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Living the stereotype: Connections between male behavior and male images

Andrew Paul Smiler
University of New Hampshire, Durham

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LIVING THE STEREOTYPE:

CONNECTIONS BETWEEN MALE BEHAVIOR AND MALE IMAGES

BY

ANDREW PAUL SMILER

B.S., Psychology, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, May, 1990

B.S., Mathematics, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, May, 1993

M.A., Clinical Psychology, Towson State University, May, 1993

M.A., Developmental Psychology, University of New Hampshire, May, 2000

DISSERTATION

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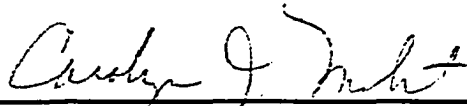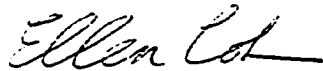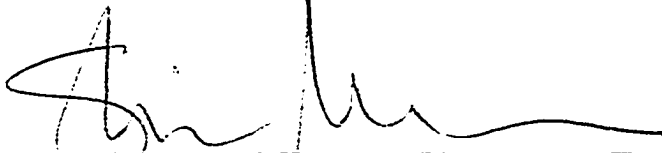
This dissertation has been examined and approved.

Dissertation Director, Carolyn Mebert, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Psychology

Ellen Cohn, Ph.D.
Professor of Psychology

Sheila McNamee, Ph.D.
Professor of Communication

Edward Thompson, Jr., Ph.D.
Professor of Sociology, College of the Holy Cross

Rebecca Warner, Ph.D.
Professor of Psychology

May 6, 2003
Date

DEDICATION

To my mother Rita, who always knew I could.

And to Larry, who showed me what being quietly useful is all about.

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It is humbling to think that my name is the only one listed on this project when so many have contributed to it. I thank my research assistants for their time, and their patience with my occasional disorganization: William Morrison, Lynn Reingold, Meghan Basile, Stephen McIsaac, Heather Roy and Allison Shupe. Without your strength and efforts, I would not have gotten this far. My thanks also extend to the students who enrolled in my Child Development class during the fall semester, 2002. Thank you all for your patience and your efforts to administer surveys.

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ABSTRACT

LIVING THE STEREOTYPE:

CONNECTIONS BETWEEN MALE BEHAVIOR AND MALE IMAGES

by

Andrew P. Smiler

University of New Hampshire, May, 2003

This project examined some linkages and discrepancies between theories that describe
the acquisition of gender typical attributes in childhood with theories that describe the
maintenance of those attributes in adulthood. This perspective included the idea that there are
several well known ways of enacting masculinity, related to well known stereotypes (e.g., jock,
business, sensitive new age guy), and highlighted within sex variability. Because a distinction
between biological sex and gender was made, the sample was not restricted to males despite
focusing on the masculine. One focus of the project was the consistency with which an individual
enacts a particular stereotypical identity across four contexts (at home, at work, with friends, in
leisure activities) and through the life course. Acquisition and maintenance theories rooted in the
psychodynamic perspective predict contextual consistency whereas socially oriented theories
predict contextual variability. Different influences on an individual's gender typed attitudes were
examined. Childhood theories position parents and other models as influential and maintenance
theories focus on peer influences; both include media as an influence. Surveys were completed
by 660 individuals, 50% of whom were female. Results supported both contextual consistency
and inconsistency with most individuals demonstrating some level of each. Examination of
consistency through the life course yielded similar findings. No factor was clearly related to
increased consistency, although contextual consistency did increase slightly with older age for the
noncollege subsample. Examination of influences revealed participant's beliefs were more closely
related to perceived model's beliefs than to actual familial beliefs. Patterns of relations between

individual and model beliefs varied depending on whether the model was a family member or media figure. Stronger preferences for certain media genres (e.g., sports, women's) were related to different attitudes. Implicit within this study was the assumption that male images differ, and this idea was supported through stereotypical descriptors provided and variations between individuals who endorsed different identities. Further, males and females who endorsed the same stereotypical identity possessed some similarities to and differences from each other suggesting that enacted identities are experienced differently across sex.

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Chapter I

Theoretical bases

Theories addressing gendered behavior in children (Block, 1973, 1984; Bandura, 1989; Bem, 1997), which tend to emphasize the development of gender, and theories that address gendered behavior in adults (Eagly, 1987; Wade, 1998), which emphasize the maintenance of gender, should be broadly consistent. Because gender is a social category that is distinct from biological sex (Unger, 1990), social identity theory also provides a useful approach to examining the maintenance of gender behavior (e.g., Thoits & Virshup, 1997; Turner, 1999). Although there are some consistencies across these theories, some important inconsistencies are also present.

The most important consistency across these theories is that gender is a learned and internalized construct that includes physical appearance, personality attributes, attitudes, and behaviors. For example, the stereotypical image of American masculinity may be represented by a fairly large, athletically oriented, aggressive man who views women as inferior or incapable (e.g., Brannon, 1976). This construct prescribes certain behaviors (e.g., sports) and proscribes others (e.g., crying) (Lisak, 2000; Unger, 1990). Once learned, gender roles are typically described as either invariant or as changing only slightly (i.e., as capabilities change, for example, in the ability to earn money) (but see Eagly, 1987). That gender roles are learned from others is also widely accepted, although there is no consensus regarding who the primary influence might be: parents, peers, desirable models, and/or cultural elements such as stereotypes (Block, 1984; Wade, 1998; Bandura, 1989; Eagly, 1987).

The positioning of gendered behavior as relatively constant, and research demonstrating longitudinal rank order stability in gender related personality attributes despite an overall decrease in masculinity scores (e.g., Galambos, Almeida, & Petersen, 1990; Hyde, Krajnik, &

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Skuldt-Niederberger, 1991), suggests that most individuals do not typically experience substantial change in their construction of gender relative to their cohort. Some authors have recently suggested that there is not a single masculine form, but that several distinct masculine forms (e.g., jock, player, rebel, nerd), or masculinities, exist (Connell, 1993, 1995; Kimmel, 1996; Pleck, 1995; Rotundo, 1993), each of which is associated with its own particular set of physical characteristics, personality attributes, attitudes and behaviors. Although this claim has not yet been adequately tested through empirical methods, it raises the question of whether individuals may change from one masculine form to another.

If multiple distinct masculinities exist, then we may also ask whether individuals are able to change from one masculinity to another (e.g., from jock to family man). These transitions would be reflected by substantive changes in gendered behavior. Although this possibility is not directly addressed by many of the gender theories, several theories offer explanatory mechanisms that support this possibility. For example, internally directed change could occur through the selection of (new) models or peers (e.g., Bandura, 1989; Bem, 1997; Wade, 1998) whereas externally directed change could occur through the need to conform to a particular male type for success in a particular setting (Turner, 1999; Wade, 1998,).

In summary, the focus of this project is to assess the distinctiveness of a relatively large number of masculinities, the self-reported stability of these male types across both context and time, the relative influence of selected models, and the relationsof biological sex to these findings. In particular, these stereotypically male types will be assessed regarding the distinctiveness of the stereotypical descriptions that they elicit, the underlying masculine norms that individuals of each type endorse (e.g., violence, risk-taking, primacy of work), the extent to which individuals identify themselves as representing each masculinity, and the extent to which they demonstrate distinct patterns of influence from figures in their environment (e.g., parents, selected models, and media). The stability of these male types across settings and over time also provides information regarding distinctiveness by highlighting whether individuals actively view themselves as enacting a single type of masculinity. Assessment of selected models will

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help clarify issues regarding the multiple influences discussed in the literature. Because women also possess masculine attributes and may enact different masculinities, their inclusion provides additional information regarding the distinctions between biological sex and constructed gender.

The paper continues by discussing theories of gender and social identity, including theories that describe both the acquisition and maintenance of gender. Discussion then shifts to the longitudinal stability of gender related personality traits, followed by a detailed description of the male types assessed in this project. The first chapter ends by addressing the (non-) exclusivity of this material to males. The second chapter describes a pilot study that was conducted to identify the distinctive features of each male type. Chapter 3 presents the methods and findings of the main study and chapter 4 provides a discussion of each research question and a general discussion of the project.

Gender Acquisition

Socialization approaches have been the dominant explanation of how children learn their gender role. Across prominent theories (Bandura, 1989; Bem, 1997; Block, 1973, 1983, 1984; Kohlberg, 1966; Kohlberg & Ullman, 1968), researchers have described children's learning of gender roles as an interactive process in which children learn the relevant connections between biological sex and personality attributes (among other things) through interactions with parents, teachers, and others. Most explain how children's behavior comes to be consistent with gender stereotypes (Bem, 1997; Kohlberg, 1966). Regardless of the identification of gender as an element of ego (Block, 1973, 1983, 1984) or as a basis of categorization and understanding of the external world (Bandura, 1989; Bem, 1997; Kohlberg, 1966), the acquisition process typically describes the child as an active participant in his/her own development.

These theorists disagree on the importance of the immediate environment for influencing behavior. Bandura's (1979, 1989) descriptions, and consequently Bem's (1997), give substantial weight to context through the principal of reciprocal determinism, which describes the simultaneous interplay between personality characteristics, the immediate environment, and

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enacted behavior. These mutually influencing factors lead Bandura to observe that "people are both products and producers of their environment" (Bandura, 1989, p. 3). Jeanne Block (1973, 1983, 1984), focusing on ego development, tended to omit context. This omission, and the positioning of gender as a component of ego, suggests that gendered behavior is relatively consistent across settings. Kohlberg (1966; Kohlberg & Ullman, 1968), focusing on cognitive development, also omits context as a significant factor. Although he acknowledges that children's gender related concepts become more sophisticated (i.e., abstract) as they age, these concepts remain focused on the individual (e.g., psychological traits such as aggressiveness) with an implicit assumption of stability across contexts.

The incorporation of multiple masculinities into these theories is not particularly problematic as there is no reason to believe that gender acquisition would occur differently[1]. However, transitions among male types are more easily explained by social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1989), and therefore also by gender schema theory (Bem, 1997). That is, changes in personality characteristics, immediate environment, and/or behavioral enactments could reflect a transition from one male type to another type. The transition from nerd to jock, for example, could be initiated by the desired and therefore salient change of environment from library to gymnasium. Transitions of this sort could happen frequently, allowing a single individual to enact both types during a single day (i.e., at work, at the gym). Block's (1984) sex role identity theory allows change, as do all psychodynamic theories, although the positioning of gender as part of ego suggests that change would require longer periods of time to occur. Further, because ego is relatively stable and psychodynamic theories typically focus on intra- and interindividual processes, it seems unlikely that context specific change between male types would occur.

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[1] A strict interpretation of social cognitive theory would be problematic in two different ways. First, reciprocal determinism could suggest that when a child came into the distinctive environment of one male type (if such things exist) and found that environment both salient and rewarding, the child would increasingly choose that environment and adopt all of the relevant attributes of that masculinity to the exclusion of other masculinities. Second, the theory states that children develop their conceptions of masculinity and femininity by identifying same sex commonalities across all available models during early childhood and children actively shape their behavior to this ideal. A strict interpretation would suggest that only atypical children (in terms of available models or cognitive processing) would derive a concept of

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However, Block's theory allows the possibility that individuals could create a stable blend of two (or more) male types. This seems unlikely when one considers the theorized distinctiveness of the types and the empirical findings that certain pairs of stereotypes contain opposing elements that would generate intrapsychic conflict (e.g., jock and nerd; see Green & Ashmore, 1998). Kohlberg positioned gender similarly, observing "that the child has organized its identity and its attitudes and values around its gender identity" (Kohlberg & Ullman, 1968, p. 212). Thus, transitions among male types would be difficult and unlikely to occur as a function of setting.

These theories also have difficulty describing individuals who are, in Bem's (1974) terminology, undifferentiated (i.e., low masculinity and low femininity). There is no clear reason why a particular child would not sort the world into gendered categories or not be taught about gender from a variety of sources, so it is unclear how such individuals would develop. The idea of multiple masculinities includes such a position (e.g., Wade, 1998) and there is nothing that would prevent an individual from moving into or out of this 'non-type.'

Gender Maintenance

After children have learned what gender is and how to behave according to one's specified sex/gender role, we can examine the factors that maintain this behavior through adolescence and adulthood. The maintenance theories continue to position gender as an interactive process that relies on the internalized understanding of gender and describes individuals as active (Eagly, 1987; Turner, 1999; Wade, 1998). Many of these theories also address gender stereotypes. Unlike the acquisition theories, which explain how children's behavior comes to resemble the stereotypes, some maintenance theories identify gender stereotypes as contributing to the continued enactment of gender (Eagly, 1987; Turner, 1999). Because the present project focuses primarily on adulthood, these theories are described in some detail.

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masculinity or femininity that is noticeably different from the single dominant image. Consequently, it is unclear how any individual would come to know another masculine form.

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Wade's (1998) male Reference Group Identity Dependence theory (RGID) is an updated version of Jeanne Block's (1973, 1984) theory that focuses on adolescence and adulthood. He extended her arguments regarding ego development and adopted the idea of a reference group to replace the adult teachers of gender (e.g., parents, school teachers). Unlike parents and other teachers of gender during childhood, the reference group is wholly chosen by the individual and "may include males in the environment, males who are admired, males who are rewarding to the individual, males who an individual perceives as being rewarded by others, and/or male role models" (Wade, 1998, p. 363). Identification with a particular group leads to the internalization of gendered behavior (appearance, attitudes, etc.). Because any collection of males may serve this function, the reference group may include male figures with whom the individual has interacted as well as males whom the individual has learned of through cultural media and/or legends.

Addressing criticisms of Block's theory, RGID asserts that individual differences in masculine behavior arise from different states of ego identity development (and not context). Men who have no reference group are expected to ascribe little salience to gender, demonstrate confused gender roles, and have little gender role conflict. Those who are reference group dependent are expected to view gender as highly salient, and so will conform to the stereotypical gender roles and experience gender role conflict. Finally, those who are reference group non-dependent are predicted to have transcended gender roles through exposure to other males different than themselves (diversity component) or recognition of the similarities among all males (similarity component), and therefore will ascribe little salience to gender and experience no gender role conflict. Consistent with his initial predictions, Wade's research reveals that undergraduates and professional European-American adult males who score high on his non-dependence scale report little endorsement of stereotypical gender ideology and experience little gender related stress. Further, the diversity component is also related to positive attitudes toward racial diversity and gender equality as well as a lack of tolerance for sexual harassment. Men who are reference group dependent demonstrate the reverse pattern of findings,

demonstrating an acceptance of stereotypical masculine ideology, intolerance of diversity and egalitarianism, and tolerance for harassment (Wade, 2001; Wade & Brittan-Powell, 2001).

RGID was written with knowledge and acceptance of the idea of multiple masculinities (Wade, 1998). Theoretically, every reference group could be said to enact its own distinctive form of masculinity, although it seems likely that there would be a significant degree of overlap across many such groups (e.g., a baseball team and a soccer team). The theory does not explicitly discuss the possibility of one individual's transitions between masculinities, but this would seem to simply be a function of changing reference groups and adopting the new groups' norms. Because the theory ignores context, is psychodynamic in nature, and specifies the internalization of each reference group's norms, transitions among male types would be more plausible over the long term, but would not be expected in the short term (i.e., as a function of context) (Wade, 2003, personal communication).

A very different conception of gender maintenance is provided by gender role theory (Eagly, 1987) and social identity theory (Ashmore & Jussim, 1997; Turner, 1999). Before discussing the similarities between these two theories, it is important to explain the relevance of social identity theory. The theories that make up the social identity perspective focus on the variations of self-definition that result from the interplay between individual level and cultural level influences. Individual level influences include an individual's self definition, social roles and self-judgments (e.g., self-esteem) and reflect the primacy of the individual over the society or culture in which that individual exists. Cultural level factors include descriptions of or ideas about the internal structure of the person (e.g., as having soul, ego, karma, etc.) and externally imposed boundaries on personhood (e.g., political, economic, etc.) that reflect the primacy of the society in defining an individual (Ashmore & Jussim, 1997). Because masculinity and femininity are social statuses that are not necessarily related to biological sex (Bem, 1997; Morawski, 1994; Unger, 1990), and masculinity in particular is an achieved status (Gilmore, 1990; Pleck, 1995), gendered behavior may be explained through the social identity paradigm. Turner's (1999) perspective, which focuses on in-group processes (i.e., within masculinity), will be used.

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Eagly's (1987) social role theory and Turner's (1999) social identity theory both highlight the importance of context and stereotypes, focusing on the tendency of individuals to conform to contextually based behavioral expectations. That is, an individual's gendered behavior occurs not because that individual is inherently masculine (or feminine), but instead because the context encourages/requires the individual to behave in a masculine (or feminine) manner. Context is identified as the overall setting (Eagly, 1987) or the group with which the individual most identifies in that moment (Turner, 1999).

The theories diverge in their discussion of stereotypes. Eagly's (1987) social role theory assumes that all members of a culture have learned the stereotypical behaviors assigned to their sex, including the context relevant to that behavior, and that individuals are conscious of the nature of these stereotypes as widely shared and consensual. Gendered behavior occurs when stereotypical behavior is cued by contextual factors and the individual conforms to that expected behavior. For example, a stereotypical male's restaurant behavior may be assumed to be different for the gender salient first date and the gender non-salient business dinner. The display of gendered behavior is influenced by the individual's internalized beliefs and their conformity to expectations and Eagly (1987) acknowledged that some people may possess few/no stereotypic beliefs and/or little conformity to expectation, resulting in little/no gendered behavior for that individual.

Turner (1999), on the other hand, argued that "stereotypes are social categorical judgments, perceptions of people in terms of their group memberships" (p. 26) and it is the "self-process ...which acts to internalize society as part of cognitive functioning" (p. 28). This claim identifies the process of constructing a self-concept (i.e., identity formation) as the time at which societal influences become internalized, including perceptions of oneself as part of a group that conforms to a particular stereotype. One result is that conformity to "ingroup norms induce[s] private acceptance rather than merely public compliance because they provide information about appropriate behavior" (Turner, 1999, p. 15-16) and so these norms shape behavior, a description similar to the acquisition theories and RGID. Because individuals are members of multiple

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groups, multiple masculinities would simply reflect each group (most likely with some overlap for any particular individual). Further, an individual could switch between masculine forms as his group identification changed, an event that depends on the salience of the group in that moment (Turner, 1999).

This description is very similar to the prediction of Eagly's (1987) social role theory. Accordingly, an individual's masculinity could vary with context because different masculinities might be required or preferred in different contexts. Interestingly, Eagly acknowledged the presence of multiple masculine (and feminine) forms, but dismissed all but the dominant form as undesirable versions. The description of multiple co-existing masculinities within an individual counters the idea that each masculine form is a distinct and all-encompassing construct.

Summarizing the maintenance theories, we see that gender continues to be described as an internalized construct, although it may not be salient for all individuals. The issue of context reamains unsettled, with some theorists stressing its importance (Eagly, 1987; Turner, 1999) and others omitting context as a topic of discussion (Wade, 1998). This leads to the first question to be addressed by this study: does the enactment of gender-typical behavior vary across context? If so, then it would be evidenced by an individual's potential to enact different masculinities across settings. This possibility is consistent with social role and social identity theories (Eagly, 1987; Turner, 1999) and runs counter to the ego-based RGID (Wade, 1998).

The maintenance theories, like the acquisition theories, demonstrate little consensus regarding the identification of salient influences, with descriptions focusing on the role of peers and groups, as well as stereotypes. The positioning of stereotypes as an influential information source during adulthood, combined with the acquisition theories' positioning of stereotypes as something that children's behavior comes to resemble, highlight the circularity of influence between individuals and gender stereoytpes. The second question of this project focuses on these mutliple influences by explicitly identifying salient sources. The relations between an individual's beliefs and perceptions of role model's beliefs as well as parent's actual beliefs will also be examined. Although not explicitly identitied as an influence in the discussion thus far, the

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influence of media will also be assessed beacause of their pervasiveness, demonstrated influence on attitudes and beliefs, and reliance on stereotypes (Donnerstein & Smith, 2001; Signorelli, 2001).

Longitudinal Constancy of Gender

The possibility that individuals would experience substantial change in their masculine and feminine personality attributes has been examined empirically. Longitudinal research, primarily using the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974) and the Personality Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ; Spence & Helmreich, 1978), typically reveals stability in the collection of masculine and feminine traits across samples of different ages (Lenney, 1991), consistent with research demonstrating stability in other personality attributes (e.g., Caspi, 2000). Research reveals longitudinal stability during adolescence and adulthood (Galambos, Almeida, & Petersen, 1990; Hyde, Krajnik, & Skuldt-Niederberger, 1991; Tolman, 2002; Yanico, 1985). Among adults of all ages, categorization into undifferentiated, masculine, feminine, and androgynous categories remained stable for a majority of adults over a ten year period, although approximately 40% did change categories (Hyde et al., 1991). Researchers have noted that the scores of older adults tend to be more feminine than those of younger adults, although it is unclear if this is a longitudinal trend or simply a cohort effect (Hyde et al., 1991; Hyde & Phillis, 1979; Lewin, 1984). Consequently, questions regarding the stability of gender typical behavior over time will be included in the assessment of stability across contexts. Generational changes also suggest that more recent stereotypes would be less common among older generations.

Although they are the two most widely used measures of gender, the BSRI and PAQ have been criticized for their focus on personality traits and exclusion of other stereotypical elements of gender, their focus on positive traits (e.g., active), and their susceptibility to social desirability (Morawski, 1985; see Lenney, 1991, for a summary of these criticisms). Perhaps most important for the present discussion is that these measures focus on measuring a single, dominant version of masculinity and femininity (Morawski, 1985). Because of these criticisms

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and changes in the American culture, many researchers today interpret these scales in terms of 'instrumentality' and 'expressiveness' and not masculinity and femininity (Hare-Mustin & Maracek, 1990; Lenney, 1991; Thompson & Pleck, 1995).

Defining Masculinities

Masculinity, a gender role, organizes a broad variety of personality attributes, attitudes, and behaviors (e.g., Bem, 1974, 1997; Deaux & LaFrance, 1998; Eagly, 1987; Spence & Helmreich, 1978) by simultaneously prescribing and proscribing particular behaviors (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Eagly, 1987; Lisak, 2000; Unger, 1990) that are not necessarily related. For example, the norm of emotional control could be interpreted as causing males to demonstrate less emotionality than females, by prescribing control and proscribing expression. This norm is also demonstrated by the tendency for men's relationships with others to be based upon shared activities and not emotional intimacy (e.g., Messner, 1992).

Because masculinity relies on the internalization of a theoretically stable set of norms that organize a broad variety of behaviors and individuals tend to describe their gendered personality attributes in a relatively stable manner over time, masculinity may serve as a developmental trajectory (Lerner, et al., 1996) that, over time, reduces behavioral plasticity. This does not prohibit substantial change, nor does it limit change to any particular source or direction, but rather emphasizes the tendency for organisms to behave in a relatively consistent manner over time. As a developmental trajectory, masculinity guides behavior longitudinally by prescribing certain attributes, vocations and leisure activities (e.g., stoicism, firefighter, athletics) and proscribing others (e.g., emotional expression, secretary, sewing).

Masculinity has been described as having three to five underlying principles (e.g., Brannon, 1976; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986; see reviews by Mahalik, et al., 2003; Morawski, 2001). Brannon (1976), for example, suggested that masculinity was guided by four underlying principles: No sissy stuff, Big Wheel, Sturdy oak, and Give 'em hell. One recent

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review concluded that, across authors, the underlying masculine principles organize twelve specific norms (Mahalik et al., 2003) that will be the focus of the present investigation.

Several of the norms focus on a male's ability to demonstrate that he is not in any way female, and this may be the central tenet of American masculinity (Brannon, 1976; McCreary, 1994; O'Neil et al., 1986; Pleck, 1995). Two methods of not being feminine rely on the past conceptualization of homosexuality as sexual inversion (Lewin, 1984; Pleck, 1987). Consequently, public display of Disdain for Homosexuality supports non-femininity. Because emotion is central to the feminine stereotype (Bem, 1974; Morawski, 1985), Emotional Control also helps a male demonstrate that he is not feminine. Non-femininity may also be achieved directly through promiscuous heterosexual intercourse, labeled the Playboy norm, which counters the feminine stereotype of sex as relationally based. Demonstration of Power over Women also serves as a method of demonstrating one's masculinity.

Another principle of masculinity is acquiring status. This may occur directly through the Pursuit of Status or indirectly through either Winning or Dominance (broadly defined). Being recognized as the best in one's field can serve to legitimate an otherwise non-masculine activity such as cooking (Brannon, 1976).

Being independent is also a central element of masculinity and Mahalik et al. (2003) identified three distinct norms that may be related to this theme, particularly the Self-reliance norm. The Primacy of Work serves to demonstrate financial independence as well as the ability to support others (i.e., be the breadwinner). The Physical Toughness norm reflects an individual's ability to perform physical tasks without help and regardless of the state of one's body. This suggests stamina, strength and an ability to work despite pain or injury.

The last two norms focus on the methods of achieving one's goals. In particular, Violence and Risk-Taking are stereotypically male approaches to achieving a goal, regardless of whether these approaches are necessarily justified. The threat of violence, implicit or explicit, relies in part of physical toughness as well as the belief that force is a legitimate means to any end (e.g., dominance, disdain for homosexuals). Risk-taking serves and relies upon the

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collection of status and independence norms by positioning men (or their bodies or particular actions) as expendable in the service of a goal that might bring greater status. These norms appear to be particularly pronounced in the most popular American professional sports, football and basketball (Messner, 1992; Sabo & Jansen, 1992).

The scientific underpinnings and lay conceptions of masculinity have changed during the 20th century (Morawski, 1985; Pleck, 1987; Kimmel, 1996; Rotundo, 1993; Townsend, 1996), but masculinity has typically had only a single definition at any given time within the scientific literature (Smiler, under review). This definition is typically known as 'traditional' or 'stereotypical' masculinity. The idea that there is only a single masculine form has been challenged during the last 15 years and the possibility that multiple masculinities exist has been increasingly accepted within the masculinity literature (Connell, 1995; Smiler, under review).

Within the psychological literature, multiple masculinities have been measured as differences across demographically defined groups on measures of masculine ideology (i.e., beliefs about masculinity). For example, Pleck, Sonenstein, and Ku (1993) demonstrated that adolescent boys' ethnicity (Hispanic-American, European-American) was significantly related to their endorsement of stereotypical masculinity, as assessed through the authors' eight-item scale. Pleck (1995) subsequently interpreted this as indicative of multiple masculinities, arguing that multiple masculinities reflect statistically significant different weightings of a single set of norms. This position challenges the idea that each masculinity represents a distinctive pattern of attributes, attitudes, behaviors and norms and suggests consistency in gender typed behavior across contexts and time. Sociologists have described multiple masculinities within demographic groups, providing a system that supports the distinctions and individual shifts between types. For example, Connell (1995) described two groups of men who support women's efforts to work outside the home. One group ("Sensitive New Men") holds an ideological position of equality with women in professional, domestic, and relational areas. Another group ("Live fast and die young") offers practical support for women's work because these men have difficulty finding and maintaining their own work, but these men do not extend this egalitarianism to the domestic or

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relational spheres. These two masculinities represent different patterns of norm subscription and different role positions within society, not simply differences in weightings of a single collection of masculine norms. Consequently, it is theoretically possible that an individual would be able to shift from one type to another across either context or time.

Using a variety of methods, researchers have identified a number of male types during the past 30 years. Structural interviews have helped describe male types (Connell, 1995; Levinson, 1978; Messner, 1992), as have literature reviews and historical-cultural analyses (Brannon, 1976; Kimmel, 1996, 1997; Faludi, 1999) and constructionist analyses of media content (e.g., Barthel, 1992; Denski, 1992; Pecora, 1992; Sabo, 1992; Strate, 1992). Social psychological research on stereotypes has provided more empirically oriented definitions of male types (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Beebe, 2002; Edwards, 1992; Green & Ashmore, 1998; Six & Eckes, 1991). Finally, developmental psychologists have used a social identity perspective based on characters from the then-current film "The Breakfast Club." These researchers, from the Michigan Study of Adolescent Life Transitions (MSALT), asked 10th grade students to self-identify from among the five character types in the film (Barber, Eccles, & Stone, 2001; Eccles & Barber, 1999; Stone, Barber, & Eccles, 2001). Collectively, this body of literature describes ten distinct stereotypically male images: Jock, Bigshot, Rebel, Stud, Player, Tough Guy, Nerd, Sensitive New-Age Guy, Average Joe, and, Family Man. These descriptions include personality traits, social roles (e.g., breadwinner), attitudes, and activities related to family, work and leisure (Bem, 1974, 1997; Deaux & LaFrance, 1998). Table 1 cross references the eleven types by source and label. I propose an eleventh, the Redneck, based on the stereotype of rural, manual laborers with relatively low levels of education and poor social skills.

Before describing these types, several important issues about these studies must be acknowledged. Longitudinal data were only consistently available to Levinson et al. (1978) and the MSALT researchers (e.g., Eccles & Barber, 1999). All other data were cross-sectional and interviews typically included retrospective descriptions of younger ages (e.g., Messner, 1992). As a result, information regarding prior events may be influenced by participants' interpretation of

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Table 1. Labels applied to male types by source.

Present label	Stereotype analysis			Sociocultural/historical analysis				Developmental	
	Edwards (1992)	Green & Ashmore (1998)	Ashmore et al. (2002)	Brannon (1976)	Messner (1992)	Connell (1995)	Faludi (1999)	MSALT[a]	Levinson et al., (1978)
Average Joe	Blue Collar Worker			Strong, Simple Working Man			Average Joes		Hourly Workers
Bigshot	Businessman	Business executive		Big-shot Businessman					Executives
Family Man	Family Man								Implicit[c]
Jock	Athlete		Athlete/Jock	Football Player	Athlete			Jocks	
Nerd		Nerd	Brain, Nerd/Geek					Brains	Biologists
Player	Ladies' Man	Ladies' man		Jet-set playboy					
Rebel	Loser					Live Fast and Die Young[d]		Criminals	
Redneck[b]									
Sensitive New-Age Guy						Sensitive New Men			
Stud				Don Juan					
Tough Guy			Tough	Blue-collar Brawler			Shipyard workers		

[a]See, for example, Barber, Eccles and Stone (2001); [b]Proposed by the researcher; [c]See text for discussion; [d]This appellation is taken from the chapter title.

