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DISSERTATION

**A PHENOMENOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF MASCULINITY IDEOLOGIES AMONG
COLLEGE MALES**

Submitted by

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In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Summer 1999

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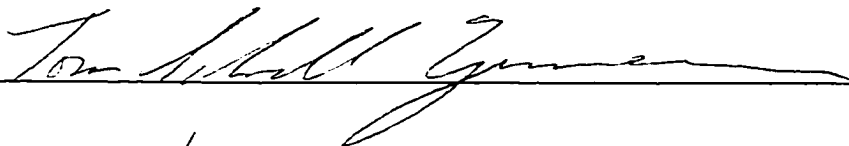
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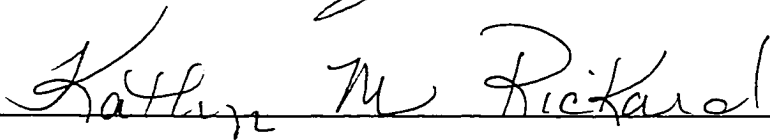
WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE DISSERTATION PREPARED
UNDER OUR SUPERVISION BY STEVEN R. GALE ENTITLED A
PHENOMENOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF MASCULINITY IDEOLOGIES
AMONG COLLEGE MALES BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING IN PART
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

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ABSTRACT

A PHENOMENOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF MASCULINITY IDEOLOGIES AMONG COLLEGE MALES

It was argued that use of qualitative methodology, rather than continued use of extant quantitative measures, is necessary in order for current masculinity ideologies to be fully documented. The 245 male, undergraduate student participants completed the Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI) of Levant et al. (1992) and the Gender Role Conflict Scale of O'Neil et al. (1986). Of these, 29 also participated in an in-depth interview designed to elicit their experiences of masculinity ideology. Constant comparative analysis of the interview data revealed two core relevant themes. The first theme was that these students did have a consistent understanding of the masculinity ideology that they held for themselves and observed in society. Although this ideology corresponds highly to extant descriptions of masculinity ideology, there were also important differences. These differences included characteristics of nurturing others and expressiveness, at least in the context of one's family, that have typically been attributed solely to feminine ideology. The second theme was that these students also experienced ambivalence and uncertainty about the demands of this ideology. These results support the conclusion that these men are struggling with some changes in the traditional masculinity ideology. The data are also consistent with constructionist theories of gender which assert that differences in masculinity ideologies between groups are attributable to differences in status within

society rather than differences in culture. It is suggested that future research include participants from a wider demographic range. It is also suggested that the interviews themselves would provide an ideal source from which to draw items for a more current quantitative measure of masculinity ideology.

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Acknowledgments

I want to express my appreciation to the members of my committee, Dr. Wayne Viney, Dr. Russell Cropanzano, and Dr. Toni Zimmerman. Their support and input throughout this program of research have been very important. It has also been an honor and a pleasure to work with my adviser, Dr. Kathryn Rickard. I have gained much through my association with her. Thanks also go to my research assistants, Marie Mueller and Ryan Williams, who spent many tedious hours on this project.

My friends and family have also played an important role in bringing this work to fruition. I have always felt their complete support, and I am very grateful for that. I especially want to acknowledge the contribution of my parents. Their commitment to living out their beliefs of justice and compassion for others engendered a similar passion in me. It is this passion that led me to the field of psychology and into the study of gender.

Since I began these studies, I have gained a new family, which now occupies the center of my life. My deepest gratitude and admiration is reserved for my wife, and my best friend, Dr. Jill Ann Kuhn. It would be impossible to express in words the countless ways that she has supported, challenged, and inspired me. She gives meaning to everything I do. Finally, I dedicate this work to my unborn daughter. It is my fervent hope that she reach maturity in a world that places the limits of gender on no one.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

As we approach the end of this century, gender has become an accepted field of study in the social sciences (cf. Ashmore, Del Boca, & Bilder, 1995; Brod & Kaufman, 1994; Levant & Pollack, 1995). Gender-focused studies began in the 1950's with protest literature of the women's movement that emphasized the gendered and oppressed quality of women's experiences in society (Kimmel, 1987; Pleck, 1981, 1995). Concurrently, a growing body of literature effectively criticized the traditional exclusion of women from theory and research in psychology (cf. Pleck, 1981; Tavris, 1992). Thus, gender-focused research specifically addressed issues pertaining to women's experience, and the social construction of gender as it affected women. In the 1970's and 1980's, scholars became aware that the study of gender might also productively include the study of men's experiences and masculinity (cf. O'Neil, 1981; Pleck, 1981). This awareness led to research and theory examining components of the male gender role, or masculinity, as well as research regarding the correlates of these constructs.

Much of this research and theory has focused on negative correlates of being a man or endorsing traditional norms of masculinity. For example, men have a shorter life expectancy than women, men have more heart disease than women, and men die violently more often than women (Copenhaver & Eisler, 1996). In addition, measures of masculinity have been found to correlate positively to a number of negative variables such

as acquaintance rape (Gale, 1996); delinquent behavior in adolescents (Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1994b); and depression (Good & Mintz, 1990), just to name a few. Clearly, at least some part of the masculine ideal is unhealthy for men and for those with whom they interact (cf. Kimmel, 1994; Levant, 1995; Pleck, 1981, 1995).

This approach to the study of gender and masculinity assumes that these constructs are based primarily in our cultures, not in our biology (cf. Kimmel, 1994; Levant, 1995; Pleck, 1981, 1995). Gender and the norms and stereotypes that surround it do not result from innate or “essential” differences between men and women, but rather result from social learning and the hierarchical structure of our society. Therefore, gender and masculinity are not fixed, but vary across history, cultures, ethnic groups, ages, the life span etc. For this reason, theorists have begun to refer to masculinities or masculinity ideologies as plural rather than singular (cf. Brod, 1994; Levant, 1995; Pleck, 1995). Implicit in this distinction is the hypothesis that masculinity ideologies are changing across time and place, and may be different now than thirty years ago.

This distinction then raises an interesting question. To what extent are masculinity ideologies in this culture actually changing? To pose this question another way, what is the current experience of masculinity for men in this time, and in this place? This question is the focus of the current research.

To begin this paper, I will discuss the terminology of masculinity studies and the topics of research in masculinity ideology. Next, I will compare and contrast the current sociological and descriptive theories of masculinity ideology. Following that, I will review measurement and empirical studies of masculinity ideology, and the possible components of masculinity ideology. Finally, I will present a rationale for the questions of interest in

this study and for using a qualitative, phenomenological approach to answering those questions.

Topics and Terminology of Gender Studies

It is necessary to make some distinctions in terminology regarding the study of gender. Gender in this paper will refer to the social meanings attached to identifiable biological sex. It is assumed that gender, as a social construct, varies across culture and across time for both individuals and cultures (Brod, 1994; Levant, 1995; Kimmel & Messner, 1992). As Ashmore et al. (1995) and others have pointed out, gender attitudes encompass a wide variety of content areas. Gender encompasses both the stereotypes that are expected by society, as well as the norms that are prescribed or proscribed by society (Brannon, 1976; Levant et al., 1992; Pleck, 1981). In addition, a distinction between relative and absolute gender stereotypes and norms is necessary. Relative gender stereotypes and norms are those that differentiate men and women, while absolute gender stereotypes and norms are those that most characterize a gender, whether they distinguish between genders or not (Levant et al., 1992; Pleck, 1981). For example, the belief that men should be more self-reliant than women would be a relative norm, whereas the belief that men should be self-reliant, without reference to women, would be an absolute norm. Finally, gender also comprises attitudes about relationships between men and women, and between men and other men at a societal level. These attitudes evaluate power relationships and societal roles. Ashmore et al. (1995) refer to these attitudes as global sex-role ideology.

Pleck (1981, 1995; Thompson & Pleck, 1987) and Levant (et al. 1992, 1995) agree that the study of masculinity should focus on absolute norms rather than relative

norms or stereotypes. They have referred to these absolute norms of male behavior as masculinity ideology. Pleck (1995, p. 19) defines masculinity ideology as the “beliefs about the importance of men adhering to cultural standards for male behavior.” These beliefs are related to, but distinct from, beliefs about femininity or the role of women, beliefs about global sex-role ideology, and stereotypes about gendered personality traits (gender orientation) of men and women (Ashmore et al., 1995; Thompson & Pleck, 1995). In fact, researchers who have clarified these distinctions and examined the relationships between these constructs have found that they tend to be relatively independent (Ashmore et al., 1995; Good et al., 1995; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1994a; Sinn, 1997). This study will focus on the experience of masculinity ideology of male students at this university.

Pleck (1981, 1995; Thompson & Pleck, 1995) and others (cf. Archer, 1989) also distinguish masculinity ideology from the gender orientation or trait approach to the study of masculinity. The trait approach is exemplified by the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) (Bem, 1974), and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) (Spence & Helmreich, 1978). These two scales were developed concurrently to measure the personality dimensions of masculinity and femininity, and have been referred to as measures of gender orientation (Pleck, 1995). Both scales measure self-concept in terms of socially desirable traits that were empirically determined to differentiate between males and females. The masculine dimension of these scales is referred to as instrumentality. It comprises the personality traits assertive, independent, active, and competitive. Instrumentality has emerged as relatively independent of the feminine dimension of these scales, which is

referred to as expressiveness. Expressiveness comprises the personality traits of nurturing, sensitive, and emotional (Bem, 1974; Spence & Helmreich, 1978).

Although there has been considerable empirical work in support of the gender orientation paradigm on which the BSRI and the PAQ are based (Spence & Helmreich, 1978), this paradigm does not correspond to the construct of gender ideology delineated for the purposes of this study. The BSRI and the PAQ measure self description in terms of relative, stereotypical traits rather than agreement with absolute norms. The distinction is between describing oneself as instrumental and endorsement of instrumentality as a male gender role norm. Only the latter is an example of masculinity ideology, the perception that instrumental characteristics are essential to the male role. Furthermore, both the BSRI and the PAQ are limited to measurement of personality attributes which, though related to role behaviors, are conceptually distinct (Spence & Helmreich, 1978).

Gender Role Identity vs. Gender Role Strain

As exemplified by the gender orientation research described above, the psychological study of masculinity has continued to evolve over the years. Traditionally gender has been studied within the gender role identity (GRI) paradigm (Pleck, 1981, 1995). According to the GRI paradigm, the development of gender role identity is defined primarily as the acquisition of sex-typed behaviors (Pleck, 1981, 1995). This development is viewed as innately necessary for psychological well being. Disturbances in the development of male gender role identity are thought to lead to difficulties such as homosexuality, hypermasculinity, violence towards women, and negative attitudes towards women. Most significantly, it is the failure to acquire traditional male sex-typed behaviors that leads to these negative psychological consequences.

Pleck and others (cf. Kimmel, 1994; Levant, 1992; Levant & Pollack, 1995; Pleck, 1981) have criticized this essentialist perspective on gender. They have argued that in this identity paradigm, differences between men and women are portrayed as natural and essential for well-being. These theorists have pointed out that this gender identity paradigm ignores the impact of social forces on the construction of gender. They have also asserted that this essentialist perspective directly supports a negative and sexist environment for both men and women. It is not a difficult leap from believing that men and women are naturally and essentially different from each other to believing that they should naturally occupy unequal roles in society.

In the late 1970's and early 1980's several researchers began to articulate a more productive and current paradigm within which to examine masculinity (O'Neil, 1981; Pleck, 1976, 1981). This paradigm has been referred to as the gender role strain paradigm (Pleck, 1981, 1995), gender role conflict (O'Neil, 1981), or gender role stress (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). From this perspective, gender roles or ideologies are defined as the social norms and stereotypes that correspond to identifiable sex. These ideologies contain norms that are contradictory and inconsistent. They are, therefore, violated by a large proportion of society. Negative consequences result not from an innate psychological need to develop a gender identity but from problems caused by the ideologies themselves.

This gender role strain or conflict is caused by gender role discrepancy, gender role trauma, and gender role dysfunction (Pleck, 1995). Gender role discrepancy occurs when men try to achieve the ideals of masculinity but fail, thus experiencing negative self evaluations and discrepancy between their ideal self and their real self (O'Neil, 1990; O'Neil & Good, 1997; Pleck, 1995). Gender role trauma refers to the traumatic process

of gender role socialization and the negative sanctions that men and boys receive for violating gender role norms (O'Neil, 1990; O'Neil & Good, 1997; Pleck, 1995). Gender role dysfunction refers to the fact that some of the demands of masculinity ideology are themselves dysfunctional or limiting (O'Neil, 1990; O'Neil & Good, 1997; Pleck, 1995). For example, in some situations masculinity ideology prescribes aggressive behaviors that can be harmful to both aggressors and their victims. In other situations, adherence to behavioral styles prescribed by masculinity ideologies may limit options for coping behaviors (Copenhaver & Eisler, 1996).

The concept of gender role stress described by Eisler and his associates (Copenhaver & Eisler, 1996; Eisler, 1995; Eisler & Skidmore, 1987) is very similar to gender role strain and gender role conflict (O'Neil, 1981; Pleck, 1981). It differs from these concepts in its explicit use of Bem's gender schemata theory (Bem, 1981, cited in Eisler & Skidmore, 1987) and Lazarus's appraisal theory of stress (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, cited in Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). According to this perspective, social learning processes lead to the formation of culturally approved gender role schemata in boys and men. These schemata are used to appraise environmental threats and challenges and to choose coping strategies. In addition, these schemata are used to evaluate one's self. Commitment to the culturally accepted model for these schemata varies among individuals. Excessive commitment to these culturally approved models and excessive reliance on the gender role schemata can lead to stress due to the maladaptive effects of a rigid approach to appraisal and coping. This is equivalent to O'Neil's concept of gender role dysfunction. Stress may also result from negative self evaluation resulting from

perceived failure to meet the standards of masculinity imposed by the schemata. This is equivalent to O'Neil's concept of gender role discrepancy.

Constructionist Theories of Masculinity

Another approach to theorizing gender and masculinities is different from the gender role strain paradigm (O'Neil, 1981; Pleck, 1981) to the extent that it emphasizes the contribution of power to the construction of gender (cf. Brod, 1994; Brod & Kaufman, 1994; Kimmel, 1987, 1994; Messner, 1992; Pyke, 1996). According to this sociological, constructionist theory, unequal gender scripts are an enactment of the hierarchical structure of our society. Masculinity is defined by its end of gaining and maintaining power over women, and over other men. Not only do gender ideologies reflect the power differentials in our society, but they also shape and maintain the structure of the hierarchy by legitimizing it as "natural" (Brod, 1994; Pyke, 1996).

An additional implication of theorizing that gender is constructed by the power structure of society is that this provides an alternative explanation for the diversity of masculinity ideologies in our society (Brod, 1994; Hearn & Collinson, 1994; Pyke, 1996). Rather than explaining differences in masculinity ideology across different groups by simply implicating differences in culture, these differences are attributed to differences in *status*. The plurality of masculinities is a result more of structure than culture.

Greater attribution of variance in masculinity ideologies to structure than to culture provides a new perspective on the differences between the "macho" masculinity of lower status men as compared to the "modern" masculinity of higher status men. According to this theory, men of lower status expresses their masculinity overtly and more physically, and are more homophobic and misogynous, because they lack other avenues for

demonstrating power (Baca Zinn, 1982; Mosher & Tomkins, 1988; Pyke, 1996). In contrast, “modern,” men of higher status are able to demonstrate power more covertly through economic success and status. This frees them from having to prove their masculinity through overt, physical demonstrations of power. This theory carries an important implication about male power. Male power, and thus masculinity, are enacted not only in relationships with women, but also in relationships with other men (Brod, 1994; Kimmel, 1994; Messner, 1992; Pyke, 1996).

Several constructionist theorists have criticized gender role theories (Gould & Kerr-Daniels, 1977; Kimmel, 1987, 1994). They have asserted that psychological theories such as the gender role strain theory of Pleck (1981) ignore the influence of power in the construction of gender and ignore historical variance in gender ideologies. These theorists claim that gender role theories assume a system of invariant gender roles that is ahistorical. Pleck and others (Levant, 1992, 1995; Pleck, 1995) have countered that gender role strain theory does explicitly cite historical change as a factor in gender role strain, and implicitly acknowledges cultural and power issues in gender socialization. Clearly, the foci of these theories are somewhat different. Gender role strain theory, as a psychological theory, focuses on the individual in a cultural context. In contrast, constructionist theory, as a sociological theory, focuses on the structure of the culture and its influences on individuals. Nevertheless, as Levant (1995) has suggested, both spring from the same roots. The constructionist approach to gender and the gender role strain paradigm have both grown from the fertile soil of feminist challenges to our gendered experience.

Descriptive Theories of Masculinity

Due to its strong focus on the plural nature of masculinity ideologies, constructionist theory has not contributed many concrete descriptions of the norms that constitute masculinity ideologies (Pleck, 1995). Theorists in the gender role strain paradigm have been much more willing to concretely describe traditional masculinity ideology, and thus to attempt to measure and study it. Besides the conceptualization of traditional masculinity as encompassing the instrumental traits of assertiveness, independence, activity, and competitiveness, there have been a number of other conceptualizations of masculinity and the male gender role. Several early conceptualizations of masculinity centered on the expectation that men separate themselves from women by avoiding all that is feminine (Allen, 1954; Hartley, 1959). Although these theories were based in psychoanalytic theory, and exemplified an essentialist rather than a cultural model, the proscription against femininity has remained a crucial component of most more recent conceptualizations.

Brannon (1976) theorized that male gender role norms fall into four components: the avoidance of all feminine traits (no sissy stuff), achieving status (the big wheel), independence, strength, and confidence (the sturdy oak), and aggression, violence, and daring (give em hell.) Brannon asserted that avoidance of femininity was the most salient of these components, including sanctions on emotional openness and vulnerability and limits on affectionate behavior between men. According to Brannon, the need for status could be met in a number of ways such as gaining wealth or fame, athletic achievement, or dominance in relationships, especially with women. Brannon also described the “give 'em hell” component of aggression and violence as including aggressive sexuality.

Levant et al. (1992) asserted that Brannon (1976) ignored the importance of homophobia and sexual attitudes in masculinity. Levant's conceptualization of the structure of masculinity ideology included seven components: avoiding femininity, restrictive emotionality, seeking status and achievement, self-reliance, aggression, homophobia, and non-relational attitudes towards sex. Pantony and Caplan (1991) described a set of characteristics which they feel result from male gender role socialization. They have called these characteristics the Delusional Dominating Personality Disorder. This symptoms of this disorder include emotional and relational restriction, low empathy, conflict avoidance, gender specific locus of control (blaming women for what goes wrong and crediting men or oneself for what goes right), entitlement to the services of women, violence and uncontrollable sexuality, and objectifying women and using them to gain status. Mosher and Sirkin (1984) focused on the macho personality, or hypermasculinity, which theoretically results from excessive conformity to the male gender role. Their Hypermasculinity Inventory measures three components of the macho personality: callous sex attitudes towards women, violence as masculine, and danger as exciting. Snell (1986) designed the Masculine Role Inventory to measure a less extreme set of masculine characteristics: restrictive emotionality, inhibited affection, and preoccupation with success.

A number of researchers have employed qualitative research methods to examine the concept of masculinity. Some of these have merely accessed descriptive stereotypes by asking participants to describe a "typical male" (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989) or a "masculine male" (Helgeson, 1994). Although Helgeson's results yielded descriptive factors very similar to the factors theorized by Levant et al. (1992), descriptive stereotypes

of masculinity are not the same as masculinity ideology. These studies do not measure the degree of endorsement of these stereotypes as norms.

Other researchers have used qualitative methods to examine men in specific contexts. These studies have yielded important information about the construction of masculinity in general. For example, Messner (1992) interviewed adult men who had been very accomplished athletes in the past to find out how they conceptualized their athletic careers. He found that athletic prowess was conceptualized as a way to establish masculinity. Among the characteristics of this masculinity were physical prowess and the use of the body as an instrument, fear of intimacy enacted in ambivalent relationships with both men and women, and the construction of superiority through homophobia and misogyny. Some of these men were able to critically examine this enactment of masculinity as they distanced themselves from their athletic careers, but many did not. This description of masculinity closely parallels that of Levant et al. (1992).

In another study (Kaminer & Dixon, 1995) the authors used discourse analysis to analyze the construction of masculinity in small group discussions about drinking. They described two interpretive repertoires in these discussions. In the first, described as an essentialist version, men were described by the group participants as essentially different than women. This repertoire served the discursive function of reproducing the hierarchies of men over women and of masculine men over marginalized men such as “nerds”, “Christians”, and “gays”. In this way drinking was portrayed as a way to prove one’s masculinity. The second interpretive repertoire which emerged was described as a normative version, best characterized by the statement, “everyone does it.” This repertoire served the discursive function of justifying drinking behavior. The results of

this study support the idea that masculinity is constructed hierarchically. It is important to note that this research was done in South Africa. So it is difficult to evaluate its transferability to the United States.

A study conducted in the early 1980's (Phillips, 1986) analyzed themes in men's discussions of their friendship and romantic relationships. He felt that these interviews demonstrated a very consistent concept of masculinity, which he described as being strong, tough, virile, and handsome, solving problems, being in charge, being a winner, owning evidence of your success, such as cars and women, and not being homosexual or feminine. Again, these results correspond fairly well with the descriptive theory of Levant et al. (1992). Phillips acknowledged that this painted a very negative picture of men, but asserted that this picture fit the interview data.

Measurement of Masculinity and Related Constructs

While theoretical work and qualitative research have added depth to our understanding of masculinity, quantitative research has, of course, also been very important. Quantitative research of masculinity demands measurement of masculinity. In response to this demand, researchers have developed numerous measures of masculinity and other related constructs (Thompson & Pleck, 1995). As has been noted above, measures which have a bearing on masculinity ideology are of primary interest in this study. A number of extant questionnaires either measure only gender orientation (self-concept) or mix gender orientation items with gender ideology items (Bem, 1974; Bunting & Reeves, 1983; Snell, 1986; Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Vera & Fiebert, 1987). Other measures either fail to distinguish between stereotypes and norms, or between attitudes towards the role of women and the role of men (Bunting & Reeves, 1983; Falkenberg,

Hindman, & Masey, 1983; Vera & Fiebert, 1987; Villimez & Touhey, 1977). Though these measures are portrayed as measures of masculinity, their lack of precision makes it difficult to interpret them as anything other than general gender ideology and stereotyping. Other measures tap a fairly restricted aspect of the male role, also giving them limited utility (Allen, 1954; Mosher & Sirkin, 1984).

Several scales do measure pure masculine ideology or gender role strain (Brannon, 1985; Brannon & Juni, 1984; Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Levant et al., 1992; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1994a; Thompson & Pleck, 1987). These scales, inspired by the gender role strain paradigm of Pleck (1981), are more interpretable and have proven utility in research.

The Brannon Masculinity Scale (BMS) (Brannon, 1985; Brannon & Juni, 1984), the Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI) (Levant et al., 1992), the Male Role Norms Scale (MRNS) (Thompson & Pleck, 1987), and the Male Role Attitudes Scale (MRAS) (Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1994a) all measure agreement with a broad conceptualization of global and absolute male role norms or masculinity ideology. The first of these scales, the BMS, served as a model for all of the others. It included subscales for each of the four components of masculinity ideology that Brannon proposed: the avoidance of all feminine traits (no sissy stuff), achieving status (the big wheel), independence, strength, and confidence (the sturdy oak), and aggression, violence, and daring (give em hell.). The BMS has two forms: a long form with 110 items, and a short form with 58 items. Thompson and Pleck (1987) developed the MRNS as a shortened form of the BMS by analyzing its factor structure. They found three factors which they labeled physical toughness and self reliance, status seeking, and anti-femininity. The MRNS has 26 items.

