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MALE GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS: A STUDY OF UNDERGRADUATE COLLEGE MEN

A Dissertation Presented

By

STEVEN D. BOTKIN

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September 1988

Education

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DEDICATION

To William F. Cates

My high school English teacher who opened my heart and my mind to the many beautiful ways to be a man. You are a part of me always.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

No dissertation is an island unto itself. Although ostensibly created by my own hard work, commitment, and wisdom, this dissertation is clearly embedded in a wonderful web of human connectedness and love.

Joan Levy, my life partner, soul-mate, and co-parent, has consistently supported me with her faith, encouragement, patience, and love, even when she has been challenged by her own life changes. Elena Botkin-Levy, our daughter, has provided me with a seemingly endless supply of drawings to hang over my desk, and precious reminders that playing is as important as finishing a dissertation. My housemates, dear friends, and colleagues, Andrea Kandel and Georgeanne Greene have provided me with ongoing loving support. Our home has been a vital source of nurturance for me.

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Finally, the men who participated in this study and shared about their own lives were obviously essential to the creation of this dissertation. May their experience in the interviews be one step in the development of an enlightened masculinity.

ABSTRACT

MALE GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS: A STUDY OF UNDERGRADUATE COLLEGE MEN

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The purpose of this study was to document and analyze the gender consciousness of undergraduate college men, in order to provide empirical grounding for the development of an effective pedagogy for men's consciousness-raising and gender role re-evaluation. Three research questions were addressed.

- 1) What patterns of consciousness about male role strain, and about male privilege/women's oppression are evidenced among this group of men?
- 2) What are the relationships between the gender consciousness demonstrated by these men and the "male identity development" model proposed by Steven Schapiro (1985)?
- 3) What are the differences and similarities between the gender consciousness of the Black men and the White men in this study?

Individual interviews, combining open-ended verbal questions and written questionnaires, were conducted with thirty White and Black college men, recruited to represent a range of freshman, sophomores, juniors, and seniors. Combinations of qualitative and quantitative methods were used to analyze interview responses.

Most men evidenced at least a rudimentary gender consciousness. Recognition of the personal significance of these issues, however,

varied widely. Year in school and previous experience in gender issues programs were significant influencing variables. Peer pressure toward conformity was identified as an important factor restraining men from developing or expressing greater gender consciousness.

Correlational analysis demonstrated convergent validity for the first three stages of the male identity development model (Acceptance, Resistance, Redefinition). Inconsistent and ambivalent gender consciousness reflecting contradictory stages was frequently evidenced. Consciousness of male role strain was highly correlated with consciousness of male privilege/women's oppression. Evidence of the four "new male qualities" (Androgyny, Autonomy, Awareness, Activism) described in the male identity development model was also examined.

Although the gender consciousness of the Black and White men in this study were similar, the social and economic effects of racism seemed to contribute to two significant differences. Black men referred to their racial identity much more frequently than White men as a context for understanding their male identity. Black men placed greater emphasis on questionnaire items related to achievement, competition, and success.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
ABSTRACTvii
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURESxii
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of Problem	1
Statement of Purpose	2
Context for the Study	3
Significance of this Study	7
Definition of Terms	10
Oppression	10
Sexism	10
Male Role Strain	11
Male Gender Consciousness	12
Men's Consciousness-raising	12
Male Identity Development	13
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	14
Perspectives on Masculinity	14
The Traditional Perspective	15
The Exploitation Perspective	18
The Changing Role Perspective	21
Perspectives on Black Masculinity	28
Toward a Comprehensive, Multi-cultural Perspective On Masculinities	35
Summary	37
Theories of Male Identity Development	38
College Men and Male Identity Development	45
Summary	51
III. DESIGN OF THE STUDY	53
Introduction	53
Selection of Research Participants	54
Data Collection Methods	57
Written Questionnaire	57
Open-ended Questions	60
Analysis and Interpretation of Data	63

Limitations of this Study	65
IV. PRESENTATION OF THE DATA	67
Patterns of Male Gender Consciousness	67
Male Role Strain	68
Male Privilege and Women's Oppression	80
Summary: Patterns of Male Gender Consciousness.	93
Comparison of Interview Data with Schapiro's Model of the Development of Male Gender Consciousness	96
Schapiro's Model of Male Identity Development	97
Qualitative Analysis of Selected Interview Transcriptions	101
Transcription Coding and Quantitative Analysis	129
Summary: Comparison of Interview Data with Schapiro's Model of Male Gender Consciousness	142
Comparisons of Data from Black and White Participants	146
Comparison of Questionnaire Scores	147
Comparison of Transcription Coding	148
Comparison of Interview Responses	149
Summary: Comparisons of Data from Black and White Participants	152
Summary of Chapter IV	154
Research Question 1	154
Research Question 2	155
Research Question 3	156
V. CONCLUDING DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	158
Toward an Appreciation of Male Gender Consciousness	159
Implications for a Model of Male Identity Development	163
Stages of Male Identity Development	163
Domains of Identity Development	165
New Male Qualities	165
The Male Identity Development Model Revisited	166
Educational Implications	171
Recommendations for Future Research	175
APPENDIX: INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE	179
BIBLIOGRAPHY	187

LIST OF TABLES

1. Demographic Features of Respondents	56
2. Open-ended Interview Questions	62
3. Transcription Coding Guide: Male Role Strain	131
4. Transcription Coding Guide: Male Privilege/Women's Oppression	132
5. Frequencies of Primary Coding of Transcriptions for each Male Identity Development Stage in Male Role Strain and Male Privilege/Women's Oppression Domains	133
6. Pearson Correlations Between Combined Primary and Secondary Transcription Codings in Both MRS and MP/WO Domains and Scores on the Mod-BMS, GRC, and WLS	135
7. Transcription Coding Guide: New Male Qualities	136
8. Pearson Correlations Between Transcription Coding for New Male Qualities and Each Other, Coding for Male Identity Development Stages, and Questionnaire Scores	138

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Schapiro's Male Identity Development Model 98

2. Revised Male Identity Development Model 167

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem

The male gender role, comprised of socially prescribed norms, values, attitudes, and behaviors culturally associated with masculinity, has been accepted without question by many men and women. The call for male consciousness-raising and gender role re-evaluation, however, has begun to be expressed by an increasing number of women and men. Responding to a feminist analysis of women's oppression, as well as an analysis of the damaging effects on men of the conflict and strain associated with the male role, they have suggested that men need to become more conscious of the social and personal implications of culturally imposed definitions of masculinity.

Educational efforts to facilitate this development of men's "gender consciousness" have begun to be designed and implemented (Schapiro, 1985, Femiano, 1986). These programs are often based on theoretical analyses of sexism, the problems of the male role, and how men should change. In order for consciousness-raising education to effectively promote this development, these analyses need to be also based on an accurate understanding of the existing patterns of men's gender attitudes and experiences. Without this grounding in men's genuine, subjective experience, efforts to promote change are at high risk of being perceived as irrelevant, inaccurate, patronizing, and/or insensitive (Lederer, 1982; Baumli, 1985). Systematic documentation and analysis of men's gender consciousness, however, has been recognized only recently as a significant area of investigation. This study was

designed to document some of the attitudes, experiences, and perceptions that comprise the gender consciousness of one particular group of men.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study was to document and analyze the gender consciousness of undergraduate college men. What do these men perceive as the social norms for being a man? To what extent do they experience conflict or strain with these social expectations of the male role? How much do they recognize the effects of sexism, the privileges of masculinity and the disempowerment of women? To what extent do these men question and challenge traditional expectations of masculine attitudes and behaviors? Answers to these questions can contribute to a more accurate understanding of the development of male gender consciousness, and more effective educational efforts toward promoting a personally and socially healthy male identity.

To accomplish this purpose, this study specifically addressed three research questions:

- 1) What patterns of consciousness about male role strain, and about male privilege/women's oppression are evidenced among this group of undergraduate college men?
- 2) What are the relationships between the gender consciousness demonstrated by these men and the "male identity development" model proposed by Steven Schapiro (1985)?
- 3) What are the differences and similarities between the gender consciousness of the Black men and White men in this study?

In order to answer these questions, individual interviews, combining open-ended verbal questions and written questionnaires, were conducted with thirty White and Black college men, recruited to represent a range of freshman, sophomores, juniors, and seniors. The interview approach was chosen because honest self-disclosure was most

likely to occur in the context of a personal, supportive environment. Combinations of qualitative and quantitative methods were used in the analysis of the interview responses in order to answer these questions.

Context for the Study

Over the past 25 years feminist writers and activists have developed and promoted an awareness of sexism, the systematic oppression of women (Firestone, 1970; Millet, 1970; Redstockings, 1975; Miller, 1976). Based on an analysis of women's experiences of devaluation, discrimination, and abuse, personal, cultural, and institutional patterns of male domination have been recognized as part of this system of oppression. The women's movement has challenged men to recognize inequities of male privilege and power, to divest themselves* and the male role of any collusion in this system, and to create new models of anti-sexist masculinity (Liddell, 1977; Snodgrass, 1977; Shapiro & Shapiro, 1979; Friedan, 1981).

The gender role re-evaluation inspired by feminism has stimulated some men to examine the male role as a source of psychological, physical, and interpersonal conflict and strain for men (Jourard, 1974; David and Brannon, 1976; Lewis, 1981; O'Neil, 1981, Pleck, 1981). Applying the gender based social analysis developed by feminism to their own experience, they have begun to recognize that socialized restrictions on masculinity often limit and distort men's relationships with themselves, with other men, with women, and with children. They are seeing traditional male roles as increasingly anachronistic and

*AUTHOR'S NOTE: Although the norms for academic writing dictate the use of third person pronouns, I include myself whenever I am referring to "men" as a group.

dysfunctional in a rapidly changing, post-industrial society (Pleck, 1976; Dubbert, 1979; Skovholt & Hansen, 1980; Bell, 1981), and are developing new visions of a more healthy, balanced male identity compatible with contemporary psychological, social, and economic realities (Goldberg, 1979; Schapiro, 1985; Abbott, 1987; see also Changing Men magazine).

Each of these analyses, the feminist analysis of male privilege and women's oppression, and the analysis of male role strain, present a different perspective on masculinity. The feminist analysis describes how masculinity is part of a system of male dominance and privilege that oppresses women. Men are identified as conscious or unconscious perpetrators of this unjust system. The male role strain analysis focuses on how masculinity is part of a rigid gender role system that creates restrictive patterns of emotional disempowerment and personal isolation for men. Men are identified as victims of this system that is socially imposed upon them.

This research study is based on the assumption that these analyses are not fundamentally contradictory, and that both are needed to develop an accurate and complete understanding of the implications of masculinity for men. The first research question of this study examines the extent to which either of these perspectives are reflected in the gender consciousness of a select group of men: What patterns of consciousness about male role strain and about male privilege/women's oppression are evidenced among this group of undergraduate college men?

Both the feminist and male role strain perspectives highlight the need for men to critically examine the personal and political implications of the male gender role. Inherent in the male role itself,

however, are several obstacles to this gender consciousness. Because the dominant culture is controlled and defined by male norms, masculine values, attitudes, and behaviors are often considered "normal", and not subject to examination and critique as the particular reflection of one specific social group.

The overgeneralization from male to generic human experience not only distorts our understanding of what, if anything, is truly generic to humanity but also precludes the study of masculinity as a specific male experience, rather than a universal paradigm for human experience (Brod, 1987b, p. 40, emphasis in original).

Men do not learn to be conscious of the personal and social implications of their male identity. Socialized to be oriented more towards external action than internal self-reflection, more toward self-sufficient stoicism than collective self-expression, many men may not have the inclination, skills, or support to engage in a re-evaluation process (Jourard, 1974). Trained to be self-sufficient, tough, and uncomplaining; many will not admit, or even recognize their struggles and pain (Fasteau, 1974, Balswick, 1982). Many men also may be reluctant to question or criticize the existing gender system, because it is the foundation for much of the privileges and benefits that they receive in this society (Schein, 1977, Kann, 1986). Social pressure to conform and the personal costs of "making waves" may silence even those men who do see how the traditional male role damages men and oppresses women (Stoltenberg, 1983).

Other factors, however, are promoting, even requiring, men to consciously re-evaluate the male gender role. The changing roles of women are forcing men to examine their attitudes and expectations about women and about themselves in romantic, family, and workplace relationships (Pleck, 1979; Lewis, 1981; Franklin, 1984). Developments in the nature and organization of work are also requiring a less rigidly

defined masculinity (Shepard, 1977; Dubbert, 1979; Bell, 1981). An emphasis on social values related to personal growth and psychological and physical health have stimulated men's own dissatisfaction with the personal isolation and emotional impoverishment of traditional masculinity (Pleck and Sawyer, 1974; Baumli, 1985).

As a result of the critical analyses of masculinity and these factors promoting male role changes, growing numbers of educators, counselors, and social activists concerned with sexism and gender role liberation are seeking methods for facilitating the development of gender consciousness among men (Pleck & Sawyer, 1974; Snodgrass, 1977; Skovholt, Schaumle, & Davis, 1980; Solomon & Levy, 1983; Schapiro, 1985). A comprehensive program of men's consciousness-raising must address the male role from both perspectives: as oppressive to women, and as damaging to men.

In order to design a pedagogical model for such a program Steven Schapiro (1985) developed a theory of "male identity development" that carefully balances both facets of the male role: male role strain, and male privilege/women's oppression. Extrapolating from theories of Black identity development (Jackson, 1976) and White identity development (Hardiman, 1982) he suggests that men's gender consciousness can develop through several stages in relation to either of these perspectives.

This theory, however, has not yet been validated by direct research with men to determine whether the hypothesized patterns of gender consciousness correspond to men's actual attitudes and values. An analysis of existing patterns of men's gender consciousness can provide a more "grounded" basis (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) for a theory of male identity development. The second research question of the present study

compares this model of male identity development to the gender consciousness evidenced by a sample of college men: What are the relationships between the gender consciousness demonstrated by these men and the "male identity development" model proposed by Steven Schapiro (1985)?

Most research about men and masculinity has been studies of White men. The results, therefore, have a White bias. At best, the implications of this limitation are acknowledged and discussed. At worst, race is ignored, and conclusions are generalized to all men without examining the possibility that the social and cultural experiences of men of color might be different from White men. In fact, authors describing the Black male experience (Wilkerson and Taylor, 1977, Staples, 1978, Franklin, 1984) have reported that the gender role experience of Black men is different in some significant ways from White men.

Another assumption guiding this research is that the development of an accurate understanding of male gender consciousness requires the recognition and exploration of multiple forms of masculinity. In this study a sample of Black men and White men was intentionally selected as one step in this direction. The third research question compared the gender consciousness of these two groups: What are the differences and similarities between the gender consciousness of the Black men and White men in this study?

Significance of this Study

This study is significant because it provides a systematic analysis of the subjective gender role consciousness of one particular male

population, college men. As such, it generates data for grounding current theory, and for the development of more effective pedagogies for men's consciousness-raising. This research begins to redress the frequent White bias of much of the literature on the male role by intentionally including White and Black college men in the sample of interview subjects, and by using this dimension of race as one explicit variable for analyzing the data.

This study uses the perspective of men themselves as the basis for an analysis of male gender consciousness. It provides an opportunity for the gender related experiences and attitudes of men to be expressed. It challenges one-dimensional images of men by documenting the variety and complexity of men gender consciousness.

A more complete and accurate understanding of men's gender consciousness will enable people engaged in student development, counseling, and course design to better match their programs to the men they hope to reach. Freire (1970) proposed that a truly liberating pedagogy must begin with the careful study and analysis of the subjective experiences and perspectives of the learners. By addressing the salient experiences and felt needs of men, programs that are based on this information are more likely to generate a higher level of investment, participation, and learning (Hunt and Sullivan, 1973).

By using a variety of data gathering approaches this study provides an opportunity to assess the validity of a previously developed theoretical model and three questionnaires related to male gender consciousness. Most current theories about men's gender role consciousness have not been validated through systematic research with men. One of the only in-depth interview studies of college men

(Komarovsky, 1976, conducted in 1969-1970) is already 17 years old.

These years, encompassing the resurgence of a feminist social critique reflect significant changes in the context of gender roles in our society. Standardized questionnaires have not been examined in relation to other, more qualitative, data. By bringing together the advantages of standardized instrumentation with the phenomenological depth of interview studies this research can provide validation (and modification) of both theoretical and quantitative constructs, and guide their application to a specific population of men.

This research can also provide a model for the study of other privileged social groups. The study of social injustice often focuses on the experiences and development of the devalued, disenfranchised, and disempowered. In fact, however, the problems may be more rooted in the patterns of consciousness of the dominant groups (Bucher, 1976; Bowser and Hunt, 1981; Hardiman, 1982; Jones, 1985). Effective pedagogies for change may, in part, require systematic attention to the attitudes and experiences of men as well as White, heterosexual, owning class, Gentile, and able bodied people, in order to understand their relationship to the privileges as well as costs of their identity. This study is one example of how that research can be designed.

On a more personal note, this research has provided the author with the opportunity for close, if brief, contact with the personal worlds of a variety of men. For someone who is committed to developing effective consciousness-raising education and support for men, and to nurturing the development of a healthy masculinity this experience is essential.

Definition of Terms

Each of these terms has been used by different authors in different contexts in a variety of ways. For the purposes of this study the following definitions will be used. These concepts are examined and developed further in Chapter II: Review of the Literature.

Oppression

Oppression is a multi-dimensional social dynamic that perpetuates the privileges and dominance of some social groups at the expense of the systematic disempowerment of other social groups. It includes individual attitudes and beliefs, interpersonal behaviors, and institutional and cultural practice that may be conscious or unconscious, intentional or unintentional, but whose effects are the unequal and unjust treatment of people because of their identification with a particular social group. These beliefs and actions are sanctioned, rationalized and enforced by cultural ideologies that attribute undesirable biological, psychological, social or cultural characteristics to those social groups (Adam, 1978; Hardiman, 1982; Harro, 1986). Examples of oppression include racism, sexism, heterosexism, classism, anti-Semitism, and handicappism.

Sexism

Sexism is the system of individual, interpersonal, and institutional attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that perpetuates men's privilege and dominance and women's social and economic disempowerment (Firestone, 1970; Snodgrass, 1977).

Male Role Strain

Komarovsky (1976) defines role strain as "felt and latent (not fully recognized by the person) difficulty in role performance and perceived paucity of rewards for role conformity" (p. 9). O'Neil (1982) broadly defines gender role conflict and strain as a "psychological state where gender roles have negative consequences or impact on the person or on others" (p. 10).

Several different forms of male role strain have been described. Pleck (1981) suggests that individuals suffer negative consequences both from efforts to conform to gender roles, and from dysfunctional personality characteristics that are the result of successful achievement of the socially prescribed gender role. The "sex role strain analysis" of Garnets and Pleck (1979) focuses on the discrepancies between an individual's perceptions of their own personal characteristics (the real self) and their standards deriving from sex role norms (ideal self). The typology of gender role conflict proposed by Komarovsky (1976) in her study of college men identifies six modes of role strain:

- 1) role ambiguity,
- 2) lack of congruity between idiosyncratic personality and social role,
- 3) socially constructed insufficiency of resources for role fulfillment,
- 4) low rewards for role conformity,
- 5) conflicts (about allocations of time, energy, etc., and between conflicting role demands),
- 6) overload of role obligations.

Focusing on the content of men's gender role socialization, the "masculine mystique", and the fear of femininity, O'Neil (1981) describes six specific patterns of male gender role conflict and strain:

- 1) restrictive emotionality,
- 2) socialized control, power, and competition,
- 3) homophobia,

- 4) restrictive sexual and affectionate behavior,
- 5) obsession with achievement and success,
- 6) health care problems.

In this study male role strain is used to refer to the negative effects of sexism and socially prescribed masculinity on men.

Male Gender Consciousness

In this study male gender consciousness is used to refer to men's explicit or implicit attitudes towards the personal and social implications of gender. Gender consciousness is evidenced by a particular set of values and beliefs about gender that create an ongoing context for perceiving and interpreting reality. Men may have varying degrees of awareness about their own gender consciousness. The two areas of male gender consciousness explored in this study are consciousness of male role strain and consciousness of male privilege/women's oppression (i.e. sexism).

Men's Consciousness-raising

Marchesani (1982) has defined consciousness-raising as

an educational process which helps an individual examine aspects of her (or his) life in relation to social conditioning for the purpose of promoting psycho-social growth, behavior related change and socio-political analysis and action in order to transform the causes, symptoms and effects of oppression (p. 24).

In this study the term refers to the process of analyzing past and present experiences in terms of the specific influences of gender, examining the costs and benefits of these influences on oneself, other people, and larger social systems, and using these analyses as the basis for consciously choosing a more positive male identity.

This is similar to Paulo Freire's (1970, 1973) concept of "conscientization":

"the process through which men [sic], not as recipients, but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness both of the socio-cultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality" (1973, p. 27).

He suggests that, by identifying the inherent contradictions of "limit-situations" in which they are embedded, people can emerge from "magical" or "naive" thinking about themselves and their world into a "critical transforming consciousness". Although Freire develops these concepts in relation to a "pedagogy of the oppressed", and men, by virtue of their economic and political power, are not usually considered "oppressed", many aspects of this pedagogy seem to have significant implications for men's consciousness-raising.

Male Identity Development

Similar to men's consciousness-raising, male identity development refers more specifically to the progression of men's gender consciousness through a particular sequence of stages. Models have previously been proposed for Black identity development (Jackson, 1976), Asian-American identity development (Kim, 1981), White identity development (Hardiman, 1982), and Jewish American identity development (Kandel, 1986). Based on his review, critique, and synthesis of other identity development theories (Block, 1973; Pleck, 1975; Rebecca, Hefner, & Oleshansky, 1976; Liddell, 1977; Hardiman, 1982), Schapiro (1985) developed a model of male identity development (see Chapter IV, Section II). One goal of this study was to compare the gender consciousness evidenced by a group of college men to the model of male identity development proposed by Schapiro.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter reviews relevant literature on masculinity and male identity development in order to establish the theoretical and research context for the present study. The first section contrasts and critiques several social/psychological perspectives on masculinity. These implicitly White analyses will be compared with several perspectives on Black masculinity. All of these perspectives, then, will be examined in relation to the development of a comprehensive theory of masculinity that describes the range of male experience.

In the second section the concepts of male identity development and consciousness-raising will be presented in relation to gender and other social identity development theories, and to the previously described perspectives on masculinity. The unique aspects of identity development for members of a dominant class (i.e. men) will be examined, and Schapiro's model (1985) of male identity development will be described as a comprehensive hypothesis that is needing empirical validation.

The last section will review the literature related to masculinity and gender consciousness among college men. This will establish the specific context for this research.

Perspectives on Masculinity

Pleck (1979) describes three major conceptual models that have shaped research on gender roles in the 20th century: the traditional perspective, the exploitation perspective, and the changing role perspective. These models will provide the focus for the first three sub-sections of this part of the literature review. The fourth sub-

section will review specific perspectives on Black masculinity, and the last will describe directions toward an integrated theory of masculinity.

The Traditional Perspective

From this perspective the socialization of human beings into bipolar, complementary gender roles is a natural response to an innate biological and/or psychological need. Any variations from the traits, attitudes, and interests socially determined to be congruent with one's biological sex are considered inadequacies, or insecurities, and studied in terms of the processes of deviance (Solomon, 1982).

