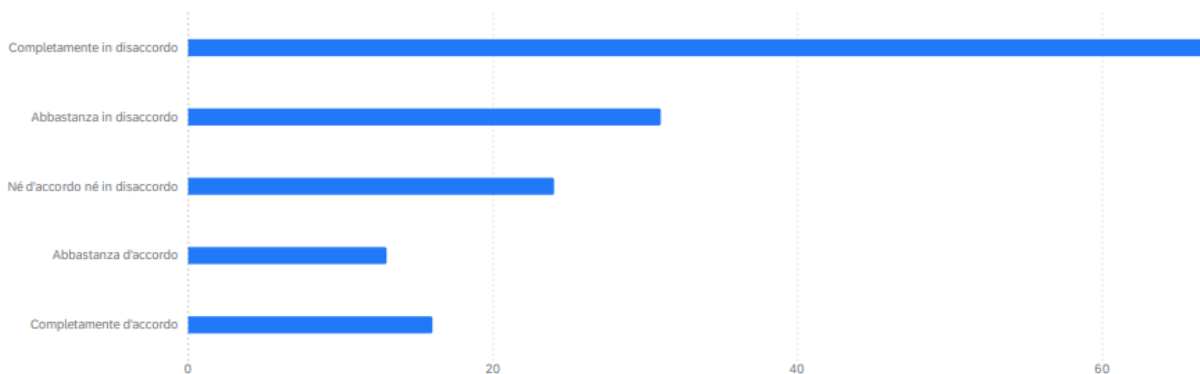
## Male's questionnaire



Seleziona il tuo gender 188 ⓘ

Q32 - Seleziona il tuo gender	Percentuale	Numero
Uomo	100%	188
Donna	0%	0
Non-binario	0%	0
Preferisco non dirlo	0%	0
Somma	100%	188

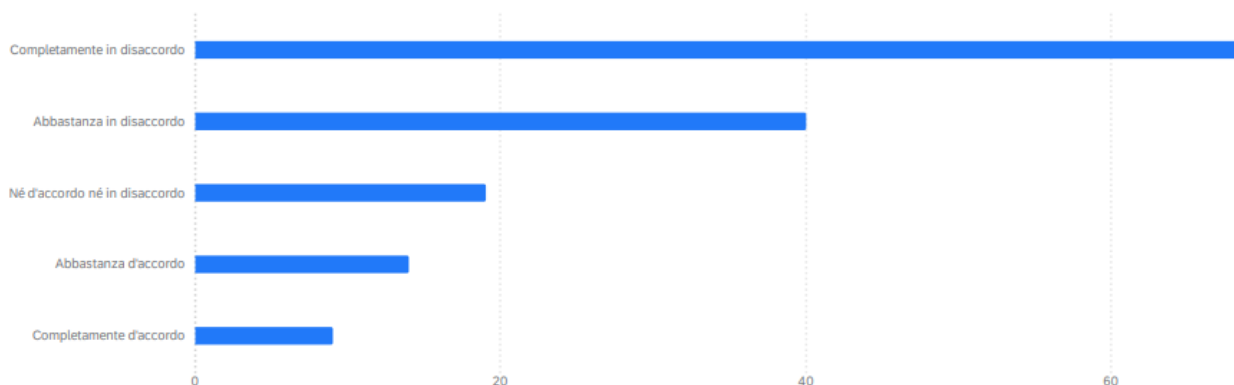
Essere un uomo NON è una qualità importante di me stesso 151 ⓘ



Essere un uomo NON è una qualità importante di me stesso 151 ⓘ

Q2 - Essere un uomo NON è una qualità importante di me stesso	Percentuale	Numero
Completamente in disaccordo	44%	67
Abbastanza in disaccordo	21%	31
Né d'accordo né in disaccordo	16%	24
Abbastanza d'accordo	9%	13
Completamente d'accordo	11%	16
Somma	100%	151

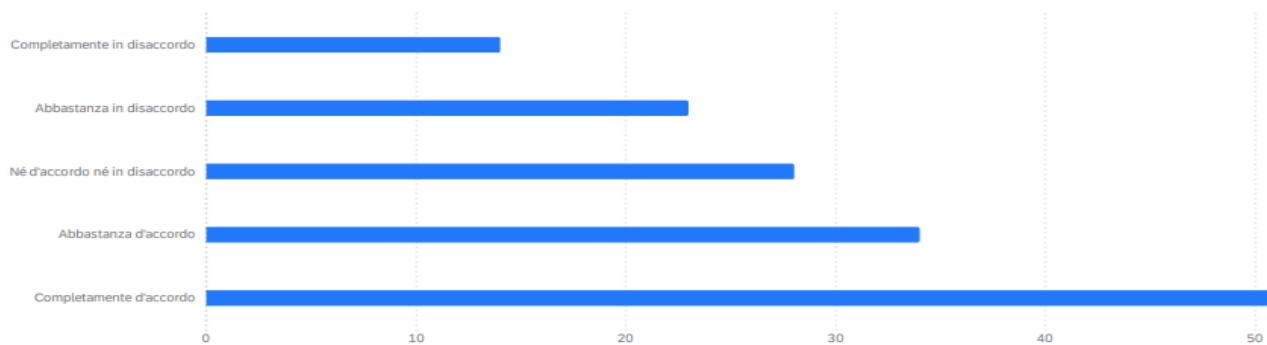
Essere un uomo ha ben poco a che fare con come mi sento riguardo a me stesso 151 ⓘ



Essere un uomo ha ben poco a che fare con come mi sento riguardo a me stesso 151 ⓘ

Q3 - Essere un uomo ha ben poco a che fare con come mi sento riguardo a me stesso	Percentuale	Numero
Completamente in disaccordo	46%	69
Abbastanza in disaccordo	26%	40
Né d'accordo né in disaccordo	13%	19
Abbastanza d'accordo	9%	14
Completamente d'accordo	6%	9
Somma	100%	151

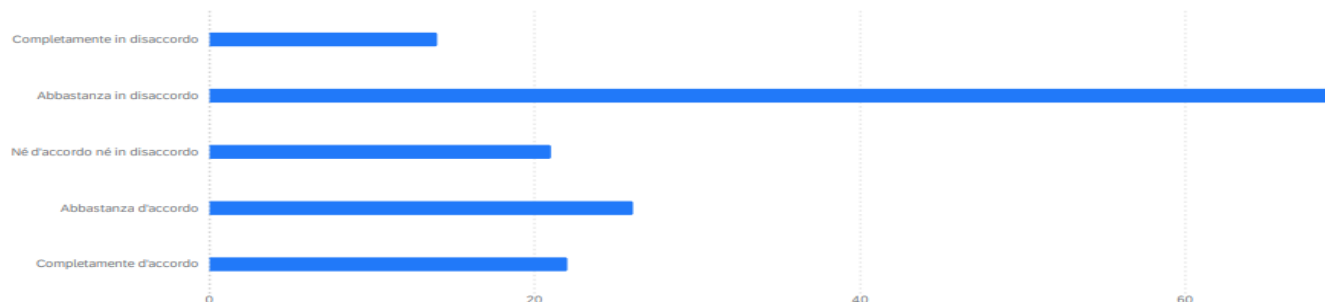
Essere in una relazione NON è una qualità importante di me stesso 152 ⓘ



Essere in una relazione NON è una qualità importante di me stesso 152 ⓘ

Q5 - Essere in una relazione NON è una qualità importante di me stesso	Percentuale	Numero
Completamente in disaccordo	9%	14
Abbastanza in disaccordo	15%	23
Né d'accordo né in disaccordo	18%	28
Abbastanza d'accordo	22%	34
Completamente d'accordo	35%	53
Somma	100%	152

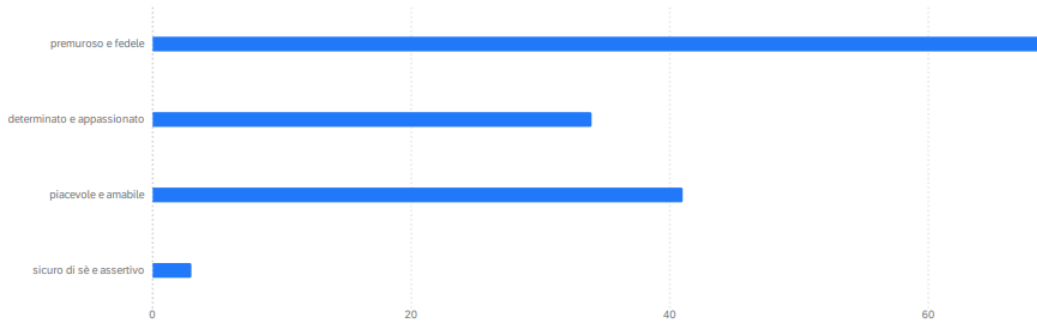
Essere in una relazione ha ben poco a che fare con come mi sento riguardo a me stesso 152 ⓘ



Essere in una relazione ha ben poco a che fare con come mi sento riguardo a me stesso 152 ⓘ

Q6 - Essere in una relazione ha ben poco a che fare con come mi sento riguardo a me stesso	Percentuale	Numero
Completamente in disaccordo	9%	14
Abbastanza in disaccordo	45%	69
Né d'accordo né in disaccordo	14%	21
Abbastanza d'accordo	17%	26
Completamente d'accordo	14%	22
Somma	100%	152

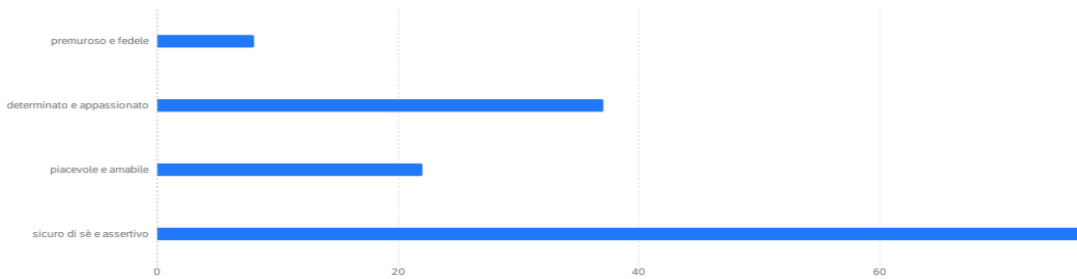
Quale coppia di aggettivi descrive di più le caratteristiche del tuo partner ideale? 147 ⓘ



