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1 Mothers are sensitive to men's beards as a potential cue of paternal investment.
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ABSTRACT

Mating strategy theories assert that women’s preferences for androgen dependent traits in men are stronger when the costs of reduced paternal investment are lowest. Past research has shown that preferences for facial masculinity are stronger among nulliparous and non-pregnant women than pregnant or parous women. In two studies, we examine patterns in women’s preferences for men’s facial hair – likely the most visually conspicuous and sexually dimorphic of men’s secondary sexual traits – when evaluating men’s masculinity, dominance, age, fathering, and attractiveness. Two studies were conducted among heterosexual pregnant women, mothers, non-contraceptive and contraceptive users. Study 1 used a between-subjects sample (N = 2103) and found that mothers had significantly higher preferences for beards when judging fathering than all other women. Pregnant women and mothers also judged beards as more masculine and older, but less attractive, than non-contraceptive and contraceptive users. Parous women judged beards higher for age, masculinity and fathering, but lower for attractiveness, than nulliparous women. Irrespective of reproductive status, beards were judged as looking more dominant than clean-shaven faces. Study 2 used a within-subjects design (N = 53) among women surveyed during pregnancy and three months post-partum. Judgments of parenting skills were higher for bearded stimuli during pregnancy among women having their first baby, whereas among parous women parenting skills judgments for bearded stimuli were higher post-partum. Our results suggest that mothers are sensitive to beardedness as a masculine secondary sexual characteristic that may denote parental investment, providing evidence that women’s mate preferences could reflect sexual selection for direct benefits.

KEY WORDS: facial hair; beards; attractiveness; motherhood; pregnancy.

1. Introduction

Female choice via direct and indirect mechanisms of sexual selection underpins the evolution of male ornaments in many species (Kokko et al., 2003, 2006). Under indirect selection, preferences evolve for traits associated with male quality that can enhance offspring survival, such as immunity. Under direct selection, preferences evolve for characters that tangibly enhance the survival of the mother and offspring, such as resources and protection (Kokko et al., 2003, 2006). Men's secondary sexual characters are similarly developed to male nonhuman primates from species whose mating systems are polygynous (Dixson, Dixson, and Anderson, 2005; Puts et al., 2016) and social systems are multilevel in their compositions (Grueter, Isler, and Dixson, 2015), suggesting that sexual selection shaped male-typical (i.e. masculine) traits during the course of human evolution.

Women's preferences for masculine traits could have evolved under both indirect (Gangestad and Thornhill, 2008) and direct (Puts, 2010; Scott et al., 2013) sexual selection. Masculine facial traits, defined as a prominent jaw, protruding brow ridge, robust midface, thin lips and deeply set eyes, emerge as androgens exert their effects during foetal development (Whitehouse et al., 2015), puberty (Marečková et al., 2011) and young adulthood (Roosenboom et al., 2018). Androgens may reduce immune response (Muehlenbein and Bribiescas, 2005), so that male facial masculinity may indirectly communicate genetic quality via disease resistance (Rhodes et al., 2003; Thornhill & Gangestad, 2006) and immune response (Rantala et al., 2012), although this pattern may be mediated by facial adiposity (Rantala et al., 2013). Indeed, Phalene et al. (2017) reported that facial masculinity and facial muscularity were jointly associated with male immune response. Alternatively, facial masculinity may communicate direct benefits such as competitive ability and resource provisioning (Puts, 2010; Scott et al., 2013). Facial masculinity is positively associated with men's upper body strength (Windhager et al., 2011; Fink et al., 2007), fighting ability (Sell et al., 2017) and social dominance (Geniole et al., 2015; Hill et al., 2013). Augmenting facial masculinity experimentally also enhances judgments of men's age, masculinity, and social dominance (DeBruine et al., 2006; Perrett et al., 1998), suggesting intra-sexual selection has influenced masculine craniofacial morphology and that facial masculinity communicates direct benefits to women.

Although mating success is higher among men with more masculine faces (Hill et al., 2013; Kordsmeyer et al., 2018; Peters et al., 2008; Rhodes et al., 2005), women's preferences for facial masculinity vary across studies (Rhodes, 2006), so that masculine male faces were preferred in some samples (DeBruine et al., 2006) while less masculine male faces were preferred in others (Dixson et al., 2017b; Perrett et al., 1998). As reproduction imposes fewer costs on men than women, men are hypothesised to expend more energetic resources towards mating effort than parental investment (Puts, 2010; Gray et al., 2017). Men with more masculine faces state less interest in long-term relationships (Boothroyd et al., 2008, 2011), have more short-term relationships (Polo et al., 2019; Rhodes et al., 2005), and both express more interest in and engage in more extra-pair relationships (Arnocky et al., 2017; Rhodes et al., 2013). Facially masculine men are also judged as less caring and paternally investing (Kruger, 2006; Perrett et al., 1998) and women accurately judge sexual infidelity from

1 facially masculine traits in photographs of anonymous men (Rhodes et al., 2013; Sutherland
2 et al., 2018). Thus, despite the potential direct and indirect benefits of selecting masculine
3 men as mates, facially masculine men may be costly as long-term partners through reduced
4 investment in parenting.

5
6 This paradoxical role of masculinity in men's value as long-term partners has
7 prompted investigation into the possible contextual mating strategies underpinning variation
8 in women's preferences for facial masculinity (Dixson et al., 2016; Holzleitner & Perrett,
9 2017; Jones et al., 2019). Among the potential mechanisms are women's short-term mating
10 strategies and reproductive condition (Motta-Mena & Puts, 2017; Jones et al., 2019). The
11 social costs associated with selecting masculine partners may be reduced under conditions
12 favouring short-term mating strategies (Gangestad & Thornhill, 2008) and facial masculinity
13 preferences are stronger among young reproductively capable women than post-menopausal
14 women (Little et al., 2010; Marcinkowska et al., 2018c). Within pre-menopausal women,
15 preferences for masculine traits may become more pronounced during the peri-ovulatory
16 period of the menstrual cycle, when offspring fitness could be increased via indirect genetic
17 benefits (Gangestad & Thornhill, 2008). While several studies yielded support for ovulatory
18 shifts in women's short-term mate preferences for masculine faces (Gildersleeve et al., 2014;
19 but see Wood et al., 2014), researchers often used counting methods from questionnaire data
20 to characterise fertility, which is markedly less accurate than quantifying hormones (Blake et
21 al., 2016). Recent studies in which the peri-ovulatory phase was verified hormonally have not
22 reported ovulatory shifts in women's preferences for short-term mating strategies (Jones et
23 al., 2018a) or mate preferences for masculine facial shape, facial symmetry, upper body
24 musculature, or masculine voices (Dixson et al., 2018a; Jones et al., 2018a; Jünger et al.,
25 2018a,b; Marcinkowska et al., 2016, 2018a, 2018b), so that ovulatory shifts in mate
26 preferences may not be as robust as early studies suggested (Jones et al., 2019).