The biological form of this perspective suggests that hormones, brain structure, or some other inherited physiological predisposition determine masculinity and femininity (Harlow & Suomi, 1970; Goldberg, 1973; Gilder, 1975). The hybrid science of sociobiology has attempted to establish a biological basis for a variety of gender related behavior, such as male bonding (Tiger, 1969), male dominance (Wilson, 1978), and sexual orientation (Treadwell, 1987). The psychological form of this perspective suggests that

the individual is preprogrammed to learn a traditional sex role as part of normal psychological development; thus culturally defined sex roles...are necessary external structures without which individuals could not develop normally (Pleck, 1981, p. 4).

Although the traditional perspective has apparently dominated the popular culture for centuries (Pleck & Pleck, 1980; Doyle, 1983; Kimmel, 1987), it became explicitly established in United States' psychology (Terman & Miles, 1936; Brown, 1957, 1958; Miller & Swanson, 1960; Lynn, 1969; Biller, 1971), and sociology (Parsons & Bales, 1953; Parsons, 1964) in the mid twentieth century. Several authors suggest that the institutionalization of this "paradigm" in the social sciences came

about in part as a result of increasing challenges to traditional male roles - the closing of frontiers, the depression of the 1930s, and changing women's roles (Dubbert, 1979; Kimmel, 1987; Pleck, 1987). The culture then sought to reestablish them on a hypothetical inner basis (Pleck, 1987).

In his book The Myth of Masculinity Joseph Pleck (1981) outlines the major propositions of this traditional "male sex role identity (MSRI)" paradigm as it has been defined by the psychological research of the past 50 years.

1. Sex role identity is operationally defined by measures of psychological sex typing, conceptualized in terms of psychological masculinity and/or femininity dimensions.
2. Sex role identity derives from identification-modeling and, to a lesser extent, reinforcement and cognitive learning of sex-typed traits, especially among males.
3. The development of appropriate sex role identity is a risky, failure-prone process, especially for males.
4. Homosexuality reflects a disturbance of sex role identity.
5. Appropriate sex role identity is necessary for good psychological adjustment because of an inner psychological need for it.
6. Hypermasculinity in males indicates insecurity in their sex role identities.
7. Problems of sex role identity account for men's negative attitudes and behaviors towards women.
8. Problems of sex role identity account for boys' difficulties in school performance and adjustment.
9. Black males are particularly vulnerable to sex role identity problems.
10. Male adolescent initiation rites are a response to problems of sex role identity.
11. Historical changes in the character of work and the organization of the family have made it more difficult for men to develop and maintain their sex role identities. (p. 4-5)

The primary concerns of these lines of research have been: What makes men less masculine than they should be?, and What can we do about it? The fundamental problem of individual psychological development was identified as establishing a conforming sex role identity (Pleck, 1981). Gay men were casualties of this process. Black men and other racially oppressed men were especially failure prone. Traditional conceptions of masculinity remained, for the most part, unquestioned.

Many descriptions have been generated of this traditional masculinity. Farrell (1975) has humorously listed the "Ten Commandments of Masculinity". The Parsonian dichotomy between instrumental and expressive modes (Parsons & Bales, 1955) provides the foundation for Pleck and Sawyer's (1974) male role themes of achievement ("get ahead") and suppression of affect ("stay cool"). A "cultural blueprint for manhood" is described by Robert Brannon (1976) with four dimensions:

- No Sissy Stuff: the stigma of all stereotyped feminine characteristics.
- The Big Wheel: success, status, and the need to be looked up to.
- The Sturdy Oak: an air of toughness, confidence, and self-reliance.
- Give 'Em Hell: the aura of aggression, violence, and daring.

Solomon (1982) has suggested an additional two:

- Homophobia: fear of homosexuality and intimacy with other men.
- Sexual Dysfunctioning: limited sensuality, separation of intimacy from sex, obsessive genital/orgasm focus.

Most other descriptions of the characteristics of traditional masculinity are variations or combinations of these factors (Cicone and Ruble, 1978; O'Neil, 1981; Doyle, 1983; Thompson & Pleck, 1986).

The traditional perspective on masculinity focuses attention on the natural, unchangeable need (biological and/or psychological) for the conventional gender role. Problems with masculinity are framed in terms of inadequate conformity to these necessary roles. From this perspective, individuals must become adjusted to traditional roles, and

the problem of traditional gender roles is only that so many people fail to fit them, not the nature of the roles themselves (Pleck, 1981, p.4).

Paolo Freire (1973) identifies this perspective on social problems as "magical-conforming" - the situation is nonproblematic or unchangeable, or as "naive-reforming" - the problem is with individuals who need to change. He suggests that these forms of consciousness permit dehumanizing social systems, and advocates for the development of a "critical-transforming" perspective. From this perspective problem situations are recognized as reflections of these dehumanizing systems that need to be challenged and transformed. The following sections on the exploitation and changing role perspectives review two critical-transforming approaches to masculinity.

The Exploitation Perspective

Instead of a descriptive/prescriptive analysis of conventional gender roles as the standard for psychological health and social stability, the exploitation perspective critiques the existing gender system in terms of its status and power inequities. Differences between women and men are due to the effects of "status asymmetry" upon the power relations of males and females, rather than "sex differences" (Unger, 1978).

This perspective is rooted in a paradigm based on an analysis of social power that recognizes certain social classes (i.e. Whites, men, rich, heterosexual, Protestant, etc.) as holding privilege and power, at the expense of other classes (i.e. people of color, women, poor, gay and lesbian, Jew, etc.) who are devalued and oppressed (Memmi, 1967; Freire, 1970; Bucher, 1976; Goldenberg, 1978). Through feminism this analysis of the inequities of personal, cultural, and institutional power is

developed in relation to gender, frequently drawing parallels between the dynamics of sexism and other systems of oppression (Hacker, 1951; Dixon, 1969; Rubin, 1969; Dunbar, 1970; Miller, 1976; Snodgrass, 1977; Unger, 1978). Men and masculinity are often held accountable for the oppression of women.

We identify the agents of our oppression as men. All power structures throughout history have been male-dominated and male-oriented. Men have controlled all political, economic and cultural institutions and backed up this control with physical force. They have used their power to keep women in an inferior position. All men receive economic, sexual, and psychological benefits from male supremacy. All men have oppressed women (Redstockings, 1970, p. 599, emphasis in original).

Using this paradigm of socially constructed power relations within an oppressive gender system the exploitation perspective analyzes masculinity as an expression of male supremacy, complicit in men's oppression of women. From this perspective men are drawn to masculinity not so much from a natural response to an innate biological and/or psychological need, but rather because it is in their rational self-interest as the most effective way to guarantee male power and privilege (Pleck, 1981; Kann, 1986; Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1987).

Masculinity is not, as some have said, a vague set of "qualities"... Nor is masculinity an abstract "role"... What is denoted by the word masculinity derives from the objective reality...that all members of the gender class of males are entitled to obtain their sense of self by postulating the selflessness of the gender class of women, their sense of worth by asserting female worthlessness, and their power in the culture by maintaining the powerlessness of women. Masculinity is that sense of self, that sense of worth, that right to power which accrues to every male on account of the global subjugation of women (Stoltenberg, 1977, p.80).

The characteristics of traditional masculinity: aggressiveness, competitiveness, inexpressiveness, independence, objectification, etc. are those qualities which maintain men in dominant, controlling positions, both interpersonally and institutionally (David & Brannon,

1976; Snodgrass, 1977; Sattel, 1983). These are the qualities that are valued and rewarded by Western culture. Studies by McKee & Sheriffs (1957), Rosenkrantz, et.al. (1968), Broverman, et.al. (1972), for example, demonstrate that masculine characteristics are more positively valued and considered more consistent with mental health than feminine characteristics. Shepard (1977) and Kanter (1977) describe how traditional masculinity is necessary for career success and advancement in organizations. Sattel (1983) analyzes male inexpressiveness as originating in the instrumental requirements of the male power role. Henley and Thorne (1977) analyze the verbal and nonverbal communication patterns of women and men, demonstrating how masculine (and feminine) patterns reflect and maintain male dominance. Masculine proscriptions against participation in housework and childcare are identified with women's economic and psychological exploitation (Mainardi, 1970; Friedan, 1963; Pleck, 1979). Masculine sexuality, from this perspective, is seen as the epitome of male dominated, female victimizing sexual politics (Firestone, 1970; Millet, 1970; Litewka, 1977; Stoltenberg, 1977b), with rape as its ultimate expression (Kanin, 1970; Brownmiller, 1975; Schein, 1977; Griffin, 1981; Segal-Evans, 1987).

The focus of the exploitation perspective is on the oppressive effects of masculinity on women, leading to a comprehensively negative analysis of masculinity.

normative masculine sexual styles are aggressive, dominant, possessive, and straight, reflecting a defensive need for situational control and emotional limits....Power obsessiveness, realistic nonemotive thinking, and competitive individualism shape the political styles of masculinity. Violence, dishonesty, hidden agenda, and self-interest are the foremost characteristics of male political roles (Lindner, 1976, p. 101).

Pleck (1979) suggests that this perspective "may provide an adequate basis for indicting men, but by itself it does not provide a basis for helping them change (p. 485)." Feminist analysis has dramatically pointed out the need for a re-cognition and re-evaluation of masculinity that can complement the feminist vision (Rowbotham, 1973). For this to happen, however, a perspective that incorporates reality as experienced by the "oppressors", from the male point of view, is needed (Liddell, 1977; Tolson, 1977; Brod, 1986, 1987a). The changing role perspective, described in the next section, addresses that need.

The Changing Role Perspective

The exploitation perspective has highlighted the need for a re-evaluation of gender roles that had previously been perceived as natural and necessary. Masculinity, for so long the implicit norm for maturity and success, was now being critiqued for its part in the oppression of women. This explicit attention on the oppressiveness of masculinity, and the need to respond to the challenges of feminism stimulated the development of a third perspective on masculinity, identified by Pleck, first as the "changing role perspective" (1979), and later as the "sex role strain (SRS) paradigm" (1981). He summarizes this paradigm with the following propositions:

1. Sex roles are operationally defined by sex role stereotypes and norms.
2. Sex roles are contradictory and inconsistent.
3. The proportion of individuals who violate sex roles is high.
4. Violating sex roles leads to social condemnation.
5. Violating sex roles leads to negative psychological consequences.

6. Actual or imagined violation of sex roles leads individuals to overconform to them.
7. Violating sex roles has more severe consequences for males than females.
8. Certain characteristics prescribed by sex roles are psychologically dysfunctional.
9. Each sex experiences sex roles strain in its paid work and family roles.
10. Historical changes causes sex role strain. (Pleck, 1981, p. 9).

Unlike the exploitation perspective which identifies how masculinity is primarily used to preserve male privilege and oppress women, the role strain analysis of the changing role perspective examines masculinity in terms of its damage to men, suggesting that this is necessary for developing a comprehensive analysis of sexism and for motivating men to change. From this perspective masculinity is understood to be socially defined by a set of stereotypes and norms that create conflict and strain for men, in addition to its negative impact on women (Sawyer, 1974; David & Brannon, 1976; Pleck, 1981). The sources of this conflict and strain identified by this perspective include a) pressure to live up to the masculine ideal, b) dysfunctional characteristics of the male role, c) dehumanization of the oppressor role.

Pressure To Live Up To The Masculine Ideal. At an early age boys are trained to conform to social norms of masculinity, often with punishment that is more frequent, harsh, and physical than for girls (Hartley, 1959; Fling & Manosevitz, 1972; Block, 1978). This pressure to live up to a masculine ideal persists into adulthood and is a significant source of masculine anxiety (Fasteau, 1974; Pleck, 1976; Hantover, 1981). Komarovsky (1976) found over 80% of her sample of

college men experienced difficulties in fulfilling male role obligations.

Based on her interview study Komarovsky (1976) distinguishes six modes of role strain, five of which are associated with this pressure to live up to the masculine ideal. "Ambiguity or anomie" results from confusion and uncertainty about normative role expectations. Although expectations for sex-typed conformity may be more stringent for boys there seems to be a lack of concrete direction as to what being masculine means (Hartley, 1959; Lynn, 1964). Proscriptive role socialization (what not to do), multiple and changing expectations over the course of the life cycle, and contemporary challenges to cultural norms for masculinity (Hacker, 1957; Hartley, 1959; Mussen, 1962; Lynn, 1964; Komarovsky, 1976; Pleck, 1976; Tolson, 1977; Hantover, 1981) also contribute to the contradictory demands and expectations of "role conflict", and "role overload", two other sources of strain identified by Komarovsky.

Pleck (1981) suggests that propositions 2-7 of his SRS paradigm (see above) describe a "self-role discrepancy theory" of role strain based on the social approval hypothesis: "Individuals suffer negative consequences when they fail to live up to sex roles (p. 134)."

Komarovsky's (1976) modes of "lack of congruity between idiosyncratic personality and social role", and "socially constructed insufficiency of resources" both seem to reflect this theory. In the former, idealized masculinity is recognized as inconsistent with most men's personalities (McKee & Sherriffs, 1959; Rosenkrantz et al., 1968; Steinmann & Fox, 1974; Komarovsky, 1976; Tavris, 1977). The latter identifies the lack of external resources or opportunities (i.e economic realities, changes in workplace requirements, women's roles, and family expectations) for

fulfilling the demands of the male role as the source of strain (Komarovsky, 1976; Hantover, 1981). The pressure and inability to live up to the role norms leads to negative social (Spence, Helmreich & Stapp, 1975) and psychological (Komarovsky, 1973; Deutsch & Gilbert, 1976) consequences.

Dysfunctional Characteristics of the Male Role. In addition to describing the difficulties of having to live up to an idealized, unrealistic, and often unattainable role, the changing role perspective re-examines the specific characteristics of the "masculine mystique" in terms of their adverse consequences for men (David & Brannon, 1976; O'Neil, 1981; Pleck, 1981). Proposition 8 of Pleck's (1981) SRS paradigm expresses this "socialized dysfunctional characteristics" theory ("low rewards for role conformity" - Komarovsky, 1976; "role intrinsic anxiety" - Stein & Hoffman, 1978).

O'Neil (1982) hypothesizes that male socialization into the masculine role produces a subordination and fear of femininity (especially in oneself) which is the basis for patterns of gender role conflict and strain. This fear of femininity, described as "no sissy stuff: the stigma of anything vaguely feminine" by Brannon and David (1976), has been explained by patterns of masculine socialization in early childhood (Hartley, 1959; Chodorow, 1971; Goldberg, 1979), the pressures of adult male developmental tasks (Levinson, 1978), or the protection of privilege (Pleck, 1981; O'Neil, 1982).

men fear that expressing their feminine sides will result in devaluation, subordination, and the appearance of inferiority in front of others. Men are aware that women's femininity is devalued by other men and attempt to avoid situations where their femininity could be observed and also devalued (O'Neil, 1982, p. 18).

O'Neil (1982) describes six patterns of masculine gender role conflict and strain and their damaging effects on men created by this fear of femininity. (1) Restrictive emotionality, "the cultivation of a stoic, imperturbable persona, just this side of catatonia (Brannon & David, 1976, p. 25)", leads to difficulties expressing feelings, self-disclosure, and ineffective interpersonal communication (Bem, 1978; Balswick, 1982). Low self-disclosure and the inability to be vulnerable contributes to hostility and aggressiveness, and limits the development of trust, honest communication, and intimate relationships for men (Jourard, 1971; Farrell, 1974; Brannon & David, 1976). (2) Homophobia, the irrational fear of homosexuality in oneself or others, prevents interpersonal closeness between men, enforces conformity to rigid male roles (by equating male femininity with homosexuality and devaluing both), and contributes to the oppression of gay men (Lehne, 1976; Morin & Garfinkle, 1978; Herek, 1986, Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1987). (3) Restricted sexual and affectionate behaviors, derived from restrictive emotionality, inhibited sensuality, homophobia, and obsession with achievement, performance and control, can leave men strangers to their own sexual-sensual responses and dissatisfied in interpersonal intimacies (Fasteau, 1974; Gross, 1978; Goldberg, 1979; Friday, 1981; Doyle, 1983). (4) Obsession with achievement and success is "a man's persistent and disturbing preoccupation with work, accomplishments, and eminence as a means of substantiating and demonstrating his masculinity (O'Neil, 1982, p. 31)". Pressures to be a successful breadwinner, continually climbing the career ladder lead men into combative, competitive struggles at the expense of relaxation, pleasure, family, and intimate relationships. (5) Masculinity is also associated with health care problems (Waldron, 1976; Harrison, 1978). The male role

includes body destructive attitudes such as trying to be tireless and invincible, ignoring and denying physical symptoms of stress and illness, seeking danger, and ignoring and repressing inner feelings that lead to higher accident and mortality rates for men (Harrison, 1978).

The less sleep I need,
The more pain I can take,
The more alcohol I can hold,
The less I concern myself with what I eat,
The less I ask anybody for help or depend on them,
The more I control and repress my emotions,
The less attention I pay to myself physically,
The more masculine I am. (Goldberg, 1979, p. 52)

(6) Socialized control, power, and competition is related to the dehumanization of the oppressor role described in the next section.

Inequities in areas such as divorce, child custody, and military conscription are seen by some as institutional reflections of these dysfunctional characteristics of the male role (Hayman, 1976; Baumli, 1985).

Dehumanization of the oppressor role. In addition to the pressure to live up to the masculine ideal, and the dysfunctional characteristics of the male role itself, the changing role perspective begins to examine the damage to men inherent in the dominance, power, and privilege of the oppressor role. Although dominant power provides relative access to institutional and cultural rewards, and men as a group benefit from the social privileges which correlate with the male sex role, dehumanization of oneself and one's relationships also seems to be intrinsically associated with this kind of power (Freire, 1972; Brannon & David, 1976; Bucher, 1976; Pleck, 1977). Being an oppressor involves damage to one's human morality (Freire, 1972; Gilligan, 1982; Brod, 1986), a distorted perspective of reality (Doyle, 1983), and self-alienation (Bucher, 1976).

In order to accept the role of being oppressors of women, men must first be systematically mistreated themselves (Jackins, 1984; Baumli, 1985). Men's personal variations and uniquenesses are suppressed as inadequacies and failures against the objectified standard of dominance, power, and control (Pleck, 1981).

We do not know who we are, apart from that which others have told us to be. Any individuality latent in our being is repressed (Bucher, 1976, p. 83).

The oppressor role creates impoverished relationships and isolation. The maintenance of control and protection of power require emotional distancing and objectification. Mutuality and intimacy are forfeited (Sawyer, 1974; Bucher, 1976; Betzold, 1977; Stoltenberg, 1977). "It is not really possible for two persons to have a free relationship when one holds the balance of power over the other (Sawyer, 1974, p. 171)."

In order to claim the social power ascribed to oppressive masculinity men must ignore, deny, and accept these other forms of their own powerlessness (Sawyer, 1974; Pleck, 1977; Tolson, 1977). Men's need for power over women is, in part, a response to their experience of feeling powerless themselves (Pleck, 1977). Dependent on women for emotional expression and validation of masculinity, dominated by other men in the competition of patriarchal stratification, and exploited by the economic system for their labor (Pleck, 1977; Tolson, 1977), the superiority and privilege of masculine power are only gained by ignoring or accepting this powerlessness (Sawyer, 1974).

The relative privilege that men get from sexism, and more importantly the false consciousness of privilege men get from sexism, play a critical role in reconciling men to their subordination in the larger political economy (Pleck, 1977, p. 22).

The changing role perspective suggests that a one dimensional analysis of masculinity in terms of male privilege, dominance, and social power (the exploitation perspective) can perpetuate a form of "false consciousness" for men. A truly critical (and liberating) analysis must be able to evaluate masculinity from a perspective that recognizes the multiple dimensions of power, and does not accept traditional masculine power as the only basis for human norms, goals, and values.

No matter how much power one has over others, if a person is alienated from their own self and unable to meet their own needs that person is powerless in the area of life that counts the most (Segal-Evan, 1987, p. 121).

A comprehensive theory of masculinity must combine an analysis of social power and privilege with a recognition of male role strain, conflict, and powerlessness (Brod, 1987; Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1987). Reconciling this apparent paradox will provide the foundation for the development of a critical understanding of masculinity beyond a one dimensional presentation of male privilege or male victimization (Brod, 1987a).

Perspectives on Black Masculinity

Recognizing and analyzing the multi-cultural diversity among male roles can contribute an important perspective on this paradox, and is necessary for any comprehensive theory of masculinity. All too often, for example, research has been conducted and theory developed based on, by, and for White men, with the assumption that this is representative of all men. Similarly, white cultural values and norms have been used simplistically to analyze the experiences and behaviors of racially oppressed men (Staples, 1976, 1978, 1982; Engram, 1982). Understanding the interplay between dominant and marginalized modes of masculinity may

be an important missing link in our understanding of the class "men" (Hoch, 1979; Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1987).

In this section, literature on Black masculinity will be reviewed in terms of the traditional, exploitation, and changing role perspectives previously described. The purpose is to explicitly incorporate a multi-cultural perspective into this analysis of masculinity, as well as to provide the theoretical foundation for the analysis of the interview data from the Black undergraduate men in this study. Perspectives on Black masculinity are not assumed to be automatically generalizable to other racially oppressed men. Although a complete analysis of masculinity in relation to the full range of racial differences is needed, the data collection and comparative analysis necessary for this to be accomplished were beyond the scope of this particular study. However, by focusing explicitly on a comparative analysis of two racial groups, this study can be an example of how this kind of research can be developed further.

In order to go from tradition to rationality, sociology must go from White myths to a Black knowledge and interpretation of Black life in America (Staples, 1976, p. 5).

From the traditional perspective Black males are seen as particularly vulnerable to sex role identity problems (Pleck, 1981, MSRI proposition 9). This perspective, popularized by the so called "Moynihan report" (Moynihan, 1978), is described and critiqued in an article by Robert Staples entitled "The Myth of the Impotent Black Male" (1971). From this perspective Black masculinity is analyzed as deviant from normative (i.e. White) masculinity. Evolutionary inferiority, the historical "emasculatation" of slavery, the matriarchal family structure, and/or the psychological assaults of racism theoretically produce a Black masculinity that is docile, immature, pathological, and/or

irresponsible (Staples, 1971, Taylor, 1977; Turner, 1977). Black men's alleged inability to fulfill the traditional husband and provider family role contributes to matriarchal Black families, failed adult male role models, and inadequate masculine socialization (Schulz, 1977; Engram, 1982). These sex role identity problems supposedly are reinforced in adulthood by high rates of unemployment and low-paying, low-prestige jobs, often with connotations of servility or women's work (Pettigrew, 1964; Frazier, 1966; Moynihan, 1978). This perspective goes on to suggest that Black men compensate for these deep insecurities in their sex role identities by developing "hypermasculinity", superficial characteristics of exaggerated masculinity (i.e. aggressive independence, bravado, promiscuity, delinquency, violence) that assure him and others of his masculinity (Hare, 1971; Taylor, 1977; Pleck, 1981, MSRI proposition 6).

These "Black matriarchy", "Black emasculation", and "hypermasculinity" hypotheses, although based on research that was later discredited or contradicted (Staples, 1970; 1971; Ryan, 1971; Scanzoni, 1971; Coles, 1977; Hannerz, 1977; Hershey, 1978; Jackson, 1978; Rubin, 1978; Schulz, 1978; Pleck, 1981; Engram, 1982; McAdoo, 1986), have formed the ideological foundation of popular and social science perspectives on Black masculinity. Black masculinity, Black family structure, and Black culture in general, is viewed as pathological, deviant, or immature (Taylor, 1977; Staples, 1976, 1978; Engram, 1982), in need of assistance to conform to the normal, healthy (White) models. As described in the previous section on the traditional perspective on masculinity, this is reflective of a "naive-reforming" perspective on social problems (Freire, 1973).