Quale coppia di aggettivi descrive di più le caratteristiche del tuo partner ideale? 147 ⓘ

Q7 - Quale coppia di aggettivi descrive di più le caratteristiche del tuo partner ideale?	Percentuale	Numero
prezioso e fedele	47%	69
determinato e appassionato	23%	34
piacevole e amabile	28%	41
sicuro di sé e assertivo	2%	3
Somma	100%	147

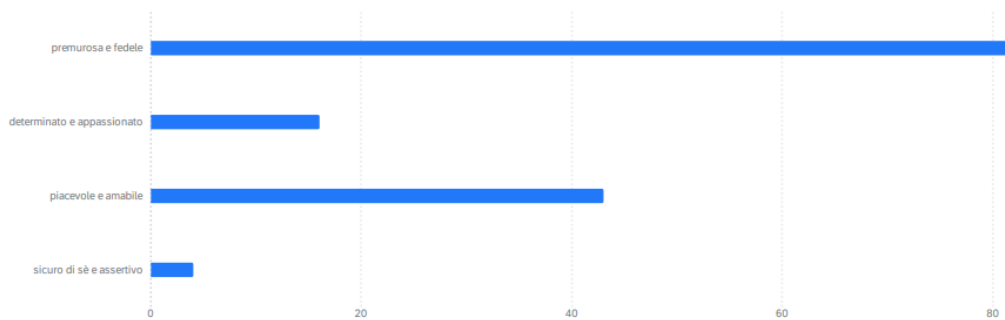
Quale coppia di aggettivi descrive di meno le caratteristiche del tuo partner ideale? 144 ⓘ



Quale coppia di aggettivi descrive di meno le caratteristiche del tuo partner ideale? 144 ⓘ

Q8 - Quale coppia di aggettivi descrive di meno le caratteristiche del tuo partner ideale?	Percentuale	Numero
prezioso e fedele	6%	8
determinato e appassionato	26%	37
piacevole e amabile	15%	22
sicuro di sé e assertivo	53%	77
Somma	100%	144

Cosa pensi che la maggioranza dei partecipanti abbia scelto come aggettivi più importanti? 146 ⓘ

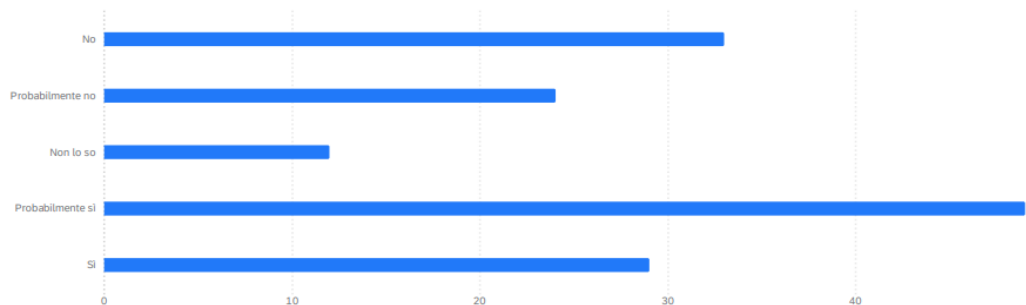


Cosa pensi che la maggioranza dei partecipanti abbia scelto come aggettivi più importanti? 146 ⓘ

Q9 - Cosa pensi che la maggioranza dei partecipanti abbia scelto come aggettivi più importanti?

	Percentuale	Numero
premurosa e fedele	57%	83
determinato e appassionato	11%	16
piacevole e amabile	29%	43
sicuro di sè e assertivo	3%	4
Somma	100%	146

Approveresti un partner che è principalmente concentrato sulla sua carriera professionale? 147 ⓘ

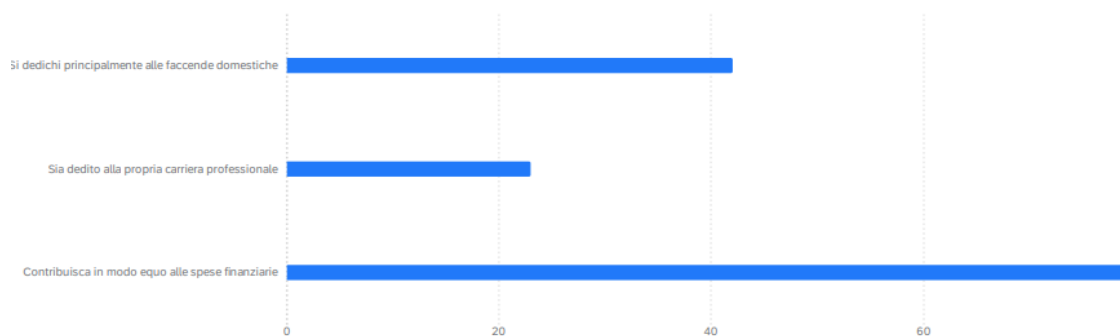


Approveresti un partner che è principalmente concentrato sulla sua carriera professionale? 147 ⓘ

Q10 - Approveresti un partner che è principalmente concentrato sulla sua carriera professionale?

	Percentuale	Numero
No	22%	33
Probabilmente no	16%	24
Non lo so	8%	12
Probabilmente sì	33%	49
Sì	20%	29
Somma	100%	147

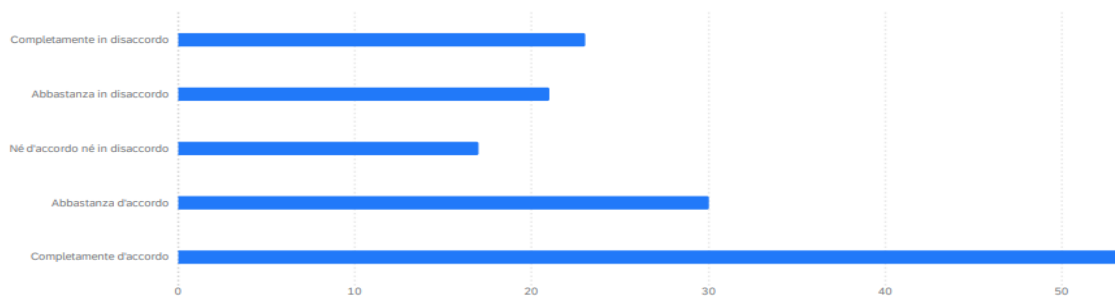
Pensi che in una relazione a lungo termine sia più importante che il tuo partner ( se doveste ipoteticamente vivere insieme): 144 ⓘ



Pensi che in una relazione a lungo termine sia più importante che il tuo partner ( se doveste ipoteticamente vivere insieme): 144 ⓘ

Q11 - Pensi che in una relazione a lungo termine sia più importante che il tuo partner ( se doveste ipoteticamente vivere insieme):	Percentuale	Numero
Si dedichi principalmente alle faccende domestiche	29%	42
Sia dedito alla propria carriera professionale	16%	23
Contribuisca in modo equo alle spese finanziarie	55%	79
Somma	100%	144

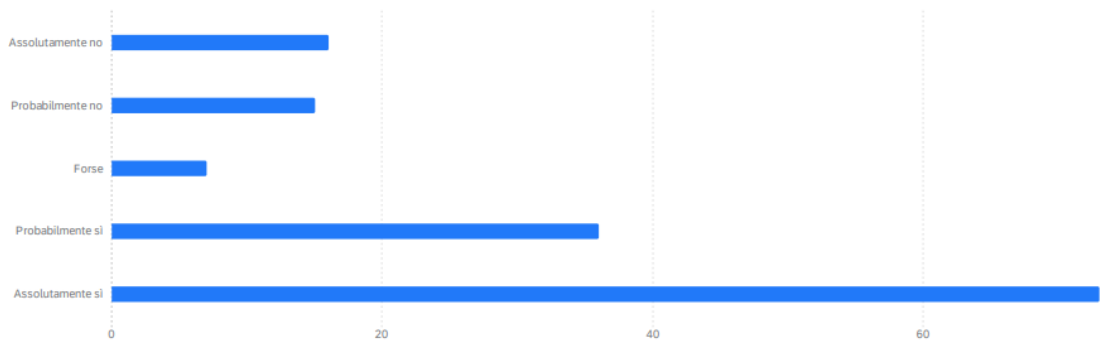
Pensi che il tuo partner dovrebbe sempre tenerti informato sulla sua posizione? 145 ⓘ



Pensi che il tuo partner dovrebbe sempre tenerti informato sulla sua posizione? 145 ⓘ

Q12 - Pensi che il tuo partner dovrebbe sempre tenerti informato sulla sua posizione?	Percentuale	Numero
Completamente in disaccordo	16%	23
Abbastanza in disaccordo	14%	21
Né d'accordo né in disaccordo	12%	17
Abbastanza d'accordo	21%	30
Completamente d'accordo	37%	54
Somma	100%	145

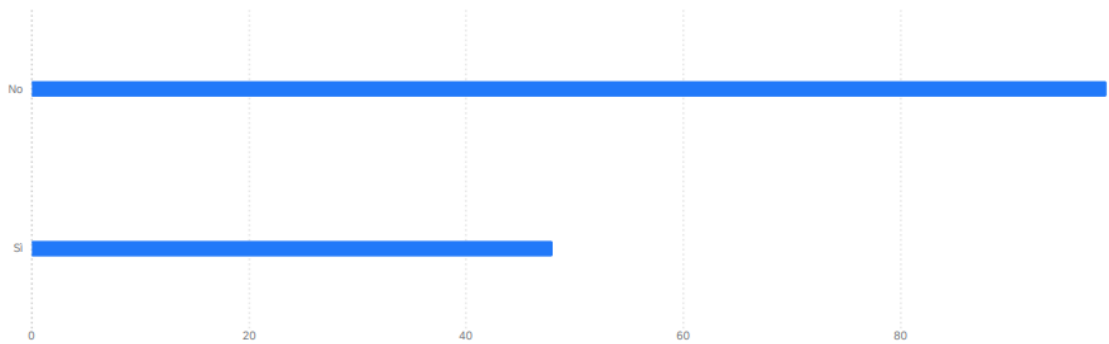
Approveresti che il tuo partner partecipi a un ritrovo senza di te (discoteca, festa, pub ect..)? 147 ⓘ



Approveresti che il tuo partner partecipi a un ritrovo senza di te (discoteca, festa, pub ect..)? 147 ⓘ