27
28 Rather than becoming stronger when fecundability is higher, women's preferences for
29 masculine traits may be reduced at times when a more prosocial and paternally investing, but
30 less physically masculine partner, could be beneficial. Pregnancy, lactation, and the early
31 years of child rearing are periods during which mothers and their children are highly
32 vulnerable (Hrdy, 2016). At these times, preferences for men displaying well developed
33 masculine characters may decrease and preferences for cues to paternal investment may be
34 prioritised. Motherhood is also associated with pronounced endocrine changes, beginning
35 with conception, dramatically changing during pregnancy, at birth and with lactation (Motta-
36 Mena & Puts, 2017). During pregnancy, median progesterone in the 1st trimester is
37 approximately 30.6 ng/mL, rises to 56.9 ng/mL in the 2nd trimester and to 161 ng/mL in 3rd
38 trimester (Schock et al., 2016) and drops dramatically postpartum (Buckwalter et al., 1999;
39 Wilcox et al., 1985). Estradiol has median levels of 2.32 nmol/l during the 1st trimester, rising
40 to 9.00 nmol/l in the 2nd trimester and 22.6 nmol/l in the 3rd trimester (Schock et al., 2016),
41 dropping to 3.7 nmol/l postpartum (Buckwalter et al., 1999; Wilcox et al., 1985). While not
42 reaching the same absolute levels as progesterone and estrogen, women's testosterone also
43 increases throughout pregnancy, rising from a median of 0.84 nmol/l in the 1st trimester to
44 1.10 nmol/l during the 2nd trimester and 1.04 during the 3rd trimester (Schock et al., 2016).
45 Endocrine changes during pregnancy may be associated with women's preferences for
46 masculine traits. Over the menstrual cycle women's facial masculinity preferences are
47 positively associated with estradiol (Roney & Simmons, 2008; Roney et al., 2011; but see
48 Dixson et al., 2018a), testosterone (Welling et al., 2008; but see Marcinkowska et al., 2019)
49 and progesterone among single but not partnered women (Marcinkowska et al., 2018;
50 DeBruine et al., 2019). Preferences for facial masculinity are lower among pregnant women

1 compared to nulliparous women (Limoncin et al., 2015) and are lower post-partum compared
2 to during pregnancy (Cobey et al., 2015; Marcinkowska et al., 2018c). During the first year
3 of child rearing, mothers had higher preferences for less masculine faces than nulliparous and
4 pregnant women (Escasa-dorne, Manlove, & Gray, 2017; Cobey et al., 2015), possibly due to
5 endocrine changes postpartum (Cobey et al., 2015). Thus, biosocial factors may explain
6 stronger preferences for facial masculinity among women entering the third trimester of
7 pregnancy than early motherhood as a reflection of higher perceived paternal investment.
8

9 Like facial masculinity, beardedness is androgen dependent (Randall, 2008) and one
10 of the most visually salient and sexually dimorphic of men's secondary sexual traits (Dixson
11 et al., 2005; Grueter et al., 2015). While bearded men may have higher mating success than
12 clean-shaven men (Barber, 2001), women's preferences for men's beardedness vary across
13 studies. Clean-shavenness is preferred over beardedness in some samples (Dixson & Vasey,
14 2012; Geniole & McCormick, 2015; Muscarella & Cunningham, 1996), while full beards are
15 preferred in others (Dixson et al., 2016; Janif et al., 2014; Pelligrini, 1973). Research
16 measuring preferences over the menstrual cycle has not reported associations between
17 women's preferences for beards and their likelihood of conception when using self-reported
18 measures (Dixson & Brooks, 2013; Dixson & Rantala, 2016, 2017; Dixson, Tam, & Awasthy,
19 2013) or when determining the peri-ovulatory phase hormonally (Dixson et al., 2018a,b).
20 While craniofacial masculinity and beards both develop under the actions of testosterone,
21 facial hair also requires the conversion of testosterone to dihydrotestosterone via 5-alpha
22 reductase activity within hair follicles rather than directly due to testosterone (Randall, 2008),
23 as may be the case for craniofacial masculinity (Whitehouse et al., 2015; Roosenboom et al.,
24 2018). The association between DHT activity and facial hair may be unrelated to health or
25 immunity (Dixson et al., 2016), suggesting that beards do not incur the kinds of biological
26 costs to men as other masculine facial characters and therefore may not communicate indirect
27 genetic benefits to women that informs their short-term mate preferences.
28

29 Facial hair may instead communicate direct benefits such as social status, social
30 dominance and protection (Puts, 2010) that determine women's mate preferences for long-
31 term and potentially paternally investing partners (Dixson & Brooks, 2013; Neave & Shields,
32 2008). Beards consistently enhance perceptions of men's age, masculinity (Dixson & Brooks,
33 2013; Neave & Shields, 2008), dominance (Dixson et al., 2017a; Sherlock et al., 2017;
34 Saxton et al., 2016), social status (Dixson & Vasey, 2012) and aggressiveness (Dixson &
35 Vasey, 2012; Muscarella & Cunningham, 1996). However, unlike facial masculinity there is
36 no evidence that men's beardedness is associated with body size, physical strength, or direct
37 aggressiveness (Dixson et al., 2018c). Instead, facial hair may enhance intimidation by
38 elaborating on masculine craniofacial structure (Dixson et al., 2017a; Sherlock et al., 2017)
39 and agonistic facial displays (Craig et al., 2019; Dixson & Vasey, 2012). Bearded men report
40 higher feelings of masculinity (Wood, 1986) and have higher serum testosterone (Knussman
41 & Christiansen, 1988) than clean-shaven men. Again, in contrast to facial masculinity women
42 judge beards as more attractive for long-term relationships (Neave & Shields, 2008), ascribe
43 beards higher ratings of parenting skills (Dixson & Brooks, 2013; Stower et al., 2019) and
44 facial hair is preferred under social conditions characterised by higher male-male competition
45 (Barber, 2001; Dixson et al., 2017a; Dixson et al., 2019). Beards may therefore communicate
46 direct benefits that are preferred under circumstances when resources and protection would
47 be beneficial to the survival of mothers and infants. To our knowledge, the only study that
48 has measured women's preferences for facial hair across different reproductive stages found
49 that pregnant women gave higher attractiveness ratings to full beards than non-pregnant
50 women (Dixson et al., 2013). However, that study employed a small sample size of 42

1 pregnant women and stimuli that did not control for variation in craniofacial masculinity,
2 which influences attractiveness judgments of beards (Dixson et al., 2017a). Thus, further
3 research on how pregnancy, parity and the transition to motherhood are associated with mate
4 preferences for men's beards is warranted.

5
6 To this end, we conducted two studies in which women judged bearded and clean-
7 shaven faces for attractiveness, fathering skills, masculinity, dominance, and age across
8 different reproductive conditions. In Study 1, we compared judgments of facial hair in a large
9 sample of women (N = 2103) in five analyses. In Analysis 1, we tested whether reproductive
10 status impacts on women's judgments of beards among women who were either pregnant,
11 were early in motherhood (defined as having had a baby within a year), were not using
12 hormonal contraceptives or were using hormonal contraceptives. While women's preferences
13 for facial masculinity are higher among childless women than mothers (Limoncin et al.,
14 2015), women judge beards as more attractive for long-term relationships and as potential
15 fathers (Dixson & Brooks, 2013; Neave & Shields, 2008; Stower et al., 2019). In Analysis 1,
16 we hypothesised that women in early motherhood would rate bearded men (compared to
17 clean-shaven men) lower on attractiveness and higher on parenting ability compared to
18 women during pregnancy, not using hormonal contraceptives or using hormonal
19 contraceptives. Among mothers, parity may be associated with shifts towards parenting effort
20 over mating effort (Motta-Mena & Puts, 2017) that impact on preferences for masculine
21 facial features (Escasa-dorne et al., 2017; Limoncin et al., 2015). Indeed, nulliparous women
22 gave higher attractiveness ratings for male facial masculinity than pregnant women and
23 mothers (Escasa-dorne et al., 2017). In Analysis 2, we tested the hypothesis that judgments of
24 parenting skills in bearded stimuli will be stronger, but attractiveness ratings lower, among
25 mothers than among nulliparous women.

