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Male Pattern Blindness: The Consequences of Defending Manhood

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Psychology

by

Matthew Christian Jackson

2013

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Male Pattern Blindness: The Consequences of Defending Manhood

By

Matthew Christian Jackson

Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2013

Professor Phillip Atiba Goff, Chair

Research on threats to masculine gender identity reveals that they occur in a diversity of contexts. In conjunction with research on the content of masculine identity, there is converging evidence that manhood is seen as a status that men must work hard to earn and maintain (Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, & Weaver, 2008). In the defense of claims to manhood, men often perform behavior that restores their sense of masculinity in the short term, but has harmful future consequences for themselves and the people around them. While there is a growing body of work demonstrating this relationship, there is less known about why

masculinity operates this way. Specifically, what aspects of the defense of masculinity lead men to ignore the harmful future consequences of their actions? Could it be that the precarious nature of masculinity motivates men to focus on the immediate contexts where their masculinity is threatened, and to ignore the future consequences of how they respond? Four studies tested this hypothesis. Study 1 examines whether the precarious nature of masculinity provokes a focus on immediate responses to threats, lest one's hard fought claim to manhood be lost. Relative to men whose gender identity was validated, men experiencing masculinity threats became less concerned with the future consequences of their behavior relative to their concerned with the immediate context. In contrast, women experiencing gender identity threats did not become more focused on their immediate context. Study 2 examined whether or not the precariousness of masculine identity is unique. Here I provide evidence that, relative to other social identities, masculinity is unique in that it is both highly valued and viewed as precarious. Study 3 tests directly whether or not the precariousness of masculinity is driving the reduction in focus on the future consequences of men's behavior. Here, I demonstrate that threatening an equally valued, but less precarious social identity (family identity) fails to reproduce decrements in men's focus on the future consequences of their behavior. This study demonstrates that it is the combination of the high value and high precariousness of a social identity—and not masculinity itself—that leads to a reduced focus on the consequences of men's responses to a threatened social identity. Finally, Study 4 demonstrates that reframing masculinity as a less precarious status can effectively attenuate men's myopic focus when their masculine identity is threatened.

The dissertation of Matthew Christian Jackson is approved.

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2013

For Noah, Raphael, and David.

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Introduction

Award winning photojournalist Roger Ressmeyer was embarrassed to admit that he had forgotten to bring the food necessary to control his insulin response. Unwilling to ask a colleague for even an apple, he endured a diabetic blackout during his coverage of the first NASA space shuttle launch. He awoke hours later, in the driver's seat of his car, directly in front of a newsstand where others' photos of the launch had already made headline news.

Bodybuilder Victor Faizowitz, desperate to get an edge in his quest for a stronger, larger, more impressive body, took enough diuretic supplements to send "his body temperature to 112 degrees, and he literally melted to death" (Soltalaroff, 1991, as cited in Klein, 1995, p. 109). In 1995, Jonathan Schmitz appeared on a nationally televised talk show, where a male acquaintance revealed having a romantic crush. Horrified at simply being the target of male sexual attraction, Schmitz shot and killed his friend, and now is serving 25-50 years in prison. What do these scenarios have in common? Each of these individuals risked their livelihood in the service of self-image. The first narrowly avoided death by managing to drive to food in the midst of a diabetic blackout. The other two effectively surrendered their lives in pursuit of dubious benefits. Another connection is that all three were men.

Is it possible that, for each man, immediate concerns about their masculinity played a role in their behaviors? Kathy Charmaz (1991; 1995) observed that chronic illness can threaten men's sense of masculinity. As a result, Charmaz noted that men would hide the symptoms of their illnesses in moments when they were around others, even though it harmed their long-term health outcomes. Similarly, despite well documented long-term health costs, some men turn to extreme bodybuilding as a buffer against being perceived as less masculine. Research has demonstrated that masculine insecurities can lead men to "hide behind a formidable looking

fortress” of massive physical stature (Klein, 1995), suggesting that having the appearance of masculine physical vitality may, to some men, be more important than their actual vitality. And, finally, prescriptions against men being targets of same-sex attractions are often entrenched as a value of hetero-normative masculinity as early as pre-adolescence. Even young men with relatively liberal ideas about same sex relationships display an aversion to themselves being associated with homosexuality (Pascoe, 2005). In response to the threat that some men perceive when they are the object of another man’s sexual desire, violent responses are not uncommon. Jonathan Schmitz used the “Gay Panic” criminal defense, a defense that is predicated on the idea that he was not culpable for his actions because the context prevented him from fully considering the future consequences of his actions (Chuang & Addison, 1988). Research on masculinity has suggested that men will go to extreme lengths to defend their masculinity. Yet it is still unclear why the defense of one’s manhood frequently seems to be divorced from considering the future consequences of one’s actions. Throughout this dissertation I examine one potential mechanism that may fill this gap in our understanding of the consequences of masculinity threats. I test if the precariousness of masculinity produces a narrow focus on the present, at the cost of considering future consequences, when a man’s masculinity is threatened.

Psychologists who have investigated masculinity threat have theorized that manhood is perceived to be a tenuous social status (Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, & Weaver, 2008). Manhood is viewed as precarious, in that one must work hard to achieve it and that one may easily lose their status as a man once it has been obtained. As such, men can feel particularly anxious when confronted with masculinity threats—contexts where one’s perceived masculinity might be impugned. Previous research has examined various sources of threat, including utilizing healthcare resources (i.e. men feeling that seeking health care violates their gender roles

as self-reliant; Addis & Mahalik, 2003), admitting feeling pain (i.e. men who express pain being perceived as less masculine; Bernardes & Lima, 2010), body image (i.e. men feeling dissatisfaction with themselves when exposed to pictures of more muscular men; Leit, Gray, & Pope, Jr., 2002), success in stereotypically female domains (i.e. men showing signs of depression after demonstrating more knowledge than a woman about “Beauty aids”; Gilbert & Thompson, 1999), interactions with effeminate gay men (i.e. men displaying negative affect towards gay men with feminine characteristics in response to a desire to reject stereotypically feminine traits in themselves; Glick, Gangl, Gibb, Klumpner, & Weinberg, 2007), experiencing racial discrimination (i.e. not having control over one's outcomes as a violation of masculine self-concepts; Goff, Di Leone, & Kahn, 2012), and education (i.e. working class men not perceiving the pursuit of higher education as masculine; Archer, Pratt, & Phillips, 2001).

These literatures help document the breadth of situations that can threaten masculinity. However, they have not explained the tendency to ignore the future consequences of one's behavior when defending masculinity. It is self-evident that men would be motivated to defend an important identity, especially if that identity is easily lost. It is less evident why that defense would take the form of murder or self-injury. In other words, while the previous literature provides a useful framework for understanding masculinity threat, it does not provide a compelling explanation for why these threats are frequently linked with myopic and destructive behaviors. This dissertation investigates a direct connection between the experience of masculinity threat and a reduction in the consideration of future consequences of one's behavior. Specifically, is it possible that masculinity threats cause men to ignore the future consequences

of their actions in service of the immediate needs of this precarious social identity? That is the hypothesis that this dissertation explores.

In this dissertation, I review previous definitions of masculinity, illuminating why it provokes such rigorous defense. I provide an overview of the existing literature on masculinity threat, reviewing the breadth of research contexts within which the negative consequences of masculinity threats have been demonstrated. I then present prior research on the myopic concern with immediate consequences, a literature that may help explain why men seem to ignore future consequences under conditions of threat. Finally, I explore the reduced consideration of future consequences of one's behavior as a mechanism by which threats to masculinity lead men to perform destructive behavior.

What is Masculinity?

In the following section, I provide evidence supporting three key insights about the concept of masculinity: that it is not merely the opposite of femininity, that it is incremental, and that it is both valued and precarious. Each of these insights is the result of a separate, but related body of research that provides us with a functional answer to how masculinity has come to be defined.

Not the opposite of femininity. As opposed to biological conceptions of sex based in anatomy, social psychologists commonly define gender as a social construct (e.g. Gergen, 1985; Herek, 1986). Historically, masculinity and femininity were viewed as complementary opposites, conceived as bipolar ends of a single continuum (e.g. Bem, 1974; Gough, 1957). This conceptualization was reflected in early measurements of gender. For example, the Masculinity-Femininity sub-scale of the California Psychological Inventory (Gough, 1957) used 38 items to

define a one-dimensional masculine-feminine continuum. One implication of this construction was that individuals were then judged to be either masculine or feminine, but one could not be both (Bem, 1974).

Bem (1974) famously challenged categorical “either/or” constructions of gender, demonstrating that individuals can simultaneously embody traits stereotypically associated with men and women. Similar to previous measurements, Bem created an inventory (Bem Sex Roles Inventory; 1974) that asked individuals to rate themselves along positive dimensions of stereotypical masculinity (e.g. aggressive and assertive) and femininity (e.g. cheerful and compassionate). A major contribution of this work was the orthogonal operationalization of masculinity and femininity, such that individuals could score highly on both dimensions of masculinity and femininity. And indeed Bem found that many individuals scored highly along both dimensions indicating psychological androgyny, something the author argued represented a more balanced and healthy gender identity. Bem argued that individuals with a narrow gender self-concept might feel inhibited from performing behaviors associated with the other sex. Conversely, an androgynous self-concept might allow an individual to freely engage in both stereotypically masculine and stereotypically feminine behaviors.

The Personal Attitudes Questionnaire also attempted to capture individuals’ perceptions of their masculinity and femininity (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1974). In 1979, Spence and colleagues designed an extended version of the scale to improve on previous versions by asking individuals to rate themselves along negative dimensions of masculinity (e.g. unmitigated agency, or egotism/exclusive focus on the self) and femininity (e.g. passive verbal-aggressiveness/”nagging” or lacking a sense of self/being “spineless”); Spence, Helmreich, &

Holahan, 1979) in addition to positive ones. Interestingly, the authors found that the positive and negative masculinity scales were positively correlated; indicating that men were reporting their subscription to masculine norms, as opposed to responding solely with what was socially desirable. In other words, men reported embodying negative stereotypically male characteristics, even when those characteristics were devalued.

Gender identities are socially constructed to be incremental. Psychologist Alice Eagly (1987) observed a historical division in labor between women, whose labor responsibilities were historically located within the home, and men, whose labor responsibilities were historically located outside the home. These labor differences are theorized to result in gendered differences in social behavior, and consequently divergent expectancies of men and women's behavior. These expectancies, the theory posits, are then socialized onto future generations and reify the social behavior of each gender (Social Role Theory; Eagly, 1987; Eagly 1997; Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000). Subsequently, the behavior of men and women is governed by the stereotypes of gendered social roles (Eagly & Wood, 1991). According to this line of research, men strive to be powerful, dominant, and self-assertive, while women strive to be caring, intimate with others, and emotionally expressive. This leads to positive self-regard for those who successfully embody these stereotypical gender expectations (Wood, Christensen, Hebl, & Rothgerber, 1997). Bem, Spence, and Eagly's constructions of gender identity converge in important ways. First, masculinity and femininity are not seen as simple categorical identities based on sex characteristics. Second, gender can be embodied to varying degrees. For the purposes of the current dissertation, I will now turn to how masculinity specifically has been defined.

Sociologist Janet Chafetz identified seven areas of traditional masculinity in western cultures (1974). Those areas are physical prowess, functional agency (i.e. being a provider), sexual agency, emotional stoicism, rational intellectualism, interpersonal agency (e.g. leadership and individualism), and personal agency (e.g. success orientation and egotism). Psychologist Robert Brannon (1976) distilled similar characteristics into 4 broader rules of manhood:

1. *No Sissy Stuff*: A man must avoid any behavior or characteristic associated with women. This rule also encourages heterosexism.
2. *Be a Big Wheel*: Manhood is measured by the admiration of others. This rule encourages men to compete with others rather than to cooperate.
3. *Be a Sturdy Oak*: Manhood requires rationality, toughness, and self-reliance. This rule discourages interdependence, help-seeking, and displays of emotion.
4. *Give 'em Hell*: Manhood is characterized by daring and aggression. This rule encourages men to take risks and be violent, even when reason suggests otherwise.

The similarities in these two different taxonomies of masculinity approach a consensus regarding the critical elements of masculinity. While masculinity should not be seen as the opposite of femininity, it is valuable for men to distinguish themselves from women. In addition, men are judged on their ability to be agentic (functionally, professionally, sexually, etc.), independent, and powerful (in terms of both stature and status). But emerging research has identified a key feature of masculine gender identity that is both influential, and not as intuitive as any of the items listed in these frameworks.

Masculinity is precarious. Recent research has characterized an ironic additional dimension of masculinity: Precariousness. Vandello and colleagues posited that manhood is a precarious status requiring continual validation (Vandello et al., 2008). Men may have evolved a preoccupation with achieving and maintaining social status, along with a heightened sensitivity to threats to that status, because men who exhibited these qualities were more successful at reproduction (Bosson & Vandello, 2011). Vandello and colleagues (2008) used survey methods to test this hypothesis.

In one study, U.S. college students were asked to select which of several visual images best represented the psychological profile of an adult who could not have children. Half of the participants read a description of a woman who could not become pregnant, and the other half read about a man who could not impregnate his wife. After reading the description, participants selected an image to represent the profile. The possible images included an attractive adult, an unattractive adult, and a child, as well as several abstract images. While only 16% of participants chose the child image for an infertile woman, 40% of participants chose the child image for an infertile man. Whereas the most frequently assigned picture of an infertile man was a childlike representation (40%), the most frequently assigned picture of an infertile woman was of a less attractive woman (28%). This finding indicates that women who are not successful in an important domain – while sometimes viewed less positively (i.e. less attractive) – are still fully represented as women. Conversely, unsuccessful men are more likely to be viewed as less than a full man (i.e. childlike). This finding was taken as evidence that “womanhood” is not as tenuous as is “manhood” (Vandello et. al, 2008)

In a subsequent study, participants were asked to indicate the degree to which the transition from childhood to either manhood or womanhood results from the passage of physical

milestones (e.g., puberty) versus social milestones (e.g., achieving goals). Whereas participants perceived an equally strong role of physical factors in the transitions to manhood and womanhood, they viewed manhood as requiring more social accomplishments than womanhood.

Interestingly, participants also interpreted the loss of manhood in primarily social terms. When asked to explain how a person might lose manhood, college students generated more reasons that reflected social themes (e.g., “let someone down”) than physical themes (e.g., “sex-change operation”); the opposite pattern emerged in people’s explanations for the loss of womanhood (Vandello et al., 2008). This data indicates that losses of masculinity are often tied to less stable (social) characteristics whereas losses of femininity are often tied to more stable (biological) characteristics. This suggests that, while both masculinity and femininity can be threatened, masculinity is perceived to be more precarious.

Though masculinity would appear to be a high-status identity (Vescio, Schlenker, & Lenex, 2010), its precariousness is also a source of anxiety and a cause for vigilance against individuals or events that challenge that status. Considering the importance of social identities, losing one’s tenuous claim to manhood can be seen as a substantial and immediate loss. However, that masculinity is a precarious and valued social identity does not explain why the defense of one’s manhood frequently is divorced from considering the long-term consequences of one’s actions. To understand more fully the nature of masculinity and why it can produce such myopia, I now turn to research on what can threaten a man’s claim to manhood.