Applying the exploitation perspective to an analysis of Black masculinity has proved to be complex. On one hand, this perspective has been used in terms of racial oppression, developing a critical analysis of how the dominant White culture and institutions exploit and devalue Black men (Blauner, 1972; Grier & Cobbs, 1968; Wilkinson & Taylor, 1977). Using facts about educational opportunities, (un)employment, salaries, job opportunities, court sentences, death rates, etc. the oppressive impact of racism on Black men is documented (Billingsley, 1968; Blauner, 1972; Wilkinson, 1977; Staples, 1982; Franklin, 1987).

On the other hand, the exploitation perspective on gender relations identifies Black masculinity as complicit in the oppression of women. Feminism's general indictment of masculinity has been applied specifically to Black men by Black feminist writers (Sizemore, 1978; Wallace, 1979; 1982; Joseph & Lewis, 1981; Hull, Scott & Smith, 1982). They particularly critique the sexist devaluing and suppression of Black women by Black men in the civil rights and Black power movements. These men, they suggest, were attempting to overcome the popular myth of Black men as castrated, powerless, and female dominated by aspiring to White masculine modes of power, especially the domination of women.

From the contradictions of the exploitation perspective comes an analysis of the role strains and conflicts of Black masculinity consistent with the changing role perspective. Like other men in this culture Black men are subject to the prescriptive socialization about idealized masculinity, male superiority, and the male role. However, several factors related to the Black social and cultural context contribute to the unique strains and conflicts of Black masculinity.

Clyde Franklin, in an article entitled "The Institutional Decimation of Black Males" (1987) analyzes three social structures that

create the context for Black masculinity: the peer group, the "subcultural" (i.e. Black cultural) reference group, and the societal reference group. The peer group, the influence of which increases with decreases in socioeconomic status, is an important source of male socialization in Black culture (Hannerz, 1977), and often reflects "a kind of misogynist adaptation some Black men have made to a racist American society (Franklin, 1987, p. 160)". The Black cultural reference group minimizes the traditional polararization of gender roles of the dominant White culture in favor of more role flexibility, and the egalitarian structure that characterizes many Black families (Billingsley, 1968; Nobles, 1978; Staples, 1982; Engram, 1982). The societal reference group (i.e. dominant White society) promotes traditional masculinity, the "Prince Charming ideal...that results in males behaving toward women in so-called protective, condescending, and generally patriarchal ways (Franklin, 1987, p. 164)."

From the historical and cultural roots of the peer and Black cultural reference groups, (and because many of the expressions of normative White masculinity are relatively inaccessible), Black masculinity takes unique form. The "expressive life style", and "cool pose" are examples of the creative self-assertion of Black masculinity, demonstrating passion, dignity, inner strength, and confidence (Keil, 1977; Majors, 1986). At the same time the societal reference group teaches and enforces the need for Black men to conform to dominant (White) masculinity.

The influence of these multiple social reference groups contribute to what several Black social scientists have called "biculturation" (Hannerz, 1976; Staples, 1976). Black men must accommodate to and internalize different, often conflicting sets of social messages

(Franklin, 1984). For example, Black males may learn that the "masculine" traits of dominance and competition are expected by White racist society to be expressed within the Black culture, but not in the White culture. The Black culture (especially Black women), however, may expect Black males to exhibit androgynous traits within Black culture and traditionally (White) masculine traits in White society. From primary female caretakers they may learn the strength of so-called feminine qualities (intuition, warmth, empathy, etc), and of women who are independent and assertive. However, the dominant White society does not expect or reinforce androgynous characteristics. They are expected to be family providers and protectors, yet persistent structural barriers and dominant cultural messages inhibit their fulfillment of this role (Staples, 1982; Franklin, 1984, 1987).

Franklin (1987) also suggests that recent historical changes in the relationship of Black men to each of the three reference groups has increased the conflict and strain to disastrous proportions.

The seeds of change in the black man's peer group were sown during the late 1960s and early 1970s when increasing numbers of black men began to buy the idea that black women were largely responsible for the plight of black men because of women's aggressive stances and the fact that they did not assume a sex role similar to the one assumed by white women (p. 166).

Although this change in the peer group made it more consistent with the norms of the societal reference group, it became increasingly dissonant with the Black cultural reference group. This led to greater conflict and tension between the expectations of Black women and men, eroding the "historical example of cooperation between the sexes in an effort to build a unified racial minority (Franklin, 1987, p. 167)". The Black cultural reference group no longer provided the same support for Black men. At the same time the societal reference group

that underwent change 15 years ago from a black male perspective has re-grouped and is reappearing as inflexible and insensitive to black men's problems as ever, while continuing to espouse a male socialization process that is dysfunctional for black men (op.cit., p. 167).

These factors combine to create intolerable levels of role strain as Black men become aware of the futility of attempting to assume the idealized White male role.

That black men experience role strain is to be expected as it is for most people who face distracting and often conflicting role expectations. What happens for many others that does not happen for black men is that the larger social system (the societal reference group) intervenes and reduces role strain to tolerable levels. In the case of black men, all too often the societal reference group intervenes and increases roles strain to intolerable levels (Franklin, 1987, p. 167).

This strain contributes to high levels of disease, violence, alcohol and drug abuse, and accident, homicide and suicide rates. Coupled with systematic discrimination in prison sentencing, police killings, military recruitment and mobilization, and health care, this has led to the "institutional decimation of Black males" (Stewart & Scott, 1978; Staples, 1982; Franklin, 1987).

This descriptive analysis of Black masculinity has made explicit the need for understanding its unique cultural and structural context. Black masculinity (and Black male sexism) cannot be ignored as simply White masculinity with darker skin, or devalued as deviant or pathological. It must be understood as emerging from the interface of dominant, idealized White masculinity, Black cultural experience, and racism. Black men are not afforded the power and privilege ascribed to White men in this society. Their relationships with Black women, based on a shared history of oppression and resistance to racism, have different foundations and needs than White gender relations.

It is patently clear that the central concerns of black men are not about relinquishing male privilege or forging new concepts of

androgyny or sex-role egalitarianism. They must first and foremost deal with the issue of survival. It is not that they have abused the privileges accruing to men, but that they have never been given the opportunity to realize even the minimal perquisites of manhood - life sustaining employment and the ability to support a family (Staples, 1982, p. 13).

Toward a Comprehensive, Multi-cultural Perspective on Masculinities

In the previous section it was demonstrated how, as a result of racism and Black culture, Black men have a unique relationship to the power, privilege, and strains of masculinity. In spite of the gender advantages of sexism, the effects of racism often leave Black men relatively powerless in this society. Black cultural definitions of masculinity are, at times, inconsistent with the expectations (and rewards) of dominant White society, and devalued and subordinated by its idealized (racist) model of masculinity. As a result of this "biculturation" Black men may experience a dual, sometimes incongruous, sense of masculinity, and face choices between maintaining a Black cultural identity and gaining access to some of the perquisites of dominant masculinity.

This suggests that other groups of men (i.e. Latino men, gay men, working class men, disabled men, Jewish men, etc.) may also have unique, dual relationships to the power, privilege and strains of masculinity based on the cultural and political implications of their other social identities. Therefore, instead of a single perspective on masculinity, multiple analyses of masculinities are needed (Hacker, 1957; Brod, 1987a; Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1987). Each of these analyses would identify the unique cultural, historical, and socio-political context for that group of men, as well as the relationship of that unique context to the generalized norm of masculinity in the dominant society.

The different masculinities will vary in the degrees and forms of social power and powerlessness that they engender.

Carrigan, Connell, and Lee (1987), suggest that understanding this relationship between the dominant, "hegemonic", form of masculinity, and various other masculinities is critical for the development of "a new sociology of masculinity."

The overall relation between men and women...is not a confrontation between homogeneous, undifferentiated blocs....We would suggest, in fact, that the fissuring of categories of 'men' and 'women' is one of the central facts about patriarchal power and the way it works. In the case of men, the crucial division is between hegemonic masculinity and various subordinated masculinities (p.90).

What starts to emerge from this critical analysis of hegemonic (dominant) and subordinated masculinities is an understanding of patriarchy as a dual system (Pleck, 1977).

First, it is an hierarchical system in which men dominate women in crude, debased, slick and subtle ways....But it is also a system of intermale dominance, in which a minority of men dominates the masses of men (Sabo, 1987, p. 49).

In the systematic sexual politics of male-male relationships

men create hierarchies and rankings among themselves according to criteria of 'masculinity.' Men at each rank of masculinity compete with each other...for the differential payoffs that patriarchy allows men (Pleck, 1977, p.16).

Hegemonic masculinity, through its intensive socialization, rigid prescriptions, and institutionalized privileges and sanctions, subordinates specific social groups of men, as well as the unique personalities of individual men. Although idealized, hegemonic masculinity may actually correspond to a relatively small number of men, very large numbers are complicit in sustaining this model because most men benefit to some extent from the subordination of women that it institutionalizes.

The interdependence of the privileges of hegemonic masculinity with the marginalization and subordination of men, in fact, is necessary for the maintenance and perpetuation of this system of oppression (Pleck, 1977; Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1987). By colluding in the system of hegemonic masculinity men "host" the oppression and exist in a dual reality (Freire, 1970). "They are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized (Freire, 1970, p. 32)."

This understanding of the diversity of individual and cultural masculinities, and their subordination to a hegemonic masculinity that also subordinates women suggests a new, more comprehensive perspective that could reconcile some of the apparent contradictions between the exploitation and changing role perspectives. It is also a necessary foundation for understanding all of the steps toward developing a liberating male consciousness and identity.

Summary

This section of the literature review examined several social/psychological perspectives on masculinity, the traditional perspective, the exploitation perspective, and the changing role perspective. These implicitly White analyses were compared with analyses of Black masculinity from each of these perspectives. Finally, the concepts of hegemonic and subordinated masculinities were suggested as foundations for a comprehensive, multi-cultural perspective of masculinity that could contain the paradox of male privilege and power and various forms of male powerlessness.

In the next section the concept of male identity development will be presented in relation to the previously described perspectives on

masculinity. Schapiro's model (1985) of male identity development will be described as a comprehensive hypothesis that is needing empirical validation.

Theories of Male Identity Development

Each of the perspectives described in the previous section, traditional, exploitation, changing roles, and multi-cultural, reflect a shift in the frame of reference used for understanding masculinity. To the extent that these paradigm shifts reflect an increasingly comprehensive, critical, and accurate analysis of masculinity they can be seen as a developmental sequence of social science perspectives (Kuhn, 1962; Turner, 1977; Pleck, 1981).

Similar shifts in perspective also have been hypothesized to occur in the development of individual men's consciousness about how masculinity impacts on their lives (Liddel, 1977; Moreland, 1980; Schapiro, 1985). This section of the literature review will focus on these theories of "male identity development"* , with particular attention to how they address the paradoxical relationship between the exploitation and changing role perspectives. A comprehensive model of male identity development would include both the developing consciousness of men's oppression of women, and of the limitations, strains, and subordination of various forms of masculinity. Schapiro's (1985) model of male identity development will be explored as a step in this direction.

*For a more in depth comparative analysis of these theories the reader is referred to Schapiro (1985).

Most research on the development of gender identity has focused on the process for acquiring traditional, normative gender roles (Terman & Miles, 1936; Parsons & Bales, 1955; Brown, 1958; Lynn, 1961; Biller & Borstelmann, 1967; Money & Ehrhardt, 1972; Pleck 1981). Based on the traditional perspective, successful acquisition of sex-typed gender identity was seen as the end-point of this developmental process. This model of gender identity development, however, has been challenged from both the exploitation and changing role perspectives.

Theorists operating from the changing role perspective began to recognize stages of gender identity beyond an acceptance of traditional gender roles (Block, 1973; Pleck, 1976; Rebecca, Hefner, & Oleshansky, 1976; Moreland, 1980). Identity development theories from this perspective focus on stages in the liberation from the strains and limitations of rigid gender role conformity for both women and men. Block (1973), using Loevinger's cognitive developmental model of ego development as a framework, proposes six stages of sex role development. The first three focus on socialization and conformity, while the last three move toward sex role transcendence and androgyny. Similarly, Pleck (1976), and Rebecca, Hefner, and Oleshansky (1976) each describe three phases of sex role identity development, in Rebecca, et.al.'s terms: undifferentiated (pre-socialized), polarized (socialized), and sex role transcendence. Moreland's (1980) reinterpretation of Levinson's model of male adult personality development focuses on how different age related roles, tasks, and challenges influence a man's conception of masculinity, becoming progressively less traditional and more androgynous.

This perspective on gender identity development has been critiqued as addressing only the process of overcoming the limitations of gender

role socialization and stereotyping similarly shared by both men and women. Developing consciousness of the socio-political inequities in the sexist oppression of women by men are not included (Hardiman, 1982; Schapiro, 1985; Brod, 1987; Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1987).

Exploitation perspective theories of male identity development evolved from a different context. As devalued and marginalized social groups (i.e. people of color, women, gay men and lesbians, etc.) challenged the dominant, oppressive societal norms, stages of "consciousness-raising" or "identity development" beyond those necessary for their assimilation into traditional roles began to be proposed and researched (Freire, 1973, Jackson, 1976; Kim, 1980; Gilligan, 1982; Kandel, 1985). This development was seen as necessary for oppressed people in their individual liberation from the damaging psycho-social effects of oppression, as well as for generating collective action against the institutions of the oppressive system (Freire, 1970).

Jackson's (1976) Black identity development (BID) theory served as the prototype for theories of identity development for Asian-American women (Kim, 1980) and Jewish women (Kandel, 1985), as well as for Whites (Hardiman, 1982) and men (Schapiro, 1985). The BID theory in its initial formulation consisted of four sequential stages in the development of a Black person's consciousness about the impacts of racism on him/herself, and of a positive Black identity. In stage one, "passive acceptance", the Black person consciously or unconsciously accepts and conforms to White social, cultural, and institutional standards, rejecting and devaluing all that is Black. Stage two, "active resistance", is marked by the vigorous and total rejection of all that is White and the development of anti-White goals. In stage three, "redirection", the Black person identifies and develops uniquely Black values, goals,

traditions, behaviors, and a Black culture and community independent of White society. Finally, stage four, "internalization", is characterized by the integration of a positive Black identity with other aspects of identity.

In response to the exploitation analysis and these theories of identity development for oppressed people, theories of identity development for "oppressors", people in privileged social groups (i.e. Whites, men) were proposed. These focused on describing the progression of consciousness about a social identity in the context of the oppression of others. Edler, in his Anti-Racism Manual for White Educators (1974), describes five levels of consciousness of race and racism for White people. Schneidwind (1975) applies this model to men and sexism (no awareness of the problem, awareness of a "women's problem, male liberalism, new maleness, new humanism). Liddell (1977) hypothesizes three stages in the development of an "authentic" women's consciousness (non-male, anti-male, post-male), and from these extrapolates stages toward an authentic "neo" masculinity (non-patriarchal, anti-patriarchal, post-patriarchal). These theories suggest that consciousness of a dominant social identity develops first in relation to the inequities of privilege and power inherent in social oppression.

The differences in these two sets of theories of identity development reflect the different perspectives from which they arise, exploitation and changing role. For men, the former focus primarily on developing consciousness about one's role in the oppression of women, while the latter address the process of developing consciousness about the limitations and strains of the male role.

In his discussion of male identity development theories Schapiro (1985) describes each of these perspectives as attending to the development of different characteristics of the ideal "new" man. According to the exploitation perspective theories men develop awareness (of the causes and effects of sexism) and activism (in opposing sexism) before autonomy (freedom from rigid sex roles) and androgyny (integration of traditional masculine and feminine qualities). The changing role perspective theories, in contrast, describe a process that leads only to autonomy and androgyny. These theories either ignore one aspect of identity development, or assume one precedes the other in the developmental sequence (Schapiro, 1985).

Hardiman (1982) acknowledges these different perspectives in her review of sex-role and racial identity development theories. By synthesizing their common processes she hypothesizes a generic model of social identity development. The five stages (four of which reflect Jackson's BID model) that she proposes as relevant to all forms of social group membership are:

1. pre-socialization -- no social consciousness
2. acceptance of socialization -- acceptance
3. rejection of socialization -- resistance
4. redefinition
5. internalization.

Although the description of the generic version of this model seems to have much in common with changing role theories, when Hardiman applies this model specifically to white identity development her focus is clearly on "the processes by which white Americans develop a sense of racial identity as members of a racially privileged group in a society that has as its foundation white racism (p. 4)". Genuine introspection about one's own social group membership does not occur, according to

this model, until the redefinition stage, after the rejection of Whiteness in the resistance stage.

Noting the similarities between White and male identity development, Schapiro (1985) adapts Hardiman's description of White identity development to describe the characteristics of men at each stage of her model (p. 191-193).

Stage 1: No Social Consciousness

- awareness of physical differences but not of social identities and roles;
- confusion about what is wrong with one's actions and why others censure those actions;
- naturalness of interaction;

Stage 2: Acceptance

- see themselves and other men as normal and superior;
- support or allow sexist jokes, comments, or actions;
- see women as responsible for their own condition;
- anger at women who are too demanding or who don't take advantage of help that is given to them;

Stage 3: Resistance

- see themselves as sexist, and as taught to be that way by male peers, family, and institutions;
- see sexism as woven into the social fabric of American society, and as not restricted to the practices of a few individuals;
- feel concern, compassion and awe toward women; understand their anger at men, and support their need to separate from men;
- confused about their roles and the role of other men in addressing this issue;
- feel guilty and angry at themselves, other men and society;
- verbally challenge and confront other men on their sexism;
- engage in self re-education and introspection;
- support the actions of feminist women, and work with them, when asked and when appropriate;
- re-educate themselves about the history of women and their struggles;

State 4: Redefinition

- aware of strengths and limitations of male history and culture;
- less attention is paid to women, more to men;
- see sexism in a holistic sense, not just individual, societal, or cultural;
- believes it is in male self-interest to eradicate sexism, and works to change male society based on that self-interest;
- desires to help other men redefine themselves;
- empathy for the difficulties men have at other stages;

Stage 5: Internalization

- aware of and concerned about other aspects of social identity and other social issues; work to educate selves about other social group memberships and other forms of oppression, and to change aspects of the social environment that are oppressive;
- see unaware men as victims of sexism also, and work to liberate such men from sexism and to transform male society based on new male identity;
- recognize that women and men have strengths to offer to humanity;
- work with women on issues of like concern;

Schapiro (1985) uses these stages as the foundation for his model of male identity development. However, he suggests that these stage theories, by assuming that consciousness develops in a one-dimensional sequence, may present an oversimplified picture of identity development. They do not adequately explain how some men may first develop their consciousness about masculinity in terms of women's oppression (awareness and activism), and others in terms of men's limitations and role strain (autonomy and androgyny). Extrapolating from Hardiman's suggestion that, in fact, consciousness may develop in separate contexts, he proposes an integrated theory of male identity development that includes both aspects of men's consciousness.

According to his theory, consciousness can develop independently and at different paces within four different domains: intrapersonal, relationships with men, relationships with women, and societal. The changing role perspective qualities of autonomy and androgyny are developed primarily in the intrapersonal and relationships with women domains. The exploitation perspective qualities of awareness and activism are developed primarily in the relationships with women and societal domains. He suggests that men can move from acceptance to resistance to redefinition in any one of these domains without necessarily changing consciousness related to others. (He does hypothesize, however, that the last stage of internalization and

integration of a new male identity would require development of consciousness in each of the domains.) Conceptualizing the developmental process in this way can account for the sequence outlined in the changing role as well as the exploitation theories.

Although this model makes sense conceptually, there has been no empirical validation of the existence of these variations in men's consciousness about masculinity, or of the relationship of development in one domain to development in another (Pleck, 1981). This research study will use quantitative and qualitative data gathered from a sample of college men to address these issues. The final section of the literature review will examine the literature on the implications of masculinity for college age men.

College Men and Male Identity Development

College men may be one of the most researched populations in our society (Brannon, 1976; Komarovsky, 1976). Their accessibility to university based researchers, and the biased perception that they are a "normative" sample seems to have contributed to this. However, research examining how college men think about masculinity is much more limited. Until recently, this topic has not been recognized as a valid, meaningful area of investigation (Brod, 1987a). This section will review literature about college men that can contribute to understanding male identity development for this age group.

Levinson et.al. (1978), in their model of life-span development for adult males, describe the college age as a period of transition in life structure, "Leaving the Family", when a male's primary task is to distance himself (psychologically, if not physically) from his immediate

family. Moreland (1980) reinterprets this period in terms of a transition from role standards of adolescent masculinity.

the adolescent male enters this new transition period carrying with him a conception of masculine standards that is more traditionally stereotypic than any he will possess later in life. Concomitantly, there will probably be no time when he as adamantly rejects qualities stereotypically associated with femininity (Moreland, 1980, p. 812).

This picture of adolescence as a time of maximum polarization of gender roles is consistent with research on gender socialization and differentiation (Broverman et al., 1972; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974; Block, 1978; Doyle & Moore, 1978), and changing role perspective theories of gender identity development (Block, 1973; Pleck, 1975; Brannon, 1976).

With the end of high school the societal expectations of men changes, creating new standards of masculinity, and requiring cognitive and affective reorganization of one's conception of being male (Moreland, 1980). These age related discontinuities in masculinity require the development of new skills and qualities, some of which are in conflict with the previously held, traditional conception of masculinity (Pleck, 1976). For most college men, the emphasis for competition and the attaining of status shifts from physical strength to intellectual and interpersonal skills. In response to the need for a new social support network young men begin to learn to develop intimacy and support with other men and women. These discontinuities and new demands can make this a tumultuous, stressful transition in masculinity (Moreland, 1980). Komarovsky (1976), who documented this stress in her study of college men, suggests that this age is a particularly vulnerable stage for men as students in a culture where masculinity is identified so strongly with economic independence and occupational success.

Much of the research about masculinity with college students has focused on identifying and comparing gender role stereotypes of men and women. Based on students' ratings of themselves and "typical" adult males and females Rosenkrantz et al. (1968) developed the Sex Role Stereotype Questionnaire (SRSQ), Spence, Helmreich and Stapp (1974) developed the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ), and Bem (1974) developed the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI). These questionnaires were used to validate the existence of gender stereotypes, to demonstrate how the college population believes that the existing sex-role stereotypes are desirable, and to show how the characteristics and behaviors stereotypically associated with masculinity are more socially desirable than those associated with femininity (Rosenkrantz, 1968, Broverman et al., 1972, Brooks-Gunn & Fisch, 1980). Men more often than women were found to hold traditional attitudes toward gender roles (Joesting & Joesting, 1973; Bayer, 1975; Brooks-Gunn & Fisch, 1980, Hirt, Hoffman, & Sedlacek, 1983).

On the other hand, research also indicated ambiguity in the traditional perception of rigidly polarized gender roles. Rosenkrantz et al. (1968) reported that the self-concepts of college men and women were less polarized (i.e. less extremely "masculine" and "feminine") than their evaluation of the typical male or female. Bem (1974) found that large percentages (approximately one-third) of college populations could be classified as androgynous on her sex role inventory (i.e. having equal masculinity and femininity scores). Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp (1975) recognized that on most assessments of gender role characteristics the average ratings assigned to males and females were on the same side of a masculinity-femininity scale.

whether one is describing perceptions of the ideal individual, the typical individual, or the self, it is usually less accurate to characterize men as masculine and women as feminine on a given attribute than it is to describe the sexes as differing in their degree of masculinity on some attributes and their degree of femininity on others (p. 38).