26
27 Trade-offs in women's preferences for masculine men may also occur during
28 pregnancy, possibly in concert with rising levels of reproductive hormones as mothers
29 approach their 3rd trimester (Brett & Baxendale, 200; Buckwalter et al., 1999; Wilcox et al.,
30 1985). In Analysis 3, we compared judgments of bearded faces among pregnant women when
31 accounting for how many weeks into their pregnancy they were. We predicted that
32 attractiveness judgments for beards may be stronger as women approach the 3rd trimester of
33 pregnancy (Cobey et al., 2015). Similarly, when breastfeeding is chronic ovarian functioning
34 can be suppressed (Ellison, 2003), which may be associated with lower preferences for
35 androgen dependent traits in men among breastfeeding women (Escasa-dorne et al., 2018). In
36 Analysis 4, we tested the hypothesis that breastfeeding mothers would judge bearded males
37 as less sexually attractive than non-breastfeeding mothers. Reproductive hormones remain
38 lower among mothers with young children than mothers with older children, partly due to
39 interrupted sleep patterns (Kuzawa et al., 2010), so that women with younger children may
40 have lower preferences for masculine facial traits than women with older children (Cobey et
41 al., 2015; Escasa-dorne et al., 2017). In Analysis 5, we tested the hypothesis that women's
42 attractiveness judgments of men's beards would be positively associated with the age of their
43 youngest child. Finally, increases in reproductive hormones during pregnancy are most
44 pronounced in the 3rd trimester and decline during the early months postpartum (Schock et
45 al., 2016; Buckwalter et al., 1999). Cobey et al. (2015) suggested that this represents the point
46 at which changes in women's preferences for facial masculinity are most pronounced. In a
47 within-subject design, they reported women's preferences (N = 28) for male facial
48 masculinity were significantly stronger in the third trimester of pregnancy than 3 months
49 postpartum (Cobey et al., 2015). In Study 2, we tested women's judgments of beardedness
50 among 53 women recruited during the third trimester of their pregnancies in Study 1 and

1 again during the first three months post-partum. We hypothesized that women's judgments of
2 fathering abilities for bearded males would be highest during the early months postpartum
3 than during the 3rd trimester of pregnancy. We also explored whether judgments of
4 beardedness were specific to parity, such that women having their first child may be more
5 sensitive to cues of paternal investment postpartum compared to women with more children.
6

7 **2. Methods**

8 **2.1 Participants**

9
10 A total of 2419 women (Mean age = 30.71, SD = 11.03) completed this study online.
11 Participants were recruited via mailing lists at the Early Child Development Centre and
12 student mailing lists in the School of Psychology at the University of Queensland (Brisbane,
13 Australia). Participants provided their age, ethnicity, and completed the Kinsey scale for
14 sexual orientation (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948). Participants then indicated if they
15 were pregnant, how many children they had and their children's ages (in years and months),
16 and if they currently use hormonal contraceptives. We removed 25 participants who did not
17 report their age and a further 65 participants for either not reporting their sexual orientation or
18 for reporting homosexual sexual preferences, as sexual orientation impacts on face
19 preferences (Pettersson et al., 2015, 2016, 2018), including facial hair (Valentova et al., 2017).
20 A further 274 participants were removed for not completing the face ratings in the survey.
21 For Study 1, this left a final sample of 2103 heterosexual women (Mean age = 30.85, SD =
22 11.35). Participants ethnicities were as follows: European (75.6%), Asian (15.7%), African
23 (3.6%) other (5.1%). The total sample was then partitioned into subsets for our 5 analyses,
24 which are described below.
25

26 **Analysis 1. Reproductive status and judgments of facial hair.** This analysis tested whether
27 variation in women's reproductive status impacts on judgments of men's beards. Of the final
28 sample, 1286 (31.91 years \pm 13.52) were not using hormonal contraceptives, 278 (28.19
29 years \pm 8.10) were using contraceptives, 387 (29.41 years \pm 4.99) had a child under one year
30 of age, and 152 (30.43 years \pm 5.04) were pregnant. For pregnant participants, the due dates
31 for their babies were determined by ultrasound and blood tests (85.5%), calculation from last
32 menses with an ovulation tests (12.5%) and 2% elected not to answer this question.
33

34 **Analysis 2. Women's parity and judgments of facial hair.** Here we tested whether mothers
35 differ from non-mothers in their judgments of men's beards. We used data from women not
36 using hormonal contraceptives ($n = 1756$, mean age 31.37, SD = 11.88) to compare
37 judgments among nulliparous (i.e. childless) women ($n = 1088$, mean age 27.75, SD = 10.76)
38 and mothers ($n = 668$, mean age 37.27, SD = 11.25).
39

40 **Analysis 3. Women's judgments of facial hair during pregnancy.** To examine how mate
41 preferences vary over the course of women's pregnancies, we tested whether how far along in
42 weeks women were into their pregnancy impacted on their judgments of men's facial hair. Of
43 the 152 pregnant women, 149 (mean age 30.38, SD = 5.01) provided information on their
44 stage of pregnancy from which we calculated how far along in weeks they were into their
45 pregnancy (Mean = 23, SD = 9.88, range 3-40).
46

47 **Analysis 4. Breastfeeding and women's judgments of facial hair.** We also tested whether
48 breastfeeding was associated with women's judgments of men's beardedness. Of the 387
49 women (mean age 29.41, SD = 4.99) who completed surveys when in early motherhood, 359

1 (93%, mean age 29.54, SD = 4.99) were breastfeeding and 28 (7%, mean age 27.75, SD =
2 4.4.72) were not breastfeeding.

3
4 **Analysis 5. The age of women's offspring and their judgments of facial hair.** As
5 hormones associated with mate preferences change over the course of motherhood, we
6 predicted the age of the youngest infant was associated with mother's judgments of men's
7 facial hair. Of the total sample of 889 (35.15 years, SD = 10.72) mothers, 839 (35.52 years,
8 SD = 10.58) provided the ages of their youngest child (mean = 69.98 months, SD = 113.7).
9 Among the total of 387 women who completed surveys during their first year of motherhood,
10 349 (mean age 29.41, SD = 4.99) provided the ages of their last-born child (mean age = 6.14
11 months, SD = 3.45). We compared judgments of beards with the age of the youngest infant in
12 the full sample of mothers and again among only mothers with infants under 1 year of age.

