

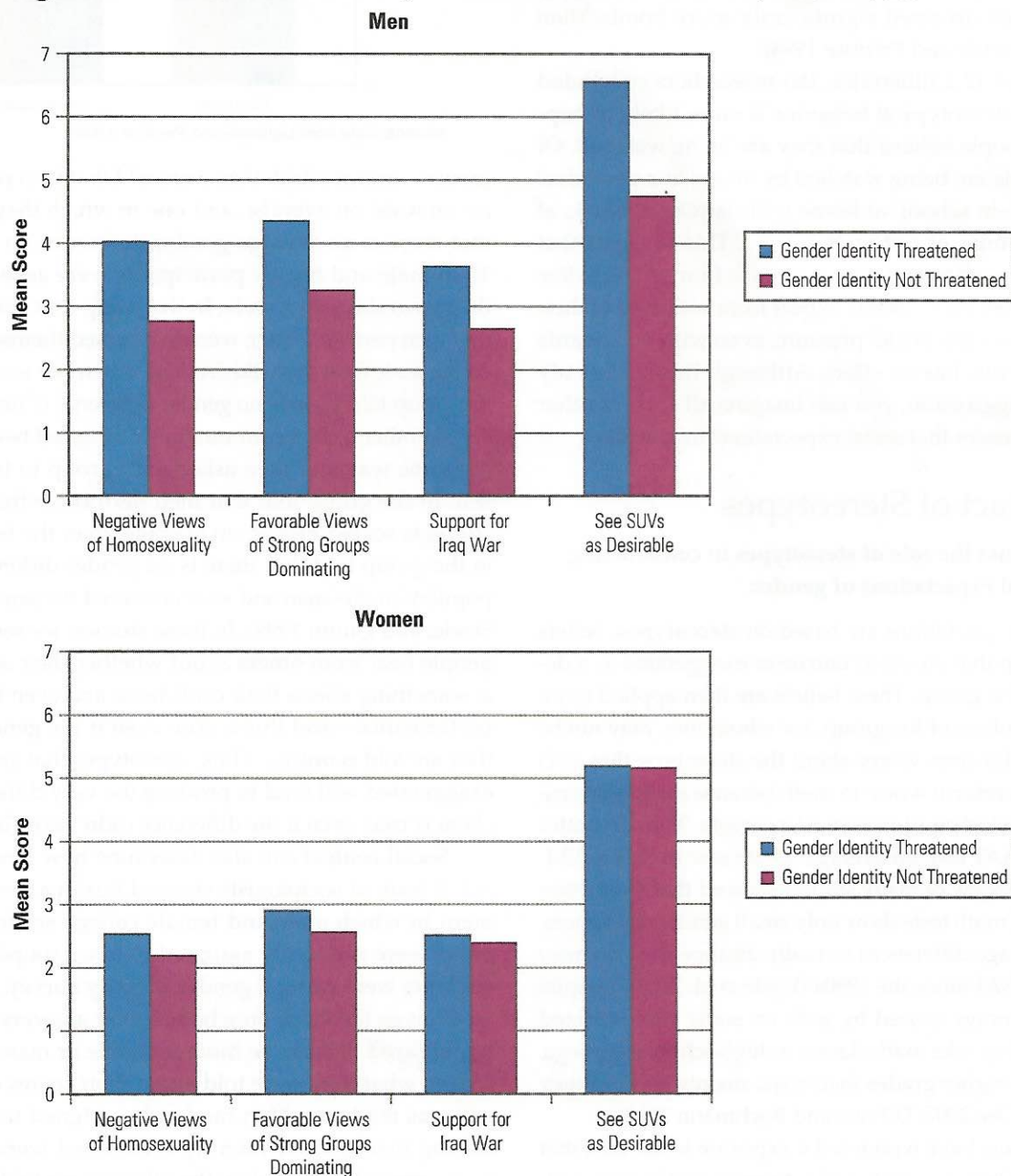
them they were somewhat masculine, with the others told they were feminine. See Figure 12.3 for the results of this intriguing study. What was interesting was the effect on men of being told they were feminine rather than masculine. When the participants were given a second survey, compared to the men told they were feminine, these men expressed more negative views of homosexuality, more favorable views of strong groups dominating weak groups, more support for the Iraq War, and more favorable views of SUVs (Willer et al. 2013). Interestingly, women's attitudes on the second survey weren't significantly different for those told they were feminine and masculine.

The authors concluded that men desire to appear masculine, and if they have reason to think others doubt their

masculinity, they redouble their efforts to engage in behavior culturally coded as masculine. Women seem to be less worried about how feminine they appear, reflecting less social pressure on them to act feminine.

These studies do not necessarily prove that biological influences have no impact on gender differences. But, because the studies show that gender differences fluctuate depending on the social situation, we can be sure that some of the differences we observe come from social forces. In addition, the fact that gender inequality has changed over time is further evidence that gender is at least partly socially determined and that biology does not completely dictate destiny. Next, we will examine these changes.

Figure 12.3 Effect of Gender Identity Threat on Men's and Women's Reported Attitudes



SOURCE: Data from Willer et al. (2013).

NOTE: All differences between the "threatened" and "not threatened" conditions are statistically significant for men. None are significant for women.