Threats to Manhood

The sources of threat. If masculinity is a high-status identity that is easily threatened, then understanding masculinity requires that we understand what threatens it. In the following section, I outline a brief history of how researchers have understood masculinity threat, arriving

at the present moment. Early definitions of masculinity threat, like early definitions of masculinity, conceptualized of manhood in terms of its distance from womanhood. From this, researchers began designing scales to assess individual differences in a propensity to experience threats to masculinity. Finally, with the ascendance of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1982), researchers began attempting to understand the ways in which masculinity was similar to, and different from, other identities. The current state of this research suggests that the defining characteristic of masculine identity—as opposed to other social identities—is the combination of high status and the ease with which that status is lost.

Early definitions of masculinity threat. Early research about threats to manhood reflected the early one-dimensional conception of gender identity. For instance, noted Sociologist Talcott Parsons (1947) put forth the theory of compensatory masculinity, the idea that males defensively exaggerate their masculinity in response to sex-role threat. Parsons observed that new fathers increasingly performed anti-social behavior, in correspondence with the extent to which they considered their wives as nurturing and good. Parsons theorizes that, as men saw mothers nurture, they began to associate pro-social behaviors (such as nurturing) with being female. Thus to avoid the anxiety engendered by not differentiating from women, these men increasingly avoided pro-social behaviors.

Similarly, Babl (1979) demonstrated that men respond to male sex-role threats with compensatory behavior in order to reduce the anxiety of being seen as similar to women. In one study, Babl had men listen to one of two audio recordings, one intended to threaten participants sense of masculinity, the other intended to validate it. In the masculinity threat condition, the recording presented ostensible longitudinal research findings of a decreased level of masculinity in current American college males, citing socio-cultural trends such as restructured family roles

as illustrative of this finding. In the masculinity validation condition, a similar tape reported research findings of an unchanged level of masculinity in American males, and cited the same socio-cultural phenomena as evidence of a broadened concept of masculinity. Babl then administered a measure designed to measure the endorsement of masculinity and femininity along a bipolar continuum (The California Psychological Inventory Femininity scale; Gough, 1957), as well as a measure of the endorsement of anti-social behaviors (e.g. fighting, dangerous driving), and a measure of anxiety. As predicted, men under threat responded anxiously and subsequently reported exaggerated levels of masculinity and antisocial behavior. These studies provided early evidence that men might perform undesirable—and potentially destructive (e.g. fighting, dangerous driving)—behaviors in service of their masculine self-concept.

Measuring masculinity threat. In order to measure the propensity to experience masculinity threats, O’Neil and colleagues developed the Gender Role Conflict Scale as a way to identify the various contextual locations of gender role conflict (O’Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986). Using factor analysis, they provided initial construct validity for four patterns of gender role conflict. These patterns included:

1. Success, power, and competition issues (e.g. “Doing well all the time is important to me”)
- 2) Restrictive emotionality (e.g. “I have difficulty telling others I care about them”)
- 3) Restrictive sexual and affectionate behavior between men (e.g. “Men who are overly friendly to me make me wonder about their sexual preference”)
- 4) Conflict between work and family relations. (e.g. “My needs to work or study keep me from my family or leisure more than I would like.”)

These areas of conflict overlapped greatly with Brannon's (1976) taxonomy of masculine identity. The 'rules of masculinity' David and Brannon labeled *No Sissy Stuff & Be a Sturdy Oak* map onto conflicts of restrictive emotionality and restrictive affectionate behavior. Similarly, success, power, and competition conflicts captured failures to *Be a Big Wheel* and *Give 'em Hell*. However, O'Neil and colleagues' theory of Gender Role Conflict added a new dimension of masculine conflict, where time at work interfered with a man's family relationships.

Eisler and Skidmore (1987) similarly hypothesized that men would experience distress in the context of situations they appraise as a threat to their masculine identity. In one study, the authors had male and female participants rate 66 scenarios (e.g. admitting that someone hurt your feelings; not being able to find a sexual partner) in terms of how stressful they were. Utilizing a factor analysis, the authors identified a number of situations in which many men-but not women-experience gender-role stress. These authors characterized male gender role stress-producing situations as those in which men perceive themselves as physically inadequate, emotionally expressive, subordinate to women, intellectually inferior, or inadequate in the performance of work or sex. They referred to their new scale as the Male Gender Role Stress scale.

Importantly, the authors also administered the Personal Attitudes Questionnaire. By demonstrating that Male Gender Role Stress did not correlate with this measure of masculinity ($N = 173$, $r = .08$, n.s.), the authors demonstrated that this measure was not simply an alternative way of measuring the endorsement of masculinity, but rather a measure of the significant anxiety that men feel when their claim to manhood becomes threatened.

A taxonomy of threats. Just as researchers attempted to create a taxonomy for the dimensions of masculinity, so too have researchers attempted to create one for the types of

threats that an individual's masculinity might face. Because manhood is stereotypically associated with power, status, and influence, and are thus seen as an important and valued social identity, it follows that threats to each of these may also be perceived as threats to one's masculinity (Vescio, Schlenker, & Lenex, 2010). Social identity theorists have identified five threats to social identities broadly, that can be applied here to masculine identity specifically (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Dooje, 1999; Maass, Cadinu, Guarnieri, & Grasselli, 2003),

First, 'categorization threat' is the threat of being categorized against one's will in an undesirable social group. A man who is categorized as effeminate might experience this threat. Consequently, being perceived as homosexual may also constitute an even greater categorization threat because queer-identified men are strongly stereotyped as effeminate (Herek, 1986). Second, 'group value threat' occurs when the value of one's group is challenged. This threat could occur when women outperform men in a stereotypically masculine context, such as tests of mental capacity (Mills & D'Alfonso, 2007). Third, 'legitimacy threats' challenge the legitimacy of the status held by an in-group. This could occur when the history of men's oppression of women is made salient, such as during a conversation with a feminist (Vescio, Gervais, Heiphetz, & Bloodhart, 2009). This is a threat to the worth of one's group as opposed to a threat to one's membership within that group. Fourth, 'distinctiveness threat' challenges the uniqueness of one's valued in-group. As society moves towards gender equality, men can feel that the differences between men and women were shrinking, and experience this threat (Babl, 1979; Mishkind, Rodin, Silberstein, & Striegel-Moore, 1986; Pope, Phillips, & Olivardia, 2000). Finally, 'prototypicality threat' occurs when one feels like they don't fit as a prototypical member of their group. A man who violates any 'rule of masculinity' might experience this threat.

Building on the Social Identity Theory taxonomy of threats, Vescio and colleagues further theorized that these five basic types of masculinity threats can arise from three sources: (1) the self, e.g. failing in a masculine domain, (2) Other men, e.g. evaluative exchanges in which men critique the masculinity of other, and (3) Women, e.g. rejecting the romantic advance of a male, or outperforming a man in a masculine context (Vescio, Schlenker, & Lenas, 2010).

This research reveals that masculinity operates like many other social identities. Masculinity is valued, masculinity can be threatened in a broad set of contexts, and those threats cause significant anxiety. What, then, psychologically differentiates masculinity from other social identities, such as age or race? In addition to the material differences between a gender identity and other social identities, it may also be the case that masculinity is different from other social identities because of its precarious nature.

One is unlikely to be concerned with losing their generational status, and dominant-group racial identities are equally unlikely to face challenges. However, claiming to be a “real man” can be tenuous (Vandello et al., 2008). And, just as there are multiple dimensions that make up masculine identity, there are numerous contexts in which a man’s claim to manhood can be threatened (Vescio, Schlenker, & Lenas, 2010). Taken together with research on masculine identity, there is evidence that *manhood* is not simply a marker of anatomy or age. Instead, manhood is a tenuous status, one obtained through performance, and one requiring defense. If masculinity is precarious, as I have suggested, then one would expect to see a variety of domains in which men respond to masculinity threats. A review of the outcomes related to the experience of masculinity threat demonstrates exactly that.

The Consequences of Threat

Below, I review three domains in which a sizeable body of research has been established demonstrating the negative consequences of the experience of masculinity threat: sexism and heterosexism, aggression and violence, and health outcomes.

Sexism and heterosexism. Researchers have demonstrated a strong relationship between masculinity threat and sexist behavior. For instance, Maass and colleagues have demonstrated that masculinity threats predict sexual harassment in the workplace (Maass, Cadinu, Guarnieri, & Grasselli, 2003). Maass and colleagues exposed men to one of several social identity threats (i.e. legitimacy threat, distinctiveness threat and prototypicality threat) in a workplace simulation. In one study, participants ostensibly engaged with a feminist interaction partner who stated opinions that challenged the legitimacy of the status advantages that men enjoy on the job market. In a second study, participants were threatened by being told either that they were an atypically feminine male (a prototypicality threat) or that men in general were becoming more feminine (a distinctiveness threat). In each study, participants were asked to exchange images with their female partner for a creativity task, being asked to label the images as a test of creativity. The participants were able to choose between a set of neutral images and several pornographic images. In both studies, highly gender identified men under threat engaged in significantly greater sexual harassment of an ostensible female colleague (as measured by the number of images that were pornographic in nature), relative to men who had not been threatened. In addition, consistent with social identity theory's assumption that out-group derogation serves identity-protective functions (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), men who sexually harassed women showed increased gender identification post-experiment as indicated by greater endorsement of collective self-esteem items such as "I am happy to be male" (Maass, Cadinu,

Guarnieri, & Grasselli, 2003). Thus in both private and public social spheres, researchers have demonstrated that men perform sexist behaviors in order to protect their claims to manhood.

However, men do not exclusively target women when contending with threat.

Masculinity threat has been shown to elicit negative affect towards gay men as well (Glick, Gangl, Gibb, Klumpner, & Weinberg, 2007; Hudepohl, Parrott, & Zeichner, 2010). In a study by Glick and colleagues (2007), participants were given false feedback on a test in order to threaten their masculinity. After taking a personality test, half of the participants were told that they scored in the average male range. The other half were told that they scored in the average female range, serving as the threat manipulation. After receiving the feedback, participants were asked to rate profiles of masculine gay men (characterized by stereotypically male interests and activities, e.g. liking football and becoming a CEO of a business) as well as profiles of effeminate gay men (characterized by stereotypically female interests and activities, e.g. liking musicals and becoming a fashion designer). Men who received threatening feedback reported significantly higher amounts of negative affect (i.e. fear, hostility, and discomfort) towards effeminate gay targets, but not masculine gay targets, suggesting that this heterosexist response was due to men's desire to reject the stereotypically feminine traits that they feared possessing themselves. For if the observed responses were simply a function of derogating a devalued out-group, one would expect equally negative affect towards all gay men, as opposed to the disproportionately negative affect towards gay men who possess feminine characteristics (Glick et al., 2007; Falomir-Pichastor & Mugny, 2009). Tellingly, men whose masculine identity was validated showed no increase in negative affect towards effeminate gay men relative to masculine gay men, adding further evidence to the theory that the observed responses might be

due to men's desire to reject the stereotypically feminine traits that they might fear possessing themselves.

Aggression and violence. In addition to sexist and heterosexist behaviors, masculinity threat may also lead to physical aggression, and even interpersonal violence (Daly & Wilson, 1988). Vandello and colleagues (2008) demonstrated that threats to masculinity activated aggressive thoughts. In one experiment, college students received false feedback on an ostensible test of gender identity. Half of participants were told that they scored lower than the average man or woman on the test, whereas the other half were told that they scored higher than most other men or women. Thus, half of participants some people received a threat to their gender status, whereas the other half had their gender status validated. Next, participants did a word-completion task in which nine word stems (e.g., __IGHT) could be completed in either an aggressive manner (e.g., FIGHT) or a nonaggressive manner (e.g., RIGHT), serving as a measure of aggression-relevant cognitions. The authors found that men in the gender-threat condition completed more words in an aggressive manner than did men in the gender-boost condition, whereas feedback about women's gender status had no effect on their aggressive cognitions (Vandello et al., 2008). In other words, threats to masculinity led men to think more aggressive thoughts, while threats to femininity did not have the same effect on women.

Further, this effect on cognition seems to translate into behavior. In a series of studies, Bosson and colleagues threatened men's masculinity by videotaping them while they performed a stereotypically feminine task that involved braiding a mannequin's hair (Bosson, Vandello, Burnaford, Weaver, & Wasti, 2009). A control group of men was videotaped while performing a similar but non-threatening activity that involved braiding three strands of rope. Subsequently, men were given the opportunity to choose one of two activities they would like to do—solving a

“brainteaser” puzzle, or hitting a punching pad. Only 22% of the control group who performed the rope-braiding task selected the punching activity. However, of the men who had performed the threatening task of braiding hair, 50% chose the punching task. The authors argued that significantly more men under threat chose the punching task because aggressive displays may serve to restore threatened manhood. In a follow up study, men under threat expressed less anxiety after utilizing the punching pad, relative to men under threat who did not aggress, providing evidence for this perspective.

Further evidence of a connection between masculinity threats and aggression are found in research about masculine cultures such as what Nisbett and Cohen have called “cultures of honor” (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). In an attempt to understand why seemingly petty disputes can escalate into violence, researchers explored cultures of honor, social contexts within which even small disputes can become contests for masculine reputation and social status (Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, & Schwarz, 1996; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). In cultures in which honor is a central organizing theme, manhood and honor are intimately linked such that honor is maintained through men’s willingness to protect their reputations and that of their families by any means, including violence (Bosson & Vandello 2011). Cohen and colleagues examined the differences between American southerners, who are historically characterized as having values consistent with cultures of honor, and American Northerners who historically lack such a characterization. Participating men from both the North and South were insulted by a confederate who bumped into the participant and called him an “asshole.” Compared to Northerners—who were relatively unaffected by the insult—Southerners were more likely to feel that their masculinity was threatened; more upset by the slight; more physiologically primed for aggression (as demonstrated by heightened cortisol and testosterone levels); and more likely to engage in

aggressive and dominant behaviors such as refusing to move out of the way of men walking towards them and giving harder handshakes. Beliefs in the appropriateness of aggressive responses to threats to masculinity are not limited, however, to such benign displays of aggression.

In a series of cross-cultural studies, Vandello and Cohen (2003) tested whether a woman's perceived dishonor influenced evaluations of her husband, utilizing participants from an honor culture (Brazil) and a non-honor culture (non-southern Americans). Participants responded to reading a scenario either about a wife who was unfaithful to her husband, or a wife who remained faithful. Subsequently, Brazilians, but not Americans, rated a man as less manly and honorable when his wife was unfaithful relative to the husbands of faithful wives. Furthermore, Brazilian participants indicated that husbands who retaliated by hitting his wife were slightly more masculine, with evidence suggesting that this evaluation was driven by Brazilian men's beliefs that aggressive displays restored his honor. Conversely, the American sample did not endorse intimate partner violence. The endorsement of intimate partner violence in cultures of honor was later replicated in a demonstration that such endorsements only occur in contexts that might threaten the masculinity of male partners (i.e. a wife's extra-marital flirtations), as opposed to contexts unlikely to threaten masculinity (i.e. spending too much money; Vandello, Cohen, Granson, & Franiuk, 2009). It may come as little surprise then that in other research, men who reported higher amounts of male gender-role stress reported higher levels of verbal and physical abusiveness towards female intimate partners (Copenhagen, Lash, & Eisler, 2000; Jakupcak, Lisak, & Roemer, 2002). Again, this is consistent with research suggesting that men identify with masculine stereotypes even when they are negative (Spence,

Helmreich, & Holahan, 1979)—as is the case with violence and aggression. When men are directly persecuted for their masculinity, even greater violence can be observed.