For the purposes of a series of studies with adolescent participants, Pleck, Sonenstein, and Ku (1993, 1994a, 1994b) modified the MRNS still further by rewording seven of its items to be more appropriate for adolescents and adding one item regarding sexual activity norms. Factor analysis of the MRAS revealed a single factor with relatively low observed reliability ($\alpha = .56$). The MRNI (Levant et al., 1992) measures a broader conceptualization of masculinity ideology than the BMS and the MRNS, including sexual attitudes and homophobia components. The MRNI has 58 items and seven subscales: avoiding femininity, restrictive emotionality, seeking status and achievement, self-reliance, aggression, homophobia, and non-relational attitudes towards sex. Factor analysis of the MRNI also yielded three factors: the first factor included the subscales for avoidance of femininity, homophobia, achievement and status, attitudes towards sex, and restrictive emotionality. The second factor was self-reliance, and the third factor was aggression (Levant et al., 1992).

The gender role strain paradigm of Pleck (1981) has also led to research on stress and conflict resulting from the male gender role and the development of two scales measuring this construct (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; O'Neil et al., 1986). These scales indirectly address masculinity ideology; as Pleck has explained (1995), commitment to unrealistic or dysfunctional expectations for male behavior underlies male gender role strain. The Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS) (O'Neil et al., 1986) measures endorsement of items that indicate an experience of stress as a result of traditional masculinity. This scale contains 37 items in a four factor structure comprising success, power, and competition, restrictive emotionality, restrictive affectionate behavior between men, and conflicts between work and family. The Masculine Gender Role Stress (MGRS)

Scale (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987) contains 40 items which measure men's appraisal of five types of situations: physical inadequacy, emotional inexpressiveness, subordination to women, intellectual inferiority, and performance failure in work and in sex. Strengths of these two measures include their explicit reliance on the appraisal model of stress (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, cited in Eisler & Skidmore, 1987), and their extensive use in research on correlates of male gender role conflict over the past decade and a half (Pleck, 1995; Thompson & Pleck, 1995).

Correlates of Masculinity Ideology

The predictive validity of the constructs of masculinity ideology and gender role strain has been researched extensively (for review see Levant & Pollack, 1995). This research has revealed that measures of these constructs are correlated to many negative outcomes. I have briefly reviewed these results in five categories: psychological well-being, physical well-being, interpersonal relationships, sexual aggression and violence, and diversity related research (examining the experiences of masculinity as they vary by age, culture, ethnicity etc.).

Psychological well-being. Research involving masculinity and psychological and physical well being is based in the gender role strain paradigm. Most of the research involving purely psychological variables, such as checklists of psychological symptoms, have used the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS) of O'Neil et al. (1986). These researchers have found robust correlations between gender role conflict and a number of psychological variables. Good and Mintz (1990) asked 401 college men to complete the Attitudes Towards Masculinity Scale (Downs & Engleson, 1982, cited in Good & Mintz, 1990), a measure of general gender role ideology, the GRCS, and a screening device for

depression. They found that gender role conflict significantly predicted depression ($r = .26$). Although gender role ideology was correlated with gender role conflict ($r = .45$), gender role ideology was not correlated significantly with depression. Additional analyses of this data base (Good, Dell, & Mintz, 1989) also found that gender role conflict was significantly correlated to negative attitudes towards seeking psychological help and decreased help seeking behaviors in the past.

In another study, Good, Robertson, Fitzgerald, Stevens, and Bartels (1996) administered the GRCS and the Symptom Checklist-90-Revised to 130 male college counseling center clients. They found that aspects of gender role conflict predicted depression, interpersonal sensitivity, paranoia, psychoticism, and obsessive compulsive symptoms. Restrictive emotionality was the best predictor of psychological distress in these men.

Cournoyer and Mahalik (1995) compared the gender role conflict of middle aged men to that of college age men. They found that middle aged men reported less conflict about success, power, and competition, and more conflict between work and family, than college age men. For both groups, gender role conflict, especially conflict involving restricted emotionality, was significantly correlated to depression, anxiety, less intimacy, and lower self-esteem. Sharpe and Heppner (1991) found that gender role conflict scores predicted lower self esteem, intimacy, and relationship satisfaction, and greater anxiety and depression.

McCreary, Wong, Wiener, Carpenter, Engle, & Nelson (1996) administered the Male Gender Role Stress (MGRS) Scale (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987) to 219 college students. They found that male gender role stress was correlated to anxiety, depression,

and hostility in both men and women, and that the relationship between male gender role stress and these negative outcomes was not moderated by participants' gender. They did find that women reported significantly less male gender role stress than men.

Physical health. Most of the research involving physical health variables has relied on the MGRS (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). These researchers have examined relationships between male gender role stress and traditional stress-related physiological variables, as well as indices of general physical health and measures of high risk health behavior such as Type A behavior. Skidmore, Eisler, Blalock, and Sikkema (1988, cited in Copenhaver & Eisler, 1996) found that subjects' cardiovascular reactions to both a painful situation (the cold pressor test) and an interview in which their masculinity was repeatedly challenged by a female interviewer were directly correlated to level of reported male gender role stress. In both cases, higher scores on the MGRS corresponded to greater increases in blood pressure during the stressful stimulus. In a follow-up study (Lash, Eisler, & Schulman, 1990, cited in Copenhaver & Eisler, 1996), a manipulation of the masculinity threat variable was added to the painful situation, and it was found that high MGRS subjects were only more reactive to the pain situation than low MGRS subjects when their masculinity was threatened.

Stillson, O'Neil, and Owen (1991) found in a diverse sample of 134 men that male gender role conflict was correlated to physical illness and poor self care. Watkins, Eisler, Carpenter, Schectman, and Fisher (1991) studied male gender role stress in 220 employed adults. They found that men reported significantly more male gender role stress than women, but that male gender role stress predicted Type A behavior, hostility, personal loss, life dissatisfaction, and high blood pressure equally in both men and women. Mosher

and Sirkin (1984) found that hypermasculinity significantly predicted frequency of drug and alcohol use, self-reported past dangerous driving behaviors, self-reported past aggressive and delinquent behaviors, and self-reported frequency of sex during high school, in a sample of college aged men. One study (Thompson, Grisanti, and Pleck, 1985) found that traditional masculinity ideology predicted Type A behavior orientation.

Interpersonal relationships. Research on relationship behavior and masculinity has examined variables such as intimacy, disclosure, sexual behavior, power in relationships, and relationship satisfaction. These studies have involved direct measures of masculinity ideology as well as measures of gender role stress or conflict.

Pleck, Sonenstein, and Ku (1993, 1994b) found in a sample of adolescent males that traditional masculinity ideology predicted more sexual partners, less intimacy with the last sexual partner, adversarial beliefs about relationships, less use of condoms, taking less responsibility for birth control, the belief that getting a girl pregnant validates masculinity, tricking or forcing someone to have sex, drug and alcohol use, and a number of indicators of delinquent behavior. Thompson, Grisanti, and Pleck (1985) used the MRNS with 223 college men. They found that traditional male ideology predicted homophobic attitudes, Type A behavior orientation, less self-disclosure to female friends, and support of asymmetrical decision making power in intimate relationships. They also found that the avoidance of feminine behavior subscale correlated significantly to less comfort with self-disclosure to male friends. Maxton (1994) found that masculinity scores on the MRNI (Levant et al., 1992) predicted fear of intimacy in relationships in a sample of middle aged men.

Sharpe and Heppner (1991) found that gender role conflict scores predicted lower self esteem, intimacy, and relationship satisfaction, and greater anxiety and depression. Sauer and Eisler (1990) found that men who reported high male gender role stress were less expressive than men who reported low male gender role stress in role play situations which required empathy, especially those requiring positive empathy. In addition these high male gender role stress men reported less satisfaction with their social support systems, although they did not report smaller social support systems.

Demographic and diversity variables. As several writers have noted, research on variations of masculinity ideologies across cultures, ethnic groups, and age is still rare in the literature (cf. Good, Borst, & Wallace, 1994; Levant, 1995; Pyke, 1996). A few studies have examined the masculinity experience of men in cultures other than the majority, white, middle class, American culture. In a sample of 125 Asian-American men, Kim, O'Neil, and Owen (1996) found that acculturation correlated positively with conflict about success, power, and competition, and correlated negatively with conflict about restrictive emotionality. Acculturated Asian-American men had more conflict regarding success, power, and competition and less conflict regarding restrictive emotionality. In an ethnographic study of the socialization of masculinity in Nicaragua, Lancaster (1995) observed that stigmatizing homosexuality is the primary tool used to socialize boys into the "macho" ethic.

Another research program has investigated the masculine ideology of a subculture in the United States. Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, and Schwarz (1996) described a series of studies in which northerners and southerners were insulted by an unidentified confederate experimenter. Northerners tended not to evidence any impact of the insult. In

comparison, southerners were more likely to think that their masculinity was threatened, more likely to engage in dominating or threatening behavior, judged to be more upset, and evidenced a rise in cortisol levels and testosterone levels in a saliva sample. Cohen et al. explained these results as evidence for a masculine “culture of honor” in the South.

Other studies have examined variations in masculinity ideology or gender role conflict across demographic variables such as age, class, or religion. Cournoyer and Mahalik (1995) compared the gender role conflict of middle aged men to that of college age men. They found that middle aged men reported less conflict about success, power, and competition, and more conflict between work and family, than college age men. For both groups, gender role conflict predicted poorer psychological well being. Pleck, Sonenstein, and Ku (1994a), in developing the MRAS for adolescents, found that those who endorsed traditional masculinity ideology were more likely to be younger, to be religious, to be sexually active, to be African American, and to be from the South. Finally, those who endorsed traditional masculinity expected to achieve less education.

Violence and sexual aggression. A number of theorists have proposed that masculinity ideology and gender role ideology have a causal relationship to sexual aggression (Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Gross, 1978). In addition, researchers have researched the relationship of masculinity ideology to sexual aggression. Lottes (1991) used Mosher and Sirkin's (1984) Hypermasculinity Inventory and found that macho personality was correlated with rape supportive attitudes, less acceptance of egalitarian gender role beliefs, and more acceptance of Burt's sex-role stereotypes (1980). Beaver, Gold, and Prisco (1992) also used the Hypermasculinity Inventory. After watching a videotaped rape scenario, their high-hypermasculine participants attributed more

responsibility to the female, attributed less responsibility to the male, perceived less force, and reported less empathy than low-hypermasculine participants. Mosher and Anderson (1986) found that scores on the Hypermasculinity Inventory correlated positively with retrospective self-report of sexual aggression. The largest correlation ($r = .53$) was with the Callous Sex Attitudes subscale. However, sexual aggression also correlated with the other two subscales, Violence as Manly, and Danger as Exciting.

In my own research (Gale, 1996) with 213 male college students, I found that traditional masculinity ideology predicted both predictive and retrospective reports of acquaintance sexual aggression, and that this relationship was mediated by attitudes towards rape, motivation to commit rape, and peer group norms of sexually aggressive behavior. This model of the relationship between masculinity ideology and sexual aggression accounted for 25 to 34 percent of the variance in sexually aggressive behaviors.

Malamuth and his associates (Malamuth, Linz, Heavey, Barnes, & Acker, 1995; Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, & Tanaka, 1991) describe a constellation of variables which they have labeled hostile masculinity which predicts both sexual and non-sexual aggression against women. In the second of these studies (Malamuth et al., 1995) masculine gender role stress contributed to the prediction of aggression against women in the hostile masculinity pathway.

Components of Masculinities

In the above discussion, general agreement is found on a number of components of masculinity ideology. These include: avoidance of femininity (Allen, 1954; Brannon, 1976; Hartley, 1959; Levant et al., 1992; Kaminer & Dixon, 1995; Kimmel, 1994;

Messner, 1992; Thompson & Pleck, 1987), restrictive emotionality and low empathy (Brannon, 1976; Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Herek, 1987; Levant et al., 1992; O'Neil et al., 1986; Phillips, 1986; Pleck, 1981; Snell, 1986; Snell, 1989; Thompson & Pleck, 1987), preoccupation with achievement and success (Brannon, 1976; Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Levant et al., 1992; O'Neil et al., 1986; Snell, 1989; Watkins et al., 1991), independence and self reliance (Brannon, 1976; Herek, 1987; Levant et al., 1992; Snell, 1989; Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Thompson & Pleck, 1987), aggression and violence (Brannon, 1976; Gross, 1978; Herek, 1987; Kaufman, 1992; Komisar, 1976; Levant, 1992; Messner, 1992; Mosher & Sirkin, 1984; Pantony & Caplan, 1991; Pleck, 1981), homophobia or restriction of affection towards other men (Brannon, 1976; Good, Borst, & Wallace, 1994; Lancaster, 1995; Lehne, 1992; Levant et al., 1992; Kaminer & Dixon, 1995; Kimmel, 1994; Messner, 1992; O'Neil et al., 1986; Phillips, 1986), attitudes toward sex as non-relational, sex as conquest, and sex as a way to gain status (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Gross, 1978; Herek, 1987; Levant et al., 1992; Messner, 1992; Mosher & Sirkin, 1984; Pantony & Caplan, 1991; Phillips, 1986), dominance in relationships, especially with women (Brannon, 1976; Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Herek, 1987; Pyke, 1996), physical strength and toughness (Brannon, 1976; Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Martin & Martin, 1995; Messner, 1992; Thompson & Pleck, 1987), and entitlement to the services of women (Levant, 1992; Pantony & Caplan, 1991; Pyke, 1996).

It is important to acknowledge that these theoretical conceptualizations of traditional masculinity ideology have focused on its negative characteristics. Most of the labels listed are not value neutral, but instead are negatively valued. This negative slant, though predominant in the literature, is not exclusive (cf. Levant, 1995). Clearly, research

has demonstrated that there are significant negative correlates to some measures of traditional masculinity ideology (cf. Eisler, 1995; Gale, 1996; O'Neil & Good, 1997; O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995). In fact, these measures have focused on the negative aspects of these roles. A strength of the qualitative methodology of the current research was that it allowed both positive and negative aspects of masculinity ideology to emerge.

Rationale for This Study

The masculinity research that has been reviewed here has uncovered many correlates to measures of masculinity ideology. These are important results. Nevertheless, we do not find that men consistently endorse these constructs of masculinity ideology or male gender role strain. In my own research (Gale, 1996) students from this university neither rejected nor accepted, on average, the masculinity ideologies measured by the MRNI of Levant et al. (1992). This has also been true in other studies. For example, factor analysis of the MRNI yielded three factors: the first factor included the subscales for avoidance of femininity, homophobia, achievement and status, attitudes towards sex, and restrictive emotionality. The second factor was self-reliance, and the third factor was aggression (Levant et al., 1992). The participants in this research did not, on average, endorse the first factor, which contains many components of traditional masculinity ideology. They did endorse the second factor, self-reliance, and the third factor, aggression. Levant and his collaborators speculated that the first factor represented aspects of traditional masculinity that are changing. Thompson and Pleck (1987) found similar results with the MRNS. Their participants endorsed norms of toughness, violence, and adventure, but did not endorse norms of avoidance of femininity, and status and achievement. They also interpreted this as evidence that some aspects of

masculinity ideology may be changing. Certainly, it is unclear from these results whether this traditional concept of masculinity ideology is widely accepted by male college students.

This returns us to the assumption that gender and masculinities are evolving cultural constructs that vary across time, place, and culture (cf. Kimmel, 1994; Levant, 1995; Pleck, 1981, 1995). For this very reason, theorists have begun to refer to masculinities or masculinity ideologies as plural rather than singular (cf. Brod, 1994; Levant, 1995; Pleck, 1995). Thus, the following questions arise: Is masculinity ideology different here and now? If so, what do masculinity ideologies look like at this time, in this place, and in this population?

Qualitative rationale. So how are these questions to be answered? The questionnaires reviewed here have proven to be very useful in predicting a variety of important variables. Nevertheless, they have not been consistently endorsed as a current ideology. I argue that it has become necessary for research to again open up to new possibilities of how masculinity is conceptualized by today's men. I also argue that a grounded theory qualitative methodology utilizing constant comparative analysis was particularly appropriate for achieving this goal (cf. Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

There are several possible explanations for the fact mentioned above that the questionnaires measuring masculinity ideology have not been consistently endorsed. First, masculinity may now mean something different to college age men. If that is the case, then these questionnaires are not measuring all that they should. The hypothesis testing nature of research with these questionnaires precludes the discovery of new concepts of masculinity (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). A grounded theory, qualitative approach to the

question of how college age men at this university experience masculinity ideology allowed new concepts to emerge. This approach focused on developing a theory grounded in empirical data (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This theory was not preconceived, but was allowed to emerge from the data (Glaser, 1992). Thus, a qualitative approach allowed the discovery of all aspects of new experiences of masculinity ideology, including those not addressed by the extant questionnaires.

Another factor that may contribute to the low endorsement of masculinity ideology on these questionnaires may be that aggregating these data obscures individual variations in masculinity endorsement. This highlights the differences between nomothetic and idiographic approaches to research. Aggregating responses on a small number of controlled variables across large groups is a characteristic method of quantitative research that can produce strong, general results (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). However, aggregation can also obscure important individual variations, leading to general statements that obscure context and do not correspond to the real experience of any individuals (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Qualitative research is usually idiographic and holistic (Denzin, 1994; Janesick, 1994). It allows for an in-depth, detailed understanding of the experiences of individuals. These new understandings can then generate new hypotheses for quantitative, nomothetic research (Glaser, 1992). The grounded theory methodology was specifically designed for this purpose (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

A final possible explanation for the fact that college age men have not consistently endorsed masculinity ideology as measured by questionnaires focuses on measurement characteristics of the questionnaires. Factors such as social desirability and the wording of questions may lead participants to lower endorsement of these concepts. Perhaps these

men know what the “right answers” are. A qualitative method could not answer this question completely. Nevertheless, in-depth and detailed exploration of college student’s experience of masculinity ideology did shed some light on this issue. The qualitative interview allowed these men to speak for themselves, rather than limiting their responses with a set of preconceived questions. This elicited a more subtle understanding of their experience.

Another limitation of the gender role strain paradigm and the masculinity questionnaire we have examined is their focus on negative aspects of masculinity ideology (cf. Levant et al., 1992; O’Neil et al., 1986). Yet Levant (1995) has stressed that we must also acknowledge positive aspects of masculinity ideology. Indeed, at least one program of open ended, qualitative research has found that respondents described a “good person” factor which contributed to the concept of masculinity (Helgeson, 1994). The questionnaires available do not allow for this component of masculinity to become apparent. These questionnaires have been limited by descriptive theories of masculinity which have focused on the negative, and may be outdated. An open ended, qualitative method allowed for new, empirically grounded conceptualizations of masculinity ideology to revitalize this theory.

In order to allow new experiences of masculinity ideology to inform this question, this research used a qualitative approach to exploring the question: What is the phenomenological experience of masculinity ideology of male students at this university? I was interested in three sub questions: 1) What ideology or expectations do men impose on themselves? 2) What ideology or expectations do men experience as being imposed on them by others? 3) What is the level of commitment of these men to these ideologies?

Specifically, this research employed the grounded theory methodology of constant comparative analysis (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The grounded theory approach was ideal for this research for several reasons. First, it is a rigorous and systematic method for analyzing qualitative data (Morse, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1994). Second, the grounded theory methodology is specially designed to generate theory that is fully grounded in empirical data (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Finally, grounded theory methodology is also well suited to elaborating and incorporating extant theories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The goal of grounded theory research is to produce a set of hypotheses that are embedded in dense, contextual description, and which are generative of continued research (Glaser, 1992).

The data for this research were the text of interviews focused on the general questions listed above. These interviews were transcribed and analyzed from a grounded theory perspective using constant comparative analysis to reveal common themes and variations across individuals. I expected to verify that some components of traditional masculinity, such as toughness and self-reliance, remain as common themes, and that other components, such as restrictive emotionality, are less prominent. I also expected that positive themes that have not been acknowledged in extant theories would be apparent. Although I listed some expectations for these results, I intentionally did not make a comprehensive attempt to generate a priori hypotheses. The goal of this research was not to test hypotheses. Instead, this model of research was designed to be exploratory and descriptive, allowing for new theory to emerge and new hypotheses to be generated. A focus on a priori hypotheses would undermine this goal (cf. Glaser, 1992).

Chapter 2

Method

Participants

The participants were 245 male, undergraduate students in introductory psychology classes at CSU. Of these participants, 216 completed only the two quantitative questionnaires regarding male gender role ideology (the MRNI by Levant et al., 1992) and male gender role conflict (the GRCS by O'Neil et al., 1986). These questionnaires were analyzed using quantitative methods in order to describe the normative status of this sample. Twenty-nine additional participants also participated in an in-depth interview designed to elicit their experiences of masculinity ideology. These interviews provided the primary qualitative data for this study. The participants for both portions of the study were recruited from the introductory psychology subject pool according to procedures established by the psychology department and received course credit for their participation.

The ages of the men in the normative sample ranged between 18 and 45 years old. The mean age was $M = 20.16$ ($n = 216$, $SD = 3.35$). Of the men in the normative sample, 117 were freshman, 54 were sophomores, 28 were juniors, and 17 were seniors. Two-hundred and two of the men in the normative sample were single, 13 were married, and one was divorced. One-hundred and eight-five of the men in the normative sample were of White, non-Hispanic ethnic background, 11 were of Hispanic/Latino ethnic

background, five were of Asian-American ethnic background, four were of African-American ethnic background, and nine were of other ethnic background. Two did not report their ethnic background.

The ages of the men in the qualitative sample ranged between 18 and 27 years old. The mean age was $M = 20.03$ ($n = 29$, $SD = 3.93$). Of the men in the qualitative sample, 13 were freshmen, eight were sophomores, 3 were juniors, and 5 were seniors. All 29 of the men in the qualitative sample were single. Twenty-five of the men in the qualitative sample were of White, non-Hispanic ethnic background, two were of Hispanic/Latino ethnic background, one was of Native American ethnic background, and one was of other ethnic background.

Measures

The participants completed a brief demographics questionnaire and two questionnaires regarding masculinity (see Appendix A). The masculinity measures were the MRNI (Levant et al., 1992) and the GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986). The MRNI consists of 58 items in 7 subscales: Avoidance of femininity, Restrictive emotionality, Aggression, Achievement/Status, Self-reliance, Homophobia, and Attitudes towards sex. The items are normative statements endorsed on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Twelve of the items are reverse scored. A factor analysis and reliability analysis of the scale and subscales were performed by Levant et al. (1992). The participants were 117 males and 169 females. Most of the participants were undergraduate students; some were graduate students in psychology and professionals in the fields of measurement, education, and community health. The factor analysis of the scale yielded three factors. The first factor included the subscales for avoidance of

femininity, homophobia, achievement and status, attitudes towards sex, and restrictive emotionality, the second factor was self-reliance, and the third factor was aggression. The latter two of these factors, self-reliance and aggression, were endorsed slightly above the midpoint of the Likert scale. The first factor was endorsed slightly below the midpoint. Levant et al. reported Cronbach's alphas of .928 for both the overall scale and the first factor. The other two factors had lower reliability, Cronbach's alpha = .617 for the Self-Reliance factor, and Cronbach's alpha = .484 for the Aggression factor.

The Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS) (O'Neil et al., 1986) measures men's appraisals of situations which may be stressful as a result of gender. This scale contains 37 items in a four factor structure comprising success, power, and competition, restrictive emotionality, restrictive affectionate behavior between men, and conflicts between work and family. Several researchers have reported internal reliability coefficients for undergraduate males of .89 to .90 for the total scale, with slightly lower reliability for the subscales (cf. Good & Mintz, 1990; Kim et al., 1996).

Quantitative Data Collection Procedure

The participants in the quantitative data collection completed their questionnaires in large groups. Data collection was performed by myself and by undergraduate research assistants under my supervision. Each group of participants received a standard set of instructions. These instructions included information about the confidentiality of the study and informed consent. After the participants completed the questionnaires they were given a written debriefing statement describing the purpose of the study in more detail and giving them information about how to get more information about the study. At that time, they also signed a separate credit sheet in order to get credit for their participation. The

questionnaire took most participants 10 to 15 minutes to complete. Copies of the consent form, the research information sheet, the debriefing statement, and the instructions that were read to the participants can be found in Appendix B.

Quantitative Analysis

The MRNI and the GRCS were analyzed separately. The items from each scale were subjected to exploratory factor analysis to determine whether previous results (Levant et al., 1992; O'Neil et al., 1986) were replicated in this sample. In addition, descriptive statistics were calculated in order to provide normative data for this population.

Qualitative Data Collection

The participants in the qualitative portion of the study were each interviewed individually. Each interview was audio taped. The interviews were spaced over a period of several months in order to provide time for constant comparative analysis during the data collection process. When they were recruited, the participants were informed that they would be asked to participate in an interview that would last from one to two hours. Before each interview began, I discussed the process in depth with the potential interviewee in order to have completely informed consent. An additional goal for this discussion was to establish a collaborative rapport with the interviewee. This type of rapport is essential in order to obtain in-depth, personal information from participants (Fontana & Frey, 1994). If I were unable to establish that a participant was willing and able to cooperate with an in-depth interview, I was prepared to encourage them to choose not to participate further. This was not necessary for any of the participants.

After each participant gave his informed consent, I asked him to complete the masculinity questionnaires. Following this, I began the interview by asking the participant for his reaction to the questionnaires and by answering any questions he had. This was intended to put the participant at ease as well as to introduce the topic for the interview. Discussion of the questionnaire led to general questions regarding the participant's experience of masculinity ideology loosely following a predetermined protocol (see Appendix C). The general questions were followed by encouragement and more specific questions to elicit elaboration of the participant's beliefs and experiences.

The goal of the interviews was to answer the following question: what is the phenomenological experience of masculinity ideology of male students at this university? I expanded this question with three sub-questions: 1) What ideology or expectations do men impose on themselves? 2) What ideology or expectations do men experience as being imposed on them by others? 3) What is the level of commitment of these men to these ideologies? These questions required a focused, in-depth interview.

Clearly the questions expressed above are not questions that were likely to yield much information. Indeed, Glaser (1992) has suggested that a qualitative researcher must never directly ask the question of interest. This would influence the resulting response in a predetermined way, thus limiting the possible outcomes of the research. The questions must be worded in conversational English that the participants will understand, and they must be general enough to allow for all possible experiences to be elicited. It is also important to note that the predetermined interview questions were only initial guidelines. These questions were viewed as sampling devices in the sense that the questions asked determine what aspects of the participants' experience are sampled by the interview

(Strauss & Corbin, 1990). From this perspective, theoretical sampling was also applied to the interview questions. As the qualitative data were collected and analyzed using constant comparative analysis, it became apparent that the primary open question for the interview would be more productive if it were worded differently. I then adapted the interview protocol to account for this observation. In this way each interview had the potential to shape the interviews following it.

The number of participants in the interview portion of the study was not predetermined. Rather, it was determined in interaction with the qualitative analysis of the data. This dynamic aspect of qualitative research is part of what is referred to as theoretical or purposive sampling (Glaser, 1992; Huberman & Miles, 1994; Morse, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). For an in depth review of qualitative methodology and terminology, see Appendix D. Analysis of the qualitative data began when the first interview was completed and continued throughout the data collection. The plan was to interview participants until it was determined that no new concepts were emerging in the interviews, and that the theory that had emerged was well grounded in the data. This is called saturation (cf. Glaser, 1992; Huberman & Miles, 1994). In practice, it became apparent during the analysis that the core themes of the interviews had emerged and no new elements were being discovered by about interview #18. Nevertheless, the interviews had progressed more rapidly than the analysis to the extent that 29 interviews were completed. In spite of the early saturation, all of the interviews were used in order to ensure depth of description.

Qualitative Data Analysis

Software. The qualitative data were analyzed using HyperRESEARCH, a software package developed specifically for grounded theory research by Hesse-Biber, Dupuis, and Kinder (1991; cited in Richards & Richards, 1994). This software allows the researcher to enter the data transcripts into the computer verbatim, to code the data with multiple codes, and to retrieve data for display based on the codes. In addition, it stores higher level codes and interpretive material along with the links to the original text. This creates an automatic “audit trail”, or record of the source of each interpretive statement. This feature also facilitates an iterative analytic process of alternating between different levels of interpretation of the data (Richards & Richards, 1994).

Data Transcription. The interview audio tapes were transcribed verbatim directly into the computer by myself and research assistants. Each transcript was reviewed and edited by at least two people (myself and a research assistant) in order to insure accuracy.

Constant Comparative Analysis. The interview transcripts were analyzed using the technique of constant comparative analysis (Denzin, 1994; Glaser, 1992; Huberman & Miles, 1994; Schwandt, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1994). This technique was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967; cited in Strauss & Corbin, 1990) in conjunction with the development of grounded theory methodology. An more in-depth description of constant comparative analysis is included in Appendix D.

The primary means of demonstrating the credibility of the results of the constant comparative analysis was to make the method transparent in the report. In other words, the source of each conclusion is clearly illustrated with verbatim quotes from the interviews. An additional procedure was also employed to increase the credibility of the

results of the qualitative analysis. This was to have another researcher read the first level codes for a number of interviews to check their interpretive validity. This process was completed and did not reveal significant problems.

Chapter 3

Quantitative Results

Exploratory factor analyses for the norm group were performed on both the Male Role Norms Inventory items and the Gender Role Conflict Scale items. A principle axis factor analysis with oblique rotation was performed for the MRNI. This corresponded to the hypothesis that factors of this scale would share variance due to an underlying masculinity factor. Examination of eigenvalues indicated that a three factor model most efficiently explained the variance in the scale. Following Steven's (1996) suggestions for interpreting factor loadings, I only interpreted items with factor loadings greater than .35. Table 1 lists the factors and these factor loadings. Twenty-three items had crossloadings greater than .35. Nine items did not exhibit loadings of greater than .35 on any factors. These items were not included in the factor structure.

The first factor of the MRNI consists primarily of items endorsing a prescriptive norm of non-expressiveness and anti-femininity. It also includes items endorsing homophobic attitudes, reinforcing the explanation of masculine homophobia as, at least in part, an equation of homosexuality with femininity. Finally, this factor includes items endorsing different roles for men and women. These items also correspond to the primary theme of this factor, that men should not be like women.

The second factor of the MRNI consists primarily of items endorsing proscriptive norms of traditional masculinity such as strength, toughness, competence, self-reliance,

clear headedness, and risk taking. The final factor consists primarily of items endorsing callous attitudes towards sex.

A principle axis factor analysis with oblique rotation was also performed for the GRCS. Again, this corresponded to the expectation that factors of the GRCS also reflect an underlying masculinity variable. In addition, this analysis replicated previous analyses of the GRCS by O'Neil et al. (1986). Examination of the eigenvalues indicated that a four factor model most efficiently explains the variance in the GRCS. Table 2 lists the factors and the factor loadings greater than .35. Two scale items exhibited crossloadings greater than .35. It is significant to note that these four factors correspond almost exactly to the four factors obtained by O'Neil and his associates. They differ only in their order of extraction and in that one item loaded primarily on a different factor, moving from factor 4 to factor 3.

The items in factor 1 for the GRCS describe restrictive affectionate behavior between men, The items in factor 2 describe restrictive emotionality, the items in factor 3 describe conflicts between work and family, and the items in factor 4 refer to themes of success, power, and competition. These three factors explained 28% of the variance. These factors account for 40% of the variance in the GRCS. Table 3 lists the means, standard deviations, and reliabilities for the MRNI and its three factors and for the GRCS and its four factors.

The MRNI and the GRCS were significantly correlated to each other in the norm group ($r = .58, n = 211, p < .01$). The MRNI also exhibited a small inverse correlation to class level indicating that traditional masculinity ideology decreased somewhat with time in college ($r = -.14, n = 212, p < .05$). The GRCS was not correlated to class level and

neither the GRCS or the MRNI were significantly correlated to the age of the men in the norm group.

Comparison of the 29 interviewees to the norm group only revealed one significant difference. The interviewee mean MRNI score of $M = 3.57$ differed significantly from the mean MRNI score, $M = 3.87$, of the norm group ($t = 1.98, p < .05$). The magnitude of the difference is less than one standard deviation of the norm group. The interviewees did not differ significantly from the norm group in age, GRCS scores, class level, race distribution (both were predominantly white), or marital status (both were predominantly single). Overall, these data indicate that the interviewees were quite comparable to the norm group.

Table 1

Factor Structure for the Male Role Norms Inventory

Items	Factor Loadings		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Factor 1			
3. Men should be detached in emotionally charged situations.	.40		
4. Boys should prefer to play with trucks rather than dolls.	.60	.50	
7. A man should not continue a friendship with another man if he finds out that the other man is homosexual.	.48		
8. A man should never doubt his own judgment.	.46		
9. A man should always be the major provider in his family.			
11. A man should never reveal worries to others.	.72		
16. Housework is women's work.	.55		.51
18. If necessary, a man should sacrifice personal relationships for career advancement.	.55		.41
19. Nobody likes a man who cries in public.	.63	.36	
23. A man should be able to openly show affection to another man.	.45		
26. Being called a faggot is one of the worst insults to a man or boy.		.43	
28. Jobs like firefighter and electrician should be reserved for men.	.58		.47

Table 1 continued on following page.

Table 1 continued

Items	Factor Loadings		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Factor 1 continued			
29. Men should not be too quick to tell others that they care about them.	.45		
32. It's OK for a man to ask for help changing a tire.	.52		
33. There are some subjects which men should not talk about with other men.	.52		
34. Men should not be allowed to kiss their fathers.	.45		
36. In a group, it's up to the men to get things organized and moving ahead.	.55	.38	.47
41. If a man is in pain, it is better for him to let people know than to keep it a secret.	.40		
43. It is disappointing to learn that a famous athlete is gay.	.46	.35	
45. It is too feminine for a man to use clear nail polish on his fingernails.	.44	.42	
47. Fathers should teach their sons to mask fear.	.60	.52	
48. Men should be allowed to wear bracelets.	.51		
51. One should not be able to tell how a man is feeling by looking at his face.	.57	.42	
54. A man should avoid holding his wife's purse at all times.	.44		.39
55. Being a little down in the dumps is not a good reason for a man to act depressed.	.46		
57. A man shouldn't have to worry about birth control.	.45		.41

Table 1 continued on following page.

Table 1 continued

Items	Factor Loadings		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Factor 2			
5. Men should always be realistic.	.43	.47	
13. Boys should not throw baseballs like girls.	.47	.48	
17. Boys should be encouraged to find a means of demonstrating physical prowess.	.48	.54	.41
20. A man should never count on someone else to get the job done.	.42	.50	
22. A man should try to win at any sport he participates in.	.40	.57	
25. Men should get up to investigate if there is a strange noise in the house at night.		.42	
31. A man should prefer football to needlecraft.	.49	.53	.50
37. A man should think things out logically and have good reasons for what he does.		.40	
39. A man who has no taste for adventure is not very appealing.		.39	
44. A man must be able to make his own way in the world.		.56	
46. It is important for a man to take risks, even if he might get hurt.		.54	
49. Men should have goals and be determined to achieve them.		.61	
56. When the going gets tough, men should get tough.		.63	
58. A man should be level headed.		.53	

Table 1 continued on following page.

Table 1 continued

Items	Factor Loadings		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Factor 3			
6. A man should always be ready for sex.			.41
10. A man should not force the issue if another man takes his parking space.			.40
12. A man doesn't need to have an erection in order to enjoy sex.			.35
21. Hugging and kissing should always lead to intercourse.	.49		.53
27. A man shouldn't bother with sex unless he can achieve an orgasm.	.45		.54
38. A man should love his sex partner.			.40
50. Men should always take the initiative when it comes to sex.	.36		.49
52. For men, touching is simply the first step toward sex.			.45
53. Men should make the final decision involving money.	.54		.55

Table 2

Factor Structure for the Gender Role Conflict Scale

Items	Factor Loadings			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Factor 1				
3. Verbally expressing my love to another man is difficult for me.	.56			
7. Affection with other men makes me tense.	.74			
10. Expressing my emotions to other men is risky.	.58	.35		
16. Men who touch other men make me uncomfortable.	.60			
20. Hugging other men is difficult for me.	.58			
26. I am sometimes hesitant to show my affection to men because of how others might perceive me.	.49			
33. Being very personal with other men makes me feel uncomfortable.	.80			
35. Men who are overly friendly to me make me wonder about their sexual preference (men or women).	.59			
Factor 2				
2. I have difficulty telling others I care about them.	.38	.67		
6. Strong emotions are difficult for me to understand.		.45		
9. Expressing feelings makes me feel <u>open to attack by other people.</u>	.37	.48	.42	

Table 2 continued on following page.

Table 2 continued

Items	Factor Loadings			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Factor 2 continued				
13. Talking (about my feelings) during sexual relations is difficult for me.		.64		
15. I have difficulty expressing my emotional needs to my partner.		.71		
19. I have difficulty expressing my tender feelings.	.49	.73		
22. Telling others of my strong feelings is not part of my sexual behavior.		.39		
25. I often have trouble finding words that describe how I feel.		.37		
29. I do not like to show my emotions to other people.	.43	.63		
30. Telling my partner my feelings about him/her during sex is difficult for me.		.71		
Factor 3				
4. I feel torn between my hectic work schedule and caring for my health.			.43	
11. My career, job, or school affects the quality of my leisure life or family life.			.48	
14. I worry about failing and how it affects my doing well as a man.	.44		.49	-.43
17. Finding time to relax is difficult for me.			.64	
27. My needs to work or study keep me from my family or leisure more than I would like.			.73	

Table 2 continued on following page.

Table 2 continued

Items	Factor Loadings			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Factor 3 continued				
31. My work or school often disrupts other parts of my life.			.71	
32. I am often concerned about how others evaluate my performance at work or at school.			.51	-.48
36. Overwork, and stress, caused by a need to achieve on the job or in school affects/hurts my life.			.55	
Factor 4				
1. Moving up the career ladder is important for me.				-.49
5. Making money is part of my idea of being a successful man.	.38			-.67
8. I sometimes define my personal value by my career success.	.40		.49	-.57
12. I evaluate other people's value by their level of achievement and success.				-.56
18. Doing well all the time is important to me.				-.55
21. I often feel that I need to be in charge of those around me.				-.41
23. Competing with others is the best way to succeed.				-.75
24. Winning is a measure of my value and personal worth.				-.76
28. I strive to be more successful than others.				-.72

Table 2 continued on following page.

Table 2 continued

Items	Factor Loadings			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Factor 4 continued				
34. Being smarter or physically stronger than other men is important to me.				-.55
37. I like to feel superior to other people.				-.57

Table 3

Descriptive statistics for the Male Role Norm Inventory (MRNI) and its Factors and for the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS) and its Factors

	Mean	SD	Valid N	Reliability
MRNI	3.87	.75	212	.93
Factor 1	3.43	.94	215	.93
Factor 2	4.95	.91	216	.85
Factor 3	3.07	.96	214	.83
GRCS	3.53	.71	215	.91
Factor 1	3.84	.93	215	.88
Factor 2	3.14	.96	210	.85
Factor 3	3.50	1.02	214	.84
Factor 4	3.65	.95	215	.82

Chapter 4

Qualitative Results

The interview transcripts were analyzed using constant comparative analysis, facilitated by the HyperRESEARCH software (Hesse-Biber, Kinder, Dupuis, Dupuis, & Tornabene, 1991). Each interview was transcribed as a text file into the computer and then coded. Coding proceeded through two stages: open coding and selective coding (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). During the open coding stage, the taxonomy of codes (concepts, categories, properties of categories, and relationships between concepts and categories) remains open. All data were coded with no preconceived taxonomy (Glaser, 1992). Each incident of data was first labeled in a purely descriptive manner (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). For example, the statement made by Respondent #4 that, “[A man should be able to deal] with things like losing your girlfriend or losing a family member or anything, getting a bad grade...big things and little things...,” was coded as “men deal with tough situations.” This stage of coding simply served to reduce the data, and generated a large number of codes. After seven interviews were coded with these purely ‘first level’ codes, I began the process of comparing these codes to each other to detect patterns. These patterns were given abstract labels as categories. For example, the code “men deal with tough situations” fell into the category, “Agree Emotional Strength,” which was ultimately subsumed in the category “Emotional Strength and Control.”

After an initial categorization of these first level codes, further interviews were coded with the category or second level codes that resulted. During this process, new first level codes were also added when they arose in the data. In addition, the categories were continually refined as more data were analyzed. Eventually this process yielded two core relevant themes that continued to hold up. The first theme was that these young men did have a clear understanding of what was expected of them as men. They all consistently referred to many of the same concepts in describing the masculinity ideologies that they held for themselves and that they observed in the society around them. The second theme was that they also experienced ambivalence and uncertainty about these demands. They believed that some of these demands were changing and they found that some of them were contradictory. As a result, they often struggled to determine which expectations they would hold for themselves and which they would reject.

At this point, selective coding began. During selective coding the data were sampled more sparingly according to their relevance to the core relevant categories, and coding focused on concepts that were relevant to the core relevant themes (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Nevertheless, I was continually aware that new relevant concepts could arise and open coding would need to be resumed (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). By about interview #18 no new first level codes or second level category codes were emerging. I was also able to completely refine the categories by repeatedly comparing the categories to each other, to the first level codes, and to the actual incidents of data themselves. The rest of the interviews were coded according to the resultant categories.

Throughout this coding process, a number of data displays and memos were also produced. These served to summarize aspects of the data and document interpretive thought processes during the analysis. For example, a data display of frequency counts of each category facilitated the process of deciding which categories were significant in the data and which were idiosyncratic, and thus not included in the final analysis.

Masculinity Ideology Today

As the constant comparative analysis progressed, the first core relevant theme emerged. It became apparent rather quickly that, to these men, the demands of masculinity in our society were very salient. When asked to describe the masculinity norms of those around them, they consistently painted a very clear picture. The society depicted was one in which men are expected to be in control of themselves and in control of their environment. They are not to be submissive or weak, and they are not to be gay or effeminate. For the most part, this is the version of masculinity that has been described extensively by other authors (e.g. Levant et al., 1992). Whether or not they endorsed its demands, virtually every student interviewed demonstrated awareness of this version of masculinity.

In spite of this strong awareness of a societal ideal of masculinity, many of these men also expressed disagreement with some aspects of that ideal. A common theme was to identify some other group or person as an exemplar of negative masculinity, but to endorse a softer version of masculinity for oneself. When discussing what was important for themselves in order to be a man, others also identified components of masculinity that have not always been acknowledged in the literature, such as being a virtuous member of society, and being part of a family.

The second core relevant theme was uncertainty about this masculinity ideology. The demands of this ideology are difficult to juggle. The men often gave ambivalent and contradictory versions of their own masculinity values. They struggled to define the rules and conditions of behavior - when is it all right to cry? Under what conditions should a man accept his wife's desire to work outside the home? They expressed desire to reject traditional norms and then rationalized those norms.

It was possible to distinguish between at least three different levels of expression of norm endorsement. Most basic was simple agreement with a masculinity norm -- 'Men should be this way.' Another approach was to express preference for a norm observed in society without prescribing it for others -- 'I am this way, though I wouldn't say everyone should be this way.' The third approach was to simply express disagreement with a norm observed in society -- 'Others think men should be this way, but I disagree.'

The respondents also varied widely in their awareness of masculinity ideology. A few respondents expressed high awareness of how they have been affected by gender socialization and commitment to living differently. They described an ideal of gender equality and rejection of traditional masculinity, but also expressed awareness of the ways in which they contradicted that ideal in their own lives. They evidenced real awareness of how they continue to be impacted by gender. Three or four of the respondents fit this category.

Another level of awareness was represented by a group of respondents who were also aware of some socially desirable ideas and expressed these ideas. These respondents rejected many of the values of traditional masculinity; however, contradictions also arose in their presentations. For example, several respondents made statements disavowing

homophobia and in the same breath quickly asserted that they themselves were not gay. Others expressed a desire for equality in their marriages in one section of their interview, and expressed a desire to be the provider for their family in another part. These respondents were conflicted between “modern” ideas, and deep-seated emotional ties to traditional masculinity. Although there was certainly variance within this group, most of the respondents seemed to fall here.

A final group of respondents had apparently thought very little at all about gender or masculinity. They expressed at most nominal awareness of issues of equality or changing values in society. These men were difficult to interview, because they didn’t see the water in which they were immersed. When pressed, they expressed very traditional ideas about their roles. These were mostly younger, 18 to 19 year old, students. Close to ten of the interviewees fit into this category.

Despite the rich variety of individual levels of awareness, beliefs, and experiences, a clear picture emerged of the masculinity ideologies that are perceived by college men today. These ideologies are constituted from a number of components which I have described below. I have labeled them as follows: 1) Head of the Family, 2) Caring Family Man, 3) Virtuous Citizen, 4) Dominant in Relationships, 5) Emotional Strength and Control, 6) Seek Success and Status, 7) Self-Reliant and Capable, 8) Physical Ability and Toughness, and 9) Homophobic and Anti-Feminine. Table 4 gives frequency counts of how many respondents addressed each of these components, and also indicates how many expressed agreement, disagreement, and uncertainty or ambivalence about each category.

Table 4

Frequency counts of agreement, disagreement, and uncertainty about the categories of masculinity ideology

Masculinity Category	Frequencies ¹			
	Mentioned	Agreed	Disagreed	Uncertain
Head of Family	24	17	12	13
Caring Family Man	11	11	0	9 ²
Virtuous Citizen	20	20	0	0
Dominance in Relationships	17	5	14	5
Emotional Strength and Control	25	9	17	12
Seek Success and Status	22	17	12	9
Self Reliant and Capable	12	12	0	0
Physical Ability and Toughness	20	9	12	5
Homophobic and Antifeminine	24	13	15	10

¹ Note: The 'agreed', 'disagreed', and 'uncertain' categories do not always sum to the 'mentioned' category total, due to overlap between the categories.

² Note: The 'uncertain' men in the Caring Family Man category are those who also endorsed the Head of the Family category.