Komarovsky (1976) found that the male college seniors she studied had little consensus about "feminine" and "masculine" personality traits, and were somewhat less inclined to stereotype women negatively than previous studies might have indicated. Several studies demonstrated that Black men perceived women as less stereotypically feminine (i.e. more instrumental or equal in reasoning ability) than did White men (Steinman & Fox, 1970; Komarovsky, 1976; Melton & Thomas, 1976).

College men were also used to develop and test questionnaire scales that measure descriptive and/or prescriptive attitudes towards the male role. Doyle and Moore (1978) designed the Attitudes Toward the Male Role Scale (AMR). Based on his four-component model of the male role (Brannon, 1976), Brannon (1984) developed an attitude scale designed to measure an individual's degree of approval of the traditional American male sex role. Mosher and Sirkin (1984) developed a "hypermasculinity inventory" designed to measure the "macho personality constellation". O'Neil, et al. (1986) constructed the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS) based on O'Neil's (1981, 1982) theory of male gender role conflict.

Most of this research focused more on establishing the statistical reliability and consistency of the instruments being developed than on the personal quality of the male experience for undergraduate men. However, the relationship of attitudes towards the male role and attitudes towards women is suggested by the results of several of these studies. Doyle and Moore (1978) found a moderately high correlation between their AMR and the Attitudes towards Women Scale (AWS) suggesting

that they tap a single, consistent dimension of consciousness about gender roles. Calloused sex attitudes towards women together with violence as manly and danger as exciting were found to be internally consistent components of the hypermasculinity inventory (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984), again suggesting a homogeneous constellation of attitudes. On the other hand, Thompson and Pleck (1986), using a modified version of the Brannon masculinity inventory, found inconsistent correlations between these attitudes towards the male role and two questions measuring attitudes towards women. They see this pattern as consistent with their perspective (cf. Pleck, 1981) that

some individuals can endorse traditional attitudes toward men and, at the same time, endorse modern attitudes toward women. Similarly, others can reject the traditional expectations men face while holding liberal attitudes toward women. If patterns of endorsing/rejecting sex-role norms are not necessarily parallel, then the changes in the direction of liberal (or modern) attitudes toward women may not predict similar changes in attitude toward men (p.541).

The most extensive study of college men and masculinity was conducted by the sociologist Mirra Komarovsky in 1969-1970. The results of her in depth interviews with 62 seniors from an ivy league male college are reported in her book The Dilemmas of Masculinity (1976). This study focuses on the emotional, sexual, power, and intellectual relationships of these men with women in order to "locate and interpret strains in masculine roles (p. 3)." The author concludes that over 80 percent of the sample "did experience difficulties, ranging from moderate to severe, in fulfilling role obligations in one or more statuses covered by the study (p. 223)." The highest proportion of seniors, 72 percent, experienced stress in the sexual sphere. Almost half of the men (45 %) experienced strain from the pressure to live up to the ideal of masculine leadership or dominance. As previously

described, based on this study Komarovsky identifies six modes of role strain in the experiences of these college men (see pages 21-22).

Perhaps the most salient conclusion demonstrated in the Komarovsky study is the ambiguity and inconsistency in the attitudes of the college men.

Some of the revealed inconsistencies are, thus: the right of an able woman to a career of her choice; the admiration for women who measure up in terms of the dominant values of our society; the lure but also the threat that such women present; the low status attached to housewifery but the conviction that there is no substitute for the mother's care of young children; the deeply internalized norm of male occupational superiority pitted against the principle of equal opportunity irrespective of sex (p. 37).

On the one hand, these men generally seemed to disagree with the traditionalist belief in dichotomous gender characteristics, while, at the same time, maintaining expectations of gender stereotyped roles after marriage. Komarovsky describes a "tangled web of contradictory values and sentiments associated with these attitudes (p. 34)," where diminished ideological support for sharp gender-role differentiation in marriage, conflicts with institutional norms, self-interest, and the inability to recognize that advocacy for equality in public spheres is undermined by adherence to gender-role segregation in the family.

The men in the Komarovsky study attribute the problems of gender roles for both men and women to personal inadequacy requiring individual adaptations, rather than to a social problem requiring changes in role definitions or institutional reorganization. This reflects a naive (Freire, 1973) or acceptance (Hardiman, 1982) stage of consciousness. In terms of dominance in relationships with women they were trapped "in certain dual classifications [being dominant or submissive] and were caught on the horns of a false dilemma because they could not conceive of a third option" (Komarovsky, 1976, p. 249).

The small number of Black men (9 = 15%) in Komarovsky's sample precluded generalizations about this group. She did find that a high proportion (33%) had traditional attitudes about working wives, and belief in intellectual equality with women. Komarovsky found little significance in religion and class differences among this population of men.

Summary

This chapter reviewed theoretical and research literature on masculinity and male identity development in order to establish the context for the present study. In the first section traditional, exploitation, and changing role perspectives on masculinity were described. Masculinity was described in terms of the paradox of both creating men as oppressors of women at the same time as it produced varieties of gender role conflict and strain for men. After acknowledging the White racial bias inherent in this literature, each of these perspectives were then re-examined in terms of literature on Black masculinity. A multi-cultural perspective on masculinity was suggested as the foundation for a more comprehensive theory that could encompass an analysis of masculinity both as oppressive to women, and damaging to men.

In the second section theories of identity development were described as generally reflecting the development of consciousness in terms of either the exploitation or changing role perspective. The need for a more comprehensive theory of male identity development that could encompass both aspects of men's developing consciousness was identified. Schapiro's model (1985) of male identity development was described as a step in this direction that is needing empirical validation.

The last section reviewed the literature related to masculinity and college men. The college age was described as a time of significant transition in the expectations and conceptualizations of masculinity. Research with this population focused primarily on either identifying and assessing gender role stereotypes, or on developing standardized questionnaires about the male role. Komarovsky's (1976) in depth interview study with college men was described as one of the few phenomenological studies of this population. Her conclusions about the stress, ambiguities, and inconsistencies of college men were summarized.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Introduction

In order to conduct this study of the gender consciousness of undergraduate college men this researcher combined qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis. Initial research on masculinity and male identity development focused primarily on subjective, first person accounts of men's experiences (Fasteau, 1974; Pleck & Sawyer, 1974; David & Brannon, 1976; Snodgrass, 1977), and/or the formulation of theories of masculinity (Brannon & David, 1976; Pleck, 1976; Balswick, 1981; O'Neil, 1981). Later research, on the other hand, seemed to be directed more toward the development and testing of quantitative measures of attitudes toward masculinity and the male role (Doyle & Moore, 1978; Brannon & Juni, 1984; Mosher & Sirkin, 1984; O'Neil, 1986; Snell, 1986).

By combining these different approaches to the study of masculinity this researcher expected to develop a more comprehensive and more accurate picture of men's experience. Through qualitative methods, that "allow us to know people personally and to see them as they are developing their own definition of the world" (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975), theoretical concepts and quantitative instruments could be systematically explored and validated. At the same time, this qualitative analysis of masculinity could be informed and supported by quantitative comparisons and data analysis. Together these two approaches to data collection and analysis were used to mutually enhance the validity and reliability of the answers to the research questions.

- 1) What patterns of consciousness about male role strain, and about male privilege and women's oppression are evidenced among this group of undergraduate college men?
- 2) What are the relationships between the gender consciousness demonstrated by these men, and the "male identity development" model proposed by Steven Schapiro (1985)?
- 3) What are the similarities and differences between the gender consciousness of the Black men and the White men in this study?

This chapter describes the procedures used for the selection of research participants, selected demographics of participants, data collection methods, data analysis procedures, and the limitations of this study.

Selection of Research Participants

Thirty undergraduate college men from a large Northeastern state University were interviewed for this study. The focus on undergraduate college men was chosen for several reasons. The college age is recognized as an important time in the development of gender roles and gender identity (Komarovsky, 1976; Moreland, 1980; Erickson, 1950). Although college courses (Femiano, 1986; Schapiro, 1985) and other student development programs on men and masculinity have begun to be developed, current information about college men's subjective gender role experience is limited. Men in this age group are often especially resistant or oblivious to the need for gender role re-evaluation. By developing a more detailed understanding of the "thematic universe" (Freire, 1970) of college men educators and activists can be more effective in program design and implementation.

The starting point for organizing the program content of education or political action must be the present, existential, concrete situation, reflecting the aspirations of the people (Freire, 1970, p.85).

In addition to this pedagogical reason, the study focused on college men for methodological reasons. First, the focus on one

delineated age group of men provided the opportunity to study in more detail the patterns and themes of gender role experience specifically related to this stage of development. Second, the standardized instruments used in this research were developed and tested primarily with this population. Finally, this population was conveniently accessible to the researcher.

The sample was limited to undergraduate college men who were born in the United States. Research participants were intentionally diversified by age, academic major, and previous exposure to gender awareness educational experiences in order to study a broad range of college men's experience. The sample also intentionally included both Black men and White men. Several authors (Wilkerson & Taylor, 1977; Staples, 1978; Franklin, 1984) have suggested that the gender role experience of Black men is different from White men. Generalizations from research on White samples, therefore, is limited, and implicitly racist. This research will enable a comparison of themes and patterns across this dimension of race. A summary of some of the specific demographic features of the participant group can be found in Table 1.

Potential respondents were identified through existing contacts the researcher had developed within the Residential Life (i.e. student housing) system, and through referrals from research participants themselves. Initial contact with prospective participants (by phone or in person) was used to describe the nature of the study, to assure them of its confidentiality, and to set specific dates and locations for the interviews. Interviews were held in students' dormitory rooms and this researcher's university office at the convenience of the participant, and were conducted during the Spring semester of 1987.

TABLE 1

Demographic Features of Respondents

Educ. Level	Age	Race	Major	Previous Experience	Parents' Income
Freshman	18	White	Microbiology	No	<10K
Freshman	18	Black	Political Sci	No	40-50K
Freshman	18	Black	Criminology	No	>50K
Freshman	19	White	Undecided	No	>50K
Freshman	19	Black	Education	No	40-50K
Freshman	19	White	English	No	>50K
Freshman	19	White	Business	No	>50K
Freshman	19	Black	Legal Studies	No	30-40K
Sophomore	19	White	Legal Studies	No	>50K
Sophomore	19	White	Psychology	No	>50K
Sophomore	19	White	Psychology	No	40-50K
Sophomore	20	Black	Communications	No	10-20K
Sophomore	20	White	Psychology	No	40-50K
Sophomore	20	White	Legal Studies	No	>50
Sophomore	22	White	Sociology	No	>50K
Junior	19	Black	Communications	Yes	10-20K
Junior	20	White	Journalism	Yes	>50K
Junior	20	White	History	No	30-40K
Junior	21	White	Social Thought/ Polit. Economy	Yes	20-30K
Junior	21	Black	Marketing/Finance	Yes	20-30K
Junior	22	White	Fine Arts	No	40-50K
Senior	21	White	History	Yes	>50K
Senior	22	Black	Zoology	Yes	20-30K
Senior	22	White	Communications	Yes	40-50K
Senior	23	White	Independent	Yes	<10K
Senior	23	Black	Finance	Yes	40-50K
Senior	23	White	Computers	No	>50K
Senior	24	Black	Computer Engineer	Yes	10-20K
Senior	25	White	Legal Studies	No	>50K
Senior	26	White	Psychology	No	>50K

Educational LevelPrevious Experience

	NO	YES
Freshman/Sophomore - 15	15	0
Junior/Senior - 15	5	10

Race

Black	5	5
White	10	5

Data Collection Methods

Data from these thirty undergraduate men about their gender role consciousness was collected through an interview format that included first a written questionnaire and then open-ended verbal questions. This sequence of data collection methods was used by Komarovksy (1976) in her study of college men. Beginning the interview with the written questionnaire was expected to accustom the participant to self-disclosure by degrees (an ability seen as frequently diminished among men, see Balswick & Peek, 1971, Jourard, 1971, McKee & O'Brien, 1983), and to legitimate and define a potentially unfamiliar and somewhat threatening content area. By following the questionnaire with more open-ended verbal questions, written answers could be verified, clarified and/or qualified. Half of the respondents did spontaneously critique the ability of the questionnaire to accurately reflect their thinking, describing multiple or situational perspectives, extenuating circumstances, and the need for fuller explanations. The verbal questions, therefore, "supplied the intervening variables (or explanations) for empirical generalization derived by quantitative techniques" (Komarovsky, 1976, p. 5).

Complete interviews (combined written and verbal sections) lasted approximately one hour. Each component of the interview is described below.

Written Questionnaire

The interviews began with a written questionnaire (see Appendix). This consisted of a consent form, a background information page, and

three standardized instruments: a modified form of the Brannon Masculinity Scale (Thompson and Pleck, 1986), the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil, 1986), and the Women Liberation Scale (Goldberg, 1976). Demographic data such as age, educational level, academic major, race, family income of parents, and previous experience in gender awareness programs was collected on the background information page (summarized in Table 1). In the questionnaire the three standardized instruments were simply titled "Part I", "Part II", and "Part III". The entire written questionnaire took approximately 15 minutes to complete.

The Brannon Masculinity Scale (BMS) is designed to measure an individual's degree of approval of the traditional American male gender role. The BMS long form consists of 110 statements developed to reflect Brannon and David's (1976) four component theoretical model of the male gender role. The statements are clustered into seven separate sub-scales on the long form: avoiding femininity, concealing emotions, the breadwinner (dedication to work and supporting a family), being admired and respected, toughness, the male machine (self-reliance), and violence and adventure. Each statement is scored on a 7-point Likert scale (strongly disagree - strongly agree). High scores denote traditional attitudes.

Items for the BMS were developed by and tested on undergraduate college men and women. Reliability data indicate a test-retest correlation coefficient of .92 (N = 144) over a four week interval, indicating that the instrument is quite reliable by usual standards.

Based on correlations with sub-scale and full scale totals, 58 items were designated as a short form of the scale. The short form correlated .89 with the full scale.

In a study of the structure of male role norms Thompson and Pleck (1986) conducted a factor analysis of the responses of undergraduate college men (N = 233) on the short form of the Brannon Masculinity Scale. They identified a three factor structure of male role norms for college men: status (men's need to achieve status and others' respect), toughness (men should be mentally, emotionally, and physically tough and self-reliant), and antifemininity (men should avoid stereotypically feminine activities and occupations. Based on this factor analysis they suggest a 26 item scale. This modified Brannon Masculinity Scale (mod-BMS) was used for this research study.

The Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS) is a 37 item self-report instrument designed to assess aspects of male gender role conflict hypothesized by O'Neil (1981, 1982). Respondents are asked to report the degree to which they agree or disagree with statements about their personal gender role attitudes, behaviors, and conflicts using a 6-point Likert scale. High scores reflect an expression of gender role conflict.

Items for the GRCS were tested on undergraduate college men. Factor analysis (N = 527) yielded four emergent factors: success, power, and competition; restrictive emotionality; restrictive affectionate behavior between men; and conflicts between work and family relations. Four week test-retest reliabilities (N = 17) ranged from .72 to .86 for each factor.

The Women's Liberation Scale (WLS) is a 14 item self-report instrument designed to measure attitudes towards the women's movement. Respondents are asked to report the degree to which they agree or disagree with statements using a 4-point Likert scale. High scores indicate support of women's liberation. Five questions felt to be more

relevant to contemporary college experience (i.e. "The Equal Rights Amendment guaranteeing women's equality under the law is a needed addition to the Constitution", and "A man has a right to expect to have sex with a woman after he has paid for an expensive date.") were substituted for two questions that were felt to be not as relevant.

For this study, in order to standardize responses to the questionnaire for easier statistical analysis, participants scored all questionnaire items on a 6-point scale (strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, strongly disagree).

Open-ended Questions

After the participants completed the written questionnaire a series of verbal interview questions (see Table 2) were used to clarify and expand their responses to the structured instruments, and to generate information useful for answering the three research questions. The purpose of the interview questions was to provide "a framework within which people can respond in a way that represents accurately and thoroughly their points of view about the world" (Patton, 1980, p. 28). The researcher, therefore, sought to create a relaxed, supportive environment by maintaining a non-judgmental, active listening stance throughout the interview process.

The verbal interview questions were organized into four sections. The first section focused on reflections and reactions about the just completed written questionnaire, including how the respondent's answers may have changed in the past several years, and how his answers would compare to those of the "typical" college man. Questions in the second section were directed toward perceptions and experiences related to being a man, including identification of the "informal rules" for being

a college man, the effects of these rules, the advantages and disadvantages of being a man, and attitudinal and behavioral responses to these conditions of masculinity. The third section focused on attitudes towards women and sexism, including expectations of a wife, advantages and disadvantages for women, sexual aggression toward women, the women's movement, and behavioral responses to women's oppression. The final section addressed questions about men's need for support, including the need for a men's movement, and university-based programs for men.

The verbal portion of the interview lasted approximately 45 minutes and was audio-taped for later transcribing. Interviewer observations and impressions were recorded immediately after the interviews.

TABLE 2

Open-ended Interview Questions

A. QUESTIONNAIRE DE-BRIEFING:

- 1) Which of these items stood out for you?
- 2) How would your answers on this questionnaire been different 5 years ago?
- 3) What has influenced these changes?
- 4) How do you think your answers would compare to responses from the typical man your age? To how your father would respond?

B. BEING A MAN:

- 4) What are some of the informal rules for being a college male?
- 5) What do you think are the effects of these rules on men?
Do you think any of this is a problem?
- 6) What do you think are the effects of these rules on women?
Do you think any of this is a problem?
- 7) What do you think are the effects of these rules on you?
Do you think any of this is a problem?
- 8) What do you think are the advantages of being a man?
- 9) What do you think are the disadvantages of being a man?
- 10) Can you describe a specific situation where you experienced any of the advantages of being a man?
- 11) Can you describe a specific situation where you experienced any of the disadvantages of being a man?
- 12) How do you feel about these advantages and disadvantages for yourself?
- 13) What do you do about the disadvantages?
- 14) Have you ever intentionally chosen to do something that you knew did not conform to the rules about being a man?

C. ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN:

- 15) Assuming you were to get married, what would you want from your future wife?
- 16) What do you think are the advantages for being a woman?
- 17) What do you think are the disadvantages for being a woman?
- 18) Can you describe a specific situation where you noticed a woman or women being treated unfairly?
- 19) Do you think sexual aggression towards women is a problem on campus?
Why?
- 20) How do you feel about the disadvantages for women?
- 21) Have you ever intentionally chosen to do something so that a woman or women would not be treated unfairly?
- 22) How do you think the women's movement has affected men?

D. SUPPORT FOR MEN:

- 23) Do you think there is a need for a men's liberation movement?
- 24) How might the University be more supportive of men's experience?
- 25) Do you think there is a need for men's programs on campus? Why?
What would keep you from attending one of these programs?
What would attract you to one of these programs?
- 26) Do you have any advice, suggestions, or additional comments related to the experience of being a college man?

Analysis and Interpretation of Data

Data analysis involves the systematic examination and arrangement of generated information to increase the researcher's understanding and make it understandable to others (Bogden & Blikien, 1982). The principle task of the data analysis in this study was to use the quantitative and qualitative organization and synthesis of information from the interviews, to answer the research questions. Data analysis procedures for each of the four research questions are described below.

Research question #1. What patterns of consciousness about male role, and about male privilege/women's oppression are evidenced among this group of undergraduate college men?

Quantitative analysis of responses to the modified Brannon Masculinity Scale and the Gender Role Conflict Scale was used to assess respondents' degree of support for the traditional male role and the extent that they recognized or experienced this role as problematic. This data was then compared to open-ended interview questions related to male role strain (especially section B of the interview guide). These responses were organized based on themes and patterns that emerged from repeated readings of interview transcriptions. In order to accurately document patterns of men's consciousness the qualitative analyses throughout this study were presented using frequent direct quotations from the transcriptions. This "thick description" allows readers to follow the development of the qualitative analysis remaining grounded in the actual voices of the men themselves.

Consciousness about male privilege/women's oppression was first assessed by a quantitative analysis of the Women's Liberation Scale responses. This data was compared to interview responses to questions

related to this aspect of consciousness. Once again these responses were organized into emergent patterns and themes.

Research question #2. What are the relationships between the gender consciousness demonstrated by these men and the model of male identity development proposed by Steven Schapiro's (1985)?

Several different methods of analysis were used to examine these relationships. Interview transcriptions were re-read and coded based on the stages of consciousness in this model within each of the two domain (male role strain, and male privilege/women's oppression). Profiles of five men's responses were developed to illustrate the range and complexity of gender consciousness evidenced by the participants in the study. Transcriptions were also coded based on the four "new male qualities" suggested by this model. The reliability of both sets of transcription codings was assessed by outside reader ratings of at least 10 transcriptions. Transcription coding for stages and new male qualities was compared statistically (using an analysis of variance) with each other and to questionnaire scores to determine convergent validity, and to examine further the patterns of gender consciousness.

Research question #3. What are the differences and similarities between the gender consciousness of the Black men and White men in this study?

Questionnaire scores, transcription codings, and interview responses of the White men and Black men who participated in this study were compared. Respondents' consciousness of race as a factor in their experience as men was examined. The findings were discussed in terms of the influence of Black and White racial identity on men's gender consciousness.

Limitations of this Study

Before proceeding to the analysis of the research data several limitations of this study should be noted, specifically limitations of sampling and limitations of self-report.

The sample of respondents selected for this study was limited to thirty undergraduate college men from one large New England State University . Data collection and analysis based on this population can only be tentatively generalized to other male populations. The small sample size and use of a non-random sampling technique further delineated the data base. Choosing only Black and White men as participants limited the ability to generalize results beyond these two racial groups. Although the the demographic data indicated a range of economic backgrounds, the explicit or implicit selectivity of college also limited the representativeness of the sample. No explicit effort was made to select for diversity of ethnicity, religion, physical ability, or sexual orientation, or to evaluate the effects of these social differences on participant's responses. The results, therefore, may not accurately reflect the full range of attitudes, ideas, and opinions even within the population of undergraduate college men.

Another limitation is recognized in the use of the subjective, self-report as the data base. Self perceptions are often biased by the particular developmental and environmental conditions of the moment. Developmentally, the college age has been recognized as a time of "trying on" new attitudes and beliefs (Perry, 1970). Additionally, in the face-to-face interview environment participants may intentionally or unintentionally bias their responses based on their perception of social desirability and interviewer values. The findings from this study,

presented in the following chapter, must be understood in the context of these conditions.

C H A P T E R I V
PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

In this chapter the quantitative and qualitative data collected from the interviews are presented and analyzed using the procedures described in the previous chapter. The information is organized into three sections corresponding to the research questions described in Chapter I. Section one examines interview data from the respondents in this study to provide a general description of their patterns of gender consciousness. Two particular aspects of male gender consciousness are addressed: 1) awareness of male role strain, and 2) awareness of male privilege and women's oppression. The second section focuses on comparing the interview data and the patterns of gender consciousness derived from it with the theoretical model of male identity development proposed by Steven Schapiro (1985). Areas of empirical support as well as suggestions for modification are identified. Section three compares the interview responses of the Black and White participants in order to identify similarities and differences in male gender consciousness between these two racial groups.

Patterns of Male Gender Consciousness

One purpose of this study was to identify patterns of male gender consciousness among undergraduate college men. This information was obtained through quantitative analysis of the three self-report scales and qualitative analysis of the open-ended interview transcriptions. In this section two aspects of male gender consciousness, awareness of male role strain, and awareness of male privilege and women's oppression, are examined separately.