Masculinity threat as a target of bullying. This desire to derogate men who do not conform to standard conventions of masculinity may have consequences for both straight and queer-identified boys and men. In this way, heterosexist responses to masculinity threats may be part of a larger phenomenon wherein men actively police each other's behavior. As early as pre-adolescence, boys begin teasing or bullying other boys who show stereotypically feminine traits, derogatorily labeling such boys as gay as a means of displaying their own masculinity in contrast (Pascoe, 2005). In extreme cases, such heterosexist discourse has been linked to deadly violence.

An analysis of the 28 cases of mass school shootings in American high schools and middle schools between 1982-2001 linked the tragedies to adolescent male perpetrators who endured long histories of being teased and bullied and were retaliating against the threats to manhood (Kimmel & Mahler, 2003). Interviews with the boys who perpetrated the mass shootings support their claim. When frequently teased 14-year-old Michael Carneal was asked why he brought two shotguns, two semiautomatic rifles, a pistol, and 700 rounds of ammunition to his school and subsequently used them to fire on his classmates, he responded: "People respect me now." (Blank, 1998, p. 94). Similarly, 16-year-old Luke Woodham became fed up after constant bullying and taunting as "gay" or "a fag." Woodham reported that even his own mother participated in his belittlement. In response, Woodham murdered his mother in her bed one morning, before driving to school with a rifle and opening fire on his classmates. When later interviewed, he explained: "I am not insane. I am angry...murder is not weak and slow-witted; murder is gutsy and daring." (Chua-Eoan, 1997, p. 54). In a single statement explaining his

actions, Woodham implies a desire to embody the stereotypically masculine traits of anger, strength, intelligence, courage, and violence. As shocking as such acts of violence are, perhaps more surprising is that when men act to reclaim their manhood, they do not limit the collateral damage to the people around them. Men are also willing to risk their own lives in the service of maintaining their claims to manhood.

Health outcomes. Health researchers have conducted extensive research in attempts to understand why men's health outcomes are often inferior to women's. Generally speaking, men have shorter life spans than do women (Courtenay, 2000; 2002). Men contract more serious chronic illnesses, have more heart attacks, and more strokes than do women (Verbrugge, 1989). And, according to decades of research, this not just a result of male biology, but of the social construction of masculinity (e.g., Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Courtenay, 2000; Whitaker, 1987). For example, Donald Sabo and David Gordon (1995) outlined how each of the four components of the performance of masculinity as defined by David & Brannon (1976) can have bad health outcomes. A "Give 'Em Hell" approach to life encourages binge drinking and fast driving, which account for half of male adolescent deaths. The "sturdy oak" and "no sissy stuff" components can lead to underreporting of health symptoms, playing a critical role in men's premature death. Wanting to be "The Big Wheel" can lead men towards unhealthy striving for muscularity, including steroid use, extreme dietary practices, and other behaviors that come at the sacrifice of men's health (Sabo & Gordon, 1995). While much of the men's health literature is correlational, important patterns emerge.

For example, health researchers have noted the stress men experience while trying to meet male gender-roles, specifically, contending with a sense of powerlessness and insecurity (Wesely, 2001), feeling less competent than women (Mills & D'Alfonso, 2007), contending with

being bullied or teased as children, or trying to compensate for earlier illnesses (Heywood, 1997). As a result of attempts to embody male gender-roles, men show significantly greater reluctance to seek professional help with psychological issues (Blazina & Watkins, 1996; Fisher & Turner, 1970; Good, Dell, & Mintz, 1989; Good & Wood, 1995; Komiya, Good, & Sherrod, 2000; Mahalik et al., 2003; Peterson & Vogel, 2007; Robertson & Fitzgerald, 1992). In terms of physical health, researchers have noted negative health consequences ranging from unhealthy diets and excessive exercise programs to eating disorders and pathological concern with a perceived lack of muscular size and leanness (Baghurst & Kissinger, 2009; McCreary & Sasse, 2000; Mills & D'Alfonso, 2007). Similarly, ethnographic research indicates that men who feel insecure in their masculinity are more likely to use steroids—a behavior that can lead to liver damage, hormonal imbalances, and premature death—because steroids are known to promote aggressiveness, strength, size, and feelings of empowerment (for a review, see Klein, 1995). For some men, “the fear of being small, of appearing less than fully masculine is so frightening that anything, including death, is preferable” (Klein, 1995, p.119).

Men have also reported being less willing than women to seek support help for physical illnesses (Hegelson, 1995). This behavior may be in response to a fear of devaluation. In experiments where participants rated men who experience chronic lower back pain, both laypeople and nurses perceived men with chronic lower back pain as having less masculinity-related traits and more femininity-related traits than the typical man (Bernades & Lima, 2010). In another review of men’s avoidance of help-seeking in health contexts, there is evidence that the stereotypically masculine desire to demonstrate self-reliance is correlated to men’s denial of symptoms that could indicate coronary heart disease (Hegelson, 1995). Similarly, a qualitative study of Latino men demonstrated that men were less likely to undergo prostate cancer screening

because of the physical invasiveness of the procedure. Noted one participant: “In the majority of Latino countries, the concept of the *macho* man and the idea of turning around and of someone inserting a finger, honestly...It’s almost the worst thing that can happen to you as a man” (Rivera-Ramos & Buki, 2011, p. 20). Such protections of masculinity extend beyond applications to preventative care.

In ethnographic research on masculinity and health-related behaviors, Charmaz (1995) noted that avoiding the perception of weakness drives deadly behavior more generally among men contending with chronic life-threatening illnesses. In her research, Charmaz notes as characteristic a diabetic man who was unable to manage his wheelchair and a cafeteria tray simultaneously. The man was observed skipping meals, risking a diabetic coma, rather than ask coworkers for help.

Health researchers have also noted that the drive to be masculine can haunt men enough to inspire suicidal tendencies (Harris, 1983). Failure to conform to conventional gender expectations has been associated with the risk of non-fatal suicide behavior in men, but not women. Furthermore, those men who do survive suicide attempts face tragically ironic circumstances, for even men’s failure at attempting suicide violates male norms of efficacy, strength, and decisiveness, leading to the subsequent denigration of male suicide attempt survivors (Canetto, 1995; White & Stillion, 1988).

In all, research on the consequences of masculinity threats display the breadth of contexts in which men respond to masculinity threats. In conjunction with research on the content of masculine identity, there is converging evidence that manhood is seen as a precarious status that men must work hard to earn and maintain. In the defense manhood, men perform behavior that can have deadly consequences for themselves and the people around them. While there is a

growing body of work demonstrating this relationship, there is less known about why masculinity operates this way. Specifically, why is the defense of manhood associated with not considering the future consequences of men's actions? Actions that secure you masculinity but may lead to your death only seem beneficial if you are more concerned with short term outcome than with long term outcomes. Could it be the case that men are processing long term outcomes less than short term outcomes in moments when their masculinity is threatened? Research on how threats are cognitively processed indicates that the answer may be yes.

Selective Attention to Threats

There is precedent in previous psychological literature for threats to shift attentional focus. Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie, and Davies (2004) found that priming the threatening concept of crime altered visual attention. Using a computer task aimed to measure visual attention, Eberhardt and colleagues found that priming participants with images representing crime (e.g. images of guns, knives, and handcuffs), led participants to focus visually longer on stimuli stereotypically associated with crime (i.e. Black faces). A consequence of this finding was that, as more attention was being paid to stimuli stereotypically related to the threat, less attention was being paid to stereotypically irrelevant stimuli (i.e. White faces). If threatening stimuli can lead to selective attention, reducing attention to unrelated stimuli (Eberhardt et al., 2004; Seibt & Förster, 2004), perhaps threats to masculinity motivate selective attention to men's immediate threatening context, reducing attention elsewhere.

Further, masculinity is seen as a precarious identity. One's status as a man can be easily lost, and once lost may be hard to regain (Vandello et al., 2008). If masculinity is a status that is easy to lose, it follows that men must focus on the immediate contexts of threat to avoid that loss. Further, if a man loses his masculine status in his immediate context, it will be hard to regain that

status later, making future contexts less important. Thus, it may be the case that masculinity threats lead to a more immediate temporal focus. The precarious nature of claims to manhood would necessitate immediate response to threats, lest one's hard fought claim to manhood be lost. As such, attention to the future consequences of one's response to a threat may be obscured by one's selective attention to the immediate contexts where the threat occurred. This is the mechanism I propose for why the defense of masculinity engenders potentially deadly behaviors in the most extreme circumstances. The precariousness of masculinity produces a narrow focus on the present, at the cost of considering future consequences, when a man's masculinity is threatened.

Implications

Could it be that men are so distracted by the stress of masculinity threat that they are literally not seeing the consequences of their behavior? There is a literature indicating that, under the right conditions, individuals can in fact focus on their present circumstances to the exclusion of future consequences. When deciding a course of action, individuals vary in the degree to which they consider the future, rather than the immediate consequences of their decisions (Strathman, Gleicher, Boninger, & Edwards, 1994). For example, as a student is deciding whether to socialize with friends in their dormitory or go the library to study, a successful student must be willing to sacrifice their immediate desires to secure future benefits. To capture this inclination Strathman and colleagues (1994) designed the Consideration of Future Consequences Scale, a measure of the extent to which individuals consider and are influenced by the potential distant outcomes of their current behaviors. Scale items include "Often I engage in a particular behavior in order to achieve outcomes that may not result for many years." and

“Since my day to day work has specific outcomes, it is more important to me than behavior that has distant outcomes.”

Neglecting future consequences has been linked to several negative attitudinal and behavioral outcomes (for a review, see Joireman, Strathman, & Balliet, 2006; Strathman & Joireman, 2005). The consideration of future consequences reduces the likelihood of aggressive behavior (Joireman, Anderson, & Strathman, 2003), aggressive driving (Moore & Dahlen, 2008), substance abuse (Piko, Luszczynska, Gibbons, & Tekozel, 2005), avoidance of preventative health care (Morison, Cozzolino, & Orbell, 2010), irresponsible financial practices (Nyhus & Webley, 2001; Webley & Nyhus, 2006), expressions of anger (Moore & Dahlen, 2008), and endorsement of oil drilling in fragile ecosystems (Strathman, Gleicher, Boninger, & Edwards, 1994). Given the parallels between the consequences of masculinity threat and a lack of consideration of future consequences, perhaps men’s undesirable behavior when under threat can be explained by this mechanism.

Despite a growing body of work demonstrating that men perform behavior that can have harmful consequences for themselves and the people around them in the defense of claims to manhood, we remain less well informed about why masculinity operates this way. Research on threats and attention suggests that individuals under threat are motivated towards selective attention towards those threats, to the exclusion of other stimuli (Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie, & Davies, 2004; Seibt & Förster, 2004). Perhaps, the precarious nature of claims to manhood necessitates immediate response to threats, lest one’s hard fought claim to manhood be lost. This points to a straightforward prediction that threats to masculinity motivate selective attention to

men's immediate context, reducing attention to future consequences, a prediction that should be tested in future research.

Future tests of the effect of masculinity threats on the consideration of future consequences would add to the literature on gender identity in important ways. While the effects of masculinity threat have been demonstrated across various domains, the basic process (i.e. mechanism) has not been thoroughly understood. In addition, if a mechanism for the potentially dire effects of masculinity threat was discovered, straightforward interventions would become available. If threats to masculinity reduce attention to future consequences, then refocusing men on future consequences may attenuate the effects of masculinity threat. Previous research has shown that the consideration of future consequences is subject to manipulation, and that doing so can promote pro-social behavior such as interpersonal cooperation (Wolf, Cohen, Kirchner, Rea, Montoya, & Insko, 2009). If a lack of consideration of future consequences is the underlying mechanism for the self-destructive consequences of masculinity threat, then increasing one's future focus may also promote gender equality, create healthier men, and decrease physical violence. My dissertation investigated the merits of this underlying hypothesis.

Overview of studies

The proposed research is designed to test whether or not the precarious nature of masculinity leads men to adopt a focus on the present at the expense of considering future consequences. As described above, men often engage in harmful behaviors when trying to protect their status as "real men." Four studies examined whether a shift in time perspective is responsible for the harmful behavioral responses to masculinity threat. Study 1 uses existing masculinity threat manipulations and temporal focus measures to examine the relationship between threat and time focus. Study 2 compares masculinity to several other social identities in

order to determine whether or not the combination of high value and high precariousness that is attributed to masculine identity is unique. Study 3 then compared responses to masculinity threats and responses to a highly valued, but less precarious, social identity threat (i.e. threats to family identity) in order to test whether the unique precariousness of masculine identity is central to reducing the consideration of the future consequences of men's behavior. Study 4 attempted to attenuate the reduction of the consideration of the future consequences of men's behavior by manipulating definitions of masculinity to remove its precariousness. Specifically I test 4 hypotheses:

- **Hypothesis 1: When threatened, men will demonstrate a reduced focus on the future consequences of their actions, while women's concern with future consequences will not be affected by the analog gender identity threat**
- **Hypothesis 2: When given a chance to perform compensatory gendered behavior, men under threat will demonstrate greater compensatory behaviors relative to men whose masculinity is not threatened.**
- **Hypothesis 3: Masculinity will emerge as uniquely precarious among highly important social identities.**
- **Hypothesis 4: The perceived precariousness of the threatened identity will moderate the effect of social identity threats on the consideration of future consequences of one's behavior.**¹

¹ I originally stated seven hypotheses in my dissertation proposal. Those seven were:

Hypothesis 1. When under threat, men will demonstrate a reduced focus on the future consequences of their actions, while the time perspective of women will remain unaffected by gender identity threats.

Hypothesis 2. When given a chance to perform compensatory gendered behavior, men under threat will demonstrate greater compensatory behaviors relative to men whose masculinity is validated. Again, women will not engage in compensatory feminine behaviors.

Study 1: The impact of gender identity threats on time focus for men

Study 1 is designed to test whether gender identity threats lead men, but not women, to demonstrate a reduced focus on the future consequences of their actions. I tested two specific hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: When threatened, men will demonstrate a reduced focus on the future consequences of their actions, while the time perspective of women will remain unaffected by the complementary gender identity threat, consistent with perceptions that femininity is less precarious than masculinity (Vandello et al., 2008). If men's responses to gender identity threats are due to greater perceptions that their gender identity is precarious relative to women, one would still expect negative reactions from both men and women to gender identity threats. However one would only expect those reactions to be paired with an increased focus on immediate contexts to the detriment of focus on future contexts for men whose gender identity was threatened. Thus, a measure of the consideration of future consequences (Strathman, Gleicher, Boninger, & Edwards, 1994) was hypothesized to reveal lower scores for men whose masculinity is under threat relative to men whose masculinity is validated. However, the threat

Hypothesis 3. The consideration of future consequences will mediate the effect of masculinity threat on compensatory performances of masculinity.