Head of the family. All but three of the 29 men interviewed in some way addressed a man's role in his family as father and husband. It is interesting to note the implication that a masculine man is heterosexual and is involved in a relationship. In fact, both of these characteristics were also explicitly mentioned by some interviewees and will be discussed later as well. The most commonly endorsed theme was that a man should take responsibility for the material well-being of his family. For most, this meant that a man should provide for his family financially. For others, it was also important that they be able to protect their family from harm or be able to solve their family's problems. A few also expected to have the top position of authority in their families. I have identified this constellation of beliefs as the Head of the Family ideal. In Table 4 it can be seen that the respondents were fairly evenly split on whether or not they endorsed this norm, with a slight edge going to those who did endorse it. In addition, quite a few (13 out of 29) of the respondents expressed uncertainty in some way.

Most of the interviewees agreed to some degree that they wouldn't mind their wife working outside the home. This was one of the most common codes. The reason they gave often belied some conflict or at least indicated only partial awareness of issues of equality. For example, they often stated that it would be acceptable for their wife to work outside the home, because most families need two incomes these days. This rationale implies that they are dragged into this "new world" of equality kicking and screaming. Another common rationale was to make a statement similar to, "my wife can work, if she wants to." Note that the permission that is implied in this rationale contradicts the equality that is claimed. There is a difference in status. Men must work; women can

work. These men would much prefer that they provide financially for their families and their wife stay home. Of course, in some cases this preference was clearly stated.

Very typical descriptions of the role of a man in his family came from respondent #13 and respondent #20. Respondent #13 was a 19 year old, freshman of Mormon background. Respondent #20 was a 19 year old, sophomore geology major in ROTC. In these responses we see that these men expected to be able to provide for their families as well as help them solve their problems.

Interviewer: What does it mean to be a man to you?

Respondent #20: I don't know. Traditionally, it means to bring, y'know, be the provider in the family. Views tend to change in today's society, but I'm kind of like, I guess the traditional type. Or I feel that I'm obligated to, y'know, support my family, and bring the money in and be responsible for them.

Interviewer: O.K. Maybe you can tell me in general what is important to you for being a man. What does it mean to be a man?

Respondent #13: What does it mean to be a man? I don't know. To have control over your own life. To be able to make important decisions for yourself. And if there's people underneath you, to help them out, by helping them to make their decisions, not for them, but aiding them in their decision process. Being able to support people underneath you. If you have a family, being able to support them. Not meaning that all the support has to come from the father, but it can come from the wife too. ... I don't know, [when] I look at a normal picture of a man, I always picture him as someone who can take care of his family. Not somebody who just doesn't have a job, or is unable to perform at a level where he can keep his family fed and stuff.

Respondent #11, a 19 year old, freshman history major in ROTC, expanded on these responses. According to him, not only is a man expected to provide for his family, but he should also earn a position of respect, and he should be able to physically protect

his family from harm. Respondent #23, a 19 year old, freshman art major, also addressed the idea that a man should be able to protect his wife or girlfriend.

Interviewer: So that would be important, just to be respected?

Respondent #11: I would say ... you shouldn't have to strive to be respected. It's not something you should strive to do. You should strive to take care of your family, and make sure they get everything they need and get raised properly, and just provided for. And through doing that, that's probably pride in being a man, by doing those things. And then respect is just something that comes along with it.

[...]

I: Okay, you said taking pride in being a man. Is that right?

R: Yeah.

I: Can you tell me what you mean by that?

R: I don't know. Another like the old traditional things. Like, it might sound absurd, but if chance would have it that, you know, like the old scenes from the movie where someone's picking on your woman and they're getting a little rowdy, out of hand. ... I mean, it's not, not every day you can talk to ignorant people about problems and stuff, and I think sometimes you might have to resort to physical violence and stuff like that. Defend yourself and what not. So take pride in being a man, you know. Just kind of a protecting role, I guess you could say, in a bunch of situations. Whatever the situation may be, protect your family or protect your wife or provide.

Interviewer: Another thing you had mentioned is that men should be masculine, or people think men should be masculine. What does that mean?

Respondent #23: They can take care of women or whoever. I mean, mental picture is there's some guy with his girlfriend [who] gets in an argument or fight [with] some guy or someone trying to harm their woman or anything. You don't see the man go run off in the corner or anything.

S: So he's supposed to be able to protect?

R: Yeah, just when things come up.

A smaller group of men also believed that it was important for them to have an authority position in their family different from that of their wife. They believed that they should be respected, or should make the important decisions or the “final” decisions. For some, this grew out of a religious belief that a man should exercise leadership in service of his wife and family. Others felt that women and men naturally have different, and unequal, roles in families. Respondents #14 and #19 gave good examples of this belief, yet they exhibited some uncertainty about it. Both made clear that a man should not abuse his authority, but they were not quite ready to say he should give it up. Respondent #14 was a 20 year old, sophomore computer science major. Respondent #19 was a 19 year old, freshman biology major, who also professed strong Christian beliefs.

Interviewer: What are any other things that are important to you for being a man?

Respondent #14: ... Like, ... I don't know. Sort of the authority figure in the family, yet the give and take within a relationship. Y'know, there's the equal, ... equal amount of, y'know, authority between man and woman. But yet, y'know, I'm seen as the one having the authority.

Interviewer: As you think in general about this topic, and on a personal level, what's important to you in order to be a man?

Respondent #19: . . . I think a lot of it has to do with responsibility. I've been raised in a more traditional family where the man is the head of the household. Not in the sense where he is overbearing, but he's the one who makes the major decisions. I mean the wife is part of it, but he makes the major decisions. And y'know, it's his job to protect, and to watch over and to care for. So to be able to have the ability to do that. I think that's probably inborn, just because y'know we all have that ability.

[...]

I: Is that something you would hold as a goal for yourself too, to have that kind of home?

R: Yeah, definitely. Y'know, I was raised in a Christian family, and so it holds a lot of those ideals. ... I would definitely like to marry someone who holds the same

ideals, so that then raising a family is a mutual thing. We both have the same desires for our kids.

Ambivalence, even confusion, is evident in some of these responses. Many of these men struggle with the contradictory demands placed on men in today's society with respect to their role in their families. Some clearly expressed disagreement with any sort of unequal partnership with women, but they also evidenced reluctance to relinquish their identity as the primary caretaker of their families' material needs. These men are aware that as modern men they are expected to disavow old norms and accept women as financial equals, but they are not at all sure that society or their consciences would allow them to accept leaving the financial responsibility for their families to their wives. For many, their ambivalence was apparent in a magnanimous statement such as, "sure, my wife can work, ... if she wants to." The clear implication being that men have to bring in money, whereas women have a choice. Another twist was to rationalize one's wife working based on the state of today's economy: modern families need two incomes in order to make ends meet. Ideally, however, the financially successful male provider would make it unnecessary for his wife to work. Men and women still have different, and perhaps unequal, roles in the family.

A number of interviewees, like Respondent #02, a 22 year old senior in engineering, did express complete disagreement with the traditional norm of man as head of household.

Interviewer: Were there some questions that stood out for you as questions that you agreed with or disagreed with?

Respondent #02: Well, yeah. Like I don't, y'know . . . the man of the house, or the person that wears the pants in the family, she doesn't have to be the male, you

know. Stuff like that, I completely disagree with that. Y'know, it doesn't have to be, or I agree that it doesn't have to be the male, or the man should provide. Y'know, I don't think that's all necessary, you know. Especially,... I'm dating someone now who's a mechanical engineer also, and she's smart, and if she wants me to stay home and raise the kids, then I don't have a problem with that. Or, you know, housework is another question. I don't have a problem with that sort of thing.

Respondent #02 did not qualify or rationalize his disagreement with the traditional norm. Other interviewees, like Respondents #12 and #18, expressed more uncertainty about what is acceptable regarding changing a man's role as provider. Respondent #12 was a 22 year old, senior natural resources major. Respondent #18 was an 18 year old, freshman zoology major.

Interviewer: How about the whole breadwinner idea [that you mentioned]?

Respondent #12: I don't agree, I don't agree with that at all. For me, if I could marry a woman who could support me and a family, that would be fine with me. I mean, that doesn't bother me at all. I mean, I would like to be the one who could be able to provide for a whole family, so that my wife wouldn't have to work, if she didn't want to, but if my wife wants to work and, you know, makes more money than me, that's fine.

Interviewer: You had mentioned income, or having a job.

Respondent #18: I think, well, I think that, I, if, well if I have a family I would prefer me to work and my wife to stay home, if we had children. That's what I'd prefer. Just for me to make the house income, and her to raise the family. That's what I think of a man. Unless, obviously if the wife is, y'know, has a great job, such as like a doctor or something, or if we were struggling for money, and we needed a second job. But if I just looked in my own, like if I had a family, then I would want me to be the major worker.

In these statements, both Respondent #12 and Respondent #18 began with one stance, and then backtracked. They were caught in the middle. Respondent #01, a 19

year old, freshman construction management major, seemed simply to be confused by the whole question.

Respondent #01: I agree with the fact that men should be a provider. Although a woman can provide for herself, but I'm not saying all women should stay home and cook and clean, but they should..., I'm not saying they should have a job either, but if they're gonna have a job they can...

A small number of interviewees demonstrated much deeper awareness of how traditional masculinity has impacted their perceptions of their role in a family. They appeared to have given it some thought, and to understand that their ideal of equality between the genders does not necessarily meet the reality of how they personally respond to the expectations in the society around them. Respondent #25, a 19 year old freshman, described the conclusion he came to very clearly. The position he took is a traditional one, but he seems to have reached it with an awareness of how he got there.

Respondent #25: Well, people have ideas about men being the breadwinner. That's probably one of the reasons I feel so strongly about supporting a family. I mean I'm also quite equal. I mean if my wife wants to work, then that's great. It's no problem. But I also feel a responsibility to be there if she doesn't. I feel a responsibility to be the one who takes care of the financial situation if need be.

Respondent #07 and Respondent #03 also revealed in their responses that they have struggled to integrate the old and the new. They have come to a compromise position in which they still take certain responsibilities on themselves, but also hope to achieve equality in their relationships with women. Respondent #03 was a 25 year old, sophomore English major. Respondent #07 was a 21 year old, sophomore journalism major, who professed strong Christian beliefs.

Respondent #07: I imagine my relationship with my wife to be a very give and take relationship. To serve my wife, to love her, and to do what is necessary for

her to be happy, to live a full life. And that that means, y'know, I mean I absolutely have no problem with her working, and when we're talking about male-female, I mean and that's what will make her happy. What will serve her the best is what I want to do for her. ...I just think it's a general, overall consensus with men, that I've talked to at least, with friends of mine at least, that the man should be a stable kind of. I think it's a lot like the old, old views where you have the man be stable and very, very willing to provide and to do all that kind of stuff. But then incorporating all these new thoughts where it's O.K. for a woman to work, and it's O.K. for a woman to provide, and take over some of the manly roles. I don't know if that answers your question, but. ... I think it's starting to blend some of the old and new into a new context.

Interviewer: What do you think for yourself, what does it mean to be a man or to be masculine?

Respondent #03: I mean, I guess that's ... for me at least I guess that's kind of a hard question to answer, because it's. ... like what, y'know, becoming the independent thinker. I guess it's what, y'know, what have I been taught y'know. Or 'cause I think that there's a - I think that there's, like I said before, there's kind of two ways of answering it. What I was taught by my male figures in my family and continue to be taught, isn't necessarily the way that I think it should be, but it's still ingrained in me, y'know. Like my mom, my dad, and my step-father for instance, they were really into the man being the provider and everything. Like I know intellectually that that doesn't have to be the case, but there's still a feeling of that in me, because of it being hammered into me for so long. Y'know, the male being the bread winner or whatever. But I don't think that that's necessarily true. And also, y'know, along with that, in order to be successful, in modern terms or whatever, you have to make a lot of money in your field and do something that you're going to be fulfilled [in], more so than helping society or the world in general. There wasn't really much talk about that. 'Cause I think it's more - for me I guess, it's more about being just a human being, more than it is male/female. At least that's kind of the perspective that I've developed

Caring family man. As I have mentioned, it is implicit in the responses above that a man has a family. A number of the interviewees made this expectation explicit as well. These interviewees felt that having a loving family and a loving romantic relationship was essential to their masculine identity. Although most of these interviewees did agree to some degree with the idea that a man has a different role in caring for his family than his

partner, many of them focused more on making their family a priority, and being loving and caring toward their families. This is a relationship emphasis that has been more typically attributed to the traditional feminine role, but was clearly also important for these men. I have identified this component of masculinity as the Caring Family Man ideal. It can be seen in Table 4 that this was a component of masculinity that was expressed positively. The small group of 11 men who raised this issue all agreed with it. Nine of these men also revealed some ambivalence, however, in that they also expressed agreement in some way with the Head of the Family ideal.

Several of the interviewees explicitly stated their belief that having a family or a romantic relationship is part of being a man. Respondents #10 and #26 provide examples of this sentiment. Respondent #10 was a 20 year old, junior math major, who was in ROTC. Respondent #26 was a 19 year old freshman in engineering.

Respondent #10: I would say marriage is probably the most, the most important, and finding a person I'll be happy with the for rest of my life, and building a good family, and then career goals after that.

Interviewer: For you personally, what's important to you in order to be a man?

Respondent #26: I don't know. Probably to be anything you have to succeed. I believe you want to be financially stable. You want to end up having a family. Having someone that cares about you and you can care about, probably kids to pass down the line.

Respondents #07 and #13 focused more on the expectation of caring for family members. They identified support and sacrifice for family as key elements of masculinity. As was noted above, respondent #13 endorsed the idea that a man should be able to provide for his family. When I asked him to talk more about that, it also became apparent

that he meant more than financial support. To this student, as to others, support of his family now also includes emotional support.

Respondent #07: ... I think that being a man is having your own self identity, and following that, but at the same time serving the needs of others and being able to sacrifice yourself. It's kind of a balance in between them. ... In life you're gonna have to give up some things for other people. Give up some of your own personal goals, give up some of your wants, desires, for others. And I think that's especially probably true when you get married, and you have kids. And so I think sacrifice is a big part of a man's life

Respondent #13: What does it mean to be a man? I don't know. To have control over your own life. To be able to make important decisions for yourself. And if there's people underneath you, to help them out by helping them to make their decisions, not for them, but aiding them in their decision process. Being able to support people underneath you. If you have a family, being able to support them. Not meaning that all the support has to come from the father, but it can come from the wife too.

Interviewer: Can you tell me more about that?

R: Just being there for your kids when they need you. Y'know, being very family oriented, not getting caught up too much in work or other things. I think always putting family first is important. And on that same level, I think that a father or a man should be able to support at the same time and be there for them.

Virtuous Citizen. Another very prominent theme in the interviews was that masculinity includes being a good person and a responsible citizen. Men should treat others with tolerance and respect. They should have honor and integrity. They should be kind, loyal, and unselfish. Men should also participate in society and contribute to their communities. They should be hard-working and responsible. They should take pride in what they do and seek the respect of others. Some men also identified some of these virtues as desirable for both men and women. In a sense, they resisted the distinction between manhood and adulthood. I have identified this as the Virtuous Citizen

component of masculinity. It is not a component that has been well acknowledged in the literature on men and masculinity, but it was very important for these young men. Table 4 reveals, that like the Caring Family Man ideal, the Virtuous Citizen ideal was only expressed positively. Twenty of the 29 interviewees expressed agreement with some aspect of this ideal, whereas none of the interviewees expressed disagreement or uncertainty. Below are just a few of the passages expressing these ideas. Respondent #04 was an 18 year old, freshman journalism major.

Respondent #03: I think more than anything just trying to. . . and like I said, I don't know if it's really a male thing as much as it is - just trying to be a friend among friends and that sort of thing and just having, trying to treat other people with respect and that sort of thing. And along with that I think kind of, to shift that around, is to really try to, y'know, not provide necessarily for y'know my family or me or whatever, but more in like a general sense like what can I contribute to the world instead of y'know, how much money can I make. It kind of fires them up that sort of thing. I mean that's still there y'know. I don't know if it's ever gonna leave, but definitely I think trying to, and it seems like a lot of people are, but ... I mean trying to get away from that.

Interviewer: For you, what does it mean to you to be a man? What does it take?

Respondent #04: What does it take ... strength, and not just physical strength, but strength in general, and perseverance, ... and mental power, and kindness, and ... being multi-faceted, having a lot of aspects to your life I guess.

S: Are those goals that you hold for yourself?

R: Yeah, every day. ...

I: Are there other things that you think are important to be a man?

R: . . . I really strive to be caring and compassionate. I think that's just maybe in my nature, but I think being nice to people, I don't care if you're a man or a woman, is real important, and ... I think being a hard worker is an important part of being a man, and I don't know why, but it seems being a man, I think being a hard worker is pretty important, and having some dedication and some responsibility.

Respondent #10: O.K. I think a man should be responsible for his actions all the time, and that he should . . . like some of the questions were "should have a goal." He should definitely have goals in his life like something he wants to be, but I think that's true for anybody, male or female. And . . . he should be a good moral character as well. I think integrity, things like that. This isn't really specific things for a male though, I'd say it's kind of both, for anybody.

Interviewer: What are some of the other things that are important to you for being a man? What do you think a man should be like?

Respondent #12: Being honest, being fair, sincere, hardworking. I really don't think intelligence should determine anything. Hardworking and having goals, and working towards those goals should you know, that's pretty much it.

Dominance in relationships. In addition to the dominant position in a family that is implicitly part of the Head of the Family ideal, some of the respondents also experienced a prescription for men to be dominant in other relationships. This aspect of domination was not as salient as the issues surrounding a man's role in his family. As can be seen in Table 4, 14 of the 17 men who addressed dominance in other contexts described it as something that they observed in others and perhaps disagreed with. One aspect of this dominance role concerns male domination in romantic relationships, a role that is closely related to male domination in families. According to this view, a man should always be in control in a romantic relationships. For some, this was expressed as a strong feeling that a man should never be dominated by a woman or submit to a woman. There was also reference by some of the interviewees to men seeking domination or control over others in other contexts, such as business or sports. As a variation of this, a number of men described the expectation that men should be prepared to take charge or assume leadership roles. I have

identified this constellation of attitudes as the Dominance in Relationships component of masculinity.

Respondents #14 and #29 both addressed male dominance in romantic relationships. Their attitudes differed, however. Whereas respondent #14 expressed a strong distaste for the idea of ever submitting to a woman in any way, respondent #29, a 19 year old, freshman business major and football player, of Latino descent, observed this attitude in others but seemed to disagree himself. Whether or not they agreed, both described an attitude that views submission to a woman as a serious threat to one's masculinity.

Interviewer: O.K. Can you talk a little more about what you mean by being seen as an authority in your relationship, but there's an equality?

Respondent #14: You know, like how you're the one that. ... Most of the time in a relationship you'll take the initiative just because, y'know, most of the time nothing will get done if you don't take the initiative. So that's what happens. So. ...

I: That's the way you want to be in a relationship.

R: Yeah. I would not want to be domineered in any way by a woman. There's y'know, there's the equality thing, or y'know. I definitely would not be want to be submissive to a woman in any way in a relationship. Y'know, I have been with bosses and everything, but that's different.

Interviewer: When you look at the people around you, are there things that you see that other people think that men should be like?

Respondent #29: Yeah. I think a lot of people think that men should have like, be always in control. Like, I'll be talking to my friends and they'll talk about girls or girlfriends and they'll always say, like, "well you should just tell her this" or "just tell her you're goin' here" or whatever, y'know. I think a lot of men think that you have to be controlling.

Respondent #22, a 21 year old, sophomore marketing major, discussed his aversion to dependence on a woman as well as his philosophy of how to deal with the reality of being in a subordinate position at work. In this situation, one's superior could, of course, only be a man. He painted a vivid picture of a hierarchical world in which a man must be tough and defend his place in the hierarchy. The intensity of his belief in this ideal is palpable in the excerpt below.

Interviewer: Good. There was one phrase there that you said that I thought was interesting was "not to cringe before power." What does that mean to you?

Respondent #22: Basically, say you work in a company with a thousand employees. You're number 400. The number 1000 guy, the boss, comes in and wants to talk you, why you didn't get something done. Y'know you should be able to sit there, stand there, and take it and be able to tell him exactly why without y'know, crying, falling back. Y'know just being able to stand up to take it. ...

I: Right, so we've talked a lot about what it means to be a gentleman. That seems to be the main piece for you. What you're striving for personally. Is there anything else that goes along with what a man should be like, what it takes to be a man?

R: . . . probably being strong: physically, mentally. I don't know. I don't think a woman should have to take care of her man. If they should ...

I: By that do you mean take care emotionally or financially?

R: Any way (stated emphatically).

Respondents #17 and #05 addressed the expectation of male dominance in other arenas. The ideology that they have observed is one in which men are expected to "step up" and "take charge." Men are expected to seek out leadership roles. These young men did not express agreement with this traditional ideology that they have observed in others. Respondent #05 was a 20 year old, sophomore business major. Respondent #17 was a 22 year old, senior engineering major of Latino descent.

Interviewer: You had talked about this idea that you saw in the questionnaire of men being in control that you disagreed with. Could you say more about that?

Respondent #17: Men being in control. Obviously it depends on the situation. Whenever it comes, when it deals with sex, like I mentioned before, it's definitely a mutual feeling. And when a man is taking control, that's, I mean, nowadays it's to the point where you can be taken to court for that. And so in that kind of situation the man is not in control. You can relate it to different things. As far as business and whether a person, when they get around another group of people, whether or not they want to be in control, it depends on the person. But in my feeling, where I'm going to, I don't want to be in control. I want to be a team player. So I don't know. As far as control, like I said, it depends on the situation. But I mean, for the most part the man does not have to be in control

Interviewer: Are there things that you can think of that you know that other people think are important, as far as what it means to be a man, the way a man should be?

Respondent #05: I think a lot of it is leadership, sort of stereotypical in charge kind of thing. . . . More than, y'know. . . kinda. . . always seems like it's always, thought of it's competition all the time. Should be more of a fun competition - I mean, like I can't, sometimes you can't really have a lot of, like, "go after it as much you can" unless you want to win.

Once again, there is some uncertainty evident in these responses. These men are struggling to integrate conflicting demands. Respondent #20, a junior in ROTC, also revealed some of this ambivalence about men taking on a leadership role. It is apparent that he was trying to take modern demands for equality between women and men into account. Nevertheless, he concluded that they do have different roles in society.

Interviewer: Could you say more about what you mean by "stepping up and taking charge"?

Respondent #20: Well, in my position right now, like I'm commander of about 45 cadets within ROTC. So, not that it's any gender's responsibility, but I think, y'know, it's, most of it's probably based on as far as women in the workplace. Y'know, it's always, it started out as just men. For the past couple hundred years you've seen the women becoming more prominent. And so I think a lot of it has to do with just, kinda like the stereotype that men are supposed to be able to step up and take charge. And women are supposed to. . . I don't totally agree with that. In

my role in ROTC there's, y'know, probably as many female commanders as there are male commanders in the leadership positions. So by saying that men need to step up and take charge, I guess it depends on the situation. Sometimes they need to y'know, like in a business situation more, y'know, probably have the female step up and take charge more in the family situation.