Male Role Strain

Popular and theoretical literature on masculinity over the past 15 years has identified the traditional male role as dehumanizing, limiting, and full of conflict and strain for men (Pleck, 1974; David & Brannon, 1976; O'Neil, 1982; Baumli, 1985). Data from this study was examined to determine the extent that the male role was recognized and/or experienced as detrimental by this group of undergraduate college men. Quantitative data from the modified Brannon Masculinity Scale (mod-BMS) and the Gender Role Conflict scale (GRCS), and qualitative data from interview transcriptions were analyzed to identify the degree of approval of the traditional male role, and the specific aspects of masculinity that were experienced as problematic.

Modified Brannon Masculinity Scale. Scores on the 6-point scale (strongly agree = 7, strongly disagree = 1) for this 26 item questionnaire ranged from 56 to 114 (mean = 86.5, standard deviation 14.7), out of a possible span of 26 to 156 (mean = 91). This indicated that a wide range of attitudes towards traditional male roles existed among research respondents. A low score reflected general disagreement, and a high score general agreement, with traditional male role norms. Slightly more than half of the respondents (17) had a mean score of less than 91, reflecting some degree of disapproval, on average, of the traditional male role.

In general, characteristics related to Status (mean = 3.4/item) and Toughness (mean = 3.6/item) were given somewhat more approval than those related to Anti-femininity (mean = 2.9/item). For example, the highest mean scores were on questionnaire items such as "Success in his work has to be a man's central goal in his life" (mean = 4.0), "I always like a man who's totally sure of himself" (mean = 4.1), "A good motto for a man

would be "When the going gets tough, the tough get going" (mean = 4.2), and "A man should always refuse to get into a fight, even if there seems to be no way to avoid it" (mean = 4.3).

On the other hand, for the questionnaire item that read "I think it's extremely good for a boy to be taught to cook, sew, clean the house, and take care of younger children" (mean = 2.1) only two of the thirty respondents disagreed to any extent. Other relatively low scoring items included "A man should generally work overtime to make more money whenever he has the chance" (mean = 2.8), "Unless he was really desperate I would probably advise a man to keep looking rather than accept a job as a secretary (mean = 2.8), "A man must stand on his own two feet and never depend on other people to help him do things" (mean = 2.8), and "A man whose hobbies are cooking, sewing and going to the ballet probably wouldn't appeal to me" (mean = 2.9).

Freshman and sophomores (mean = 91) scored significantly higher (t-test probability = .07) than juniors and seniors (mean = 82). This difference was especially apparent on items related to Toughness ($p = .06$) such as "When a man is feeling a little pain he should try not to let it show very much", and "In some kinds of situations a man should be ready to use his fists, even if his wife or girlfriend would object". Several items related to Anti-femininity, "I might find it a little silly or embarrassing if a male friend of mine cried over a sad love scene in a movie", and "It bothers me when a man does something I consider 'feminine'", were also scored significantly different ($p = .05$ and $.07$ respectively) by freshman/sophomores and juniors/seniors.

Gender Role Conflict Scale. Data from this 37 item questionnaire indicated that a wide range in the amount of gender role conflict

existed among respondents. Scores ranged (out of a possible span of 37 to 222) from generally low conflict (84) to generally high conflict (175) (mean = 127.9, standard deviation = 29.9). Again, slightly more than half of the respondents (17) had a mean score of less than 129, reflecting some degree of disagreement, on average, with the statements about gender role conflict.

In general, Success, Power, and Competition issues were identified as slightly more significant for respondents than other issues on this scale. For example, 27 respondents agreed (to various extents, mean = 5.0) with the item "Moving up the career ladder is important to me". Other highest scoring items similarly included "Making money is part of my idea of being a successful man" (mean = 4.3), and "Doing well all the time is important to me" (mean = 4.3). One item related to Homophobia, "Verbally expressing my love to another man is difficult for me", also was given a generally high score by respondents (mean = 4.3).

The lowest overall scoring items were two related to Restrictive Emotionality, "Strong emotions are difficult for me to understand" (mean = 2.5), and "Telling my partner my feelings about her/him is difficult for me" (mean = 2.7).

Although year in school (i.e. freshman - senior) was not significant in relation to differences in total GRC scores, two GRC factors, homophobia ($p = .001$) and Conflicts Between Work and Leisure/Family Relations ($p = .005$), were significantly different for freshman/sophomores and juniors/seniors. Homophobia was significantly higher among the younger students ($p = .001$). For example, items such as "Affection with other men makes me tense", "Men who touch other men make me uncomfortable", and "Men who are overly friendly to me make me

wonder about their sexual preference" all were scored significantly higher ($p < .05$) among the freshman/sophomores.

On the other hand, Conflicts Between Work and Leisure/Family Relations was higher among the juniors/seniors ($p = .011$), who reported significantly more agreement ($p = < .05$) with items such as "I feel torn between my hectic school schedule and caring for my health", "My school work detracts from the quality of my leisure or family life", and "My needs to work or study keep me from my family, friends, or leisure more than I would like". Further analysis identified this factor as a significant source of conflict for those juniors/seniors who were also working as resident assistants in the dormitories. Juniors/seniors who did not have this responsibility, in fact, scored similarly to freshman/sophomores on this factor of the GRCS.

Open-ended Questions. A variety of open-ended interview questions were used to solicit information about respondents' attitudes towards masculinity, and their awareness of the limitations and conflicts of the male role. Examples of these questions include "What are some of the informal rules for being a college male?", "What do you think are the effects of these rules on men? on you?", "Do you think any of this is a problem?", "What do you think are the disadvantages of being a man?", "How do you feel about these disadvantages?", and "What do you do about the disadvantages?"

As in the questionnaires described above, responses to these questions indicated a wide range of awareness about the male role among respondents. Some participants seemed to have little or no recognition of how the male role impacted their experience, while others evidenced a relatively sophisticated analysis of the damage it causes men and the costs in their own lives. Some supported or accepted traditional

masculine norms, while others were engaged in challenging and changing these attitudes and behaviors.

A few respondents were unable initially to identify any "informal rules for being a college man", stating that there was nothing men had to live up to, that they "haven't really thought about it", or that "I try to think of myself more in terms of just being a person than being just strictly a man".

Most men interviewed, however, did perceive the existence of some rules, expectations, or norms for men.

Not openly, you know, they don't go "this is the rule", but it's more like subliminal, underneath. There's just certain ways you have to act.

The rules most consistently named were, as one man concisely put it, "get drunk, get laid". Others frequently mentioned included being tough, physically strong, competitive, "into" sports, in control, unemotional, self-confident, and well-liked.

Several respondents recognized some of these rules for being a man, and identified them as natural, healthy, or "not a problem".

It seems like they've always been here....I think it's just nature, you know [Vincent].

Some things were meant to be, and some things were not meant to understand [Derek].

I don't think they're bad. I think they can be healthy to an extent....I don't think men wish they were changing....I don't think to myself, God I wish I didn't have, wasn't required to act like this, you know....I think you'd be hearing a lot more about it if people weren't too satisfied with them....I don't feel like I have to get out from under them or anything like that. They seem pretty normal, because that's the way it's always been, I suppose [Stewart].

I like it because I feel, not dominant, but like I'm doing something on my own, you know? [George].

On the other hand, most of the respondents did perceive problems with these norms for masculinity. The negative aspects that were

identified included direct limitations of male role proscriptions, indirect limitations of male role prescriptions, and social pressure toward conformity.

Many men identified specific male role proscriptions, such as don't express feelings, don't be emotionally close to other men, and don't do anything "feminine", as having negative effects or as disadvantages of being a man.

Because while these feelings exist, like you have feelings of love for another man, you may have intense feelings, you may feel like you want to cry at times, these feelings have to be repressed because men aren't supposed to feel that way....We have to distance ourselves in certain ways....What you're doing is you're cutting people off to a certain part of yourself [Bill].

If you're not really masculine, and you like to do things like sew and things like, that guys will think you're kind of wimpy and stuff like that. That's a disadvantage [Greg].

Male role prescriptions that at first appear to be positive, such as be strong, tough, successful and in control, were frequently identified by respondents also as having significant indirect limitations.

I think it promotes one to succeed if they have this pressure on them to constantly perpetuate an ongoing achievement. And on the bad side, I think it causes undue stress if you do not in fact live up to those expectations [Robert].

A need to fulfill a role which you might not be qualified to do. Say you're small or you're thin or you're weak, then you would consequently feel like you were a failure [Richard].

A lot of times I feel the pressure that I've gotta do that much better, be dominant over these other people, whether it's men or women, simply because I am a man, and I have to achieve that much more. So it does get tough [Tom].

You have to be smart, or at least show that you are smart, or let people think that you're smart [Emmett].

People expect more, you know. They expect you to go out and get something done....Responsibilities fall on us a little bit more. You know, you can't just have things done for you [Chris].

You're looked upon as being stronger, but yet, you know, in some instances you don't want to be stronger [Mike].

I'm not very athletic...being expected to be good athletically has been something that I've experienced. I mean, just assuming that I should be good [Paul].

The expectation to be in charge in relationships with women was frequently described as a source of strain.

Shouldering responsibility is probably the toughest thing. Especially when you have a relationship with a woman, you take all the responsibility in the initial stages...you're opening yourself up, You're putting yourself in a position where you could get shot down. You're vulnerable [Richard].

Sometimes I feel a pressure in a relationship that the man has to be the strong one, and the man has to make all the right moves, and be financially strong as well as mentally strong. And a lot of times I don't feel like it [William].

We gotta come forward and lay our feelings on the line first, I think. And then we have to act like we're cool when they deny us. "Oh, no problem babe", and walk away. And inside you're like, "oh my God, she just abused me like that" [Bob].

Many men mentioned feeling confused, insecure, and powerless in relationship to women. They felt vulnerable, and, at times, manipulated by women's perceived ability to accept or reject them, to "control the throttle" of relationships.

When a guy tries to talk to her, to get to know her, she can say no, and just mess up his whole world [Derek].

They probably figure, he just wants to get laid, I'll brush him off, he'll probably think nothing of it anyways. But that's not true, they're wrapped up in it too, you know [Mark].

Social pressure toward conformity and the need to be accepted was repeatedly recognized as a powerful and often negative aspect of male role expectations. "To be in the norm....more like people than unlike people" was named as both a rule in itself, and the general result of the other male role expectations.

You realize that there's a set image in life of the man. And you know, you may not wanna be like it, but you kind of, you kind of feel like you have to conform to it a little bit, you know. You

get this feeling that you're pushed into this....It seems to be, there's a general type-cast kind of set ideal, you know, and you start getting closer to it. I mean, it's not like you'll ever live up to it, but you know, you just start feeling like you're a little more close to that [Chris].

Several respondents described how the pressure for group acceptance leads to repression of individual thinking, feeling, and behavior.

Guys are supposed to generally just go with the flow and try to bear with it. It's good to go with the flow if you want to. But if you feel differently, like you have to almost keep it inside of you and not raise any turmoil or anything [Fred].

It forces them to doing things that they may not necessarily do otherwise. You know, they feel they've got to behave in this manner so they will [Chuck].

I think it could make them do something that they don't want to do, or make them try to look like this even if they don't want to....a stereotype that they have to live up to [Stephen].

Most of the time these are not thought-out rules for yourself. They're just kind of a group thing where you're taking on other people's roles. And you're not thinking things out for yourself, and what would be right for you. You're just automatically taking it on to be one of the crowd. And I think that you're cheating yourself because, you know, most of the time it's not you. And I think eventually you pay for that inside. I think that eventually arises conflict in your behavior [James].

Pretense and deceit were recognized by some as one result of this struggle for acceptance and conformity.

I think a lot of times guys say one thing and really do the other....I think they talk tough but really aren't [Donald].

So as a rule, look like you're sure of yourself.... even though inside you're, oh what's going on? what am I doing? All the people go, yeah, that guy knows what he's doing. He's a cool dude [Bob].

People try and put up the front that they're big men when they're really not [Emmett].

The fear of peer ostracism, "being singled out" as unmanly, feminine, or gay, was recognized by several men as a driving force behind the pressure toward conformity.

If they don't do it, they're afraid of what other people think of them, so they've got to, you know, fit in that category [Chuck].

If you're not ["manly"] you tend to get left in the dust. Cause I know guys that are kind of feminine. They don't have too many friends....A place like this with no friends would be pretty lousy, that's for sure....I always wanted to fit in, it just seems natural to fit in....I wouldn't want to be the one called a fag, I think that's natural for all guys. I think there's a lot of guys who might want to do things but shy away because of what people think. Definitely [John].

You always have to be making sure you're not acting a certain way, you know, a fag or whatever. Just make everybody happy....You always have to be watching out for yourself subconsciously all the time it seems, and there's a lot of pressure, you know, when you don't have a girlfriend, to prove that you're still a man....You really can't show emotion, because they'll think, (pause), you know. [Stan].

Some of the respondents, while acknowledging some of these negative aspects of these masculine norms, said they ignored the pressures toward conformity, or minimized their personal significance.

It really doesn't bother me that much....Sometimes I think about it, but most of the time I just sweep it under the rug [Stan].

I'm laid back, and that's great, that I don't really care about a lot of the things, where I just kind of do my own thing....I'd like to think it doesn't play a real dominant role. I tend to do things just for the reason because I decide to do them, not primarily because of the pressure....I'd like to think that I don't [fit the rules]. I somewhat believe that I don't, for a lot of things [Chuck].

Others clearly described the negative personal impacts of these masculine norms on their own experience.

They tend to encourage me to shut down when things are stressful, rather than take time to deal with feelings [Dan].

People don't expect you to show your feelings as much....it's just like, hey, I'm a person too, I have feelings and emotions just like girls....If I show too much, I think they use it against me [Ronald].

At times I find myself putting up walls and just boxing people out [Robert].

I felt like, at some points, that I was really wasting a lot of time with my friends. I should be out there getting some women or something like that....I did go through a deep depression there [Mike].

A lot of people wouldn't ask me to do something like that [going to ballets or dance performances] just because of the way I come off as like outside....It's like, what the hell, guys? Come on. I'm not just some moron that all I do is sports. It's just, like, I'm not as narrow-minded as you may think [Ronald].

Several respondents described how the norms for male behavior encourage women to respond automatically to all men with defensiveness or anger because of their expectations of aggressive male behavior. Their experience of being stereotyped or mistrusted was named as another source of male role strain.

When women start to stereotype all these men, obviously I'm included as one of these men. There's a lot of negativity around females as far as males, and I'm not saying they don't have a reason to be, because they do for a lot of reasons. But, you know, a lot of times if you just go to talk to a girl, sometimes it's like, get away, because she thinks you're trying to grab her to have sex right away....So a lot of times you are at a disadvantage to even just be friends with a female because of some of the feelings they have [James].

I think I'm sometimes blamed for everything that every single male of my species has done...guilt by association [James].

Many of the men who were interviewed accepted the rules and their negative effects as unavoidable, "grin and bear it, that's all you can do, I guess" [Donald].

That's just part of life....It's just something you have to learn to live with [Greg].

Basically there's nothing you can do. It can't be avoided. It's instilled in people's minds, and you have to deal with it, I guess. A lot of it shouldn't be, but that's how life is. There isn't much you can do about it. You have to adjust, adapt [Kevin].

I think it comes with the territory. It's just one of those things you have to accept, and they're always gonna be there....so you just kind of have to go with it [Stewart].

An equal number, however, described specific ways that they do not accept and conform to the rules, and intentional responses they use to decrease the negative effects of these male role norms.

I looked at myself and I said, I would like to be different....Some of what I saw in myself I didn't like. I said some of these things should be changed [Ed].

I basically try not to let those stereotypes of men affect me, because I know if there's a mold that's placed on men, I don't fit the mold. I'm not overly manly, whatever that is. I show both qualities, you know. I just try and be how I feel....I'm not really trying to put up any fronts [Emmett].

If they [people] become upset with me, and this is a constant thing where they just can't accept me because I'm not out drinking all the time, and I'm not partying, and I'm in studying instead, for example, then they're really not my friends, and those aren't really people that I need to be associating with....Once I found a group of friends that accepted me for who I was, I didn't have so much pressure [Tom].

I've pulled away from them [the rules for men]. I never bought into them. But the more I see things happen, the more I tend to draw in the other direction. I don't like what it stands for, and I don't enjoy watching other people like that. That's partly the reason I'm moving off campus [Stephen].

I just push through them [disadvantages for being a man] as best I can, and view that as part of my responsibility for change [Dan].

I try to catch it [disadvantages], and I think that's very important, to be conscious when it is happening. Try to catch it and you just try to deal with it. You try to just see where you're at and where you want to be, and if you don't want it to happen, to do something about it [Ronald].

A few men described new images of masculinity to which they aspired.

I show my emotions....If someone dies, I cry. I don't try to hold it in. I just go against the regular norms of like my best friends [Stan].

After we have a kid I wouldn't mind like staying at home for a while raising him. I think that would be great [Fred].

I show both qualities. You know, I just try and be how I feel....I know who I am....I'm not really trying to put up any fronts, I'm not trying to be manly or anything [Emmett].

I've made connections that power or empowerment is feelings, sharing feelings, expressing feelings, and isn't necessarily toughness, and resolve, and complete independence. [Compared to a "typical" man] I would be an extreme: touchyfeely, sensitive, feeling, feminine....I'm much more physical with men than is comfortable for most [Dan].

Summary. In this section participants responses on the modified Brannon Masculinity Scale and the Gender Role Conflict scale as well as to the open-ended interview questions were analyzed to identify patterns of consciousness about male gender role limitations and conflicts. Answers to both the quantitative scales and the qualitative interview questions indicated a wide range of awareness among respondents about this aspect of gender identity.

Items related to Status and Toughness on the BMS, and Success, Power and Competition on the GRC were identified as somewhat more salient than other factors. The group of freshman/sophomores scored significantly higher on the BMS and the Homophobia factor of the GRC than did the group of juniors/seniors. The juniors/seniors who worked as resident hall assistants scored significantly higher on the Conflicts Between Work and Leisure/Family Relations factor of the GRC than the freshman/sophomores or juniors/seniors who were not in that role.

Answers to the open-ended questions indicated that, although several respondents had limited awareness of the rules for college men, most men recognized the existence of these male norms. Although for some the effects of these rules were seen as singularly healthy, positive, or normal, most identified some negative effects on men. The restrictions or strains of the male role that were identified included the effects of direct proscriptions (i.e. don't express feelings, don't be close to men, don't be feminine), indirect prescriptions (be tough, strong, successful, in control), and social pressures toward conformity (gain acceptance, repress individuality, avoid ostracism).

Some respondents viewed these restrictions as unavoidable, to be ignored, or discounted their personal impact. Others recognized and described their negative personal effects. Several of these men

described specific ways they have resisted or changed the damaging effects of the male role, and a few named new modes of masculinity they were incorporating into their identity.

Male Privilege and Women's Oppression

In addition to examining patterns of awareness about the limitations and conflicts of the male role, data from this study was analyzed in terms of respondents' consciousness about male privilege and women's oppression. Recognition of these personal, social, and institutional inequities is identified by many as an essential component of gender consciousness. Quantitative data from the Women's Liberation Scale (WLS) and qualitative data from the transcribed open-ended interview questions were analyzed to determine the extent of a respondent's awareness and the specific themes identified in relation to male privilege and women's oppression.

Women's Liberation Scale. The 17 item modified version of the WLS used in this study was designed to measure an individual's degree of approval of issues related to women's personal, economic, and political rights such as educational and job opportunities, child-care, and sexuality. Support for these issues was indicated by higher scores on each of the statements.

Scores on this scale ranged from 60 to 102 (out of a possible 17 to 102) with a mean of 83.2 (standard deviation = 10). Although this indicates a wide range of responses on this instrument, even the lowest scores reflected an average response that slightly agreed with the statements. More than half of the respondents' (17) mean scores reflected an average response that agreed with the statements. On 13 of the 17 items 90% (27) or more of the respondents agreed to some extent.

One person responded with strong agreement (the highest score) on every item.

The items with the least support were "Advertisers should not use women as sex symbols in order to sell their product", and "'One of the most important issues today is to completely change the traditional roles of men and women". However, both had mean scores of 3.8 (slightly agree), with 18 and 19 respondents, respectively, agreeing to some extent.

The items with the most support included several where every respondent agreed to some extent: "Women should be given the same consideration as men when both are applying for the same job" (mean = 5.4), "Women, whether married or single, should receive the same salary as men for doing the same job" (mean = 5.5), "Sexual violence against women is reinforced by many parts of our culture" (mean = 5.0), and "A man has a right to expect to have sex with a woman after he has paid for an expensive date" (reversed mean = 5.4). "Women should have the same educational opportunities as men in all fields of study" (mean = 5.5) had one respondent who strongly disagreed, while all others agreed or strongly agreed.

From another perspective, however, there were relatively high percentages of respondents who no more than slightly agreed with questions about free child-care for mothers who have to work (23%), women obtaining sexual satisfaction with other women (43%), the equal rights amendment (30%), and men's active role in ending violence against women (23%). 10% of the respondents (3) only slightly disagreed with the statement about expecting sex after an expensive date.

Once again, freshman/sophomores (mean = 79) scored significantly different (probability = .03) than juniors/seniors (mean = 87),

reflecting less support for issues related to women's liberation among the younger group of men. Previous experience as a participant in gender awareness education programs also made a significant difference ($p = .009$) in scores on the WLS. Respondents with previous experience were more supportive of women's liberation (mean = 89) than those without experience (mean = 80).

Open-ended questions. The interview included a number of open-ended questions designed to solicit information indicative of a respondent's awareness of male privilege and women's oppression. Examples of these questions include "What do you think are the advantages for being a man?", "the disadvantages of being a woman?", "Assuming you were to get married, what would you want from your future wife?", "Do you think sexual aggression is a problem on campus? Why?", "How do you feel about the disadvantages for women?", and "Have you ever intentionally chosen to do something so that a woman or women would not be treated unfairly?"

As with awareness about male role strain and scores on the Women's Liberation Scale, responses to these questions reflected a range of consciousness about women's oppression and male privilege. All of the men interviewed recognized the existence of some prejudice or discrimination against women. However, some men rationalized, minimized, or distanced themselves from the problem, while others seemed more aware of the extent of its personal and social implications. Although many respondents recognized male attitudes and behaviors that served to perpetuate male dominance, contradictions between verbal support for egalitarian values and their own attitudes, goals, and behaviors were frequently apparent. Some men blamed women for their own mistreatment. Others struggled to understand their observations of

women colluding with gender inequities. A few respondents described specific actions or strategies they have used to challenge women's oppression.

All of the men interviewed evidenced at least a general awareness of male privilege and women's oppression, "guys just have the advantage".

Lets face it girls are not a minority, but they get pushed around, you know what I mean? [Vincent].

As I get older I realize just being a man in itself goes with certain privileges, and being a man you gain more respect than a woman. Rather than being a person, you're a man....I think it's helpful in almost any situation [Richard].

It seems like the man will definitely get the preferential treatment almost anywhere, that just seems the way life is [Chuck],

Women just have a subservient role in society [Kevin].

There are greater advantages to being a man in our society. You're just given all the breaks, basically. You're considered superior in a lot of ways to females [James].

Discrimination in employment hiring and salaries was most often identified as an inequity between men and women.

Getting a job can be very hard, and getting paid the equivalent of a man....It's always an uphill battle for them. They tend to have to try that on little notch higher just to get equal with a guy....They have to do, you know, not twice as much work, but a lot more just to get recognized and to get paid equally [Chuck].

The existence of negative stereotypes and prejudices against women was also frequently recognized.