Q15 - Approveresti che il tuo partner partecipi a un ritrovo senza di te (discoteca, festa, pub ect..)?	Percentuale	Numero
Assolutamente no	11%	16
Probabilmente no	10%	15
Forse	5%	7
Probabilmente si	24%	36
Assolutamente si	50%	73
Somma	100%	147

Hai mai impedito a tuo partner di andare in luoghi come discoteche, feste etc.. ? 147 ⓘ

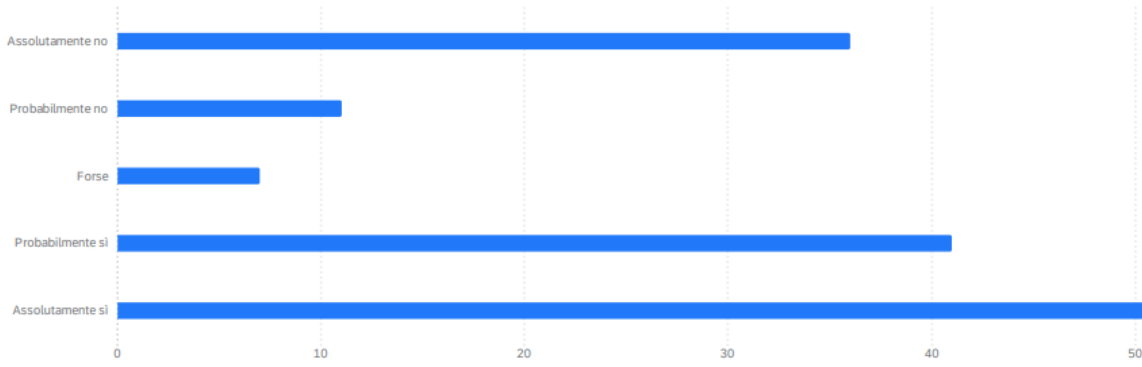


Hai mai impedito a tuo partner di andare in luoghi come discoteche, feste etc.. ? 147 ⓘ

Q16 - Hai mai impedito a tuo partner di andare in luoghi come discoteche, feste etc.. ?	Percentuale	Numero
No	67%	99
Si	33%	48
Somma	100%	147



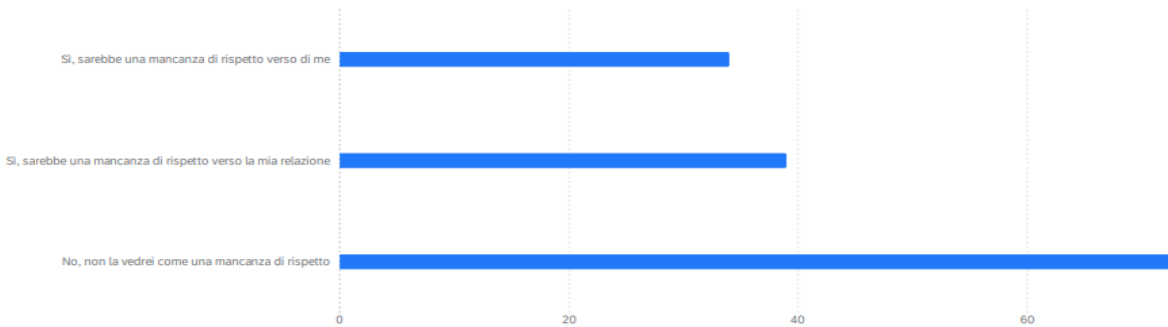
Lasceresti andare il tuo partner se te lo chiedesse, ma tu non fossi d'accordo? 147 ⓘ



Lasceresti andare il tuo partner se te lo chiedesse, ma tu non fossi d'accordo? 147 ⓘ

Q17 - Lasceresti andare il tuo partner se te lo chiedesse, ma tu non fossi d'accordo?	Percentuale	Numero
Assolutamente no	24%	36
Probabilmente no	7%	11
Forse	5%	7
Probabilmente si	28%	41
Assolutamente si	35%	52
Somma	100%	147

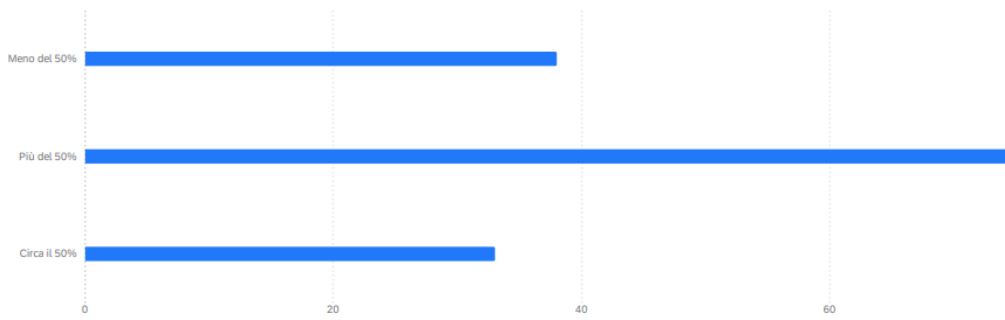
Qualora tu non fossi d'accordo, penseresti che sarebbe una mancanza di rispetto che il tuo partner vada in luoghi come discoteche, feste, etc? 146 ⓘ



Qualora tu non fossi d'accordo, penseresti che sarebbe una mancanza di rispetto che il tuo partner vada in luoghi come discoteche, feste, etc? 146 ⓘ

Q18 - Qualora tu non fossi d'accordo, penseresti che sarebbe una mancanza di rispetto che il tuo partner vada in luoghi come discoteche, feste, etc?	Percentuale	Numero
Sì, sarebbe una mancanza di rispetto verso di me	23%	34
Sì, sarebbe una mancanza di rispetto verso la mia relazione	27%	39
No, non la vedrei come una mancanza di rispetto	50%	73
Somma	100%	146

Quanti partecipanti pensi abbiano detto che limitare il proprio partner dal frequentare un luogo sia appropriato in determinate circostanze? 146 ⓘ

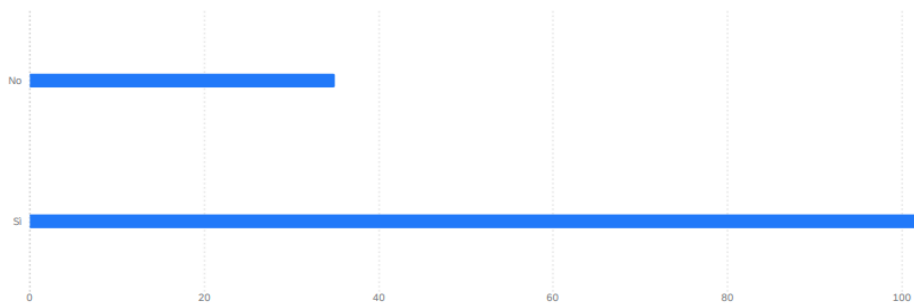


Quanti partecipanti pensi abbiano detto che limitare il proprio partner dal frequentare un luogo sia appropriato in determinate circostanze? 146 ⓘ

Q19 - Quanti partecipanti pensi abbiano detto che limitare il proprio partner dal frequentare un luogo sia appropriato in determinate circostanze?

	Percentuale	Numero
Meno del 50%	26%	38
Più del 50%	51%	75
Circa il 50%	23%	33
Somma	100%	146

Che tu sappia, hai amici che hanno limitato il proprio partner dal frequentare raduni (club, pub, bar, feste...)? 147 ⓘ

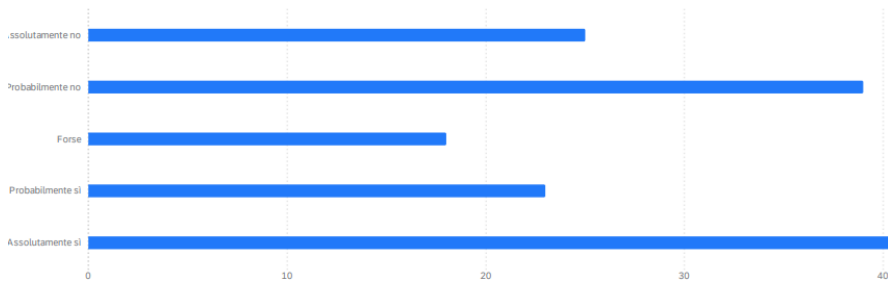


Che tu sappia, hai amici che hanno limitato il proprio partner dal frequentare raduni (club, pub, bar, feste...)? 147 ⓘ

Q20 - Che tu sappia, hai amici che hanno limitato il proprio partner dal frequentare raduni (club, pub, bar, feste...)?

	Percentuale	Numero
No	24%	35
Sì	76%	112
Somma	100%	147

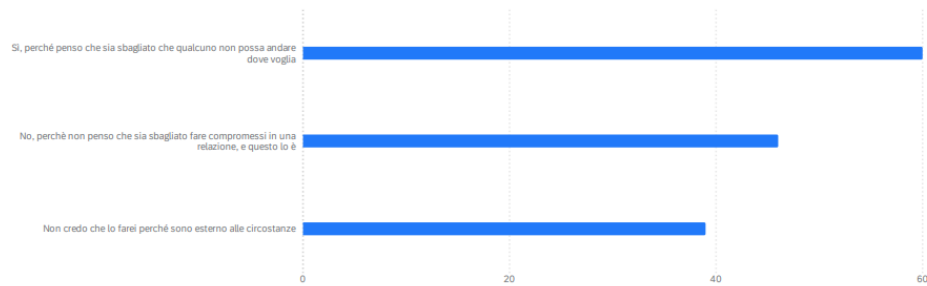
Diresti che sia comune nel tuo gruppo di amici, ad esempio, che siano successe/ succedano situazioni di questo tipo? 146 ⓘ



Diresti che sia comune nel tuo gruppo di amici, ad esempio, che siano successe/ succedano situazioni di questo tipo? 146 ⓘ

Q21 - Diresti che sia comune nel tuo gruppo di amici, ad esempio, che siano successe/ succedano situazioni di questo tipo?	Percentuale	Numero
Assolutamente no	17%	25
Probabilmente no	27%	39
Forse	12%	18
Probabilmente si	16%	23
Assolutamente si	28%	41
Somma	100%	146