Hypothesis 4. Masculinity will emerge as uniquely precarious among highly important social identities

Hypothesis 5. Masculinity threat will diverge from other social identity threats, such that when other social identities are threatened, men will not demonstrate a reduced focus on the future consequences of their actions, leading to compensatory behaviors.

Hypothesis 6. The perceived precariousness of the threatened ID will moderate the effect of social identity threats on the consideration of future consequences of one's behavior.

Hypothesis 7. When masculinity is reframed as a secure identity (i.e. not tenuous), men will no longer demonstrate a reduced focus on the future consequences of their actions when their masculinity is threatened.

However, due to the overlap of several of the predictions, this representation of my hypotheses was imprecise. Thus, to improve clarity in the writing of the final dissertation, I distilled those seven hypotheses into the four reported hypotheses.

manipulation was not predicted to affect women's scores on a measure of the consideration of future consequences.

Previous research has also made predictions regarding gender differences in the response to gender identity threats. However, this research has been ambivalent as to whether men or women should be more vigilant to such threats. Specifically, prior research has made competing predictions about whether women—historically having lower status—should demonstrate greater vigilance to threats or whether men—historically having higher status—should demonstrate greater vigilance to threats. Rudman & Glick (1999) argued that men's higher status in sexist cultures should allow them to have more influence in dictating gender prescriptions. Thus, men should be afforded more latitude in their gender role violations. However women, due to the added pressures created by being lower status in sexist cultures, should be more vigilant against committing gender role violations. Conversely, other gender identity theorists have argued that men's higher status should lead men to greater adherence to gender roles (Bem, 1974; 1993; Bosson, Prewitt-Freilino & Taylor, 2005; Twenge, 1999). This argument follows the logic that men's gender role violations should be viewed as more egregious because they are a departure from societal ideals that assign higher value to masculine traits. However for women, gender violations should also be viewed as negative, but less so than for men because they represent women striving towards embodying those same societal ideals.

Instead of attempting to resolve these different perspectives, I explore a different hypothesis. Rather than the relative value of one's gender identity (i.e. high or low status) determining one's responses to gender identity threats, I have proposed that the relative precariousness of one's identity will drive the predicted gender differences in the response to

gender identity threats. I predicted that only men will show a reduced consideration of future consequences of their behavior, because masculinity is perceived to be precarious (Vandello et al., 2008). This prediction is consistent with theorists who would argue that men's higher status should lead to greater vigilance against gender role violations (e.g. Bem, 1993). However, this does not rule out the possibility that women, due to having lower status, can face greater backlash when they violate stereotypical gender roles. Further, although prior literature had predicted that men's reactions to masculinity threats could be stronger than women's reactions (e.g. Bem, 1993), it did not make predictions regarding the relationship between gender identity threats and temporal focus, thus this represents a novel hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2: When given a chance to perform compensatory gendered behavior, men under threat will demonstrate greater compensatory behaviors relative to men whose masculinity is validated. Consistent with previous research (e.g. Babl, 1979; Bosson et al., 2009; Goff, Di Leone, & Kahn, 2012), men are hypothesized to perform compensatory masculinity when their gender identity is threatened. Again, I predicted that women would not engage in compensatory feminine behaviors in response to having their femininity threatened. While it is important to note that women can be stigmatized and discriminated against for performing gender atypical behavior (e.g., Rudman & Fairchild, 2004; Rudman & Glick, 2001), I predicted that men would show a greater aversion to endorsing gender atypical behaviors because of the relatively more precarious nature of masculinity. This prediction is consistent with previous research which found that, while men who received feedback indicating that their behavior was gender-atypical felt that their masculinity was threatened, women were unaffected by similarly negative feedback (Vandello et al., 2008). I then tested whether or not the consideration of future

consequences of one's behavior mediates the relationship between the experience of threat and compensatory gendered behavior.

Method

Participants and Design. Eighty nine undergraduate (40 women, 49 men) participants were recruited using the UCLA subject pool to participate in the experiment. The experimental design was a 2 (participant sex: female v. male) x 2 (threat status: threatened v. validated) between subjects factorial design. Participants were randomly assigned to receive threatening or validating information about their gender. Of the participants, 49 self-identified as White, 20 as Asian, 12 as Latino/Hispanic, 3 as Black, and 5 as mixed race. The median age of participants was 20 years old. The consideration of future consequences and compensatory behavior were both measured as continuous variables.

Materials

Threat manipulation. Participants read an introductory paragraph that contained the threat manipulation. Previous research has threatened gender identity by having participants listen to a video that articulated that gender differences were blurring (a distinctiveness threat; modified from Babl, 1979). I converted this introduction into text. This manipulation consisted of two conditions. In the threat condition, participants were told of fictional research that indicated a “decreased level of femininity” (if the participants were women) or “decreased level of masculinity” (if the participants were men), in the American population. The quoted fictional research cites “restructured family roles, changes in (wo)men's fashions, and women representing a new majority in the American work force²” as evidence (To read the full text of these manipulations, see Appendix A). Conversely, participants in the validation condition were

² This final piece of evidence was added to Babl's original manipulation.

told of fictional research that indicates a “broadened definitions of femininity” or “masculinity,” respectively, in the American population. This condition also cites “restructured family roles, changes in (wo)men's fashions, and women representing a new majority in the American work force” as evidence.

Temporal focus. Time perspective was measured by the Consideration of Future Consequences Scale (CFC, $\alpha = .78$; Strathman, Gleicher, Boninger, & Edwards, 1994). This instrument was designed as a measure of the extent to which individuals consider and are influenced by the potential distant outcomes of their current behaviors. Scale items include “Often I engage in a particular behavior in order to achieve outcomes that may not result for many years.” and “Since my day to day work has specific outcomes, it is more important to me than behavior that has distant outcomes” (Reverse coded; See Appendix A for the full set of items). All items were be measured using a 7-point Likert scale (1=Strongly disagree to 7= Strongly Agree).

Responses to threat. Participants also received a measure of compensatory behavior. In Babl’s original study (1979), he used the California Psychological Inventory femininity sub-scale (Gough, 1957) as a measure of compensatory behavior. This scale was seen as relatively transparent, and has been used as a measure of socially desirable masculine responding. Thus, this scale was used as a measure of “exaggerated, compensatory masculinity” (Babl, 1979, p. 253). Due to the length of the original 58 item California Psychological Inventory scale, I used a shortened scale consists of 14 items, all measured using a 7-point Likert scale (1=Strongly disagree to 7= Strongly Agree). The scale asks participants to rate the extent to which they would engage in stereotypically male (e.g. “I rarely need to ask for help”) and female behaviors

("I would stay at home and raise children, if that is what worked best for my family;" See Appendix A for the full set of items). Consistent with the analytic strategy used by Babl, these questions were combined to form a single scale, $\alpha = .81$.

Procedure

Participants signed up for participation through the SONA Systems online subject recruitment of the UCLA subject pool. Participants then complete a brief demographics questionnaire. Once the participant input their sex into the demographics form, they were randomly assigned to one of two threat conditions groups (threatened/validated). The participant read the corresponding introductory paragraph containing the threat manipulation. The participants then completed the CFC scale to test whether or not gender identity threats effect the consideration of future consequences. Finally, participants were presented with the California personality Inventory femininity subscale as a measure of compensatory gender performance, before being debriefed.

Study 1 Results

Hypothesis 1: When under threat, men will demonstrate a reduced focus on the future consequences of their actions, while the time perspective of women will remain unaffected by gender identity threats. To test Hypothesis 1, a 2 (participant sex: female v. male) x 2 (threat status: threatened v. validated) between subjects factorial ANOVA was performed. The dependent variable was the responses to the consideration of future consequences scale (CFC). CFC was measured using the average of items on the CFC scale, such that lower numbers represent a lower value of future consequences for one's actions relative to the immediate consequences. No main effect of gender was found, such that there was no difference overall between men ($M = 3.27$, $SD = .63$) and women ($M = 3.35$, $SD = .76$), $F(1, 85) = .31$, n.s. A

marginal main effect of threat was found, such that participants exhibited lower consideration of future consequences when their gender identity was threatened ($M = 3.17, SD = .63$) relative to when their gender identity was validated ($M = 3.46, SD = .72$), $F(1, 85) = 3.50, p = .07$. However, a significant 2-way interaction was found, such that threat only impacted the CFC of men, $F(1, 85) = 6.06, p = .016$ (see Figure 1). Simple effects tests demonstrate that, for women, there is no difference in CFC for those whose gender was threatened ($M = 3.31, SD = .90$), and those whose gender was validated ($M = 3.46, SD = .60$), $F(1, 38) = .12, n.s.$ However, for men, those whose gender was threatened had a significantly lower CFC ($M = 2.97, SD = .53$) than those whose gender was validated ($M = 3.57, SD = .59$), $F(1, 47) = 14.52, p < .001$

Hypothesis 2: When given a chance to perform compensatory gendered behavior, men under threat will demonstrate greater compensatory behaviors relative to men whose masculinity is validated. To test Hypothesis 2, a 2 (participant sex: female v. male) x 2 (threat status: threatened v. validated) between subjects factorial ANOVA was performed. The dependent variable was the responses to the California Personality Inventory femininity subscale. Following the procedures of Babl (1979), responses to stereotypically feminine items were reverse coded and added to responses to stereotypically masculine items, creating a single index (with a range from 1-14). Here, that lower numbers represent a desire to perform stereotypically feminine behaviors and higher numbers represent a desire to perform stereotypically masculine behaviors.

A main effect of gender was found, such that men expressed a greater desire to perform stereotypically masculine behaviors ($M = 8.18, SD = 1.19$) than women ($M = 6.34, SD = 1.28$), $F(1, 85) = 51.31, p < .001$. A marginal main effect of threat was found, such that participants expressed a greater desire to perform stereotypically masculine behaviors when their gender

identity was threatened ($M = 7.56, SD = 1.57$) relative to when their gender identity was validated ($M = 7.16, SD = 1.48$), $F(1, 85) = 2.79, p = .10$. However, no interaction was found, $F(1, 85) = .62, n.s.$

Because of the advances in theory on gender identity since Babl's (1979) original study, I also wanted to explore the effect of threat on the desire to perform masculinity and femininity separately. These additional analyses are consistent with the now widely held belief that masculinity and femininity are not one-dimensional. In previous research, Bem (1974) found that the correlations between masculine identity and feminine identity were low across two samples (Bem Sex Role Inventory; Sample 1 women $r = -.14$, Sample 2 women $r = .07$, Sample 1 men $r = .11$, Sample 2 men $r = -.02$). Here, responses to the scale measuring the desire to perform masculinity and femininity (in regards to behavior, as opposed to Bem's measurement of identity) were more strongly correlated. However, while this correlation was significant ($r(89) = -.34, p = .002$), it was not high enough to validate the approach of combining the two subscales into one dependent variable. Thus, I separated the masculine and feminine components of the CPI subscale. I then separately compared the desire to perform gender consistent behavior and gender inconsistent behavior for men and women under threat.

Gender consistent behavior. A 2 (participant sex: female v. male) x 2 (threat status: threatened v. validated) between subjects factorial ANOVA was performed. The dependent variable was the gender consistent responses to the California Personality Inventory femininity subscale. Here, higher values indicate men's desire to perform stereotypically male behaviors and women's desire to perform stereotypically female behaviors. Thus, these values are a measure of preference for gender conformity. A main effect of gender was found, such that men expressed a

greater desire to perform stereotype consistent behaviors ($M = 5.12$, $SD = .75$) than women ($M = 4.63$, $SD = .91$), $F(1, 85) = 7.66$, $p < .01$. Importantly, threat had no impact on participants' desire to perform stereotype consistent behaviors when their gender identity was threatened ($M = 4.89$, $SD = .84$) relative to when their gender identity was validated ($M = 4.90$, $SD = .88$), $F(1, 85) = 0$, n.s. And no interaction was found, $F(1, 85) = .05$, n.s.

Gender inconsistent behavior. A 2 (participant sex: female v. male) x 2 (threat status: threatened v. validated) between subjects factorial ANOVA was performed. The dependent variable was the gender inconsistent responses to the California Personality Inventory femininity subscale. Thus, here, lower values indicate men's aversion to performing stereotypically female behaviors and women's aversion to performing stereotypically male behaviors. Thus, these values are a measure of aversion to gender non-conformity. A main effect of gender was found, such that men were more reluctant to perform stereotype inconsistent behaviors ($M = 3.10$, $SD = .82$) than women ($M = 4.00$, $SD = .64$), $F(1, 85) = 32.77$, $p < .001$. A marginal main effect of threat was found, such that participants expressed a greater aversion to gender non-conformity when their gender identity was threatened ($M = 3.34$, $SD = .94$) relative to when their gender identity was validated ($M = 3.68$, $SD = .74$), $F(1, 85) = 3.33$, $p = .07$. In addition, a significant interaction was found, $F(1, 85) = 4.14$, $p < .05$ (See Figure 2).

Simple effects tests demonstrate that, for women, there was no difference in aversion to gender non-conformity for those whose gender was threatened ($M = 3.99$, $SD = .58$), and those whose gender was validated ($M = 4.01$, $SD = .71$), $F(1, 38) = .02$, n.s. However, for men, those whose gender was threatened were more reluctant to perform stereotype inconsistent behaviors ($M = 2.82$, $SD = .77$) than those whose gender was validated ($M = 3.42$, $SD = .77$), $F(1, 47) = 7.20$,

$p = .01$. Further, even men whose gender identity was validated were more reluctant to perform stereotype inconsistent behaviors than women regardless of women's experience of threat, $F's > 7.14, p's < .01$. Interestingly, men's reluctance to perform stereotype inconsistent behaviors was predicted by men's increased focus on immediate outcomes, $r = -.32, p < .05$. Conversely, for women, there was no relationship between one's reluctance to perform stereotype inconsistent behaviors and one's focus on immediate outcomes, $r = .05, n.s.$

Mediation: I used the methods outlined by Baron and Kenny (1986) to test the consideration of future consequences as the mediator of the effect of masculinity threats on compensatory performances of masculinity (as evidenced by the "flight from the feminine" demonstrated by men experiencing masculinity threat). The independent variable (masculinity threat) significantly predicts the dependent variable (aversion of gender inconsistent behaviors), $B = -.59, t = 2.68, p = .01$. Second, the independent variable (masculinity threat) predicts the mediator variable (considerations of future consequences), $B = -.61, t = 3.81, p < .001$. However, when controlling for the independent variable (masculinity threat), the mediator variable (considerations of future consequences) no longer predicts the dependent variable (endorsement of gender inconsistent behaviors), $B = -.04, t = .21, n.s.$ (Sobel, $Z = .21, p = .84$).