13
14 In Study 2, we tested whether judgments of men's facial hair differed as women
15 transition from pregnancy to early motherhood using a within-subjects design. We asked the
16 152 pregnant women who completed Study 1 whether they would be willing to be contacted
17 again, 12 weeks after their anticipated due date. We received agreement to be re-contacted
18 from 100 of the 152 pregnant women from Study 1, of which 53 (Mean age 30.85, SD =
19 4.43) completed the surveys and were used in subsequent analyses.

20 21 **2.2. Facial hair photographs**

22
23 Thirty-seven men (mean age \pm SD = 27.9 \pm 5.75 years) of European ethnicity were
24 photographed when clean-shaven and with 4-8 weeks of natural beard growth posing with a
25 neutral facial expression. Photographs were taken using a digital camera (8.0 megapixels
26 resolution) with subjects 150 cm from the photographer under controlled lighting (Dixson et
27 al., 2017a; Janif et al., 2014). Composite stimuli were constructed using the Webmorph
28 software package (DeBruine and Tiddeman, 2016) by identifying 189 facial landmarks on the
29 images and averaging the shape and color information of the photographs. To create a
30 composite bearded face and a composite clean-shaven face, we randomly selected five males
31 from the total pool of 37. For each of the five males we used their bearded and clean-shaven
32 versions to create a composite with a full beard and when clean-shaven. Thus, the pairs of
33 composites represented the same five individuals when bearded and when clean-shaven
34 (Figure 1). This process was undertaken 10 times to create the 10 pairs of bearded and clean-
35 shaven composite stimuli. This approach has been used in past studies on women's
36 preferences for men's beardedness (Dixson et al., 2018b; McIntosh et al., 2017; Stower et al.,
37 2019).



Figure 1. Four pairs of facial hair stimuli used in this study. Images show composite images using the same 5 individuals when clean-shaven (top row) and fully bearded (bottom row).

Participants viewed pairs of faces showing the same composite man bearded and clean-shaven and were asked to judge the faces in a two-alternative forced choice test (2AFC). Past research has demonstrated the validity of 2AFC paradigms over Likert scales in characterizing women’s hypothetical and actual preferences for masculine facial traits (DeBruine, 2013). Studies quantifying women’s preferences for facial symmetry using 2AFC may reflect whether women can detect facial asymmetries rather than the strength of their preferences for symmetry (Lewis, 2017). However, 2AFC paradigms have been effective in identifying men and women’s preferences for bodily attractiveness (Dixson & Rantala, 2016; Marcincowska et al., 2018a; Singh et al., 2010), women’s preferences for facial masculinity (DeBruine et al., 2006; Marcinkowska et al., 2019; Scott et al., 2014), and beardedness (Dixson et al., 2018b).

Participants judged faces on five traits: 1) Physical Strength (participants were asked “Who looks stronger?”) hereafter referred to as dominance, 2) Age (“Who looks older?”), 3) Masculinity (“Who looks most like a man?”), 4) Attractiveness (“Who looks most sexually attractive?”), and 5) Parental Figure (“Who looks like the most suitable father?” hereafter referred to as fathering). The trait questions were blocked and the order in which participants saw the rating blocks was also randomized. Within the trait blocks, the presentation of face pairs was randomized. Participants selected whether the bearded or clean-shaven face in each pair of faces was higher for the trait they were judging. Four pairs of faces were presented in each block. The position of the clean-shaven and bearded image in each pair was randomized, appearing either on the right or left. This study was pre-approved by the Human Ethics Committee at the University of Queensland (#1876).

2.3. Statistical analyses

Study 1 employed general linear models (GLMs) and Bayesian GLMs using JASP (Wagenmakers et al., 2017). Five analyses were undertaken in which the mean proportion of selections for bearded over clean-shaven faces for each trait rating (age, masculinity, dominance, attractiveness and fathering abilities) was the dependent measure in the GLMs. Effect sizes in the models are eta square (η^2) and all effect sizes for post-hoc Bonferroni tests are Cohen’s D. Bayesian analyses were undertaken to ascertain the presence or absence of a

1 hypothesized effect over the competing null effect. The Bayes Factor (BF_{10}) provides an
2 estimation of the strength of support a hypothesis receives relative to another competing
3 hypothesis. A BF_{10} of 1-3 is considered weak evidence, a BF_{10} of 3-10 is considered
4 moderate evidence and a BF_{10} above 10 is considered strong evidence (van Doorn et al.,
5 2019).

6
7 In Analysis 1, selections for beards were compared against women's reproductive
8 status (pregnant, mothers, non-hormonal contraceptive users and hormonal contraceptive
9 users), which was a fixed factor in the GLMs. There was a significant difference in ages
10 between the women in the four reproductive status categories, $F(3, 2099) = 11.14, p < .001$.
11 Thus, age was entered as a covariate in our analyses.

12
13 Analysis 2 used data only from women not using hormonal contraceptives ($n = 1756$,
14 mean age 31.37, $SD = 11.88$) to compare judgments among nulliparous women ($n = 1088$,
15 mean age 27.75, $SD = 10.76$) and mothers ($n = 668$, mean age 37.27, $SD = 11.25$).
16 Nulliparous and parous women differed significantly in age, $t(1754) = 17.54, p < .001$. Thus,
17 parity (nulliparous, parous) was a fixed factor and participant's age was entered as a covariate
18 in our analyses.

19
20 Analyses 3 tested whether how far into pregnancy (in weeks) our pregnant
21 participants were at the time of completing the surveys influenced judgements of
22 beardedness. Of the 152 pregnant women, 149 (mean age 30.38, $SD = 5.01$) provided
23 information on the stage of the pregnancy from which we calculated how far along in weeks
24 they were into their pregnancy (Mean = 23, $SD = 9.88$, range 3-40). Weeks into pregnancy
25 was entered as a covariate in the GLMs.

26
27 In Analyses 4, we tested whether breast feeding influenced judgments of men's
28 beardedness. Of the total of 387 women (mean age 29.41, $SD = 4.99$) who completed surveys
29 when in early motherhood, 359 (93%, mean age 29.54, $SD = 4.99$) were breastfeeding and 28
30 (7%, mean age 27.75, $SD = 4.73$) were not breastfeeding. Differences in age between women
31 currently breastfeeding and not breastfeeding were not statistically significant, $t(385) = 1.83$,
32 $p = .068$. We ran GLMs and Bayesian GLMs where breastfeeding (yes, no) was a fixed
33 factor.

34
35 In Analysis 5, we tested whether the age of the mother's infants influenced their
36 judgments of men's beardedness. Of the total sample of 889 (35.15 years, $SD = 10.72$)
37 mothers, 839 (35.21 years, $SD = 10.58$) provided the ages of their youngest child (mean =
38 69.98 months, $SD = 113.7$). Among the 387 women who completed surveys during their first
39 year of motherhood, 349 (mean age 29.41, $SD = 4.99$) provided the ages of their last-born
40 child (mean age = 6.14 months, $SD = 3.45$). We ran GLMs and Bayesian GLMs where the
41 age of infants (in months) was a covariate in separate analyses for mothers with infants under
42 1 year of age and the full sample of mothers.