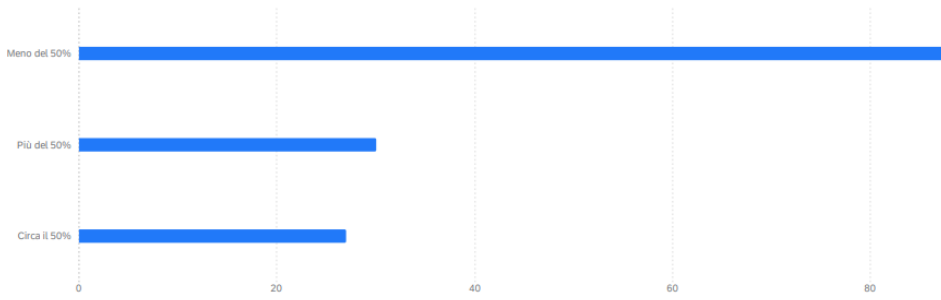
Ipoteticamente, diresti qualcosa a un tuo amico che non ha permesso al proprio partner di partecipare a un'uscita? 145 ⓘ



Ipoteticamente, diresti qualcosa a un tuo amico che non ha permesso al proprio partner di partecipare a un'uscita? 145 ⓘ

Q22 - Ipoteticamente, diresti qualcosa a un tuo amico che non ha permesso al proprio partner di partecipare a un'uscita?	Percentuale	Numero
Sì, perché penso che sia sbagliato che qualcuno non possa andare dove voglia	41%	60
No, perché non penso che sia sbagliato fare compromessi in una relazione, e questo lo è	32%	46
Non credo che lo farei perché sono esterno alle circostanze	27%	39
Somma	100%	145

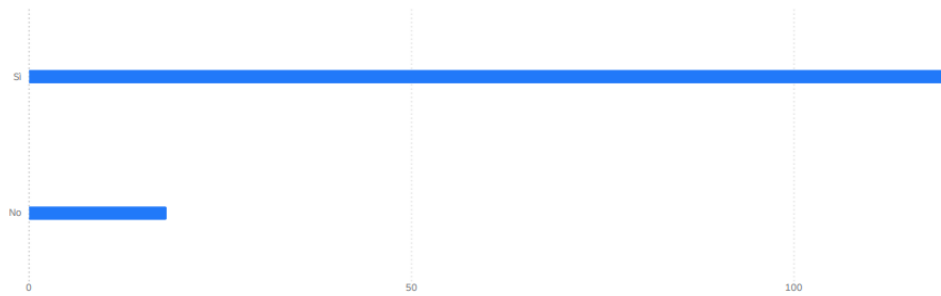
Quanti partecipanti pensi sarebbero disposti a dire qualcosa al riguardo nella stessa situazione? 145 ⓘ



Quanti partecipanti pensi sarebbero disposti a dire qualcosa al riguardo nella stessa situazione? 145 ⓘ

Q23 - Quanti partecipanti pensi sarebbero disposti a dire qualcosa al riguardo nella stessa situazione?	Percentuale	Numero
Meno del 50%	61%	88
Più del 50%	21%	30
Circa il 50%	19%	27
Somma	100%	145

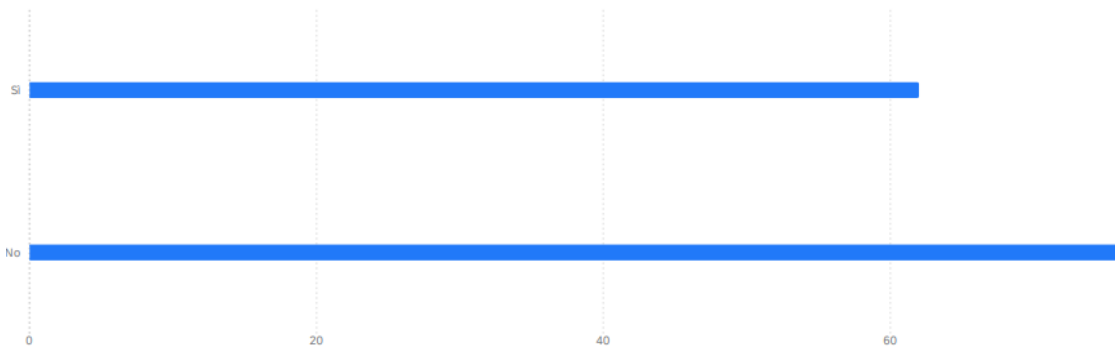
Pensi che sia giusto che chiunque dovrebbe poter vestirsi come desidera? 138 ⓘ



Pensi che sia giusto che chiunque dovrebbe poter vestirsi come desidera? 138 ⓘ

Q24 - Pensi che sia giusto che chiunque dovrebbe poter vestirsi come desidera?	Percentuale	Numero
Sì	87%	120
No	13%	18
Somma	100%	138

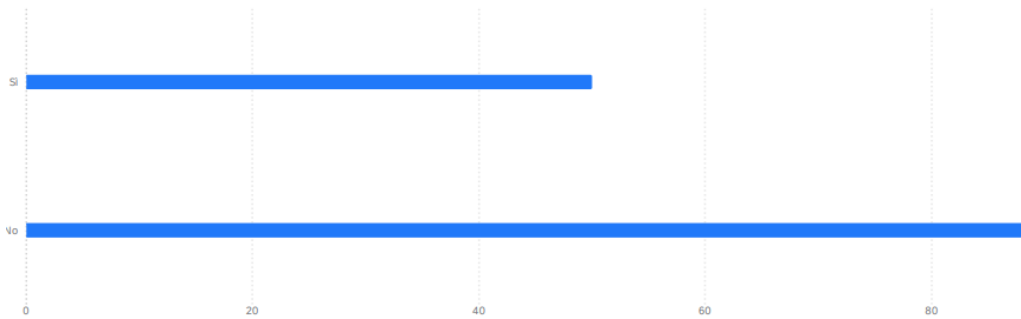
Hai mai detto al tuo partner di non vestirsi in un certo modo? 138 ⓘ



Hai mai detto al tuo partner di non vestirsi in un certo modo? 138 ⓘ

Q25 - Hai mai detto al tuo partner di non vestirsi in un certo modo?	Percentuale	Numero
Si	45%	62
No	55%	76
Somma	100%	138

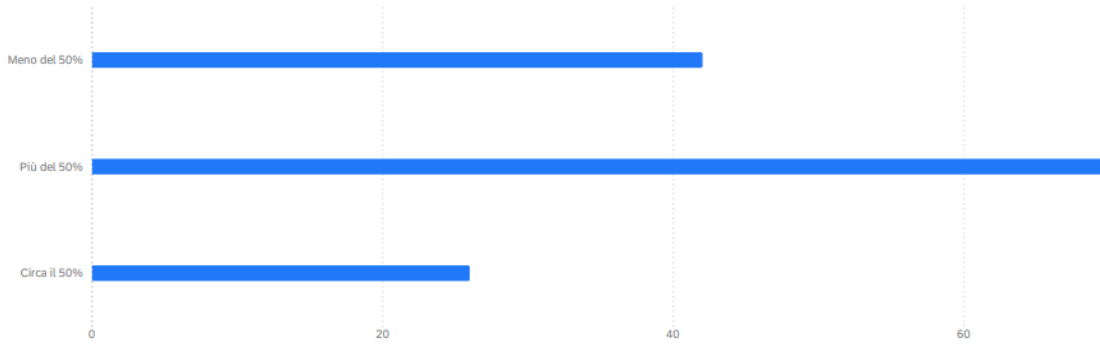
Hai mai chiesto più di una volta al tuo partner di cambiarsi nonostante ti avesse detto che fosse a suo agio con cosa indossava? 138 ⓘ



Hai mai chiesto più di una volta al tuo partner di cambiarsi nonostante ti avesse detto che fosse a suo agio con cosa indossava? 138 ⓘ

Q26 - Hai mai chiesto più di una volta al tuo partner di cambiarsi nonostante ti avesse detto che fosse a suo agio con cosa indossava?	Percentuale	Numero
Si	36%	50
No	64%	88
Somma	100%	138

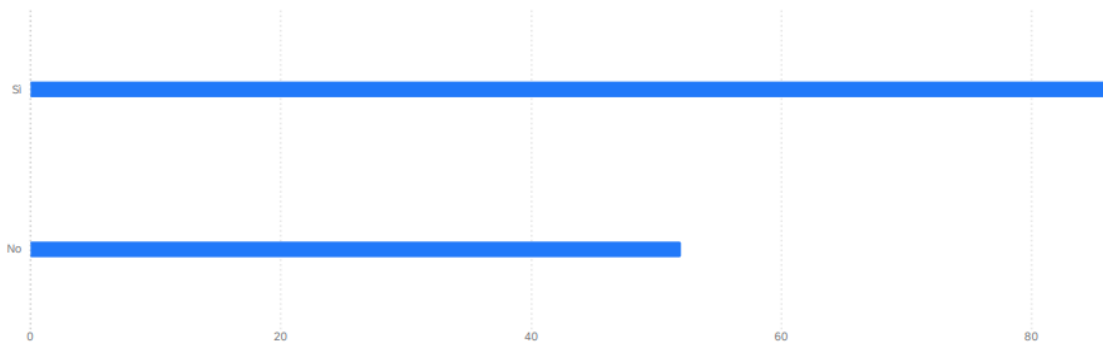
Quanti partecipanti pensi che abbiano detto che il proprio partner dovrebbe cambiarsi se richiesto? 138 ⓘ



Quanti partecipanti pensi che abbiano detto che il proprio partner dovrebbe cambiarsi se richiesto? 138 ⓘ

Q27 - Quanti partecipanti pensi che abbiano detto che il proprio partner dovrebbe cambiarsi se richiesto?	Percentuale	Numero
Meno del 50%	30%	42
Più del 50%	51%	70
Circa il 50%	19%	26
Somma	100%	138

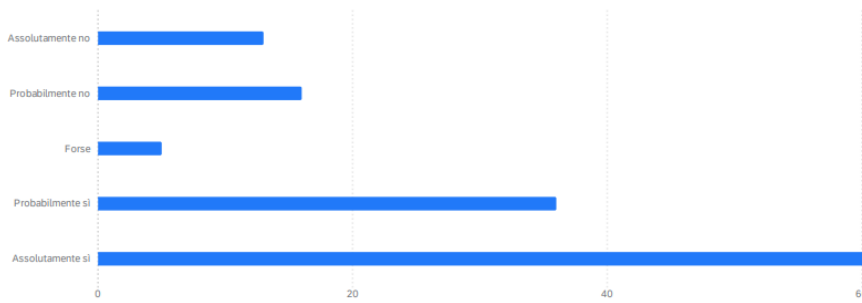
Hai amici che hanno detto di essere stati infastiditi dal modo in cui il loro partner si vestiva? 138 ⓘ