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those events. Finally, the stereotype literature reviewed here relies on undergraduate samples, so generalizing beyond this cohort may be inappropriate.

There also tends to be a disjunction between type labeling and its content, an issue that psychologists have been warned about (Danziger, 1990), and this is evident in the labeling of participants in some of the interview research reviewed here (Connell, 1995; Levinson, 1978; Messner, 1992). Alternately, social psychologists attempting to identify stereotypes have asked participants to provide the stereotypical label (e.g., jock) and/or its content (e.g., plays sports regularly) (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Beebe, 2002; Edwards, 1992; Green & Ashmore, 1998; Six & Eckes, 1991). Across studies, it is not clear if participants would necessarily identify themselves as fitting well into a stereotypical category. For example, not all 'retired' athletes continue to identify as jocks, if they ever did, (Messner, 1992) an observation consistent with the finding that not all adolescents who participated in school sports identified themselves as jocks and that not all jocks participated in school sports (Eccles & Barber, 1999). The MSALT is the only study reviewed here where participants chose their label, which was provided along with a brief description. In the present project, the pilot study explicitly linked labels and descriptions, and the main study linked labels, descriptions, and behavior.

Because the research has focused on developmental paths and the stereotyping process, as well as masculinity, researchers have not consistently discussed the masculine norms reviewed earlier. This is most obvious in the stereotype literature (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Beebe, 2002; Edwards, 1992; Six & Eckes, 1991) and the non-gendered MSALT (Barber & Stone, 2001; Stone, Barber, & Eccles, 2001), where underlying masculine themes are not mentioned. On the other hand, Green and Ashmore (1998) explicitly linked their four male stereotypes to Brannon's (1976) four underlying tenets. The in-depth analyses offered through interviews and historical/cultural analyses provide rich detail on many male norms, without necessarily identifying the relative importance of different norms (Faludi, 1999; Kimmel, 1996; Messner, 1992). Consequently, the review of male types that follows highlights relevant norms and the

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main study will quantify the relative support for each norm. Table 2 summarizes the predicted support for each male norm across the eleven male types.

Table 2. Predicted norm subscription by male types.

	Dominance	Emotional control	Disdain for homosex.	Playboy	Power over women	Pursuit of Status	Risk taking	Self-reliance	Violence	Winning	Primacy of work	Total
Average Joe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bigshot	high	-	-	-	-	high	-	-	-	high	high	-
Family Man	-	-	-	low	-	-	-	high	-	-	high	-
Jock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	high	high	-	high
Nerd	-	high	-	-	-	High	low	-	-	-	high	-
Player	high	low	-	high	-	High	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rebel	-	high	-	-	high	-	high	-	high	-	low	-
Redneck	-	-	high	-	high	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Senstive new-age Guy	low	low	low	-	low	-	-	-	low	-	low	-
Stud	-	high	high	high	high	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tough guy	high	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	high

Two of the studies listed above were conducted with non-American samples. In particular, Connell's (1995) interviews were conducted with Australian men and Six and Eckes (1991) surveyed West German undergraduates. The inclusion of non-American data allows for cross-cultural comparisons among masculine types (e.g., Gilmore, 1990). However, Six and Eckes' work has been excluded from the review because the researchers identified 8 clusters of stereotypical labels but offered descriptions of 10 stereotypes without clearly connecting the labels to the descriptions. The stereotypes are described alphabetically.

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<u>Average Joe</u>

Brannon (1976) described the 'strong, simple working man' as "honest, solid, direct, and hard-working" (p. 11), a description that implicitly highlights reliability and responsibility. Edwards' (1992) stereotype analysis identified the "Blue Collar Worker" as hardworking, possessing a high school education, and working for others. Further, he has a family for whom he cares, is budget conscious and is masculine. Feminist journalist Susan Faludi (1999) credits World War II reporter Ernie Pyle with popularizing this masculine type and describes it as "a man who proved his virility not by individual feats of showy heroism but by being quietly *useful* in conducting a war and supporting the welfare of his unit" (original italics; p. 17). Across these descriptions, this man is presented as reliable and responsible and is distinguished strictly through these two factors. In all other realms, he is unexceptional and according to Brannon (1976) he is not particularly masculine. These men are expected to support all masculine norms equally and should be less variable than other groups in their support of the general male stereotype.

<u>Bigshot</u>

Brannon (1976) suggested that a "Big-shot businessman" was a "Babbitt traveling salesman Rotary Club booster type of expansive back-slapper" (p. 11), an image that suggests an ingratiating, self-aggrandizing interactional style. Similar to jocks' identification through athletic participation, bigshots are partially identified by their business orientation. Stereotype analysis suggests that these men are physically attractive and well dressed, typically in business attire (Green & Ashmore, 1998). Describing "marketplace man," Kimmel (1996) observed that he is typically employed by others in large corporations and not self-employed, a description true of the executives described by Levinson et al. (1978). Bigshots are expected to support the primacy of work norm because of its definitional primacy.

Discussions of Levinson et al.'s (1978) "executives" reveals a general orientation and expectation toward moving up the corporate ladder. Increased rank within the company was expected to bring greater status in a variety of ways: higher wages, greater prestige, and greater

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responsibility (including both credit and blame). Because most of the executives in this sample had been hired for their non-managerial skills (e.g., engineers, lineworkers) and were promoted based on their performance, their promotions and increased pay typically meant a move into the next higher social class (e.g., middle class for lineworkers) with its related purchases in housing, transportation, and other material signifiers of position. Kimmel (1996, 1997) described marketplace man as oriented toward power in multiple domains and stereotype analysis revealed a focus on achievement, success and financial gain, achieved through an aggressive approach (Edwards, 1992). Consequently, bigshots are expected to endorse masculine norms of dominance and pursuit of status. The aggressive descriptor is suggestive of the winning and violence norms, but the lay use of this term seems more consistent with winning than violence.

Family Man

The image of men as kindly, caring fathers is common in our society and is described by the family man stereotype. These men, who are dedicated and devoted to their families, serve as breadwinners by working full time to support their family (Edwards, 1992). The breadwinner role served as a central element in the maintenance of a traditional gender ideology among blue collar families where both adults worked outside the home at least half-time and each parent was also responsible for solo childcare at least fifteen hours per week (Deutsch & Saxon, 1998). This suggests that the primacy of work will be highly endorsed by family men.

This image is implicit in Levinson et al.'s (1978) work. These researchers identified family as one of the two central components of a man's life and observed that "marriage ordinarily creates a new home base for the young man. It is a center on which he establishes his place in the community and his changing relationships with friends, parents and extended family. It provides a vehicle for traveling a particular path in early adulthood" (p. 45). Within this description, family is a central life factor that influences relationships with many others, helps establish a developmental path, and solidifies values. It also requires monogamy and so may lead to low levels of support for the playboy norm. This description suggests that the normative

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events of marriage and childbirth may lead to longitudinal change from another male type into the family man after these events.

This description is highly similar to the average Joe in its lack of individual distinctiveness. As that male type was defined by its lack of exceptionality and work (skilled labor), family men are also identified by their lack of exceptionality, as well as their devotion to family and their role of breadwinner. Similar to the average Joes, family men should support the male norms relatively equally, and the primacy of work is expected to receive relatively greater support because of its connection to the breadwinner role.

Jock

Perhaps the most familiar male stereotype is the jock (Messner, 1992). Labeling them "football players," Brannon (1976) described these men as "big, tough and rugged, though not precisely [of] towering intellect" (p. 11). Descriptions of jocks as physically fit, in good shape, and well muscled were central to stereotype definitions and consistent with both interview data and television content analysis (Edwards, 1992; Messner, 1992; Sabo & Jansen, 1992). Messner (1992) described how these men learned to view their bodies as tools and objects to which they need to both attend (i.e., to assess performance and/or conditioning) and ignore (i.e., pain). Extending this objectification, their bodies became a means for violence, a phenomenon most prominent in contact sports where diminishing an opponent's ability through fear of pain (e.g., football) or direct infliction of injury (e.g., boxing) is a commonly understood element of the game. Consequently, jocks should support the norms of physical toughness and violence.

By definition, athletics are a competitive endeavor and this was identified as a central element of the stereotype (Edwards, 1992). In fact, the description of competition using martial metaphors is fairly common in men's sports (Sabo & Jansen, 1992). Competition is not limited to the playing field, and Messner (1992) observed that it regularly occurred between teammates who identified as close friends and could extend to heterosexual relationships. Support for the winning norm is expected to be relatively high.

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Within their friendships, men reported little actual intimacy despite describing the relationships as close. Messner (1992) attributed this lack of intimacy to men's ability to form friendships based on shared activity and casts it as one element of being not-homosexual. He reported that all of the men knew the importance of proving one's heterosexuality through intercourse. In fact, all of the homosexual athletes in his sample reported having heterosexual intercourse and having made other efforts to hide their sexual orientation, sometimes using their athletic status to deflect charges of homosexuality. Sabo and Jansen (1992) observed that homosexual athletes are rarely discussed, whether in the context of a sport where they constitute a substantial minority (e.g., weightlifting) or in events such as the Gay Games. The image of women as sexual conquests was also common, consistent with the competition between men regarding heterosexual relationships. Therefore, jocks are predicted to be relatively high in their disdain for homosexuals and their support of the playboy norm.

Activities in which jocks engage include high school athletics, at a level higher than non-jocks (Eccles & Barber, 1999), and conversations about sports, according to stereotype content (Edwards, 1992). They also tend to drink alcohol and get drunk at relatively higher rates than their peers from 12th grade through age 24 (but not in 10th grade; Eccles & Barber, 1999; Barber, Eccles & Stone, 2001), an outcome consistent with undergraduates' perceptions of jocks (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Beebe, 2002). Longitudinal analysis reveals that they were typical in their use of marijuana and other hard drugs through young adulthood (Eccles & Barber, 1999; Barber, Eccles & Stone, 2001). Although elevated levels of alcohol consumption are typically considered a risk behavior (Hawkins, Catalano, & Miller, 1992; Small, Silverberg, & Kerns, 1993) and jocks' tendency to ignore pain places them at risk of greater physical injury, their drug use was typical, so support for masculine risk-taking is equivocal and is not expected to differ from the larger sample.

Brannon's (1976) description suggests minimal cognitive ability, and undergraduates described college athletes as not particularly oriented towards academics (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Beebe, 2002). Although Messner's (1992) athletes clearly received this message about their

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intellectual capacity, 18 of his 30 participants received college degrees, including six who received advanced degrees. The MSALT revealed that 30% of jocks received 4 year college degrees, no different than the overall sample and, at age 24, they were no different in their subsequent job autonomy or having a job with a future (Barber, Eccles, & Stone, 2001). Consequently, the educational achievement of jocks should not differ from non-jocks.

Nerd

Although they have not been described as masculine (e.g., Brannon, 1976), stereotypical nerds are typically spontaneously described as male (Green & Ashmore, 1998). Stereotype analyses suggest that these men are perceived as physically weak and unattractive, are not well dressed and have poor posture (Green & Ashmore, 1998). In the college setting, undergraduates distinguish between 'nerds' and 'brains', although both types are focused on academics, drink little alcohol and are not particularly involved in the social scene (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Beebe, 2002).

Adolescent "brains" tended to be psychologically healthy, as indicated by relatively low rates of depression, worry, and suicide attempts and relatively high levels of self-esteem. They did not differ from other groups regarding social isolation or visits to a psychologist (Barber, Eccles, & Stone, 2001; Eccles & Barber, 1999; Stone, Barber, & Eccles, 2001). In a similar vein, Levinson et al. (1978) did not report divorce rates for the academic biologists, although they did for all other groups, perhaps indicating more enduring marital relationships. Although this pattern does not suggest any particular male norm and research tends to focus on undesirable outcomes, nerds appear to be relatively psychologically healthy.

Brains excelled in high school, which they rarely skipped, and were more likely than others to attend and complete college. In addition to their good academic performance in school, brains also participated in substantially more prosocial activities (i.e., church and/or community service), as well as relatively higher quantities of performing arts and academic clubs. At the same time, male Brains had relatively low rates of alcohol and marijuana use during high school, although use of both substances increased substantially in the early college years to a

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level no different than most of their peers. Few, if any (0%), had been in drug or alcohol rehab by age 24. One factor that may be significant in their development is their proclivity for high school friends who were not engaged in risky behavior (Barber, Eccles, & Stone, 2001; Eccles & Barber, 1999; Stone, Barber, & Eccles, 2001). This tendency toward prosocial activities and away from drug use suggests low endorsement of the risk-taking norm, accompanied by relatively high levels of education.

Levinson et al. (1978) described academic biologists as men who favored thinking over feeling and sought tangible accomplishment (e.g., publication, tenure, awards). At mid-life this need to prove themselves continued, although Levinson et al. described this need as not being oriented toward political, financial or sexual power. They also commented on the institutionalized life that these men are leading at midlife, regarding both work and their tendency to form long standing habits and routines. The tendency for routine again suggests low support for risk-taking and the preference for thought over feeling suggests high support for emotional control. Perhaps most central is their ongoing need for professional achievement, suggesting support for both primacy of work and pursuit of status.

Rebel

Two different images of the rebel appear in the literature. They were collapsed into a single rebel type for the pilot study and separated into two distinct categories (criminal, nonconformist) for the main study. Both are described here.

If, as Kimmel (1997) suggests, being employed and functioning as a breadwinner are primary elements of masculinity, then discussion of men who are unable or unwilling to achieve these goals is necessary. Connell (1995), focusing on nonconformity to the dominant masculine form, described a group of these men in a chapter entitled "Live fast and die young". These eight men, all of whom were children of manual laborers, mostly did not finish high school themselves and earned money in unskilled positions, when they could. As a group, they viewed crime as a pragmatic method of earning money and 7 of the 8 had been arrested, with 4 serving

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time in jail. They are expected to have a relatively low level of education and provide relatively low levels of endorsement regarding the primacy of work.

Connell's (1995) sample spoke approvingly of violence, reporting many episodes of fighting, including brawling, although they did not approve of starting violent encounters. For these men, violence was clearly a means of demonstrating power, and some extended violence into the sexual realm as well. The extension of violence into sex is consistent with their presentation of relationships as casual/easy, and includes little respect for women or monogamous commitment. Thus, they are expected to support the norms of violence and power over women.

Consistent with this image are self-described adolescent "metalheads," fans of heavy metal music, who may prefer this music because it echoes their own alienation from mainstream culture (Arnett, 1991a, 1991b). These young men and women reported greater levels of self-assurance in their sexual attitudes, including relatively high levels of casual sex for the males and elevated levels of intercourse without contraception for the females. They also reported greater levels of participation in other "reckless" behaviors regarding driving and alcohol and drug use. In comparison to their non-metalhead peers, they were more likely to have driven drunk, driven in excess of 80 mph, driven more than 20 mph above the speed limit and driven without a seatbelt (Arnett, 1991a), an image that sounds comparable to the relatively high level of motorcycle riding among Connell's (1995) sample (3/8). Metalheads' use of alcohol and drugs (Arnett, 1991a) resembles the preference for partying among Connell's sample and is consistent with their high levels of sensation seeking. Consequently, they are expected to demonstrate relatively high levels of support for the risk-taking norm. More than half of metalheads identified a musician among their 3 most admired people (61% vs. 13% non-metalheads). They were also less likely to be Christian and more likely to be agnostic or atheist (Arnett, 1991b).

Deconstructing the symbolism that heavy metal performers draw upon, Denski and Sholle (1992) observed "that [it] is widely popular with alienated (rather than underprivileged) youth, who view the future as under-opportunitied" (p. 53) and that these youth are

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predominately Caucasian. They also highlight the emphasis on power (i.e., dominance) and the misogynistic surface imagery (i.e., power over women). Discussing the 1980's "glam" bands with their carefully prepared hair and makeup and their tight clothing (e.g., spandex pants), Denski and Sholle (1992) deconstruct the surface paradox of feminine attention to appearance and presentation as a sexual object and conclude that glam metal is/was a resistant parody of straight heterosexuality that maintained support for heterosexuality.

A similar image is evoked by the MSALT "criminals". These adolescents were most likely to skip school, possessed the lowest high school GPA and had the lowest rate of college attendance (17%). Consequently, the stereotype of 'quitter' may be appropriate (Edwards, 1992) and relatively low levels of education are expected. Adolescent "criminals" reported higher levels of both alcohol and marijuana use than their peers, across measurement times (Barber, Eccles, & Stone, 2001; Eccles & Barber, 1999). Their substance use and willingness to break the law suggests high support for the risk-taking norm, also similar to nonconformists.

Stereotype research suggests that these men are expected to have poor social skills (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Beebe, 2002; Edwards, 1992) and this is consistent with the data. That is, adolescent "criminals" had relatively low rates of participation in high school extracurricular activities, as indicated by their low rates of participation in high school activities oriented toward prosocial activity (e.g., peer mediation), school involvement (e.g., pep club), or the performing arts, although they participated in high school athletics at a rate comparable to other groups (Barber et al., 2001; Eccles & Barber, 1999). Still, interactions with others may be problematic for this group. Reports of social isolation varied considerably over time (Barber et al., 2001; Eccles & Barber, 1999). The elevated rates of social isolation and poor social skills may be particularly important because research indicates that among adolescents who have multiple risk factors for conduct disorder (typified by oppositionality, fighting, drug use, and violations of the law), those who participated in high school athletics and whose friends participated in high school athletics had lower rates of arrest in early adulthood (Mahoney, 2000). It is unclear whether this

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behavior would be best reflected by the norm of emotional control (i.e., an inability to share personal information) or self-reliance.

In early adulthood, 'criminals' also demonstrated substantial adjustment problems, reporting relatively high rates of depressed mood, worry, and suicide attempts and relatively low rates of self-esteem (Barber, Eccles, & Stone, 2001; Eccles & Barber, 1999). These findings are consistent with descriptions of "losers" as possessing low self-esteem, poor social skills, a pessimistic outlook and being generally unhappy (Edwards, 1992). Combining these internal factors with their social isolation and tendency to engage in substance use and abuse (as self-medicating, perhaps), these men are expected to endorse the emotional control norm.

Sensitive New-Age Guy

Connell (1995) identifies Australia's Sensitive New Men as attempting to reform their own masculinity in response to the feminist critique of the 1960-1970's. These six men, who primarily grew up in middle class, urban environments, had readily accessible stereotypical male and female role models close at hand. At the time of their interviews, these men practiced and believed in an ideology of equality, collectivity, solidarity and personal growth and had chosen to renounce masculine privilege, and their careers in some cases, in order to pursue more egalitarian gender relations. They held positive attitudes toward both women and feminism, tended to be somewhat passive in their romantic and sexual relationships, and attempted to be emotionally expressive, sensitive, caring and honest. Recent empirical research using the RGID paradigm indicates that greater support for gender and racial equality was associated with lower support for the stereotypical male role for both undergraduates and professional males (Wade, 1998; Wade, 2001; Wade & Brittan-Powell, 2001). They are predicted to offer little support for male norms regarding emotional control, dominance, primacy of work, violence, and power over women, and are expected to have the lowest overall support for the masculine stereotype.

Sensitive New Men also reported that they had mostly female friends and had difficulty connecting to men who are more stereotypical. Although some of these men have had homosexual experiences, all six identified themselves as heterosexual (Connell, 1995). These

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experiences suggest little support for the disdain for homosexuals norm and greater variability in sexual orientation. Because this stereotype dates from the 1970s, it should be less common among older men.

Stud and Player

Brannon (1976) described two different male types focused on sexual/romantic relationships with women. The 'Don-Juan' was "smooth, smoldering, and totally irresistible to women; a super-stud on the prowl," (p. 11). Implicitly, these men attract women, presumably by being masculine. For this project, this type will be identified as "Stud" and is distinct from the 'Jet-set playboy' who is "usually sighted in expensive restaurants or fast convertibles, accompanied by a beautiful woman (whom he's ignoring)" (Brannon, 1976, p. 11). Playboys or, in current terms "Players," gain women's attention not through their own ability to simply attract women, but rather through the display of money (i.e., Jet-set) and/or demonstration of finer sensibilities (e.g., fine restaurants). Kimmel (1996) has suggested that this "ladies man" was legitimated with the 1953 introduction of *Playboy* magazine because it celebrated men who preferred more refined (i.e., less masculine) activities such as jazz and literature.

Stereotype analyses indicate that players are described as attractive, flattering, flirty, and self-centered (Edwards, 1992; Green & Ashmore, 1998). They are also expected to be well groomed and well dressed in a casual style that is slightly less formal than business attire (Green & Ashmore, 1998). In a collegiate setting, playboys are expected to drink alcohol and be involved in the social scene, and are not perceived as academically oriented (Ashmore, Del Boca & Beebe, 2002).

Because their identity focuses on romantic/sexual relationships, both studs and players are expected to highly endorse the playboy norm (i.e., sexual promiscuity) and should report greater levels of sexual activity. If promiscuity persists beyond marriage, then playboys and studs should also report elevated divorce rates. Because of the more masculine description of studs, disdain for homosexuals, emotional control, and power over women are also expected to be highly endorsed. Consistent with their jet-set lifestyle, players are expected to be more

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supportive of the pursuit of status. Considering their indifference to romantic commitment, these men could also be seen as supporting the norms regarding power over women and emotional control. However, it is also possible that they endorse the broader norm of dominance and so are not negatively disposed towards women per se. As 'ladies men,' playboys may be more emotionally open in an effort to gain sexual access to women and so are not expected to support the emotional control norm.

Tough Guy

Brannon (1976) described the "blue-collar brawler" as having "a quick temper with fists to match; nobody better try to push *him* around" (original italics; p. 11), an image that clearly identifies a willingness to fight and being easily aroused to do so. Stereotype analysis suggests that undergraduate tough guys enjoy drinking, but are not particularly social and are not academically oriented (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Beebe, 2002).

Cultural influences may be particularly relevant for this type because superheroes are a common tough guy image. Noting that these characters are almost exclusively male and that the target audience was almost exclusively male (and White) until the late 1980's, Pecora's (1992) content analysis of comic books revealed that these men tend to be orphaned, unemotional, individualistic vigilantes who are more likely to use their physical and supernatural abilities than their intellectual ability. Interestingly, and contrary to the popular image of the hero who 'gets the girl,' comic book superheroes and their alter egos almost never have romantic or sexual relationships. Consequently, it seems plausible to expect that tough guys will be more likely to have been raised outside of the "traditional nuclear family," and would have relatively low rates of sexual intercourse and marriage.

Toy action figures have demonstrated a dramatic increase in muscle mass and definition over the last thirty years, some of whom "display levels of muscularity far exceeding the outer limits of actual human attainment" (Pope, Olivardia, Gruber, & Borowiecki, 1999, p. 70). Action films are the visual analog to comic books and typically feature well muscled men performing violent acts. Sylvester Stallone, whose "Rambo" character is a readily identifiable figure in this

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genre, has acknowledged his desire, at age thirteen, to be well-muscled and his observation that "even having a conversation when you are in shape is... *everything* is a display'" (Faludi, 1999, p. 583, original italics). Collectively, this suggests that being in shape and/or well built are central, and so tough guys, like jocks, should support the norm of physical toughness.

Brannon's identification of brawlers as blue-collar explicitly positions this group outside the middle class. Describing blue-collar shipyard workers, Faludi (1999) observes that these men took pride in their production of a tangible product through work with their hands. This pride is a result of their success in the stereotypically male use of tools (i.e., "instrumentality") and suggests that the ability to create tangible objects may support the dominance norm. The centrality of dominance, combined with physical toughness, may facilitate the tough guys' stereotypically physical response to any perceived offense.

Redneck

This group does not exist in the literature and is proposed by the researcher. Drawing from an existing stereotype, rednecks are expected to be relatively uneducated farmers (or other manual laborers) who enjoy hunting, fishing and similar man-versus-nature activities. They are expected to be identified as living in rural areas. Greater support for stereotypical gender roles are typically associated with lower education levels (Lenney, 1991), and so these men should support norms regarding disdain for homosexuals, emotional control, and playboy because of their centrality in the male role (e.g., McCreary, 1994; O'Neil et al., 1986). Their preference of outdoor activities also suggests support for the self-reliance norm.

In summary, these eleven male types appear to be mutually distinctive regarding personality attributes (e.g., competitiveness) and activities (e.g., athletics, alcohol consumption), suggesting that multiple masculinities exist. Although these types are research based, they have not been simultaneously assessed regarding their relative distinctness or in clear connection to masculine norms. Such an investigation would clarify the relevant masculine dimensions upon which these male types differ and allow quantitative examination of the similarities between an individual and potential sources of influence (e.g., parents, models). Derivation of qualitative

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descriptions of the core elements of each type would also allow subsequent research participants to identify the type that best describes them.

Information about these images is readily transmitted through the media, particularly television whose characterizations and stereotypes "have considerable and remarkable stability" (Signorielli, 2001, p. 344). The existence of distinct television genres around particular images (i.e., televised sports for the jock image, action/adventure shows for the tough guy image) highlights the prominence of these images. Sabo and Jansen (1992) reported that newspaper sports sections were more widely read and accounted for a larger percentage of newspaper ink than any other element of this medium. Consequently, individuals who consume greater quantities of stereotypical media are expected to be more stereotypical themselves.

Desirability of Masculinities

Connell (1993, 1995) has argued that not all masculinities possess equal status. Rather, the form that is preferred by the dominant culture becomes the standard against which all men (and all other masculinities) are judged. Jocks appear to be the dominant form in America (Messner, 1992), with their physical embodiment of power and strength, their outright competition and seeking of dominance, their use of women, and their willingness to take risks and be violent. Observing that "not many men actually meet the normative standards" (Connell, 1995, p. 79), he suggested that most men are complicit in the maintenance of the dominant or hegemonic form because it benefits them (i.e., through male privilege). If Connell's claim is accurate, male types similar to jocks should be relatively common, although jocks would be relatively rare.

Further, because many men violate some elements of the dominant form (e.g., by never/rarely explicitly demonstrating power over women towards their girlfriends/wives), they enact a distinct masculine form that is similar to, but not entirely consistent with, the dominant form (Brannon, 1976). The unexceptional average Joes, for example, seem likely to maintain good relations with women while also supporting the dominant stereotype. Other male types are

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explicitly dominated according to Connell (1995). In this manner, homosexual men are oppressed by heterosexual men in a variety of ways legitimated by the culture, including their minimization/omission from televised sports (Sabo & Jansen, 1992). Therefore, any male type identified as homosexual or potentially homosexual should be viewed as less masculine.

Women and Masculinity

Second wave feminism emphasized that both men and women could possess both masculine and feminine traits and behaviors (e.g., Bem, 1974; Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Morawski, 1985). One outcome of this position has been the transformation of the measurement of masculinity and femininity using polar opposites to the use of separate feminine and masculine scales (Smiler, under review)[2]. Thus far, discussion has not directly addressed this point.

From a theoretical perspective, there is no reason to believe that the enactment of male types is unique to men and one author has even argued that the study of masculinity should focus on biological females (Halberstam, 1998). The question of shifts among types is also not unique to men. Although RGID (Wade, 1998) was proposed as a male model and its positioning of reference groups as the primary element of maintenance for gendered behavior draws primarily from the literature on men, the same process of using reference groups could apply to women. No other theory of gender acquisition or gender maintenance reviewed here, including social identity, specifies different interpretations for males and females.

Stereotypically masculine traits are also possessed by women. Research with the BSRI and the PAQ, for example, reveals that although men typically have higher masculinity scores than women, women's masculinity scores are non-zero; the reverse is also true (Galambos, Almeida, & Petersen, 1990; Hyde et al., 1991; Hyde & Phillis, 1979). Literature reviews and meta-analyses that focus on specific personality traits, attitudes and behaviors that are identical to the underlying male norms (e.g., violence, independence) also consistently find that men

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demonstrate these attributes at higher rates than women. Support for the norms of violence and risk-taking derives from the meta-analytic finding that men are more likely than women to be involved in aggressive events where at least one party experiences physical injury or pain and are less likely to acknowledge the potential for harm to the target, guilt and anxiety in themselves, or the potential for danger to themselves (Eagly & Steffen, 1986; see also Block, 1983). This research also indicates that men are less likely than women to report anxious feelings/behaviors, potentially indicating greater emotional control (Block, 1983; Feingold, 1994). These findings indicate that although these traits are more common in males, and have been identified as central to masculinity, females also possess them. As some reviewers have suggested, research focused on within sex variability and not between sex differences may be more useful (Eagly, 1995; Addis & Mahalik, 2003).

Although less likely to demonstrate the male norms at the same level as men, some, if not all, women may identify themselves in terms of the male types previously described. However, it is unclear whether these types would be experienced differently for women than for men. For example, stereotype research with undergraduates provides the labels 'playboy' (see player), 'playgirl,' 'slut,' and 'ho' (i.e., 'whore') (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Beebe, 2002). In the current culture, all of these types refer to men and women who regularly engage in casual sex. Using a seven point Likert scale, undergraduates rated both playboys and playgirls as equally involved in the drinking and social scenes around campus and provided both with a neutral evaluation (4.03, 3.87, respectively), but they rated playgirls as more uninvolved in academic life than were playboys (playgirls =2.00, playboys = 2.57). Although the researchers do not provide sufficient information to assess statistical significance, this discrepancy suggests that the stereotypes may be slightly different. Moreover, slut and ho, stereotypically derogatory names applied to women (see Green and Ashmore, 1998, for stereotypical description of whore as female), received ratings almost identical to playboys and playgirls regarding the drinking, social,

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[2] Masculinity theorists now describe masculinity as partially opposed to femininity. See Constantinople (1973) for the primary empirical review and discussion of the bipolarity assumption, including

and academic spheres of college life, suggesting that all four types are highly similar. However, sluts and ho's were evaluated negatively (2.02, 2.13). Assuming that these evaluative differences lead individuals in the environment to behave differently towards playgirls than sluts (e.g., Bandura, 1989), then it is not clear if the experience of women and men will be similar despite enactments of the same male type.