Emotional strength and control. Twenty-five of the 29 men interviewed addressed the issue of how men deal with emotions (see Table 4). The subject of how men deal with emotions was as salient as family issues. These men were aware that they are expected to have control over their emotions in a variety of situations. They described an expectation that they have emotional strength, meaning that they be strong willed, emotionally tough, that they do not let difficult emotions control them. They should be rational, levelheaded, and emotionally stable. They should remain calm in chaotic situations. In addition, these men described an expectation to restrict their expression of emotions. Many expressed awareness of relatively new expectations for men to be able to express emotions in the context of their romantic relationships, but seemed to view most other expression of emotion as an undesirable loss of control. Disagreement with this perceived societal norm of emotional control did not extend to allowing emotions to control one's decisions. Although 17 of the 25 men who addressed emotions expressed disagreement with these ideals of emotional strength and control, and only 9 expressed agreement, 12 also expressed uncertainty or ambivalence (see Table 4). Many of these men remain uncomfortable with emotions. Emotions represent loss of control, and a man should always be in control. I refer to this component of masculinity as the Emotional Strength and Control ideal.

Respondents #04 and #12 give excellent descriptions of how a man should deal with an emotional situation. A man should be strong and stable and retain control and reason in the face of virtually any conceivable stress.

Interviewer: For you, what does it mean to you to be a man? What does it take?

Respondent #04: What does it take ... strength, and not just physical strength, but strength in general, and perseverance, ... and mental power, and kindness, and... being multi-faceted, having a lot of aspects to your life, I guess.

I: Are those goals that you hold for yourself?

R: Yeah, every day.

I: So when you say different kinds of strength, what do you mean?

R: Physical strength, and mental strength, and the strength to put up with all the crap that we have to put up with ... and strength to get through tough situations and meet different people, and,... all kinds of strength.

I: Perseverance...

R: ... dealing with things like losing your girlfriend or losing a family member or anything, getting a bad grade in a class or getting a bad grade on a test or . . . big things and little things, your car breaking down to losing a family member or something.

I: So to be a man means you learn how to deal with stuff like that.

R: Yeah.

Respondent #12: ... I believe a man should be able to be a level headed thinker, be able to keep control of himself pretty much all the time, and be able to try and think rationally through situations. ... Responsibility. I say responsibility comes along with being a man. I guess, I'm not real sure I agree with it, but along with being a man there's that sense of toughness, rigidness almost, you know you could carry the weight of the world on your shoulders, and it doesn't really, you don't really let it be known that it's causing you problems or breaking you down, even though internally it could be destroying you. But it's, but a lot of times, you know, keeping everything kind of under control, tight, trying not to let too many problems of yours slip out. I think that goes along with being a man.

I: You're uncertain as to how much you agree with that. How would you say that that has influenced you?

R: Well I know that to... to an extent you can handle a lot of stress. But there are times that things get to be too much, something really bad at work had happened, that's, I don't agree with keeping stuff like that inside, letting it build up and build up, because I just think it's going to cause, cause the person more harm. But I think in certain situations that if you're feeling' a little pressure and a little stress then, you know not all with it, I think it's important to kind of buckle down, get your third wind, and get through whatever it is, and then kind of move on.

Respondents #27, a 22 year old, senior construction management major, and #18 demonstrated awareness of a traditional masculinity norm of restricting emotional expression. Like many of the interviewees, they disagreed with this expectation. Although they have observed this among their families and friends, they wanted to be different themselves.

Respondent #27: I would say, like I said, I can look in the past to make forward types of decisions. And, my family life was great growing up, I wouldn't say that it was the best. So like I said before, that y'know I didn't show a lot of emotions when I was little. That was because my family is not a huggy-kissy family or whatever. It was the "you're a man, act like a man" or a boy. So it was very like traditional in that way. And I look back and I resent that. And I also look at it and say, well, I think I can make a change for my future from that.

Respondent #18: I think other men think men should be the macho type. Where like, other men see, like, if other guys are too feminine or too, showing their feelings too much. I think other guys think that's wrong. Like "what are you doing that for." Like, y'know, "you're supposed to be a man." Or if they don't say that they will just avoid them. Like if they saw their friend doing that too much they probably start avoiding them more and more. So I think a lot of guys think, put that macho image on guys. Like if you're not like that, then something's wrong with you.

Interviewer: Do you agree with that or disagree with that?

R: I don't think, I mean, I guess I said earlier I don't think we should have that y'know, tough guy, macho thing. Y'know, I'm not saying we should, every time you have a feeling say it. I think when it comes time, if you feel like, or if you're

struggling, or if you're having problems, or you feel like you need to say something go ahead and say it. Don't fear, don't be afraid of someone else, like another guy calling you a girl or something like that

Respondent #18 did express some ambivalence about emotional expression. This was a very common theme among the interviewees. A man should be able to express his emotions, but should retain some degree of control. A common theme in these interviews was an ambivalent attitude toward crying, or crying in public. Many of the interviewees said that it is acceptable for a man to cry, or they respect a man that can cry, but then qualified that statement by defining the conditions under which crying is acceptable or not. Often they took a rationalized or intellectualized approach to discerning when tears are acceptable and when they are not. For example, respondent #07 talked about how it is acceptable to cry at a funeral because it is your body's way of trying to get over it. The ambivalence is palpable. Respondents #06, a 19 year old, freshman business major, who is also in ROTC, and #08, a 24 year old, junior business major, also demonstrated this ambivalence. These young men were aware that today's man is supposed to cry sometimes, but were still very uncomfortable with this. Their solution was to make clear rules about when it is acceptable to express emotions and when it is not.

Respondent #07: No, not necessarily. I mean, I would, I mean I wouldn't, I don't think of myself any less of a man if I did cry. But that's just not, right now, not my style. Maybe, maybe when I get married somehow it will, my wife will completely change me, and I'll become more sensitive or something, but I don't think when men do cry, I don't think when they show their emotions, there's anything wrong with it. It's just that's the way they are. I think many people are created with different personalities.

Interviewer: Does it make you uncomfortable?

R: When men cry?

I: Yeah.

R: No, because I mean at like funerals I've cried. Because you lose something very important in your life, and that's a natural part of your body kind of like saying "okay I'm gonna try to get over this." And so I have nothing, I don't think there's anything wrong with that or unmasculine about that or anything else, or showing any other kind of emotions.

Respondent #06: I think integrity, I think is like one of the biggest things with being a man. I mean, able to, like, on there it was talking about crying and stuff, I mean, sometimes I think I know men [are] against crying but sometimes, y'know, you kinda respect that.

I: So you can respect that?

R: Yeah.

I: Even though sometimes it . . .

R: Sometimes I think it can be too much, but I mean if it's for, y'know, like, I don't know. If someone like, an example would be if someone really messed up and then they, y'know, have to get in front of like a group of people and tell how they messed up and how sorry they are and stuff like that, and they start to cry or something.

Interviewer: what does it look like to be strong emotionally?

Respondent #08: . . . You wouldn't show your weaknesses. I mean there is a time when you would show them, like to your family or a person you could sit down and talk with. But as far as in the business place you would never show your weakness. Like as far as you were emotionally hurt, because your wife left you or girlfriend cheated on you or whatever.

I: You wouldn't show that?

R: I wouldn't, I wouldn't try to show that, until, y'know, it was the right time, and I could actually just tell you what I'm feeling.

Another form of ambivalence that was evident was an expression of the idea that it is acceptable for other men to show their emotions, but it is somehow not acceptable for

me. This sentiment was clearly expressed by respondent #06 below. Today's male college student is in a difficult position. He is aware that he is expected to be more expressive than his father, but he knows perfectly well that he is still expected to be masculine. Respondent #17 also describes this dilemma perfectly below.

Respondent #06: I don't know. Like, my dad is really, he's like, y'know, doesn't say much and that kind of, y'know, people think that's the manly man, y'know. I mean, that's fine but I don't see anything wrong with other people, y'know, showing their emotions or stuff like that, y'know. That's like the old way of thinking. It's men have to keep in their stuff.

Interviewer: Keep in their emotions?

R: Yeah. I mean, I just, I usually choose to [also] just 'cause I don't want to deal with it.

I: You don't want to deal with ...

R: Like, ... conflict. Like just people giving you a hard time or something.

I: So some people might give you a hard time, or you might get into a conflict when you express your emotions?

R: Right.

Interviewer: When you look at the world around you, how do you think other people think men should be?

Respondent #17: It's kinda hard to say nowadays, because there are so many different views of that. But ... that's a good question. ... How others perceive. ... I think some would be like responsible and honest. I think people would want to perceive someone as being really masculine as being in control of himself, not control of other situations, but in control of his own feelings. Someone that's kind of rugged. Someone that's kind of, tends to ... not afraid to show his feeling to other people. However, sometimes have the ability to mask his feelings. Kind of both sides of the coin there.

Seeking success and status. Almost as salient as the Emotional Strength and Control ideal in the interviews was an expectation that men be successful and achieve status. In addition to achieving success, men are expected to be competitive with other men and with women in this pursuit. I have identified this component of masculinity as the Seeking Success and Status ideal. Twenty-two of the 29 men interviewed addressed this topic (see Table 4). A majority of those, 17 out of 22, expressed agreement with that ideal, but 12 out of 22 expressed disagreement. Nine expressed uncertainty or ambivalence about this ideal in some way.

Most of the men interviewed expressed agreement with the expectation that they pursue career and financial success. Success, for these college students, is about money and education. For a few of these men, but not all, this expectation was primarily an extension of their desire to provide for their families. Some men also perceived social success as a masculine trait. In social and career contexts, as well as sports, competitiveness was described as a positive, masculine trait. A small, but significant, minority expressed rejection of this competitive nature. Others also rejected material standards of success in favor of goals such as finding happiness and fulfillment, having a strong family, and leading a balanced life.

Respondents #16 and #15 both gave examples of the expectation that they feel to demonstrate their masculinity through career success and status. Whereas respondent #16, a 22 year old, junior construction management major, gave a very succinct description of this norm, respondent #15, a 21 year old, sophomore pre-medicine major, elaborated on the interrelationship of competition, status and success with masculinity.

Interviewer: All right, in general when you think about what it means to be a man, what's important to you in order to be a man?

Respondent #16: Good job, successful.

I: Having a good job?

R: Yep, I guess that's just what's been instilled in you. I don't know why I think that.

Interviewer: Is there anything else that you can think of, or that you observe in terms of the concept of masculinity, what you think or what other people think men are supposed to be like?

Respondent #15: Bigger, faster, and stronger than others.

I: That's something that you think or that other people think?

R: Oh, I guess I think that to a point. But I mean, a lot of other people think that too. But then that goes in to "well that's how we survived when we were ape men." Y'know, I mean is it nature or nurture? Y'know, I mean you always want to be, y'know, I don't know if it's with everybody, but I always want to be like a, ... I always want to succeed in what I'm doing at. I mean I don't wanna, y'know, if you fail, you learn from it and go on. But I mean I feel that way. But if you fail, you're not as much of a man as you were. But you also just have to learn from it and move on and hopefully do better. Y'know, just hopefully no one saw you fail. Y'know, I mean I don't know if that's part of being a man, or if that's just part of being human. ...

I: I want to take you back. You'd said that people think that men should be bigger, faster, stronger. Could you tell me more what you mean by that?

R: . . . Well, to a point physically stronger. I mean faster more like in a who can achieve more in a shorter amount of time. Who can win the most toys, I guess. Who can move up the ladder fastest. Or who can think of, ... be their own entrepreneur and be successful and make money and all that other stuff. But I mean, with bigger it is more of a combination of being faster and everything. 'Cause you, I mean you would, I mean physically, but I mean too just being muscular. But I mean being, moving up the ladder, making money, y'know, being happy. Having the typical American dream or whatever. I mean that would be, that's pretty much what people want. That's what people expect. So I mean I expect that of myself as well. You just have to find out what you excel at and just go for it, or what you like and go for it

Respondents #21 and #26 stressed the competitive nature of masculinity. Whether the goal is social status, financial success, or athletic success, status is all important and competition is the means for determining one's status in the hierarchy of men.

Respondent #21 was a 27 year old, Native American working on his second bachelor's degree in pre-med. He played division I college football during his studies toward his first bachelor's degree.

Respondent #21: I think it's a matter of playing king-of-the-mountain. One who reaches the throne wants to stay there, so he'll do what it takes to keep people down. That's where I [see] a masculine outlook. It's like sports, you know, you got your good players, and your not-so-good players. Good players are getting rewarded by having X amount of dollars put in their pocket versus the not-so-good players. Or I mean, it's that kind of competition where, you know, they know that they're making the money, so they'll do what it takes to stay there. And if it means putting down or some way jeopardizing the other person's potential, or, attempts to achieve, they'll do it. I mean, it's a competitive world, I guess. ... I can recall when I was 18,19, 20 years old, you know, my freshman or sophomore year in college and stuff. I played for CU. That had a lot to do with how I behaved. The actions I did and, it's just an environment you're in, a lot of times. I mean, it's not necessarily, may not be the behavior you would normally present yourself in, but it's something that, it surrounds you, so therefore, you kind of adapt to what is around you. It's hard to explain, I guess. I mean, playing football, it's big guys, strong guys, muscle guys. You go in the weight room; it's a constant competition. I mean you don't go out of there without trying to lift your best, and as much as you can. For the sole fact that it's not point blank right in your face, where you say, "Oh, it's a competition," but it's more of the attitude around you, the surroundings.

Respondent #26: ... To me everything in this world is a competition. To succeed, to be a man, y'know, you'd have to be up there. Y'know, you could get by, well at least like my parents. Y'know, they don't have too much money, but they're happy. So financially stable they're not up there, but they're happy as ever because they have each other and us kids and what not. So it bounces back and forth. I'm a competitor in most of what I do, so it's hard for me to say that, y'know, well, "I'll be happy if I do this," because I know I'll be competing more at work or whatever.

Interviewer: So you would say that competition is a big part of what it means to be a man?

R: To be able to compete I think would be a big part of being a man. And like I say, it's hard for me right now. I know once you get older you don't want to look at it that way, 'cause you just look at it as if you're happy and you're fulfilled. But right now, as young as I am, I'm thinkin', "gee whiz it would be nice to have a nice car, nice boat, toys to play with." To me right now, I would think competition would be a big part of being a man. 'Cause I know right now I'm still just a kid

A small group of six interviewees observed an expectation among others that men can prove their status or masculinity through sexual conquest. Those who discussed this attitude found it distasteful. They believed that sex should be part of a loving relationship and that men should be responsible with their sexuality. Nevertheless, they described this callous approach to sex as part of current masculinity. Respondents #09, a 23 year old, sophomore physical education major, who also plays on the ice hockey team, and #17 provided examples of this observation. There were no interviewees who endorsed sexual conquest as proof of masculinity.

Respondent #09: Well, especially being an athlete you hear about, you hear people bashing gay men. And like, and you hear people talking about, oh, getting laid and going out finding some girl that... and it's more of, it's just like, it's upsetting.

Interviewer: So that's what they think men should be like?

R: Yeah, I think, I mean a lot of, some people. I don't know if that's what they think, or that they're just trying to put this front on to make them seem more masculine, because that's the way they think masculine people should act, or I don't know.

I: So that's two of the things that you see out there. People who would gay bash, and people who would sort of brag about their sexual exploits.

R: Getting laid or how many times. To me it's like, I don't, you don't need to hear, those are personal things that you don't, they don't need to be shouting it out to everybody. I don't even care.

I: So that's stuff that you don't agree with.

R: No, not at all, that's not important to me.

Interviewer: Is there anything else that you feel like I should have asked you about, or you want to say?

Respondent #17: . . . Sometimes people feel that a person is more masculine when they, y'know, tend to sleep with a lot of women and so forth. I don't know if that was mentioned in the questionnaire. However, that's definitely not true.

A number of the interviewees focused on other measures of success, rejecting the more traditional measures of status, money, and athletics. These men felt that inner qualities such as happiness and personal fulfillment as well as the outward manifestations of these, such as a strong family, were more important. Respondents #10 and #21 gave examples of this value.

Respondent #10: I would say marriage is probably the most, the most important, and finding a person I'll be happy with the for rest of my life, and building a good family, and then career goals after that.

I: What kind of career goals?

R: . . . Just to have a career that I'm happy in. Really it doesn't have to mean that I'm making a lot of money, that we've got a lot of material things. That doesn't really matter just as long as I'm happy

Interviewer: So, what is important for you is, you were saying, is to be satisfied with the choices that you're making and to be happy. What are some of the things that would make you happy, that would make you be satisfied?

Respondent #21: Choices, I guess, you know, some people would call it settling with what you feel that ... You know, as one friend put it once, life is like an elevator. There are certain levels to life, and whatever floor you get off on, if you're content with it, then that's your floor, kind of. Some people strive to be, like, the ultimate, but once you're content with who you're going to be, and who you are, I feel that once you've reached that plateau, then you feel kind of, "I don't need to prove myself. I don't feel that I need to answer for myself." You just feel content, and just...

S: That's what's important.

R: Yeah, I think for the most part, I'm twenty-seven years old now. I've done a lot, seen a lot. And, you know, it's to the point where I don't feel that I have to prove, like I used to when I was in high school, that I'm tough, that I'm strong, that I'm smart, and I'm able to go out with all the beautiful women, nothing like this. The competition is gone as you get older, I guess. So, I don't feel the need to compete for anybody or anything anymore.

Self-reliant and capable. A significant minority of the interviewees described the expectation that men be independent and self-reliant and that they demonstrate ability to be decisive and solve problems in difficult situations. Men should be able to think on their feet and act confidently. Men should not need the help, or the approval, of others. I have identified this as the Self-Reliant and Capable component of masculinity. Though this expectation was not expressed by as many men as some of the other components of current masculinity described, there were no interviewees who expressed disagreement with it in any way. It may be that as a component of masculinity that is not under attack, the Self-Reliant and Capable ideal is not as salient for most men as some other aspects of masculinity. Twelve of the 29 interviewees described this ideal (see Table 4).

Respondents #20, #22, and #26 all gave excellent explanations of the ideal that a man should be able to rely on himself and should be prepared to deal with any situation that might arise.

Respondent #20: I mean, I don't really think about, get up in the morning and think "alright, as a man what am I supposed to do today?" I mean if the situation presents itself or, y'know, maybe something happens that required somebody to be courageous or something, I guess I'd like to be the hero of the day. I mean that's, I guess that's kind of instinct. The male instinct.

Interviewer: You would like to be that person?

R: Yeah. Everybody has, I guess, a little bit of that hero inside of them. But yeah, I mean on a day-to-day basis I guess I just rely on what my instinct is as a male to, y'know, fulfill my duties and everything I guess.

Interviewer: What does it mean to be a gentleman to you?

Respondent #22: I could read you what we have to memorize, but, and I just, I try to follow that daily. It's basically being equal to all emergencies. [We] learned a verse by John Walter Wayland called the "True Gentleman," if you ever get the chance to read it, that's exactly what it is. ... I'll give you an example. Being at a fraternity party, having 27 beers and being able to stop at a heartbeat and realize what you're doing is wrong. And just stop, leave, go elsewhere, just in a heartbeat. Being able to recognize that. Y'know, being, driving down the road the person in front of you crashes, y'know, what do you do? Do you just keep driving? Do you call? Do you stop? Being up to anything.

Interviewer: Can you say a little bit more maybe about what you mean by being tough?

Respondent #26: Just being able to handle certain situations. Y'know... I'm trying to think of an example, but I can't think of any. ... I lost all that.

S: That's all right. Is that important to you to be able to handle stuff?

R: Yeah it is. I don't know. I just find when I can handle it on my own, by myself, I feel a lot better about myself than having the ... Y'know when I bought my truck, I got the loan myself and it felt a lot better than having to go to my parents and get a co-signer or what not. To me, being able to handle what you want, or what you set out to do is ...

For these college students, academic ability also served as a measure of capable masculinity. Respondent #04 gave an example of this belief.

Interviewer: You had mentioned being smart and having mental strength or mental power or something like that. Do you remember using that term?

Respondent #04: Yeah.

I: Tell me more what you meant by that.

R: In just in the terms of what it takes to be a man?

I: Yeah.

R: Oh I just, that's, that's one of the most important things to me is just gaining wisdom every day and just being smarter, cause that's what rules your life is your brain. And especially today, when there's just so many things going on in the world, and so many different fields of work and study. I mean, I know nothing compared to what's out there. You just gotta keep filling your brain. You just got to. Reading books and things like that. Just... I think that, I mean it's just good. It feels good when you stuff your brain full of information, you know.

Finally, a component of self-reliance and independence from others that was evident in a number of responses was independence from the opinions of others. A man should not care what other people think of him. This was apparent in a response from respondent #11.

Interviewer: Not caring about what other people think, you said. What do you mean by that?

Respondent #11: Well, I don't know. I've always like, I've always kind of gone about things where if I do something, or, you know, whatever decisions I decide to make with my life, or decisions, even simple day-to-day decisions... There was a time when I was little, you know, I'd worry about what the cool guys were going to think, you know, "hey, jeez, I should act like the crowd." But anymore, I'll do what I want to do, and just as long as it doesn't like, like, the only thing I put into thought is like what would my grandma and grandpa think about this? Or what would my mom and dad think about this? But anything else, like, what's that guy watching going to think about this? I don't, it doesn't really matter, I guess, just as long as it's good for myself and good for anyone who's really close to me.

Physical ability and toughness. Twenty of the interviewees expressed awareness of the physical nature of traditional masculinity. Those that endorsed this component of masculinity tended to express a desire to be physically capable. They wanted to be strong, athletic, and active. Nine of the twenty who addressed this ideal expressed agreement with this aspect of it (see Table 4). A larger group, 12 in all, described a darker side to

this norm which they have observed around them, and with which they were less comfortable personally. According to this version of masculinity, men should be physically tough, aggressive, and willing to take risks. They should be able to drink large quantities of alcohol and willing to fight when necessary. They should be able to withstand physical pain. Certainly, the competitive side of masculinity also shows its face in this physical realm. I have identified this as the Physical Ability and Toughness component of traditional masculinity. In the modern masculinity of most of these college students, however, it takes on a gentler form of desire to be physically capable. As such, it could be classified as a sub-category of the Self-Reliant and Capable component of masculinity. Five of the twenty men who addressed the Physical Ability and Toughness ideal expressed uncertainty or contradiction in their responses in some way.

Respondents #09, #24, a 19 year old, freshman business major, and #28, a 22 year old, junior engineering major, gave descriptions of the tough, physical masculinity that they had encountered. Respondent #28, in particular, told a moving story of masculinity socialization from his adolescence. This is the macho or hypermasculine image of masculinity, and these college men are uncomfortable with it. Nevertheless, it is clearly still prevalent in their lives.

Interviewer: Is there anything else that goes along with that whole picture for you? Maybe even what you or other people think men should be like, or masculinity?

Respondent #28: ... [long pause]. I don't know. That's kind of a hard question I guess. ... 'Cause I guess I was just thinking, when I start playing soccer, y'know, if it's like, if I'm really into it, I guess I will start turning into to the typical stereotype of a male, 'cause I'll just get pissed and be yellin' or pushin' the kids around or whatever. But when I get off the field, it's totally different.

I: So what is that traditional stereotype?