Hai amici che hanno detto di essere stati infastiditi dal modo in cui il loro partner si vestiva? 138 ⓘ

Q28 - Hai amici che hanno detto di essere stati infastiditi dal modo in cui il loro partner si vestiva?	Percentuale	Numero
Sì	62%	86
No	38%	52
Somma	100%	138

Hai mai fatto commenti su un outfit di una ragazza (come ad esempio che l'abbigliamento fosse troppo provocante, eccentrico etc)? 138 ⓘ

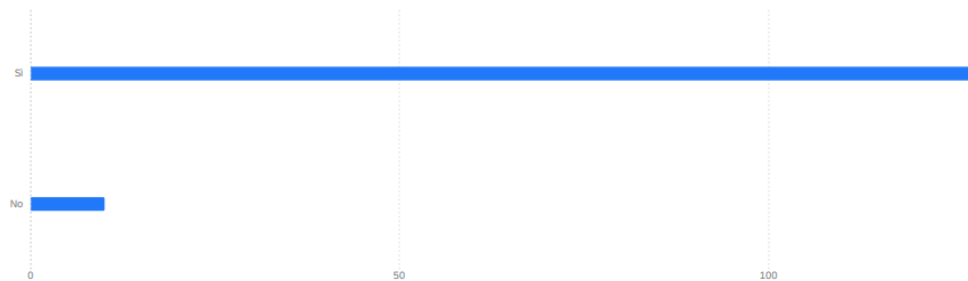


Hai mai fatto commenti su un outfit di una ragazza (come ad esempio che l'abbigliamento fosse troppo provocante, eccentrico etc)? 138 ⓘ

Q29 - Hai mai fatto commenti su un outfit di una ragazza (come ad esempio che l'abbigliamento fosse troppo provocante, eccentrico etc)?	Percentuale	Numero
Assolutamente no	9%	13
Probabilmente no	12%	16
Forse	4%	5
Probabilmente si	26%	36
Assolutamente si	49%	68
Somma	100%	138

Uno dei tuoi amici ha mai fatto commenti sull'abbigliamento di una ragazza (come ad esempio che l'abbigliamento fosse troppo provocante, eccentrico etc?)

138 ⓘ

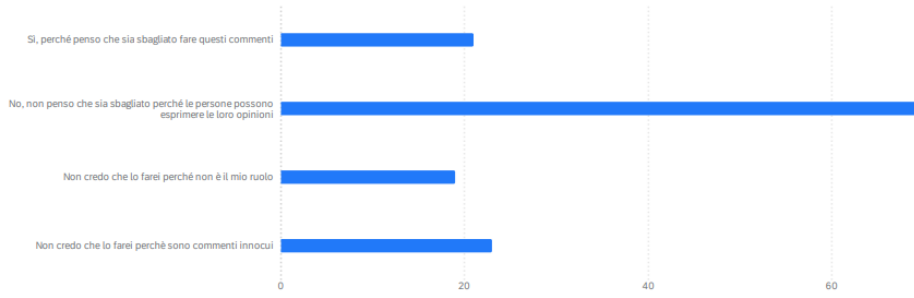


Uno dei tuoi amici ha mai fatto commenti sull'abbigliamento di una ragazza (come ad esempio che l'abbigliamento fosse troppo provocante, eccentrico etc?)

138 ⓘ

Q30 - Uno dei tuoi amici ha mai fatto commenti sull'abbigliamento di una ragazza (come ad esempio che l'abbigliamento fosse troppo provocante, eccentrico etc?)	Percentuale	Numero
Si	93%	128
No	7%	10
Somma	100%	138

Hai mai detto qualcosa contro tali commenti? 133 ⓘ



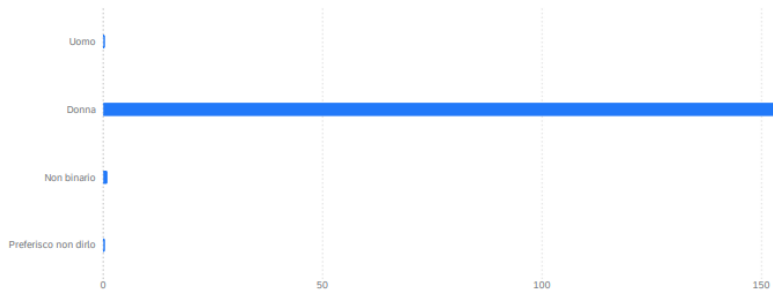
Hai mai detto qualcosa contro tali commenti? 133 ⓘ

Q31 - Hai mai detto qualcosa contro tali commenti?	Percentuale	Numero
Sì, perché penso che sia sbagliato fare questi commenti	16%	21
No, non penso che sia sbagliato perché le persone possono esprimere le loro opinioni	53%	70
Non credo che lo farei perché non è il mio ruolo	14%	19
Non credo che lo farei perché sono commenti innocui	17%	23
Somma	100%	133



# Female's questionnaire

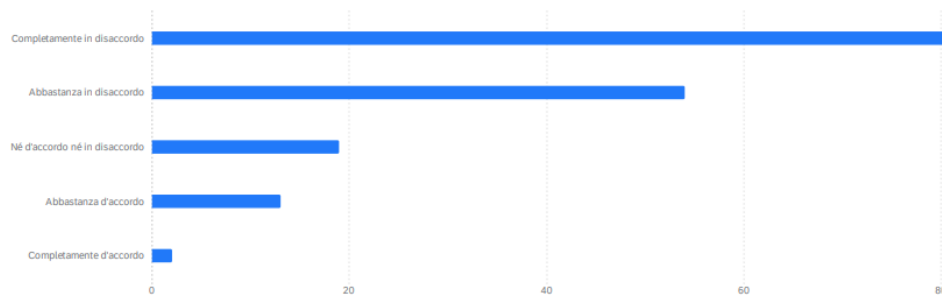
Seleziona il tuo gender 192 ⓘ



Seleziona il tuo gender 192 ⓘ

Q21 - Seleziona il tuo gender	Percentuale	Numero
Uomo	0%	0
Donna	99%	191
Non binario	1%	1
Preferisco non dirlo	0%	0
Somma	100%	192

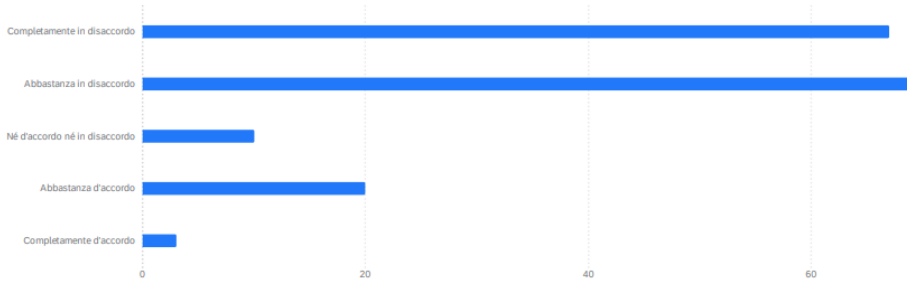
Essere donna NON è una qualità importante di me stessa 169 ⓘ



Essere donna NON è una qualità importante di me stessa 169 ⓘ

Q2 - Essere donna NON è una qualità importante di me stessa	Percentuale	Numero
Completamente in disaccordo	48%	81
Abbastanza in disaccordo	32%	54
Né d'accordo né in disaccordo	11%	19
Abbastanza d'accordo	8%	13
Completamente d'accordo	1%	2
Somma	100%	169

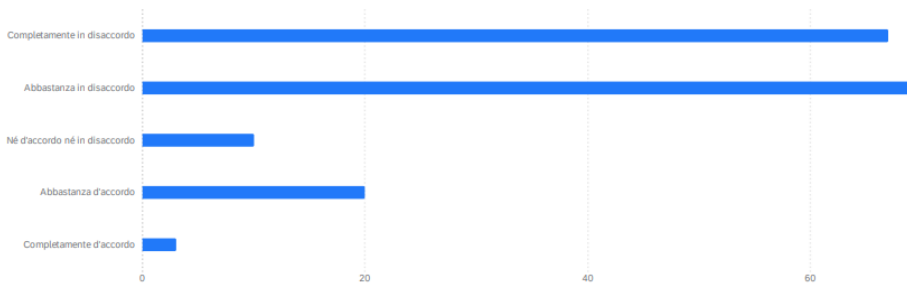
Essere una donna ha ben poco a che fare con come mi sento riguardo a me stessa 169 ⓘ



Essere una donna ha ben poco a che fare con come mi sento riguardo a me stessa 169 ⓘ

Q3 - Essere una donna ha ben poco a che fare con come mi sento riguardo a me stessa	Percentuale	Numero
Completamente in disaccordo	40%	67
Abbastanza in disaccordo	41%	69
Né d'accordo né in disaccordo	6%	10
Abbastanza d'accordo	12%	20
Completamente d'accordo	2%	3
Somma	100%	169

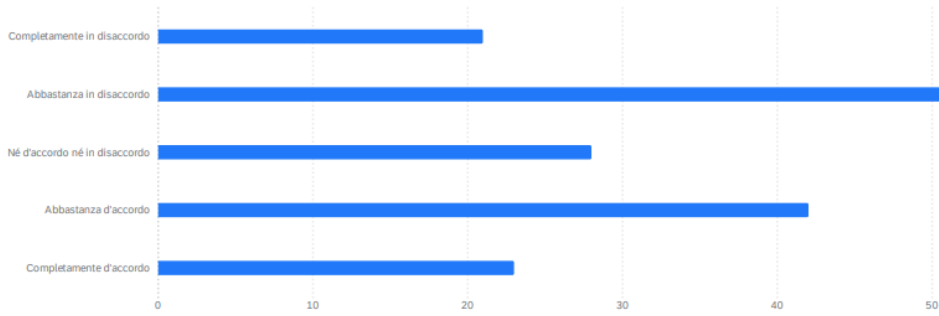
Essere una donna ha ben poco a che fare con come mi sento riguardo a me stessa 169 ⓘ