43
44 In Study 2, the mean proportion of selections for bearded over clean-shaven faces was
45 the dependent measure in a 2 pregnancy (pregnant and nursing) repeated-measures ANOVA
46 and Bayesian repeated-measures ANOVA. Ages in this sample did not differ significantly
47 from the total sample (One sample t-test against the sample mean age of 30.43; $t(52) = 1.66$,
48 $p = .104$). All women stated how far along in weeks they were into their pregnancy (Mean =
49 20.53, $SD = 9.76$, range 3-40) and how many weeks postpartum they were (Mean = 14.43,
50 $SD = 2.95$, range 6-21). We repeated these analyses including parity as a between-subjects

1 factor comparing women with one child ($n = 12$, mean age 29.50, $SD = 5.21$) and more than
2 one child ($n = 41$, mean age 31.24, $SD = 4.16$). Although the sample sizes between groups
3 differed, the assumption of equality of variances between samples was not violated
4 (Levenes's test during pregnancy: $F(1,51) = 3.13$, $p = .083$; postpartum: $F(1,51) = 0.31$, $p =$
5 $.582$) and participants' ages did not differ significantly between groups, $F(1,51) = 1.21$, $p =$
6 $.234$.

7

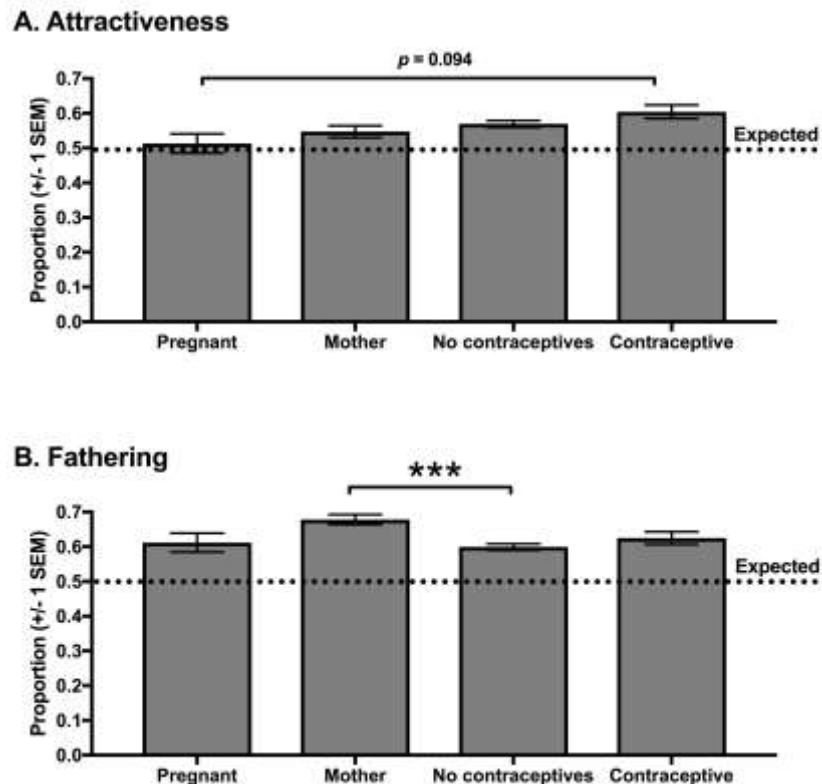
8 3. Results

9 3.1. Study 1: Women's reproductive status and preferences for men's facial hair

10

11 **Analysis 1. Reproductive status and judgments of facial hair.** The GLM revealed a small
12 but significant effect of reproductive status on preferences for beardedness when judging
13 attractiveness, while Bayesian analyses did not show evidence for the hypothesised model
14 (Table 1). Attractiveness judgments of beards were higher among contraceptive users,
15 followed by non-pregnant women, mothers, and pregnant women (Figure 2A). However,
16 post-hoc Bonferroni tests revealed that the only differences between women using
17 contraceptives and pregnant women were approaching significance, $p < .094$, $d = 1.95$. When
18 judging fathering abilities, there was also a significant effect of reproductive status on
19 preferences for beards and strong support for the hypothesised model in Bayesian GLM (BF_{10}
20 $= 16.899$; Table 1). Bonferroni tests revealed that mothers preferred beards more than women
21 not using hormonal contraceptives, $p < .001$, $d = 0.25$. Judgments did not differ significantly
22 for other comparisons (Figure 2B).

23



24

25 **Figure 2.** Mean proportion of bearded images (± 1 SEM) selected as most physically attractive (A.)
26 and higher for fathering abilities (B.) among women who were pregnant, in early motherhood, not
27 using contraceptives, and using contraceptives. $*** = p < .001$.

28

29 There was a significant effect of reproductive status on selections of bearded faces
30 when judging masculinity and weak support for the hypothesised model in Bayesian GLM

(Table 1). Bonferroni tests showed that pregnant women selected beards more often than women not using contraceptives, $p = .080$, $d = 0.21$ (Figure 3B). There was a significant main effect and weak support from the Bayesian GLM of reproductive status on selections for beards when judging age (Table 1). Beards were judged to be older among mothers compared to women not using contraceptives, $p = .010$, $d = 0.182$ (Figure 3C). There was no main effect of reproductive status on dominance judgments and weak support for the null model in Bayesian analyses (Table 1).

Participant's age was positively associated with preferences for beards when judging age ($r = .120$, $p < .001$) and fathering ($r = .060$, $p = .006$), while associations were negative for judgments of dominance ($r = -.094$, $p < .001$) and attractiveness ($r = -.085$, $p < .001$). Masculinity judgements were negatively associated with age but were not statistically significant ($r = -.026$, $p = .237$). The age x reproductive status interactions in the ANCOVAs were not statistically significant for judgments of age, masculinity, fathering and dominance (all $F(3, 2095) \leq 1.91$, all $p \geq .126$, Table 1). However, the interaction was significant for attractiveness judgments, $F(3, 2095) = 3.80$, all $p = .010$. Attractiveness judgments were significantly negatively associated with age among pregnant women ($n = 152$, $r = -0.259$, $p < 0.001$), women using hormonal contraceptives ($n = 278$, $r = -0.168$, $p = 0.005$), and women not using contraceptives ($n = 1286$, $r = -0.074$, $p = 0.008$). This association was also negative among mothers, but was not statistically significant ($n = 387$, $r = -0.069$, $p = 0.175$).