Because Ashmore et al. (2002) were not attempting to derive descriptions for these types (and provided none), there is no indication of the extent to which the labels playboy and playgirl actually refer to the same stereotype. I have interpreted both types as being oriented toward casual sex, but there is no indication if the descriptor playgirl, like playboy, also includes being attractive, flattering, flirty, self-centered, semi-formally dressed, and/or oriented towards money. It seems likely, for example, that the style of dress for these women would be described as revealing or attractive, but not semi-formal (or slightly more casual than business attire). Thus, the central features of these stereotypes may be different across sex. Green and Ashmore (1998)'s examination of the elicited physical descriptions of the career woman and the business executive (male) also revealed this type of distinction. In addition to a number of similarities regarding appearance and dress (generally positive and business-styled), the career woman, unlike the business executive, was spontaneously described as working with others. This suggests that a single stereotype (i.e., businessperson), when applied to males and females, may have similar and analogous, but not identical characteristics.

These findings suggest the fourth research question: is masculinity the same for males and females? Examination of female masculinity will proceed in two dimensions as appropriate to the analyses and questions. At times, sex differences will be examined, primarily to replicate prior research and support assumptions regarding the greater endorsement of male norms for men and greater endorsement of the more masculine forms (e.g., jock, tough guy) by men. Highlighting differences within the sexes, differential patterns of association based on sex will also be identified for each stereotype. Female jocks, for example, may not extend competition

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identification of partial opposition.

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into other realms because it counters the stereotypical notion of cooperation, and so would perform a version of "jock" that is no different from other female types regarding endorsement of the winning norm.

Specific Aims

This project is an attempt to assess several elements of gender related theory, particularly as they relate to the endorsement of stereotypically male images (i.e., masculinities) and norms. The first question focused on the stability of stereotype endorsement across both context and time. Theories focused on social/environmental factors and cognitive development suggest variability should be common, while psychodynamic perspectives suggest contextual stability while allowing for longitudinal change. These theories posit a variety of influences on gender typical development, primarily parents and self-selected models, and these influences are the focus of the second research question. Examination of the influence of role models, parents and media consumption will be examined. The relative frequency of relation to role model (i.e., family member, friend, media figure) will also be examined.

The first two questions assume that these masculine images are relatively distinct and the third research question addressed this issue. This distinctiveness assumption was addressed in the pilot study through stereotype derivation and was further assessed in the main study by attempting to connect particular stereotypes to unique patterns of norm endorsement, attitudes, sexual behaviors, media consumption and background factors. The fourth research question, focusing on differences between and within the two sexes, was addressed throughout the project.

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Chapter II

Pilot study

The primary purpose of the pilot study was to assess and identify the distinctiveness of the eleven male types described in the first chapter. This examination helped clarify the relevant dimensions upon which these male types differ and allowed subsequent research participants to identify the type that best described them using empirically derived descriptions. The pilot study also assessed scale reliability for the projective measurement of male norms in the main study. This method has been used elsewhere to determine national standards/stereotypes of masculine and feminine behavior as well as the extent to which one meets the national norms (Best & Williams, 1998; Block, 1973, 1984; Williams & Best, 1990).

Method

Participants

Data were collected from 106 undergraduates who received course credit for their participation. Most participants were female (n=66) and data regarding ethnicity were not collected because of the focus on stereotype descriptions and the overwhelmingly large number of European-Americans on campus (~96%). The modal participant was in her second year of college.

Measures

Male type descriptions were assessed by providing participants with the standard prompt "If I were to tell you that my friend Joe is _____, what would you expect him to be like? What kinds of things would you expect him to be interested in or would you expect him to do?"

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for each of the male types previously described. Participants were also asked to provide a "well known example" for each male type.

Male norms were assessed by completion of the 144 item version of the Conformity to Male Norms Index (CMNI; Mahalik et al., 2003). This scale measured adherence to twelve male norms: Emotional Control, Playboy, Disdain for Homosexuals, Winning, Dominance, Pursuit of Status, Self-Reliance, Primacy of Work, Physical Toughness, Risk-Taking, Violence, and Power over Women. Factor analysis revealed that only 96 of the 144 items were distinctly related to the scales and that the Physical Toughness subscale was not distinct, and so it has been omitted. Participants responded to each scale item (e.g., "it is best to keep your emotions hidden," "it is important to me that people think I am heterosexual") using a 0-3 Likert-type scale where higher scores indicate greater support for that norm. Published internal consistencies were good for all scales, ranging from .73 to .91, and for the total score (α=.94). Short term test-retest reliabilities (2-3 week) were solid and ranged from .51 to .96 for the subscales and the total score was reliable, r=.95. Validity was demonstrated through appropriate correlations with masculinity measures, including the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986) and the Gender Role Stress Scale (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987), as well as positive correlations with psychological distress, social dominance, and aggression (Mahalik, 2000; Mahalik et al., 2003). In this pilot study, female participants were asked to complete this scale for the "male they know best."

Application of stereotypic labels to self and others was assessed through two different series of questions. Participants were first asked to indicate the extent to which they knew someone of each male type while growing up, using a 5 point Likert-type scale where higher scores indicated more intimate knowledge of an individual who fit that stereotype. An additional option was available for participants to indicate that they did not know anyone of that type. Participants were also asked to assess the extent to which they resembled each male type using a 5 point Likert-type scale. The male types of Family Man and Tough Guy were accidentally omitted from this latter series.

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Desirability of male types was assessed by asking participants to rank the eleven male types (and other, if present) from most masculine to least masculine.

Results

Descriptor Coding Scheme

In order to use the richness provided by open-ended descriptions, a thematic hierarchy was constructed by sorting participants' responses into thematic groups with two or three levels that included the descriptor, as well as the specific and broader categories to which it belonged. For example, the terms 'arrogant,' 'full of himself,' 'having a big head,' and 'not modest' were all placed within the specific category 'Self-Focused' that was part of the broader category 'Jerk.' The complete coding scheme is provided in Appendix A.

Coding for 'not x' descriptors (e.g., not modest) included consideration of two distinct issues, one concerning categorization and the other, analysis. Because the coding scheme contains multiple potential opposites, some paired descriptors have non-parallel coding. For example, the descriptors 'modest' and 'not modest' appear under the broad categories of 'good or great guy' and 'jerk' respectively, but 'modest' does not belong to a subcategory and 'not modest' belongs to the 'Self-Focused' subcategory. In performing the analyses, these groups were treated as distinct entities because the lack of a response in one direction does not necessarily indicate that its opposite applied.

Male Type Descriptions

Respondents' first eight descriptors were individually coded and subjected to analysis. On average, participants provided a minimum of 3.98 (for redneck) and a maximum 4.82 (for rebel) descriptors, and no more than 5 participants provided 8 descriptors for any male type. Coded data were aggregated for each male type, with a total of 292 (tough guy) to 412 (redneck) nonunique descriptors for each type (M=355.18). To identify elements that were characteristic of each male type, descriptive subcategories that accounted for at least 5% of all responses were retained for further analysis. Retained categories and subcategories were then

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assessed for the frequency with which they were endorsed by individual participants. To assess the likelihood that these descriptors were not broadly endorsed across types and therefore characteristic of a specific type, the nonparametric Cochran's Q test was employed (Siegel, 1956). This statistic was appropriate because the data were categorical (i.e., descriptor present/absent) and each participant provided data for multiple male types.

The request for a well-known example of each type yielded specific individuals (real and fictional) as well as a listing of other stereotypical terms. Approximately one third of participants did not provide any examples. Individuals who were identified by name by at least 5% of respondents are provided in the descriptions below. Stereotypes named by respondents are also discussed, as is the overlap between stereotypes and specific individuals. Finally, individuals and other stereotypical labels were also identified by relevant categories (i.e., athletes, businessmen, musicians, film stars/characters, and television stars/characters). The results are discussed here and summarized by category and subcategory in Table 3, and suggest that distinct stereotypes exist for all eleven types. Popular examples and other stereotypic terms are provided in Table 4.

Average Joes were explicitly described as ordinary or average, a label that was rarely applied to other types. They were friendly, nice guys (but not sensitive). At the same time, average Joes may have had few or no friends because of their own shyness, although this descriptor was not particularly common for this group. Described as fairly smart with some interest in school, they were often identified as doing a number of different things, sometimes well, but these things were not specified. Their activities include an interest in organized sports, but not necessarily participation. They were described as participating in a broad variety of non-athletic activities, including hanging out and arts related activities, although there was no particular cluster of activities that was commonly endorsed. These men were not typically described as oriented towards women or having a girlfriend. Consistent with past research, this description focuses on non-exceptionality, but the lack of descriptions of work or family contrasts with some research (e.g., Edwards, 1992).

Table 3. Significant descriptors by male types.

	Jock	Bigshot	Rebel	Stud	Player	Tough Guy	Nerd	Sensitive New-Age Guy	Average Joe	Family Man	Redneck	Q^a
<u>Personality-type attributes</u>												
Friendly	5	14	1	8	1	2	-	6	17	5	-	60.47*
Friendly (explicitly)	5	14	1	8	1	2	-	6	17	5	-	60.47*
No friends	1	2	7	-	1	6	35	11	10	5	1	146.17*
Shy/quiet	1	-	-	-	-	3	17	8	7	5	-	77.02*
Nice	-	-	1	6	1	-	1	34	18	44	1	271.39*
Nice (explicitly)	-	-	1	3	-	-	1	9	17	21	1	125.16*
Sensitive	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	26	2	33	-	249.32*
Not nice (explicitly)	-	4	6	6	15	15	-	2	-	-	2	81.44*
Jerk	14	64	9	8	26	27	1	-	-	-	4	310.67*
Self-focused	10	43	2	7	11	10	-	-	-	-	1	226.06*
Loud	3	21	8	-	10	14	-	-	-	-	3	98.77*
Emotional	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	26	-	2	-	214.70*
Shows emotion	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	26	-	2	-	222.99*
Masculine emotion	2	2	2		2	26	-	1	-	-	-	196.76*
Unemotional	-	1	1		2	14	-	1	-	-	-	107.69*
Ordinary	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	26	2	-	227.75*
Does many things well	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	2	17	1	-	108.39*
Smart		6	2	4	-	-	64	7	21	3	-	396.27*
Academic orientation		2	1	-	-	-	41	3	16	1	-	268.86*
Not smart	12	3	6	1	3	6	2	-	1	-	30	150.46*
Closed minded	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	23	198.51*

(Table continues)

	Jock	Bigshot	Rebel	Stud	Player	Tough Guy	Nerd	Sensitive New-Age Guy	Average Joe	Family Man	Redneck	Q
Non-conformity	-	-	36	-	-	-	5	2	-	-	1	289.52*
Non-conformity (explicit)	-	-	36	-	-	-	5	2	-	-	1	289.52*
Activities												
Party	11	1	8	9	13	9	-	1	6	-	21	65.56*
Drink alcohol	9	-	7	5	7	8	-	-	5	-	20	68.40*
Illicit drugs	-	-	14	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	98.35*
Act out	-	4	64	-	3	6	-	1	1	-	1	491.90*
Act out (explicit)	-	-	16	-	2	3	-	-	-	-	1	110.92*
Break law	-	-	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	205.19*
Fight	1	6	1	-	-	11	1	1	-	-	-	64.18*
Defiant	-	1	36	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	319.44*
Care for self/others	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	9	2	59	-	480.43*
Do for family	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	30	-	286.58*
Have family	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	36	-	336.77*
Family activities	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37	-	367.01*
Sports	94	17	8	8	4	29	-	4	29	15	46	419.87*
Interested	32	3	-	2	1	9	-	-	17	5	1	174.01*
Plays	39	6	-	1	-	3	-	-	6	-	-	263.64*
Work out/exercise	47	-	1	4	3	14	-	-	1	1	-	314.14*
Man vs. nature	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	2	2	34	263.87*
Miscellany	25	6	-	2	-	1	-	1	3	1	-	152.20*
Non-athletic activity	9	4	4	6	8	4	56	50	24	7	1	281.00*
Nerdy activities	-	1	-	-	-	-	49	4	6	-	-	387.51*
Arts activities	1	-	-	4	-	-	-	21	2	-	-	153.67*
Other activities	-	1	3	3	5	-	7	13	-	-	-	62.67*
Focus on women/girlfriend	11	9	1	85	86	5	1	8	6	6	2	635.83*
Interested	4	1	-	29	18	2	1	4	4	1	-	161.31*
Smooth talker	-	-	-	27	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	233.42*

(Table continues)

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	Jock	Bigshot	Rebel	Stud	Player	Tough Guy	Nerd	Sensitive New-Age	Average Joe	Family Man	Redneck	Q
Gets girls/women	2	1	-	30	27	-	-	1	-	-	-	250.27*
Uses girls/women	2	3	-	18	55	-	-	1	-	-	1	399.74*
Other labels	4	6	-	16	12	-	-	2	-	-	-	98.14*
Appearance												
Positive or neutral	26	5	1	33	19	32	1	2	1	-	5	191.17*
Big/large	24	2	-	3	4	29	1	1	1	-	5	183.78*
Good looking	5	4	1	32	17	4	-	1	-	-	-	189.92*
Average looking 230	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	2	21	-	-	167.39*
Undesirable appearance	1	-	1	-	-	1	10	7	4	-	1	51.91*
Glasses/braces	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	1	-	-	190.53*
External Presentation												
Clothing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ns
Clothes are important	1	6	-	20	8	-	-	7	-	-	-	104.28*
Redneck clothing	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	24	228.35*
Automobiles	1	3	10	3	5	6		1	5	-	6	30.09*
Tractor/truck	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	29	269.24*
Sporty/motorcycle	-	1	9	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	1	58.42*
Media	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ns
Music types	-	-	8	4	2	2	-	19	4	-	12	94.06*
Status	1	36	-	3	10	3	2	-	-	2	1	224.07*
Money	1	24	-	3	10	-	2	-	-	2	-	147.90*
Demographics												
Not WASP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	51	467.66*
Not White Middle Class	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	51	467.66*
Sexual orientation												
Heterosexual	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ns
Homosexual	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	67.93*

Note: Only non-zero values are listed. * *p*<.05

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Table 4. Well known examples.

	Jocks	Bigshots	Rebels	Studs	Players	Tough Guys	Nerds	Sensitive New-Age Guys	Average Joes	Family Men	Rednecks
Responses[a]	48/39	41/24	50/19	59/22	38/31	55/25	58/17	38/27	40/29	48/14	40/19
Response Variety	23/9	30/21	28/15	27/17	18/16	24/15	18/12	29/21	32/24	25/9	19/10
Athletes	42/32	5/5	2/1	3/0	0/3	12/10	0/0	0/0	2/0	0/1	2/0
Musicians	0/0	5/1	7/1	10/0	18/5	3/0	1/0	14/0	0/0	0/0	5/0
TV stars or characters	3/0	8/0	3/0	3/0	4/0	6/0	34/1	12/0	19/0	27/1	26/0
Film stars/ characters	2/0	3/0	33/0	29/1	4/1	21/0	6/0	8/0	13/0	19/0	4/0
Business-men	0/0	13/2	0/0	0/0	1/0	0/0	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0
Personal Popular images[b]	1 Micheal Jordan (11)	1 Bill Gates (10)	2 James Dean (19)	3 Brad Pitt (10)	3 Hugh Heffner (10)	4 Arnold Schwarz-enegger (6)	4 Steve Urkel (14); Samuel "Screech" Powers (13); Bill Gates (10)	6 Will Truman (4)	7 "Boy next door" (4)	6 Nicholas Cage (5); "my father" (5)	1 Jeff Fox-worthy (14)

[a]Values refer to specific individuals and generic labels, respectively; [b]received at least 10% of named responses

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Most represented by the generic descriptor "boy next door," the Average Joes were the only male type for which no particular individual was identified by at least 10% of respondents. Popular individuals included Ray Romano (eponymous star of "Everybody Loves Raymond"), Adam Sandler, and the character Ross from the television show "Friends" (all n=3). Only two athletes, no musicians and no businessmen were considered typical of this group. Other generic descriptors included "regular guys," "most guys," and the "everyday guy on the street" and no generic descriptor was related to a popular image from the realms of athletics, media, or business. Seven participants identified men whom they know as exemplifying this type. The lack of a single popular individual/image emphasizes the non-exceptionality of this type.

Bigshots were best known for being jerks, as demonstrated by their belief in their own importance and their tendency to be loud. Despite their jerk-ness, a substantial number of participants also viewed them as friendly. Bigshots were described as status-oriented, particularly through a focus on finances. Although more than 15% of the sample identified sports as significant in the lives of these men, their interest in sports was average when compared to other male types.

The most well known bigshot was Bill Gates (n=10), and no other individual was identified by more than one participant. Although businessmen received more nominations than any other group (athletes, musicians, film characters, television characters), the greatest variety was among film stars and characters. The generic labels of CEO and tough guy also received multiple nominations and a variety of athletic characters were also named. These findings are generally consistent with the ingratiating interactional style described earlier, although the suggestion that some people see these men as friendly was unexpected. The focus on businessmen as exemplars supports the centrality of work/business for this type.

Family men were described primarily as caring individuals. These men were sensitive, nice guys who have families for whom they care and provide and with whom they engage in a variety of activities (e.g., dinner, play games). They have no other distinguishing features,

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although some type of athletic orientation was present in a minority of the descriptions. For these men, family appears to be everything. Their lack of other distinguishing features is similar to average Joes, although that image includes more attributes and activities and an explicit description as ordinary.

Well known examples of the family man included Nicholas Cage (n=5) and respondent's fathers (n=5). Television and film stars (and characters) dominated this group, with ten different television fathers explicitly identified. Similar to average Joes, no musicians, businessmen or athletes were included in this group. Generic descriptors included "average guy," doctors and golfers.

The centrality of family for these men is consistent with past research, although these data did not explicitly highlight the breadwinner role. Most of the individuals who exemplified this type were fathers, suggesting that having children and not simply being married is central to this type. Like average Joes, family men lacked distinguishing characteristics of their own, but their related activities were narrower and related exclusively to family.

If this type reflects a developmental stage that men commonly experience when they have children, then the focus on family and fatherhood, and the exclusion of other characteristics, allows men of all other types to adopt this masculinity when needed, without necessarily abandoning defining characteristics of other masculinities. That is, the focus on family allows men to move into (and out of) this type by simply adding (and removing/altering) the family component to their existing masculinity.

Jocks were almost unanimously described as oriented towards sports. The specific athletic activity varied across a number of forms (interest, participation, exercise/fitness, general orientation toward sports), each of which was most common to this group. Jocks were also described as physically large, not very smart, and drinking alcohol. There is some suggestion in the data that jocks are expected to have a girlfriend and may be jerks, but these may be ancillary features of this male type. This description is consistent with earlier findings that jocks are large,

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athletically oriented, have relatively high levels of alcohol use and are not expected to be very smart.

Eighteen different professional athletes were named as well known examples of this type, with basketball players Micheal Jordan and Shaquille O'Neal receiving the most nominations (n=11, 4). Of the 48 individuals identified by name, only 5 were fictional athletes; all others had played professional basketball, football or baseball or wrestled in the WWE (formerly WWF). No businessmen or musicians were nominated, and one participant offered a personal reference (i.e., "my friend x"). Generic descriptions almost exclusively identified football players (e.g., high school football captain), echoing Brannon's (1976) label.

Nerds' personalities were described in terms of the tendency to have few or no friends, presumably as the result of their shyness (and not poor social skills or the inability to find or connect with others). They were also described as smart and academically focused. This focus was also reflected in their activity choices, which included reading, math, science and technology (real and fictional). Nerds also possessed the defining physical characteristic of wearing eyeglasses. This image is generally consistent with the existing stereotype, but narrower than empirical work has demonstrated.

Popular images of nerds focused on the television characters Steve Urkel ("Family Matters") and Samuel "Screech" Powers ("Saved by the Bell"), businessman Bill Gates and the nerds from the movie "Revenge of the Nerds." Collectively, only 18 individual nerds were named, fewer than any other category. Generic labels included loser, geek, and "smart boy." Although Microsoft founder and businessman Bill Gates was nominated as an example, no other businessmen were nominated, nor were any athletes. A few musicians were nominated and several personal examples were provided.

Rebels were primarily described in terms of their rebelliousness, both in terms of their unwillingness to conform to other's expectations and their tendency to act out through a lack of respect for others, defiance and law breaking. Despite their defiance and lack of respect, they

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were not described as fighters. Rebels were also identified as using illicit drugs and having fast cars (or motorcycles).

Rebels were best exemplified by James Dean (n=19), who was the most nominated individual across all male types. Thirteen other movie stars or characters were named, along with a small number of individuals from other media. Considering their need to conform to a broad set of rules, it was not surprising to see only two athletes and no businessmen identified. The generic labels included a broad variety of types, most notably punks, as well as problem children, political activists and libras. This description is generally consistent with the existing research, although Connell's (1995) men were fighters/brawlers. Both criminality and nonconformity are suggested by these descriptions.

Sensitive New-Age Guys, consistent with their appellation, were described as sensitive, with some suggestion that niceness was also common among this group. These men, who were emotionally expressive, also had a tendency to have few or no friends. They were expected to participate in and/or attend arts-related activities (e.g., drama, literature). These men were also defined by the music to which they listen, although there was no single style that dominated from a variety of non-rock and non-rap styles (e.g., modern, fusion, rhythm and blues). Only men of this type were identified as homosexual (or mistaken for homosexual). The personality description offered here is consistent with past research and extends the activities in which these men engage, but does not recognize the ideological position of egalitarianism (Connell, 1995).

The most popular exemplar of sensitive new age guys was Will Truman ("Will & Grace"), one of television's first homosexual leading characters. Unlike most other male types, this image was nominated by only 4 individuals from among 29 different men named, indicating that there is not a single well-known character, although the stereotypical image appears well-defined. Generic examples include homosexual, and this was the only category in which homosexuality appeared as a generic label. Childcare worker and "poetry guy" were also offered as generic descriptors. Six respondents identified people in their actual lives as examples.

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Studs and Players, who are particularly smooth talkers and able to get many dates, were both described as substantially oriented towards women. Although an interest in women may be assumed for both groups, this descriptor was applied to studs more regularly than players (29 vs. 18). Studs were almost twice as likely to be described as physically attractive (32 vs. 17). Both types had some tendency to attend parties and drink alcohol, although these were not highly endorsed for either group.

Differences appeared in other aspects of these descriptions. In particular, players were described as using women and being somewhat oriented towards status via finances. They were explicitly described as not nice and as jerks, both in terms of being self-centered and being a loudmouth. Studs, on the other hand, were seen as using women at a much lower rate and as interested in clothing. Taken together, these descriptions do suggest two variations in the types of men whose primary focus is women. Players tend to be attractive, not nice, self-centered, loudmouthed jerks who use women and are somewhat interested in status and partying. On the other hand, studs are attractive men who are interested in women and able to get them, but have no particularly defining personality characteristics beyond an interest in their own clothing/appearance.

Popular examples of these types provided some additional clarity but also further confounded these types. Well known studs included film stars Brad Pitt and Tom Cruise, as well as a variety of other media figures. A variety of generic descriptors was offered, with 'players' being offered most commonly (n=4) as well as the derogatory labels pimp and whore and the more positive label of male model. Players were typified by Hugh Heffner (n=10) and a variety of popular musicians, all of whom were rap/hip-hop or rhythm and blues performers. The generic description of rap performer was also repeatedly mentioned, but the label stud did not appear. Altogether, the descriptions are consistent with Brannon's descriptions, including the financial status of players and the general lack of description of studs beyond their relations with women. They also suggest that the attractive, smooth talking studs, who are somewhat using of

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women, are easily confused with the jerk, women-using players. Players, however, are rarely mistaken for studs.

Tough Guys, like players, were described as not nice, loudmouthed, self-centered jerks. They differed from players in their tendency to demonstrate a stereotypically masculine emotional style, as indicated by a tendency to not show emotions. Like jocks, these men were physically large and possessed a general orientation towards athletics, but their primary orientation was towards exercise and being in shape, not organized sports. Of all male types, only tough guys were described as fighters. The inclusion of fighting is consistent with the existing literature, although these data offer no support for the blue collar status of these men.

Most frequently exemplified by Arnold Schwarzenegger and WWE wrestler cum movie star The Rock, specific names were dominated by the film and sports industries. Few musicians and no businessmen were identified as examples of this type, and four participants identified individuals from their daily life as well-known examples. The generic description "wrestler" was also offered regularly, and other labels included bully, bouncer, thug and "no feelings."

Rednecks were the only group who were partially defined by demographic characteristics, particularly by being placed outside the middle class through their residence in rural areas and a relatively low level of education. This latter element was consistent with the description of these men as closed-minded bigots. Rednecks' leisure activities included athletics but, unlike other groups, their athletics were of the man-versus-nature type (e.g., hunting, fishing, lumberjacking). Alcohol consumption was more closely associated with this image than any other. Rednecks were also identified by both their clothing (e.g., flannel, cowboy hat) and their automotive choices (i.e., pickup trucks, tractors). This description is consistent with the predicted image of these men as rural, having relatively low levels of education, and engaging in man-versus-nature activities, and adds the elements of bigotry and alcohol consumption.

Rednecks were exemplified by comedian Jeff Foxworthy (n=14) or, as one respondent observed, the object of his humor. Television provided the greatest variety of redneck images (n=7), and the 19 different names offered here were among the lowest offered for any type.

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These nominations included few athletes (including the only NASCAR driver) or musicians (including the only Country & Western performer) and no businessmen. Generics were also sparse, and those offered focused primarily on rural and Southern locales (e.g., "hillbilly," "southerner," and "hick"). These findings suggest that this stereotype does exist.

<u>Applicability of Labels</u>

Consistent with social identity theory, participants readily applied the male type labels to themselves and others. Using a five point Likert-type scale, participants indicated how well they knew someone of each type while growing up. Responses by both sexes provided mean scores that were above the scale midpoint for all types except redneck (range 3.22 - 4.67; redneck = 1.97). Participants also indicated the extent to which each of these types represented them, although 1 male and 6 females skipped this series of questions. A majority of participants (23/39) endorsed the highest applicability rating for more than one stereotypical label, suggesting that many individuals see themselves as a combination of these types.

Mean scores indicated that most men are at least a little like each type except the redneck (i.e., mean > 2.0 out of 5.0), and that most women are at least a little like each type except the bigshot, player and redneck. In general, the women rated these labels as less applicable to themselves than the men did, and this difference was significant for the bigshot, player, and redneck types (Bigshot: M_M=2.54, M_F=1.95, $t(97)$=2.59, p=.01; Player: M_M=2.33, M_F=1.83, $t(97)$=2.16, p=.03; Redneck: M_M=1.56, M_F=1.20, $t(97)$=2.01, p=.05). These results suggest that women can and will apply these labels to themselves, although the generally lower levels of endorsement suggest that the women may not see these stereotypes as being a particularly good fit.

Few participants identified themselves as fitting the redneck type, a finding evidenced by the lack of any participant's endorsement of the highest scale score (i.e., 5 out of 5). Further, the mean score for this type was the lowest of all 9 types, and significantly lower than the next lowest score (redneck=1.34; playboy=2.03; $t(98)$=5.69, p<.001). These findings lead to two important conclusions. First, participants can readily apply these labels to themselves and

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others, a finding consistent with Barber and Eccles' (1999) report that less than 5% of respondents' skipped the forced choice "Breakfast Club" question. Second, actual rednecks are not particularly familiar to these college students, most of whom hail from middle and upper middle class backgrounds, an explanation consistent with the stereotypically low education levels and class of rednecks.

Male Norms

Scale analysis of the CMNI revealed good internal consistencies for the entire sample, as well as males and females as separate groups (Table 5). For males, scale alphas were generally acceptable and ranged from .68 (self-reliance) to .91 (winning), with α=.92 for the CMNI total score. For females, who were asked to complete this scale "for the male they know best," scale alphas were generally acceptable and ranged from .67 (dominance) to .94 (emotional control), with α=.96 for the CMNI total. Although some scale reliabilities were notably different for males and females (e.g., self-reliance, playboy), the finding that scales were reliable for women with these directions indicates that the CMNI can be reliably completed by participants in a projective manner.

Table 5. CMNI scale reliabilities.

	Whole Sample	Males	Females
Emotional Control	.93	.88	.94
Disdain for Homosexuality	.91	.90	.92
Playboy	.91	.84	.92
Pursuit of status	.73	.72	.73
Winning	.90	.91	.90
Dominance	.69	.70	.67
Primacy of Work	.79	.83	.76
Self-reliance	.78	.68	.83
Physical Toughness	na		
Risk-taking	.82	.84	.81
Power over Women	.83	.77	.86
Violence	.86	.87	.86
Total	.95	.92	.96

Relations Between Identity Types and Masculine Norms

A series of correlations were computed to determine if greater endorsement of an identity type was related to variations in norm endorsement. This analysis was limited to the male subsample, who had completed the CMNI for themselves (females had completed it projectively). To control for spurious correlations, the error rate was held at α=.05/12=.0042. As can be seen in Table 6, greater self-identification as a jock was associated with lower levels of self-reliance (*r*(37)=-.55, *p*<.001) and also suggestive of less support for the idea of emotional control (*r*(37)=-.42, *p*=.008). Greater identification as a nerd, by contrast, was associated with less support for norms regarding power over women (*r*(37)=-.47, *p*=.003) and winning (*r*(37)=-.55, *p*<.001), as well as lower overall scores on the CMNI (*r*(37)=-.49, *p*=.002).

Table 6. Correlations between strength of type identification and masculine norms.

	Dominance	Emotional control	Disdain for homosex.	Self-reliance	Playboy	Power over women	Risk taking	Pursuit of status	Violence	Winning	Primacy of work	Total
Average Joe	.08	.26	.25	.08	.11	-.10	-.22	-.09	-.01	-.09	.21	.11
Bigshot	.40*	-.05	.18	-.02	.03	.27	.32*	.44**	.24	.38*	-.05	.37*
Jock	.23	-.42**	.17	-.55***	-.02	.04	.32*	-.14	.07	.29	.16	.07
Nerd	-.25	.21	-.38*	-.22	-.21	-.47**	-.22	-.13	-.33	-.55***	-.05	-.49**
Player	.23	-.31	.01	-.03	.20	.22	.19	.36*	.32	.17	.10	.23
Rebel	-.32*	-.24	-.40*	-.08	-.21	-.39*	.09	-.07	-.16	-.28	-.38*	-.46**
Redneck	.01	-.16	.16	-.10	.09	.03	.10	.12	.10	.17	-.06	.11
Senstive new-age guy	-.41**	-.24	-.25	-.07	-.38*	-.20	-.19	-.20	-.22	-.20	-.05	-.45**
Stud	.30	-.51***	-.08	-.21	-.10	.09	.32*	.11	.32*	.22	-.02	.05

Note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

<u>Rankings</u>

Participants ranked the eleven male types from most to least masculine and median rankings, by participant sex, are provided in Table 7. Consistent with Messner's (1992) claim, Jocks were the dominant symbol of masculinity in America, although Tough Guys were a close second. Studs, Bigshots, Players, Rebels, Average Joes, Rednecks, and Family Men filled the next level, although these forms were not equivalent. Studs, Bigshots, Players and Rebels received highly similar ranks, all of which positioned them as more masculine than the Average Joe. Rednecks and Family Men received rankings similar to, but slightly lower than, the Average Joe. Sensitive New Age Guys and Nerds, respectively, were consistently identified as the least masculine and neither of these types was ranked as the most masculine type by any male participant.