Essere una donna ha ben poco a che fare con come mi sento riguardo a me stessa 169 ⓘ

Q3 - Essere una donna ha ben poco a che fare con come mi sento riguardo a me stessa	Percentuale	Numero
Completamente in disaccordo	40%	67
Abbastanza in disaccordo	41%	69
Né d'accordo né in disaccordo	6%	10
Abbastanza d'accordo	12%	20
Completamente d'accordo	2%	3
Somma	100%	169

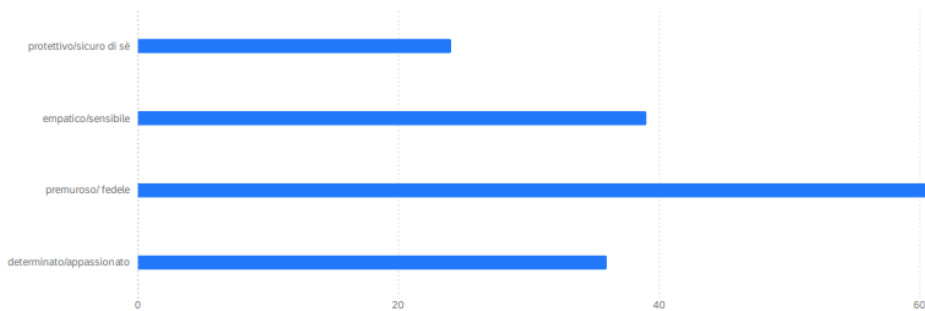
Essere in una relazione ha ben poco a che fare con come mi sento riguardo a me stesso 169 ⓘ



Essere in una relazione ha ben poco a che fare con come mi sento riguardo a me stesso 169 ⓘ

Q6 - Essere in una relazione ha ben poco a che fare con come mi sento riguardo a me stesso	Percentuale	Numero
Completamente in disaccordo	12%	21
Abbastanza in disaccordo	33%	55
Né d'accordo né in disaccordo	17%	28
Abbastanza d'accordo	25%	42
Completamente d'accordo	14%	23
Somma	100%	169

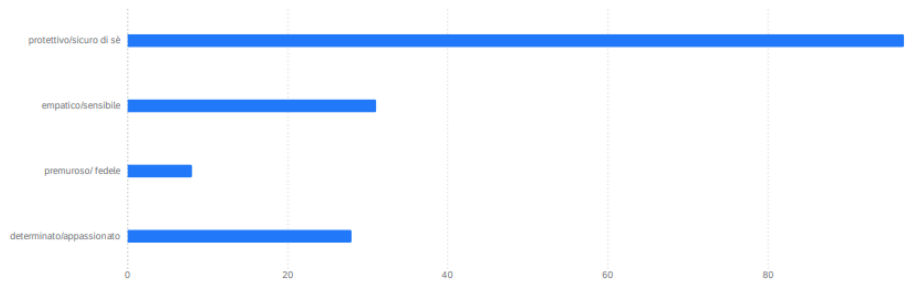
Quale coppia di aggettivi descrive di più le caratteristiche del tuo partner ideale? 165 ⓘ



Quale coppia di aggettivi descrive di più le caratteristiche del tuo partner ideale? 165 ⓘ

Q7 - Quale coppia di aggettivi descrive di più le caratteristiche del tuo partner ideale?	Percentuale	Numero
protettivo/sicuro di sé	15%	24
empatico/sensibile	24%	39
premuoso/ fedele	40%	66
determinato/appassionato	22%	36
Somma	100%	165

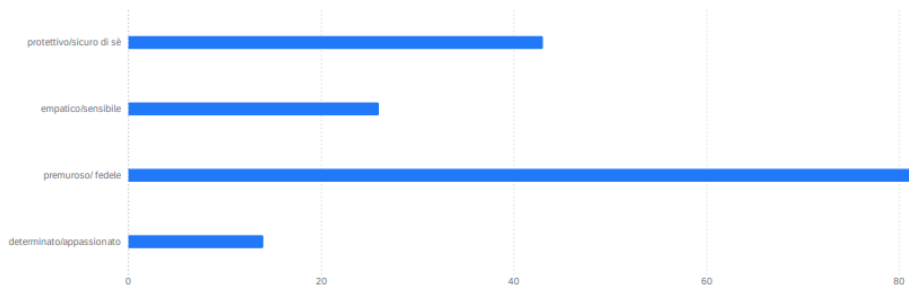
Quale coppia di aggettivi descrive di meno le caratteristiche del tuo partner ideale? 164 ⓘ



Quale coppia di aggettivi descrive di meno le caratteristiche del tuo partner ideale? 164 ⓘ

Q8 - Quale coppia di aggettivi descrive di meno le caratteristiche del tuo partner ideale?	Percentuale	Numero
protettivo/sicuro di sé	59%	97
empatico/sensibile	19%	31
premuroso/ fedele	5%	8
determinato/appassionato	17%	28
Somma	100%	164

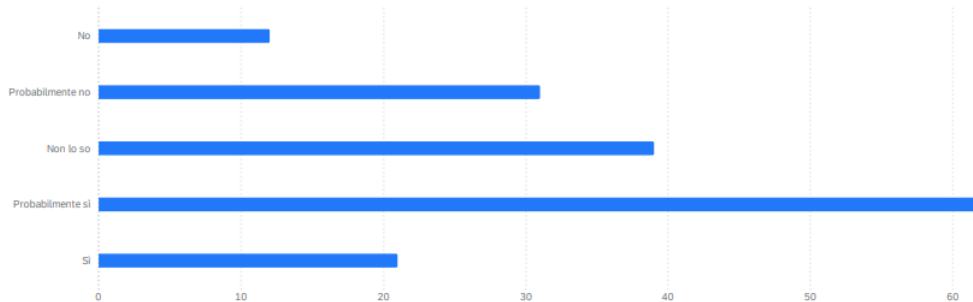
Cosa pensi che la maggioranza dei partecipanti abbia scelto come aggettivi più importanti? 165 ⓘ



Cosa pensi che la maggioranza dei partecipanti abbia scelto come aggettivi più importanti? 165 ⓘ

Q9 - Cosa pensi che la maggioranza dei partecipanti abbia scelto come aggettivi più importanti?	Percentuale	Numero
protettivo/sicuro di sé	26%	43
empatico/sensibile	16%	26
premuroso/ fedele	50%	82
determinato/appassionato	8%	14
Somma	100%	165

Approveresti un partner che è principalmente concentrato sulla sua carriera professionale? 165 ⓘ

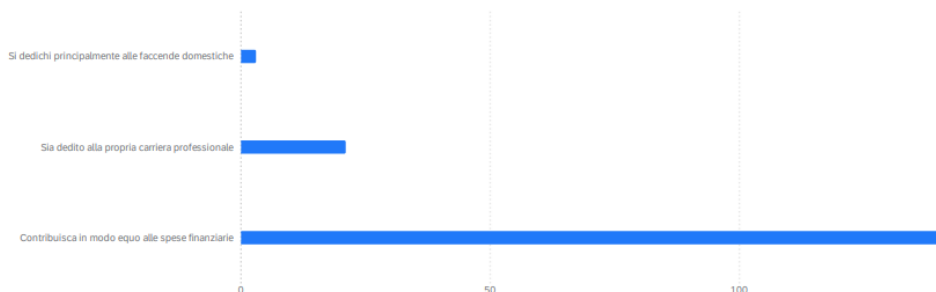


Approveresti un partner che è principalmente concentrato sulla sua carriera professionale? 165 ⓘ

Q10 - Approveresti un partner che è principalmente concentrato sulla sua carriera professionale?

	Percentuale	Numero
No	7%	12
Probabilmente no	19%	31
Non lo so	24%	39
Probabilmente sì	38%	62
Sì	13%	21
Somma	100%	165

Pensi che in una relazione a lungo termine sia più importante che il tuo partner (se doveste ipoteticamente vivere insieme): 165 ⓘ

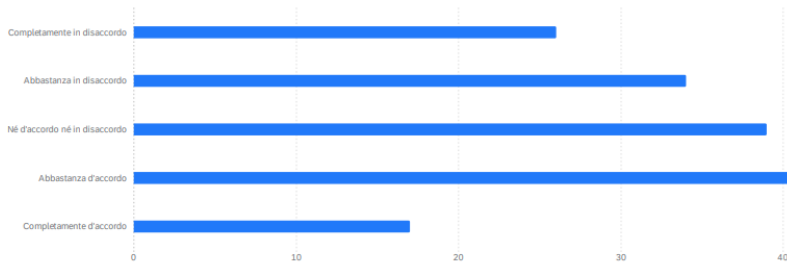


Pensi che in una relazione a lungo termine sia più importante che il tuo partner (se doveste ipoteticamente vivere insieme): 165 ⓘ

Q11 - Pensi che in una relazione a lungo termine sia più importante che il tuo partner (se doveste ipoteticamente vivere insieme):

	Percentuale	Numero
Si dedichi principalmente alle faccende domestiche	2%	3
Sia dedito alla propria carriera professionale	13%	21
Contribuisca in modo equo alle spese finanziarie	85%	141
Somma	100%	165

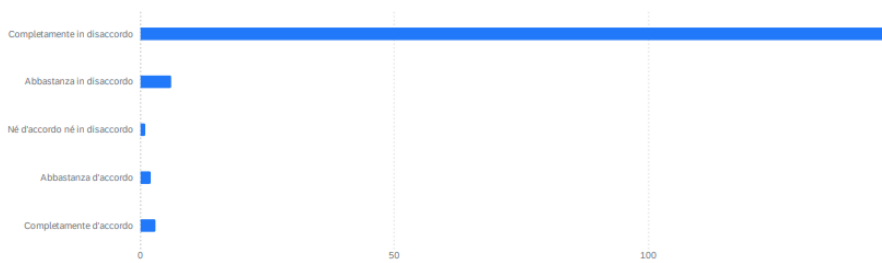
Pensi che il tuo partner dovrebbe sempre tenerti informato sulla sua posizione? 160 ⓘ



Pensi che il tuo partner dovrebbe sempre tenerti informato sulla sua posizione? 160 ⓘ

Q12 - Pensi che il tuo partner dovrebbe sempre tenerti informato sulla sua posizione?	Percentuale	Numero
Completamente in disaccordo	16%	26
Abbastanza in disaccordo	21%	34
Né d'accordo né in disaccordo	24%	39
Abbastanza d'accordo	28%	44
Completamente d'accordo	11%	17
Somma	100%	160