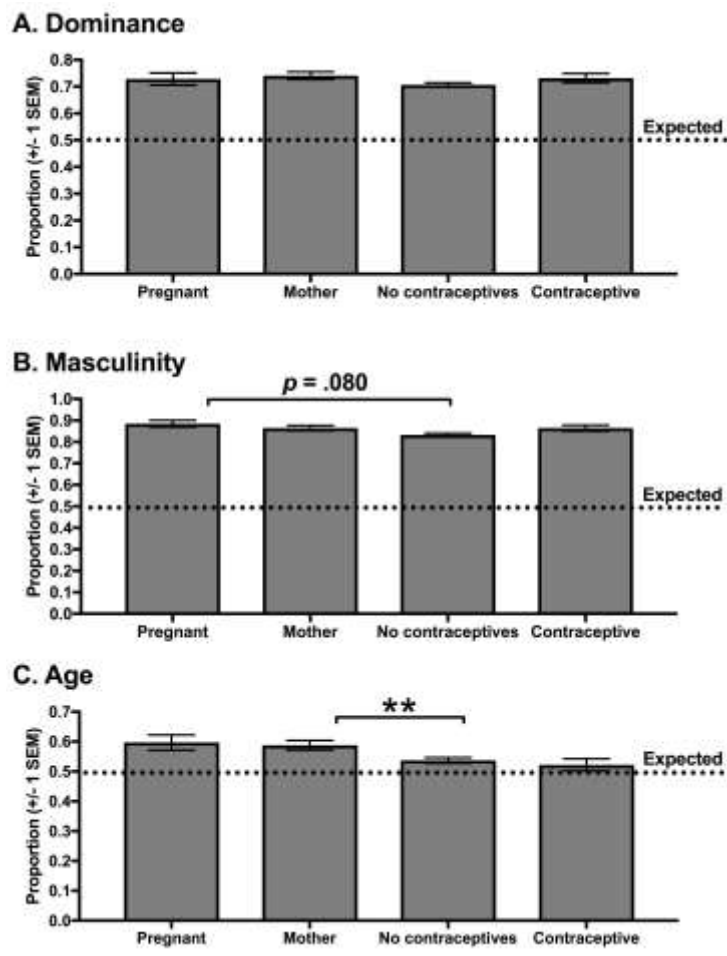


Figure 3. Mean proportion of bearded images (± 1 SEM) selected when judging dominance (A.), masculinity (B.), and age (C.) among women who were pregnant, in early motherhood, not using contraceptives, and using contraceptives. ** = $p < .01$.

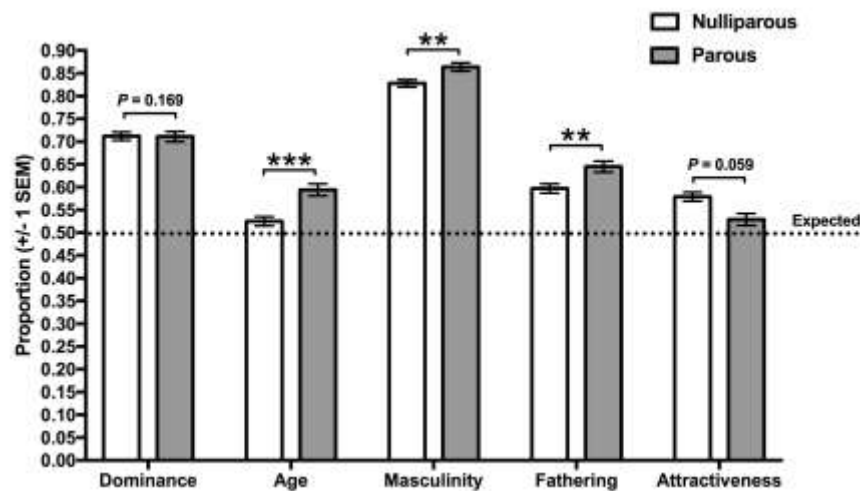
1
2 This analysis did not account for parity among our sample of women not using
3 contraceptives and it is possible changes in mate preferences among mothers extends beyond
4 that the first year of motherhood. Thus, we repeated our GLM and Bayesian GLM, this time
5 including non-pregnant mothers and non-pregnant non-mothers as an additional category of
6 current reproductive status. Of the 1286 women not using hormonal contraceptives, 890 did
7 not have any children and 396 had children. The mean proportion of selections for bearded
8 over clean-shaven faces for each trait judgment were dependent measures and reproductive
9 status (non-mothers not using contraceptives, mothers not using contraceptives, mothers with
10 a child under 1 year of age (hereafter referred to as 'mothers'), pregnant women and
11 contraceptive using women was a fixed factor, and rater's age was a covariate.
12

13 There was a significant effect of reproductive status on judgments of fathering,
14 $F(4,2097) = 6.08, p < .001, \eta^2 = .011$, which received strong support in Bayesian analyses
15 ($BF_{10} = 247.730$). Mothers gave higher judgments for beards than non-mothers who were not
16 using contraceptives ($p < 0.001; d = 0.30$). There was also a main effect of reproductive
17 status on judgments of age, $F(4,2097) = 4.63, p < .001, \eta^2 = .009$, which received strong
18 support in Bayesian analyses ($BF_{10} = 1719.105$). Mothers gave higher ratings than non-
19 mothers who were not using contraceptives ($p = .003; d = 0.22$). There was a significant
20 effect of reproductive status on judgments of masculinity, $F(4,2097) = 4.87, p < .001, \eta^2 =$
21 $.009$, which received weak support in Bayesian analyses ($BF_{10} = 0.971$). Pregnant women
22 gave higher ratings for beards than non-mothers who were not using contraceptives ($p = .021;$
23 $d = 0.26$), mothers gave higher ratings than non-mothers who were not using contraceptives
24 ($p = .032; d = 0.17$) and mothers who were not using contraceptives gave higher ratings than
25 non-mothers who were not using contraceptives ($p = .033; d = 0.19$). The effect of
26 reproductive status was significant for judgments of attractiveness, $F(4,2093) = 3.00, p =$
27 $.018, \eta^2 = .006$, although the main effect received weak support in Bayesian analyses ($BF_{10} =$
28 0.142). While preferences were highest among women using hormonal contraceptives, no
29 Bonferroni tests were significant. The effect of reproductive status was not significant for
30 judgments of attractiveness dominance, $F(4,2097) = 1.73, p = .141, \eta^2 = .003$. For results
31 relating to participant's age and Bayesian models see the Electronic Supplementary Materials
32 (ESM).
33

34 **Analysis 2. Women's parity and judgments of facial hair.** There was a significant effect of
35 parity on judgments of beardedness when judging age, masculinity, fathering, while
36 attractiveness judgments were approaching significance at the 5% levels and dominance
37 judgments were not statistically significant (Table 2). Parous women had higher preferences
38 for facial hair than nulliparous women when judging age, $p = .012, d = 0.21, BF_{10} = 396.739$,
39 masculinity, $p < .001, d = 0.15, BF_{10} = 5.272$, and fathering, $p = .002, d = 0.15, BF_{10} = 6.226$.
40 Nulliparous women judged facial hair as more attractive than mothers, $p = .059, d = 0.14,$
41 $BF_{10} = 3.800$. Judgments of dominance did not differ significantly with parity, $p = .169, d =$
42 $0.004, BF_{10} = 0.055$ (Figure 4).
43

44 There were significant associations between participant's age and judgments of age,
45 masculinity, dominance and attractiveness, but not parenting skills, for men's facial hair
46 (Table 2). Thus, age was positively associated with preferences for beards when judging age
47 ($r = .117, p < .001$), while associations were negative for judgments of dominance ($r = -.082,$
48 $p < .001$) and attractiveness ($r = -.073, p = .002$). Masculinity judgements were negatively
49 associated with age but were not statistically significant ($r = -.023, p = .334$). The age x
50 reproductive status interaction was not statistically significant for judgments of age,

1 masculinity, attractiveness and dominance, but was significant for fathering skills (Table 2).
 2 Judgments of parenting skills for bearded men were significantly positively associated with
 3 age among nulliparous women ($n = 1088$, $r = 0.088$, $p = 0.004$), but not among mothers ($n =$
 4 668 , $r = -0.037$, $p = 0.341$).