Conclusions

As predicted, men experiencing threats to their masculinity demonstrated a reduced focus on the future consequences of their actions, while the time perspective of women was unaffected by gender identity threats. Further, when given a chance to perform compensatory gendered behavior, men under threat demonstrated greater compensatory relative to men whose masculinity is validated. Here again, women were unaffected by threats to their gender identity. While men's desire to perform compensatory gendered behavior was predicted by reductions in

the consideration of future consequences, a mediational relationship did not exist. This indicates that men's compensatory behaviors in response to masculinity threat can't be explained fully by a lower consideration of future consequences. Instead, while short term thinking may be a factor influencing why men's compensatory behaviors can be so extreme, the gender norms that police men's behavior are too robust to be distilled simply into gender differences in time focus. It is important to test whether or not men's vulnerability to gender identity threat is due to the perceived precariousness of masculinity. However, equally important comparison social identities must first be identified. I turn here next.

Study 2: Masculinity threat as a unique social identity threat

Little research has been conducted comparing masculinity threats to other forms of social identity threats. Manhood has been demonstrated to be precarious, as opposed to the relatively stable status of womanhood (Vandello et al., 2008). However, research has not as of yet been conducted to test how unique the precariousness of masculinity is, relative to other social identities. In other words, it is not yet clear if most social identities operate like masculinity (i.e. precarious) or femininity (i.e. able to be threatened, yet relatively stable). Study 2 aims to address this gap in the literature by comparing gender identity to other important social identities. I asked participants to report on two vital pieces of information about each social identity. First, how important is each identity to their self-concept. Second, I asked participants to report how easily status in this group is lost. Hypothesis 3: Masculinity will emerge as uniquely precarious among highly important social identities.

Method

Participants and Design. Eighty two (45 women, 37 men) participants were recruited online to participate in the experiment. Of the participants, 67 self-identified as White, 7 as

Asian, 6 as Latino/Hispanic, 4 as Black, and 3 as mixed race. The median age of participants was 36 years old. Participants were recruited using Amazon's Mechanical Turk (www.MTurk.com) data collection marketplace. MTurk has been shown to provide participants that are more representative of the U.S. population than standard Internet samples and are more racially diverse than typical American college samples, as well as provide data that is at least as reliable as data obtained via laboratory methods (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011).

This survey asked participants to rate their gender identity (femininity or masculinity), as well as several other important social identities on dimensions of importance & perceived precariousness. In a pretest asking students to list the social identities they consider important, religion, race, familial affiliations, and university affiliation emerged as the most frequently listed identities. Thus, these served as the comparison identities for this study.

Materials

Identity centrality: Participants completed a modified version of the Multi-dimensional Inventory of Black Identity Centrality subscale, reworded for each social identity (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith 1997). A sample item from this scale (modified for gender) is "Overall, my gender has very little to do with how I feel about myself" (See Appendix B for examples of the modified version of the full scale). This measure represented how important participants perceived each identity to be.

Identity precariousness: Participants completed a modified version of a measure of identity precariousness previously used to measure the precariousness of masculinity and femininity (Vandello et al., 2008). A sample item from this scale is: "Status as a man is not

assured—it can be lost” (See Appendix B for examples of the modified version of the full scale). This measure represented how precarious participants perceived each identity to be.

Procedure

Participants interested in the experiment gained access to the online study directly through the Amazon MTurk marketplace. Participants were directed to a website link of the URL for my study. After completing consent and a brief demographics form, participants were asked to rate the importance of each social identity, then the precariousness of each social identity. The series of identities were presented in random order.

Study 2 Results

Scales and Measures. Prior to conducting inferential analyses, I analyzed the reliability of each modified version of the identity centrality scale and the identity precariousness scale. For identity centrality: gender $\alpha = .83$, family $\alpha = .90$, religion $\alpha = .94$, race $\alpha = .90$, and college $\alpha = .90$. For precariousness: gender $\alpha = .85$, family $\alpha = .89$, religion $\alpha = .88$, race $\alpha = .85$, and college $\alpha = .90$.

Hypothesis 3: Masculinity will emerge as uniquely precarious among highly important social identities for men.

Identity centrality. To test for differences in identity centrality, I ran a one way within subjects ANOVA comparing the mean value placed among identities. For both men $F(4, 144) = 7.81, p < .001$ (See Figure 3) and women $F(4, 172) = 7.34, p < .001$ (See Figure 4) there were significant differences in how valued each identity was perceived to be. Men rated gender as their most important identity ($M = 5.54, SD = .78$), followed by family ($M = 5.39, SD = 1.27$), race

($M = 4.99, SD = 1.45$)³, college ($M = 4.37, SD = 1.64$), and religion ($M = 4.35, SD = 1.74$).

Dependent samples t-tests demonstrated that gender and family were the only identities rated as equally important $t(36) = .76$, n.s. All other identities were rated as significantly less important than gender, all t 's (36) > 4.28 , $p < .001$. Women's ratings were slightly different. Women rated family as their most important identity ($M = 5.24, SD = 1.68$), followed by gender ($M = 5.09, SD = 1.28$), race ($M = 4.74, SD = 1.49$), religion ($M = 4.46, SD = 1.98$), and college ($M = 3.93, SD = 1.63$). However, similarly to men, dependent samples t-tests demonstrated that gender and family were the only identities rated as equally important $t(43) = .66$, n.s. All other identities were rated as significantly less important than gender, all t 's (43) > 2.13 , $p < .05$.

Identity precariousness. To test for differences in precariousness, I ran another one way within subjects ANOVA comparing the mean ratings of precariousness. For both men $F(4, 144) = 23.68$, $p < .001$ and women $F(4, 172) = 24.12$, $p < .001$ there were significant differences in how precarious each identity was perceived to be. Men rated religion as the most precarious identity ($M = 4.22, SD = 1.18$), followed by gender ($M = 3.94, SD = .75$), family ($M = 3.13, SD = 1.05$), college ($M = 2.95, SD = 1.17$), and race ($M = 2.53, SD = .92$). Dependent samples t-tests demonstrated that gender was rated as marginally less precarious than religion $t(36) = 1.79$, $p = .08$. All other identities were rated as significantly less important than gender, all t 's (36) > 4.29 , $p < .001$. Women also rated religion the most precarious identity ($M = 4.17, SD = .97$). Religion was followed by family ($M = 3.18, SD = 1.30$) and gender ($M = 3.14, SD = 1.00$), which were rated as significantly more precarious than race ($M = 2.63, SD = 1.06$), and college ($M = 2.47, SD = 1.09$); t 's (43) > 2.327 , $p < .05$.

³ Again, these data represents a majority white sample. One might expect ratings of the value of racial identity to increase for racial minorities.

Importantly, men rated their gender identity ($M = 5.54, SD = .78$), as marginally more important than women rated their gender identity ($M = 5.09, SD = 1.28$); $t(79) = 1.87, p = .07$. Men also rated their masculinity as significantly more precarious ($M = 3.94, SD = .75$), than women rated their femininity ($M = 3.14, SD = 1.00$); $t(79) = 4.01, p < .001$.

Conclusions

Men and women varied significantly in how important and precarious they rated various social identities. However, while gender identity was one of the most important identities for both men and women, men perceived their gender identity as more precarious than women perceived their gender identity. This is consistent with findings (Study 1; Vandello et al., 2008) indicating that men were more susceptible to gender identity threats than were women. These findings suggest that men's vulnerability to gender identity threat may be due to the perceived precariousness of masculinity. Next, I wanted to directly test the hypothesis that it is the precariousness of masculinity that provides the context for identity threats to effect men. Specifically, I tested identity precariousness as a moderator of the effect of identity threats on the concern for future consequences of one's behavior. Men rated family identity as equally important to masculinity but less precarious. Thus, having family identity serve as the comparison identity allowed me to test the competing hypothesis that, because of a preoccupation with status, men are vigilant against any identity threat.

Study 3: Identity precariousness as a moderator of the effect of identity threats on temporal focus

Study 1 used existing masculinity threat manipulations and temporal focus measures to examine the relationship between threat and time focus. The predictions of Study 1 were rooted in the assumption that masculinity is perceived as precarious, motivating selective attention to

one's immediate context in order to contend with threats to masculinity (Vandello et al., 2008). Study 2 provides empirical evidence that masculinity is as equally valued as other social identities, but importantly different in its precariousness. Study 3 tests directly whether the precariousness of masculine identity is central to motivating a present time focus. In Study 3, I threatened equally important social identities that varied on how precarious they were perceived to be. I hypothesized that identity threats would lead to a lower consideration of the future consequences of men's behavior for an identity that men perceived to be more precarious (gender identity), but not for an identity that men perceived to be less precarious (family identity).

I placed men in a managerial decision making task, where participants were asked to decide between financial investments of varying risk (Sanders & Hambrick, 2010). This provides a behavioral measure—risk taking—that embodies a component of masculinity (the “*Give ‘em hell*” component is defined as risk taking and daring; Brannon, 1976). Risk taking as a masculine trait is well supported within empirical research. In a meta-analysis of 150 studies sex differences in risk taking preferences, men were found to be significantly less risk averse than women on 14 out of 16 risk-taking categories (Byrnes, Miller, & Schafer, 1999). And specifically within the financial-risk experiments, where risk taking is frequently operationalized using monetary lotteries, men generally display less risk aversion (i.e. take greater risks) than women (for a review, see Croson & Gneezy, 2009). Review of the evidence finds generally greater risk aversion in women than men in economic experiments. Movement on this variable would provide further evidence that masculinity threat affects behavioral responses, in addition to the more subjective responses captured by the self-report measures of Study 1.

Hypothesis 4: The perceived precariousness of the threatened ID will moderate the effect of social identity threats on the consideration of future consequences of one's behavior. I have argued that the uniquely precarious construction of masculinity is the central component of why masculinity threats can lead to self-injurious behavior. I tested this hypothesis by comparing masculinity threat to an equally important social identity that is not constructed as precarious, family identity. I hypothesized that the measure of consideration of future consequences (Strathman, Gleicher, Boninger, & Edwards, 1994) would reveal lower CFC scores for men whose masculinity is under threat relative to men whose masculinity is validated, as a replication of Study 1. However, exposing men to identity-based threats was predicted not to affect men's consideration of future consequences when the identity is not precarious. Participants exposed to masculinity threats—but not other social identity threats—were hypothesized to increase risk taking as a behavioral response to the threat, reasserting their masculinity.

If the uniquely precarious construction of masculinity is central to why masculinity threats can lead to a change in time focus, then I should observe that perceptions of the precariousness of masculinity will moderate the relationship between social identity threat and CFC. I tested this hypothesis by exploring the differential correlations between threat and CFC for social identities that are relatively high and low in precariousness.

Method

Participants and Design. Seventy five men were recruited using an online survey to participate in the experiment. Of the participants, 60 self-identified as White, 7 as Asian, 5 as Latino/Hispanic, and 3 as Black. The median age of participants was 34 years old. Participants were recruited using Amazon's Mechanical Turk (www.MTurk.com) data collection marketplace. The experimental design was a 2 (social identity: gender v. family) x 2 (threat

status: threatened v. validated) between subjects factorial design. Participants were randomly assigned to receive threatening or validating information about one of their social identities. The consideration of future consequences and compensatory behavior were both measured as continuous variables.

Materials

Threat Manipulation. The threat manipulation is a modified version of the manipulation utilized in study 1. The manipulation was identical for the gender threat and validation conditions. The manipulation was adapted for the family threat and validation conditions (See Appendix C for the revised manipulation).

Identity Precariousness. I utilized the same modified measure of precariousness that was employed in Study 2.

Temporal focus. Time perspective was measured by the Consideration of Future Consequences Scale, as in Study 1 (CFCS; Strathman, Gleicher, Boninger, & Edwards, 1994).

Risk taking. To assess risky behavior, I administered a modified version of a previously validated financial decision making task (Garbarino, Sloan, & Sydnor, 2011). This task asks participants to make two financial decisions where, for each decision, they must choose one of six lotteries (a lottery being a pair of probabilistic financial outcomes; e.g. You will have a 50% chance of receiving \$54 and a 50% chance of receiving \$6; (See Appendix C for the full set of lotteries). Each of the 6 lotteries within a decision task represents a different amount of risk. In the original task, the lower risk lotteries offer smaller but surer rewards (e.g. You will have a 50% chance of receiving \$30 and a 50% chance of receiving \$18), whereas the higher risk lotteries offer increasingly larger rewards with a larger possibility of not receiving a reward at all

(e.g. You will have a 50% chance of receiving \$60 and a 50% chance of receiving \$0). I modified the task to have smaller expected values in the higher risk scenarios, providing a more conservative test of my hypothesis. As such, the only logical motivation behind risk-seeking would be the performance of masculinity, as choosing riskier scenarios was expected to yield less money on average. This way, choosing riskier behaviors would represent masculine behaviors that came at a cost. The average amount of risk across the three tasks serves as the measure of risk taking. One might assume that when a social identity becomes threatened, the threatened individual would take certain gains, using success as a self-affirmation of their overall worth (Steele, 1988). This pattern is predicted for the participants who are exposed to a social identity threat that is unrelated to masculinity. However, when masculinity is threatened, participants are predicted to perform compensatory behaviors to protect this precarious status. Thus, men exposed to masculinity threats are predicted to perform more stereotypically consistent behaviors (i.e. risk taking) than stereotype inconsistent behaviors (safe but small gains).

Procedure

Participants interested in the experiment gained access to the online study directly through the Amazon MTurk marketplace. Participants were directed to a website link of the URL for my study. Participants were told that they would participate in a managerial decision making task. Participants received introductory information that included the threat or validation manipulation for either their gender or family identities. Participants were told that the researchers are interested in the relationship between individuals attitudes and their decision making and were asked to complete preliminary tasks before the decision making task. At this point, I administered the perceptions of precariousness scale and the consideration of future

consequences scale. Subsequently, participants then engaged in the managerial decision making task designed to measure risk taking behavior. Finally, participants were thanked for their participation and debriefed.

Study 3 Results

Hypothesis 4: The perceived precariousness of the threatened ID will moderate the effect of social identity threats on the consideration of future consequences of one's behavior.

The consideration of future consequences. To test Hypothesis 4, a 2 (social identity: gender v. family) x 2 (threat status: threatened v. validated) between subjects factorial ANOVA was performed. The dependent variable was the responses to the consideration of future consequences scale (CFC). Again lower numbers represented a lower value of future consequences for one's actions relative to the immediate consequences. A main effect of social identity was found, such that men displayed a lower CFC when primed with gender identity ($M = 4.56, SD = .54$) than when primed with family identity ($M = 4.85, SD = .62$), $F(1, 71) = 5.03, p < .05$. No main effect of threat was found such that there was no difference in CFC when their identity was threatened ($M = 4.62, SD = .58$) and when their identity was validated ($M = 4.81, SD = .60$), $F(1, 71) = 2.77, n.s.$ However, a marginally significant 2-way interaction was found, such that threat only impacted the CFC of men, $F(1, 71) = 3.25, p = .07$ (see Figure 5). Simple effects tests demonstrate that, when primed with family identity, there is no difference in CFC for those whose identity was threatened ($M = 4.86, SD = .57$), and those whose identity was validated ($M = 4.84, SD = .70$), $F(1, 37) = .01, n.s.$ However, those whose gender was threatened had a significantly lower CFC ($M = 4.33, SD = .46$) than those whose gender was validated ($M = 4.78, SD = .59$), $F(1, 36) = 7.81, p < .01$.