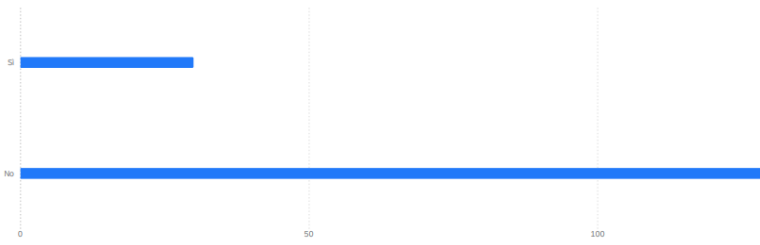
Pensi che sia giusto che ad alcune ragazze venga impedito di andare in luoghi come discoteche, feste etc... perché il loro partner non vuole che loro vadano? 160 ⓘ



Pensi che sia giusto che ad alcune ragazze venga impedito di andare in luoghi come discoteche, feste etc... perché il loro partner non vuole che loro vadano? 160 ⓘ

Q13 - Pensi che sia giusto che ad alcune ragazze venga impedito di andare in luoghi come discoteche, feste etc... perché il loro partner non vuole che loro vadano?	Percentuale	Numero
Completamente in disaccordo	93%	148
Abbastanza in disaccordo	4%	6
Né d'accordo né in disaccordo	1%	1
Abbastanza d'accordo	1%	2
Completamente d'accordo	2%	3
Somma	100%	160

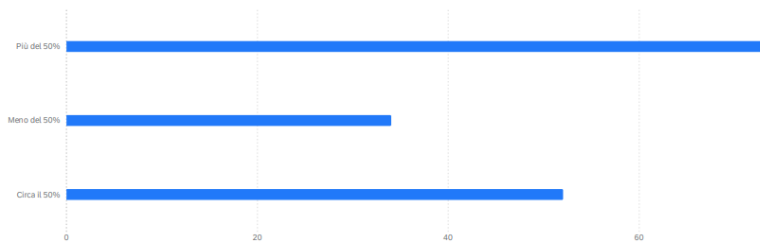
Ti è mai capitato di non andare più a un ritrovo (discoteca, festa, locale) perchè il tuo partner non voleva? 159



Ti è mai capitato di non andare più a un ritrovo (discoteca, festa, locale) perchè il tuo partner non voleva? 159

Q14 - Ti è mai capitato di non andare più a un ritrovo (discoteca, festa, locale) perchè il tuo partner non voleva?	Percentuale	Numero
Si	19%	30
No	81%	129
Somma	100%	159

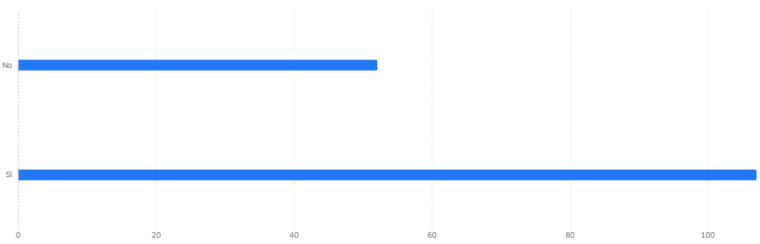
Quanti partecipanti pensi abbiano detto che sono stati frenati dal loro partner dall' andare da qualche parte? 160



Quanti partecipanti pensi abbiano detto che sono stati frenati dal loro partner dall' andare da qualche parte? 160

Q15 - Quanti partecipanti pensi abbiano detto che sono stati frenati dal loro partner dall' andare da qualche parte?	Percentuale	Numero
Più del 50%	46%	74
Meno del 50%	21%	34
Circa il 50%	33%	52
Somma	100%	160

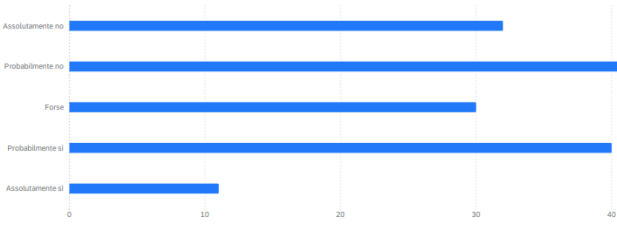
Che tu sappia, è mai successo che alcune tue amiche non siano venute a un raduno specifico perchè il loro partner glielo ha vietato? 159



Che tu sappia, è mai successo che alcune tue amiche non siano venute a un raduno specifico perchè il loro partner glielo ha vietato? 159

Q16 - Che tu sappia, è mai successo che alcune tue amiche non siano venute a un raduno specifico perchè il loro partner glielo ha vietato?	Percentuale	Numero
No	33%	52
Si	67%	107
Somma	100%	159

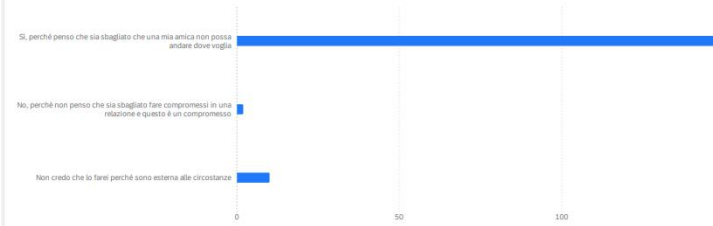
Diresti che sia comune nel tuo gruppo di amiche, ad esempio, che siano successe/ succedano situazioni di questo tipo? 160



Diresti che sia comune nel tuo gruppo di amiche, ad esempio, che siano successe/ succedano situazioni di questo tipo? 160

Q17 - Diresti che sia comune nel tuo gruppo di amiche, ad esempio, che siano successe/ succedano situazioni di questo tipo?	Percentuale	Numero
Assolutamente no	20%	32
Probabilmente no	29%	47
Forse	19%	30
Probabilmente si	25%	40
Assolutamente si	7%	11
Somma	100%	160

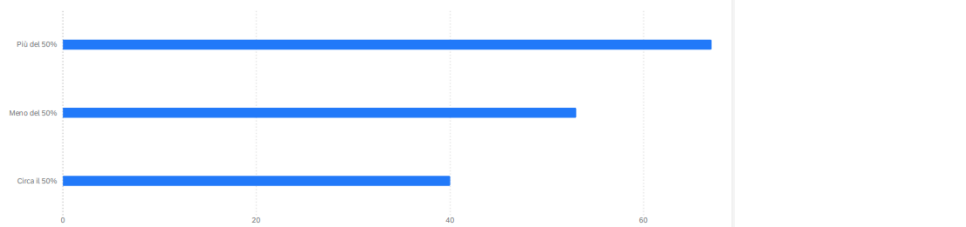
Ipoteticamente, diresti qualcosa a una tua amica alla quale è stato impedito di partecipare a un'uscita dal proprio partner? 160



Ipoteticamente, diresti qualcosa a una tua amica alla quale è stato impedito di partecipare a un'uscita dal proprio partner? 160

Q18 - Ipoteticamente, diresti qualcosa a una tua amica alla quale è stato impedito di partecipare a un'uscita dal proprio partner?	Percentuale	Numero
Sì, perché penso che sia sbagliato che una mia amica non possa andare dove voglia	93%	148
No, perché non penso che sia sbagliato fare compromessi in una relazione e questo è un compromesso	1%	2
Non credo che lo farei perché sono esterna alle circostanze	6%	10
Somma	100%	160

Quanti partecipanti pensi siano disposti a dire qualcosa al riguardo nella stessa situazione? 160

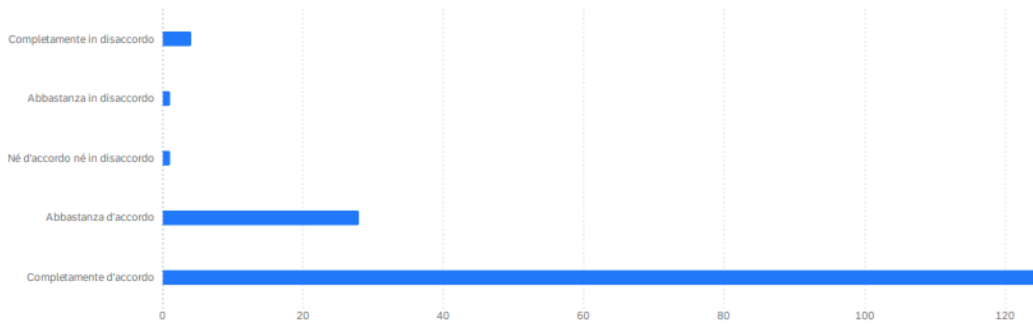


Quanti partecipanti pensi siano disposti a dire qualcosa al riguardo nella stessa situazione? 160

Q19 - Quanti partecipanti pensi siano disposti a dire qualcosa al riguardo nella stessa situazione?	Percentuale	Numero
Più del 50%	42%	67
Meno del 50%	33%	53
Circa il 50%	25%	40
Somma	100%	160



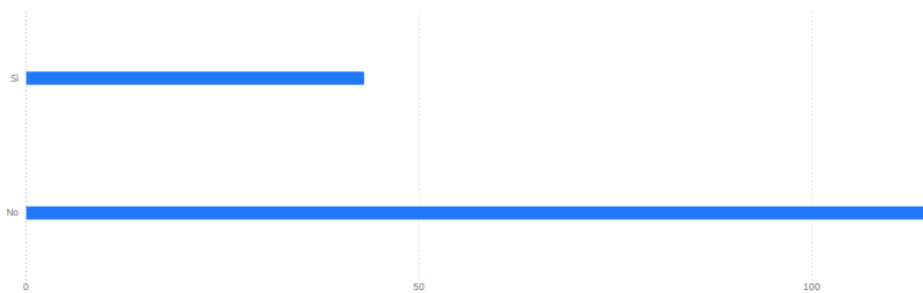
Pensi che sia giusto che chiunque dovrebbe poter vestirsi come vuole? 159 ⓘ



Pensi che sia giusto che chiunque dovrebbe poter vestirsi come vuole? 159 ⓘ

Q20 - Pensi che sia giusto che chiunque dovrebbe poter vestirsi come vuole?	Percentuale	Numero
Completamente in disaccordo	3%	4
Abbastanza in disaccordo	1%	1
Né d'accordo né in disaccordo	1%	1
Abbastanza d'accordo	18%	28
Completamente d'accordo	79%	125
Somma	100%	159