5
 6 **Figure 4.** Mean proportion of bearded images (± 1 SEM) selected when making judgments of
 7 dominance, age, masculinity, fathering, and attractiveness among nulliparous (open bars) and parous
 8 (dark grey bars) women who were not using contraceptives. ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .001$.
 9

10 **Analysis 3. Women's judgments of facial hair during pregnancy.** Hormones change over
 11 pregnancy potentially influencing preferences for masculine facial traits. Of the 152 pregnant
 12 women, 149 provided information on the stage of the pregnancy from which we calculated
 13 how far along in weeks they were into their pregnancy (Mean = 23, SD = 9.88, range 3-40).
 14 When entered as a co-variate, there were no significant associations between stage of
 15 pregnancy (in weeks) and any judgments of men's beards, all $F(1,147) \leq 2.63$, all $p \geq$
 16 $.107$ (ESM).
 17

18 **Analysis 4. Breastfeeding and women's judgments of facial hair.** Effects of motherhood
 19 on hormones and mate preferences extend beyond pregnancy into early motherhood and are
 20 influenced by breastfeeding. Of the 387 women (mean age = 29.41, SD = 4.99) who
 21 completed surveys when in early motherhood, 359 (93%, mean age = 29.54, SD = 4.99) were
 22 breastfeeding and 28 (7%, mean age 27.75, SD = 4.75) were not breastfeeding. Differences in
 23 age between women currently breastfeeding and not breast feeding were not statistically
 24 significant, $t(385) = 1.83$, $p = .068$. The GLMS revealed breastfeeding was not associated
 25 with any judgments, all $F(1,385) \leq 1.56$, all $p \geq .213$ (ESM).
 26

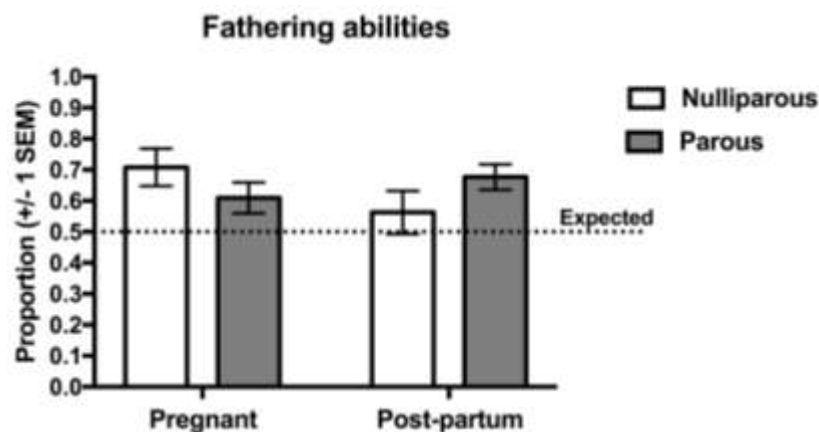
27 **Analysis 5. The age of women's offspring and their judgments of facial hair.** As
 28 women's testosterone is lower in the first years of motherhood, we compared mother's
 29 judgments for beards in GLMs and Bayesian ANCOVAs where the age of their youngest
 30 child (in months) was a covariate. Mothers' age and the age of their youngest
 31 child were significantly positively correlated ($r = .864$, $p < .001$), therefore mothers' age was also
 32 included as a covariate. A total of 839 women (mean age 35.21 years, SD = 10.58) provided
 33 the ages of their last-born child (mean = 69.98 months, SD = 113.7). When judging
 34 attractiveness, there was a significant effect of infant's age, $F(1, 836) = 11.61$, $p < .001$, and
 35 mother's age, $F(1, 836) = 18.12$, $p < .001$, but there was no infant age x mother's age
 36 interaction, $F(1, 835) = 0.09$, $p = .768$. To test whether women's preferences for beards were
 37 associated with age of their youngest infants when controlling for their age, we ran a partial

1 correlation comparing attractiveness judgments with age of infants while controlling for
2 mother's age. This correlation was positive and significant, $N = 836$, $r = .117$, $p < .001$,
3 which reflects that when controlling for mother's age attractiveness judgments increase as the
4 age of mother's youngest infants increase. There were no significant associations between
5 age of youngest infant and women's judgments of age, masculinity, dominance and parenting
6 skills, all $F(1, 836) \leq 1.16$, all $p \geq .281$ (ESM).

7
8 We also examined whether the age of the infants ($n = 349$, mean age 6.14 months, SD
9 $= 3.45$) among women in the first year of motherhood influenced judgments of facial hair.
10 Age of mothers ($N = 349$, mean age 29.41, years $SD = 4.99$) was not correlated with the age
11 of their youngest infant ($r = .016$, $p = .767$) None of the correlations between age of infants
12 and women's judgments of beards were statistically significant, all $r_s \leq .07$, all $p \geq .194$.
13 When entered as a co-variate, there were no significant associations with any trait judgments,
14 all $F(1,347) \leq 1.69$, all $p \geq .194$ (ESM).

15 3.2. Study 2: Women's preferences for men's beards during pregnancy and post-partum

16
17
18 The GLM showed no change in selections for bearded faces from pregnancy to the
19 early post-partum period on judgments of any traits (ESM). We repeated these analyses
20 including parity as a between-subjects factor comparing women having their first child ($n =$
21 12 , mean age 29.50, $SD = 5.21$) and women who already had children ($n = 41$, mean age
22 31.24 , $SD = 4.2$). There was a significant pregnancy \times parity interaction when judging for
23 fathering, $F(1,51) = 6.25$, $p = .016$, $\eta^2 = .108$, which received no support from Bayesian
24 analyses $BF_{10} = 0.316$ (ESM). This reflects that during pregnancy, women carrying their first
25 child judged beardedness higher for parenting skills than pregnant women who had children
26 already (i.e. parous). However, post-partum women nursing their first child judged beards
27 lower for parenting skills than women with multiple children (Figure 5). None of the other
28 main effects or interactions were statistically significant, all $F(1,51) \leq 2.61$, all $p \geq .112$
29 (ESM).



31
32 **Figure 5.** Data are the mean proportion of bearded images (± 1 SEM) selected as higher for fathering
33 abilities among women who were pregnant with their first child (i.e. nulliparous mothers, open bars)
34 or had children already (i.e. parous, grey bars).