Identity precariousness. To test for differences in precariousness, I ran another two-way between subjects ANOVA. A main effect of social identity was found, such that men perceived gender identity ($M = 4.43$, $SD = .90$) to be more precarious than family identity ($M = 3.64$, $SD = 1.11$), $F(1, 71) = 11.33$, $p < .001$. No main effect of threat was found such that there was no difference in ratings of identity precariousness when participants' identity was threatened ($M = 4.06$, $SD = 1.09$) and when their identity was validated ($M = 4.00$, $SD = 1.10$), $F(1, 71) = .26$, n.s. No interaction was found, $F(1, 71) = 1.09$, n.s.

Risk taking. Finally, I tested whether gender identity threat, but not a less precarious threat would lead to greater risk taking, utilizing a two-way between subjects ANOVA. Men exhibited greater risk taking when primed with masculine identity ($M = 5.32$, $SD = 3.51$) than when primed with family identity ($M = 4.19$, $SD = 2.67$), but this difference was not significant, $F(1, 70) = 2.51$, $p = .12$. Similarly, no main effect of threat was found such that there was not a significant increase in risk taking when participants' identity was threatened ($M = 5.05$, $SD = 3.44$) and when their identity was validated ($M = 4.44$, $SD = 2.83$), $F(1, 70) = .84$, n.s. No interaction was found, $F(1, 70) = .79$, n.s.

Moderation. To test precariousness as a moderator of the relationship between social identity threats and the consideration of future consequences of one's behavior, I ran separate correlations between threat and CFC for each social identity. Identity threat served as a significant predictor of reductions in CFC for men who were primed with a more precarious identity (gender), $r(37) = -.43$, $p < .01$. However, identity threat was unrelated to CFC for men who were primed with a less precarious identity (family), $r(38) = .02$, n.s. These correlations were significantly different, $Z = 1.99$, $p < .05$.

Conclusions

As predicted, men experiencing threats to their masculinity demonstrated a reduced focus on the future consequences of their actions. This served as a replication of my findings from Study 1. Conversely threats to a social identity that men rated as less precarious did not produce similar effects. Threats to family identity held no predictive power for men's focus on the future consequences of their actions.

Counter to my hypotheses, risk taking behavior was not significantly affected by masculinity threats. This is inconsistent with previous research indicating that threats to masculinity can lead men to gamble more with their money (Weaver, Vandello, & Bosson, 2013). However this prior research tested men's increased risk taking, when the potential rewards increased in proportion to the risk. It may be the case that modifying the original task to have riskier behavior come at a cost, relative to safer behavior, may have been too conservative a test of the impact of masculinity threat. Again, I modified the task to have smaller expected values in the higher risk scenarios, providing a more conservative test of my hypothesis, whereas the original task was designed to have risky choices contain the potential for high reward. As such, the only logical motivation behind risk-seeking would have been the performance of masculinity, as choosing riskier scenarios was expected to yield less money on average. It may be the case that high risk behavior is only performed when equally high benefits can be obtained.

Study 3 replicated the finding that men demonstrate a reduction in the consideration of future consequences when their masculinity—an identity that men rate as more precarious than other social identities—is threatened. Finally, I wanted to test whether or not reframing masculinity as a less precarious identity could serve as a buffer against threats to men's gender identity.

Study 4: Attenuating the effects of masculinity threat

Studies 1 – 3 were designed to demonstrate that threats to masculinity—but not other social identity threats—motivate a reduction in the consideration of future consequences, due to the unique characteristics of how masculinity is socially constructed. The precariousness of masculinity may lead to a reduced consideration of future consequences, and in turn influence the gender typed behaviors that men wish to perform. Next, in Study 4 I explore the possibility of attenuating these effects by reframing masculinity as a secure identity. In addition, I seek to test whether attenuators of masculinity threat provide a psychological benefit.

Hypothesis 4: The perceived precariousness of the threatened identity will moderate the effect of social identity threats on the consideration of future consequences of one's behavior. The predictions of Studies 1 and 3 were rooted in the assumption that masculinity is perceived as precarious, motivating selective attention to one's immediate context in order to contend with threats to masculinity. Thus, if the precarious nature of masculinity was removed, one would expect the effects of masculinity threat to be attenuated. This is consistent with previous findings that threatening femininity—which is perceived as less precarious—does not lead to compensatory behavior (Study 1; Vandello et al., 2008). I predicted that when men are led to believe that manhood is not a tenuous status, threatening masculinity would no longer lead to reductions in the consideration of future consequences. This hypothesis is further supported by previous research demonstrating that, while Black men performed compensatory masculinity after a threat to masculinity (in the form of racial discrimination), the secure social status of White men attenuated their need to perform compensatory masculinity after a similar threat to masculinity (Goff, Di Leone, & Kahn, 2012). White men who had their masculinity threatened, but were given an opportunity to think about their social status (i.e. their ability to control their

outcomes within society), demonstrated less compensatory masculinity. Similarly, here men were told that they have the ability to control perceptions of their masculinity (i.e. that perceptions of masculinity are easily earned, and thus secure). I predicted that this intervention would attenuate masculinity threat's effect on the consideration of future consequences.

Method

Participants and Design. Eighty-four men were recruited using an online survey to participate in the experiment. Of the participants, 70 self-identified as White, 8 as Asian, 3 as Latino/Hispanic, and 3 as Black. The median age of participants was 33 years old. Participants were recruited using Amazon's Mechanical Turk (www.MTurk.com) data collection marketplace. The experimental design is a 2 (construction of masculinity: secure v. precarious) x 2 (threat status: threatened v. validated) between subjects factorial design. Participants were randomly assigned to receive threatening or validating information about their gender identity. Participants also received information about the content of masculine identity. Participants were randomly assigned such that half of the participants received a traditional definition of masculinity (as precarious), whereas the other half received a modified definition of masculinity that includes an assertion that a central tenet of masculinity is identity security. The consideration of future consequences and compensatory behavior (risk taking) were both measured as continuous dependent variables.

Materials

Construction of masculinity. Participants were told that they are participating in a managerial decision making task, as in Study 3. However, here participants received additional information stating that "the researchers are particularly interested in men's managerial decisions because of the unique characteristics that define manhood. For the *precarious* construction of

masculinity manipulation, participants were told: “Much like having a reputation of honesty, Manhood is seen as hard gained and easily lost. We have conducted extensive pretesting on this topic, and have found that the overwhelming majority of individuals agree that Manhood is a very precarious status.” For the *secure* construction of masculinity manipulation, participants were told: “Unlike like having a reputation of honesty, Manhood is seen as easily gained and hard lost. We have conducted extensive pretesting on this topic, and have found that the overwhelming majority of individuals agree that Manhood is a very secure status”

Threat manipulation. The threat manipulation was identical to that used in Studies 1 & 3.

Temporal focus. Time perspective was measured by the Consideration of Future Consequences Scale, as in Studies 1 & 3 (CFC; Strathman, Gleicher, Boninger, & Edwards, 1994).

Risk taking. The risk taking assessment was identical to that used in Study 3.

Self-perceptions of competence. Participants completed a previously validated measure of self-perceptions of competence ($\alpha = .90$; Unzueta, Lowery, & Knowles, 2008). This measure asks participants to indicate the extent to which 12 adjectives are descriptive of themselves using a 7-point likert scale (1 = not at all, 7 = very much). The adjectives include ambitious, hardworking, responsible, stable, persistent, qualified, confident, smart, competent, skilled, intelligent, and insightful. I hypothesized that the experience of threat should reduce men’s self-perceptions of competence, but that the secure masculinity reframing would attenuate this reduction, just as the reframe is predicted to attenuate reductions in the consideration of future consequences of behavior.

Self-esteem. The widely utilized Rosenberg self-esteem scale was used as a pretest measure participant self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965). This scale contains 7 items, including “I feel that I’m a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.” Possible responses range from 1-7 on a Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree; See Appendix D for the full scale). I am predicting no differences in self-esteem coming into the experiment. This measure serves to demonstrate that predicted differences in self-perceived competence do not covary with pre-existing self-esteem differences.

Procedure

Participants interested in the experiment gained access to the online study directly through the Amazon MTurk marketplace. Participants were directed to a website link of the URL for my study. Participants were told that they would participate in a managerial decision making task. Participants received introductory information with the threat or validation manipulation used in prior studies. Participants then received masculinity framing manipulation. Next, I administered the consideration of future consequences scale. Subsequently, participants engaged in the managerial decision making task designed to measure risk taking behavior. Participants then completed the self-report measure of competence to determine the effectiveness of the masculinity framing manipulation. Finally, participants were thanked for their participation and debriefed.

Study 4 Results

Hypothesis 4: The perceived precariousness of the threatened identity will moderate the effect of social identity threats on the consideration of future consequences of one’s behavior.

Self Esteem pretest: To test Hypothesis 4, multiple 2 (construction of masculinity: secure v. control) x 2 (threat status: threatened v. validated) between subjects factorial ANOVAs were

performed. First, I tested for differences by condition in preexisting self-esteem. I found no main effects or interactions all F 's < 1.93 , n.s. This indicates that men came on with no pre-existing self-esteem differences that could covary with my dependent variables.

The consideration of future consequences: The primary dependent variable was the responses to the consideration of future consequences scale (CFC). A main effect of construction of masculinity was found, such that men displayed a lower CFC when masculinity was framed as precarious ($M = 3.32$, $SD = .42$) than when masculinity was framed as secure ($M = 3.48$, $SD = .42$), $F(1, 80) = 4.18$, $p < .05$. A main effect of threat was also found such that men displayed a lower CFC when their masculinity was threatened ($M = 3.29$, $SD = .41$) than when their identity was validated ($M = 3.51$, $SD = .42$), $F(1, 80) = 6.34$, $p = .01$. In addition, a marginally significant 2-way interaction was found, such that threat no longer had an impact on CFC when masculinity was framed as secure, $F(1, 80) = 3.38$, $p = .07$ (see Figure 6). Simple effects tests demonstrate that, when masculinity was framed as secure, there was no difference in CFC for those whose identity was threatened ($M = 3.45$, $SD = .33$), and those whose identity was validated ($M = 3.52$, $SD = .50$), $F(1, 41) = .21$, n.s. However, when masculinity was framed as precarious, men once again had a significantly lower CFC ($M = 3.11$, $SD = .43$) than those whose gender was validated ($M = 3.50$, $SD = .33$), $F(1, 39) = 10.55$, $p < .001$.

Competence. Next I conducted an ANOVA testing for the effects of threat and masculinity framing on self-perceptions of competence. A marginal main effect of threat was found, such that men reported lower self-perception of competence after their masculinity was threatened ($M = 58.95$, $SD = .897$) than when their masculinity was validated ($M = 62.33$, $SD = 9.03$), $F(1, 80) = 2.92$, $p = .09$. No main effect of masculinity framing was found such that there

was no difference in self-perceived competence when masculinity was framed as precarious ($M = 59.80$, $SD = 10.21$) and when masculinity was framed as secure ($M = 61.67$, $SD = 7.91$), $F(1, 80) = .89$, n.s. No interaction was found, $F(1, 80) = .01$, n.s.

Risk taking. Finally, I tested whether gender identity threat would lead to greater risk taking, utilizing a two-way between subjects ANOVA. I found a marginal main effect of masculinity framing, such that men exhibited greater risk taking when masculinity was framed as secure ($M = 4.67$, $SD = 2.53$) than when masculinity was framed as precarious ($M = 3.63$, $SD = 2.25$), $F(1, 80) = 3.65$, $p = .06$. However, no main effect of threat was found such that there was not a significant increase in risk taking when participants' identity was threatened ($M = 4.03$, $SD = 2.37$) and when their identity was validated ($M = 4.29$, $SD = 2.52$), $F(1, 80) = .23$, n.s. No interaction was found, $F(1, 80) = .71$, n.s.

Conclusions

Study 4 provided a second replication of the finding that masculinity threats can reduce men's consideration of future consequences. Here, however, I also provide evidence that when men are led to believe that manhood is not a tenuous status, masculinity threat no longer leads to reductions in the consideration of future consequences. Interestingly, while this intervention prevented temporal myopia, it did not attenuate the decreased feelings of competence that men felt after their masculinity was threatened. This is perhaps because the measure of risk taking was again demonstrated to be a poor fit for compensatory acts of masculinity, preventing men from being able to restore their masculinity through risky financial decisions.

Discussion

Over 4 studies, I have shown that threats to masculinity lead men to an increasingly myopic focus on short-term consequences, and away from considering future consequences.

These effects are not apparent in women, as women do not demonstrate a reduction in the consideration of future consequences after their gender identity is threatened (Study 1). I provided evidence that identity precariousness moderates the extent to which experiencing a threat to a social identity leads to a lowered consideration of future consequences (Study 3). Further, reducing the precariousness of masculinity attenuated the reduction in the consideration of future consequences when masculinity was threatened (Study 4). Thus, the combination of both high value and high precariousness may make masculinity unique amongst social identities (Study 2). These contributions provide useful insights into why men can seem oblivious to the harms that can result from contending with masculinity threats.

Further, when given a chance to perform compensatory gendered behavior, men under threat demonstrated a greater desire to avoid stereotypically feminine behaviors relative to men whose masculinity is validated. However men did not perform greater stereotypically masculine behaviors when they did not help men dissociate themselves from women. This is inconsistent with previous research demonstrating that threats to masculinity lead to increased financial gambling (Weaver, Vandello, & Bosson, 2013). However, in this previous work, higher risk was paired with higher rewards. Conversely, in the presented studies higher risks were paired with lower rewards. This may represent an important boundary condition for men's risk seeking in response to threats. It may be the case that masculinity threats, and the subsequent reduction in CFC, only motivate risky behaviors when the rewards are not solely the performance of masculinity, but also include increased material gains.

The presented examination of the effects of masculinity threat on the consideration of future consequences adds to the literature on gender identity in important ways. While the

effects of masculinity threat have been demonstrated across various domains, the basic process has not been thoroughly understood. I have provided consistent evidence that the experience of threat to a precarious identity leads to a reduced consideration of the future consequences of one's behavior, providing a logical context for the performance of compensatory behaviors whose long term detriments would seem to outweigh the short term benefits. Similarly, previous research has argued that men's reaction to gender identity threats should be stronger than that of women (Bem, 1993). However, this research did not make predictions regarding the relationship between gender identity threats and temporal focus, thus these data represent a novel contribution.

I have also provided one example of a straightforward intervention to reduce the negative impact of masculinity threats. Previous research has shown that the consideration of future consequences is subject to manipulation, and that doing so can promote pro-social behavior such as interpersonal cooperation (Wolf, Cohen, Kirchner, Rea, Montoya, & Insko 2009). Here, I have demonstrated that social constructions of masculinity that are secure can attenuate the effects of masculinity threat on the consideration of future consequences of one's behavior. If a lack of consideration of future consequences is the underlying mechanism for the self-destructive consequences of masculinity threat, then increasing one's future focus may also promote gender equality, create healthier men, and decrease physical violence. Future research should directly test whether maintaining an individual's full consideration of the future consequences of their behavior might mitigate against extreme anti-social behaviors.