Table 7. Median masculinity rankings by sex.

	Males	Females
Jock	2	2
Tough guy	2	2.5
Stud	4.5	5
Bigshot	5	5
Player	5	5.5
Rebel	6	5.5
Average Joe	6.5	6
Redneck	7	8
Family man	8	7
Sensitive new-age guy	10	10
Nerd	11	11

<u>Discussion</u>

This pilot study was intended to identify the distinctive features of eleven male types and assess the extent to which respondents recognized these types in their daily lives. The results indicate that at least ten distinct types exist that differ in their attributes and activities as well as the individuals who typify each group. The player and stud types demonstrated a high degree of

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overlap, indicating that they are closely related and not easily distinguished and so they will be collapsed into a single type for the main study.

Applicability of these types to daily experience was demonstrated in a variety of ways. Qualitatively, respondent's spontaneous provision of the names of individuals from their lives as "well known examples" of each type also supports this claim. Quantitatively, this claim was supported by male and female participants' ability to rate the extent to which a particular label applied to themselves and to which it applied to people with whom they grew up. The results from the male subsample indicated that increased applicability of a label to oneself was related to support for particular norms. These results validate the idea that individuals do readily identify with the stereotypical labels. Interestingly, many participants rated themselves as best described by two or more types, a finding that supports the social role and social identity theories.

The lack of significant correlations between identity applicability and norm subscription at the restricted error rate (i.e., $\alpha=.003$) was likely the result of low power ($n=39$). Examination of the correlations at a less restrictive error rate reveals a pattern of norm support different from earlier predictions (see Table 2). This lack of accuracy is likely the result of the tendency for cultural critiques and qualitative analyses to highlight relevant aspects of the male role without necessarily gauging the relative strength within a character type. Messner (1992), for example, discussed promiscuity among athletes but does not provide any indication of how central promiscuity may or may not be to the jock identity.

The general lack of jocks and tough guys in these rankings has multiple potential interpretations. One possibility is that Connell's (1995) claim that there are relatively few men who meet the dominant stereotype is accurate, and so participants are being realistic regarding their likelihood of becoming or partnering with either of these types. This explanation is unlikely given the disparity between jocks, who were identified as desirable by at least 25% of respondents, and tough guys, who were identified as desirable by less than 10% of respondents, because there is no reason to believe one of these two types would be more common than the

other. Alternately, the desire for non-dominant forms may reflect participants' recognition that the dominant forms are limited in some way(s) and therefore not good relational partners.

The rankings of two other types were also noteworty. The subordinated position of gay men (Connell, 1995) and the identification of Sensitive New-Age Guys as (potentially) homosexual suggests that these men would receive the lowest rankings. Their median ranking did establish them as among the least desirable, but not least desirable. It is unclear why nerds, who were unmasculine in appearance (not big) and activities (not athletic) received a lower rating then sensitive new-age guys.

The positioning of Rednecks at the lower end of the middle group is also interesting, particularly given their description as enjoying hunting and fishing. Some commentators have noted that these images are often used in men's advertising to help establish the product as manly (Strate, 1992). It is possible that this result comes from the description of rednecks as lower class, but also possible that this rating comes from the general lack of direct experience with individuals of this type.

The pilot study was designed and conducted explicitly to identify stereotypical descriptions for these male types that would be easily recognized. Because the population from which the sample was drawn was predominantly middle and upper-middle class, of European-American descent, and heterosexual, it is entirely plausible that some of the descriptions and exemplars would vary if the sample were drawn from a different population. This seems particularly relevant for the redneck type.

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Chapter III

Main study

The pilot study indicated that the eleven proposed male types possessed relatively distinctive features and that individuals can identify themselves from among these types. The pilot data begin to suggest that the male types do differ in their patterns of norm subscription. Connections between male types and male norms is important for understanding the similarities between men and their male influences (e.g., parents, models) because only type-relevant norms may demonstrate strong statistical relations. Patterns of media consumption will also be assessed, with a particular focus on identifying consumption of media with especially stereotypical content (e.g., athletics) across male types.

Interestingly, a majority of participants in the pilot study readily identified themselves as being well described by at least two of these types, an outcome consistent with the social role and social identity theories (Eagly, 1987; Turner, 1999). It is also possible that this finding reflects the ongoing identity formation of this sample (cf. Erikson, 1968) and that a non-student population would not demonstrate this result. Assessing then-10th grade students, the MSALT researchers used a forced choice question format and more than 95% of their participants indicated that one of the five available types was an appropriate self-descriptor (Eccles & Barber, 1999): In an attempt to clarify this issue and address the contextual consistency of stereotype endorsement, the main study asked participants to identify a single type that best represents them across each of four settings: at home with their family, at work, hanging out with friends, and participating in favored activities.

Assessment of relative influences was pursued by asking each participant to identify and briefly describe the person that they most wished to be like when they were growing up (i.e.,

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model). This individual was not initially described or identified as a model on the survey in an effort to prevent participants from interpreting that term as precluding the identification of people/images that were not personally known, fictional, or simply generic or stereotypic (e.g., football player). Assessment of this model included indication of how well participants knew their model, why they selected that individual as a model, their model's sex and their model's age. Participants also completed the Conformity to Male Norms Index (CMNI; Mahalik et al., 2003) for both themselves and their model, to provide an empirical assessment of similarity (Best & Williams, 1998; Block, 1973, 1984; Williams & Best, 1990). Further, a subset of participants were parent-child dyads (n=85; see methods) to allow examination of the transmission of male norms across familial generations because some have suggested that gender is primarily learned from one's parents (Block, 1984) or others present in the childhood environment (i.e., Bem, 1997; Bandura, 1989).

Method

Participants

The primary sample was drawn from the undergraduate psychology subject pool at UNH-Durham. Participants received course credit for participation and an additional course credit if they provided the name and address of a parent or grandparent who returned the survey that was sent to them. Introductory psychology students at the UNH-Manchester campus were also provided with extra credit for their participation but did not have the opportunity to recruit a parent or grandparent. Overall, 257 undergraduates completed surveys and successfully recruited 85 additional adults. Anonymity of surveys was achieved by maintaining a list of student and parent names and identification numbers, separate from the actual data, then matching the data through researcher assigned identification numbers. Of these 352 paticipants, 260 were female. To ensure data were collected in a timely manner, cash prizes were available to undergraduate participants when the number of students in their data collection session exceeded 10. At those times, the name of 1 undergraduate was selected from the names of all

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students present and received a cash payment ($10 if $n \geq 10$; $25 if $n \geq 25$). Two undergraduates who solicited a family member and two parents/grandparents who returned their surveys were also randomly awarded $25 prizes.

A supplementary group of participants was recruited directly through student researchers (n=62) required to collect and analyze data for an undergraduate course in child development taught by the experimenter. Each student researcher obtained completed surveys from a minimum of 4 different males, no more than 2 of whom were full time college students under the age of 24. Student researchers were encouraged to collect data from multiple members of the same family, as well as recruiting additional individuals (i.e., more than 4). Student researchers were not allowed to complete the survey themselves. Of these 295 participants, 72 were female and 81 were full time undergraduate students age 24 or younger.

Overall, the sample was almost equally split between females (n=337) and males (n=333). There was little ethnic diversity among the 85.9% of the sample who provided this information (3.7% of the sample were not Americans and so omitted these items). Most participants (93.9%) reported that they were at least partially European-American and no more than 2.9% of participants identified as partially or wholly Asian-American, Native American, Hispanic American or African American. Nor was there much diversity in sexual orientation or social class, as 95% of participants identified themselves as mostly or completely heterosexual and 82.7% of the sample described themselves as either middle or upper-middle class.

Materials

The complete assessment battery is located in Appendix B.

<u>Gender measures.</u> The 94-item version of the CMNI was completed by all participants for themselves and their model. This measure was described in detail in the pilot study. The 24-item Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ; Spence & Helmreich, 1978) was included to assess possession of both masculine and feminine attributes. The PAQ has been criticized for characterizing masculinity as 'instrumental' (i.e., active and problem solving) and femininity as

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'expressive' (i.e., oriented toward others; cf. Lenney, 1991). These stereotypical descriptions are particularly relevant in the present study and also provide a more direct connection to the existing literature. All scale alphas demonstrated acceptable internal consistency (i.e., $\geq$.70) except for the 6 item CMNI pursuit of status subscale (α=.64). Discussions of the status scale should be considered tentative. Reliability of all scales is further addressed later in this section.

Male types. Summary descriptions of each type were derived from the descriptions provided in the pilot study, were modified to be gender neutral and did not include examples. The description of the family type was modified to included caretaking and, as previously stated, stud and playboy were collapsed into a single type ("player"). An "effeminate" type, based on the dominant stereotype of gay men (Madon, 1997) was added. Re-examination of the source material lead to the separation of 'rebel' into a 'nonconformist' type, more consistent with Connell's (1995) description, and a 'criminal' type, more consistent with the MSALT research (Barber, Eccles & Stone, 2001; Eccles & Barber, 1999; Stone, Barber & Eccles, 2001). The redneck stereotype was relabeled 'Country' to minimize negative connotations and perhaps increase self-identification into this type.

Participants were asked to indicate one type that best identified them across four different contexts: at home with their family, at work, with friends, and engaged in preferred leisure activites. Following this, they identified the "one type that best describes you as you are now" and, for older participants, the type that best described them when they were about 20 (if over 35) and about 40 (if over 55). Age distinctions were based on the work of Levenson et al. (1978).

Sexism. This was assessed using the 5 item old fashioned and 8 item modern sexism scales (Swim, Aiken, Hall and Hunter, 1995). These scales assess overt and subtle forms of sexism (respectively) by assessing agreement/disagreement with a series of items using a 4 point Likert-type scale higher scores represented less sexist beliefs. Internal consistency was assessed (Old fashioned: .69; Modern: .84) and compares favorably to the original publication (Swim et al., 1995). Scale consistencies are discussed in more detail later in this section. Prior analysis of

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the structure of these sexism scales revealed that they have distinct factors that are weakly related (phi =.25 and .41 for males and females, respectively; Swim & Cohen, 1997).

Media consumption. Media use was assessed with an abridged version of the Media Consumption Questionnaire (MCQ; Mebert, 2001). This questionnaire quantified the use of a broad variety of media (radio, CD collection, television, film, world wide web, books, magazines, newspapers) by asking participants to report the amount of time they are engaged with each medium, and their preferred genres within most media (i.e., not radio, newspaper or the world wide web).

Social desirability. The extent to which individuals provided socially desirable answers was assessed using the items described by Paulhus (1984). Internal consistency was poor for both the impression management (α=.38) and acknowledge difficulty scales (α=.59). Principal components analysis of these items revealed six components. Some items possessed substantial loadings on multiple factors and three items did not load on any component. This may have resulted from the use of a dichotomous scale instead of a 4 point Likert-type scale. The scale has been excluded from all analyses.

Model identification. Adapted from Royer (2001), these items asked participants to identify their model and why they chose that person. Data were also collected on how participants knew their model, how well they knew this person (using a 4 point Likert-type scale), their model's sex, and the age difference between themselves and their model.

Demographic information. Participants were asked to provide their age, sex, ethnicity, marital history (including number of marriages and divorces) including number of children per marriage, and sexual orientation. They also reported the highest grade completed/degree received and provided a brief employment history, including the age at which they first began to work. Military service was assessed through a separate series of questions, including length of military service. Participants also indicated their social class, identified their religion and, using an 11 point Likert type scale, the extent to which they are religious (i.e., religiosity).

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Cover sheet. For the supplemental sample only, each student researcher assigned a

series of code numbers to their data (i.e., xx-a through xx-f) and used a specially designed cover

sheet to identify family and friend relationships among their subsample.

Validity of the Data

The atypical nature of data collection for the secondary sample requires examination of

the consistency of the two data sets in an attempt to verify that the surveys were neither

completed randomly nor faked. If the secondary data set were being completed randomly by

disgruntled student researchers, then scale reliabilities would be effected. The internal

consistency (or alpha) measures for each scale are summarized in Table 8 for the complete

sample, the primary sample, and the secondary sample. Consistency measures from the original

scale publication, reliant on undergraduate samples, are also provided.

Table 8. Internal consistency measures by source.

	Reference	Whole sample (n=596-644)	Primary sample (n=325-350)	Secondary sample (n=268-296)
Cmni[a]				
Dominance	.73	.70 & .83	.72 & .84	.68 & .81
Emotional control	.91	.92 & .95	.92 & .95	.91 & .93
Disdain for homosexuality	.90	.90 & .93	.90 & .92	.90 & .93
Playboy	.88	.89 & .94	.89 & .94	.89 & .93
Power over Women	.87	.82 & .89	.80 & .88	.81 & .88
Risk taking	.82	.86 & .91	.88 & .92	.83 & .89
Self-reliance	.85	.86 & .89	.89 & .89	.80 & .86
Pursuit of status	.72	.64 & .77	.68 & .80	.59 & .73
Violence	.84	.85 & .90	.85 & .90	.84 & .88
Winning	.88	.87 & .92	.86 & .92	.87 & .92
Primacy of work	.76	.73 & .86	.72 & .88	.73 & .84
PAQ				
Masculinity	.85	.73	.73	.71
Femininity	.82	.81	.78	.82
Sexism				
Old-fashioned	.66	.69	.62	.68
Modern	.84	.78	.80	.73

[a]CMNI alphas are for individuals and their models, respectively. Model n's are approximately 10% smaller.

In general, scale alphas for the secondary sample were acceptable (i.e., >.70),

suggesting that responses were not random. Although internal consistency for the old-fashioned

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sexism scale was lower than is typically accepted (.68), it compares favorably to the original publication (.66) and the primary sample (.62). The lower consistency measure for the CMNI dominance scale (.68) is slightly more concerning. However, it is sufficiently close to the standard .70 as well as the original publication (.73) to warrant its inclusion. Of greater concern is the pursuit of status subscale, where $\alpha=.59$, notably lower than the norming sample (.72) or the primary sample (.68). While this is concerning from a psychometric perspective, it seems unlikely that random responding would have occurred only on this subscale.

The possibility also exists that disgruntled student researchers faked the data by completing the surveys as if they were the subjects, providing the responses that they thought their "participants" would have provided. It is impossible to completely rule out this possibility. Examination of the CMNI scores for individuals and their role models reveals that scales completed projectively tend to be more consistent (i.e., higher alphas), suggesting that faking data in this manner would lead to greater internal consistency. Of the 15 subscales provided in Table 8, only 2 demonstrated this pattern, while 7 possessed nearly identical alphas for the two samples (i.e., difference $\leq .01$), and 6 were less consistent for the secondary sample. This analysis suggests that the data were not faked.

A second approach to establishing the validity of the data is to compare the two samples directly to identify differences in background factors and outcome measures. This is complicated slightly by sampling issues. The primary sample was drawn from undergraduate psychology students (257/352), was primarily female (73.9%) and included a non-student sample comprised of parents (85/352). By contrast, the secondary sample contained a minimum of undergraduate students (81/295), was primarily male (75.8%) and contained a minority of parents (124/318). Because the study's hypotheses predict differences based on sex, this confound must be eliminated by computing separate comparisons for each sex. The restriction of the primary sample to undergraduates and their parents suggests that the most appropriate comparison groups are college students and parents in the secondary sample. Consequently, the data were separated into distinct groups based on sex and status as either a college student or a parent.

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All comparisons were computed using t-tests, except for parents' marial status and partcipant's virginity status, which were examined using the chi-square statistic.

Male undergraduates were the most equally populated groups (primary: $n=73$; secondary: $n=57$) and were readily comparable. These groups did not differ in parental education levels (mother, father), religiosity, parental marital status, stereotype endorsement consistency (contextual), sexism (old fashioned, modern), most CMNI scores (10/11), or PAQ masculinity. Male undergraduates in the primary sample were younger ($t(128)=2.39$, $p=.018$) and less educated ($t(123)=3.96$, $p<.001$), came from a lower social class ($t(118)=3.22$, $p=.002$), were more likely to be virgins ($X^2(1)=5.35$, $p=.021$), reported greater non-support for the power over women norm ($t(129)=2.16$, $p=.033$), and were more feminine (PAQ; $t(128)=2.22$, $p=.028$). Differences in age and education levels are not surprising in light of the data sources (i.e., introductory psychology subject pool vs. sophomore level course).

Female undergraduates were disparate in their samples sizes (primary sample: $n=184$; secondary sample: $n=23$). The relatively small number of female undergraduates in the secondary sample and the 8:1 ratio suggests that findings may not be stable. Still, there were no differences in age, parental education levels (mother, father), social class, religiosity, parental marital status during childhood, virginity status, stereotype endorsement consistency (contextual), sexism (old fashioned, modern), most CMNI subscales (9/11) or the PAQ (masculinity, femininity). Female undergraduates in the primary sample were less educated ($t(203)=5.78$, $p<.001$), a finding that might be expected given the populations from which they were drawn (i.e., subject pool vs. sophomore level course) and partially replicating the male undergraduate findings. Students in the primary sample reported greater non-support for the norms regarding power over women ($t(205)=2.05$, $p=.042$) and the primacy of work ($t(205)=2.32$, $p=.021$).

Among fathers, the primary and secondary samples differed notably in sample size ($n=17$, 89, respectively), suggesting that comparisons between these two groups may not be stable. Still, the tests revealed no significant differences in age, education levels (self, mother,

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father), parents' marital status, virginity status, stereotype endorsement consistency (contextual, longitudinal), sexism (modern), most CMNI scales (10/11), or PAQ scores (masculinity, femininity). Fathers in the primary sample tended to be from a lower social class ($t(101)=3.93$, $p<.001$), were less religious ($t(102)=2.04$, $p=.044$), were less disdainful of homosexuality ($t(104)=1.89$, $p=.011$), and reported more old-fashioned sexism ($t(103)=2.11$, $p=.038$). If one assumes that the secondary data were faked by undergraduates, then it is possible to conclude that the differences in old fashioned but not modern sexism reflect this faking because undergraduates would under-report old fashioned sexism and accurately report modern sexism for reasons related to social desirability, thus generating the difference with the primary sample. This interpretation is inconsistent with the disdain for homosexuality findings, which would be subject to the same biases but were in the opposite direction.

Among mothers, the primary and secondary samples differed somewhat in sample size ($n=75, 34$, respectively), although this disparity is not likely problematic. The samples did not differ in age, education levels (self, mother, father), social class, parents' marital status, virginity status, stereotype endorsement consistency (contextual, longitudinal), sexism (old-fashioned, modern), CMNI subscales, or PAQ scores (masculinity, femininity). Mothers in the primary sample described themselves as more religious ($t(105)=2.71$, $p=.008$).

Reviewing the complete set of sample differences, it is striking that no particular measure demonstrated consistent disparities related to data source and only 3 measures demonstrated significant differences in more than one set of comparisons. Among undergraduates, education level for self was consistently different and this finding is readily related to the samples. Undergraduate males and females also differed in their (lack of) support for the primacy of women. Among the parental samples, religiosity was significantly different for both mothers and fathers, but in different directions. If the data had been faked, it seems likely that differences would have been more common between the two samples, particularly on scales with socially desirable responses such as sexism and disdain for homosexuality. Although the number of differences is greater than might be expected by chance (11/86; 14/90 when including

undergraduate age and education levels), there is no clear indication that the data were consistently different on any measure. This finding is further emphasized when one considers that the most reliable comparisons (male undergraduates, female parents) produced fewer differences.

<center>Results</center>

Intercorrelations among gender measures.

The 11 CMNI scales, 2 PAQ scales, 2 sexism measures and age were highly intercorrelated (Table 9). Many of these correlations are likely due to the related nature of the constructs under examination (cf. Mahalik et al., 2003) as well as shared method variance and sample size. Age was included in this examination because past research has shown that both men and women become increasingly feminine in their stereotypical attributes as they age (Hyde et al., 1991) and that more recent generations have become less sexist (Twenge, 1997). Age was weakly related to these measures ($r<.1$) and possessed only one strong correlation which indicated that older individuals are less status seeking ($r(659)=-.32$, $p<.001$).

PAQ masculinity (i.e., instrumentality) was strongly positively related to only 3 of the CMNI measures (i.e,. $r>.3$), a finding that may be interpreted as evidence that masculine personality attributes differ from masculine beliefs (cf. Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Mahalik et al., 2003). That seven strong negative correlations were found between the CMNI scales and PAQ femininity (i.e., expressiveness) could therefore be interpreted as indicating that nonmasculine beliefs are associated with stereotypically feminine personality attributes.

The sexism scales were strongly intercorrelated in the present study ($r(649)=.41$, $p<.001$) and also possessed noteworthy correlations with the CMNI power over women subscale ($r_{OF}(651)=-.59$, $p<.001$; $r_M(651)=-.47$, $p<.001$). Some strong correlations with the disdain for homosexuality ($r_{OF}(648)=-.31$, $p<.001$; $r_M(646)=-.31$, $p<.001$), playboy (i.e., promiscuity; $r_{OF}(651)=-.38$, $p<.001$; $r_M(649)=-.21$, $p<.001$) and emotional control ($r_{OF}(651)=-.31$, $p<.001$;

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Table 9. Intercorrelations among gender measures and age.

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CMNI															
1. Domince.	.23***	.19***	.30***	.27***	.27***	.21***	.29***	.34***	.50***	.24***	.34***	-.34***	-.20***	-.13***	-.11**
2. Emotional control	--	.31***	.35***	.40***	.03	.52***	-.11**	.25***	.27***	.19***	.09*	-.59***	-.31***	-.20***	.18***
3. Disdain homosex.		--	.21***	.42***	.02	.12**	.04***	.25***	.24***	.06	.10**	-.26***	-.31***	-.31***	.09*
4. Playboy			--	.50***	.28***	.24***	-.01	.34***	.26***	.18***	.07	-.45***	-.38***	-.21***	-.07
5. Power Women				--	.15***	.32***	-.06	.36***	.32***	.20***	.03	-.44***	-.59***	-.47***	.09*
6. Risk taking					--	.063	.22***	.40***	.42***	.03	.37***	-.16***	-.12***	-.09*	-.32***
7. Self-reliance						--	-.13***	.22***	.26***	.14***	-.01	-.34***	-.23***	-.10**	.02
8. Pursuit of status							--	.19***	.35***	.06	.25***	.04	.03	-.01	-.32***
9. Violence								--	.41***	.03	.15***	-.33***	-.21***	-.18***	-.23***
10. Winning									--	.20***	.41***	-.31***	-.29***	-.23***	-.17***
11. Primacy of work										--	.13***	-.20***	-.15***	-.12***	.08*
PAQ															
12. Masc.											--	-.02	-.06	-.04	.08
13. Fem.												--	.38***	.27***	-.08*
Sexism															
14. Old fash'd													--	.41***	-.08*
15. Modern														--	.04
16. Age															--

Note: *p<.05, **p< 0.01, ***p<.001.

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$r_M(649)=-.20$, $p<.001$) norms were also present. The sexism scales were significantly but weakly (i.e., $r < .2$) correlated with all remaining CMNI subscales.

Stereotype Endorsement Rates

The average, family, sensitive, and effeminate types were the most commonly endorsed best overall type (n>30), with average being chosen by slightly more than half of the sample (313/606). The country, criminal, player and tough types were endorsed by relatively few participants ($n\leq5$) and so were excluded from all inferential analyses. Content elements of each type are presented as part of the third research question and will be discussed in further detail in that context. The four most common types were endorsed at notably different rates for the undergraduate and non-undergraduate samples and these differences appear to be driven by the female subsample (table 10). Male undergraduates and non-undergraduates only differed in their endorsement of the family type.

Table 10. Identity type endorsement rates by undergraduate student status.

	Whole Sample Student[a]/Non	X^2	Female Student[a]/Non	X^2	Male Student[a]/Non	X^2
Average	181 / 119	6.32*	108 / 37	7.22**	73 / 82	1.98
Business	5 / 9	1.70	1 / 1	--	4 / 8	.33
Country	3 / 2	--	2 / 0	--	1 / 2	--
Criminal	4 / 1	--	3 / 0	--	1 / 1	--
Effeminate	27 / 4	14.40**	26 / 2	10.26**	1 / 2	--
Family	16 / 105	77.21**	13 / 57	61.84**	3 / 48	26.68**
Jock	9 / 5	.70	4 / 2	--	5 / 3	--
Nerd	10 / 9	.00	5 / 3	--	5 / 6	.07
Nonconformist	9 / 3	2.31	3 / 1	--	6 / 2	--
Player	3 / 0	--	0 / 0	--	3 / 0	--
Sensitive	48 / 22	6.74**	32 / 9	3.63	16 / 13	2.23
Tough	3 / 2	--	0 / 0	--	2 / 2	--

Note: [a]Students were full time college students under the age of 25.
*$p<.05$, **$p<.01$.

Question 1: Contextual and Longitudinal Consistency

The question of consistency was addressed by calculating the number of times an individual endorsed their one best type in each of the four specific contexts (i.e., family, work,

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friends, preferred activities) and then converting this to a percentage. This produced a mean of

.55 and relatively large standard deviation of .32. As can be seen in Figure 1, endorsement

levels were almost evenly distributed with a minority of participants (58/606) reporting that they

were best described by a type that they had not endorsed for any context. This finding offers

support for both the contextually oriented theories (e.g., Eagly, 1987; Turner, 1999) and the

psychodynamically oriented theories (e.g., Block, 1984; Wade, 1998).

Figure 1. Consistency of stereotype endorsement across 4 contexts.

Consistency of reporting one best type across contexts
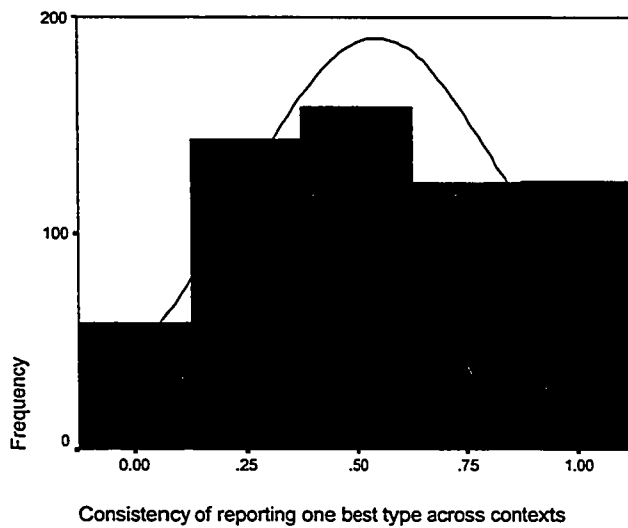
The data do not initially suggest that consistency is related to age ($r(601)=.01$, ns).

Computation of separate correlations for "traditional" college students (i.e., full time students

under age 24) and non-students (students: $r(313)=-.04$, ns; non-students: $r(238)=.18$, $p=.006$)

suggests that consistency may increase with age after college graduation, although consistency

rates were not different for these groups (.52 vs. .56; $t(584)=1.52$, ns).

In an effort to determine whether certain identity types were more contextually

consistent than others, consistency scores were examined by computing an omnibus F-test and

all pairwise comparisons were examined using Dunnett's C. This is the appropriate post-hoc test

because cell sizes were unequal and equality of variances could not be assumed (Kirk, 1995).

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Nerds, who were the least contextually consistent, differed significantly from the effeminate, sensitive, jock, and average types (Table 11). The omnibus test revealed that group differences existed ($F(7,565)=14.91$, $p<.001$). Average individuals, who were most consistent, differed from the nerd, business and family types, all of whom had less than 50% contextual consistency. A complete list of group differences is provided in Appendix C.

Table 11. Contextual and temporal consistency as a function of type and sex.

		Contextual Consistency			Temporal Consistency[b]	
	n	Mean (SD)[a]	Sex differences	n	Mean (SD)	Sex differences
Average	313	.65 (.29)**	F > M	60	.53 (.49)	ns
Business	15	.30 (.22)**	F < M	2	—	—
Country	5	.38 (.32)	—	1	—	—
Criminal	5	.05 (.11)	—	0	—	—
Effeminate	33	.52 (.25)	ns	1	—	—
Family	112	.40 (.29)**	F > M	69	.33 (.39)	ns
Jock	14	.63 (.25)	ns	1	—	—
Nerd	18	.24 (.25)**	ns	5	.10 (.22)	—
Nonconformist	12	.35 (.39)	ns	1	—	—
Player	3	.33 (.38)	—	0	—	—
Sensitive	64	.53 (.33)	—	9	.50 (.50)	—
Tough	5	.55 (.27)	—	2	—	—
Total	606	.55 (.32)	F > M	154	.44 (.46)	ns

Note: [a]Assessed vs. all others; [b]only reported for $n \geq 10$; [c]assessed only when total $n \geq 10$. *$p<.05$; **$p<.01$.

Temporal consistency was assessed by computing the percentage of matches between a participant's one best type and his/her best type at ages 20 (if over 35) and 40 (if over 55). Temporal consistency (M=.44, sd=.46) was poorer than contextual consistency (.55 vs. .44; $t(142)=2.68$, $p=.008$). About one third of participants (35.7%) reported consistency across all ages for which they provided data (figure 2). Temporal consistency was more closely related to age among these participants ($r(152)=.24$, $p=.002$) than it was for the entire noncollege sample ($r=.18$, see earlier) although the magnitude of this relationship is still somewhat small. Contextual and temporal consistency were significantly correlated ($r(143)=.38$, $p<.001$).