I think the main disadvantage to being a woman is that people see them as frail, weak, unfortunately, in some cases, worthless, which is very much false.....They're not looked upon as an authority figure [Tom].

It seems like always somebody would have a prejudice against a girl [Stan].

Basically, you [women] are seen a step below, and you're seen as being there to sort of, to help them [men]...your life is played off of his [Stephen].

Stereotypes, in relationships, if a girl has too many boyfriends, she's a slut, with a guy, he's superman [Kevin].

Many respondents recognized the active role men play in maintaining their dominance. This was identified most often in terms of interpersonal interactions between men and women.

I always hear guys with girlfriends telling them that they shouldn't be doing this or shouldn't be doing that, you know, unfair things, telling the girlfriend how to dress, who they should be with, and that type of thing. Which seems unfair. It seems like guys want to dominate women in general, which is unfair [John].

If a man and woman go on a date, if men take responsibility for transportation and money, and for the agenda, which is somewhat of an unwritten rule at certain levels, then that perpetuates women's dependence on men and women's lack of empowerment and equality within a simple date, which is symbolic of the larger scale [Dan].

Oftentimes a lot of guys think of girls as women first and then as a person...sometimes they're treated like objects...you're not supposed to like think of them as another person, just as a woman in general [Chris].

This unfair treatment of women by men was especially recognized in male sexual attitudes and behaviors.

I think the male sexuality tends to be more outwardly, potentially hurtful and expressive in less than positive ways....Instead of sharing fears and insecurities and questions about confusing sexuality...men just go for sex [Dan].

The attitude toward women is very negative...see what you can get off them basically. Have sex with them if you can. If you can't they're not much use [James].

Men will say anything to a girl just to get in her pants. He'll tell her, yeah I love you, or yeah I just want it to be me and you. He's saying that just for the moment so he can accomplish his goal, but then when you wake up in the morning, he's ready for her to go, and then on Saturday you're playing the same game again [Eric].

Most men interviewed were able to recognize how they have benefited from being male, and many could identify previous attitudes or behaviors of their own that were related to male privilege or dominance.

I guess it wasn't too long ago when I would participate in those type of things [close-minded behavior toward women] [Mark].

I thought, I guess the socialization, I thought that men were superior, that's why men get better paying jobs, that's why men get to go out and work, and they stay at home. I mean, it's like planted in your head, and I was just, I guess, I was a victim of society until I found out on my own that was not in fact the case [Robert].

I was confused about a lot of things, just from being socialized improperly...you just grow up hearing things, and that's really your only source of information at that time [James].

In spite of the recognition of various aspects of male privilege and women's oppression evidenced by these statements, many of these same men also made comments reflecting limited and inconsistent awareness. Some respondents expressed attitudes that consciously or unconsciously supported male superiority such as devaluing stereotypes of women.

It just seems like women are, not weak, but weaker than guys....They just let too many things bother them [John].

They can play the, ah, sort of emotional...bitch might be a good word [Vincent].

A lot of women today don't have no common sense....They're just airheads [Derek].

There's too many radical, radical women [in the women's movement]...you know, all hairy-legged and screaming [Stan].

I sometimes wonder if some women who just sit around at home are just lazy [Tom].

Obviously there are some jobs that are not suited for women, as far as physical labor [James].

She'd probably feel more comfortable in the kitchen, I would think [Bob].

Several men explicitly rationalized and defended male domination.

I think it's always gonna be just male and female. Guys are just physically stronger and all that. And I think that says something for nature, I think that is just nature, you know. I'd like to have a wife that makes just as much money as me and is like totally equal, but still, there's something, I feel it, there's a man and a woman, and man is, I think, dominant, you know. I agree with all the legal and all that shit, that they should be able to make as much, economic equality and all that. But still, I think there's always gonna be that, when you get down to just a man and a woman...men's nature is like, it seems to me we're more dominant than like a woman's, you know [Vincent].

If a husband and wife have a decision to make, [and] they cannot see eye to eye,...I believe that the man should make the decision, just because, if you keep on arguing about it you're not going to get a decision made at all. So, I've been taught in my religion, in the Bible, that a man is the stronger part, so he's the one to make the final decision [Eric].

A few men candidly discussed some of their own current attitudes and behaviors that they recognized, or suspected, to be sexist.

When I was a freshman I used to go to parties. I still do it today. I mean, there'll be a bunch of guys, we'll be hanging out drinking, and a girl will walk by and we'll look at her and say "nice ass" and all that....That's a kind of advantage, but then again, you know, I feel bad about it so maybe it's not [Bob].

I do it unconsciously [looking at women sexually]...I walk around campus all day and I'm twisting my head around [George].

Getting someone in bed, I take pride in that. I don't know if it's right or wrong. It degrades women to an extent [Richard].

Others seemed vague or confused about their particular experience of male privileges.

I don't know if it's being a man or just the way I grew up, the opportunities I had....It's hard for me to separate the two. And I never really sat down and said, well, because I'm a man I've got these opportunities [William].

Recognition of gender inequities was often tempered by minimizing the problems.

I don't think the average person is really that biased against women or towards men [Craig].

There's disadvantages for men too. I really don't know how I feel about it....it's part of life, I guess. I don't really think about it [Derek].

I don't think about it that much. I really don't. I don't think it's that bad. Cause I couldn't even come up with any that strike me that bad [Vincent].

It doesn't bother me too much that I get that type of preferential treatment. I don't think I've ever been in a situation where it's gotten completely out of hand, where I've gotten so much

advantage...if I did, if I had noticed it I would definitely not put up with it [Bill].

Many respondents seemed unsure of the extent of the problem, and had difficulty identifying a specific situation where they noticed unfair treatment of women.

I'm sure it exists, but I don't know to what degree though [Donald].

It exists, and I know it does, but I haven't experienced it. The problem with me is if I haven't experienced it. it's almost as if it doesn't exist [Bill].

I've never ever, that I can think of, seen a serious situation of discrimination between a man and a woman, myself in this University area [Paul].

Some men explained that since they aren't women they did not see these issues as having much personal relevance.

I think because I am a male I don't give it that much thought, because I don't feel I'm personally being affected by it that much [Jeff].

If I was a woman I would be obviously a little more pissed off about the whole situation. But when you're sitting on the other side of the fence it's easy to say, well, it's no big deal type thing [Chuck].

Men's responses to questions about shared family responsibilities illustrated the range of perspectives about male privilege and women's oppression. Almost one half of the men interviewed stated that they would prefer their wives (assuming they were to get married) to stay home with their children and/or to take primary responsibility for housework. Some did not recognize the implicit inequities of this expectation, or its inconsistency with their other statements about unfairness, stereotypes, and discrimination toward women.

I want her [future wife] to be educated. I think it's better for a woman to have a career, it gives her more depth....She can just have more input into everything, equal input. If she has a higher education it's more beneficial as far as raising kids....I wouldn't want her to work when the children, I would want her to stick

around...as far as the housework, I would assist her. I just hate cleaning up and cooking [Kevin].

I'd like her to be successful in her job....But then I would rather have her, once we have children, since she's the one having the kids, her stay at home and her take care of the kids and I'll work [Stan].

Others, clearly articulated a commitment to a nontraditional sharing of family work roles.

It would be 100% equal....You both have to do housecleaning, you both have to take care of the child, if you have a child. And I'm not just saying that, I really believe that....You are both equals, and I believe in breaking the role....It's against everything I've ever been brought up, but to me it's garbage [James].

In addition to varying degrees of awareness of the extent of male privilege and women's oppression, and how men contribute to their existence, most men also described their observations that women can play a role in perpetuating gender inequities. For some men this recognition was experienced in the context of stereotypes about women (i.e. dumb, manipulative, coy), and served to perpetuate their anger, mistrust, and resentment.

I find that most women are very ready to accept their role as being subservient to men....almost buy into it and believe it. [AND WHAT'S YOUR REACTION TO THAT?] Just disgust that they would do that. That they would buy into it. That they are dumb enough to do that. They are uneducated, I wouldn't say dumb, ignorant enough to do that. But they do [Richard].

Some of them seem to enjoy it [male sexual aggression]....I mean sometimes it's just in good fun, but then it can lead to rape or something if a girl's like teasing [Ronald].

It just seems like it's every time when there's girls around, that's when trouble starts [John].

Many men used this recognition to place the burden of blame and responsibility on women.

If a woman was to go to a frat party, she's expecting that when you go there it's like a meat market, that, you know. Guys are gonna try and pick you up....the women know...that's the way it's gonna be [Greg].

Sometimes girls, this is a real cliché, but sometimes they are asking for it, I think. Sometimes they build up such a reputation that guys come to expect a lot from 'em, and the one time they

don't deliver, guys just go off the handle....I'm not saying that she deserves it. I'm saying that she almost brings it upon herself [Fred].

If a girl let a guy use her, the guy's gonna do it. There's no doubt about that. If a girl let a guy walk over her, he'll do it. If a girl let a guy beat her up, they'll continue to do it....Cause a guy is, they're go-getters [Derek].

It seems like some women just like it the way it is. Some people like being persecuted, or maybe they don't like it but they're just being content with it [Emmett].

But a lot of it [men's exaggerated masculinity] is because of women, because that's what they expect out of men, to be, you know, dominant. You know what I mean? It's surprising, a lot of women enforce that kind of what I feel negative things on men. Because like a woman won't, sometimes up here, a lot of times, won't go for the man who's not as manly, boistrous and stuff like that [Emmett].

At least as frequently, however, this recognition of women's role in accepting or supporting sexism was in the context of a man's sincere struggle to understand within the limits of his experience.

I see the roles being played out on both sides, not just the male, but the female is playing the same role. I'm not sure what that role is, and I'm not very familiar with it. And I know very well what he's doing...and sometimes it's just not all the male being the aggressor [James].

There are a lot of girls out there that are socialized into I think a different type of thing....They fall into the socialization too [Fred].

It seems like most women go along with it also. They just seem to accept it as that's the way it's always been and that's the way it's always gonna be....Most girls even like it, you know, the way a man has to act in a certain way to treat a woman [Stan].

A lot of these girls do put up with these type of men too, and they shouldn't, but they do [James].

Although almost all respondents claimed that over the past five years they had become less sexist in their attitudes towards women, more than half were not able to identify examples of how they did something so that a woman (or women) would not be treated unfairly. Several were resistant about too much change.

I don't like traditional roles changing as much as they are [Eric].

I still believe there is a big difference between a man and a woman. So it's not just what's down below their belt. There's just a lot inside that's different....I don't think a lot of them [gender roles] should be changed, and like forced equality, exact equality, because you can't have equality with two things that automatically to start with aren't equal [Vincent].

Many disapproved of the inequities, and expressed sorrow, and even anger, but felt that there was little that could be done to change them.

I think it comes with the territory. It's just one of those things you have to accept, and they're always gonna be there. And even with people trying to change attitudes and changing the traditional roles, which I think is fine, but I think they're always gonna be there. So you just kind of have to live with it. I don't mind it [Stewart].

Some were not motivated enough to take action.

I'm not the type of person to say, who gives a shit about them, but then again, I'm not the type to turn around and do something about it either. You know, I might say, I wish somebody would do something about that. I think a lot of guys have that type of attitude [John].

I didn't want to strongly agree with a lot of them [Women's Liberation Scale questions], because if I really agreed that much, I figured I should be out there doing something [Craig].

Others felt that it was up to women to make changes happen.

If women have that much drive let them do it, they'll do it. I'm all for it, you know. If they can do it, let them do it. I'd even vote for it. Anybody is capable of doing anything they want, race, color, or whatever, they can do what they want. Just as long as they have the drive and determination to do it [George].

I think it's up to the women to do something about it. You know, they have to make the start because just like any other revolution or any other change somebody has to do it. The persecuted person has to make the change. No one's gonna do it for you, because I know a group of men are gonna be less into it, to make the change for women if they're not gonna make that first step [Emmett].

Some men described actions where altruistic intentions may have, in effect, simply supported inequities.

I remember in gym class we used to say, "alright, you take a girl and we'll take a girl" and then you let them run around and just pass the ball. But basically they really didn't play because you never really gave them the chance to shoot or anything. But we

made them feel by picking one up, you know, the token girl there [Greg].

On the other hand, many men were able to identify actions that they had taken to interrupt or challenge sexism. These included not taking sexual advantage of a woman in a vulnerable situation, interrupting a near gang rape in a fraternity, genuinely including women in sports activities, making sure that women have equal opportunities to express and assert themselves, escorting women at night, not walking too close to women at night, intentionally hiring a woman as administrative assistant so that it wouldn't be "a constant male-dominated force", challenging an unfair process of fraternity "sweethearts" on a radio talk show, and "slipping in" comments when women were being stereotyped.

I'm trying to make myself more conscious of treating them fairly....By calling them women...Not ignoring them like some guys do [Donald].

I try to treat women as equals, with respect, and then if I hear a friend or somebody I can have a little influence on, then I'll mention it to them [Jeff].

A lot of time the men that are supervising the cultural centers talk and don't let the women talk. And I kind of interject there and, first of all point out what they are doing, and then give people equal time to give their view or opinion [Robert].

I let the woman do all the talking, disciplining, and I'm just there for support [William].

In all my work...I do my best to be a subtle force that tries to be very fair, more fair towards women than men, in hopes of counteracting unfairness, either present or past [Dan].

Summary. In this section participant responses on the Women's Liberation Scale and open-ended interview questions were analyzed to identify patterns of consciousness about male privilege and women's oppression. In spite of a general recognition and disapproval of these gender inequities, this analysis revealed a range of awareness among respondents.

Scores on the WLS indicated that most men interviewed supported these statements related to women's rights to some extent (slightly - strongly). Strongest support was expressed for items related to workplace and educational equality, and disapproval of sexual aggression towards women. There were, however, relatively high percentages of respondents who no more than slightly supported other issues such as free child-care for mothers who have to work, women obtaining sexual satisfaction with other women, the equal rights amendment, and men's active role in ending violence against women. As with the results on the modified BMS and the GRC, WLS scores demonstrated less support for issues related to women's liberation among the freshman/sophomores than juniors/seniors. Respondents with previous experience as participants in gender issues programs were also more supportive of women's liberation than those without experience.

Answers on the open-ended questions indicated that all of the men interviewed recognized the existence of some prejudice or discrimination against women. Job discrimination, negative stereotypes and prejudices, and men's interpersonal behavior, especially sexual, that perpetuated male dominance were the most frequently identified examples.

Answers also indicated that this awareness was often limited, simplistic, and contradictory. Some respondents continued to express devaluing, stereotypical attitudes towards women, defended and rationalized male dominance, or described continuing personal sexist behaviors. Almost one half still wanted wives who would stay home to cook, clean, and take care of children. Many men minimized or seemed ignorant of the extent of the problem, or felt it was not personally relevant.

A range of awareness was also identified in respondents' understanding of women's role in perpetuating sexism, from stereotypical victim blaming to more sophisticated analyses of gender relations. Respondents' also demonstrated a range of investment in taking actions to interrupt or challenge male privilege and women's oppression. Some expressed resistance to changes, insufficient motivation, or thought that it was mostly women's responsibility, while others described situations and examples where they had taken some action.

Summary: Patterns of Male Gender Consciousness

What patterns of consciousness about male role strain, and about male privilege and women's oppression are evidenced among this group of undergraduate college men?

The preceding data analysis in response to this first research question provided a general picture of this group of undergraduate college men in terms of these two aspects of gender consciousness. For the most part, these men did recognize the existence of male gender role norms and some of the detrimental effects of these norms on men. Powerful peer pressure was often identified as responsible for conformity to male norms. They also recognized and disapproved of inequities of male privilege and women's oppression, especially in terms of job discrimination, stereotyping, and sexual harassment.

At the same time, many of these men seemed to minimize and discount the significance of these issues, often describing them as not personally salient. Their degree of disapproval of traditional male norms and gender inequities frequently seemed unclear, and were often contradicted, consciously and unconsciously, by their other attitudes, values, and behaviors evidenced during the interview. Several men

defended traditional gender roles and relations, while others accepted them as inevitable and unchangeable.

Respondents generally recognized women's relative disadvantage in this society. However, they also frequently perceived women as having certain emotional and sexual power over men. They often seemed confused by their observations of women apparently accepting and supporting female gender role restrictions and inequities.

Sometimes respondents seemed to be verbally trying on new or different attitudes without having them grounded in a more comprehensive value system or personal experience base. At times they seemed to be repeating, as if by rote memory, beliefs that they had previously learned, oblivious of inconsistencies with their other statements. Often they seemed confused by these issues that they had not thought much about before, and unsure about their own values and beliefs.

Quantitative analysis indicated that different age groups (i.e. freshmen/sophomores and juniors/seniors) consistently produced significant differences in questionnaire scores. Juniors/seniors in general showed more support of women's liberation (WLS scores), less traditional attitudes towards masculinity (BMS scores), and less male gender role conflict (GRC scores; with the exception of conflict about work and leisure/family relations) than freshmen/sophomores. This suggests that some important changes can take place in gender consciousness during a man's college career. The comparative analysis of respondents with and without previous experience in educational programs related to gender issues suggests that participation in these programs may be one significant factor in these changes.

In this section data from this interview study was examined in terms of two aspects of gender consciousness, awareness of male role

strain and awareness of male privilege and women's oppression. Patterns of responses in each of these areas were synthesized and summarized to develop an overall picture of the gender consciousness among this group of men. In the next section the relationships between the gender consciousness demonstrated by these men and a model of male identity development will be explored.

Comparison of Interview Data with Schapiro's Model
of the Development of Male Gender Consciousness

In his dissertation, Changing men: The rationale, theory, and design of a men's consciousness raising program, Steven Schapiro (1985) suggests that a model for understanding the development of men's gender awareness, men's "consciousness raising", would be

very useful in articulating interim steps and goals for men to work toward, in understanding at what point in a change process particular men may be, and in conceptualizing what motivates men to move from one level or stage to another (p. 172).

After reviewing, analyzing, and comparing other relevant theories of gender "identity development", he then goes on to suggest a more inclusive model of how men change from a traditional male consciousness and identity to a new one. The development of this new male consciousness, he proposes, would include both awareness of the limitations and strains of traditional masculinity, and awareness of the male privilege and women's oppression of sexism.

The second research question of this study focused on the relationships between Schapiro's model of "male identity development" and the data from this study of college men. Once again combinations of quantitative and qualitative data analysis were used. From a qualitative perspective, interview transcriptions were examined in terms of the hypothesized stages of development and five were selected that could illustrate the range and complexity of gender consciousness evidenced by the research participants. Individual profiles were synthesized from each of these transcriptions and then analyzed in terms of consistencies and contradictions with the stages in the identity development model. All thirty interview transcriptions were also coded based on the stages and domains of consciousness, and the "new male"

qualities suggested by the model. Results of these transcription codings were compared statistically to each other and to questionnaire scores to assess their convergent validity.

This section begins with a review of Schapiro's model of male identity development. This is followed by a presentation and analysis of the five illustrative transcription profiles. Finally, transcription coding and the results of the quantitative analysis are described.

Schapiro's Model of Male Identity Development

As described in the Review of the Literature (Chapter II), Schapiro (1985) synthesized various theories of social identity development into a model of male identity development that takes into account both men's consciousness about male role strain, and their awareness of women's oppression and male privilege. He applied the same stages proposed by Jackson in his theory of Black identity development (1976), and Hardiman in her theory of White identity development (1982) to his theory of male identity development. He incorporated both aspects of male gender awareness into this model by suggesting that this development can occur within each of several different domains somewhat independently, and that there were four different "new male" qualities towards which this development progresses. The stages, domains, and qualities of this model (see Figure 1) are briefly summarized below in order to serve as the basis the data analysis in this section.

No Social Consciousness is the first stage of this model. During the first two or three years of their lives boys may recognize physical gender differences while remaining unaware of the system of social attitudes and expectations related to masculinity and femininity. Operating from their own natural needs, interests, and curiosities in

DOMAINS OF DEVELOPMENT

	Interpersonal: Men	Interpersonal: Women	Societal
Acceptance	Acceptance	Acceptance	Acceptance
-----	-----	-----	-----
Resistance	Resistance	Resistance	Resistance
an/au*	an/au*	aw/ac*	aw/ac*
-----	-----	-----	-----
R e d e f i n i t i o n			

I n t e r n a l i z a t i o n			

S T A G E S O F D E V E L O P M E N T

*New male qualities most likely to develop or be present at this stage in this domain:
 an = Androgyny, au = Autonomy, aw = Awareness, ac = Activism

FIGURE 1
 Schapiro's Male Identity Development Model

this pre-socialization stage, they may naively violate these rules and be confused about why others censure those actions.

Socialization into cultural norms and values about gender leads to the second stage, Acceptance. From the explicit and implicit modeling, reinforcements, and punishments of adults, peers, and social institutions boys learn and internalize the rules for being male. Consciously or unconsciously they accept traditional stereotypes about masculinity and value conformity to these expectations. They may see men as superior to women, entitled to social and institutional privileges, while holding women responsible for their own subordinate condition. They may also appear unaware of social gender inequities, or see themselves unaffected by gender stereotypes or sexism.

Experience or information that contradicts this socialized world view about gender can lead men into the third stage, Resistance. In this stage men recognize the harmful personal and social effects of rigid gender socialization. They reject traditional stereotypes of masculinity, and support challenges to the sexism of male privilege. As they recognize the personal implications of gender roles and women's oppression they struggle with feelings of guilt and anger, and confusion about how to effect change.

The need to develop a positive sense of male identity consistent with these newly affirmed values can lead some men into the fourth stage, Redefinition. The focus in this stage on developing a positive masculinity independent of social stereotypes and expectations fosters a deeper awareness of how the eradication of sexism is in male self-interest. These men look for other men in this stage to share support and develop a new male identity and culture that is not based on the dominant norms of sexism.

The final stage of this model, Internalization, emerges from the need to integrate this new male identity into all other facets of one's social and personal identities. A man in this stage is able to internalize and act from the new male identity as a natural part of the various roles in his life. It is recognized as one among many identities that interact to create a social and cultural web that can be a source of limitation and oppression, and diversity, nurturance, and liberation.

Expanding on Hardiman's suggestion that social consciousness operates in different contexts (intrapersonal, interpersonal, and societal) Schapiro proposed four key domains for the differentiation of male identity development: intrapersonal, interpersonal with men, interpersonal with women, and societal. Male gender consciousness, he hypothesized, may develop or change at different rates among these various domains. For example, a man might be in acceptance in terms of the intrapersonal and interpersonal with men domains, while in resistance for the interpersonal with women and societal domains.

Schapiro's model also included four qualities of a "new male" identity which help define and describe this process of development: androgyny, autonomy, awareness, and activism. Androgyny is the balanced integration of stereotypical masculine and feminine characteristics and the ability to express any combination of these qualities. Autonomy is the liberation from any culturally imposed masculine roles or behaviors. Awareness is the "social and political consciousness about how masculinity and sexism are institutionalized, about the relationship of masculinity to our socio-economic system, and about the changes necessary to create a more just and equitable society (p. 57)." Activism is the "commitment to struggle against sexism and other related

forms of oppression and to struggle for what is seen as the required social and economic changes (p. 57)."

Schapiro suggests that each of these qualities is more characteristic of development in some domains rather than others. For example, development in the intrapersonal and interpersonal with men domains he associates more strongly with the qualities of androgyny and autonomy. This reflects the developing awareness of the limitations and strains for men of traditional masculinity, and the movement toward liberation from these rigid roles. On the other hand, the interpersonal with women and societal domains he associates with the development of awareness and activism. This reflects the developing awareness of male privilege and women's oppression and the movement toward anti-sexist actions.