A significant limitation of this research is that it was conducted solely in a western cultural context and with a predominantly White subject population. Previous theorists have

noted the inappropriateness of applying western constructions of masculinity more globally (Louie & Edwards, 1994). Here, I operationalized masculinity threats by manipulating blurred boundaries between men and women. However, this phenomenon may not be perceived as threatening in other cultures. For example, in South Korea, there is an expectation of significant overlap between men and women that does not interfere with the existence of distinct gender categories (Hoffman, 1995). Future research should examine how the various forms of masculinity threats manifest across different cultural contexts. My subject population predominantly came from a highly educated, politically liberal population. Looking at how these effects replicate (or perhaps manifest with greater strength) across American subcultures (e.g. southern populations that subscribe to the “culture of honor”) would bring added value.

Similarly, more work is needed on how masculinity is experienced differently within each culture. Because Black and Latino men are stereotyped as hyper-masculine, and Asian men as less masculine, relative to White men in America (Goff, Thomas, & Jackson, 2008; Johnson, Freeman, & Pauker, 2012; Johnson & Ghavami, 2011), there may exist racial hierarchies in the perceived masculinity of men. This could result in men who are stereotyped as hyper-masculine feeling buffered against threats to their masculinity. Alternatively, this could represent a higher standard that such men must live up to, in order to main their precarious status. Due to the fact that such perceptions of hyper-masculinity can be the source of intergroup competition (Goff & Jackson, 2013), can lead to the invisibility of one’s and can lead one to be the target of interpersonal violence (Goff, Jackson, Di Leone, Culotta, & DiTomasso, 2013), there may also be contexts where men are motivated to appear less masculine. More work is needed to understand how the racial hierarchies of masculinity may influence the performance of masculinity.

Another dimension along which expectations for masculinity vary is sexuality. While the false dichotomy of masculinity vs. femininity has been discarded, it may have been replaced with a false dichotomy of gay vs. straight masculinity. Indeed, many men have come to perceive being seen as gay as the ultimate violation of masculinity (Bosson, Prewitt-Freilino & Taylor, 2005; Bosson, Taylor, & Prewitt-Freilino, 2006). Despite this dichotomization, researchers on gay masculinity have asserted that gay men's experiences as men are influenced by a similar set of expectations as straight men, and thus, should not be understood as separated from this framework (Edwards, 2005). Future work should account for the similarities and differences between the experiences of gay and straight men.

Finally, individual difference factors should be considered in the determining how to predict a man's susceptibility to masculinity threats. The investment in embodying traditional masculine traits varies across individuals and one would expect that a greater investment in embodying stereotypic masculinity would produce more reactance to masculinity threats (Babl, 1979). Further, individual difference factors such as social status should be considered because having greater social status can attenuate the need to perform compensatory masculinity (Goff, Di Leone, & Kahn, 2012). Conversely, examining individual difference variables can demonstrate along what dimensions the experience of masculinity threats appear to be universal. For example, the presented data consistently found that the experience of masculinity threats led men to a reduced consideration of future consequences while sampling from an age range of 18 – 73 years old. This provides preliminary evidence that age may not be a factor that reduces the impact of masculinity threats.

Overall, future research should take an intersectional approach, considering the ways that culture, race, sexual orientation, and other dimensions of identity combine to influence the performance of masculinity. Such an approach would more fully articulate the varied current experiences of men and the future possibilities for the healthier performance of masculinity.

Conclusions

I have reviewed evidence outlining the set of rules that men frequently feel the need follow to be seen as masculine. And there is evidence that men's successes and failures to appear masculine have significant consequences for how they are perceived by others. For example, in experiments where participants rated men who experience chronic lower back pain, both laypeople and professional nurses perceived men who expressed pain as having less masculinity-related traits and more femininity-related traits than the typical man (Bernades & Lima, 2010). Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Rudman (2010) demonstrated that men receive backlash when they violate the norms of masculinity, pressuring men to conform to masculine norms and stereotypes. Unfortunately, the performance of stereotypical masculinity can interfere with women and counter-stereotypical men from achieving their full potential, as compensatory masculinity often takes the form of homophobia (Falomir-Pichastor & Mugny, 2009; Glick, Gangl, Gibb, Klumpner, & Weinberg, 2007; Hudepohl, Parrott, & Zeichner, 2010; Pascoe, 2005), sexism (Maass, Cadinu, Guarnieri, & Grasselli, 2003), and violence against intimate partners or against strangers (Copenhagen, Lash, & Eisler, 2000; Daly & Wilson, 1988; Jakupcak, Lisak, & Roemer, 2002; Kimmel & Mahler, 2003; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Vandello, Cohen, Granson, & Franiuk, 2009). Sociologist Michael Kimmel (2008) observed that the majority of young men he surveyed about masculinity admitted knowing that many of the prescribed gender roles for men

sometimes feel unnatural and can harm others, and thus can feel fraudulent. However, they attempt to embody those norms because of the social pressures that encourage them to do so.

Given that changes in gender roles appear to provoke threats to masculinity (Babl, 1979; Study 1) and that gender equality requires continued changes to gender roles, this research takes on important social implications. Namely, if gender equality is likely to lead men to engage in behaviors that endanger both themselves and those around them, then preventing the negative consequences of masculinity threat are an important component of gender progress. Similarly, failing to address the consequences of masculinity threat may result in distal, but no less harmful, negative repercussions of efforts to enact gender equality. In other words, we ignore male-pattern blindness to the detriment of men, women, and the equality one might seek for both.

Appendix A

Threat Manipulation

Hello and thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. We are interested in students' perspectives about the world and how they engage with it. We are particularly interested in (men's/women's) perspectives considering:

Male Threat: longitudinal research findings of a decreased level of masculinity in current American males. Researchers cited ongoing sociocultural trends (e.g., restructured family roles, changes in men's fashions, and women representing a new majority in the American work force) as illustrative of this finding. Social psychologists have long demonstrated that such sociocultural contexts inevitably influence the individuals living within them. We are interested in your perspectives considering that you live in this context.

Male Validated: longitudinal research findings of broadened definitions of masculinity in current American males. Researchers cited ongoing sociocultural trends (e.g., restructured family roles, changes in men's fashions, and women representing a new majority in the American work force) as illustrative of this finding. Social psychologists have long demonstrated that such sociocultural contexts inevitably influence the individuals living within them. We are interested in your perspectives considering that you live in this context.

Female Threat: longitudinal research findings of a decreased level of femininity in current American females. Researchers cited ongoing sociocultural trends (e.g., restructured family roles, changes in women's fashions, and women representing a new majority in the American work force) as illustrative of this finding. Social psychologists have long demonstrated that such sociocultural contexts inevitably influence the individuals living within them. We are interested in your perspectives considering that you live in this context.

Female Validated: longitudinal research findings of broadened definitions of femininity in current American females. Researchers cited ongoing sociocultural trends (e.g., restructured family roles, changes in women's fashions, and women representing a new majority in the American work force) as illustrative of this finding. Social psychologists have long demonstrated that such sociocultural contexts inevitably influence the individuals living within them. We are interested in your perspectives considering that you live in this context.

Consideration of Future Consequences Scale

Instructions: Read each item and, as honestly as you can, answer the question: "How characteristic or true is this of you?"

1. I consider how things might be in the future, and try to influence those things with my day to day behavior.
2. Often I engage in a particular behavior in order to achieve outcomes that may not result for many years.
3. I only act to satisfy immediate concerns, figuring the future will take care of itself.
4. My behavior is only influenced by the immediate (i.e., a matter of days or weeks) outcomes of my actions.
5. My convenience is a big factor in the decisions I make or the actions I take.
6. I am willing to sacrifice my immediate happiness or well-being in order to achieve future outcomes.
7. I think it is important to take warnings about negative outcomes seriously even if the negative outcome will not occur for many years.
8. I think it is more important to perform a behavior with important distant consequences than a behavior with less-important immediate consequences.
9. I generally ignore warnings about possible future problems because I think the problems will be resolved before they reach crisis level.
10. I think that sacrificing now is usually unnecessary since future outcomes can be dealt with at a later time.
11. I only act to satisfy immediate concerns, figuring that I will take care of future problems that may occur at a later date.
12. Since my day to day work has specific outcomes, it is more important to me than behavior that has distant outcomes.

CPI-Fem Scale:

1. I might cry at a movie, if it was emotionally impactful
2. It is important for me to excel at sports
3. Being a financial provider for my family is an important goal for me
4. I like to cook for others
5. It is important for me to initiate sexual contact with my partner
6. It is important for kids to see me as nurturing
7. It is important for the man to serve as head of the household
8. Sometimes I feel vulnerable
9. I would stay at home and raise children, if that is what worked best for my family.
10. I enjoy physical labor
11. I rarely need to ask for help
12. Being out late at night by myself can be frightening.
13. It can be fun to take a lot of risks
14. I enjoy taking a bath rather than a shower

Appendix B
Social Identity Comparison Survey: Identity Centrality

Gender Exemplar:

1. Overall, my gender has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
2. In general, my gender is an important part of my self-image.
3. My destiny is tied to the destiny of other people of my gender.
4. My gender is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.
5. I have a strong sense of belonging to people of my gender category.
6. I have a strong attachment to people of my gender.
7. Being part of my gender is an important reflection of who I am.
8. Being part of my gender is not a major factor in my social relationships.

Race Exemplar:

1. Overall, being part of my racial group has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
2. In general, being part of my racial group is an important part of my self-image.
3. My destiny is tied to the destiny of other people of my racial category.
4. Being part of my racial group is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.
5. I have a strong sense of belonging to people of my racial group.
6. I have a strong attachment to people of my racial group.
7. Being part of my racial group is an important reflection of who I am.
8. Being part of my racial group is not a major factor in my social relationships.

Social Identity Comparison Survey: Precariousness

Gender Exemplar:

1. "It is fairly easy for someone to lose their status as a man."
2. "Someone's status as a 'real man' sometimes depends on how other people view them."
3. "Some do not fully become men, no matter how old they get."
4. "Other people often question whether someone is a 'real man'."
5. "Status as a man is something that can be taken away."
6. "Status as a man is not assured—it can be lost."

Familial Exemplar:

1. "It is fairly easy for someone to lose their status as a member of a family."
2. "Someone's status as a 'real' member of their family sometimes depends on how other people view them."
3. "Some do not fully become members of their family, no matter how old they get."
4. "Other people often question whether someone is a 'real family member'."
5. "Status as a member of a family is something that can be taken away."
6. "Status as a member of a family is not assured—it can be lost."

Appendix C

Revised Threat Manipulation

Family Threat: Hello and thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. We are interested in peoples' perspectives about the world and how they engage with it. We are particularly interested in your perspectives considering longitudinal research findings of a decreased commitment to one's family in contemporary America. Researchers cited ongoing socio-cultural trends as illustrative of this finding. Such trends include restructured family roles, increased moving away from ones birth city, and individuals no longer defining themselves based on the outcomes of family members. Social psychologists have long demonstrated that such socio-cultural contexts inevitably influence the individuals living within them. We are interested in your perspectives considering that you live in this context.

Family Validated: Hello and thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. We are interested in peoples' perspectives about the world and how they engage with it. We are particularly interested in your perspectives considering longitudinal research findings of a broadened definition of commitment to one's family in contemporary America. Researchers cited ongoing socio-cultural trends as illustrative of this finding. Such trends include restructured family roles, increased moving away from ones birth city, and individuals no longer defining themselves based on the outcomes of family members. Social psychologists have long demonstrated that such socio-cultural contexts inevitably influence the individuals living within them. We are interested in your perspectives considering that you live in this context.

Risk Task.

	Outcome 1		Outcome 2		Expected value
Probability					
50-50%	\$30		\$30		\$30.00
	33		26		\$29.50
	36		22		\$29.00
	42		15		\$28.50
	48		8		\$28.00
	55		0		\$27.50
25-75%	\$30		\$30		\$30.00
	35		27		\$29.00
	40		21		\$25.75
	46		15		\$22.75
	54		6		\$18.00
	60		0		\$15.00

Appendix D
Competence Scale

Please indicate the extent to which these adjectives are descriptive of you

1. Ambitious
2. Hard working
3. Responsible
4. Stable
5. Persistent
6. Qualified
7. Confident
8. Smart
9. Competent
10. Skilled
11. Intelligent
12. Insightful.

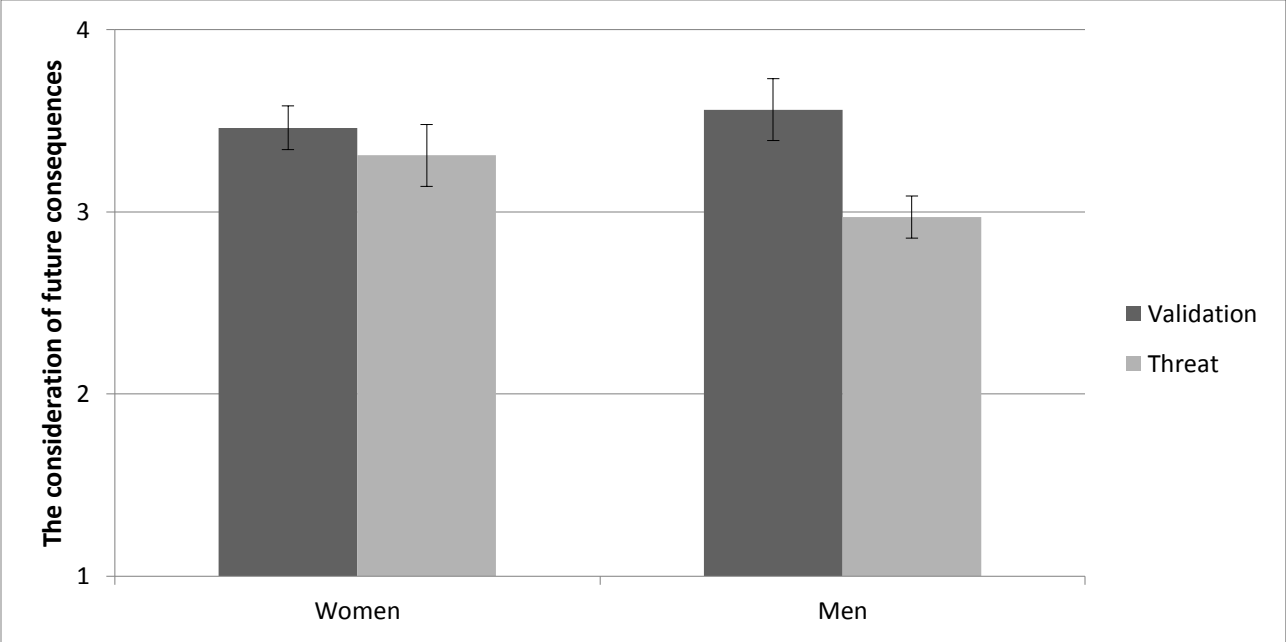


Figure 1. The mean consideration of future consequences (from 1-7) in Study 1.