Because few participants who provided information regarding their masculine type at two or more times had never had children ($n=16/154$) or had never been married ($n=8/154$), it is

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impossible to assess the impact of these factors on longitudinal stability. The two most frequently reported types over time, average and family, accounted for 84.3% of those for whom longitudinal consistency had been assessed. Consequently, differences in longitudinal consistency were assessed through direct comparison of these two identity groups; family type individuals reported signficantly greater inconsistency over time ($t(127)=2.61$, $p=.01$).

Figure 2. Consistency of stereotype endorsement over time.

Consistency of reporting one type over time
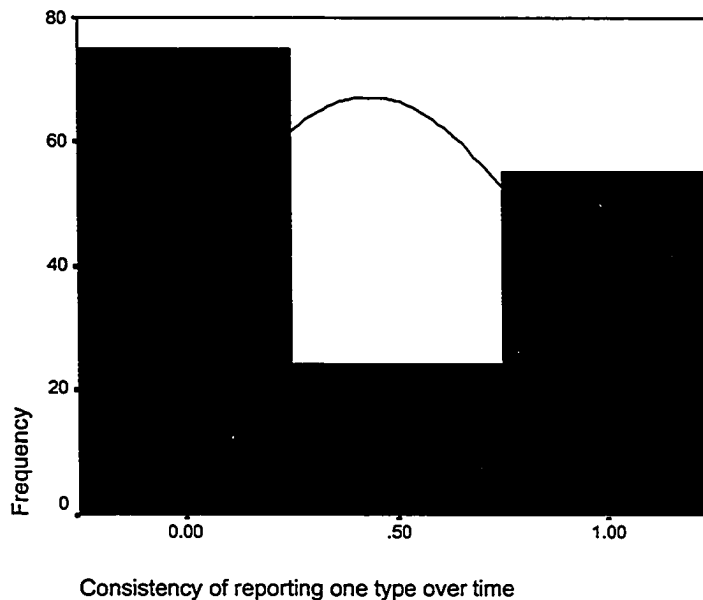
Differences By and Within Sex

Sex differences in consistency percentage were assessed; women demonstrated greater consistency than men across context (.57 vs. .52; $t(604)=2.10$, $p=.036$) but not time (.49 vs. .38; $t(152)=1.48$, ns). Because the contextual values were fairly close to a 50% consistency rate, the difference may have little practical significance.

Females demonstrated relatively higher levels of contextual consistency within the average ($t(298)=6.13$, $p<.001$) type and less consistency within the family type ($t(298)=3.55$, $p=.001$). Males were more contextually consistent when they identified as average ($t(303)=6.63$, $p<.001$) and less consistent when they described themselves as business

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$(t(303)=3.07, p=.002)$, family $(t(303)=4.57, p<.001)$, or possibly nerd $(t(303)=2.06, p=.040)$. These findings indicate that contextual consistency varies with type and sex.

These results suggest that consistency in stereotype identification across contexts and over time is neither common nor uncommon. Most individuals endorsed the same identity type in at least two of the four settings and sizable minorities endorsed the same identity type across all 4 contexts (~20%) or not at all (~10%). Average individuals, the largest identity group, reported significantly greater levels of consistency than other types but were one of only two types whose consistency was notably greater than 50%. The finding that most individuals identified with at least two different images in different settings is more consistent with the socially oriented theories (e.g., Eagly, 1987; Turner, 1999) than the psychodnymaic theories (e.g., Block, 1983; Wade, 1998). Women were significantly more contextually consistent than men, but this finding appears to have little practical significance given that both sexes had mean consistency scores of just over 50%.

Question 2: Relative influences

The second hypothesis focused on the relative influence of parents, models and media on an individual's endorsement of stereotypically masculine and feminine attributes and attitudes. Assessment occurred on several levels, including the relative frequency of different types of self-identified models (i.e., what types of people regularly serve as models) and the relations between the individual's CMNI and their perceptions of their model's CMNI. For a subset of individuals $(n=85)$, at least 1 parent or grandparent also completed the survey and these influences were compared directly with participants' perceptions of their model's CMNI. Analysis using familial dyads from the secondary sample was not undertaken because of administrative difficulties in tracking these relations (e.g., reporting errors).

At the simplest level, examination of the types of individuals that participants identified as their models is quite revealing. Approximately 17% of survey respondents did not identify a role model and so were excluded from the analyses discussed in the remainder of this section.

Not naming a model or reporting no model is not inherently problematic for theories that focus on models (e.g., Bandura, 1989) because these theories describe how individuals learn from others in their environment; they do not require the existence of a specific preferred model.

Among participants who reported a model, family members were significantly more common ($X^2(4)=753.18$, $p<.001$) and were most typically either mother or father (Table 12). Media figures from the entertainment industry were the next most common group (13.8%), followed by professional and Olympic athletes (7.1%). No businesspeople were identified as models but this may result from the question's specification of "when you were growing up." Not surprisingly, participants reported knowing their familial models better than media models ($t(440)=37.16$, $p<.001$) and tended to choose same-sex models (89.34% vs. 10.66%; $X^2(1,567)=337.754$, $p<.001$).

Table 12. Frequency of model types.

	Frequency	Percentage[a]
Family	366	66.4
Media (entertainment)	76	13.8
Athletics	39	7.1
Friends, family friends, club members, coworkers	38	6.9
Teachers, coaches, other caretakers (e.g., babysitter)	32	4.8
No model reported [b]	121	--

[a]Percentage who reported a model; [b]18% of the sample reported no model.

It seems plausible that certain stereotypical identities would "prefer" certain types of models, consistent with Arnett's (1991a) metalheads who reported much greater preference for musicians than their own parents. All identity types endorsed family members except for toughs (but $n=4$). Only the four most common types (average, effeminate, family, senseitive) identified a friend-type model. This absence is not particularly surprising for any given identity because of their relatively low endorsement levels ($n \leq 16$), but is more striking in the aggregate ($n=62$).

The uneven distributions of both social identities and model types limits the computation of inferential statistics to the average and family types. Not surprisingly, individuals of these two types resembled the overall sample in their high endorsement of familial models and

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correspondingly lower levels of identification of other types of models (average:

$X^2(4,261)=5.597$, $p=.231$; family: $X^2(4)=.824$, $p=.935$). Athletes were very rarely identified as

models by effeminate (0/31) and sensitive individuals (2/62) but the statistical significance of this

distribution could not be assessed because of the low expected frequencies (i.e., less than 5

athletes). Although the small cell sizes warrant no generalizations, nonconformists (2/8) and

nerds (4/15) identified media figures at a relatively high rate (vs. 7.1% sample). Jocks'

identification of athletes as models were also elevated (3/13 vs. 13.8% sample).

Overall, the choice of model reflects the primacy of sex and family members in model

selection. Among those who chose models outside of their family, the data offer some evidence

that the type of model selected is related to an individual's stereotypical identity.

Examination revealed that participant's CMNI responses and their perceptions of their

model's responses were significantly correlated (Table 13). Model's perceived CMNI responses,

like participant's responses, were highly intercorrelated. To assess the patterns of influence,

individual's CMNI scores were regressed on all of the model's scores and thus controlled for the

intercorrelations among predictors (Table 14). Because the focus is on the relative influence of

different sources, the relations for specific CMNI scores will not be addressed in detail. It is

important to note that for every CMNI scale, the model's same scale was the largest predictor

(e.g., model dominance was the largest statistical predictor for participant dominance) with

$b\geq.324$ for all scales except primacy of work. The primacy of work scale was also the only

measure for which less than 10% of the variance in individual scores was explained. Model's

primacy of work and power over women were the most common significant predictors; each

significantly predicted scores on four other scales.

Examination of the model's influence requires a repetition of this procedure for each type

of model. However, recommendations suggest a minimum of 115 participants for the

identification of individual predictors from this many scales (and 138 for multiple correlation;

Table 13. Correlations between CMNI scales for model and self.

Model CMNI	Participant CMNI										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Dominance	0.38***	0.15***	0.08	0.15***	0.13**	0.18***	0.18***	0.16***	0.12**	0.23***	0.05
2. Emotional control	0.15***	0.39***	0.20***	0.17***	0.28***	0.04	0.28***	-0.07	0.18***	0.22***	0.11**
3. Disdain homo.	0.09*	0.16***	0.52***	0.01	0.14***	-0.00	0.06	0.04	0.08	0.16***	-0.05
4. Playboy	0.20***	0.22***	0.18***	0.48***	0.39***	0.15***	0.16***	-0.02	0.24***	0.18***	0.14***
5. Power over women	0.28***	0.29***	0.34***	0.32***	0.59***	0.10*	0.19***	-0.02	0.27***	0.26***	0.12**
6. Risk taking	0.12**	0.15***	0.08	0.20***	0.16***	0.38***	0.15***	0.12**	0.22***	0.23***	0.06
7. Self-reliance	0.21***	0.24***	0.10	0.16***	0.23***	0.11*	0.42***	0.03	0.22***	0.21***	0.08
8. Pursue status	0.14***	-0.01	0.07	0.08	-0.04	0.20***	-0.00	0.46***	0.11**	0.15***	-0.07
9. Violence	0.22***	0.24***	0.18***	0.29***	0.30***	0.27***	0.22***	0.11**	0.52***	0.34***	0.07
10. Winning	0.20***	0.19***	0.19***	0.21***	0.16***	0.26***	0.18***	0.19***	0.26***	0.42***	0.03
11. Primacy work	0.13**	0.12**	0.03	0.18***	0.01	0.15***	0.05	0.00	0.06	0.09	0.18***

Note: *$p<.05$, **$p<0.01$, ***$p<.001$.

Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Results are provided for family type models (n=366). Despite the smaller than desired cell size (n=76), media based models were also assessed in this manner (Table 14). This cell size requires that these results be discussed tentatively, but some general conclusions can be drawn.

The finding that family models were significantly related to individual scores on all 11 measures while media models demonstrated significant associations for only 8 of the 11 measures is worth further comment but it is possible that this is a function of sample size. Among the family sample, each scale had the model's same scale as the largest predictor (e.g., model dominance was the largest statistical predictor for participant dominance). By contrast, this pattern appeared for only 5 of the 11 scales for those with media models. The playboy scale, assessing acceptance of promiscuity, significantly predicted three other scales among the family models but was a nonsignificant predictor for media models. Power over women was also related to a number of scores, but differed in its relations for family and media models and tended to explain more variance (i.e., larger betas) within the media models.

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Table 14. Regression analyses of individual CMNI scores on model CMNI scores.

	Whole sample (n=552)		Family (n=359)		Media (n=73)	
	adj R^2	Predictors (beta)	adj R^2	Predictors (beta)	adj R^2	Predictors (beta)
Dominance	.168**	Dominance (.373)	.183**	**Dominance (.292)**	.165*	**Dominance (.551)**
		Power over Women (.180)		Power over women (.203)		Emotional control (-.376)
						Pursuit of status (-.326)
Emotional control	.165**	Emotional control (.330)	.229**	Emotional control (.441)	ns	
Disdain for homosexuality	.313**	Disdain for homosex. (.487)	.238**	**Disdain homosex. (.420)**	.445**	**Disdain homosex. (.615)**
		Power over Women (.158)		Power over women (.153)		
		Playboy (.143)		Self reliance (-.124)		
		Dominance (-.142)		Playboy (.120)		
		Self reliance (-.133)				
Playboy	.242**	Playboy (.420)	.209**	Playboy (.384)	.141*	Power over women (.369)
		Power over Women (.148)		Primacy of work (.108)		
		Primacy of work (.097)				
Power over women	.384**	Power over Women (.581)	.412**	**Power over women (.593)**	.387**	**Power over women (.707)**
		Playboy (.183)		Playboy (.199)		Disdain for homosex. (-.320)
		Primacy of work (-.099)		Dominance (-.109),		
Risk taking	.145**	Risk taking (.324)	.119**	Risk taking (.294)	.149*	Power over women (.363)
Self reliance	.181**	Self reliance (.396)	.170**	Self reliance (.394)	ns	
		Pursuit of status (-.106)				
Pursuit of status	.242**	Pursuit of status (.530)	.272**	**Pursuit of status (.471)**	.190*	Winning (.452)
		Playboy (-.156)		Playboy (-.167)		**Pursuit of status (.392)**
		Primacy of work (-.136)		Violence (.135)		
				Primacy of work (-.127)		
Violence	.294**	Violence (.602)	.318**	**Violence (.627)**	.263**	**Violence (.459)**
		Dominance (-.177)		Dominance (-.151)		Risk taking (-.411)
		Risk taking (-.105)		Disdain for homosex. (-.109)		Power over women (.383)

(Table continues)

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	adj R^2	Whole sample (n=552) Predictors (beta)	adj R^2	Family (n=359) Predictors (beta)	adj R^2	Media (n=73) Predictors (beta)
Winning	.219**	Winning (.506) Primacy of work (-.122) Power over Women (.121) Violence (.118)	.218**	**Winning (.473)**	.324**	**Winning (.678)** Primacy of work (-.326)
Primacy of work	.059**	Primacy of work (.219) Pursuit of status (-.117)	.134**	Primacy of work (.328)	ns	

Note: *p<.05, **p<.01; only significant predictors are listed; bold type indicates significance for both family and media model types.

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A more direct assessment of the influence of parents and models was provided by analyzing data for 85 undergraduates and their parents (n=78) or grandparents (n=7) who also completed the survey. Although this sample is also smaller than statistically desirable, the focus is again on the overall pattern of results and not the specific predictors. The amount of variance explained and list of significant predictors (with beta weights) are provided in Table 15. Noteworthy in this Table is that children's scores were related to their parent's scores for only 3 of the 11 measures but were related to their model's scores for 7 measures. This finding may reflect the fact that participants completed the CMNI for themselves and their models, thus highlighting participants' perceptions of others (i.e., their models) and minimizing reality (i.e., their parents). Zero order correlations between undergraduates and their elders revealed no intergenerational similarities for the PAQ (masculinity/instrumentality, femininity/expressiveness; r's $\leq$.16, $p\geq$.14). Nor were there any detectable relations between the two sexism scales (r's $\leq$.18, $p\geq$.10), although greater parental belief in the power over women was related to greater modern sexism scores (r(83)=-.29, p=.008). That is, familial belief in the power over women was associated with more subtle sexist attitudes.

The parents in this subsample only endorsed the four most common types (i.e, average, effeminate, family, sensitive) and favored the family type (42/72). Their children were more varied, endorsing all 12 stereotypical identities, and were not especially likely to endorse the same type as their parents (17/69). The data indicate parental contextual consistency is unrelated to their children's contextual consistency (r(57)=-.02, p=.89) but this is not surprising given the low contextual consistency of undergraduate students. A minority of student participants who completed surveys recruited a parent or grandparent who was identified as their

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Table 15. Regression of participants' CMNI scores on parental and model CMNI scores.

| | Parents/grandparents | | Models | |
	adj r²	Predictors (beta)	adj r²	Predictors (beta)
Dominance	.169**	**Dominance (.575)** **Pursuit of status (-.309)**	.154*	**Dominance (.373)** Risk taking (-.351) **Pursuit of status (-.321)**
Emotional control	ns		ns	
Disdain for homosexuality	.319**	**Disdain for homosex. (.468)** Dominance (.333) Violence (.322)	.287**	**Disdain for homosex. (.387)** Power over women (.327)
Playboy	ns		ns	
Power over women	ns		.358**	Power over women (.655)
Risk taking	.121*	Violence (.415)	.157*	Risk taking (.390) Power over women (.292)
Self reliance	ns		.145*	Pursuit of status (-.400) Self reliance (.306)
Pursuit of status	ns		ns	
Violence	ns		.248**	Violence (.535) Playboy (-.407)
Winning	ns		.271**	Winning (.607) Pursuit of status (-.509) Self reliance (-.347)
Primacy of work	ns		ns	

Note: *p<.05, **p<.01, n=85; only significant predictors are listed; predictors in bold type were significant for both the family and model influences.

model (n=33). Correlational analyses reveals that these dyads are not particularly similar in their PAQ attributes, sexist attitudes (incl. power over women) or the consistency with which they endorse stereotypes. Data from this group suggests that participants' perceptions of their parents were fairly accurate. Correlations of model's CMNI scores and parents actual CMNI scores were significantly related for 8 of the 11 scales and ranged from .39 (playboy) to .66 (winning). Only dominance (r(31)=.32, p=.07), power over women (r(31)=.29, p=.10), and self-reliance (r(31)=.07, p=.70) were unrelated.

Analysis of direct relations between media sources and participants' own attitudes, beliefs and behaviors were performed separately because media influences are more distal and therefore expected to be relatively weaker. Analysis focused on the frequency with which an individual consumed audio and visual media (radio, music from my collection, television, music television (MTv), attended movies in a theatre, world wide web) and whether an individual regularly used a variety of print media (newspapers, magazines, pleasure reading). This

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approach is suggested by findings that greater exposure to television, which tends to be very stereotypical, is associated with greater possession of stereotypical attitudes (cf. Signorielli, 2001). Time spent with one medium were not particularly related to time spent with another medium, with two exceptions (Table 16). Greater levels of viewing MTv were related to greater time engaged with all other audio and visual media assessed and negatively correlated with reading books and newspapers, although none of these correlations was particularly strong (r ≤.27). Reading newspapers regularly was negatively correlated with less fequent use of MTv, one's own music collections, the world wide web, and movie attendance in the theatre and positively correlated with listening to the radio and reading both magazines and books. There was a comparatively strong positive correlation (r=.34) between time spent listening to one's own music collection and time on the world wide web, but this correlation explains only 12% of the variability in these two measures.

Table 16. Intercorrelations for media time use.

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. MTv time[a]	.24***	.11**	.27***	.20***	.23***	-.20***	-.20***	.02
2. Music you own[a]	—	.03	.01	.34***	.16***	.01	-.20***	-.04
3. Radio time[a]		—	.12**	-.05	-.05	.02	.15***	.03
4. Television time[a]			—	.09*	.05	-.12**	.05	.07
5. Internet time[a]				—	.13**	-.03	-.15***	.02
6. Attend movies					—	.05	-.11**	.13**
7. Read books[b]						—	.23***	.16***
8. Read newspapers[b]							--	.18***
9. Read magazines[b]								—

Note: *p<.05, **p< 0.01, ***p<.001; [a]hours per day; [b]read regularly, 0=no, 1=yes.

Of greater interest to the present examination were the relations between media time and the measures of gender typed behavior. Correlational analysis, controlling the error rate at α=.05/15=.003, revealed that greater time with two types of media have the broadest influence: music from one's own collection and reading books. Reading books for pleasure on a regular basis was associated with less disdain for homosexuality (r(648)=-.23, p<.001), less sexist beliefs (modern: r(646)=.21, p<.001; old fashioned: r(648)=.21, p<.001), less support for power over women (r(651)=-.19, p<.001), less support for the playboy norm (r(651)=-.12, p=.002), less support for the use of violence (r(651)=-.13, p=.001) and less emphasis on winning (r(651)=-

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.14, $p<.001$). More simply, reading for pleasure was associated with greater equality across sexes and sexual orientations. Listening to music from one's collection was associated with greater risk taking ($r(653)=.16$, $p<.001$), possession of more feminine/expressive attributes ($r(651)=.19$, $p<.001$); and less support for norms regarding emotional control ($r(654)=-.18$, $p<.001$), disdain for homosexuality ($r(650)=-.14$, $p<.001$), power over women ($r(653)=-.16$, $p<.001$), and the primacy of work ($r(653)=-.13$, $p=.001$). This suggests that listening to one's own music collection is more consistent with the overall stereotype of femininity but the small magnitude of these correlations suggests a weak relationship.

A topical approach was also adopted to examine the possiblity that certain genres were related to specific gender measures. This was quantified by identifying the consistency with which individuals reported consuming particular genres (action/adventure, men's, pornography, religious, science fiction, sports, women's) across selected media (movies in theatres, rented movies, television, magazines, books)[3]. Assessment of all genres across all media was not undertaken because of the exploratory nature of this aspect of the research, concerns about overwhelming participants with an exhaustive list of options, and the fact that not all genres are available on all media (e.g., no pornography on television). Among the seven genres examined here, there were no particularly strong intercorrelations (i.e., $r>.3$) and only one correlation exceeded .2, but some general patterns were observed (Table 17). In particular, a preference for sports media was associated with greater preference for action/adventure, pornography, and men's magazines and negatively related to the women's genre. Greater preference for women's media was associated with less preference for the action/adventure, men's, science fiction, and sports genres. Both of these suggest the overall stereotype for masculine and feminine genres, including their mutual exclusivity. There were few significant correlations between media time and genres, the strongest of which revealed that greater time reading magazines is related to a preference for the women's ($r(499)=.29$, $p<.001$) and men's genres ($r(650)=.21$, $p<.001$).

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Table 17. Intercorrelations among preferred media genres.

	Action	Porn.	Sports	Science fiction	Women's	Men's	Religious
Action/adventure	—	-.027	.175***	-.043	-.143**	.066	-.025
Pornography		—	.150**	.012	-.069	.039	.011
Sports			—	-.059	-.234***	.165***	-.058
Science fiction				—	-.137**	.032	.097*
Women's					—	-.167***	-.007
Men's						—	.034
Religious							—

Note: *$p<.05$, **$p<.01$, ***$p<.001$. The controlled error rate was $\alpha=.007$.

Correlational analysis of the relations between increased use of particular media genres and the gender related measures revealed noteworthy connections between the action/adventure, men's, sports and women's genres. The error rate for this correlational analysis was controlled at $\alpha=.05/15=.003$ and all correlations are provided in Table 18. Sports media had the broadest influence, demonstrating correlations with 11 of 15 measures. More specifically, greater preference for sports related media was positively correlated with winning, risk taking, violence, disdain for homosexuality, playboy, power over women, emotional control, sexism (old fashioned, modern) and PAQ masculinity and negatively correlated with PAQ femininity/expressiveness. Most of these correlations exceeded the relatively weak threshhold of .2, suggesting little influence on any particular norm, but the commonness with which this genre was associated with these gender typical measures may reflect a broader influence.

The action/adventure, men's and women's genres also followed this pattern, each of which was related to 4-6 measures in the expected directions. Among these three genres, the only correlation that exceeded .2 was the positive relation between the men's genre and violence ($r=.26$). Greater preference for pornography was related to greater support for norms regarding power over women and playboy (i.e., promiscuity) and more sexist attitudes (old fashioned).

Summarizing the findings on relative influences, a preference for familial models was clearly identified. There was no clear support for certain stereotypical identity groups preferring

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[3] Participants who reported preferences for multiple movie genres, either at home or in the theatre, were excluded because the question format asked for a single favored type. Consequently, the action/adventure, pornography, and science fiction categories have reduced sample sizes.

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Table 18. Correlations between preferred media genres and gender measures.

	Action	Men's	Porn.	Sports	Religious	Science fiction	Women's
CMNI							
Dominance	.05	.11**	.04	.11*	-.08	.03	-.00
Emotional Control	.14***	.08	.04	.23***	-.03	.00	-.10*
Disdain for homosexuality	.14***	.13**	.04	.25***	.02	-.08	-.05
Playboy	.06	.18***	.13**	.17***	-.06	.03	-.12**
Power Over Women	.08*	.15***	.13**	.27***	.02	.00	-.07
Risk Taking	.07	.14***	.03	.19***	-.11**	.03	-.14**
Self-Reliance	.08	.07	.05	.11*	-.09	.02	.06
Pursuit of Status	-.01	.06	-.05	.01	-.06	.06	-.02
Violence	.14**	.26***	.03	.22***	-.05	.10*	-.16***
Winning	.14***	.18***	.09*	.34***	-.16***	.06	-.18***
Primacy of Work	.04	-.07	.08*	.06	-.07	-.04	.02
PAQ							
Masculinity/instrumentality	.18***	.09*	.03	.22***	-.06	.02	-.14**
Femininity/expressiveness	-.10*	-.04	-.10*	-.23***	-.04	-.01	.11*
Sexism							
Modern	-.04	-.06	-.12**	-.18***	.02	.04	.10*
Old fashioned	-.06	-.11**	-.17***	-.26***	-.02	-.00	.17***
Religion strength	-.04	-.06	-.05	-.06	-.09*	.20***	.08

Note: *$p<.05$, **$p<.01$,***$p<.001$; the controlled error rate for these analyses was $\alpha=.003$.

particular types of models (e.g., business individuals for businesspeople) and the data suggest

that sensitive and effeminate types have a preference against athletes as models. Perceptions of

models' beliefs were clearly related to an individual's own beliefs, although the present study

does not allow us to determine whose beliefs came first, the participant's or their model's. There

was some evidence that the pattern of relations varies across types of models (e.g., family,

media), although larger subsamples are needed. Perceptions of model's beliefs were more

closely related to participants beliefs than were the actual beliefs of the participant's parents.

Examination of the influence of media and individual beliefs revealed that greater time with

nonvisual, highly selectable media (music collection, books) were egalitarian and nonmasculine.

However, a preference for either sports or women's media revealed associations consistent with

the broad stereotypes of masculinity and femininity, respectively.

Differences By and Within Sex

Analysis included a brief examination of sex differences in media consumption and a

replication of the analysis described above. There were few sex differences in the time

participants consumed a medium. Women tended to watch MTv for slightly longer than men ($t(653)=3.46$, $p=.001$), which is somewhat surprising given the criticism of music videos as highly sexist. However, means for both sexes reflected the same range of MTv time, 1-3 hours per day. Women were more likely to read pleasure books ($t(652)=4.76$, $p<.001$) and less likely to read the newspaper regularly ($t(655)=4.40$, $p<.001$) than men.

Examination of the relations between time spent with each medium and the gender related measures revealed few correlations as ten of the fifteen measures demonstrated no relation to media time among female participants. Only time spent wathcing MTv was related to more than one of the gender measures. In particular, greater viewing of MTv was associated with women's greater levels of endorsement of four stereotypically male norms: dominance ($r(333)=.19$, $p<.001$), risk taking ($r(333)=.22$, $p<.001$), pursuit of status ($r(333)=.26$, $p<.001$), and winning ($r(333)=.20$, $p<.001$), all of which exceeded .19. The lack of correlation with the measures of sexism (e.g., sexism, power over women; all $r<.05$), suggests that women who are heavier viewers of MTv may not be particularly influenced by its sexist content and may be more empowered.

Among males, time spent with specific media also demonstrated few relations to the other measures. Pleasure reading and listening to one's own music collection accounted for all but one of the significant correlations and all exceeded an absolute strength of .19. Males who read books were less sexist (modern: $r(312)=.25$, $p<.001$; old-fashioned: $r(314)=.20$, $p<.001$) and less disdainful of homosexuality ($r(315)=-.23$, $p<.001$). Those who listen to music from their collection tended to endorse more feminine/expressive qualities ($r(316)=.21$, $p<.001$), less emotional control ($r(318)=-.20$, $p<.001$), and less importance for the primacy of work ($r(318)=-.21$, $p<.001$). Both of these findings echo the whole sample, including the suggestion that pleasure reading (egalitarian) and listening to one's own music collection (effeminate) are not particularly masculine activities.

There were substantial differences across the sexes regarding preferred genres. Women were much more likely to ever express a preference for women's media ($X^2(1)=97.50$, $p<.001$)

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and much less likely to ever express a preference for action/adventure ($X^2(1)=50.68$, $p<.001$), men's ($X^2(1)=66.15$, $p<.001$), or sports genres ($X^2(1)\geq133.56$, $p<.001$). Although the vast majority of participants did not prefer pornography, only 1 of the 14 participants who did was female ($X^2(1)=11.13$, $p<.001$).

Consistently preferring one type of media demonstrated few relations to the gender measures for either women or men. Among women, greater preference for religious materials was related to greater religiosity ($r(286)=.25$, $p<.001$) and less emphasis on winning ($r(287)=-.23$, $p<.001$). Contrary to content analysis of some women's magazines as highly stereotypical (Carpenter, 1998; Durham, 1998), women who preferred women's media (magazines and/or books) tended to be more self-reliant ($r(284)=.20$, $p<.001$). Men who preferred sports related media tended to place a greater emphasis on winning ($r(214)=.28$, $p<.001$) and those who preferred men's magazines offered greater support for the use of violence ($r(317)=.25$, $p<.001$).

Sex-based anlayses revealed some differences in media consumed by time and genre and few direct associations between media use and the gender measures. This lack of relations was surprising in light of the associations documented for the whole sample. Combining the sex differences in consumption with the pattern of results for the entire sample, the data suggest that men and women have relatively separate media diets and consumption of these different media are related to the broad stereotypes of masculinity and femininity. More simply, the possession of a generally masculine or feminine media diet is related to a generally masculine or feminine set of gender beliefs, both of which are related to sex.

Question 3: Relative distinctiveness of stereotypical identities.

The third hypothesis examined the relative uniqueness of the 12 stereotypes. Table 19 reports the number of participants that identified each type as the one type that best described them, accompanied by means and standard deviations for the gender measures. Identities are sequenced from most to least masculine using the pilot study rankings, with effeminate listed last. None of the six most masculine types were endorsed by more than 16 participants.

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Because of the small number of participants who identified themselves as country, criminal, players, or toughs (each $n<10$), these types have been excluded from inferential analyses.

Table 19. Means and standard deviations on gender measures by type.