Qualitative Analysis of Selected Interview Transcriptions

In Section I of this chapter interview responses were examined and synthesized to provide a general description of patterns of gender consciousness evidenced by the men in this study. The spectrum of these patterns generally seemed to parallel the Acceptance, Resistance, and occasionally Redefinition stages of male identity development. Patterns of supporting, ignoring, minimizing, and resignation to male role strain and male privilege and women's oppression were similar to the conformity and collusion of the Acceptance stage. Recognition of personal implications, rejection of traditional masculinity, and descriptions of anti-sexist actions were consistent with the consciousness of the Resistance stage. The responses of a few men, at times, seemed to focus on the development of a male identity independent

of social expectations and sexist norms, reflecting Redefinition stage consciousness.

In order to understand a man's gender awareness in relationship to the stages of male identity development, however, these patterns needed to be examined in the context of an entire individual interview. For this section, therefore, complete individual transcriptions were reviewed to determine how these patterns were interconnected and expressed by respondents in the interviews. Five transcriptions were selected to illustrate how the consciousness of these men was consistent with the stages of the model, as well as some of the complex combinations and variations of these stages that were evident in the interviews.

Profile #1: John. John was a 19 year old White freshman majoring in business. He was living in a fraternity, and had no previous experience in any program on gender issues. His profile is a good example of Acceptance stage gender consciousness.

John thought that his answers to the questionnaire would not have been very different five years ago, and were very close to how his father and the college men he associates with would have answered.

John described himself as going along with the rules for men (keep appearances, be strong, smart, good at sports, a "party animal...drink more than everybody else", "one step above the crowd"). "I try to be manly", to avoid being "left in the dust", like guys who are "kind of feminine" whom he sees as not having friends and not "fitting in". When asked about the effects of these rules on men John said, "I really don't pay too much attention, I just kind of, you know, go with the flow." He did think that there are many men who are "more sensitive than they

admit", and who "shy away" from doing what they want because of what people might think.

John described himself as "sensitive, but I don't get bothered by too many things." He did not identify any time when he chose to do something that did not conform to the rules for being a man.

I always wanted to fit in. It just seems natural to fit in....I wouldn't want to be the one to be called a fag. I think that's natural for all guys.

When asked about the disadvantages for being a man he initially said, "probably that you end up supporting a woman your whole life." However, he quickly added,

but it's no big deal...if you marry the right person it's no big deal. I'm sure I won't mind....I would never want to be a woman. I wouldn't trade it, ever....I really don't see any disadvantages at all....I always heard girls say, oh it's hard to be a guy, but I can't picture why.

The only advantage for women he identified was "they get into parties first, without waiting."

He did not see that the University could do anything to be more supportive of college men. "It just seems that guys are gonna be guys, and there's not a real lot that the University could probably find and change."

When asked about what he would want from his wife, assuming he were to get married, John said he would want her to be loyal, intelligent, able to make decisions on her own, good looking, a friend, and "somebody that would be able to go out and get a job if they had to, if we didn't have enough money." He said it wouldn't bother him if his wife wanted to have her own career, but "if I wanted to have kids I would want my wife to be home with the kids."

John identified the double standard for drinking, being rowdy, and "sleeping around" as advantages for men. He also said that women were

"weaker than guys...they just let too many things bother them." Guys, he thought, were "pretty easy going", not having to worry "about everything". "It just seems like girls have more to worry about for some reason."

Women get embarrassed about a lot of things too....It almost seems like it's forced on them, kind of, like that's what they're expected to say so they say it.

Another "big drag" he identified for women was that "they always have so many physical problems, that time of the month, and all kinds of other things."

When asked about disadvantages for women John said that a lot of people would rather hire a man because they think that "the girl would crack under stress, or they will cry if somebody puts the heat on them....It's hard for them to break out of that, you know." He also thought that dating was harder for women.

It just seems like people base their success on who they marry somewhat. If they can't marry the big guy then they're probably not a very good person.

He has noticed how women often "take a lot of flak from guys", for example guys telling their girlfriends what they should and shouldn't be doing. "It seems like guys want to dominate women in general, which is unfair." He also describes how women "want every guy to play up to them....It just seems like they expect guys to do things for them, if we're expecting something in return." John responded to the question about whether sexual aggression toward women was a problem on campus by saying,

I think so. Probably. I really don't see any of it, but from what you read of the rapes and stuff, I mean that's definitely a problem. I would consider that a problem....One, or more than one, is too many for sure, that's not fair.

John didn't think the women's movement was a "bad thing", but "some of them take it a little too far", and that has turned some men against women a little more.

You know, the best way to prove yourself is to prove yourself. I mean, you can do all the protesting you want, but, you know I think that if they prove themselves then that's fine. But all the words and all the speeches and all that, it doesn't do very much for me....Women who prove themselves are respected, but the ones that are so into the women's movement, they're just so, so aware, they think every guy is just trying to harass them.

Although John said "I feel bad for a lot of people", and "I'm not the type of person to say, who gives a shit about them", he immediately followed that with

but then again, I'm not the type to turn around and do something about it either. You know, I might say I wish somebody would do something about that.

His final words about being a college man were

You just have to not try and worry about the whole thing too much, and just try and keep up with the studies as best...and the weekends are a big part.

Summary. The profile of John includes a number of characteristics that seem to be typical of the Acceptance stage of gender awareness. Although he readily identifies a variety of rules associated with being male, he is not consciously aware of their effects on men generally or on himself. He values conformity to these rules and aspires to the image of masculinity defined by these norms. He has observed the ostracism and isolation experienced by men who do not fit the rules. He recognizes how many men might restrict themselves because of this pressure. He names his own fear of being excluded or labelled and his desire for acceptance and inclusion as a significant motivator for his own conformity.

However, he does not identify these things as disadvantages, but rather accepts them without question as natural for men. The one

disadvantage of being male he does identify (breadwinner responsibility) he immediately minimizes. Dualistically, he seems to associate acknowledging disadvantages for being a man with wanting to be a woman, something he vehemently rejects.

The attitudes towards women evidenced in the profile of John are similarly ambiguous. Although John says he supports the possibility of his wife having a career, he would want her to stay at home if he decided to have kids. He recognizes a double standard, the effects of stereotypes on job discrimination, male interpersonal dominance and sexual aggression. However, they are not described as touching his life in any way. He identifies these things as "unfair", but personally distances himself and feels no need to respond. Women, he thinks, should make change by individually proving themselves, rather than by speeches, protesting, or activism. Men, he says, are not likely to change.

Profile #2: Bob. Bob was a 22 year old White sophomore majoring in sociology. He had been in the army for two years, was living in a fraternity, and had broken up with his girlfriend of six months the day before the interview. His profile demonstrates how some men were internally recognizing and questioning male role strain and their personal participation in sexism while continuing to contradict this awareness with the expression of Acceptance stage behaviors and values.

Similar to John, Bob described gaining acceptance and respect by maintaining a "masculine" image as a significant rule for college men.

Just try and be liked by everyone...almost put on a front, you know, so everyone thinks you are a good person....look like you're the big man around, like you're sure of yourself....You always want someone else to think that you're cool or whatever.

He recognized how some people devalue a man who does not fit this image. "Girls look at him and they kind of like shrug him off and they won't take him seriously....People look at that bookworm and go, what a wimp." However, unlike John, he also recognized how these men may find support and acceptance in a

different scene...if they hang out at the library with their buddies their gonna feel good....There's nothing wrong with being who you are. You should be proud of yourself.

Bob talked at length about the personal pretense and emotional isolation he experienced as a result of the rule about keeping up the "masculine" image. This was especially evident when he described his reactions to the break-up with his girlfriend.

Being the man, you know, she's telling me this, and I had to look like the cool guy, where I wanted to...really let my feelings out. But, I mean, how would I look, being a man, in the library, you know, with a tear coming to my eye. People see me, they wouldn't even know who I am. They'd see me a week later, and I'd be like the baby who was crying in the library last week. So I just sit there and go, "no problem"....try and talk soft, keep the old smile going....Inside I was dying....I just kind of want to explode.

He felt unable to turn to other men for support.

I already hear the jokes. Ha ha ha! She dumped you, ha ha ha! And it's all in fun, and I go yea yea yea, it's a riot. But inside I'm like "shut up". But like what can I do, sit and be quiet and act like a little kid? I'm 22. I'm gonna go crying to a bunch of guys in a frat?...Can you see me going to Rick and crying? You know, he'd just go pffft, get back....[He said] just let it go, be strong, try not to think about it.

He was envious of the emotional expressiveness and support that he saw women able to share.

If you see like two girls hugging and crying in the street, you think, wow, poor girl, I feel sorry for her. But if you see two guys, people are like, man, go do that somewhere in the bushes....Women seem to have closer relationships....They confide in each other....Guys would be sitting there talking, they would need something like the TV or the beer to be right there, or something entertaining them. So it wasn't so much one-on-one with the guy, but there was another medium in the way....I would like personally, would love it if guys could maybe show more feelings, you know, without being looked upon as being feminine.

He describes how talking to women is easier for him.

They get all mushy, and it's almost like they're acting for me, and they kinda know that, you know? It's like I'm transferring...to them...They know that I wanna do that but I can't, so they do it for me so I feel better.

In spite of this acute personal awareness of male role strain, however, Bob still followed the rules and accepted these limitations as inevitable.

That's just the way it is, that's the way it has to be because I'm a man. I have no choice. I just have to go along with it...Girls are always gonna go back to crying to their friends, and guys are always gonna have to be the tough ones. Always. I think throughout time that's the way it'll be. That's the way it always has been.

His one memory of allowing his feelings expression, crying himself to sleep in boot camp, was shadowed with embarrassment and regret.

When I think about it now, pshaww, I'm not gonna cry, you know. I was a guy. Guys don't cry themselves to sleep. So maybe that was one time I definitely stepped out of line. It was harsh.

When asked questions about male privilege and women's oppression, Bob responded with examples that were almost exclusively related to interpersonal stereotyping and harassment. His knowledge of the more institutional aspects of sexism seemed limited.

I always thought, like when I was younger, that the engineers or the really smart people were always the guys, you know? The big names are the guys. But going through school, I always noticed that the girls were always the ones getting the better marks, so I always wondered, how is that?

Unlike John, Bob engaged in considerable self-reflection about the unfair implications in his own personal behavior. After describing how he would participate with other men in making verbal sexual comments about women he wondered whether this is an advantage for being a man.

At the time it's an advantage, but then I think about it and I feel bad for a while. Maybe it's something I do just because I'm a man. Everyone else does it so I follow, I kind of jump on the bandwagon and cruise along with everyone else...I don't want to make the other person feel bad. But then again, why do I do these things?

I mean, am I a bad person? Why am I doing it? Everyone else is doing it so why not? But then I do it and I'm like, why did you do that? Why should I do that to that woman? She didn't do anything wrong to me. And then 10 minutes later I'll be doing it again....I'm just confused I guess. I just wanna live, you know, survive I guess and just go along.

Reflecting on why his girlfriend recently "dumped" him, Bob questioned whether being a man influenced his perceptions or behaviors in the relationship.

I thought I gave her a fair amount. Maybe I didn't 'cause I'm a man, so what I thought was fair wasn't....Am I doing something wrong which I have to correct so I can stop the cycle?

Although Bob said he would want his future wife to do the housecleaning, cooking, and childcare, he recognized that this contradicted some of his other values.

I want her to have a good job and make money, you know, but she's doing twice the work too. So maybe I should help her out as much. I'm not sure. See, I'm confused too....I'll cross that bridge when it comes, I'll figure it out later.

He suggested that a traditional division of labor, "she takes some of the women's stuff and I'll take the man's stuff", might work, because "she'd probably feel more comfortable in the kitchen."

When asked about how the women's movement has affected him Bob said,

I don't know. I don't think at all I've noticed. I'm not out for a job. I feel that a woman should be equal, I really do. I might not act like it but, like say if you sit me down and you ask me about it, I like the women's movement. I don't think it has really reached me yet.

Summary. The profiles of Bob and John have several characteristics in common. Both men identified the need for acceptance as the source of a powerful social pressure to conform to an image of masculinity. They both accepted this as natural or inevitable, and sought to conform to this image. Their awareness of male privilege and women's oppression was primarily focused on examples of interpersonal stereotyping and

mistreatment. They seemed relatively unaware of systemic or institutional aspects of sexism. They both continued to evidence personal attitudes and behaviors that contradicted their egalitarian values, and felt unwilling or unable to change.

In contrast to John, however, Bob seemed to support a more relativist perspective on men's differences, suggesting that men who did not conform to the traditional image could find their own arenas for social support. Also unlike John, Bob did identify a number of limiting and painful effects of conformity to this traditional image of masculinity. He poignantly described his personal experiences of emotional repression and isolation, heightened by the recent end of a romantic relationship. He also honestly identified and questioned instances of his own sexist behavior. The awareness of these conflicts and contradictions, however, did not seem to be as significant as peer pressure toward conformity in determining Bob's behavior which continued to reflect an Acceptance stage identity.

Profile #3: Eric. Eric was a 19 year old Black junior majoring in communications. At the time of the interview he had worked for two semesters as a resident assistant (RA) in a university residence hall, and had completed a mandatory RA course on issues of oppression (i.e. racism, sexism, handicappism, heterosexism, anti-Semitism, etc.). Eric's profile illustrates how a growing awareness of gender socialization and inequities, combined with a shift in peer reference group can heighten these contradictions and begin to stimulate behavioral changes.

Eric identified himself as "a lot more sensitive and open-minded" in comparison to the "typical" college man, and himself several years

ago. "At least I'm willing to understand. Back then I wasn't willing to understand." He identified several factors as significant contributors to this open-mindedness. Being the oldest of four children in a one-parent home "I had to be so sensitive to their needs. I was the one that was there most of the time when they had questions." Being in the RA position, taking the required RA course, and meeting the different people on staff, "I was forced to deal with social issues I wouldn't have even thought about."

In response to the question about the rules for college men, he described his own transition from when he first came to college.

When I was a freshman it was...girls and alcohol, girls and alcohol, girls, alcohol, party, playing basketball, lifting weights, playing football, being with the guys, girls, party....but now I realize it's not my place to just take advantage of girls, or alcohol is not that important...books are a much bigger part of my life now, getting involved with other things on campus that will mold my character.

In addition to the RA job, he credited this change to getting involved with his girlfriend, and realizing that "it is time for me to grow up, to take care of myself, to be a man...to support myself financially, stand up for what I believe in."

Eric described the effects of the rules for men as making them "very, very close-minded".

They can't express emotion, they don't want to express emotions. I believe a lot of them are very confused inside, 'cause I know that there are times when I'm confused inside...and I believe that they have the same feelings, but they don't have a way to express them, which causes a lot of tension inside....No matter how much males feel that they can do it all on their own, be independent, no matter how much we believe that, I like to believe it myself, but I know that I need, I'm always gonna need somebody there to cry on their shoulder.

At another point in the interview he talked about his own difficulty with expressing emotions.

For me personally I don't like to show emotions. Only to certain people. Certain people who I can trust....Even then I have trouble showing emotions. That's just me. I'm very closed. I've learned growing up to be closed, very closed within myself, to protect myself first. But I don't feel that it's wrong to show emotions. I feel that a man should be allowed to be sensitive, but society has not yet reached that point.

When asked about the advantages of being a man Eric reflected that "for every advantage there's a disadvantage."

Like being stronger, or more independent, that may be an advantage, but then you'd have to portray those roles, and maybe you don't want to portray those roles. So that's a disadvantage, then there's tension building.

He identified this as an advantage for being a woman.

I think they have the right to be more sensitive, society says they can be caring, those type of things. A man's not supposed to cry, he's supposed to be strong, he's supposed to conquer fear, be independent. As a woman she doesn't have to be those things, she has the opportunity to be either way, which is important, but as a man he has no choice, really. Society says you have to stand up in the face of fear. You can be shaking in your boots, and you may want to turn around and run, but you won't, because of so much pressure.

Eric described a situation where he walked away from this pressure to conform to the expectations to be strong, to fight, to defend yourself, as a "turning point in my life."

For the first time I felt like I didn't want to....I felt like there was too much to lose, there was no need for me...I wasn't going to achieve anything out of it....I didn't know if it was the right decision...and it tore me up on the inside, because I was changing, all of a sudden I had just a big change. If this had been even a month earlier, I would have attempted to take his head off his shoulders, but right then and there I decided this wasn't the right thing for me to do.

When asked about what he felt he had to lose if he did fight, Eric responded,

The fact that I was trying to promote myself as being a positive individual, especially a positive Black male role model, not only for myself, but for students here on campus...maybe it might not have hurt me professionally, but it would have hurt me inside....People I was dealing with on campus, starting peer relationships with, I didn't want them to hear that I was out

fighting....I felt that was too much to lose for that one little situation.

Eric identified disadvantages for women as including social limitations on being able to party, let loose, and have sex, being taken for granted, not receiving the same opportunities, not being paid the same, and being perceived as less intelligent or less able to make decisions than a man. He did think that sexual aggression toward women was a problem on campus. "Males are so self-centered that they don't see what they're doing to women. They're just taking advantage of them." Although he described how men will say anything to a woman "just to get in her pants," he said

I tend to put the blame for that on women, because women should wake up and open their eyes and see what's going on, and see that they're being used sexually, you know, and emotionally. I don't understand why they don't see this....I think girls have this attitude also, because he's a jock, or he's popular, or he's built, he's in a fraternity, that I want to be seen with him. So, in turn, she'll do whatever she has to do to please him.

Eric expressed support for women's equality, "every opportunity as a man." However, he immediately followed that with reservations about "the traditional roles changing as much as they are." He thought that a man and woman should share "50/50" the responsibilities of raising a family, cooking, and cleaning. However, he also wanted his girlfriend to take "maybe five or six years" off from her job to raise children, "once I get established in my job". He complained that, instead, she wanted to "go off on her own for a while and achieve her own independence."

I feel like she can be independent within our marriage. I'll work fifty-fifty with her, but I also believe that when it comes down to it, that if a husband and wife have a decision to make, they cannot see eye to eye, or they cannot come to some type of conclusion, give and take conclusion, I believe that the man should make the decision....I've been taught in my religion, in the Bible, that a man is the stronger part, so he's the one to make the final decision.

He then expands on his statement about family responsibility.

It seems like it would be easier for her to take the time off for maternity leave...seeing that it fits into society better, and whether society's right or wrong we do live in it, so it would be an easier adjustment for her, but...if she's making more money than me, if she's happier in her job, then I can, even though it's against society, I can stay home and be with the children those first few years of their lives, and I'll do a good job. I'll be good at it, I'll just be different from the rest of society, but I am strong enough within myself, I know who I am to do those things, and my male idea, my manhood would not be affected.

And later,

I do not perceive my marriage as being these are the things that I do and these are the things that you do because these are the roles that society wants us to play. I want to be able to combine them. I want to be able to help wash the clothes, help cook, help clean, because that's part of my responsibility being a man, yet still...I just really feel like women are just neglecting those responsibilities now.

Eric felt that the women's movement had a positive effect because "men have been confronted to deal with those issues now, and a negative effect because "it's becoming so much a 50/50, they want so much to be equal to a male, to break these stereotypical roles, that they're neglecting other things." He felt that a men's movement would be valuable if it was for "letting them [men] know where they've done wrong in the past, how to correct that, how to deal with the new roles that supposedly are arising."

Eric described how he recently used a radio talk show that he co-hosts to question the use of "sweethearts" for pledges to the Black fraternity. They confronted the fact that these women would support the pledges by going through much of the initiation with them without achieving similar recognition or status.

Why are you doing this? Open your eyes and see that such and such is going on, and that there are other alternatives....You can pledge a sorority where you can achieve 100% representation.

Summary. This profile seems to reflect a man with a growing awareness about gender as a social identity, whose peer reference group is shifting to others with similar awareness, and who evidences many of the contradictions inherent in the dissonance between Acceptance and Resistance stage consciousness.

Like Bob, Eric recognized aspects of male role strain as negative effects of the rules for men. Unlike Bob, Eric was able to see how these rules create both advantages and disadvantages for men. They both described their personal struggle with one of the limiting effects of these rules, Bob in terms of emotional inexpressiveness, and Eric in terms of the expectation to fight. Bob, in spite of his awareness of the personal costs, continued to conform to the rule, while Eric described a situation where he behaved in a way that contradicted one of those expectations. Eric identified his consciousness of an alternative peer reference group (residential staff), and the internalization of a new self-concept (Black male role model) as the factors that supported this difficult choice.

Although Eric recognized a variety of forms of male privilege and women's oppression (stereotyping, sexual aggression, fraternity pledging, job discrimination), he tended to blame women for not seeing what was happening, and to hold them responsible for doing something to stop it. Although he did value gender equality, open-mindedness, and anti-sexist education for men, he also expressed fear about excessive changes in gender roles. He demonstrated this contradiction most clearly and personally in relation to his aspirations and expectations of raising a family with his girlfriend.

Profile #4: Mark. Mark was a 24 year old Black senior who grew up in a "working class city". He was majoring in computer systems engineering, was a resident assistant, and had been through the RA course on issues of oppression. His profile illustrates more consistent Resistance stage gender consciousness, while continuing to evidence isolated examples of Acceptance.

Mark described the effects of the rules for men as "very restraining", "unfortunate", "they're not as open and free", "men live shorter lives and learn to live with a lot of internal stress because they can't let it out."

They have some positive aspects, but they're overplayed, and I think they're overplayed in a way where it's a lifelong restriction forced on the male. And by the time they realize those restrictions, they can only open enough space for themselves as dictated by society.

Several years ago Mark described himself as consciously cautious about expressing feelings, "you were aware of what you were doing. I mean you wouldn't just like start crying." He recollected how when his father died (Mark was in junior high school), "I like limited my crying... showing that I could handle it and stuff." Mark said that now he is "more open", "more sensitive", "just realizing it's O.K. to say things, you know, to express certain feelings." "I never missed it, really, until I did it, and then I realized that I was missing it."

Mark talked about some of the disadvantages for men in relationship to women. He felt that it was a disadvantage for men that "they still tend to view female acquaintances differently...to have a friend who is a woman is still strange to some of them." He suggested that "maybe they would be a little more sensitive to women, women's issues, or whatever, if they did have more women friends." He also described his

observation that women sometimes "use sex as a weapon almost...as a power game."

I think that since they're not getting respect in other ways, sex affords them the opportunity to get respect, you know....I think because of society, the way society views the male, women don't realize that men have feelings...because men don't express these feelings. Maybe they feel that most men can take it better or something. I think deep down inside it really does hurt a lot of men, you know. [WHAT DOES?] The power that women have. I mean, most men don't like to kiss ass, but they'll do it realizing...they're making themselves vulnerable,...and some women will really abuse that....They probably figure, he just wants to get laid, I'll brush him off, he'll probably think nothing of it anyway. But that's not true, they're wrapped up in it too, you know.

Mark said that the disadvantages for women included pregnancy ("there's a lot more pressure on women as far as prevention is concerned"), the struggle for respect and equal rights, getting labeled "the Helen Reddy type or a dyke" if they are assertive, and sexual aggression from men. He thought that the rules for men affect women because

it's a man's world...men are making the rules...and if it's their thinking and thought processes that are doing it, how can it not affect women?...It limits them because it makes them internalize these things.

However, Mark also said, "it's hard for me to talk about women and not about minorities."