35 DISCUSSION

36
37
38 Mating strategies theory asserts that women bypass the social costs of reduced
39 paternal investment in favour of mates who provide indirect genetic benefits that improve

1 offspring survivability (Gangestad & Simpson, 2000). Comparatively less attention has been
2 given to how preferences for cues of direct benefits (e.g. resources) vary as a function of
3 mating strategies (Scott et al., 2013). The current research tested whether women's
4 preferences for men's beards follow those of past research reporting women's preferences for
5 masculine traits are relaxed following childbirth leading into early motherhood compared to
6 women not using contraceptives and pregnant women (Escasa-dorne et al., 2017; Limoncin et
7 al., 2015). In Study 1, we found mothers with children under one year of age had higher
8 preferences for beards when judging fathering abilities than women who were pregnant, not
9 using contraceptives, and using hormonal contraceptives. These preferences were significant
10 for comparison between mothers and women not using contraceptives and the model received
11 strong support from Bayesian analyses (van Doorn et al., 2019). Pregnant women and
12 mothers also judged bearded faces as more masculine and older, but less attractive than
13 women who were not using contraceptives, which is similar to past research reporting
14 women's preferences for facial masculinity are stronger among young reproductively capable
15 non-pregnant women than pregnant women (Limoncin et al., 2015). We also found that
16 parous women gave significantly higher selections for beards when judging masculinity, age,
17 and fathering abilities, but lower sexual attractiveness judgments compared to nulliparous
18 women, which differs from research on craniofacial masculinity (Escasa-dorne et al., 2017)
19 and highlights a potential role of beardedness in communicating direct benefits.
20

21 In addition to pronounced hormonal changes between pregnant and cycling women,
22 endocrine changes occurring during pregnancy may underpin variation in women's
23 preferences for masculine traits (Cobey et al., 2015). Thus, estradiol, progesterone and
24 testosterone may be positively associated with women's facial masculinity preferences over
25 the menstrual cycle (Roney et al., 2011; Welling et al., 2008; Marcinkowska et al., 2018b).
26 Hormonal changes due to pregnancy are far more pronounced than those during menstrual
27 cycles (Motta-Mena & Puts, 2017) and may be associated with variation in preferences for
28 masculine traits (Cobey et al., 2015). However, we found no significant relationship between
29 how far into their pregnancy women were and their attractiveness judgments of men's beards,
30 suggesting that judgments were not specific to hormonal variation occurring during
31 pregnancy. Progesterone, estradiol, and testosterone rise from the 1st to the 3rd trimester and
32 decline dramatically postpartum (Schock et al., 2016; Buckwalter et al., 1999). Women's
33 preferences for facial masculinity were more pronounced during the 3rd trimester of
34 pregnancy than the first three months postpartum (Cobey et al., 2015). In Study 2, we
35 measured judgments of men's beards in a subset of the participants from Study 1, first during
36 the 3rd trimester of pregnancy and again three months post-partum. We found no significant
37 differences in women's judgments of beards for any perceptual traits post-partum compared
38 to pregnancy. However, when judging fathering abilities, first-time mothers reported higher
39 preferences for beards than parous women during pregnancy, whereas multiparous women
40 had higher preferences for beards than first-time mothers postpartum. While these analyses
41 were exploratory, support from Bayesian analyses was weak, and further replication is
42 required, our findings provide preliminary evidence that variation in women's judgments of
43 men's beards may vary with the transition to motherhood and parity rather than variation in
44 reproductive hormones during pregnancy.
45

46 The results of our second study highlight that parity may impact on women's mate
47 preferences. Compared to nulliparous women, parous women in our first study selected
48 bearded faces relative to clean-shaven faces more often when judging masculinity, age and
49 fathering abilities, but less often when judging sexual attractiveness. Beards also received
50 higher selections for fathering abilities among mothers not using contraceptives than women

1 not using contraceptives without children and among mothers raising young infants under 1
2 year of age compared to women who were not using contraceptives. Pregnancy and early
3 motherhood are periods in which women are vulnerable and social support is beneficial to
4 maternal and infant wellbeing (Hrdy, 2016). Human mating systems are cooperative and
5 characterized by allomaternal investment from grandmothers, sisters, and aunts via infant
6 care and provisioning (Hrdy, 2016). Fathers also contribute to the survival of their offspring
7 through providing tangible resources and protection (Gettler, 2016; Muller, 2017). In many
8 species, male secondary sexual characters are employed primarily in intra-sexual competition
9 (Rico-Guevara & Hurme, 2019) and may be preferred by females when resources and
10 protection could be gained (Wong and Candolini, 2005). Recent evidence suggests that men's
11 secondary sexual traits play a more important role in male-male competition than enhancing
12 attractiveness (Kordsmeyer et al., 2018). In the current study, women judged beards as
13 looking significantly more dominant than clean-shaven faces irrespective of changes in
14 reproductive status, which is consistent with past studies (Dixson et al., 2018c). However, our
15 findings that mothers judge bearded men as having higher parenting skills differ from
16 research on women's preferences for men's facial masculinity, which report preferences for
17 facial masculinity continue to decrease post-partum (Cobey et al., 2015; Marcinkowska et al.,
18 2018c) and during early motherhood (Escasa-dorne et al., 2017). Unlike facial masculinity,
19 beardedness may not be related to fighting ability (Dixson et al., 2018c) and instead enhances
20 perceptions of social aspects of dominance and prestige including sincerity, courageousness,
21 self-confidence and competence (Kenny & Fletcher, 1973; Pellegrini, 1973; Guido et al.,
22 2011; Hellström & Tekle, 1994). Interestingly, we found no associations between women's
23 preferences for men's beards when judging fathering abilities and the age of their infants.
24 Instead, there was a positive association between the age of the last-born child and women's
25 attractiveness judgments of men's beards. Thus, women's preferences for beards when
26 judging long-term partner preferences and parenting skills, particularly when young rearing
27 infants, may reflect selection for an ornamental badge of status that communicates direct
28 benefits like resources and protection.

29
30 There are some important limitations to our studies that are worth addressing in future
31 research. For example, while the sample size in our second study was sufficiently powered to
32 detect a medium effect size, our analyses were restricted to women interviewed during the
33 third trimester and the early months post-partum. Future research should ideally use data
34 collected prior to pregnancy, over the entire course of pregnancy and postpartum using
35 within-subject designs in conjunction with hormone measures. It is also possible that our
36 sampling approach, wherein women were interviewed in late pregnancy and again in the first
37 three months post-partum, introduced sampling biases due to not counterbalancing data
38 collection. We also found no influence of breastfeeding on women's judgments of
39 beardedness. However, 93% of our sample of Australian mothers were breastfeeding, which
40 is likely a reflection of the mothers being from middle-class backgrounds as breastfeeding
41 rates decline between 3-6 months postpartum due in part to returning to the work force
42 (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2010). Unfortunately, we did not collect
43 information regarding our participants socioeconomic status or whether breastfeeding women
44 had resumed menstrual cycles, which will alter their hormonal status (Ellison, 2003) and
45 potentially influence mate preferences. Further, effects of breastfeeding on gonadotropin
46 release are most pronounced when breastfeeding is chronic and given we do not have detailed
47 information on the frequency of breastfeeding, we speculate that the hormonal profiles of our
48 sample may have been fairly heterogenous, which may also explain our null result.
49 Breastfeeding impacts on mate preferences in some small-scale societies such as the Hadza
50 hunter-gatherers of Tanzania and Manilla in the Philippines, where lactation was associated

1 with lower preferences for masculine voices (Apicella and Feinberg 2009; Shirazi et al.,
2 2018). Thus, future research extending our study to include cross-cultural samples from
3 small-scale societies would be valuable. Finally, future research might use stimuli that
4 manipulate facial masculinity and beardedness in concert to test possible trade-offs in trait
5 preferences and potentially expose multiple preference functions during the transition to
6 motherhood (Dixson et al., 2016). For the present, our results suggest that mothers may be
7 sensitive to beards as a masculine secondary sexual characteristic that communicates
8 parenting skills, rather than sexual attractiveness, providing preliminary evidence that
9 women's mate preferences for beards reflect sexual selection for direct benefits.

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