	Jock n=16	Tough n=5	Business n=15	Player n=3	Nonconform. n=13	Criminal n=5
CMNI[a]						
Dominance	1.53 (0.36)	1.75 (0.25)	1.77 (0.33)	2.25 (0.50)	1.72 (0.58)	1.35 (0.29)
Emotional Control	1.39 (0.56)	2.18 (0.31)	1.53 (0.59)	1.56 (0.47)	1.29 (0.61)	1.55 (0.75)
Disdain for homosex.	1.97 (0.60)	1.90 (0.69)	1.88 (0.59)	1.83 (0.75)	1.34 (0.56)	1.62 (0.46)
Playboy	1.11 (0.49)	1.14 (0.63)	1.11 (0.46)	1.71 (0.70)	1.18 (0.51)	0.93 (0.39)
Power over Women	1.18 (0.51)	1.25 (0.52)	1.01 (0.22)	1.48 (0.06)	1.00 (0.51)	1.04 (0.22)
Risk Taking	1.73 (0.28)	1.51 (0.16)	1.67 (0.39)	2.07 (0.46)	1.88 (0.38)	1.90 (0.45)
Self-Reliance	1.29 (0.43)	1.75 (0.39)	1.31 (0.48)	1.17 (0.33)	1.35 (0.69)	1.30 (0.49)
Pursuit of Status	1.75 (0.42)	1.72 (0.26)	2.07 (0.28)	2.11 (0.51)	2.03 (0.42)	2.00 (0.31)
Violence	1.59 (0.45)	2.18 (0.65)	1.56 (0.33)	1.79 (0.14)	1.38 (0.76)	2.00 (0.23)
Winning	1.84 (0.49)	1.50 (0.34)	1.71 (0.38)	1.93 (0.35)	1.53 (0.44)	1.48 (0.22)
Primacy of Work	1.20 (0.38)	1.22 (0.65)	1.44 (0.43)	1.58 (0.63)	1.18 (0.42)	0.73 (0.47)
PAQ[b]						
Masculinity	3.70 (0.47)	4.07 (0.57)	3.85 (0.50)	4.13 (0.70)	3.82 (0.54)	3.53 (0.73)
Femininity	3.44 (0.64)	3.08 (0.30)	3.49 (0.73)	3.33 (0.75)	3.71 (0.61)	3.98 (0.45)
Sexism[c]						
Modern	3.12 (0.91)	2.72 (0.59)	2.77 (0.55)	2.47 (0.58)	3.12 (0.49)	3.16 (0.22)
Old fash'd.	2.68 (0.43)	2.49 (0.20)	2.42 (0.40)	2.63 (0.25)	2.85 (0.46)	3.00 (0.38)

(Table continues)

	Average n=313	Country n=5	Family n=121	Sensitive n=70	Nerd n=20	Effeminate n=33
CMNI[a]						
Dominance	1.41 (0.45)	1.95 (0.37)	1.31 (0.44)	1.12 (0.49)	1.31 (0.43)	1.45 (0.49)
Emotional Control	1.27 (0.50)	1.37 (0.34)	1.27 (0.47)	0.99 (0.54)	1.44 (0.56)	1.03 (0.46)
Disdain for homosex.	1.59 (0.51)	1.56 (0.33)	1.65 (0.56)	1.28 (0.60)	1.44 (0.65)	1.38 (0.59)
Playboy	0.95 (0.49)	1.56 (0.41)	0.72 (0.50)	0.69 (0.47)	0.71 (0.60)	0.79 (0.52)
Power Over Women	0.91 (0.42)	0.87 (0.45)	0.89 (0.39)	0.71 (0.44)	0.89 (0.40)	0.73 (0.40)
Risk Taking	1.55 (0.38)	1.86 (0.41)	1.33 (0.36)	1.45 (0.47)	1.41 (0.38)	1.60 (0.38)
Self-Reliance	1.14 (0.49)	1.30 (0.52)	1.07 (0.41)	1.07 (0.54)	1.16 (0.59)	1.04 (0.59)

(Table continues)

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	Average n=313	Country n=5	Family n=121	Sensitive n=70	Nerd n=20	Effeminate n=33
Pursuit of Status	1.82 (0.32)	1.73 (0.15)	1.73 (0.34)	1.75 (0.36)	1.83 (0.31)	1.99 (0.41)
Violence	1.46 (0.45)	1.68 (0.64)	1.19 (0.51)	1.14 (0.54)	1.26 (0.54)	1.34 (0.45)
Winning	1.44 (0.45)	1.16 (0.09)	1.22 (0.38)	1.12 (0.42)	1.29 (0.43)	1.34 (0.51)
Primacy of Work	1.17 (0.40)	0.95 (0.40)	1.15 (0.35)	1.12 (0.38)	1.23 (0.29)	1.22 (0.51)
PAQ[b]						
Masculinity	3.57 (0.51)	3.90 (0.62)	3.65 (0.53)	3.49 (0.47)	3.42 (0.58)	3.50 (0.71)
Femininity	3.84 (0.52)	3.68 (0.82)	3.98 (0.54)	4.32 (0.43)	3.80 (0.57)	4.07 (0.59)
Sexism[c]						
Modern	3.28 (0.56)	3.40 (0.69)	3.34 (0.51)	3.52 (0.53)	3.31 (0.72)	3.47 (0.43)
Old fash'd.	2.82 (0.44)	2.86 (0.33)	2.82 (0.48)	2.92 (0.49)	2.73 (0.49)	2.87 (0.54)

Note: [a]Scale score range is 0-3; [b]Scale score range is 1-5; [c]Scale score range is 1-4, higher scores indicate less sexist attitudes.

The ideal inferential approach would have been to perform a discriminant analysis that included many of the continuous variables. However, because of the large number of continuous variables and the recommendation that the number of cases in each cell readily exceed the number of variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996), only the four most popular types (average, effeminate, family, sensitive) would have been viable candidates for the analysis.

Consequently, omnibus one-way ANOVAs were computed and differences between types were assessed using Dunnett's C, a conservative measure of differences (Kirk, 1995). Identity types that differed from three or more of the seven other types are discussed in the text. The full list of group differences is provided in appendix C. Eight demographic factors were assessed: age, social class, education level, religiosity, number of marriages, number of divorces, number of children, and sexual orientation (assessed using a 7 point Likert type scale with endpoints of homosexual and heterosexual). Three measures of sexual activity, age of first sex, total number of sexual partners, and the number of nonmarital sexual partners were also assessed. To guard against spurious relations, the error rate for omnibus tests was held at .05/11 = .004. Assessment also included the 11 CMNI scales, PAQ femininity and masculinity, and the 2 sexism scales. Collectively identified as "gender measures," the omnibus error rate for these items was held at .05/15 = .003. Revisiting the issue of media use, the 10 measures of media time (e.g., daily hours of television watched, regular reading of newspapers) were assessed with the error

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rate controlled at .05/10=.005. Possession of a stronger preference for the each of the 7 media genres (e.g., religious, sports) was also assessed with the error rate for omnibus tests controlled at .05/7=.007.

Jocks were relatively few in number (*n*=16), a finding consistent with Connell's (1995) claim that such an idealized form (of masculinity) is difficult to attain. Jocks did not clearly differ from other groups on the demographic, gender or media measures, suggesting that as a group, they were not relatively distinct.

Those who reported a *business* identity (*n*=15) did not differ from other groups on any demographic characteristic or in their media use. They consistently provided greater support for the dominance norm and reported more sexist beliefs (modern and old fashioned) than other identity groups.

Nonconformists were no different than other types on any demographic factor or in their media consumption. They had comparatively greater support for the risk taking norm.

Average individuals (*n*=309) constituted the single largest group of participants and nearly half of the sample. They were not expected to differ from other types and did not differ from most other groups on most measures. Average individuals only differed from other groups in their preference for sports media, a finding consistent with the pilot study findings that they enjoyed sports but did not necessarily participate. On the CMNI, they were more supportive than sensitive and family types on approximately half of the scales.

Individuals of the *family* type (*n*=121) differed notably from other types. They tended to be older and more educated, had been married more times and had borne more children, and they had fewer sexual partners per year of sexual activity. Family type individuals offered little support for the risk taking and winning norms. They reported less frequent use of MTv and the internet, less frequent movie theatre attendance, and greater rates of reading the newspaper.

Sensitive individuals (*n*=70) were no different in their demographic characteristics. Five men aged 52 or older self-identified as sensitives, contrary to the idea that historically newer stereotypes would not be endorsed by prior generations, but consistent with the idea that men

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become more feminine as they mature. They offered comparatively little support for the dominance, playboy (promiscuity), violence and winning norms and had significantly lower scores than at least one other type on 8 of the 9 scales for which significant differences existed. Sensitive type individuals tended to reported more feminine/expressive characteristics than most other types and listened to music from their own collection more than other types.

The *nerd* type was also relatively uncommon ($n=20$) and did not differ from other types on any of the assessed measures. The pilot study suggested that a preference for science fiction would be relatively common for this group, and although they preferred this at an elevated rate, they did not differ from other types.

Effeminate individuals ($n=33$) tended to be younger, have had fewer marriages, and have born fewer children. They did not differ on any of the gender measures, including stereotypically feminine/expressive characteristics, nor were they consistently different from any other specific group (e.g., jocks).

Among the four rare types (country, criminal, player, tough), it is interesting to note that 3/5 criminals had parents who divorced, conceptually consistent with findings that children of divorced parents are more likely to engage in antisocial behavior. The 4 country individuals reported being from the middle and working class at equal levels and had fewer years of education on average (12.4 vs. 13.9). Players ($n=3$) appeared to be more sexually active than others, reporting twice as many partners per year as nonplayers (1.33 vs. .69). Two of the three were members of the upper or upper middle class, suggestive of Brannon's (1976) jet-set description. Toughs demonstrated a preference for science fiction (3/4), a genre described as characteristic of nerds in the pilot study. The small sample sizes prevent any firm conclusions from being drawn.

Collectively, these findings indicate that the identity types possess some relatively unique characteristics. Differences were limited almost exclusively to three of the four most common identity types (family, sensitive and effeminate but not average) and these four types also

demonstrated some distinctive pairwise differences from each other. The four less common types (business, jock, nerd, nonconformist) demonstrated few consistent differences.

Differences By and Within Sex

Men and women in this sample did not differ on the demographic variables except in that men had received more education than women ($t(665)=4.53$, $p<.001$), a finding likely related to the fact that the majority of the women were undergraduates. Males also reported a greater number of sexual partners ($t(564)=12.69$, $p<.001$).

Males and females differed on most, but not all, of the gender measures and differences were in the expected directions (Table 20). The sexes did not differ on the stereotypically male norms regarding the primacy of work or the pursuit of status. These findings support the general claim that the assessed elements are more common among men (except PAQ femininity) as well as the point that none of these elements are exclusive to men (or women).

Table 20: Sex differences on gender measures.

	Females (n=335-337)	Males (n=316-329)	t
CMNI[a]			
Dominance	1.30 (.46)	1.46 (.47)	4.53***
Emotional Control	1.07 (.46)	1.44 (.51)	9.63***
Disdain for Homosexuality	1.39 (.51)	1.73 (.56)	8.29***
Playboy	0.68 (.45)	1.08 (.49)	11.04***
Power Over Women	0.73 (.34)	1.06 (.43)	10.93***
Risk Taking	1.42 (.38)	1.62 (.40)	6.94***
Self-Reliance	1.03 (.51)	1.22 (.46)	5.02***
Pursuit of Status	1.82 (.35)	1.80 (.34)	-.47
Violence	1.20 (.50)	1.56 (.45)	9.81***
Winning	1.21 (.40)	1.53 (.46)	9.56***
Primacy of Work	1.13 (.37)	1.20 (.41)	2.24*
PAQ[b]			
Masculinity/instrumentality	3.47 (.51)	3.73 (.52)	6.53***
Femininity/expressiveness	4.10 (.50)	3.70 (.56)	-9.58***
Sexism[c]			
Modern	2.94 (.44)	2.69 (.45)	-7.31***
Old fashioned	3.54 (.40)	3.06 (.62)	-11.52***

[a]Scale score range is 0-3; [b]Scale score range is 1-5; [c]Scale score range is 1-4, higher scores indicate less sexist attitudes.
*$p<.05$, **$p<.01$, ***$p<.001$; the controlled error rate for these analyses was $\alpha=.003$.

Mahalik et al. (2003) designed the CMNI to simultaneously assess support and nonsupport for each male norm and the scale midpoint (1.5) theoretically indicates a neutral attitude toward the norm. Women scored above this midpoint on the pursuit of status scale. Men offered the greatest support for this same scale and reported a (theoretical) non-acceptance of the norms regarding power over women and promiscuity.

Endorsement rates for each stereotypical identity were assessed through the X^2 statistic. Analysis of unique elements for each stereotypical identity was computed separately for each sex following the procedure previously described. Inferential statistics were only available where $n \geq 10$ so examination excluded the country, criminal, player and tough types as well as some sex by identity cells (e.g., male effeminates). Discussion focuses on significant findings and proceeds from most to least masculine. Within sex comparisons focus on groups with $n > 10$ and follows the earlier procedure of computing an omnibus F and examining group differences using Dunnett's C. For women, this limited comparisons to the average, effeminate, family and sensitive types, so results discuss identity groups that differed from at least 2 of the other 3. For men, within group comparisons included the average, business, family, jock, nerd and sensitive types, so results focus on identity groups that differed from at least 3 of the other 5. All group comparisons and F values are provided in appendix C. There were no group differences within sex regarding media genre preferences.

Jocks were equally common across the sexes ($X^2(1)=1.00$, ns), a finding that runs contrary to the overwhelmingly male image of televised sports (Sabo & Jansen, 1992). There was an insufficient number of females to compute inferential statistics for comparisons with other female types ($n=6$). Male jocks did not differ from other males in their demographic characteristics or gendered beliefs but they attend movies in the theatre more frequently than other male types.

Possession of a business identity was significantly more common for males than females ($X^2(1)=8.07$, $p=.005$). Among males, self identification as this type was unrelated to differences

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in demographic characteristics or media use. It was related to greater support for the dominance norm.

The *average* type was equally common across the sexes ($X^2(1)=.92$, ns). Females possessed few characteristic features, differing from other female types only through greater support for the violence and winning norms and lower femininity/expressiveness scores. Average males did not differ from other males.

Females and males with a *family* identity were most different from the other social identities and these differences were consistent across the two sexes. Family type females differed notably from other females in their demographic characteristics and media use. In particular, they tended to be older, more educated, more religious, more often married and separated, and older at the time of their first sexual experience. They also reported fewer sexual partners per year of sexual activity. Family type females offered low levels of support for the violence and risk taking norms. They spent little time watching MTv, listening to their music collection, or on the internet, but read newspapers more frequently.

Males of this type were not particularly different from other males, but they did tend to be older, have been married more often and have fathered more children. Compared to other males, they were no different in gender related attitudes and spent little time listening to their own music collection. This is consistent with the pilot study description of these men as defined by their family and little else. Family men differed from other men in fewer ways than family females differed from other females.

The *effeminate* type was more common among women ($X^2(1)=16.03$, $p<.001$). These women tended to be younger, less often married, and had born fewer children. They offered relatively high support for the pursuit of status and violence norms and did not differ from other females in their media use.

Sensitive individuals were no more likely to be female than male (female: 41, male: 29; $X^2(1)=2.06$, $p=.15$). Females of this type were no different from other females in their

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demographic characteristics. However, they offered little support for the violence or dominance norms and listened to their music collections more than other types.

Males of this type did not differ from other males in their demographic characteristics. They were notably less disdainful of homosexuality and endorsed more feminine/expressive traits than other male types. Like female sensitives, they also listened to their own music more than other male types.

Possession of a *nerd* identity was also equally common across the sexes (female: 9, male: 11; $X^2(1)=.20$, ns). There were an insufficient number of females to allow examination with inferential statistics. Male nerds did not differ from other male types on any measured characteristic.

Collectively, these results provide evidence for two distinct and complementary conclusions about the two sexes. One finding is that individuals of both sexes possessed all of these identities (except there were no female players) and the identities were present in relatively equal rates across the two sexes (only the business and effeminate types differed significantly). The second finding is that the elements that serve as distinctive markers for each type are somewhat different across sexes. For example, sensitive females and males both favor their own musical collections, but they differed in their (lack of) support for the stereotypically male norms. Female sensitives offered little support for the violence and dominance norms and their male counterparts offered little support for the disdain for homosexuality norm.

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Chapter IV

Discussion

This project was an attempt to examine theories that describe the acquisition,

maintenance and demonstration of gender related traits, attitudes and behaviors in both

childhood and adulthood. Results were examined while incorporating the ideas that there are at

least ten distinct character/identity types that represent coherent means of enacting masculinity,

and that the patterns of enactment differ based on biological sex. This chapter begins with a

brief summary of the findings for each stereotypical identity. Each of the four research questions

are then discussed in turn, followed by a general discussion and acknowledgement of some

limitations of this study.

<u>Male Types</u>

Descriptions of ten stereotypical images were generated in the pilot and, with some

modifications, were examined more closely in the main study. Summary results for each type are

provided here, in sequence from most to least masculine, per the pilot study.

Jocks were described as large men who are athletically oriented, either through

watching, playing, and/or working out. They were not described as particularly intelligent, but

inferential analysis did not reveal lower levels of education for individuals of this type, although

this finding may be related to the sample demographics. Male jocks watch movies in the theatre

more often than other male identity types.

Tough guys were described as large men, who were willing to fight and do not express

their emotions. They were often described as loudmouthed jerks and few individuals self

identified as possessing this identity.

Individuals of the business type or bigshot stereotype were described as being oriented

toward status and money. These individuals, mostly male, did not support norms regarding the

primacy of work or the importance of status at elevated rates, but did stress dominance and

were more sexist. The support for dominance was also true for the business males in relation to other male types. "Bigshots" were also described as loudmouthed, self-important jerks.

Stereotype analysis of rebels revealed a group that was unwilling to conform to other's expectations. They were also described as disrespectful and expected to engage in illegal behavior, including the use of illicit drugs. Assessed quantitatively as both nonconformists and criminals, nonconformist males offered greater support for risk taking than other identity types. There were insufficient self-identified criminals to examine inferentially.

Studs and players were described as attractive and as using women. Only male undergraduates self identified as players in the main study, but there were insufficient numbers to provide quantitative assessment. Available information suggests that they may have more sexual partners than other types.

The "average Joe" or average individual were described as nice guys, who are stereotypically ordinary or average, and tend to be interested in sports (but don't necessarily play). Data supported this preference for sports media and the general lack of other distinguishing characteristics. Average females tended to be more supportive of violence and winning and described themselves as less feminine/expressive than other types. Average individuals also tended to be fairly consistent in their description of themselves as average across contexts. Undergraduates were more likely to endorse this type than non-undergraduates. Further exploration of this type should examine the possibility that differences exist between those who are consistently average and those who are inconsistently average. It is possible that the latter group endorsed an overall 'average' identity to indicate an amalgamation of other types and would thus be more variable in their attitudes.

Country type individuals, or stereotypical "rednecks" were expected to live in rural areas and have relatively low levels of education. Preferred stereotypical activities included hunting and fishing and drinking beer. Few individuals in this sample identified themselves as members of this type.

The "Family Man" or family type individual was described as sensitive and caring with a noteworthy interest in their families. Compared to others in this sample, they tended to be older, had been married more often and had born more children. Family type individuals were relatively more educated and less likely to be undergraduates. They also had fewer sexual partners per year of sexual activity, offered little support for risk taking, and tended to consume media less frequently than other types. Family type females were also less supportive of violence, had an older age of first sexual experience, and read the newspaper more regularly than other female types.

Sensitive individuals were described as sensitive, expected to have an interest in artistic activities, and expected to listen to music outside of mainstream rock and rap genres. Stereotypical descriptions include the possibility of homosexuality, at least for males of this type. Undergraduates were more likely to endorse this type than non-undergraduates. Data revealed that this type was fairly common and most noteworthy for their minimal support for stereotypically male norms, although this pattern was more evident when males and females were combined than when they were separated. They were also noteworthy for listening to their own music collections for more time than other individuals, but genre was not examined.

The image of nerds included being intelligent and shy, with a preference for science and technology and few friends. Self identified nerds were not particularly common and did not differ from other identity types.

Effeminate individuals, for whom the stereotype was not assessed, were relatively younger, had fewer marriages and fewer children than other types, and were more likely to be undergraduates. Effeminate individuals tended to be female and, in comparison to other females, offered relatively low levels of support for the norms of violence and pursuit of status..

The finding that the four most common types varied reliably with full time college student status (under age 24) raises interpretive concerns. Adopting an identity perspective (and ignoring gender), it is possible to argue that the subsample of undergraduates were still actively exploring/forming their identities, and so their self-definition and attitudes were more pliable.

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This is particularly relevant for comparisions between the family type (associated with non-student status) and the average, effeminate, and sensitive types (associated with student status) and suggests that differences may be the result of maturational factors that are independent from identity type.

Question 1: Contextual and Temporal Consistency

Socially oriented theories (Eagly, 1987; Turner, 1999) describe gender as a situationally enacted construct and so predict variations by context. By contrast, psychodynamically oriented theories (Block, 1983, 1984; Wade, 1998) position gender as an element of the ego and so gender related attitudes and behaviors should be relatively constant across settings. Direct examination of the frequency with which individuals endorsed the same stereotypical identity across settings revealed that the majority of participants were generally inconsistent, as indicated by the approximately 60% of the sample who endorsed the same identity no more than half the time, including approximately 10% who did not endorse their most descriptive type for any particular setting. If inconsistency is better described as flexibility, then inconsistency may be indicative of greater ability to present oneself as best fits the situation, and may thus reflect social/situational competence.

The finding that individuals endorse different identities across contexts suggests that the attitudes, behaviors and traits associated with each identity (see later) may be more variable than researchers typically consider. This is important because researchers often assume contextual consistency, ask participants to report their attitudes and behaviors, and find weak relationships between the two. For example, Deutsch and Saxon (1998) reported that blue collar dual earner families where both adults worked outside the home for more than 20 hours per week and also had sole responsibility for child care at least 15 hours per week maintained their beliefs in the stereotypical gender roles by highlighting their role consistent behaviors (e.g., male breadwinning, female caretaking) and excusing role inconsistent behaviors (e.g., male caretaking, female breadwinning) as financially based. Their "traditional" attitudes were only

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partially consistent with their actual behavior. Critique of the masculinity literature has highlighted the acontextual nature of these theories (Smiler, under review).

Individuals were also inconsistent across times, a pattern demonstrated by approximately $2/3^{rd}$ of the sample, and highlighted by the differential endorsement rates of certain types for undergraduates and nonundergraduates. The finding that age related change was normative should not be particularly surprising and is consistent with the gender theories discussed earlier. The family type, for example, demonstrated relatively low rates of consistency over time, tended to be older and non students, and these results support the idea that this type may represent a developmental shift (cf. Levenson et al., 1978).

No single factor possessed any clear relation to type endorsement consistency. Among noncollege students age 25 or older, older age was weakly related to greater consistency; being married and having children were unrelated. Among the four highly endorsed identity types (average, effeminate, family, sensitive), the family type was least consistent across context. These findings support the idea that substantial life changes (e.g., college graduation, marriage) may be related to changes in identity and the demands placed on an individual. The possibility that contextual consistency/inconsistency is variable suggests this may be an interesting topic for research.

Question 2: Relative Influences of Different Sources

Implicitly verifying the importance of this issue, the data indicated that perceptions of the model's beliefs were highly related to an individual's own beliefs, except for an individual's belief in the primacy of work (cf. Bandura, 1989). This finding must be viewed cautiously because participants reported both sets of beliefs but, if true, highlights the importance of perception of others. Results indicated that parents were a highly selected childhood source of information and that individuals tended to choose models who were of the same sex, consistent with psychodynamic theories (e.g., Block, 1983, 1984). Media figures in the entertainment and sports realms were also salient for a substantial number of individuals (20.9%).

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The data offered some support for the idea that the model's influence varies as a function of how the model is known. Direct connections between an individual and their perception of their model's beliefs were present (e.g., model dominance related to individual dominance) for familial but not entertainment media models. It is plausible that the difference in the pattern of relations arises from the greater familiarity of participants with their family members.

Among those with family models, preceived model's attitudes toward promiscuity and power over women were also important factors. By contrast, the attitudes of individuals with media based models were not particularly related to perceived model beliefs about promiscuity and had a different set of relations for model beliefs about power over women. This study suggests that different types of models construct the interrelations between these stereotypically masculine beliefs in a very different manner. One explanation for this particular pattern of relations is that familial acceptance of promiscuity may be related to gender based double standards of behavior that are fairly specific and relatively subtle, whereas television (and other media) highlights the general positioning of men as more powerful than women. It is possible that findings regarding the number of statistical relations may be a function of (sub)sample size, but less likely that the pattern of statistical relations or the strength of these relations would change notably as a result of these findings.

Among the subsample of participants for whom data were provided by a family member, the analyses revealed a greater number of relations and more direct relations between the perceived model and the individual than between the parent and the individual, despite a number of significant correlations between model and parental beliefs. If these findings reflect reality and are not simply an artifact of data collection (i.e., shared method variance), then they highlight the importance of the individual's *perception* of the model and not the model's actual beliefs. However, it is possible that the parents and grandparents who completed the measure possessed different attitudes when their children/grandchildren were younger, a position that receives some support from the first research question. On the other hand, the relatively large

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correlations between model's and parent's scores suggest that changes in parental beliefs may not have been very substantial.

Media were also hypothesized to have a direct influence on individuals' beliefs and this was examined as a function of both time with certain media forms and preferred genres. Greater time spent reading for pleasure was associated with more egalitarian views and greater time listening to music from one's own collection was associated with greater femininity. Arguably, pleasure reading and possession of a musical collection represent the two forms of media that possess the greatest variety, thus allowing the individual the most freedom of choice, and their use was associated with less stereotypically masculine beliefs.

Analyses focused on media content produced results that were consistent with the broad stereotypes of masculinity and femininity. A preference for sports related media was also associated with greater preference for action/adventure, pornography and the men's genre but not the women's genre and men were more likely to report a preference for each of these categories (except women's). A preference for sports related media was also related to 11 of the 15 gender related measures in a stereotypically masculine direction, suggesting that this genre helps shape a broad variety of beliefs. By contrast, a preference for women's media was associated with less preference for the action/adventure, men's, sports and science fiction genres. Preference for the women's genre, as well sports and action adventure also followed the stereotypical pattern but had fewer significant correlations with the gender measures (~5/15). These findings indicate that notions about stereotypical genre preferences reflect actual behavior and are associated with more stereotypical beliefs. More importantly, the findings support the idea that beliefs and media content are mutually reinforcing or, in other words, people tend to consume media that reflect their own beliefs.

Question 3: Differences Between Identity Types

The pilot study suggested that the stereotypical images possessed different elements and that greater identification with a particular identity was associated with greater subscription to

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the relevant norms. The quantitative analyses performed in the main study indicated that self selected identity was also related to a number of unique elements across demographic characteristics, gender related beliefs and media use. Distinctions were clearest for the four most common types (average, effeminate, family, sensitive) and present but less clear for other types.

These data revealed relatively several unique elements that were generally consistent with specific predictions suggested by the literature and/or the descriptions generated in the pilot study (e.g., greater dominance by business types). At the same time, a number of these predictions were not supported (e.g., higher levels of education for nerds). Most of the documented relations focused on the four most common types (average, effeminate, family, sensitive), possibly because of the available power to detect differences for these groups. These findings are confounded by the differential endorsement rates of these types by undergraduates and non-undergraduates. The average and family types were not expected to be particularly different from other groups, but the lack of findings for other identity groups requires a very cautious reading of these non-results. The differences that were identified are generally consistent with the claim that group membership is related to adherence to group norms (Turner, 1999), but tempered by the lack of findings.

Question 4: Differences Within and Across Sex

Explicit assessment of sex differences revealed that thirteen of the fifteen gender related measures demonstrated significant sex differences in the expected direction. The twelve identity types used in this project were drawn from the literature on men and/or have been stereotypically defined as male but were generally endorsed at equal rates by males and females. This suggests that while stereotypical characteristics do reliably vary with biological sex, masculine identity endorsement may not.

This finding is qualified by indications that the identity types vary in their unique elements across sex. That is, the factors that distinguish one type (e.g., average) from other

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types within one sex often differ from the distinguishing characteristics for that same type within the other sex, at least in part. These findings suggest that the experience of enacting a particular identity type differs notably across sex. "Average" females differed from other women on several gender measures, but "average" males did not differ from other males. One interpretation of this finding is that men and women have relatively different experiences of the world despite surface level similarities (e.g., identity labels), an interpretation that highlights the importance of examining within sex differences (Eagly, 1995; Addis & Mahalik, 2003).

Within sex differences may be confounded by the relation between college student status and identity type endorsement for females. Because the female subsample consisted of a large percentage of undergraduate women (64%) and these women endorsed the average, effeminate and sensitive types at higher rates and the family type at a lower rate than non-undergraduate women, comparisons across type may be capitalizing on other factors related to student status. This concern is further heightened by the fact that only 15 women endorsed a type other than these four, suggesting that endorsement was highly concentrated into these identities for the women. Findings regarding within sex differences for females should be interpreted cautiously, although comparisions among the average, effeminate and sensitive types may be reliable.

Among males, the general lack of differences in identity endorsement rates in relation to college status suggests that these identity types may be available to men of all ages. A closer examination of identity endorsement in relation to age is necessary before drawing any further conclusions. For example, it is possible that men in their later 20's are responsible for the breadth of endorsement or that the average type is more variable among older men.

General Discussion

This project was an attempt to examine some of the linkages and discrepancies between theories that describe the acquisition of gender typical attributes in childhood with theories that describe the maintenance of those traits in adulthood. These theories were examined from a perspective that distinguished between biological sex and gender, so the focus and the sample

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were not restricted on the basis of biological sex. This perspective included the idea that there are several well known ways of enacting masculinity and so highlighted within group variability.

At the general level, results supported the idea that individuals believe that differences exist among stereotypically male identities and began to quantify these differences. Few statistically significant distinctions were made for any but the most well populated groups, and none of the well populated groups were rated as particularly masculine. From a masculine perspective, the clearest interpretation of these findings is that individuals do not see themselves as particularly masculine. This is consistent with the claims of some authors that masculinity must be continually demonstrated and that most men see themselves as less masculine than they would like to be (Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 1996). The findings suggest that the approach is viable and could be clearer if they were not dominated by a definitionally and empirically average group. Future researchers may eliminate this identity option to minimize this difficulty.

Placing the focus on identity groups, this research highlighted within group variability (cf. Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Eagly, 1995) and so provides an important contribution to the literature. In particular, it has demonstrated that within sex differences in identity type are related to variations in gender stereotypical attitudes and attributes. In comparison with research on sex differences, which dates back to the earliest days of modern psychology (Morawski, 1985), this approach may provide more information. For example, this study found differences between males and females regarding their support for most of the gender measures, and also demonstrated that "sensitive" males differed significantly from other males in their endorsement of some of these norms. In this case, identity type was more indicative of particular attitudes than sex.