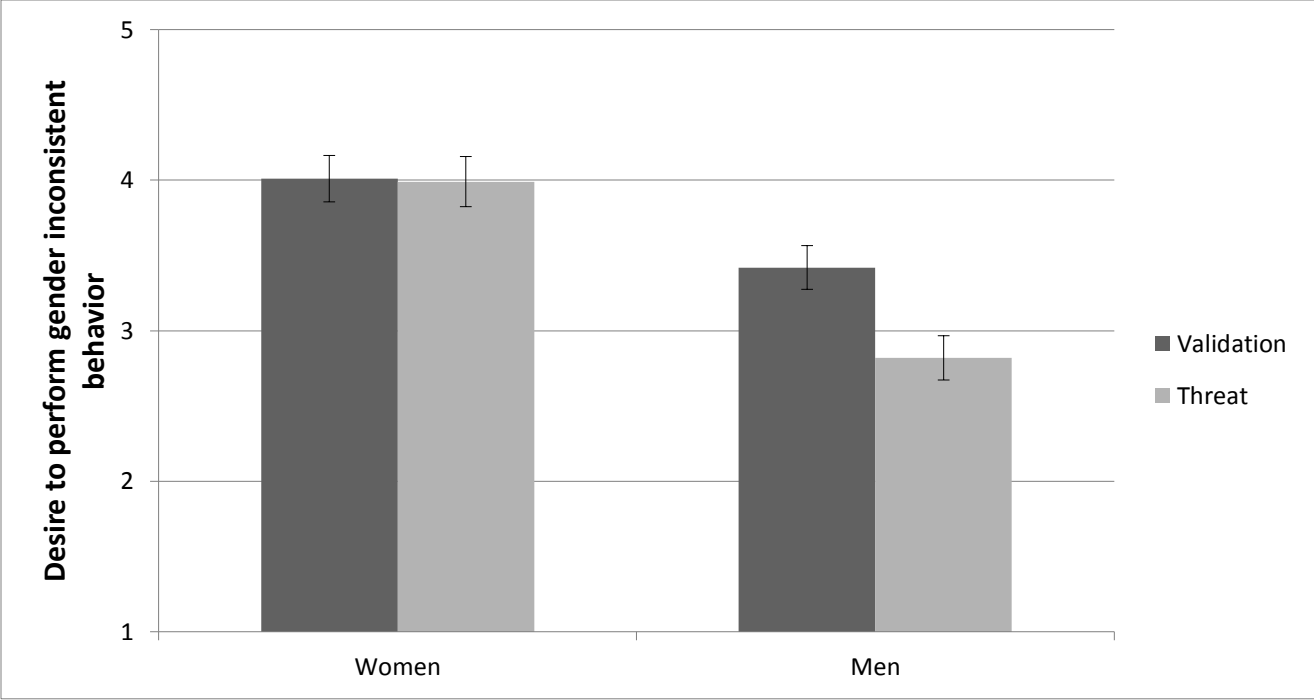


Figure 2. The mean desire to perform gender inconsistent behavior (from 1-7) in Study 1

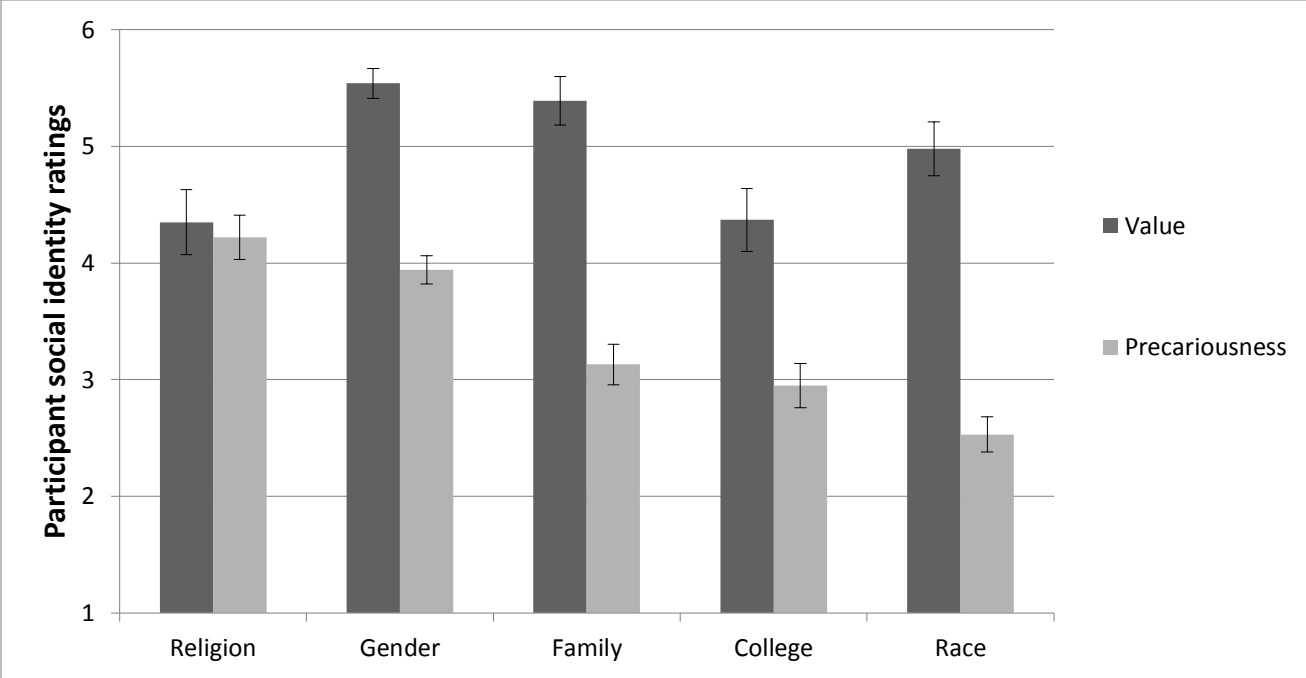


Figure 3. Men’s perceived value and precariousness of social identities (from 1-7) in Study 2

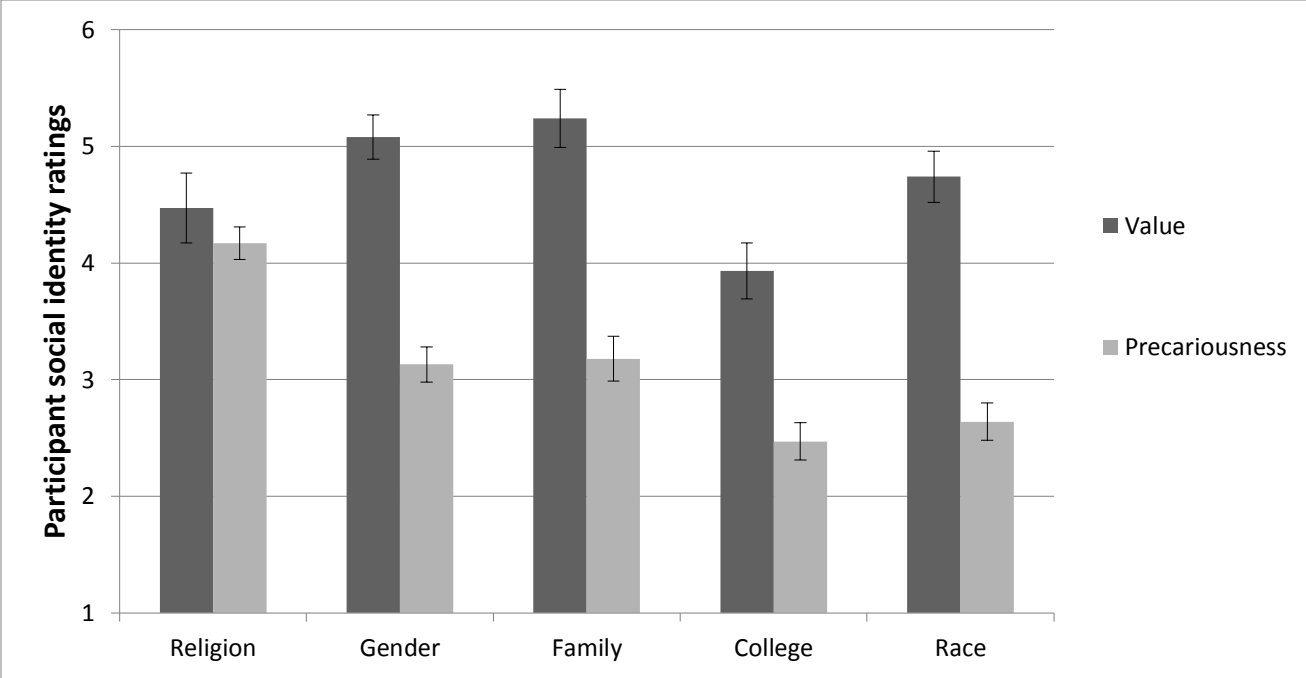


Figure 4. Women’s perceived value and precariousness of social identities (from 1-7) in Study 2

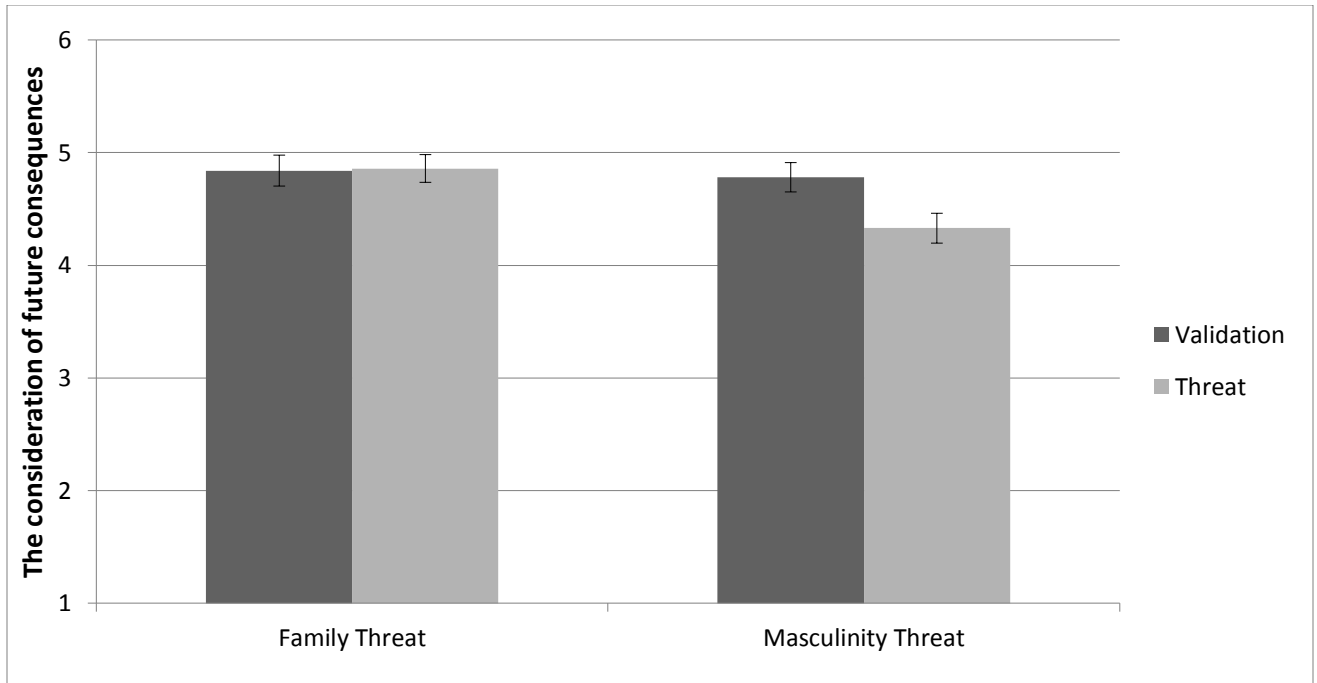


Figure 5. The mean consideration of future consequences (from 1-7) of men in Study 3

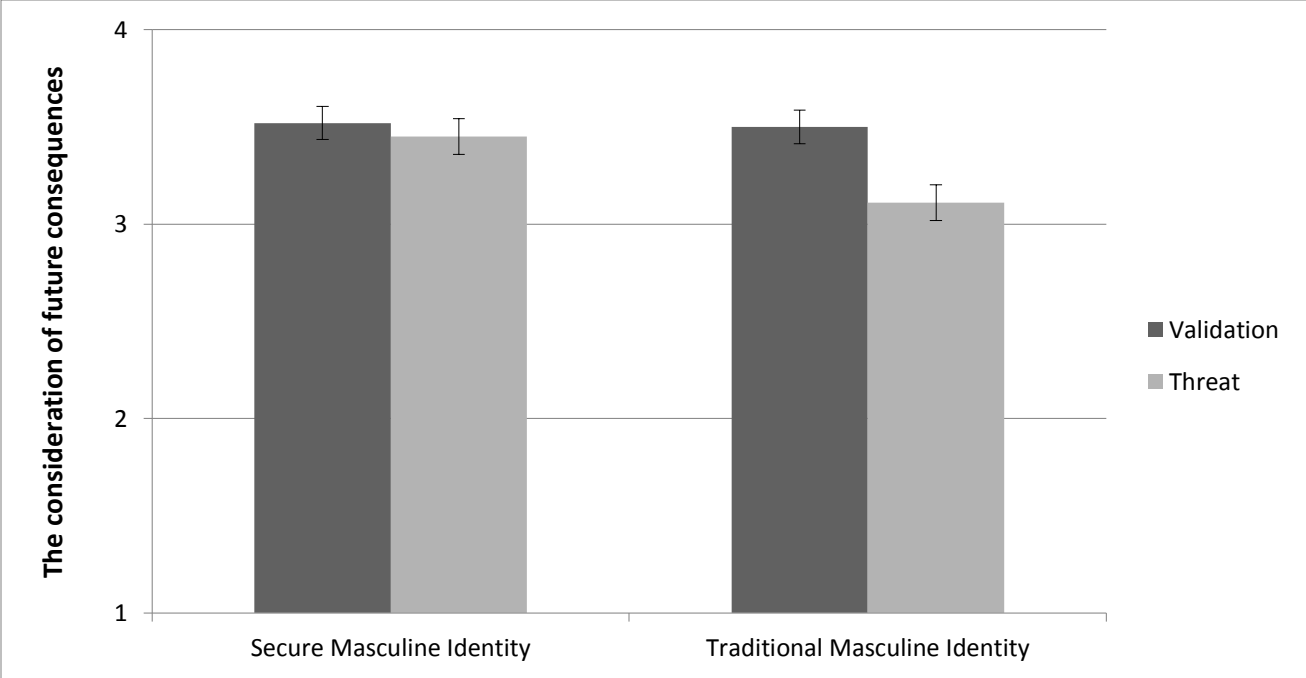


Figure 6. The mean consideration of future consequences of men (from 1-7) in Study 4

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