R: I think it's just, y'know, kind of obnoxious I guess. Kind of, "In your face, don't ever let them see you down." Y'know, my dad taught me. I got kicked in the groin once real hard when I was playing, and I couldn't move. I just wanted to get off the field, 'cause everyone else was running around. So I started pulling myself to the sidelines, and he started yelling at me, "You get up, and you walk off! You don't ever let them see you like that on the field!" It hurt. But yeah, but that's kind of like the macho image.

Interviewer: Were there other things? You mentioned the idea of getting in fights, and so on, or having to fight to stick up for yourself.

Respondent #09: I think I still see it in a lot of people. A lot of, I think, I see a lot of guys who have this need to show that they're like stronger than other people. And it's, like, to me, strength has nothing to do with it. It's, to me those people are not as strong. They're like, weaker in the mind. But, I don't know. I do see it. I mean, and I hear people bashing people, and I, and, y'know, it frustrates me now. Where as in the past I may have been one of the people talking about it.

Interviewer: Are there other things you see people thinking men should be like?

Respondent #24: . . . No. No, not really. It's just pretty much all one big picture. They're supposed to be big and tough, and like, when they're not it's wrong.

S: So big and tough means... ?

R: Y'know like . . . Oh, I don't know. Like everybody, like expects the guy to be, y'know, have muscles, y'know, go to the gym, work out, be playing sports, or y'know, being ahead of everything.

As Respondents #25, #08, and #03 attested, aggression, anger, and alcohol use are also components of traditional masculinity. Again, these young men were not entirely comfortable with this image.

Respondent #25: Yeah. I've just run into quite a few, not necessarily belonging to a frat, but the kind of guy who's your football player, jock type. Who works out every day and feels the only way to attest to himself and his manliness is to be strong, and basically kick the hell out of anybody who doesn't agree with him, y'know, be very physical and aggressive. And I see a lot of people who support

that notion. I however don't, but I see a lot of people who do support that notion out there. And it's just one of the views I guess.

Interviewer: Are there other things that go along with being macho, what that means? That you perceive other people thinking?

Respondent #08: . . . I don't know.

I: OK. So it's being strong emotionally, being in control or on top?

R: Well , I mean, like other people thinking of macho like the guys... They party and they can drink the beer, and they're the little bullies that get in fights and go to jail. Maybe that's what they perceive as macho, but I see that as stupidity.

Interviewer: So were there other things that men were supposed to be like, men were supposed to want to hunt and fish in some way?

Respondent #03: I mean, just, y'know, try to provide for the family, I guess, in a general sort of way, but if they couldn't, y'know, that they would be with ... They definitely have to be married, y'know, or in a relationship or something with a woman. And... didn't get emotional, but it's okay for them to be angry and that sort of stuff. Drink a lot y'know, that sort of shit.

There is an image of physical masculinity that many of these men did agree with.

Respondents #04 and #24 gave examples of this physically capable ideal that they hold for themselves.

Interviewer: What are some of the things that you think other people think about in terms of what it takes to be a man? The ideas that you see around you.

Respondent #04: . . . Physique, physical prowess, being cool, I don't know the best way to describe that, but you know, being socially accepted, having women like you, being smart, being good looking, standing out. Those are pretty general things that you just think of, you know, when you just see someone that maybe you don't even know, you don't know if they're a hard worker , if they're caring , things like that I guess.

I: Are those things important to you?

R: Yeah. ...

I: When you say physique or physical prowess what are the ... ?

R: I mean having a good body. Being athletic, being powerful and strong, being fast, being able to hold your own in a game of any sort. Having stamina.

Interviewer: So we've got this picture of someone who's tough and strong and sort of wants to be in charge all the time, y'know, takes control, takes charge of situations. That image that other people have. Has that impacted you or influenced you in any way?

Respondent #24: I'm sure it has. Y'know, growing up and seeing it, and seeing, y'know, that that's the way you're supposed to be. I mean whether I like it or not, I'm sure it has in some way or another. So yeah.

I: Do you tend to be that way yourself or agree with that yourself, or hold those as goals for yourself?

R: I mean, I like to be big. Y'know, I like to play the sports, and I like to be tough when I play them. Y'know, everybody's goal is to go out and do their best whenever you do it. So, I like to be big and strong at that.

As with many components of modern masculinity, many of the interviewees expressed ambivalence with the ideal of physical toughness. Respondent #28 told a story of wanting to resist using violent means in a dispute. He didn't want to be a traditionally aggressive male. Ultimately, he came to the conclusion that he had to demonstrate his masculinity and fight back. According to this viewpoint, sometimes a man does have to fight.

Respondent #28: ... I was at a bar a couple years ago, and this guy picked a fight with my friend, and he just basically hit him in the head with a beer mug for no reason. And I was like, "dickhead." And I was going outside, and he was standing out there, and he started, y'know, he was drunk, and I didn't really, and I started calling names and stuff just 'cause I wanted to try and make him feel like an ass, 'cause he was. He started throwing punches, and I was like, "I don't want to do this." And my friends, some of the guys I know, were just like, "Hit him. Hit him!" Finally it got to me. I was just like, "I have to; I know I'm a man." So I beat the

dude up. And then he gets up, and he's like trying to be all tough, and his nose is all broken, and I was just like, "Man, there's no reason to be acting like this." But he had to get all macho, and I had to get all macho, 'cause my friends were all yelling at me to do it. So it was kind of like... sometimes in real rough situations like that, sometimes it will just happen.

Homophobic and anti-feminine. Traditional masculinity ideology includes a prescription against any traditionally feminine characteristics. Men should not be like women in any way. This is a norm that these interviewees were quite aware of, though many expressed some degree of disagreement or ambivalence about that traditional expectation. The topic of homosexuality also elicited strong opinions from these men. They were aware of strong homophobia within traditional masculine society. Men are not supposed to be gay, and gay men are not really masculine. Men are even restricted from displaying too much affection for each other. Hugs, kisses, and pronouncements of love, even filial, apparently evoke images of homosexuality. In this group of college students, more disagreed with this traditional norm than agreed. They asserted that they have no personal problem with homosexuality. Nevertheless, discomfort and ambivalence regarding homosexuality and displaying affection toward other men were apparent in many of these men's responses. I have identified this as the Homophobic and Anti-feminine component of masculinity. A strong majority, 24 in all, of the respondents addressed this aspect of masculinity in some way. Of these, 13 expressed some agreement with the Homophobic and Anti-Feminine ideal, 15 expressed disagreement, and 10 evidenced some degree of uncertainty or contradiction in their responses (see Table 4).

In two passages below, respondents #15 and #14 discussed the relationship between masculinity and homosexuality. One, respondent #15, described the attitudes of

his roommate. The other described his own reactions to a gay dorm resident. In both passages it becomes clear that homosexuality and femininity are equated, and both are antithetical to traditional masculinity.

Respondent #15: Like, oh my friend R is a good example. Like, he's kind of, he's cool. I mean he's my roommate, but he'll say, like, this one guy doesn't act right, because either they have to match their furniture, or ,y'know, have to paint their room a certain way, or something. Because I live with two girls, and R, and me. So there's two girls and two guys in the same house. So, y'know, we're gonna conflict about some stuff, because I mean we just think differently to start with. But, I mean, T will ... she has one friend that ... I mean he's cool and all, but he's a like a total flamer, y'know. Which, I mean, isn't that big of a deal, but, y'know, when he comes over or whatever, he rags on us, because our furniture doesn't match the one room, or whatever, y'know. It doesn't, I mean, it doesn't matter to me, but he'll leave and R will be, "Oh, he's a faggot." Well, then the minute he leaves, R changes stuff, because he says it doesn't match or whatever. Y'know, so I mean it's like a double standard. I mean, granted, people don't want to think of being gay or being whatnot, y'know, not being the norm or whatever. Whatever the hell that is to start with. But I mean, I think it's funny that he'll rag on one person for saying something, but the minute they leave he'll do what they said. Y'know, it's like he's putting up a big front or something. It's like it's not that big of a deal, I guess.

Interviewer: So what does that tell you about what he thinks men should be like?

R: It, I mean, what it tells me is that his idea of being masculine and a man is totally different than what mine is. Because I figure I just don't give a fuck. I mean that's pretty much how I feel. I mean I just don't really care what people think. But I mean for him, I mean his dad is the same way, so I guess I don't know if it's from the place we grew up at, 'cause we grew up together. But I mean it's really weird that, I mean for me it makes me feel like... men shouldn't, y'know, have any idea, [how to] coordinate things or anything that would typically be a woman's job. I mean like cook, y'know, or clean or anything like that. That's kind of how he acts, but, I mean, with other people around, but the minute they leave, I mean, he's like that. I mean, he doesn't like put up a front or anything. Which I don't know why he would in the first place.

Respondent #14: I personally can, I have an, I have a gay RA. And I totally disagree with his lifestyle, but as a person I can get along with him, except what he believes. What... and I'm not going to criticize him for it, because that's his choice. But ... openly, I don't disagree with him, but privately, y'know, like, I'm "what's the matter" y'know, like, I don't quite understand. I understand why, y'know, like

psychology has taught me, y'know, or tried to explain why, y'know, the genetic and biological predisposition to becoming that. But overall I'm accepting of it, I really don't, I don't think it's right to pick on some... make fun of someone for what. ... 'Cause I think it's just another belief, personally. I don't think they should be separated as a group and given extra rights or protection, because I think, I really don't think the evidence is strong enough to prove that they are biologically like a white, black or someone else that has been. Yes, they've been discriminated, but it's also just like Christians were persecuted, Jews were persecuted. I think it's just like that. Y'know, they're not, y'know, a Jew is not necessarily someone from Israel. So, it's just a belief. So I, that's one of my things. I just don't criticize other people's beliefs. I let them know what I believe and just try to give them insight into how I feel, and hopefully I can see how they feel, but I won't, y'know, whatever you believe, y'know, that's fine with me. Y'know, that's part of what our whole society is, I think, is an accepting melting pot of ideas and thoughts. That's my say on that.

Interviewer: Do you think that has anything to do with masculinity or being a man?

R: I would definitely think that, y'know, the way you carry yourself, y'know, you're definitely... A lot of people that... like he talks a little different, and he does different things than ... He listens to different kinds of music, and his tastes are just, ... different from what, all other men that I know. So it's just, y'know, he has a more feminine side to him that I don't see in other people. ... I'm sorry, I even forgot what the question was.

I: What that might have to do with being a man, or masculinity, being masculine.

R: Yeah, I wouldn't think, I still think of him as a person, but not so much in the definition of being one of the guys. Y'know, he is one of the guys, but yet at the same time, y'know, there's this little thing in the back of my head that says "he acts differently." He's definitely not, he doesn't dance the same way. He doesn't, I mean he dances more like a girl, or, y'know. So he's definitely, in my definition of what a man should be, y'know, like how he carries himself, and y'know, in a manner where you just, like the aura that, y'know, you just, that's there with a man, it's not there with him. So he's definitely, I wouldn't definitely consider, he's a man but yet not a man. I'm riding the fence here. But, it's just not...

I: It doesn't feel the same for you.

R: No. I can talk to him and everything fine, but it just doesn't, it's not the same, y'know.

Respondent #02 also reported that he had observed these themes, although he disagreed. He also described the societal belief that a masculine man should be heterosexual, not homosexual.

Respondent #02: Oh yeah, I think so. I think, you know, its a stereotype, of you know, if you do the housework or something like that, you're feminine or something like that. Or you don't have those tough male qualities, or whatever. But, I don't, it doesn't matter. I mean other than us trying to be asexual, and... I think, you know, we still, men and women are different but only in genital purposes only. You know what I'm saying? So, you know, I mean, it's, you know, everybody can do whatever they want

Interviewer: So there's nothing for you that defines being a man as opposed to just being male?

R: . . . No I don't think so, no, I don't think it matters. Well, I guess. . . some people would perceive that, y'know, a man in a sense is... I think the only difference people perceive is a man is a heterosexual. But, it's like, I don't, y'know. . . I think people perceive that men should like only women. Y'know that their sexual preference should be women. And that's a perception y'know, but y'know that's, I don't know. I mean, that's what they perceive and I don't know why.

I: So you think that some people think that in order to be masculine or a man you have to be heterosexual?

R: Yeah, exactly. Y'know, that doesn't make any sense, y'know. You are what you are. You're just a person, y'know.

One of the themes of homophobia that is important is that men tend to feel uncomfortable with displays of affection between men. Some of the men interviewed corroborated that experience and others did not. Respondents #26 and #24 also outlined how some men do feel comfortable expressing intimacy - through violence or roughhousing.

Respondent #26: I don't know. A couple of the questions seemed [to be about] how we felt, or how I felt about, y'know, men being... what's the word I'm looking for? Affectionate towards each other. For me, I mean me and my father, we don't

like, I don't think we ever hug or anything, 'cause that's not, I don't know. We just don't do it. As far as going out in public, I don't think it would be, y'know expected or anything. I'm from a small town, we don't have anything like that. Family members, y'know, hugging, handshakes, whatever. Friends, handshakes or whatever that doesn't bother me. Joking around doing stuff like that isn't a problem.

Interviewer: But it sounds like hugging in public, like with your father, would feel uncomfortable to you.

R: It does feel uncomfortable. Y'know, I don't mind doin' it cause it's my father and everything, but it does feel uncomfortable to me.

I: In your family you didn't sort of grow up doing a lot of hugging or...?

R: No. 'Cause where I was raised on a ranch and stuff it was more of a, y'know, wrestling or he picks on you. Y'know, you go back and forth like that rather than hugging or whatnot.

Interviewer: What kind of situations would it be O.K. to talk about that?

Respondent #24: Like with your girlfriend. Like if you guys are having problems and you're not happy about it, I think you should, y'know, talk about it instead of just letting it sit inside. So that's, I've had both experiences. Let it sit inside, and it just festers, and it just gets worse and worse. Or if you talk about it in the open, then it comes out.

I: How about with your friends?

R: Like if you ... See it's different with your friends, I think. Like with your guy friends, if, I don't know. Whenever we grew up, if we got mad, we'd just fight and then it would be all better. We just beat each other up, and then we're best friends again. So it's a little different, not really, you talk about it, but in a different way. Like yelling and screaming instead of... y'know.

Masculinity and Age

As I have suggested above, in this group of young men, traditional masculinity appeared to be inversely related to age. Those men who were aware of gender and who had challenged traditional masculinity ideology tended to be older students. They had encountered a wider variety of people and ideas. Their encounters with gay friends had

forced them to question stereotypes. They had traveled and encountered a variety of cultures. Their wider experiences had forced them to open their minds to the varieties of masculinity. They are exemplified by respondent #03, a 25 year old, senior, English major. He grew up on the East Coast and moved to Colorado as an adult. He explained that Alcoholics Anonymous had taught him to be humble and honestly share his emotions with other men.

On the other extreme were a group of young men who had not examined their masculinity. They accepted a fairly traditional view of masculinity with a few politically correct exceptions. They were far more likely to be young than old. Many of them had lived in Colorado their whole lives, and a number of them were athletes or members of ROTC. They are exemplified by Respondent #20, a 19 year old, sophomore geology major and ROTC cadet.

In order to examine the relationship between age and masculinity among the interviewees, I categorized each interviewee, based on a close re-reading of each interview transcript, as high masculinity and low awareness, medium masculinity and medium awareness, or low masculinity and high awareness. These three categories corresponded to the three levels of awareness of gender and masculinity described above. Out of 29 interviewees, 4 fell into the low traditional masculinity category, 10 fell into the high traditional masculinity category, and 15 fell in between in the medium category. Cross-tabulation of this factor with the age of the interviewees made it possible to illustrate the relationship between age and masculinity in this sample. The results are shown in Table 5. Of the 10 men in the high traditional masculinity category, six were 18 or 19 years old and only two were 22 years old or older. These six 18-19 year olds constituted almost half of

the 13 18-19 year olds in this group, whereas the two men 22 years or older constituted only one-fifth of the 10 men who were 22 years old or older. Similarly, of the four men in the low traditional masculinity category, three were 22 years old or older and only one was 18-19 years old. It is evident that a relationship, certainly not isomorphic, but clear nevertheless, exists between age and masculinity ideology in these college students.

Table 5

Distribution of Masculinity by Age Among the Interviewees

Level of	Age		
	18-19	20-22	over 22
<u>Traditional Masculinity</u>			
High	6	2	2
Medium	6	4	5
Low	1	0	3

Qualitative vs. Quantitative Data

The quantitative data were intended to augment the qualitative data from this study in two ways. First, they provided a normative group with which to compare the primary, qualitative participant group. This provided information about the generalizability of the qualitative results. Second, the quantitative results provided information about the current level of endorsement of the theorized masculinity ideology that is measured by these questionnaires. This served as the starting point for this analysis. These results were

included in the qualitative data base, providing method triangulation of the data.

Triangulation of the data was used to increase the internal validity of the study (Glaser, 1992; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

If the quantitative measures used, the MRNI and the GRCS, tap the same construct of masculinity ideology that is observed in the qualitative data, it would be expected that this could be verified with quantitative analyses. The categorization of each interviewee into levels of masculinity ideology and awareness of masculinity actually allows us to explore this question by calculating the correlation coefficient between these rankings and the interviewees' MRNI and GRCS scores. Doing so revealed a moderate relationship between these variables. Masculinity ideology and awareness correlated significantly with MRNI scores with $r = .50$ ($n = 28$, $p < .05$). Masculinity ideology and awareness did not correlate significantly with GRCS scores with $r = .36$ ($n = 29$, $p < .06$). Masculinity ideology did correlate significantly with the GRCS factor measuring restriction on affection between men ($r = .50$, $n = 29$, $p < .05$). In addition, I found that the relationship between age and masculinity ideology observed in the qualitative data is not mirrored in the normative group quantitative data. In the normative group, age did not correlate significantly with either MRNI or GRCS scores. There was a small, but significant, inverse correlation between education level and MRNI scores ($r = .14$, $n = 212$, $p < .05$).

Chapter 5

Discussion

Two core themes predominated in the qualitative data. The first was that these men expressed strong awareness of a multi-component masculinity ideology that was present in the society around them. The second was the sense of uncertainty and ambivalence that most of these men felt about this ideology. Most of these students were well aware that men today are often expected to have an expanded repertoire of behaviors. Nevertheless, they struggled to understand and integrate these expectations with the more traditional ideology that they were also aware of. The result was a wide variety of levels of endorsement of masculinity ideology, as well as a high frequency of contradictory and ambivalent statements.

Masculinity Ideology

Head of the family. One of the most salient components of masculinity ideology for these men was the component that I have labeled the Head of the Family ideal. This describes the expectation that a man should take responsibility for the material well-being of his family. For most, this meant that a man should provide for his family financially. For others, it was also important that they be able to protect their family from harm or be able to solve their family's problems. A few also expected to have the top position of authority in their families. For many, this norm resulted in ambivalence regarding the role of women in the family. These men often expressed a desire for equality in their

marriages, but then contradicted this to some degree by expressing a preference that their wife not work outside the home or by implying that they would have more responsibility to provide for their families than their wives would.

Caring Family Man. If a man is the head of his family, it is implicit that he has a family. A number of the interviewees made this expectation explicit as well. These interviewees felt that having a loving family and a loving romantic relationship was essential to their masculine identity. Although most of these interviewees did agree to some degree with the idea that a man has a different role in caring for his family than his partner, many of them focused more on making their family a priority, and being loving and caring toward their families. This is a relationship emphasis that has been more typically attributed to the traditional feminine role, but was clearly also important for these men. I identified this component of masculinity as the Caring Family Man ideal.

Virtuous Citizen. Not only was it important to these men that they be good and caring fathers and husbands, it was also important that they be good people. A very prominent theme in the interviews was that masculinity includes being a good person and a responsible citizen. Men should treat others with tolerance and respect. They should have honor and integrity. They should be kind, loyal, and unselfish. Men should also participate in society and contribute to their communities. They should be hard-working and responsible. They should take pride in what they do and seek the respect of others. I identified this as the Virtuous Citizen component of masculinity. It is not a component that has been well acknowledged in the literature on men and masculinity, but it was very important for these young men.

Dominance in relationships. In addition to the dominant position in a family that is implicitly part of the head of the family component of masculinity, some of the respondents also described an expectation for men to be dominant in other relationships. This aspect of domination was not as salient as the issues surrounding a man's role in his family. Most of the men who addressed dominance in other contexts described it as something that they observed in others and perhaps disagreed with. One context in which men were expected to be dominant was in romantic relationships, a role closely related to male domination in families. According to this view, a man should always be in control in his romantic relationships. Others also expected men to seek domination or control over others in other contexts, such as business or sports. As a variation of this, a number of men described the expectation that men should be prepared to take charge or assume leadership roles. This was identified as the Dominance in Relationships component of masculinity.

Emotional strength and control. Not only are men expected to be in control of others, they are also expected to be in control of themselves. These men were aware that they are expected to have control over their emotions in a variety of situations. They described an expectation that they have emotional strength, meaning that they be strong willed, and emotionally tough, that they do not let difficult emotions control them. They should be rational, levelheaded, and emotionally stable. They should remain calm in chaotic situations. In addition, these men described an expectation to restrict their expression of emotions. Many expressed awareness of relatively new expectations for men to be able to express emotions in the context of their romantic relationships, but viewed most other expression of emotion as an undesirable loss of control. For the most

part, men remain uncomfortable with emotions. Emotions represent loss of control, and a man should always be in control. I refer to this component of masculinity as the Emotional Strength and Control ideal.

Seeking success and status. As salient as the Emotional Strength and Control component of masculinity in the interviews was an expectation that men be successful and achieve status in some way. In addition, men are expected to be competitive with other men, and with women, in this pursuit. I identified this as the ideal of Seeking Success and Status. A majority of the men interviewed expressed agreement with the expectation that they pursue career and financial success. Success, for these college students, is about money and education. For a few of these men, but not all, this expectation was primarily an extension of their desire to provide for their families. Some men also perceived social success as a masculine trait. In social and career contexts, as well as sports, competitiveness was described as a positive, masculine trait. A small, but significant, minority expressed rejection of this competitive nature. Others also rejected material standards of success in favor of goals such as finding happiness and fulfillment, having a strong family, and leading a balanced life.

Self-reliant and capable. A significant minority of the interviewees described the expectation that men be independent and self-reliant and that they demonstrate ability to be decisive and solve problems in difficult situations. Men should be able to think on their feet and act confidently. Men should not need the help, or the approval, of others. I have identified this as the Self-Reliant and Capable component of masculinity. Though this expectation was not expressed by as many men as some of the other components of masculinity, there were no interviewees who expressed disagreement with it in any way. It

may be that as a component of masculinity that is not questioned, the self-reliant and capable ideal is not as salient for these men as some other aspects of masculinity.

Physical Ability. Many of the interviewees expressed awareness of the physical nature of traditional masculinity. Those that endorsed this component of masculinity tended to express a desire to be physically capable. They wanted to be strong, athletic, and active. A larger group described a darker side to this norm which they have observed around them, and with which they were less comfortable. According to this version of masculinity, men should be physically tough, aggressive, and willing to take risks. They should be able to drink large quantities of alcohol and willing to fight when necessary. They should be able to withstand physical pain. Certainly, the competitive side of masculinity also shows its face in this physical realm. I identified this as the Physical Strength and Toughness component of masculinity. In the modern masculinity of most of these college students it takes on a gentler form of desire to be physically capable. In this form it could be classified as a sub-category of the self-reliant and capable component of masculinity.