The research sample was, in part, also a strength of this study. Approximately half of the sample were not college students. The gender literature has been criticized for its over reliance on undergraduate samples (Lenney, 1991). The inclusion of a noncollege sample provided greater variability in age and life experience, allowing the project to address substantive issues (e.g., marriage, childbearing) that may not have been otherwise available. Differences in

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identity type endorsement as a function of college status may have influenced the results, so generalizations must be made cautiously.

At the same time, the sample was almost exclusively white, middle and upper-middle class, and heterosexual. While this may be seen as a limitation, it is useful for this examination of within group differences. Several commentators have claimed that the dominant form of masculinity in America is derived from white, middle class, heterosexual, Protestant norms and beliefs (e.g., Connell, 1995). Therefore, the examination of dominant norms and stereotypes within this group may provide greater understanding of the enactment of masculinity within the dominant class/image of white, middle class, heterosexual, Protestant individuals. Results may not be readily generalizable to individuals who fall outside of this group in easily recognizable ways (e.g., nonwhite, poor, homosexual, non-Christian), but socially constructed expectations for these groups may also differ and were not assessed. Other samples would undoubtedly produce different rates of identity preference (e.g., a clinical or incarcerated sample would likely have more criminals, nonconformists, and toughs) and therefore comparisons may produce different results.

One concern focuses on the interpretation of these results. All data reported here are non-experimental and so causality cannot be established, although the available theories do suggest it. An additional limitation of this project is its reliance on a survey methodology. It is possible that all results reported here are only reflective of participants' beliefs and not at all reflective of their actual behavior. This is an unfotunately common limitation.

More concerning is the possibility of a spurious finding. The sample size for this study was relatively large (n=660) and so provided excellent statistical power. Although the error rate was controlled throughout the study and many statistically significant results were not discussed, it is possible that some findings are spurious even at the controlled error rate. By focusing on the general pattern of relations between variables and not any single significant finding, spurious findings may also have been reduced.

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APPENDICES

Descriptor coding scheme

Personality attributes

Nice	Not nice
Nice	Not nice
nice guy	not nice
nice to parents	initially nice, then not
nice to friends	mean
kind/helpful	cruel
Gentle	
Decent	
good heart	
wholesome	
not mean	
Sensitive	not sensitive/insensitive
good listener/willing listener	poor listener
willing to talk	starts arguments/is argumentative/devil's advocate
sympathetic, empathic, or understanding	not sympathetic, empathic, or understanding
aware of feelings of those close (family)	confrontational
compassionate	not loving
asks about emotions; thoughtful	
approachable	
sweet	
considerate	
loving	
caring	
comforting	
affectionate	
respectful	
sentimental	
attentive	
Trustworthy/good friend	Not trustworthy/bad friend
trustworthy	not trustworthy
reliable	betrays others
honest	deceitful/lies/tricky
not slimy/sly/slick/sleazy	slimy/sly/slick/sleazy
interested in friendship	manipulative
good friend	no back up friends
ok friend	no keep promises
meaningful relationships	always takes girls/others side
respects personal space	shallow
	superficial
	too touchy
	violates personal space

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Non-conforming	Conforming
independent/non-conforming	dependent/conforming
have different ideals/is different	accepts things as they are
does what he wants/makes own rules	goes along w/group or others
unconcerned with others opinions of him	is concerned with others' opinion of him
hated by parents	
rather not deal with society's bull	
no respect society	
anti-everything	
risky points of view	
does not follow common path	
be different	

Intelligent/broad minded	Not intelligent/closed minded
Intelligent	Not intelligent/stupid
book smart	not very smart
smart	street smart
intellectual/academic	meat head
Academic focus	Not academically focused
school	not good school
good in school/good grades	good grades because other ability (e.g. sports)
ok in school/ok grades	cheats (school)
studies a lot	cut classes/ skipped school
does homework often	not mentally strong
others cheat off him	
interested in school/learning	
concerned about school	
attends school/goes	
in room when not in class	
at library	
Open minded	Closed minded
liberal	prejudiced/racist/bigoted
modern thinker	chauvinist
not traditional	conservative
tolerant	old fashioned/not modern
	stubborn/set in his ways
	ignorant
	judges others on looks/judgmental
	intolerant

Raised well	Raised poorly
has common sense	no common sense
has morals/values	no morals
good manners	no/bad manners

Friendly, social, outgoing	Unfriendly, not social, not outgoing
Friendly (explicit)	Unfriendly (explicit)
many friends	few friends/no friends
popular	unpopular/unknown
well liked	not liked

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everyone's friend
likable
well known
accepts others
connects with others
never offended
outgoing
social
well connected
social life (generic)
into social scene
Good social skills
  speaks well

  articulate
  talkative

little/no social life

Speaks poorly
  poor social skills
  others don't always understand what he says
  talks too much about one thing
  not talkative
  uses lots of slang
  says stupid things
  talks slowly
Lacks peer group
  loner
  loser
  isolated
  on the outside
  hang out alone
  avoidant
  withdrawn
  outcast
  no fit in
  misfit
  antisocial
  separate from others
Shy, quiet, etc.
  shy
  quiet
  timid
  introverted
  reserved/held back/not outgoing
  keeps to self
  lonely
  not outgoing
  no hang out
  stay home/no go out

Great guy/good guy
  no show off
  presents self positively/good self esteem
  not cocky/arrogant
  good person
  modest/humble
  average ability/does not stand out
  soft spoken
  not rude

Jerk or asshole
  Self-focused
  I'm #1
  full of self/high on self
  thinks he's best/great/tough
  thinks others want to be like him
  arrogant/cocky
  thinks others beneath him/puts self first
  big head/ego

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not attention seeking

only thinks of self/self centered
conceited/pompous/stuck up
opinionated
snob
not modest/humble
Loud or attention seeking
  seeks admiration
  likes to be center of attention
  brags/big talker
  out spoken
  loud mouth
  blunt
  shows off/shows others he's better
  flaunts money (also code #5520=has
  money)
  obnoxious, loud
  has attitude
  rude
  puts up front to look good/not as good as
  thinks he is
Pushes weight around
  runs show/takes over
  gets what he wants
  walk over others
  know it all
  believes always right
  likes to be in control
  does not take no for answer
  strong willed
  in control

Emotional
  shows emotions
    talks about or shows feelings
    in touch with or open about emotions
    hard outside & soft inside
    emotionally intense
    cries
    afraid
    sees gov't. as against him

Male emotional style
  No show emotions
    does not care about feelings
    no show emotions
    uncomfortable with feelings
    hides feelings
    stoic
    no crying
    no show pain/takes pain
    unafraid
  Aggression
    aggressive
    anger
    hot or short tempered
    bad temper

Emotionally strong

Emotionally underdeveloped

Competitive
  interested in competition
  winning

Demographics and vocation

WASP
   White middle class
      middle class
      lives in suburbs

      white
      educated
      city guy/cosmopolitan

   Religious
      church
      religious
      Christian

not WASP
   Not white middle class
      low education
      southern/different than yankee/confederate flag
      has accent
      from country/backwoods
      live on farm
      farming
      unfamiliar with city/naive
      live in trailer
      inbred/marries cousin
      large family
      lives in poor town
      working class
      lives with his/wife's parents

Heterosexual

Homosexual
   mistaken for homo

Good worker
   works hard/works a lot
   good job
   completes work early
   ambitious/high goals/moving forward
   awarded/rewarded for work

Bad worker
   unemployed
   completes work late
   unambitious/no goals/going nowhere

Workaholic

White collar
   computer job/major
   professional (lawyer)

Blue collar or hands on
   works with hands/mechanic/tools
   likes to get dirty
   construction/outdoor work/yard work
   fixes things

Likes work
   concerned/interested about work/works
   focuses on work

Average work
   avg. job/works 9-5/regular hours
   enjoys weekends
   not too much work
   works in mall

Work benefits others
   is policeman, ems/emt
   works so others may live

Misc. work
   not cop, ems/emt
   works for large corp.
   works for self
   works/has job (nos)

Activities

Sports or athletics   No sports or athletics
 Sports for others
     takes son to games
     coaches
 Sports as organizing principle
     needs to be into sports
     organizes life around sports or prioritizes
     sports
  Interested   No like or interest
     collects
     watches
     into sports/likes sports
     knows everything/everything
     enjoys
     talks about
  Plays sports
     is captain
     on team
     star
     good at sports
     involved in sports
   Contact sports
     football
     wrestling
     basketball
     boxing
     hockey
     rugby
Man vs. nature
     fish
     hunt
     lumberjack/wood
     woods
     mudding
     rodeo
     guns/gun rack in vehicle
     shooting
  Man in nature
     hike
     bike
     mountains
     camping
   Automotive sports
     racing (watches)
     nascar/NASCAR
     tractor pulls
     monster trucks
     races cars
   leisure sports
     golf
     sailing

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skiing
pool
baseball
soccer

Works out/exercises	Out of shape
gym	fat
lift weights	not athletic
in shape	uncoordinated/klutz/clumsy
fit (physically)/toned	pudgy
bench presses	beer belly
athletic	
looks healthy	
sure footed/coordinated	

Extreme sports
risky sports
skateboarding
Miscellaneous
physical activity
little/no respect women's sports
advertises for the team
play games

Cars	Not cars

interested
works on/fixes
more dead cars than working ones
is working/fixing a car
Sporty or fast
motorcycles
High status cars
any luxury vehicle (e.g., bmw)
has nice car
has multiple cars
Work-type vehicles
pickup truck/trucks
tractor
Suburban/family cars
minivan/VW van

Party!	No party
Alcohol or 'drinks'	no alcohol
Beer	
wine liquor	
goes to bars/hang out in bars	
alcoholic	
Nicotine	no nicotine
cigarettes	
cigars	
chewing tobacco	
Illicit drugs	no drugs
cocaine	
steroids	
marijuana	

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Oppositional or antisocial behavior
  Names
    bad ass
    thug
    hard ass
  Defiant (explicitly)   Straight & narrow
    does not submit to authority   straight edge
    does not follow rules   goody-goody
    does not listen to parents
    crosses the line
    unruly
    swears/curses
  Live on edge   No risks/does safe thing
    risk taking/dare devil
    does dangerous things
    makes bets/gambles
    reckless
    no fear getting hurt
    drive drunk
    adventurous/try new things
Act out
    get in trouble
    troublemaker
  Break law   Follows rules
    steal cars/steals   does not break law
    shoplift   does nothing wrong
    vandalism/destroy public property
  Bully   Target or victim
    intimidating   is teased
    targets others   is made fun of
    teases others   is intimidated
    makes fun of others   not intimidating
    treats people badly
    yells at people/belittles others
    puts others down/insulting
    annoys/pisses off others
    makes others feel dumb
    talks crap to others/talks trash
    never feel threatened
  Take no crap
    not pushed around
    does not take shit from others
  Fight
    pick fights
    can hold own in fight
    beats people up
    kicks ass
    never backs down

Specific Activities
  has hobby
  nerdy activities

club types
math team
chess team
build models
computer/technology
video games
science .
bugs
dungeons & dragons
science fiction (star trek)/fantasy/magic
comic books
reading
Artistic or artsy
poetry
theatre
art
dance/ballet
literature/book readings
writes
drama/acting
Plays music
band/school band/musician
sings
raps/rapper
piano
guitar
drums
Hangs out
hang with guys
hang with coed/mixed sex group
hang with women
hang with own kind
hang with other kinds
hang small groups or one-one
more girl friends than guy friends
Domestic activities/lawn/garden
shopping
cooking/gourmet
likes decorating
Political left of middle
interested in women's studies
environment/earthy/recycling
granola
anti-war/pacifist
anarchist
human rights/animal rights
politically aware
politics
Miscellaneous activities
challenging activities
fixated on one particular
hobby/skill/obsessive
clubbing/clubs

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atypical interests
youth movement
cell phones
talking/conversation
yoga/meditation
knowledge of other religions/philosophies
wants to improve the world
people watching
coffee house junkie

Animals
  pets
    dog
  farm animals (nos)
    horses
    cow

Status   No status
  has or wants power/prestige/fame
    is respected
    feared
    powerful
    dominating
    famous
    anything that will make him look
    good/impress others
  Prestigious
    successful
    move up the ladder
    at or near top of company
    important career
    wants to be popular/important
  Rich/money   Poor
    top of line stuff   cheap house
    makes good money   average cost car
    multiple houses   no class
    concerned with material things   trash (white)
    upper class
    nice jewelry
    interested in stock market
    business (interested in)
  High life
    live it up

Cares for...   Does not care for or hurts...
  Self   Self
    interested in health   sexually transmitted disease (std)
    eats healthy   pizza
    vegetarian   doritos
                                                   likes eating/food
  Others   Others
    pays for everything   not caring/uncaring (about others)
    wants to make others happy   no respect anyone

supportive

cares about women
concerned about others
interested in those around him/people

Family
  provide/support
  breadwinner
  do anything for
  good to/dedicated to
  prioritizes family
  does best for family/wants to do
  best/concerned about
  seeks safe world for loved ones
  there for/present
  has house
  respects family/esteem for family
  protective
Has/loves family/wife/kids or /wants
  good dad
  is dad/husband
  good w/kids
Family activities
  family/time with family
  vacation
  out to dinner
  games/plays with kids
  SPORTS w/family
  family photos
  attends kids activities

Girlfriend, girls, women
  Interested
    romantic
    flirty
    talks about
    dating/dates
    charming
    at least 'ok' with women
  Focused on women
    interested in anything that will attract a
    girl/impressing girls
    only talks to girls
    interested 24/7
    interested in his presence around women
    always with girls
    feeds off female attn
    obsessed with girls
    always looking for girls/action
    seeks female approval
  Has girlfriend
    good relation with girlfriend

does not care about other's
feelings/thoughtless
 indifferent

Dysfunctional family
  bad family life
  not strong family

No effort to impress/attract girls

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perfect relation with girlfriend
serious girlfriend
committed relation with girlfriend/wants
commitment
intense with girlfriend
buys things for girlfriend

Sweet talker
  smooth
  suave
  knows how to treat lady
  says what women want to hear
  pickup lines
  good with women
  no commitment
  not serious

Shy/awkward with girls
  says all the wrong things
  not good w/ladies

Can get ladies/get any girl
  lots of dates
  lots of girlfriends
  attractive to girls
  interested in many girls
  takes (many) girls out
  not interested in one/single girlfriend
  plays the field
  different girl every night

Uses girls
  hooks up easily/one night stands
  gets & leaves girls
  picks up girls
  heartbreaker/drops quickly
  no respect women/poor image women
  wants sex/"action"/scoring
  womanizer
  love as game
  slut/sleeps around/pimp
  cheats/bigamist
  interested in the chase/seduction
  is seductive
  interested in sex
  moves quickly with women

Respects women
  monogamous/faithful

Hit women
  rape
  strip clubs
  beats wife
  pornography

Good in bed/good lover
  experimented with sex

Specific female types
  chase high class women
  passive women
  cowgirls
  beautiful girls
  wants girlfriend like him
  tits

Names (re: girlfriend)
  stud
  loverboy
  confident with/around girls
  ladies man

Uses media
  Music
    concerts
    bad music
    loud music
    country music
    rock music
    techno music
    modern music
    hip-hop/dance music
    fusion
    r & b
    grateful dead
    new age music (yanni)
    soft music
    crazy music
    hard core rap
    heavy metal music (rage against machine)
    punk rock
  Movies (nos)
    action movies
  Television
    likes television
    veg out in front of tv/vcr
    soap operas
    news

Clothing
  Interested in or sees as important
    well dressed/nicely dressed
    lots of time/energy/effort
    fine clothes/expensive
    looks sharp
    in style/stylish/trendy
    fashionable/designer clothes/expensive clothes
    pure player brand
  Outrageous clothes
    weird clothes
    funky dressed
    dresses differently
    own style
  Earthy tones
    patchwork cords
    hemp clothes
    sandals

Clothing unimportant
  poorly dressed/ratty clothes
  not stylish
  ragged/poor quality clothes

Dresses funny

Nerdy clothes/pocket protector
  mismatched clothing
  pants too short
  short high pants
Hick clothes
  plaid shirt
  big belt buckles
  overalls
  wife beaters

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Preppy
　collar shirt
　khakis
　jeans
Dresses cool
　dresses tough
　leather jacket/leather
　tight fitting clothes
　muscle t shirts
Miscellaneous clothes
　dresses modern
　wears jewelry
　gold/silver chain
　scrubby clothes
　cutoffs
　camouflage
　baseball type hat
　hat (nos)
　boots
　baggy clothes
　suit & tie/business clothes
　no jeans
Guy clothes/normal clothes
　dress plain/ordinary

flannel
carharts
cowboy hat

Sweats/workout clothes
　sports shirts/jacket/team logo

Feminine clothes/less boyish clothes

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Appendix B.

Survey instrument

Background information

This section of the survey focuses on your background and current living arrangements. Some questions are open ended, and others provide specific options that you should circle to indicate your response. Please answer each question to the best of your ability.

1) What is your age? _____

2) Are you male or female?   M   F

3) Are you an American citizen?   N   Y

4) If you are an American citizen, what is your ethnicity? (circle all that apply)
   a. African-American
   b. Asian-American/Pacific Islander
   c. European-American
   d. Hispanic or Latino/a
   e. Native-American/Alaska Native

5) Have you ever lived outside of the USA? _____ → *If yes, for how long?* _____

6) Regarding your education/schooling, what is the highest grade level that you completed or the highest degree that you received? _____

7) What is the highest grade level that your MOTHER completed or the highest degree that she received? _____

8) What is the highest grade level that your FATHER completed or the highest degree that he received? _____

9) Which religion do you identify as a member of?
   a. Atheist/none   d. Christian   g. Prostestant
   b. Buddhist   e. Jewish   h. Wiccan
   c. Catholic   f. Moslem   i. Other: (specify)_____

10) How religious are you?

Not at all   Very
0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

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Marital history

11) Please circle the term that best describes your present marital status:

single   married   separated   divorced   widowed

12) If you have been married, please use the space below to indicate the age at which you were married and, if no longer in that marriage, the age at which you were divorced/widowed.

age at marriage / age at separation   age at marriage / age at separation

_____ / _____   _____ / _____

_____ / _____   _____ / _____

_____ / _____   _____ / _____

13) If you have had children, please use the space below to indicate your age when that child was born and that child's sex.

your age at childbirth / child's sex   your age at childbirth/ child's sex

_____ / M F   _____ / M F

_____ / M F   _____ / M F

_____ / M F   _____ / M F

_____ / M F   _____ / M F

_____ / M F   _____ / M F

Employment history

14) How old were you when you started to work for pay and what was your job?

15) Are you presently enrolled in college as a full time student? _____

IF you are presently enrolled in college full time AND under age 24, you may skip the remainder of this section and continue with question 21.

16) During your adulthood, what has been your primary job or profession and for how many years have you been employed in this job/profession?

17) As a result of your job/profession, have you ever been a member of a...

a. trade union (e.g., International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers) ?   N   Y

b. professional organization (e.g., American Bar Association) ?   N   Y

c. another organization?   N   Y   Please specify:_____

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18) If you answered yes to any part of question 17,

    a. in how many different organizations are/were you a member? _____

    b. how long have you been/were you a member? _____

    c. have you ever held an office (e.g., shop steward, vice-president)? _____

19) Were you ever on active duty in the military?   N   Y

           If yes, for how long? _____

20) Did you or do you now serve in the military reserves or national guard?   N   Y

21) To what social class do you belong?

    a. Upper class

    b. Upper middle class

    c. Middle class

    d. Working class

    e. Poor

Your upbringing

22) Were your biological parents married to each other when you were a child?   N   Y

23) Did your biological or adoptive parents get divorced when you were a child?   N   Y

    a. if YES, how old were you when they divorced? _____

    b. if YES, did either remarry?   N   Y

24) Did you live with your biological parents for most of your childhood?   N   Y

    a. If NO, were you adopted?   N   Y

    b. if NO, did you live with other family members?   N   Y

25) Are you an only child?   N   Y

26) If you have sisters and brothers, please use the space below to list their age and sex, and whether they are a full sibling, step (or "half") sibling, or an adopted sibling.

their age / sex / full-half-adoptive	their age / sex / full-half-adoptive
_____ / M F / _____	_____ / M F / _____
_____ / M F / _____	_____ / M F / _____
_____ / M F / _____	_____ / M F / _____
_____ / M F / _____	_____ / M F / _____
_____ / M F / _____	_____ / M F / _____

Sexual orientation and experience

27) Please use the scale below to indicate your sexual orientation:

Homosexual   Heterosexual

    1   2   3   4   5   6   7

28) How old were you when you ...

"discovered" the other sex? _____

- or -

knew you were homosexual? _____

29) Have you ever had sex?   N   Y

30) How old were you the first time you had sex? _____

31) Approximately how many people have you had sex with? _____

Who you are now

This section describes a number of stereotypical images that exist in the US today. Although stereotypes can not really describe any one person *in detail*, they can provide a lot of *general* information quickly.

Average: These nice people are often described as ordinary or average, and tend to be interested in sports (but don't necessarily play). They also tend to be good at a number of things and are fairly smart.

Business: Focused on status and money, these businesspeople are sometimes perceived as loudmouthed, self-important jerks.

Country: These individuals live in rural areas and do not typically have college educations. They enjoy activities such as hunting and fishing, drive pickup trucks and tend to drink beer.

Criminal: These individuals often find themselves struggling within a system where they "can't win." They are loyal to their friends and get revenge on their enemies.

Effeminate: These sensitive, gentle people are often described as fashion conscious. They are quite talkative, although some find them to be melodramatic in their descriptions.

Family: These sensitive, caring folks are very oriented towards their families and devote most of their time and energy to their families. Their primary function is to be either the breadwinner or the caretaker.

Jock: Large and athletically oriented, either through watching, playing, and/or working out, these individuals are not expected to be particularly intelligent.

Nerd: These smart, shy folks like science and technology and are described as having few friends.

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Nonconformist: Unwilling to conform to other's expectations, these individuals may be viewed as disrespectful and may use illicit drugs.

Player: These attractive people are smooth-talking, like to party and date many people. They are also described as loudmouthed, self-centered jerks who use others.

Sensitive: These individuals are known for their sensitivity to others, their interest in artistic activities, and their tendency to listen to music outside of mainstream rock and rap genres.

Tough: These individuals are known for their willingness to fight and do not express their emotions. They are often described as loudmouthed jerks.

32) Which one of the these types best describes you when you are <u>at home with your family</u>?

a.	Average	f.	Family	k.	Sensitive
b.	Business	g.	Jock	l.	Tough
c.	Country	h.	Nerd	m.	Other (please specify):
d.	Criminal	i.	Non-conformist		
e.	Effeminate	j.	Player		

33) Which one of these types best describes you when you are <u>at work</u>?

a.	Average	f.	Family	k.	Sensitive
b.	Business	g.	Jock	l.	Tough
c.	Country	h.	Nerd	m.	Other (please specify):
d.	Criminal	i.	Non-conformist		
e.	Effeminate	j.	Player		

34) Which one of these types best describes you when you are <u>hanging out with friends</u>?

a.	Average	f.	Family	k.	Sensitive
b.	Business	g.	Jock	l.	Tough
c.	Country	h.	Nerd	m.	Other (please specify):
d.	Criminal	i.	Non-conformist		
e.	Effeminate	j.	Player		

35) Which one of these types best describes you when you are <u>doing the things you like to do best</u>?

a. Average	f. Family	k. Sensitive
b. Business	g. Jock	l. Tough
c. Country	h. Nerd	m. Other (please specify):
d. Criminal	i. Non-conformist	
e. Effeminate	j. Player	

36) If you are a full time student, which one of these types best describes you when you are <u>at school</u>?

a. Average	f. Family	k. Sensitive
b. Business	g. Jock	l. Tough
c. Country	h. Nerd	m. Other (please specify):
d. Criminal	i. Non-conformist	
e. Effeminate	j. Player	

37) Which <u>one</u> type best describes you as you are now?

a. Average	f. Family	k. Sensitive
b. Business	g. Jock	l. Tough
c. Country	h. Nerd	m. Other (please specify):
d. Criminal	i. Non-conformist	
e. Effeminate	j. Player	

38) If you are 35 or older, which <u>one</u> type best described you when you were about 20?

a. Average	f. Family	k. Sensitive
b. Business	g. Jock	l. Tough
c. Country	h. Nerd	m. Other (please specify):
d. Criminal	i. Non-conformist	
e. Effeminate	j. Player	

39) If you are 55 or older, which <u>one</u> type best described you when you were about 40?

a. Average	f. Family	k. Sensitive
b. Business	g. Jock	l. Tough
c. Country	h. Nerd	m. Other (please specify):
d. Criminal	i. Non-conformist	
e. Effeminate	j. Player	

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What you think

Thinking about your own actions, feelings and beliefs, please indicate how much **you personally agree or disagree with each statement** by circling SD for "Strongly Disagree", D for "Disagree", A for "Agree", or SA for "Strongly agree" to the left of the statement. There are no right or wrong responses to the statements. You should give the responses that most accurately describe your personal actions, feelings and beliefs. It is best if you respond with your first impression when answering.

1.	It is best to keep your emotions hidden	SD	D	A	SA
2.	In general, I will do anything to win	SD	D	A	SA
3.	If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners	SD	D	A	SA
4.	If there is going to be violence, I find a way to avoid it	SD	D	A	SA
5.	It is important to me that people think I am heterosexual	SD	D	A	SA
6.	In general, I must get my way	SD	D	A	SA
7.	Trying to be important is the greatest waste of time	SD	D	A	SA
8.	I am often absorbed in my work	SD	D	A	SA
9.	I will only be satisfied when women are equal to men	SD	D	A	SA
10.	I hate asking for help	SD	D	A	SA
11.	Taking dangerous risks helps me to prove myself	SD	D	A	SA
12.	In general, I do not expend a lot of energy trying to win at things	SD	D	A	SA
13.	An emotional bond with a partner is the best part of sex	SD	D	A	SA
14.	I should take every opportunity to show my feelings	SD	D	A	SA
15.	I believe that violence is never justified	SD	D	A	SA
16.	Being thought of as gay is not a bad thing	SD	D	A	SA
17.	In general, I do not like risky situations	SD	D	A	SA
18.	I should be in charge	SD	D	A	SA
19.	Feelings are important to show	SD	D	A	SA
20.	I feel miserable when work occupies all my attention	SD	D	A	SA

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21.	I feel best about my relationships with women when we are equals	SD D A SA
22.	Winning is not my first priority	SD D A SA
23.	I make sure that people think I am heterosexual	SD D A SA
24.	I enjoy taking risks	SD D A SA
25.	I am disgusted by any kind of violence	SD D A SA
26.	I would hate to be important	SD D A SA
27.	I love to explore my feelings with others	SD D A SA
28.	If I could, I would date a lot of different people	SD D A SA
29.	I ask for help when I need it	SD D A SA
30.	My work is the most important part of my life	SD D A SA
31.	Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing	SD D A SA
32.	I never take chances	SD D A SA
33.	I would only have sex if I was in a committed relationship	SD D A SA
34.	I like fighting	SD D A SA
35.	I treat women as equals	SD D A SA
36.	I bring up my feelings when talking to others	SD D A SA
37.	I would be furious if someone thought I was gay	SD D A SA
38.	I only get romantically involved with one person	SD D A SA
39.	I don't mind losing	SD D A SA
40.	I take risks	SD D A SA
41.	I never do things to be an important person	SD D A SA
42.	It would not bother me at all if someone thought I was gay	SD D A SA
43.	I never share my feelings	SD D A SA
44.	Sometimes violent action is necessary	SD D A SA
45.	Asking for help is a sign of failure	SD D A SA
46.	In general, I control the women in my life	SD D A SA

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47. I would feel good if I had many sexual partners   SD   D   A   SA

48. It is important for me to win   SD   D   A   SA

49. I don't like giving all my attention to work   SD   D   A   SA

50. I feel uncomfortable when others see me as important   SD   D   A   SA

51. It would be awful if people thought I was gay   SD   D   A   SA

52. I like to talk about my feelings   SD   D   A   SA

53. I never ask for help   SD   D   A   SA

54. More often than not, losing does not bother me   SD   D   A   SA

55. It is foolish to take risks   SD   D   A   SA

56. Work is not the most important thing in my life   SD   D   A   SA

57. Men and women should respect each other as equals   SD   D   A   SA

58. Long term relationships are better than casual sexual encounters   SD   D   A   SA

59. Having status is not very important to me   SD   D   A   SA

60. I frequently put myself in risky situations   SD   D   A   SA

61. Women should be subservient to men   SD   D   A   SA

62. I am willing to get into a physical fight if necessary   SD   D   A   SA

63. I like having gay friends   SD   D   A   SA

64. I feel good when work is my first priority   SD   D   A   SA

65. I tend to keep my feelings to myself   SD   D   A   SA

66. Emotional involvement should be avoided when having sex   SD   D   A   SA

67. Winning is not important to me   SD   D   A   SA

68. Violence is almost never justified   SD   D   A   SA

69. I am comfortable trying to get my way   SD   D   A   SA

70. I am happiest when I'm risking danger   SD   D   A   SA

71. Men should not have power over women   SD   D   A   SA

72. It would be enjoyable to date more than one person at a time   SD   D   A   SA

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73.	I would feel uncomfortable if someone thought I was gay	SD	D	A	SA
74.	I am not ashamed to ask for help	SD	D	A	SA
75.	*The best feeling in the world comes from winning*	SD	D	A	SA
76.	Work comes first	SD	D	A	SA
77.	I tend to share my feelings	SD	D	A	SA
78.	I like emotional involvement in a romantic relationship	SD	D	A	SA
79.	No matter what the situation I would never act violently	SD	D	A	SA
80.	If someone thought I was gay, I would not argue with them about it	SD	D	A	SA
81.	Things tend to be better when men are in charge	SD	D	A	SA
82.	I prefer to be safe and careful	SD	D	A	SA
83.	A person shouldn't get tied down to dating just one person	SD	D	A	SA
84.	I tend to invest my energy in things other than work	SD	D	A	SA
85.	It bothers me when I have to ask for help	SD	D	A	SA
86.	I love it when men are in charge of women	SD	D	A	SA
87.	It feels good to be important	SD	D	A	SA
88.	I hate it when people ask me to talk about my feelings	SD	D	A	SA
89.	I work hard to win	SD	D	A	SA
90.	I would only be satisfied with sex if there was an emotional bond	SD	D	A	SA
91.	I try to avoid being perceived as gay	SD	D	A	SA
92.	I hate any kind of risk	SD	D	A	SA
93.	I prefer to stay unemotional	SD	D	A	SA
94.	I make sure people do as I say	SD	D	A	SA

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The items below ask about what kind of a person you think you are. Each item consists of a *pair* of characteristics, with the letters A-E in between. For example:

Not at all artistic   A....B....C....D....E   Very artistic

Each pair describes contradictory characteristics — that is, you cannot be both at the same time, such as very artistic and not at all artistic.