Il tuo partner ti ha mai detto di non vestirti in un certo modo? 158 ⓘ

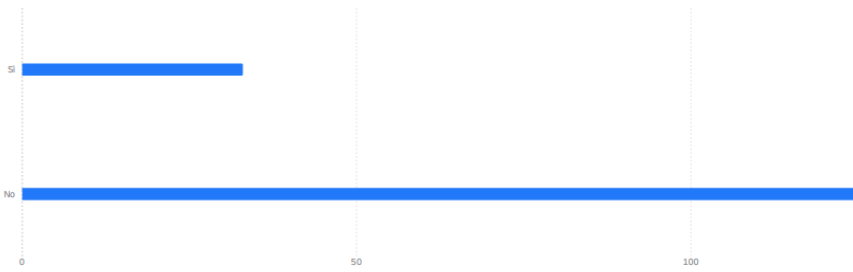


Il tuo partner ti ha mai detto di non vestirti in un certo modo? 158 ⓘ

Q21 - Il tuo partner ti ha mai detto di non vestirti in un certo modo?	Percentuale	Numero
Sì	27%	43

Q21 - Il tuo partner ti ha mai detto di non vestirti in un certo modo?	Percentuale	Numero
No	73%	115
Somma	100%	158

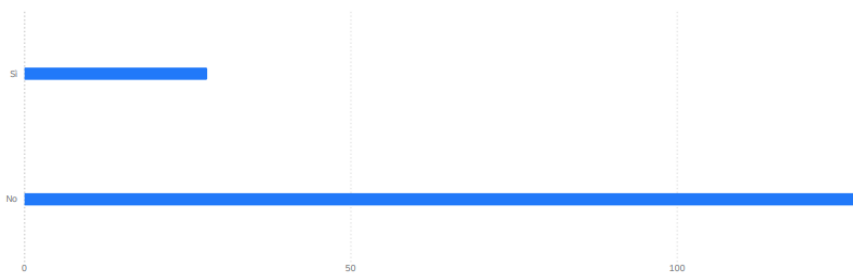
Il tuo partner ha mai insistito affinché tu cambiassi outfit, anche se ti sentivi a tuo agio con ciò che indossavi? 158



Il tuo partner ha mai insistito affinché tu cambiassi outfit, anche se ti sentivi a tuo agio con ciò che indossavi? 158

Q22 - Il tuo partner ha mai insistito affinché tu cambiassi outfit, anche se ti sentivi a tuo agio con ciò che indossavi?		
	Percentuale	Numero
Sì	21%	33
No	79%	125
Somma	100%	158

Hai mai cambiato il tuo abbigliamento dopo che il tuo partner te l'ha chiesto? 157



Hai mai cambiato il tuo abbigliamento dopo che il tuo partner te l'ha chiesto? 157

Q23 - Hai mai cambiato il tuo abbigliamento dopo che il tuo partner te l'ha chiesto?		
	Percentuale	Numero
Sì	18%	28
No	82%	129
Somma	100%	157

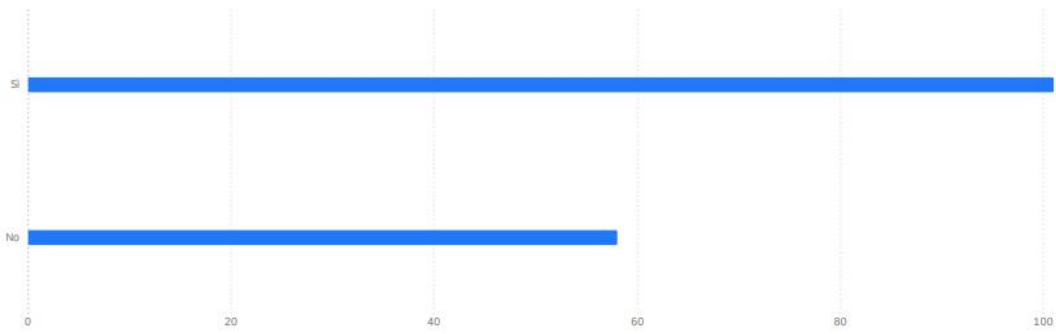
Quanti partecipanti pensi che abbiano detto di aver cambiato abbigliamento dopo che il partner glielo abbia richiesto? 159



Quanti partecipanti pensi che abbiano detto di aver cambiato abbigliamento dopo che il partner glielo abbia richiesto? 159

Q24 - Quanti partecipanti pensi che abbiano detto di aver cambiato abbigliamento dopo che il partner glielo abbia richiesto?		
	Percentuale	Numero
Più del 50%	35%	56
Meno del 50%	32%	51
Circa il 50%	33%	52
Somma	100%	159

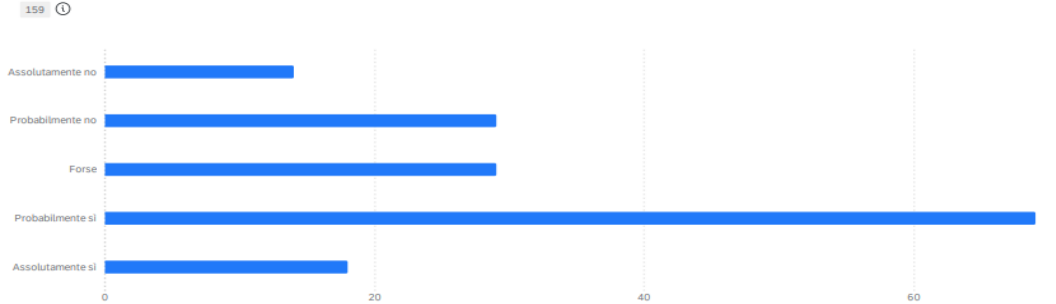
Hai amiche che ti hanno raccontato di aver avuto un'esperienza simile? 159 ⓘ



Hai amiche che ti hanno raccontato di aver avuto un'esperienza simile? 159 ⓘ

Q25 - Hai amiche che ti hanno raccontato di aver avuto un'esperienza simile?	Percentuale	Numero
Si	64%	101
No	36%	58
Somma	100%	159

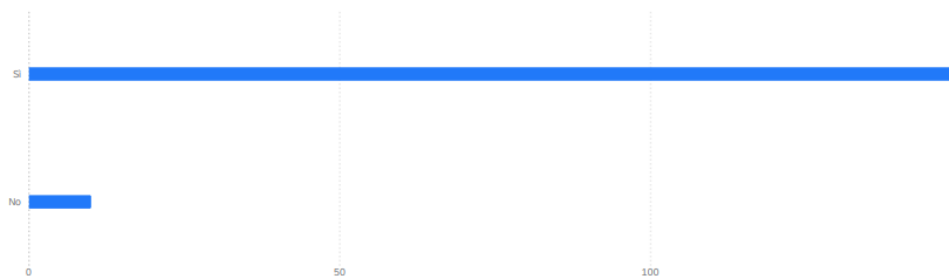
Hai mai fatto commenti riguardo all'abbigliamento di una ragazza (come ad esempio che l'abbigliamento fosse troppo eccentrico, provocatorio, succinto etc)? 159 ⓘ



Hai mai fatto commenti riguardo all'abbigliamento di una ragazza (come ad esempio che l'abbigliamento fosse troppo eccentrico, provocatorio, succinto etc)? 159 ⓘ

Q26 - Hai mai fatto commenti riguardo all'abbigliamento di una ragazza (come ad esempio che l'abbigliamento fosse troppo eccentrico, provocatorio, succinto etc)?	Percentuale	Numero
Assolutamente no	9%	14
Probabilmente no	18%	29
Forse	18%	29
Probabilmente si	43%	69
Assolutamente si	11%	18
Somma	100%	159

Una delle tue amiche ha mai fatto commenti sull'abbigliamento di una ragazza (come ad esempio che l'abbigliamento fosse troppo eccentrico, provocatorio, succinto, etc) ? 159 ⓘ

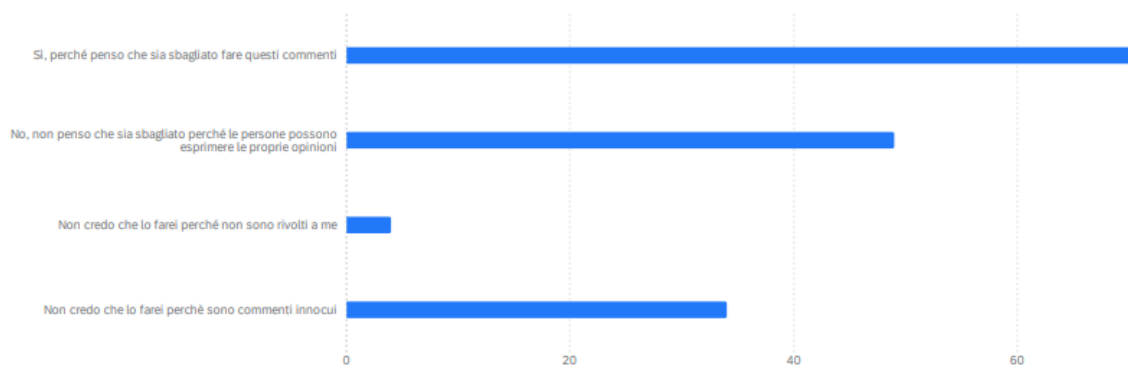


Una delle tue amiche ha mai fatto commenti sull'abbigliamento di una ragazza (come ad esempio che l'abbigliamento fosse troppo eccentrico, provocatorio, succinto, etc) ? 159 ⓘ

Q27 - Una delle tue amiche ha mai fatto commenti sull'abbigliamento di una ragazza (come ad esempio che l'abbigliamento fosse troppo eccentrico, provocatorio, succinto, etc) ?

	Percentuale	Numero
Sì	94%	149
No	6%	10
Somma	100%	159

Hai mai detto qualcosa contro tali commenti? 158 ⓘ



Hai mai detto qualcosa contro tali commenti? 158 ⓘ

Q28 - Hai mai detto qualcosa contro tali commenti?

	Percentuale	Numero
Sì, perché penso che sia sbagliato fare questi commenti	45%	71
No, non penso che sia sbagliato perché le persone possono esprimere le proprie opinioni	31%	49
Non credo che lo farei perché non sono rivolti a me	3%	4
Non credo che lo farei perché sono commenti innocui	22%	34
Somma	100%	158