Homophobic and Anti-Feminine. In contrast to many of the components of masculinity described above, this last component is not characterized by concern with some form of masculine control. Instead, it is an expression of the ideology that men are, most importantly, not women. Men are not to exhibit any feminine characteristics. This is a norm that these interviewees were quite aware of, though many expressed some degree of disagreement or ambivalence about that traditional expectation. The topic of homosexuality also elicited strong opinions from these men. They were aware of strong homophobia within traditional masculine society. Men are not supposed to be gay, and

gay men are not really masculine. Homosexuality is equated with femininity. Men are even restricted from displaying too much affection for each other. Hugs, kisses, and pronouncements of love, even filial, apparently evoke images of homosexuality. Men are more likely to express affection through roughhousing or sports. In this group of college students, more disagreed with this traditional norm than agreed. They asserted that they have no personal problem with homosexuality. Nevertheless, discomfort and ambivalence regarding homosexuality and displaying affection toward other men were apparent in many of these men's responses. I have identified this as the Homophobic and Anti-feminine component of masculinity.

Comparisons to Previous Theory and Research

Most of the components of masculinity ideology apparent in these data have been well documented by previous authors. Theorists such as Levant et al. (1992) and Brannon (1976) described components of masculinity that encompass the themes from these data of dominant in relationships, emotional strength and control, seeking success and status, self-reliant and capable, physical ability and toughness, and homophobic and anti-feminine. Researchers using open-ended and qualitative methodologies to understand masculinity have also documented many of these themes.

Helgeson (1994) used open-ended questions and factor analysis to examine perceptions of masculinity and femininity with samples of college students and their parents. She found that masculinity included seven factors: 1) good person, 2) aggressive, 3) emotional strength, 4) ambitious, 5) athletic, 6) interest in women, and 7) male bonding. The good person factor corresponds partially to the virtuous citizen component described above, though it focuses most on personality traits, such as happiness, which

indicate adjustment, rather than traits which indicate virtue. The aggressive and athletic factors correspond to the physical toughness and ability component described above. The emotional strength factor corresponds to the emotional strength and control component. The ambitious factor corresponds to the success and status component, and the interest in women and male bonding factors correspond to the homophobic component described above.

Messner's (1992) analysis of masculinity as constructed by former professional athletes also described components of masculinity which are mirrored in the current data. Messner's components of physical prowess and use of the body as an instrument correspond to the physical toughness and ability component described in these data. His component of fear of intimacy enacted in relationships with both men and women overlaps with the components of emotional strength and control (emotional restriction) and homophobia (restriction of affection between men.) Finally, the component of homophobia and anti-femininity which is present in these data is also represented in the theme which both Messner and Kaminer and Dixon (1995) described of constructing male superiority through homophobia and misogyny.

The theme of defining masculinity as that which is not feminine was noted in the literature as early as 1954 (Allen, 1954). The logical implication of this is that masculinity is somehow better than femininity. The hierarchical implications of this value judgment are clarified by social constructionist theory (cf. Brod, 1994; Kimmel, 1994; Pyke, 1996). Thus, men define their status and position in society in relation to women and gay men and in terms of their masculinity. Masculinity is different from femininity and homosexuality, and it is better. This construction of masculinity as status is evident in the current data.

Although most of the components of masculinity which emerged from the current data have been well represented in both theoretical and empirical literature, several have not. The virtuous citizen component of masculinity, which was quite important to these participants, has not received much notice in a body of literature that has focused primarily on the negative aspects of masculinity ideologies. Helgeson (1994) did observe a similar factor, the good person factor. In addition, Levant (1992, 1995), acknowledged that there is a positive side to traditional masculinity. He asserted that the reconstruction of masculinity must reclaim these positive characteristics such as reliability and taking care of others through helping them to solve their problems, protecting them, and providing for them.

Levant (1992, 1995) thus also acknowledged the traditional provider ideal, which was very salient to the participants of this research as a part of the head of the family component. He and others such as Brannon (1976) did not explicitly include this ideal in their description of the structure of masculinity, but rather imply that the head of the family ideal is subsumed as a sub-category of the self-reliance and seeking success and status categories. This distinction is logical. The head of the family beliefs described above refer to a man's role in a specific context, whereas Levant and Brannon have attempted to describe attitudes which guide male behavior across contexts. In the context of a-priori theory, this relegation of the head of the family component to secondary status is completely appropriate. Nevertheless, from a grounded theory perspective, such as that taken by this study, the salience of this component to these men gives it more importance. Concern about the role of men in their families, as provider and leader, was only equaled in prominence by the themes of emotional strength and control

and homophobic and anti-feminine in the interviews of these young men. Therefore, the data demand that this component receive equal weight in this description of masculinity.

A number of these men were also reported concern about another aspect of their role in their families. In contrast to the head of the family component of masculinity, they described a caring family man component. According to these men, it was important to them as men that they have intimacy and equality with their wives, and that they be there to nurture their children. This is a positive image of masculinity that has often been overlooked in descriptive theories of masculinity. The factor addressing conflict between work and family in the GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986) does partially acknowledge this desire of men to care for their families. Nevertheless, these data are the first to explicitly reveal a nurturing relationship ethic as part of masculinity. A number of these men explicitly stated that intimate relationships were necessary to achieve masculinity. This characteristic has traditionally been seen as the sole domain of femininity.

So we find that these men do perceive a consistent masculinity ideology in the culture around them. This ideology remains similar to the traditional masculinity that has been described by theorists and researchers. It is also clear that this ideology contains elements that have not been well acknowledged in the past. These men described norms of virtue and connection to others and norms of nurturing one's family through intimacy and equality as well as through the more traditional mode of providing and protecting. In addition, there was less emphasis on violence and little agreement with callous attitudes towards sex as a part of masculinity. It is clear that these men know what masculinity means to those around them. It is not so clear that they know what it means to themselves.

Ambivalence and Variation

The second core relevant theme in these interviews was the ambivalence and uncertainty that was expressed about the masculinity ideology that these men perceived. Many of the men explicitly disagreed with some of the components of this masculinity ideology, although they believed that other men still agreed. Others expressed confusion or ambivalence or made contradictory statements about these ideals. For example, many men claimed that they wanted their relationships with their wives to be egalitarian or that they had no problem with their wife working, but then went on to admit that they preferred that their wives did not have to work. Others asserted that it was acceptable for men to express their emotions, but revealed their ambivalence about this through their careful rationalizations of when it is acceptable to cry and when it is not.

In Table 4 it can be seen that several of the components of masculinity still tend to be strongly endorsed. These include the head of the family ideal, the seeking success and status ideal, the self-reliant and capable ideal, and the virtuous citizen ideal. Of these, the head of the family ideal appeared to engender the highest degree of uncertainty. It can also be seen in Table 4 that another group of these components of masculinity ideology were more likely to inspire disagreement. These include the dominance in relationships ideal, the emotional strength and control ideal, and the physical ability and toughness ideal. In addition, the few men (a total of six) who described callous attitudes towards sex strongly disagreed with that attitude. Of these components, the emotional strength and control ideal appeared to engender the highest degree of uncertainty. Finally, we see in Table 4 that the masculinity ideal of homophobia and avoidance of femininity is highly salient (mentioned by 24 out of 29 interviewees), but is neither clearly endorsed nor

clearly rejected. Instead, it simply seems to inspire uncertainty in this group of young men.

How are these results to be interpreted? One interpretation is that these young men tend to reject the “macho” or lower socio-economic status masculinity of dominance, callous sex, emotional restriction and aggression, and they tend to endorse the more “modern” or upper-middle class masculinity which demands success, self-reliance, support of one’s family, and good citizenship as demonstrations of one’s masculinity. This is consistent with the fact that most of these young men, as college students, are destined for, or are already members of, the middle to upper-middle class. They are able to choose more covert means of demonstrating their masculinity. This interpretation supports a constructionist theory of masculinity as a means of expressing and maintaining a hierarchy. It is also possible that this tendency to reject some components of traditional masculinity ideology does represent the beginnings of change in the traditional ideology. The awareness of these issues that is clearly present in some of the interviewee’s responses supports this hypothesis.

The level of ambivalence, along with the level of awareness of gender issues and the level of endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology could be seen to vary with age in this sample. Younger men were more likely to evidence low awareness of gender and relatively unquestioned endorsement of traditional masculinity. A small group of mostly older men demonstrated in their interviews that they had seriously considered the impact of gender in their lives. These men expressed rejection of much of traditional masculinity. The majority of the men fell somewhere in-between these two extremes and tended to also evidence a high level of uncertainty and ambivalence about masculinity.

This observed relationship between age and masculinity ideology among these college students may be best explained as a result of exposure to college. Young men entering college are less likely to have encountered a variety of viewpoints and people to challenge their own perception of masculinity. At a large university, however, most men begin to adapt their masculinity ideology over time in response to the much wider variety of points of view that they encounter. This process of broadening one's horizons and opening one's mind in the dynamic atmosphere of a large university would explain much of the relationship between age and masculinity ideology that was observed in these men. This hypothesis is only mildly supported by the finding that scores on the MRNI were mildly correlated to year in college and not at all correlated to age. In order to test this hypothesis further, it would be necessary to interview men of similar ages who are not in college. It would also be informative to interview men from a much wider range of ages and educational levels.

Quantitative Scales

The factor analysis of the GRCS replicated the factor structure obtained by O'Neil et al. (1986). In addition, the reliabilities of these factors and of the scale as a whole (see Table 3) indicate that these factors remain useful as indicators of gender role conflict. The means of the factors (see Table 3) do not indicate that the normative group either clearly endorsed or clearly rejected any of these factors.

The factor analysis of the MRNI did not replicate the factor structure obtained by Levant et al. (1992). Nevertheless, the three factors obtained do provide for interesting interpretive hypotheses. The first factor, indicating that men should not be like women and should not be homosexual, was, on average, neither endorsed nor rejected by the

normative group (see Table 3). This seems to indicate that these men are less eager to reject expressiveness as acceptable masculine behavior. The second factor, indicating norms of strength, toughness, clear-headedness, and self-reliance, was mildly endorsed on average by the normative group (see Table 3). This indicates that these men still perceive instrumentality as an important component of masculinity. The third factor, indicating a norm of callous attitudes towards sex, was mildly rejected on average by the normative group (see Table 3). This indicates a tendency by these men to disapprove of that component of traditional masculinity. The reliabilities for all three factors and the scale are within acceptable ranges.

In spite of the interesting interpretations of these factor solutions that are possible, there is also reason to be cautious of drawing any strong conclusions from these results. The primary reason for caution is that the factor solutions for the MRNI and the GRCS accounted for a low amount of the variance in these scales (28% for the MRNI and 40% for the GRCS). For the MRNI, this compares to a much greater amount of variance accounted for by factor solution in previous research. Levant et al. (1992) found a factor solution for the MRNI that accounted for 98% of the variance. For the GRCS, O'Neil et al. (1986) found a factor solution that accounted for a comparable percentage of the variance, 36%. This factor solution is strengthened by the fact that it was replicated in the current research. The factor solution for the MRNI, although interpretively interesting, cannot be considered robust due to the low amount of variance for which it accounted.

The finding that age did not correlate to masculinity as measured by the GRCS and the MRNI among these college students is another indication that these scales may not work well for measuring the masculinity ideology of college students. Another finding

that corroborates this conclusion is the fact that these scales also did not correlate strongly to the level of endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology apparent in the interviews as rated by the researcher. This relationship was moderate. It is possible that the ambivalence and confusion about traditional masculinity ideology that was apparent in the interview data undermined the utility of these scales for this population. Part of this ambivalence appeared to be due to a social desirability response set. Most of these young men were aware of a relatively new social expectation that they be less traditionally masculine and more expressive. The confusion resulting from this response set may be partly responsible for the weakness of these factor solutions.

Masculinity and Power

Social constructionist theories of masculinity (cf. Brod, 1994; Kimmel, 1994; Pyke, 1996) have argued that masculinity ideologies in our society serve to maintain existing power differentials in our society. These theorists assert that differences in gender ideologies are thus attributable to differences in status rather than differences in culture or sex. This suggests that men of higher socio-economic status have more options for demonstrating their masculinity, and thus tend to express their masculinity more subtly, through competition and status seeking in the workplace and in education rather than physical competition and aggression. Men from higher socio-economic groups hold power through their intellect instead of their physical abilities.

These interview data are consistent with this constructionist viewpoint on masculinity. These young men are all college students. They aspire to higher education and can hope to attain their status through economic means. Consistent with that fact, they tended to emphasize goals of economic and academic achievement and de-emphasize

physical aggression as a component of masculinity. Since similar aged men of a lower economic and educational status were not interviewed in this study, it is impossible to determine whether this pattern would be different with a different sample.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

The limits of the current sample do restrict the generalizability of the conclusions of this study. The sample represents a very narrow slice of American masculinity. It is limited in age, ethnicity, geographic area, educational level, and socio-economic status. As a result, we have described the current masculinity ideologies of white male college students in their early twenties of middle to upper middle socio-economic status, from primarily midwestern and mountain states. A comprehensive study of masculinity ideologies would expand this sample to include men from minority ethnic backgrounds, from lower and upper socio-economic status groups, from a variety of levels of educational attainment, and of all ages. Use of similar methodology to explore the experiences of this type of sample could yield a much deeper understanding of current masculinity ideologies in our society. This would be an extensive, but worthwhile, undertaking.

Within the current sample, these data have also led us to question the appropriateness of the MRNI and the GRCS for measuring masculinity among college students. These are well-used measures that have yielded many interesting results, but they do seem to have some limitations with this population.

A solution to this problem may be found in the qualitative data. Items for a new questionnaire measuring each component of masculinity could be drawn directly from the words of the interviewees. For example, in his interview, respondent #20 stated, "I'm kind

of like, I guess, the traditional type. Or I feel that I'm obligated to, y'know, support my family, and bring the money in and be responsible for them." This statement yields the following test item, which would be scored with a Likert-type scale similarly to items in the MRNI: "I feel obligated to support my family and be responsible for them." In this manner, a wide variety of items could be developed. These items could be chosen so as to represent each observed component of masculinity in this population. The resulting items could then be reduced using standard statistical procedures. This procedure would yield a measure of masculinity ideally suited for this population.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the qualitative analysis did reveal two core themes in the current experience of masculinity among these male college students. The first theme was that these men do clearly perceive a masculinity ideology in the society around them, although their endorsement of these ideals varies. Although this masculinity ideology corresponds quite well to the masculinity ideologies that have been described in the literature (cf. Helgeson, 1994; Levant, 1992), there were also differences. Violence and callous sexuality were less emphasized by these young men than in much of the literature. There was also a much greater focus on the provider role of a man in his family than in much of the literature. In addition, many of the men valued an expanding role for themselves in their families. This role included characteristics that have often been attributed to feminine ideology such as nurturing others and expressiveness. A final component of masculinity that was strongly endorsed by these men was a description of masculinity as including traits of a virtuous citizen. Again, these characteristics have received little attention in the literature, but were very important to these men.

The second core theme apparent in the interviews was that masculinity, if not changed, is certainly in turmoil. A few of these men, usually the younger ones, strongly accepted traditional ideals of masculinity. Another small group strongly rejected these traditional ideals. The majority of the interviewees fell somewhere in between, and often appeared to be ambivalent or confused about how to integrate traditional expectations with current messages that men should be more egalitarian and expressive. The fact that this varied with age may be due to the effect of the university environment on students' attitudes.

The results of the qualitative analysis do suggest that the current masculinity ideology may be slowly changing. These results can also be interpreted to support a hierarchical description of masculinity ideologies. From this constructionist viewpoint the "modern" masculinity of these middle to upper-middle class young men is different from lower-class machismo only because men of high socio-economic status have more choices for demonstrating their masculinity than men of lower socio-economic status.

The results from the quantitative measures, the GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986) and the MRNI (Levant et al., 1992), suggested that these young men neither strongly support nor strongly reject traditional masculinity. These results also suggested that these men may be more accepting than traditional masculinity of expressive characteristics among men. The factor solutions did not account for a large proportion of the variance though. It is possible that the ambivalence and confusion that is apparent among these college students has undermined the utility of these scales. It is suggested that the qualitative data would provide a valid source from which to draw items for a current quantitative measure of masculinity ideology.

In addition to the quantitative work that is suggested by these results, it is also suggested that the qualitative portion of this study be expanded in the future to include a much wider segment of the population. This would address the primary limitation of this study, that the sample, and thus the conclusion, are very limited in demographic characteristics.

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Appendix A: Measures

1. Age: _____
2. Educational Level: (Check highest level that fits you.)
 High School Diploma Freshman Sophomore Junior
 Senior Master's Degree
3. Present Marital Status: Married Single Divorced
 Remarried
4. Race: White African American Hispanic/Latino Asian
 American Other _____

Gender Role Conflict Scale (Copyright 1986, O'Neil, used by permission.)

Please indicate on a scale of 1 to 6 your degree of agreement to the following statements. Circle 1 if you strongly **disagree** with the statement and circle 6 if you strongly **agree**. If you fall between those extremes, circle the number which best indicates your degree of agreement or disagreement with the statement. There is no right or wrong answer to each statement; your own reaction is what is asked for.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 strongly agree

- | | |
|--|-----------------------|
| 1. Moving up the career ladder is important to me. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 2. I have difficulty telling others I care about them. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 3. Verbally expressing my love to another man is difficult for me. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 4. I feel torn between my hectic work schedule and caring for my health. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 5. Making money is part of my idea of being a successful man. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 6. Strong emotions are difficult for me to understand. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 7. Affection with other men makes me tense. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 8. I sometimes define my personal value by my career success. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| 9. Expressing feelings makes me feel open to attack by other people. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |

10. Expressing my emotions to other men is risky. 1 2 3 4 5 6
11. My career, job, or school affects the quality of my leisure or family life. 1 2 3 4 5 6
12. I evaluate other people's value by their level of achievement and success. 1 2 3 4 5 6
13. Talking (about my feelings) during sexual relations is difficult for me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
14. I worry about failing and how it affects my doing well as a man. 1 2 3 4 5 6
15. I have difficulty expressing my emotional needs to my partner. 1 2 3 4 5 6
16. Men who touch other men make me uncomfortable. 1 2 3 4 5 6
17. Finding time to relax is difficult for me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
18. Doing well all the time is important to me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
19. I have difficulty expressing my tender feelings. 1 2 3 4 5 6
20. Hugging other men is difficult for me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
21. I often feel that I need to be in charge of those around me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
22. Telling others of my strong feelings is not part of my sexual behavior. 1 2 3 4 5 6
23. Competing with others is the best way to succeed. 1 2 3 4 5 6
24. Winning is a measure of my value and personal worth. 1 2 3 4 5 6
25. I often have trouble finding words that describe how I am feeling. 1 2 3 4 5 6
26. I am sometimes hesitant to show my affection to men because of how others might perceive me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
27. My need to work or study keeps me from my family or leisure more than I would like. 1 2 3 4 5 6
28. I strive to be more successful than others. 1 2 3 4 5 6

29. I do not like to show my emotions to other people. 1 2 3 4 5 6
30. Telling my partner my feelings about him/her during sex is difficult for me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
31. My work or school often disrupts other parts of my life (home, family, health, leisure). 1 2 3 4 5 6
32. I am often concerned about how others evaluate my performance at work or school. 1 2 3 4 5 6
33. Being very personal with other men makes me feel uncomfortable. 1 2 3 4 5 6
34. Being smarter or physically stronger than other men is important to me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
35. Men who are overly friendly to me, make me wonder about their sexual preference (men or women). 1 2 3 4 5 6
36. Overwork and stress, caused by a need to achieve on the job or in school, affects/hurts my life. 1 2 3 4 5 6
37. I like to feel superior to other people. 1 2 3 4 5 6

Male Role Norms Inventory

Please indicate on a scale of 1 to 7 your degree of agreement to the following statements. Circle 1 if you strongly **disagree** with the statement and circle 7 if you strongly **agree**. If you fall between those extremes, circle the number which best indicates your degree of agreement or disagreement with the statement.

strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

1. When physically provoked, men should not resort to violence. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
2. Men should do whatever it takes to be admired and respected. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
3. Men should be detached in emotionally charged situations. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
4. Boys should prefer to play with trucks rather than dolls. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
5. Men should always be realistic. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
6. A man should always be ready for sex. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
7. A man should not continue a friendship with another man if he finds out that the other man is homosexual. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8. A man should never doubt his own judgment. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
9. A man should always be the major provider in his family. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
10. A man should not force the issue if another man takes his parking space. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
11. A man should never reveal worries to others. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
12. A man doesn't need to have an erection in order to enjoy sex. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
13. Boys should not throw baseballs like girls. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
14. It's not important for men to strive to reach the top. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
15. It is important for a man to be good in bed. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
16. Housework is women's work. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- 17. Boys should be encouraged to find a means of demonstrating physical prowess. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 18. If necessary, a man should sacrifice personal relationships for career advancement. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 19. Nobody likes a man who cries in public. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 20. A man should never count on someone else to get the job done. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 21. Hugging and kissing should always lead to intercourse. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 22. A man should try to win at any sport he participates in. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 23. A man should be able to openly show affection to another man. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 24. It's not particularly important for a man to control his emotions. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 25. Men should get up to investigate if there is a strange noise in the house at night. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 26. Being called a faggot is one of the worst insults to a man or boy. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 27. A man shouldn't bother with sex unless he can achieve an orgasm. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 28. Jobs like firefighter and electrician should be reserved for men. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 29. Men should not be too quick to tell others that they care about them. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 30. It's OK for a man to buy a fast, shiny sports car if he wants, even if he may have to stretch beyond his budget. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 31. A man should prefer football to needlecraft. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 32. It's OK for a man to ask for help changing a tire. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 33. There are some subjects which men should not talk about with other men. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

34. Men should not be allowed to kiss their fathers. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
35. A boy should be allowed to quit a game if he is losing. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
36. In a group, it's up to the men to get things organized and moving ahead. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
37. A man should think things out logically and have good reasons for what he does. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
38. A man should love his sex partner. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
39. A man who has no taste for adventure is not very appealing. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
40. For a man, sex should be a spontaneous, rather than pre-planned activity. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
41. If a man is in pain, it is better for him to let people know than to keep it a secret. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
42. A man who takes a long time and has difficulty making decisions will usually not be respected. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
43. It is disappointing to learn that a famous athlete is gay. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
44. A man must be able to make his own way in the world. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
45. It is too feminine for a man to use clear nail polish on his fingernails. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
46. It is important for a man to take risks, even if he might get hurt. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
47. Fathers should teach their sons to mask fear. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
48. Men should be allowed to wear bracelets. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
49. Men should have goals and be determined to achieve them. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
50. Men should always take the initiative when it comes to sex. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
51. One should not be able to tell how a man is feeling by looking at his face. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
52. For men, touching is simply the first step toward sex. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- 53. Men should make the final decision involving money. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 54. A man should avoid holding his wife's purse at all times. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 55. Being a little down in the dumps is not a good reason for a man to act depressed. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 56. When the going gets tough, men should get tough. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 57. A man shouldn't have to worry about birth control. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 58. A man should be level headed. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Appendix B

Forms

Consent Form - Quantitative Participants.

Consent Form - Qualitative Participants.