The letters form a scale between the two extremes. you are to chose a letter which describes where *you* fall on the scale. For example, if you think you have no artistic ability, you would choose A. If you think you are pretty good, you might choose D. If you are only medium, you might choose C, and so forth.

1. Not at all aggressive	A....B....C....D....E	Very aggressive
2. Not at all independent	A....B....C....D....E	Very independent
3. Not at all emotional	A....B....C....D....E	Very emotional
4. Very submissive	A....B....C....D....E	Very dominant
5. Not at all excitable in a **major** crisis	A....B....C....D....E	Very excitable in a **major** crisis
6. Very passive	A....B....C....D....E	Very active
7. Not at all able to devote self completely to others	A....B....C....D....E	Able to devote self completely to others
8. Very rough	A....B....C....D....E	Very gentle
9. Not at all helpful to others	A....B....C....D....E	Very helpful to others
10. Not at all competitive	A....B....C....D....E	Very competitive
11. Very home oriented	A....B....C....D....E	Very worldly
12. Not at all kind	A....B....C....D....E	Very kind
13. Indifferent to others' approval	A....B....C....D....E	Highly needful of others' approval
14. Feelings not easily hurt	A....B....C....D....E	Feelings easily hurt
15. Not at all aware of feelings of others	A....B....C....D....E	Very aware of feelings of others
16. Can make decisions easily	A....B....C....D....E	Has difficulty making decisions

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17. Gives up very easily	A....B....C....D....E	Never gives up easily
18. Never cries	A....B....C....D....E	Cries very easily
19. Not at all self-confident	A....B....C....D....E	Very self-confident
20. Feels very inferior	A....B....C....D....E	Feels very superior
21. Not at all understanding of others	A....B....C....D....E	Very understanding of others
22. Very cold in relations with others	A....B....C....D....E	Very warm in relations with others
23. Very little need for security	A....B....C....D....E	Very strong need for security
24. Goes to pieces under pressure	A....B....C....D....E	Stands up well under pressure

More about how you think

The items below also ask about you. For each item, please indicate whether each item accurately describes you (true) or does not accurately describe you (false) by circling your response.

1.	People often disappoint me.	True	False
2.	If I traveled outside the United States, I would declare everything at customs, even if I knew that I could never be found out?	True	False
3.	Once in a while, I laugh at a dirty joke.	True	False
4.	I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.	True	False
5.	I have been uncertain as to whether or not I am homosexual.	True	False
6.	I always apologize to others for my mistakes.	True	False
7.	I have thought about committing suicide in order to get back at someone.	True	False
8.	I have thought that my parents hated me.	True	False
9.	Life is a strain for me most of the time.	True	False
10.	In a group of people, I have trouble thinking of the right things to talk about.	True	False
11.	I have doubted my sexual adequacy.	True	False

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12. I tell the truth.	True	False
13. Sometimes at elections, I vote for candidates I know little about.	True	False
14. I worry quite a bit over possible misfortunes.	True	False
15. I never attend a sexy show if I can avoid it.	True	False
16. I have several times given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.	True	False
17. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.	True	False
18. I sometimes try to get even, rather than forgive and forget.	True	False
19. I have enjoyed my bowel movements.	True	False
20. When I take sick leave from work or school, I am as sick as I say I am.	True	False

What you do

This section of the survey asks about your use of different forms of the mass media. Please answer each item by circling the appropriate choice or filling in the blank. Thank you.

1. Approximately how many hours of television do you watch per day?
   1) 0
   2) 1-3
   3) 4-6
   4) 7-10
   5) 11-15
   6) more than 15

2. What type of television programs do you most **enjoy** watching? (Please choose one)
   a) Action/adventure
   b) Business
   c) Children's programming
   d) Comedy
   e) Drama
   f) Educational
   g) Game shows
   h) News/newsmagazines
   i) Science fiction - fantasy
   j) Sports
   k) Talk shows (daytime or late night)
   l) Weather
   m) Other: (please specify) _____

3. On average, how often do you go out to a movie at a movie theater?
   a) rarely
   b) once a month
   c) twice a month
   d) every week
   e) more than once a week

4. What type of movies do you most enjoy **going out** to see? (Please choose one)
   1. Action/adventure
   2. Children's
   3. Comedy
   4. Documentaries
   5. Drama
   6. Foreign
   7. Horror
   8. Pornography
   9. Science fiction - fantasy
   10. Other: (please specify) _____

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5. What type of movies do you most enjoy watching **at home**? (Please choose one)
   1. Action/adventure
   2. Children's
   3. Comedy
   4. Documentaries
   5. Drama
   6. Foreign
   7. Horror
   8. Pornography
   9. Science fiction - fantasy
   10. Other: (please specify) _____

6. Approximately how many hours per day do you listen to the radio?
   1) 0
   2) 1-3
   3) 4-6
   4) 7-10
   5) 11-15
   6) more than 15

7. Approximately how many hours per day do you listen to music that you own (e.g., CD's, tapes, records, MP3's)?
   1) 0
   2) 1-3
   3) 4-6
   4) 7-10
   5) 11-15
   6) more than 15

8. Approx how many hours per day do you watch MTV?
   1) 0
   2) 1-3
   3) 4-6
   4) 7-10
   5) 11-15
   6) more than 15

9. What is your favorite type of music? (Please choose one)
   1. Adult contemporary or vocalists
   2. Alternative
   3. Blues
   4. Classical or opera
   5. Comedy
   6. Country - Western
   7. Dance or hip-hop
   8. Folk
   9. Jazz, swing or big band
   10. Metal, thrash or industrial
   11. Movie soundtracks
   12. New Age
   13. Oldies
   14. Pop or top 40
   15. Punk
   16. Rap
   17. Religious or Christian
   18. Rock
   19. Show tunes (i.e., Broadway)
   20. Soul, R&B, or funk
   21. World (e.g., Reggae)
   22. Other: (please specify) _____

10. What types of magazines do you read regularly? (circle all that apply)
   1. I don't read any magazines regularly
   2. Business or finance
   3. Entertainment (e.g., movie, music)
   4. Health
   5. Hobbies or crafts
   6. Men's
   7. News
   8. Sports
   9. Women's
   10. Other: (please specify) _____

12. Do you read any newspapers regularly?
   1) ___ No   2) ___ Yes

13. Do you read books regularly for pleasure?
   1) ___ No   2) ___ Yes

14. Approximately how many books do you read for pleasure each year? _____

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15.   If yes, what type of books do you usually read? (circle all that apply)
1. Biographies and utobiographies
2. Business or finance
3. Educational, informational or philosophical
4. General fiction
5. Health
6. How-to (e.g., cooking, gardening)

7. Non-fiction
8. Religious
9. Science-fiction or fantasy
10. Sports
11. Thrillers (e.g., detective, police, spy)
12. Women's
13. Other: (please specify) _____

16. Do you have access to the world wide web (including chat rooms but not email or instant messaging)?
1) ___ No   2) ___ Yes

17. If yes, approximately how many hours per day are you on the world wide web?
1) 0   3) 4-6   5) 11-15
2) 1-3   4) 7-10   6) more than 15

18. If you had to give up **ONE** of the following for a week, which would have the greatest *negative* impact on your mood and general sense of well-being?
1) music on the radio
2) music from my collection
3) mtv
4) movies

5) television
6) newspapers
7) magazines or books
8) world wide web (not email or messaging)

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More about how you think

The statements listed below describe attitudes toward the role of women in society that different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feeling about each statement by indicating whether you (1) agree strongly, (2) agree mildly, (3) disagree mildly, or (4) disagree strongly. Please indicate your opinion by circling the number that best represents your opinion.

	Strongly Agree			Strongly Disagree
1. Women are generally not as smart as men.	1	2	3	4
2. I would be equally as comfortable having a woman or a man as a boss.	1	2	3	4
3. It is more important to encourage boys than to encourage girls to participate in athletics.	1	2	3	4
4. Women are just as capable of thinking logically as men.	1	2	3	4
5. When both parents are employed and their child gets sick at school, the school should call the mother rather than the father.	1	2	3	4
6. Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination.	1	2	3	4
7. It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on television.	1	2	3	4
8. Soceity has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.	1	2	3	4
9. It is easy to understand the anger of women's groups in America.	1	2	3	4
10. Over the past few years, the government and news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual experiences.	1	2	3	4
11. Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States.	1	2	3	4
12. On average, people in our society treat husbands and wives equally.	1	2	3	4
13. It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities.	1	2	3	4

Who you are like

1) When you were growing up, what one person did you most want to be like?

2) Why did you want to be like that person?

3) How well did you know this person?

  a.   Extremely well
  b.   Pretty well
  c.   Not very well
  d.   Not at all

4) How did you know (or know of) this person? Please be as specific as possible (e.g., third grade teacher, first cousin, saw person in movie "___", etc.).

5) This person is/was approximately how many years older than you? _____

6) Is this person female or male?   F   M

Please complete the following pages in the way that you think this person would have answered them. In other words, please answer the survey as if you were that person that you wanted to be like. In the directions, that person is called 'My model.'

<u>Who you are like, continued</u>

This section of the survey contains a series of statements about how people might think, feel or behave. The statements are designed to measure attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors associated with both traditional and non-traditional masculine gender roles.

<u>Thinking about your MODEL'S actions, feelings and beliefs</u>, please indicate how much **<u>YOUR MODEL would personally agree or disagree with each statement</u>** by circling <u>SD</u> for "Strongly Disagree", <u>D</u> for "Disagree", <u>A</u> for "Agree", or <u>SA</u> for "Strongly agree" to the left of the statement. There are no right or wrong responses to the statements. You should give the responses that most accurately describe your model's actions, feelings and beliefs. It is best if you respond with your first impression when answering.

1.	It is best to keep your emotions hidden	SD	D	A	SA
2.	In general, I will do anything to win	SD	D	A	SA
3.	If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners	SD	D	A	SA
4.	If there is going to be violence, I find a way to avoid it	SD	D	A	SA
5.	It is important to me that people think I am heterosexual	SD	D	A	SA
6.	In general, I must get my way	SD	D	A	SA
7.	Trying to be important is the greatest waste of time	SD	D	A	SA

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8.	I am often absorbed in my work	SD	D	A	SA
9.	I will only be satisfied when women are equal to men	SD	D	A	SA
10.	I hate asking for help	SD	D	A	SA
11.	Taking dangerous risks helps me to prove myself	SD	D	A	SA
12.	In general, I do not expend a lot of energy trying to win at things	SD	D	A	SA
13.	An emotional bond with a partner is the best part of sex	SD	D	A	SA
14.	I should take every opportunity to show my feelings	SD	D	A	SA
15.	I believe that violence is never justified	SD	D	A	SA
16.	Being thought of as gay is not a bad thing	SD	D	A	SA
17.	In general, I do not like risky situations	SD	D	A	SA
18.	I should be in charge	SD	D	A	SA
19.	Feelings are important to show	SD	D	A	SA
20.	I feel miserable when work occupies all my attention	SD	D	A	SA
21.	I feel best about my relationships with women when we are equals	SD	D	A	SA
22.	Winning is not my first priority	SD	D	A	SA
23.	I make sure that people think I am heterosexual	SD	D	A	SA
24.	I enjoy taking risks	SD	D	A	SA
25.	I am disgusted by any kind of violence	SD	D	A	SA
26.	I would hate to be important	SD	D	A	SA
27.	I love to explore my feelings with others	SD	D	A	SA
28.	If I could, I would date a lot of different people	SD	D	A	SA
29.	I ask for help when I need it	SD	D	A	SA
30.	My work is the most important part of my life	SD	D	A	SA
31.	Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing	SD	D	A	SA
32.	I never take chances	SD	D	A	SA
33.	I would only have sex if I was in a committed relationship	SD	D	A	SA
34.	I like fighting	SD	D	A	SA
35.	I treat women as equals	SD	D	A	SA

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36.	I bring up my feelings when talking to others	SD	D	A	SA
37.	I would be furious if someone thought I was gay	SD	D	A	SA
38.	I only get romantically involved with one person	SD	D	A	SA
39.	I don't mind losing	SD	D	A	SA
40.	I take risks	SD	D	A	SA
41.	I never do things to be an important person	SD	D	A	SA
42.	It would not bother me at all if someone thought I was gay	SD	D	A	SA
43.	I never share my feelings	SD	D	A	SA
44.	Sometimes violent action is necessary	SD	D	A	SA
45.	Asking for help is a sign of failure	SD	D	A	SA
46.	In general, I control the women in my life	SD	D	A	SA
47.	I would feel good if I had many sexual partners	SD	D	A	SA
48.	It is important for me to win	SD	D	A	SA
49.	I don't like giving all my attention to work	SD	D	A	SA
50.	I feel uncomfortable when others see me as important	SD	D	A	SA
51.	It would be awful if people thought I was gay	SD	D	A	SA
52.	I like to talk about my feelings	SD	D	A	SA
53.	I never ask for help	SD	D	A	SA
54.	More often than not, losing does not bother me	SD	D	A	SA
55.	It is foolish to take risks	SD	D	A	SA
56.	Work is not the most important thing in my life	SD	D	A	SA
57.	Men and women should respect each other as equals	SD	D	A	SA
58.	Long term relationships are better than casual sexual encounters	SD	D	A	SA
59.	Having status is not very important to me	SD	D	A	SA
60.	I frequently put myself in risky situations	SD	D	A	SA
61.	Women should be subservient to men	SD	D	A	SA
62.	I am willing to get into a physical fight if necessary	SD	D	A	SA
63.	I like having gay friends	SD	D	A	SA

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64.	I feel good when work is my first priority	SD	D	A	SA
65.	I tend to keep my feelings to myself	SD	D	A	SA
66.	Emotional involvement should be avoided when having sex	SD	D	A	SA
67.	Winning is not important to me	SD	D	A	SA
68.	Violence is almost never justified	SD	D	A	SA
69.	I am comfortable trying to get my way	SD	D	A	SA
70.	I am happiest when I'm risking danger	SD	D	A	SA
71.	Men should not have power over women	SD	D	A	SA
72.	It would be enjoyable to date more than one person at a time	SD	D	A	SA
73.	I would feel uncomfortable if someone thought I was gay	SD	D	A	SA
74.	I am not ashamed to ask for help	SD	D	A	SA
75.	The best feeling in the world comes from winning	SD	D	A	SA
76.	Work comes first	SD	D	A	SA
77.	I tend to share my feelings	SD	D	A	SA
78.	I like emotional involvement in a romantic relationship	SD	D	A	SA
79.	No matter what the situation I would never act violently	SD	D	A	SA
80.	If someone thought I was gay, I would not argue with them about it	SD	D	A	SA
81.	Things tend to be better when men are in charge	SD	D	A	SA
82.	I prefer to be safe and careful	SD	D	A	SA
83.	A person shouldn't get tied down to dating just one person	SD	D	A	SA
84.	I tend to invest my energy in things other than work	SD	D	A	SA
85.	It bothers me when I have to ask for help	SD	D	A	SA
86.	I love it when men are in charge of women	SD	D	A	SA
87.	It feels good to be important	SD	D	A	SA
88.	I hate it when people ask me to talk about my feelings	SD	D	A	SA
89.	I work hard to win	SD	D	A	SA
90.	I would only be satisfied with sex if there was an emotional bond	SD	D	A	SA
91.	I try to avoid being perceived as gay	SD	D	A	SA

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92.	I hate any kind of risk	SD D A SA
93.	I prefer to stay unemotional	SD D A SA
94.	I make sure people do as I say	SD D A SA

Thank you very much for completing this survey. Please remember to return one signed copy of the informed consent. The other copy of the informed consent page is yours to keep. It contains contact information that you may use to learn more about this survey or express any concerns that you may have about this survey. Thank you again.

GROUP COMPARISONS ON ALL EXAMINED MEASURES

Measure	Whole sample		Females		Males	
	F	Group differences	F	Group differences	F	Group differences
Consistency						
Contextual	14.91***	Av>Ne, Bu, Fa; Fe>Ne; Jo>Ne, Bu; Se>Ne				
Demographics						
Age	24.12***	Av>Ef, No; Fa>all; Se>Ef	40.65***	Av>Ef; Fa>all; Se>Ef	10.10***	Av>Jo; Fa>Av, Bu, Jo, Se
Social class	1.26		1.77		1.21	
Education years	4.71***	Fa>Av, Ef, Se	8.97***	Fa>all	1.95	
Religiosity	4.10		5.66***	Fa>Av, Ef	1.83	
Marriages	25.71***	Av>Ef; Fa>all; Se>Ef	39.89***	Fa>all; Se>Ef	11.23***	Av>Jo; Fa>all
Marital separations	2.92**	Av>Bu, Jo; Fa>Bu, Jo	5.85***	Fa>Av, Ef	.67	
Children	30.36***	Av>Ef; Fa>all; Se>Ef	45.76***	all>Ef, Fa>all	14.90***	Av>Jo; Fa>all
Age first sex	5.52***	Fa>Av, Ef;	6.52***	Fa>all	3.34**	Fa>Av
Sexual partners	.51		.23		.22	
Sexual partners per year active	6.39***	Av>Fa, Ne; Ef>Fa; Se>Fa, Ne	6.82***	all>Fa	3.50**	Av>Fa, Ne; Se>Fa
Sexual orientation	3.73***	none	1.70		2.10	
Gender measures						
Dominance	7.03***	Av>Se; Bu>Av, Fa, Ne, Se; Jo>Se	4.94**	Av, Ef>Se	4.10***	Bu>Av, Fa, Se
Emotional control	4.85***	Av>Se; Fa>Se;	1.42		4.12***	Av, Fa>Se
Disdain for homosex.	5.99***	Av>Se; Fa>Se; Jo>Se;	2.96*	none	5.57***	Av, Bu, Fa, Jo >Se
Playboy	6.27***	Av>Fa, Se;	5.09**	Av>Fa	3.74**	Av, Jo>Se
Power over women	4.07***	Av>Se; Bu>Se;	2.06		3.28***	Jo>Se
Risk taking	7.86***	Av>Fa; Ef>Fa; Jo>Fa; No>Fa, Ne, Se	9.44***	Av, Ef>Fa	2.32*	none
Self reliance	1.50		.79		2.13	
Pursuit of status	4.78***	Bu>Fa; Ef>Fa;	5.78***	Ef>Fa, Se	2.28*	Bu>Fa

(table continues)

Measure	Whole sample		Females		Males	
	F	Group differences	F	Group differences	F	Group differences
Violence	7.25***	Av>Fa, Se; Bu>Fa, Se; Jo>Se	10.24***	Av, Ef >Fa, Se	3.61**	none
Winning	10.70***	Av>Fa, Se; Bu>Fa, Se; Jo>Fa, Se	6.49***	Av>Fa, Se	6.76***	Av, Bu> Fa, Se
Primacy of work	1.39		.21		.63	
Masculinity	2.07*	none	1.22		1.82	
Femininity	10.74***	Se>Av, Bu, Fa, Jo, Ne	6.96***	Fa, Se>Av	7.61***	Se>Av, Bu, Fa, Jo
Modern sexism[a]	2.34*	Av>Bu; Fa>Bu; Se>Bu	.21		2.21	
Old fashioned sexism[a]	4.39***	Av>Bu; Ef>Bu; Fa>Bu; Se>Av, Bu	2.28		2.76*	none
Media use						
MTv hours	6.00***	Av>Fa; Ef>Fa	7.44***	Av, Ef>Fa	5.36***	Av>Fa
Music collection hours	14.73***	Av>Fa; Ef>Fa; Se>Av, Bu, Fa, Jo	13.45***	all>Fa; Se>Av, Fa	13.19***	Av, Bu, Se>Fa; Se>Av, Bu, Fa
Radio hours	1.90		1.92		1.46	
TV hours	2.11*	none	2.50		2.30*	none
Internet hours	6.98***	Av>Fa; Ne>Fa; Se>Fa	6.05***	all>Fa	7.66***	Av, Ne>Fa
Movie in theatre	6.34***	Av>Fa; Ef>Fa; Jo>Fa	5.00**	Av>Fa	8.10***	Av, Jo>Fa; Jo>Av, Fa, Se
Read newspaper	5.30***	Fa>Av, Ef, Se	10.05***	Fa>all	2.18	
Read magazines	1.16		1.27		.64	
Read books	3.21**	Fa>Jo; Se>Bu, Jo	1.21		2.47*	Se>Bu
Preferred genre strength						
Action/adventure	2.40*	Av>Ef; Fa>Ef	3.04*	Av>Ef	2.66*	Av, Fa>Ne
Pornography	1.23		.31		1.52	
Sports	4.71***	Av>Ef, Fa, Se	.79		5.14***	Av>Fa, Ne, Se
Science fiction	3.02**	Av>Fa; Se>Fa	4.31**	Av>Fa	1.32	
Women's	.54		.58		1.02	
Men's	3.10**	none	1.14		3.20**	
Religious	.98		1.45		.39	

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Appendix D

IRB Approvals

Pilot study.

University of New Hampshire
Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research
Departmental Review Committee Exemption Classification Sheet

Project Director _Andrew Smith_   IRB # _____

Department _Psychology_   Reviewer _____

Project Title _Definitions of Masculinity_

Reviewer: Please write comments or contingencies of approval, if any, on a separate sheet of paper, and attach to this form. Place the completed form on file with the application for review; in the Departmental Review Committee files. Protocol applications and review forms will be forwarded to the Office of Sponsored Research each semester for reporting purposes.

☒ **Protocol qualifies as EXEMPT under the following subsection (check one) - see reverse for detailed category description:**

___ 46.101(b)(1)   Research conducted in established educational setting using normal educational procedures

_✓_ 46.101(b)(2)   Educational tests, surveys, interviews, observation of public behavior/no risk

___ 46.101(b)(3)   Educational tests, surveys, interviews, observation of public behavior not exempt under Subsection 2, above, if public official or if confidentiality mandated by federal statutes

___ 46.101(b)(4)   Study of existing data

___ 46.101(b)(5)   Study of public benefits or service programs

___ 46.101(b)(6)   Taste and food studies

☐ **Refer protocol to the regular IRB for EXPEDITED review under the following subsection (check one):**

___ 46.110(b)(1)   Clinical studies of drugs/medical devices not requiring investigational new drug/device applications.

___ 46.110(b)(2)   Collection of blood samples by finger, heel or ear stick, or venipuncture in healthy adults >110 lbs., or others and children, considering age, weight, health, collection procedure, frequency and amount of collection.

___ 46.110(b)(3)   Prospective collection of biological specimens for research purposes by noninvasive means, and in a non-disfiguring manner: hair and nail clippings, teeth, sweat, saliva, placenta (after delivery), amniotic fluid (at membrane rupture/labor), dental plaque/calculus, mucosal/skin cells, sputum (after saline nebulization)

___ 46.110(b)(4)   Collection of data through noninvasive means routinely employed in clinical practice (excluding x-rays and microwaves, and devices not approved for marketing): physical sensors applied to the skin, weighing, tests of visual acuity, MRI, EKG, EEG, ultrasound, etc., and moderate exercise by healthy volunteers.

___ 46.110(b)(5)   Non-exempt research involving data, documents, records or specimens that have been/will be collected solely for nonresearch purposes (e.g., medical treatment or diagnosis).

___ 46.110(b)(6)   Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.

___ 46.110(b)(7)   Non-exempt research on individual or group behavior or characteristics of individuals, such as studies of perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior, or research employing surveys, interviews, oral histories, focus groups, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

___ 46.110(b)(8)   Continuing review of research such as studies permanently closed to enrollment of new subjects, or for which research-related interventions are completed, or for which only long-term follow-up of subjects remains, or for which no subjects have been enrolled and no additional risks have been identified, or for which data analysis is the only remaining research activity.

___ 46.110(b)(9) -   Continuing review of research (not conducted under investigational drug/device applications or exemption) where categoried 2 through 8, above, do not apply, and for which the IRB has determined that the research involves no greater than minimal risk, and no additional risks have been identified.

☐ Refer protocol to the regular IRB for FULL BOARD action (cite reason on separate sheet)

☐ Protocol cannot be approved as presented (cite reason on separate sheet)

IRB Reviewer: _John Limber_   Date: _2/15/02_

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Secondary sample.

UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Office of Sponsored Research
Service Building
51 College Road
Durham, New Hampshire 03824-3585
(603) 862-3564 FAX

LAST NAME	*Smiler*		**FIRST NAME**	*Andrew*
DEPT	*Psychology Department, Conant Hall*		**APP'L DATE**	*12/4/2002*
OFF-CAMPUS ADDRESS (if applicable)	*Psychology Department Conant Hall*		**IRB #**	*2825*
			REVIEW LEVEL	*EXE*
			DATE OF NOTICE	*12/6/2002*
PROJECT TITLE	*Living the Stereotype*			

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research has reviewed and approved the protocol for your study as Exempt as described in Federal Regulations 45 CFR 46, Subsection 101 (b), category 2.

Approval is granted to conduct your study as described in your protocol. **Prior to implementing any changes in your protocol, you must submit them to the IRB for review and gain written, unconditional approval. If you experience any unusual or unanticipated results with regard to the participation of human subjects, report such events to this office within one working day of occurrence.** Upon completion of your study, please complete the enclosed pink Exempt Study Final Report form and return it to this office along with a report of your findings.

The protection of human subjects in your study is an ongoing process for which you hold primary responsibility. In receiving IRB approval for your protocol, you agree to conduct the study in accordance with the ethical principles and guidelines for the protection of human subjects in research, as described in the following three reports: Belmont Report; Title 45, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 46; and UNH's Federalwide Assurance of Protection of Human Subjects. The full text of these documents is available on the Office of Sponsored Research (OSR) website at http://www.unh.edu/osr/compliance/Regulatory_Compliance.html and by request from OSR.

If you have questions or concerns about your study or this approval, please feel free to contact me at 862-2003. Please refer to the IRB # above in all correspondence related to this study. The IRB wishes you success with your research.

For the IRB,

Julie F. Simpson
Regulatory Compliance Manager

cc: File

      Carolyn Mebert, Psychology

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Primary sample (UNH-Durham).

<div align="center">
University of New Hampshire
Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research
Departmental Review Committee Exemption Classification Sheet
</div>

Project Director _Andrew Smith_   IRB # _____

Department _Psychology_   Reviewer _____

Project Title _Living the Stereotype_ _____

Reviewer: Please write comments or contingencies of approval, if any, on a separate sheet of paper, and attach to this form. Place the completed form on file with the application for review, in the Departmental Review Committee files. Protocol applications and review forms will be forwarded to the Office of Sponsored Research each semester for reporting purposes.

☒ **Protocol qualifies as EXEMPT under the following subsection (check one) - see reverse for detailed category description:**

____ 46.101(b)(1) Research conducted in established educational setting using normal educational procedures

☒ 46.101(b)(2) Educational tests, surveys, interviews, observation of public behavior/no risk

____ 46.101(b)(3) Educational tests, surveys, interviews, observation of public behavior not exempt under Subsection 2, above, if public official or if confidentiality mandated by federal statutes

____ 46.101(b)(4) Study of existing data

____ 46.101(b)(5) Study of public benefits or service programs

____ 46.101(b)(6) Taste and food studies

☐ **Refer protocol to the regular IRB for EXPEDITED review under the following subsection (check one):**

____ 46.110(b)(1) Clinical studies of drugs/medical devices not requiring investigational new drug/device applications.

____ 46.110(b)(2) Collection of blood samples by finger, heel or ear stick, or venipuncture in healthy adults >110 lbs., or others and children, considering age, weight, health, collection procedure, frequency and amount of collection.

____ 46.110(b)(3) Prospective collection of biological specimens for research purposes by noninvasive means, and in a non-disfiguring manner: hair and nail clippings, teeth, sweat, saliva, placenta (after delivery), amniotic fluid (at membrane rupture/labor), dental plaque/calculus, mucosal/skin cells, sputum (after saline nebulization)

____ 46.110(b)(4) Collection of data through noninvasive means routinely employed in clinical practice (excluding x-rays and microwaves, and devices not approved for marketing): physical sensors applied to the skin, weighing, tests of visual acuity, MRI, EKG, EEG, ultrasound, etc., and moderate exercise by healthy volunteers.

____ 46.110(b)(5) Non-exempt research involving data, documents, records or specimens that have been/will be collected solely for nonresearch purposes (e.g., medical treatment or diagnosis).

____ 46.110(b)(6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.

____ 46.110(b)(7) Non-exempt research on individual or group behavior or characteristics of individuals, such as studies of perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior, or research employing surveys, interviews, oral histories, focus groups, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

____ 46.110(b)(8) Continuing review of research such as studies permanently closed to enrollment of new subjects, or for which research-related interventions are completed, or for which only long-term follow-up of subjects remains, or for which no subjects have been enrolled and no additional risks have been identified, or for which data analysis is the only remaining research activity.

____ 46.110(b)(9) Continuing review of research (not conducted under investigational drug/device applications or exemption) where categories 2 through 8, above, do not apply, and for which the IRB has determined that the research involves no greater than minimal risk, and no additional risks have been identified.

☐ Refer protocol to the regular IRB for **FULL BOARD action** (cite reason on separate sheet)

☐ Protocol cannot be approved as presented (cite reason on separate sheet)

IRB Reviewer: _John Finley_   Date: _2/13/03_

<div align="center">151</div>

Primary sample (UNH-Manchester).

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UNIVERSITY *of* NEW HAMPSHIRE
M A N C H E S T E R

February 25, 2002

Andrew Smiler
University of Hew Hampshire
Department of Psychology
Durham, NH

Dear Andrew:

I have read your proposal and reviewed the survey you intend to use in your research. You have my permission to run the study at UNHM using students in Dani Gagne's course, Introduction to Psychology.

Good luck with your project.

Sincerely yours,

Gary S. Goldstein
Associate Professor
Chair, Division of Nathural and social Sciences

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