Research Information Sheet - Quantitative Participants.

Research Information Sheet - Qualitative Participants.

Participant Instructions - Quantitative Participants.

Debriefing Statement - Quantitative Participants.

Debriefing Statement - Qualitative Participants.

**COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY
INFORMED CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH PROJECT**

Title of Project: Attitudes Research: Phase 1 (Quantitative Portion)
Principle Investigator: Kathryn Rickard, Ph.D.
Department of Psychology
491-5121
Co-Investigator: Steven R. Gale, M.S.
Department of Psychology
491-3974

PURPOSE: This research project is designed to measure your attitudes about several topics. We expect your participation to take about 20 minutes of your time. You will receive 1 hour of experimental credit for your participation.

PROCEDURES TO BE USED: Your participation will involve filling out a number of questionnaires about your beliefs and attitudes. You will also have to answer a few questions describing your self.

POTENTIAL RISKS: The personal nature of some of the questions asked may make you uncomfortable. It is not possible to identify all potential risks in an experimental procedure, but the researchers have taken reasonable safeguards to minimize any known and potential, but unknown, risks. In the event that you feel that you need to talk to someone for any reason following your participation in this experiment, we recommend that you call the University Counseling Center. The Counseling Center can be reached 24 hours a day at 491-6053.

BENEFITS: We hope that you will find this session interesting, and will gain knowledge about the research process. By participating in this study, you will be contributing to research that we believe is very valuable to our society. If you have any questions about this after your participation, or if you are interested in the results of this study, please feel free to contact Mr. Gale.

CONFIDENTIALITY: Your responses on this questionnaire will be completely anonymous. You will be asked to sign a separate credit sheet in order to receive credit for your participation, after you have completed the questionnaire. No other record of your participation will be kept. Please do not include your name on your questionnaire.

LIABILITY: The Colorado Governmental Immunity Act determines and may limit Colorado State University's legal responsibility if an injury happens because of this study. Claims against the University must be filed within 180 days of the injury.

Questions concerning subjects' rights may be directed to Celia Walker at 970-491-1563.

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE:

I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary. If I decide to participate in this study, I may withdraw consent and stop participating at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled.

I have read and understand the information stated and willingly sign this consent form. My signature also acknowledges that I have received, on the date signed, a copy of this document containing 2 pages.

Participant name (printed)

Participant signature

Date

Investigator or co-investigator
signature

Date

**COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY
INFORMED CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH PROJECT**

Title of Project: Attitudes Research: Phase 2 (Qualitative Portion)
Principle Investigator: Kathryn Rickard, Ph.D.
Department of Psychology
491-5121
Co-Investigator: Steven R. Gale, M.S.
Department of Psychology
491-3974

PURPOSE: This research project is designed to explore your attitudes about masculinity. We expect your participation to take a little over one hour of your time. You will receive two hours of research credit for your time.

PROCEDURES TO BE USED: Your participation will begin with filling out a short questionnaire regarding your beliefs and attitudes about a number of questions. Following that, the researcher will talk with you more in depth about your beliefs about masculinity and men and your experience of being a man. This interview will be audio-taped and will later be transcribed. Although you will be asked to give examples from your life to illustrate some of your ideas, you are not required to share deeply personal information. You will also be welcome to decline to answer any question or to end your participation at any time.

I will also ask you if you would be willing to return at a later date to review the transcript of your interview and make sure we have summarized it correctly. This would be completely voluntary, and we will be unable to offer you any extra credit for this. Signing this consent form does not commit you to this additional task in any way.

POTENTIAL RISKS: The personal nature of some of the questions asked may make you uncomfortable. It is not possible to identify all potential risks in an experimental procedure, but the researchers have taken reasonable safeguards to minimize any known and potential, but unknown, risks.

In the event that you feel that you need to talk to someone for any reason following your participation in this experiment, we recommend that you call the University Counseling Center. The Counseling Center can be reached 24 hours a day at 491-6053. In addition, Mr. Gale, who will be interviewing you, is a trained counselor, and will be willing to discuss any concerns you may have.

BENEFITS: We hope that you will find this session interesting, and will gain knowledge about the research process. By participating in this study, you will be contributing to research that we believe is very valuable to our society. If you have any questions about this after your participation, or if you are interested in the results of this study, please feel free to contact Mr. Gale.

CONFIDENTIALITY: Your interview tapes and transcript and your questionnaire responses will be kept completely confidential. If you agree to be contacted at a later date, your name and phone number will be kept separately from the audio tapes and the transcript of your interview with a code identifying which transcript is yours. After your participation is completely finished, your name and address will be destroyed. After this research project is completed (anticipated completion date is June, 1998), the audio tapes of your interview will be erased. The transcript of your interview and your questionnaire will be stored in a secure location, and will not contain any identifying information whatsoever. You will be asked to sign a separate credit sheet in order to receive credit for your participation, after you have completed the interview.

LIABILITY: The Colorado Governmental Immunity Act determines and may limit Colorado State University's legal responsibility if an injury happens because of this study. Claims against the University must be filed within 180 days of the injury.

Questions concerning subjects' rights may be directed to Celia Walker at 970-491-1563.

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE:

I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary. If I decide to participate in this study, I may withdraw consent and stop participating at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled.

I have read and understand the information stated and willingly sign this consent form. My signature also acknowledges that I have received, on the date signed, a copy of this document containing 2 pages.

Participant name (printed)

Participant signature

Date

Investigator or co-investigator
signature

Date

RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET
Study #6 (Quantitative Portion)

NAME OF EXPERIMENT:
Attitudes Research: Phase 1

DESCRIPTION OF STUDY:

This research project is designed to study men's attitudes towards a variety of questions. You will be asked to fill out a questionnaire regarding your beliefs and attitudes as well as answering a few questions describing yourself.

SPECIAL PARTICIPATION REQUIREMENTS:

Participants must be male and 18 years or older.

APPROXIMATE TIME REQUIRED FOR PARTICIPATION AND CREDIT TO BE EARNED:

- 1 HOUR - worth 1 experimental credit.
- 2 HOURS - worth 2 experimental credits.
- 3 HOURS - worth 3 experimental credits.

WHEN AND WHERE :

Wed. Apr. 15, 1998, 5:00 p.m., RM A203 Clark Bldg.

ADDITIONAL SIGN-UP INSTRUCTIONS :

Bring something to write with.
Please do not sign up for this study if you have already participated in it this semester, or if you have participated in Study #8. You may not do both!

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ABOUT THIS STUDY, PLEASE CONTACT :

NAME: Steve Gale
 DEPARTMENT : Psychology
 OFFICE NUMBER : C-49, Clark Bldg.
 TELEPHONE : 491-3974

RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET
Study #8 (Qualitative Portion)

NAME OF EXPERIMENT: Attitudes Research: Phase 2

DESCRIPTION OF STUDY:

This research project is designed to study men's attitudes towards a variety of questions. You will meet individually with the researcher. To begin this meeting, you will be asked to fill out a questionnaire regarding your beliefs and attitudes as well as answering a few questions describing yourself. You will then participate in an in-depth interview about those attitudes. Although you will be asked to give some examples from your life to illustrate your thoughts, you will not be required to share deeply personal information. The entire session will last just over an hour. You will receive 2 hours of experimental credit for your participation.

SPECIAL PARTICIPATION REQUIREMENTS:

Participants must be male and 18 years or older. You may not participate in this study if you already participated in study number 6, "Attitudes Research: Phase 1."

APPROXIMATE TIME REQUIRED FOR PARTICIPATION AND CREDIT TO BE EARNED:

- 1 HOUR - worth 1 experimental credit.
 2 HOURS - worth 2 experimental credits.
 3 HOURS - worth 3 experimental credits.

WHEN AND WHERE :

There are interview times ranging from 9 am to 5 p.m. on Wednesdays for most of this semester. You must sign up for a specific time, and then report to the Clark Bldg., room C-49 (SW corner of C-wing basement), at that time, to meet with the researcher.

ADDITIONAL SIGN-UP INSTRUCTIONS :

Bring something to write with

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ABOUT THIS STUDY, PLEASE CONTACT :

NAME: Steve Gale
 DEPARTMENT : Psychology
 OFFICE NUMBER : C-49, Clark Bldg.
 TELEPHONE : 491-3974

Participant Instructions - Quantitative Portion

I want to thank you all for coming. Please be patient, as I do need to read these instructions verbatim. Begin by reading the consent form that is in front of you. If you decide to participate in the study, sign both copies of the consent form. When you are done, pass one copy to the end of the row, and keep the other copy for your own records.

In a moment we will hand out the questionnaires. It is very important that you answer each question as honestly as you can. All of your responses will be completely anonymous. You may not talk to each other while you are completing the questionnaire.

When you are finished, hand in your questionnaire up front, and sign the credit sheet. You will also be given a written description of the goals of this study. In order to receive credit for this study, you must print your name and ID# clearly on the credit sheet that corresponds to your section of PY100. If you do not fill in the credit sheets correctly, you may not get credit for this study! The credit sheets for sections 1 through 4 will be on this side of the room, and the sheets for sections 5 through 7 will be on this side of the room. For your convenience, the different PY100 sections and instructors are listed on the board. Thank you for your participation and cooperation.

Research Debriefing (Quantitative Portion)

Thank-you for participating in this research. This research project was designed to measure your attitudes and beliefs about masculinity. The questionnaires you filled out will be used to gain an understanding of what students at CSU believe men should be like (if anything), and what it is like to be a man for you. The reason this is interesting is that some researchers have hypothesized that traditional roles for men are changing in today's society. These questionnaires will help us to find out if this is true. One reason that this is an important question is that a belief in traditional roles of masculinity has been found to be related to a variety of other beliefs and behaviors such as Type A behavior and sexual assault. Your responses on this questionnaire will be completely anonymous.

In the event that you feel that you need to talk to someone for any reason following your participation in this experiment we recommend that you call the University Counseling Center. The Counseling Center may be reached 24 hours a day at 491-6053. If you have any questions about this research, or if you would like to know the results, please contact Mr. Gale at 491-3974 (Through June) or leave a message for Mr. Gale at 491-0266. Questions concerning subjects' rights may be directed to Celia Walker at 970-491-1563. Any such questions should refer to the study title "Masculinity Ideology," and the principal investigator, Dr. Kathryn Rickard.

Research Debriefing

Thank-you for participating in this research. This research project was designed to explore your attitudes and beliefs about masculinity. The questionnaires you filled out will be used to gain an understanding of what students at CSU believe men should be like (if anything), and what it is like to be a man for you. The interview will give us more in depth information about this. The reason this is interesting is that some researchers have hypothesized that traditional roles for men are changing in today's society. This research will help us to find out if this is true. One reason that this is an important question is that a belief in traditional roles of masculinity has been found to be related to a variety of other beliefs and behaviors such as Type A behavior, and sexual assault. Your interview tapes and transcript and your responses to the questionnaire will be kept completely confidential. If you agree to be contacted at a later date, your name and phone number will be kept separately from the audio tapes and the transcript of your interview with a code identifying which transcript is yours. After your participation is completely finished, your name and address will be destroyed. After this research project is completed (anticipated completion date is June, 1998), the audio tapes of your interview will be erased. The transcript of your interview and your questionnaire will be stored in a secure location, and will not contain any identifying information whatsoever.

In the event that you feel that you need to talk to someone for any reason following your participation in this experiment we recommend that you call the University Counseling Center. The Counseling Center may be reached 24 hours a day at 491-6053. If you have any questions about this research, or if you would like to know the results, please contact Mr. Gale at 491-3974 (Through June) or leave a message for Mr. Gale at

491-0266. Questions concerning subjects' rights may be directed to Celia Walker at 970-491-1563. Any such questions should refer to the study title "Masculinity Ideology," and the principal investigator, Dr. Kathryn Rickard.

Appendix C: Interview Questions

Protocol

The following questions were used in a loosely structured manner to focus the interview on the desired topic of the participant's experience of masculinity ideology. Each interview began with the participant completing the questionnaire. Then I discussed the questionnaire and the goals of the study with the participant and obtained consent for the interview portion. I began the interview by asking the informant for their impressions of the questionnaire. The questions below followed.

Questions

1(a). What does it mean to you to be a man?

After several interviews it became apparent that question 1(b) was a more productive question than question 1(a):

1(b). What is important to you in order to be a man?

2. What do other people think you should be like in order to be a man?

3. Do you agree/ How important is this to you?

4. What is it like for you to be a man?

5. Are there any questions that you feel I should have asked, but didn't?

Appendix D: Qualitative Methodology

The purpose of this appendix is to elaborate on the theory, technique, and terminology of the qualitative analysis that was performed for this study. I believe that this information may be helpful for readers who are less familiar with qualitative methodology. It is included here in order to avoid overburdening the Method chapter of this report.

Constant Comparative Analysis. The interview transcripts were analyzed using the technique of constant comparative analysis (Denzin, 1994; Glaser, 1992; Huberman & Miles, 1994; Schwandt, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1994). This technique was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967; cited in Strauss & Corbin, 1990) in conjunction with the development of grounded theory methodology. Constant comparative analysis is a systematic technique for analyzing qualitative data (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). Data incidents are coded according to the concepts that they are judged to represent. These conceptual codes and incidents are systematically compared to each other with special attention to both similarities and contrasts. These comparisons lead to the identification of patterns in the data which are coded as categories. Continued comparisons and coding lead to interpretive summaries of these categories and their properties, and of the relationships between them. These interpretive summaries are referred to as memos. The interpretive summaries, the categories, and the concepts are continually refined and verified through an iterative process of data collection and analysis.

As understanding of the phenomenon emerges through this process additional details are filled in and verified. When it becomes clear that new concepts and understanding are no longer forthcoming from additional data, the categories are said to be saturated. At this point, data collection is completed and the final stages of writing begin.

Coding. In constant comparative analysis, coding proceeds through two stages: open coding and selective coding (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Open coding and selective coding are often referred to respectively as first level coding and second level coding. During the open coding stage, the taxonomy of codes (concepts, categories, properties of categories, and relationships between concepts and categories) remains open. All data are coded with no preconceived taxonomy (Glaser, 1992). Eventually certain categories will emerge as primarily relevant to the research question. Glaser and Strauss state that at most two, and usually only one, core relevant category will emerge (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). At this point, selective coding begins. During selective coding the data are sampled more sparingly according to their relevance to the core relevant categories, and coding focuses on concepts that are relevant to the core relevant categories (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Nevertheless, the researcher must be aware that new relevant concepts may arise and open coding may need to be resumed (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

At both stages of coding two distinct types of codes are used: substantive codes and theoretical codes (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1994). Substantive codes are codes of concepts, categories and properties of categories. They are used to represent incidents of data and patterns in the data. Theoretical codes are codes that represent relationships between substantive codes. The theoretical coding in the current study took

the form of interpretive memos that were continually compared to the substantive codes in order to validate their conclusions.

Substantive coding permits the researcher to induce categories by amalgamating distinct incidents of data. Each incident of data is first labeled in a purely descriptive manner (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). For example, the statement, "A man should be able to support himself," would be coded as "importance of financial independence." This stage of coding simply serves to reduce the data, and is likely to generate a large number of codes (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This is the first level or open coding. Next, these codes are compared to each other to detect patterns. These patterns are given abstract labels as categories (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). For example, the code "importance of financial independence" might fall into the category, "Self Reliance." This is the second level or selective coding. Continued comparisons focusing on differences between concepts and variation among concepts will also lead to property codes (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). A property code describes a property of a category. For example, the property code, "highly endorsed" might be associated with the category "Self Reliance."

The definition of an "incident" in the data can vary at different stages of the analysis (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). An incident is a block of data that is coded as representing a single concept. In the early stages incidents usually are defined and coded line by line, or sentence by sentence. This strategy is important during open coding in order to generate all possible concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In later stages, larger blocks of data, such as paragraphs or even whole documents may be coded as a single incident (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The researcher can make this

kind of sampling decision as the relevant categories and concepts become more clearly defined.

Theoretical coding permits the researcher to develop and verify hypotheses about the substantive codes. An example of a theoretical code in this research was, “Awareness of gender issues increased with age and traditional masculinity decreased with age among these college students.” As with any theoretical code, constant comparisons and integration of concepts and data will either ground this type of theoretical code in the data or lead to its modification or abandonment (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Memos and Data Displays. Throughout the constant comparative analysis the researcher documents the emergence of ideas from the data by writing memos (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Memos can contain a variety of types of information, such as notes about codes, thought processes of the researcher, documentation of sampling decisions, and evolving conceptualizations of the data. Each memo is dated, has a summary heading indicating what it is about, and refers to its sources in the data or in other memos (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). During open coding, these memos may be present very tentative summaries and ideas. It is simply important to document all possible interpretations of the data. These memos are then included in subsequent constant comparative analyses. As the analysis progresses, the conceptual memos become increasingly refined and focused on the emergent, core relevant categories. In this way, the research process is not only completely documented but maintains a dynamic interaction between writing, data collection, and data analysis.

Related to memos are data displays. A data display is a compressed summary of the data base which permits examination and conclusion drawing, thus moving the

conceptualization process forward (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Data displays, like memos, can take on many forms, including diagrams, matrices, and structured summaries. Also like memos, data displays evolve in an iterative process with analysis. The final, relevant data displays are often included in the final results section.

Writing the Final Product. Writing, in qualitative research, is an integral part of the analysis process, as well as the final stage (Richardson, 1994). The final results section of the qualitative summary is drawn directly from the memos and data displays that have been generated throughout the analysis (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The memos are sorted according to their relevance to the core categories, or the “story line”. Then a narrative is formed which integrates interpretative statements with references to and quotes from the actual data. The final product documents not only the conclusions of the analysis, but also the interpretive logic that led to those conclusions. This logical chain of evidence is already documented in the memos and data displays. The purpose of this “transparency of method” is to allow the reader to verify the credibility of the conclusions of the study (Huberman & Miles, 1994).

Interpretive Validity

The results of a qualitative study are overtly interpretive in nature. The researcher imposes his or her own interpretations on the empirical data. This is not any less true in a quantitative study, but it is less salient (Denzin, 1994). As in quantitative research, we must be able to evaluate the interpretations of a qualitative study according to some accepted standards. Qualitative researchers have argued that the different philosophy, goals, data, and methods of qualitative research and quantitative research produce conclusions and interpretations that must be evaluated by different standards (cf. Denzin,

1994; Glaser, 1992; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Traditionally the results of quantitative studies have been evaluated on their reliability, internal and external validity, and objectivity. Some qualitative researchers have abandoned these criteria altogether (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Others have chosen to adapt them, subtly redefining them to account for the differences between quantitative and qualitative research (Denzin, 1994; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Glaser, 1992; Huberman & Miles, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). These writers have argued that qualitative research should be evaluated according to the criteria of dependability, credibility, transferability, and confirmability (Denzin, 1994).

Dependability. The evaluation of qualitative research begins with establishing the dependability of the data and the analysis process. Dependability is analogous to the concept of reliability in quantitative research (Denzin, 1994). The dependability of the method refers to its ability to consistently produce the same results given the same data site. This is a question of reproducibility. Typically, the focus of qualitative research on local, historical phenomena makes reproducibility less of a concern than in quantitative research. In the report of a qualitative research project, the goal is to make the methods of data collection and analysis transparent (Huberman & Miles, 1994). In other words, the report clearly and accurately describes the data collection methods, and also evidences a clear chain of logic between the conclusions and the actual data. This transparency of method allows the reader to analyze the dependability of the data and of the analysis process.

Another method for insuring dependability is to maintain an audit trail. An audit trail is a complete record of all the study materials, the interpretive process, and the

sampling decisions (Huberman & Miles, 1994; Morse, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

This allows an independent researcher to track the source of every interpretive statement.

Credibility. The concept of credibility corresponds to the concept of internal validity in quantitative research (Denzin, 1994). The question to be asked is whether the method used actually measures the phenomenon of interest. Qualitative researchers have asked whether the interpretations are credible or whether they fit the data (cf. Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Of concern is whether the interpretations offered by the researcher adequately describe the data and make sense to both the participants in the research and other researchers.

One approach to addressing this question in qualitative research is essentially an appeal to the methodology (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The method of grounded theory and the technique of constant comparative analysis are designed to produce description and theory statements that are fully grounded in empirical data. The products of this method fit the data extremely well by design. Again, the explicitness of the procedures allows the reader to assess this fit.

The qualitative researcher can also employ additional safeguards to ensure the credibility of their results. One is a form of triangulation by using multiple researchers to check the codes during the coding process and evaluate their fit to the data (Huberman & Miles, 1994; Janesik, 1994). This not only provides a check on the coding, but also opens the analysis up to the emergence of concepts which might have been missed otherwise. Another method for ensuring the fit of the interpretations to the data is a member check (Denzin, 1994; Huberman & Miles, 1994; Morse, 1994). This means that the research participants are asked for feedback on the interpretations of their responses.

Transferability. The concept of transferability is analogous to external validity in quantitative research (Denzin, 1994). Of concern is how generalizable the results are. Some qualitative researchers have argued that this is not a question of interest in qualitative research (cf. Glaser, 1992). Qualitative research is not typically focused on making broad, general statements about aggregated data that lend themselves to generalizability. Instead, qualitative research focuses on holistic, in depth description which highlights the presence of individuals in the data (Huberman & Miles, 1994). In addition, qualitative research tends to take an emic, historical approach, resulting in local, time bound description.

Nevertheless, the question of whether results can be usefully transferred to other contexts or broader populations can be addressed (Denzin, 1994; Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The product of grounded theory research is a set of hypotheses. The conditions and contexts of these hypotheses are clearly outlined in the dense description of the data. This contextual information allows the reader to carefully evaluate the transferability of each statement to other contexts. An additional goal of grounded theory research is to produce hypotheses which are open to verification and modification. Good theory generates further research (Denzin, 1994). In fact, grounded theory research typically yields naturally to quantitative verification, elaboration, and modification (Glaser, 1992). This generativity and modifiability is another aspect of the transferability of the grounded theory. The grounded theory is always in process.

Confirmability. The criterion of confirmability is analogous to the positivist goal of objectivity. Pure objectivity is not possible, nor desired, in qualitative research (Denzin, 1994). The interpretive venture is subjective by nature. This does not mean that anything

goes. By using various strategies to ensure rigor, and by making these strategies transparent, the qualitative researcher attempts to allow the reader to confirm both the adequacy of the data and the interpretations of the data (Denzin, 1994; Huberman & Miles, 1994; Morse, 1994). Glaser (1992) has argued that the constant comparative method, with clear documentation, does not allow preconceived patterns to remain in the results. Preconceptions that do not fit the data will not “pattern out” through constant comparison. Following his lead, I address the criteria of confirmability with an appeal to method. The rigor of the method I have outlined above, and the transparency of the method in the final result, will minimize the effect of bias in that result (Huberman & Miles, 1994; Schwandt, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

In summary, qualitative research can be evaluated on the criteria of dependability, credibility, transferability, and confirmability. These criteria are analogous to the traditional criteria of reliability, internal validity, external validity, and objectivity. A number of steps can be taken to address these criteria. These include triangulation of method, data, and interpretation; the maintenance of an audit trail; the use of a member check; the use of a rigorous and systematic analytic method and appropriate computer software; and detailed, transparent reporting of the data collection and analysis process. These steps make it possible for the reader to judge the results based on these criteria.