I would like to say they [men] are not under the spotlight to perform and everything as much as women...but as a minority I feel that way too, like a role model, and there's that added pressure to do well in whatever you do. Because you are setting an example, and if you screw up it's a reflection on people following you....So for me to say some of the advantages I think I have as a man I think are in turn limited because I'm a Black man. I'm sure there are some job restrictions that are placed on women that aren't as heavily placed on Black men.

Mark observed that many college men have immature, close-minded behavior toward women, "sometimes it really pisses me off." He does acknowledge that "I guess it wasn't too long ago when I would

participate in those types of things, but that bothers me now....Women don't really enjoy a lot of the things you think they do." Mark described the RA course, watching his sisters grow up, and being friends with more women as significant influences in his becoming less sexist over the past several years.

It wasn't an overnight thing....It was just all these things, all these things building a base and then just constantly re-evaluating my thoughts, you know. I'm happy now with like the progress I've made. I feel more comfortable with myself now. Not that I was uncomfortable before, because I wasn't really aware of it. But now that I can look back in retrospect, you know, I can see the change and I'm happy with it....Now I have a different awareness than I had. It's like this mindset's been created, and now I'm seeing more things in places where I didn't see them before. So that's good. Suddenly things are everywhere, things are jumping out at me, where before...it was there and I just either chose not to see it or couldn't see it.

He described this awareness as, at times, overwhelming and frustrating, "because it's such a long way to go."

Although he felt that the advantages and disadvantages for being a man or a woman were "inescapable...facts of life", Mark also said that it was important to "deal with them."

All we can do is try to change them. I mean, it's painful, because it's like a lot of the advantages and disadvantages of being Black. Nothing changes overnight, and the progress is never fast....I don't like them, but you live with them and you try to change them.

He stated that first he has to realize what the problems are.

If I'm aware of them, and I realize them, then I make a decision, and I just act accordingly. I might just change my behavior. I might just change the way I use a certain word. Anything. But I have to become aware of it. Sometimes I may be riding on the advantages and not even realizing the disadvantages produced by a sexist thought or a sexist idea, you know. So, once I become aware of it, if someone brings it to my attention, I'll think about it and now I'm aware of it, and then I feel kind of responsible.

He described several incidents where he chose not to conform to the rules for being a man by not using opportunities to be sexual with women. On one occasion the woman was drunk.

I was in a very, very good position to take advantage of the situation....I don't know if it was just this brief flash of compassion or sympathy...I just became disgusted with myself, for just an instant, just long enough for me to make that decision....For an instant I was afforded the opportunity to step back and think about what I was thinking....It wasn't like I was thinking this all out...it was all of a sudden, really, it just came to me like this flash. Just briefly, just enough to mentally shake me up. I was sort of taken back with the way I was thinking, I was disgusted with myself....Those are situations where it's not making you any more of a man....Anybody can take advantage of someone who's feeling vulnerable. I mean there's nothing manly about it, unless you want to talk about it in the D.C. [dining common].

When asked about how he would feel about his wife (assuming he were to get married) having a career, Mark responded,

Now this may sound getting back to my ways, but....If she was making three times as much as me I wouldn't care. I mean, that would be great. But once we had children, I would really want her to be at home. I wouldn't want her to be at home because I said so....I would want her to have a genuine desire to want to be there with the kids, and I think it would foster a good family. I mean, not that I wouldn't be capable of raising a family, but I think that motherly part of family is key.

In terms of other household responsibilities, Mark said,

I would like her to do it, but I wouldn't demand it....I mean, I do it now. I would have no problem with cleaning the living room, and doing the dishes, and anything like that. I wouldn't expect her to do it constantly, but if she did, it would make me happy. Because my mom did....But I wouldn't force her to do it....I wouldn't be upset if it wasn't there. I'd just have to try to work harder and hire a maid.

Mark thought that the women's movement has opened men's eyes, "stirred the waters". He felt that "it would benefit women as a whole" if more women were assertive and spoke out. However, he also critiqued the women's movement as poorly organized and too drastic.

I think it was overdone to the point where men felt threatened and started to revolt. They started to take away some of the things that they were giving, I think because they were feeling threatened....So I think it could have been organized a little better. It could have been stretched out over a longer time.

He identified himself as "a big chivalry fan", and wouldn't want that to be lost as a result of the women's movement.

That would hurt me...upset me. I enjoy doing those things. I'm not doing them in a downcasting manner. I do them because I enjoy them. I like to think that most women enjoy them.

Mark said that a men's movement "might just get them [men] thinking." The focus, he thought, should be on men being able to express themselves more...to educate people more on how this effects men, how they're brought up to be callous and stuff, and then show how this effects them in a regular way, and effects society, and it effects their beliefs of women. I think to show how to change that...

Summary. Mark's profile characterizes a man who is able relatively consistently to use male privilege, women's oppression, and male role strain as an interconnected, systemic context for perceiving and understanding his experience. He reflected extensively on the development of this consciousness in himself, and on how traditional male attitudes and behaviors are damaging to men and to women. He recognized the need for change, and articulated his strategy for changes in himself. These characteristics are consistent with the description of the Resistance stage of male identity development.

Mark also reflected on the implications of his identity as a Black man. He recognized parallels between the experience of women and his experience of being Black. He expressed an understanding of how his privileges as a man are circumscribed by his identity as a Black person in a racist society. This dual consciousness, not clearly addressed in the male identity development model, seemed a significant component of Mark's gender awareness.

While continuing to acknowledge male privilege and women's oppression as the context, Mark also examined women sexual/emotional power in relation to men. Without resorting to victim blaming, as did Eric in the previous profile, he described his observations of how men get hurt by women's use of this power. The developing consciousness of

women's collusion is also not addressed in the male identity development model.

Mark did evidence several areas that seemed to reflect more of a traditional Acceptance stage consciousness, most notably his expectations of the homemaker role for his wife in a future marriage, and his attachment to chivalry in relation to women. His focus remained primarily on interpersonal gender relations, and he critiqued the women's movement for moving too fast.

Profile #5: Jeff. Jeff was a 26 year old White senior who had left college for three years after his junior year. He was majoring in psychology, and said he had not participated in any program or activity related to gender issues. In addition to demonstrating characteristics of Resistance stage awareness, Jeff's profile also reflects a man who is struggling with some Redefinition issues.

Jeff described himself as not conforming to the traditional rules for men ("be confident...in control...emotionally cool...aggressive, competitive...independent").

I've always had this thing against the traditional male that's more macho oriented, that doesn't get into talking about his feelings, or trying to be aware of how he treats women.

He said that this has effected his self-confidence, "because sometimes like I'm a little bit like a minority."

I try to be myself and I try to say...I've got to be who I am, but I feel a lot of my energy goes into being defensive. I'm always ready to protect myself if somebody criticizes me, cause I do feel at times I'm open for criticism by being affectionate to other men, talking about feelings....I think too much of my energy goes into being defensive, and takes away from me actually just doing those things and not being concerned with what other people think.

This often left him feeling "sadness and anger", "really bitter", "isolated", "like a real oddball."

Jeff described how his three years of being out of school, in the "real world", and around more traditional family structures challenged his "extremist...anti-traditional sex roles" attitudes.

I saw that these women or men that would take traditional roles were in a way protecting themselves. They were doing what was expected of them....I saw that the way they were living was more an adaptation to the real world....I thought it was so easy for me to sit in a class and say this is how it should be....There was a sadness there too, that there had to be a difference.

The personal dissonance he had already experienced between his self-expression and the social norms for men was heightened at this time.

There were quite a few comments...a lot of men that I would work with, guys my age or whatever, thought less of me in terms of masculinity scale, and that hurt me a little bit. But, if anything, it hardened my extreme, extremist. I felt increasingly different at first, and I increasingly made myself different at first....

He felt himself being penalized, isolated or berated, for holding onto his ideals, "like I was making myself a victim of other people's [prejudices]... by going up against these people, challenging them all the time."

As a result of these experiences Jeff says he modified his attitudes. "I really learned that you're not going to change everybody, and that you really shouldn't change everybody." Instead of being a dogmatic pacifist, "now I feel that there are definitely times, given the nature of people being aggressive, physically aggressive and also emotionally aggressive,... when you have to draw a line." Instead of being rigidly anti-traditional sex roles,

I see it as a very, totally, very personal choice. If a couple is comfortable with the traditional sex roles, then I don't see any problem with that whatsoever. If they are not comfortable with that...then it's fine for me too. I just don't feel I'm as extreme.

Instead of "constantly sharing", "showing emotions and talking about problems", he learned that "I don't have to deal with every little

feeling. Again I become a victim if I feel I have to talk about it."

Jeff said he sometimes felt

a disdain of my former self, part of my former self, constantly being over-emotional, and not having a little bit of a thick skin, letting every little thing bother me, or letting people walk over him or push him around physically or emotionally or whatever.

Instead of confronting people all the time "what's more important is how I treat myself and people in my private...we have to start at home. I'm less into making myself a victim now." Coming back to school after three years

surprisingly...hasn't really brought me back to that initial extreme. Now it's really a balance, and I feel much more comfortable with that. I feel I'm very adaptable....I can roll with the punches more.

Jeff perceived a wide range of advantages for being a man, including more freedom and independence, physical mobility, financial rewards for work, support and acceptance of sexuality, opportunity to excel in sports, and less scrutiny and over-protectiveness from others. In addition, he named as disadvantages for women stereotyped expectations of the mother role, having to prove themselves financially more than a man, having careers interrupted by having kids, and sexually aggressive and domineering behavior by men. He said he hadn't seen that much "sexism towards grades in class or getting jobs....Maybe I'm not exposed to it, or maybe I'm not aware of it."

Jeff said that growing up around many women, and classes on issues of oppression taught him "to treat women as equals with respect." He was "not very active in terms of advocating women's rights in a very public way," but felt he acted on these values in personal relationships. He described how he would make efforts to include women in basketball games.

There's a lot of shunning of them....I'll try that much harder to set her up with good passes, or a pick or something to get her really involved in the game. And also, sometimes after the game this women and myself challenging two against two, and, in fact, beating them a couple of times.

Jeff said that he would want his marriage to be "a sharing...finances obviously...the burdens of life...having to provide for oneself, but especially emotionally."

I tend to prefer a woman who is geared towards having interests on her own, work, hobbies, sports, gardening, you know, whatever it is....I think if my wife decided that she didn't want to work, and at that point I was in a better position to support, I don't have the need to tell her that she has to work. But I think I would prefer that it would be equally shared, but it's not totally necessary. In terms of housework, I think it would be great if there were times where my wife goes out and cuts the grass and I stay in and vacuum.

Jeff also discussed his perceptions of how women sometimes collude with male sexual aggression.

I still see a lot of them still buying into that, like defining themselves in terms of what males are gonna think of them. And I see that as, not encouraging always, but definitely not deterring some of the stuff that goes on. Like women walking around with a tiny bikini on, you're gonna get attention of some kind or another, and unfortunately it's a lot of times rude attention.

He suggests that sexual attraction, wanting to look, and wanting to compliment are

all natural, but I think there's ways of going about it that... wouldn't be aggressive,...more mutual and not feeling like it's a forcing of my sexuality. I think the art of conversation is like lost to a lot of people.

Jeff observed that the "amount of various harassments or bad experiences that women have had with guys on campus" leads to an increase in women's defensiveness. Although he recognized that this was merited, he was frustrated by how this can be an obstacle to more relaxed interactions.

I feel personally as a male, every woman I talk to and I'm enjoying or even flirting with, I don't want to have sex with every one. It's like I want to acknowledge and I want to be acknowledged....I

think a lot of that is just totally like missing sometimes. And it's unfortunate. What happens is rather than it being a natural dialogue, sometimes it seems like I see both sexes mistaking everything that goes on between men and women and label it sexual....It's not the only time women and men should get together and spend time and talk.

Jeff thought that the women's movement has increased people's awareness in good ways. He said that it has raised contradictions and confusion for men in terms of dating.

I like to open doors for women and stuff like that. Sometimes women don't like that, and they take it as you're saying to them that they're not capable of doing that....If you try to be a little detached to let that person have their freedom, sometimes they'll interpret like you don't care....My feeling is women still like to be doted on, but treated equally, so I guess that would mean that she would dote on us too.

He also felt that sometimes men were "blamed for everything...that every single male of my species...guilt by association, I just think it should be put in perspective."

Jeff said that a men's movement would be "really great to get a whole group of guys just basically griping about what this women's movement in some ways has done, and bring up some of the ways that I think women have conspired with men." However, he was more cautious about the need for programs for men on campus.

I guess I'm selfish lately. It's more like I want to try to help myself to change myself, because it's such a struggle. Like I said, I think a lot of guys don't want to be changed, they don't want to be told what to do. So my feeling is that they have to find out for themselves or something. And if I find out certain truths or learn how to be emotional and express and this and that, I almost take it like something that I've worked for and I'm gonna cherish it. But I guess we should share it too.

Summary. Like Mark, Jeff seems to have a systemic Resistance perspective on male role strain, male privilege, and women's oppression. However, while Mark described the development of his consciousness in term of greater awareness, Jeff talked about a moderation of his extreme anti-traditional attitudes. Unlike Bob, who described the personal

costs of conformity to traditional masculinity, Jeff reflected on costs of being a non-traditional man. While Eric and Mark had peer support among the residential staff for maintaining non-conforming attitudes in spite of social pressure toward conformity, Jeff seemed to have no peer reference group to sustain his non-traditional attitudes and behaviors.

The relationship of Jeff's profile to the male identity development model seems ambiguous. At times his accommodations to the pressures toward conformity seemed to be a regression from Resistance into Acceptance stage attitudes out of his isolation and need for self-protection. At other times these changes seemed to reflect Redefinition stage development toward more flexible acceptance of a diversity of gender role choices, and a healthier, more balanced sense of self. It seems likely, in times of transition, when dissonance and conflicts challenge established perspectives and attitudes, that a person would evidence both an earlier stage of consciousness and a newly emerging stage of consciousness simultaneously.

Summary of Qualitative Analysis of Selected Interview Profiles.

The five interview profiles presented above illustrate how variations of the Acceptance, Resistance, and Redefinition stages of gender consciousness were evidenced among the men in this study. John's conformity to traditional masculinity and his limited awareness of male privilege and women's oppression is consistent with Acceptance stage consciousness. Mark's ability to critique and challenge male role strain, male privilege and women's oppression, recognize their inter-relationships, and reflect on the development of his own consciousness demonstrates a predominantly Resistance stage of awareness.

More often than simply expressing one single stage of consciousness, however, the gender awareness of most men in this study seemed to reflect ambiguous or conflicting stages. The profiles of Bob, Eric, and Jeff demonstrate how these conflicts often created inner dissonance and contradictory expressions of gender awareness. Bob's personal needs for emotional expression and his emerging questions about his own behavior conflicted with powerful peer pressure to maintain a tough, invulnerable image and conform to sexist male group behavior. Although, in the context of the research interview, Bob was able to actively question his Acceptance stage attitudes and behaviors, he seemed to lack the conceptual and social support to develop an ongoing Resistance consciousness of the gender system. Eric's new peer group, residential staff, supported the development of his Resistance stage consciousness. At times, however, this conflicted with his previously held values and expectations, and his internalization of this new consciousness seemed inconsistent. Jeff's struggle to develop a non-conforming, anti-sexist male identity lacked the support of a peer group. In isolation from other men similarly engaged in the development of a Redefinition stage identity, his adaptations and self-absorption sometimes seem to reflect Acceptance consciousness.

The absence or presence of a supportive peer group seemed to be consistently significant for the development of gender consciousness among this group of college men. Peer group norms and values could reinforce the existing stage of consciousness, as with John and Mark, support the development of a new stage, as with Eric, or conflict with personal needs and values as with Bob and Jeff. In addition to the social support of a peer group, the conceptual framework explicitly

taught the anti-oppression resident assistant class was an important support for Eric and Mark's Resistance stage awareness.

The preceding presentation and analysis of several interview profiles placed the patterns of gender awareness identified in Section I of this chapter in a more complete, human context. The relationships between the gender awareness demonstrated in these profiles and the stages of male identity development was examined. The results indicate that although the different stages of consciousness are demonstrated, most respondents seemed to evidence combinations of stages, rather than single discrete stages. The following section describes how transcription coding was used to further analyze interview responses in relation to the male identity development model.

Transcription Coding and Quantitative Analysis

In order to continue this assessment of the relevance of this male identity development model to the data from this study the interview transcriptions were coded using categories suggested by this model. Each transcription was read to determine which hypothesized developmental stage (i.e. Acceptance, Resistance, Redefinition, Internalization*) best reflected the gender awareness being evidenced in each of two domains, awareness of male role strain (MRS), and awareness of male privilege and women's oppression (MP/WO).

These two domains were chosen because they reflected the two most significant aspects of male gender awareness as described in the literature, including the dissertation by Steve Schapiro (see Chapter II - The Review of the Literature). Schapiro explicitly describes his proposed domains of intrapersonal and interpersonal with men as primarily related to consciousness of male role strain, and his domains of interpersonal with women and societal as primarily related to consciousness of male privilege/women's oppression. In fact, although he hypothesizes these as four different domains, the majority of his theoretical and pedagogical analyses are described in terms of these "two key aspects of men's gender identity" (p. 153). For example, he describes development of the new male qualities of Androgyny and Autonomy as "liberation" from male role strain, while development of Awareness and Activism he associates with "anti-sexist" consciousness of male privilege and women's oppression. In the development of his pedagogical principles there is little differentiation between the

*The first stage, No Social Consciousness is left out based on the assumption that all college aged men have already been well socialized into the Acceptance stage.

goals of the intrapersonal and interpersonal with men domains, or between the goals of the interpersonal with women and the societal domains.

Each transcription was also read to determine the extent that each of the four qualities of the new male identity (i.e. androgyny, autonomy, awareness, activism) was present.

Coding for Identity Development Stages. The developmental stage coding guide (see Tables 3 and 4) was designed by this researcher, based on a synthesis of Schapiro's model of male identity development and Hardiman's model of general social identity development, to describe each stage within the two domains (male role strain, and male privilege/women's oppression). This was used to designate a primary (most evident) stage and possibly secondary stage in each domain for every interview transcription.

In both domains the same number of transcriptions were given a primary coding at each stage (stage 1 = 17, stage 2 = 12, stage 3 = 1, stage 4 = 0), although two transcriptions were coded as being at different stages in the two different domains. Outside reader raters (coding eleven of the transcriptions) identified the same primary stage 77% of the time (82% on the MRS domain, 73% on the MP/WO domain). In both domains most freshman/sophomores were coded at stage one (13 of 15 in MRS, 12 of 15 in MP/WO), while most juniors/seniors were coded as stage two or three (11 of 15 in MRS, 10 of 15 in MO/WO). Table 5 identifies the number of total transcriptions, freshman/sophomores, and juniors/seniors given a primary coding at each stage for both domains.

TABLE 3

Transcription Coding Guide: Male Role Strain

Stage 1: Acceptance

- consciously or unconsciously accepts traditional stereotypes about masculinity;
- values conformity to social expectations about appropriate male behavior;
- rejects or devalues attitudes and behavior in oneself and others that is not consistent with traditional male roles;

Stage 2: Resistance

- experiences discomfort and/or anger with socialized expectations of masculinity;
- questions personal and/or social health of rigid conformity to traditional masculinity;
- recognizes limitations, strain, and damage of rigid conformity to traditional masculinity on themselves and other men;
- conscious focus on rejection of traditional stereotypes about masculinity;

Stage 3: Redefinition

- focuses on need to develop positive masculinity independent of social stereotypes and expectations;
- interest in male history and role models that can contribute to pride in a male identity;
- recognizes need to share support with other men in order to develop a new, healthier male identity and culture;

Stage 4: Internalization

- incorporates new, redefined male identity into behaviors, goals, world views, etc.;
- recognizes and integrates male identity as one aspect of total identity;
- understanding and empathy for men who are at different stages of consciousness;

TABLE 4

Transcription Coding Guide: Male Privilege/Women's Oppression

Stage 1: Acceptance

- see themselves and other men as normal and superior;
- see themselves as unprejudiced or unimplicated in women's oppression;
- unaware of social condition of women;
- support or allow sexist jokes, comments, or actions;
- see women as responsible for their own condition;
- acts as "helper" or "rescuer" toward women;
- anger at women who are too demanding or who don't take advantage of help that is given to them;

Stage 2: Resistance

- see themselves as sexist, and as taught to be that way by male peers, family, and institutions;
- see sexism as woven into the social fabric of American society, and as not restricted to the practices of a few individuals;
- feel concern, compassion and awe toward women; understand their anger at men, and support their need to separate from men;
- confused about their roles and the role of other men in addressing this issue;
- feel guilty and angry at themselves, other men and society;
- verbally challenge and confront other men on their sexism;
- engage in self re-education and introspection;
- support the actions of feminist women, and work with them, when asked and when appropriate;
- re-educate themselves about the history of women and their struggles;

State 3: Redefinition

- aware of strengths and limitations of male history and culture;
- less attention is paid to women, more to men;
- see sexism in holistic sense: individual, societal, cultural;
- believes it is in male self-interest to eradicate sexism, and works to change male society based on that self-interest;
- desires to help other men redefine themselves;

Stage 4: Internalization

- aware of and concerned about other aspects of social identity and other social issues; work to educate selves about other social group memberships and other forms of oppression, and to change aspects of the social environment that are oppressive;
- see unaware men as victims of sexism also, and work to liberate such men from sexism and to transform male society based on new male identity;
- recognize that women and men have strengths to offer to humanity;
- work with women on issues of like concern;

TABLE 5

Frequencies of Primary Coding of Transcriptions for Each Male Identity Development Stage in Male Role Strain and Male Privilege/Women's Oppression Domains

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3
MRS Domain (total)	17	12	1
Freshman/Sophomores	13	2	0
Juniors/Seniors	4	10	1
MP/WO Domain (total)	17	12	1
Freshman/Sophomores	12	3	0
Juniors/Seniors	5	9	1

Analyses of variance were conducted between the primary transcription coding for male identity development stages and scores on the three questionnaires. Significant co-variance existed between transcription coding for awareness of the limitations and strains of masculinity (MRS domain) and scores on the modified Brannon Masculinity Scale (F probability = .012).

Co-variance between transcription coding for awareness of male privilege and women's oppression (MP/WO domain) and scores on the Women's Liberation Scale did not reach the significant level (F probability = .18). However, when combined primary and secondary transcription codings on the MP/WO domain were correlated with WLS scores a significant relationship was noted ($p=.004$).

Total scores on the Gender Role Conflict Scale did not co-vary with transcription coding for either MRS or MP/WO domains (F=.83 and .53 respectively). However, GRC factors Homophobia and Conflicts Between Work and Leisure/Family Relations did correlate significantly with

combined primary and secondary transcription coding on both domains, with the former decreasing and the latter increasing among the respondents whose transcriptions were coded at higher stages.

MRS domain coding demonstrated a significant relationship with Women's Liberation Scale scores ($F=.01$). MP/WO domain coding co-varied significantly with modified Brannon Masculinity Scale scores ($F=.03$).

As evidenced by the relationship between MP/WO domain coding and WLS scores, when combined primary and secondary transcription codings were used in this analysis the pattern of correlations between transcription coding and questionnaire scores was even stronger (see Table 6). The two domains were strongly correlated with each other ($p=.001$). This combined coding also demonstrated a significant covariance (MRS domain $F=.000$, with MP/WO domain $F=.006$) with education level (i.e. freshman/sophomores and juniors/seniors). Assuming that these combined primary and secondary codings followed an ordinal sequence of sub-stages (i.e. primary stage one/secondary stage one, primary stage one/secondary two, primary two/secondary one, etc.), when researcher coding was compared with outside reader codings 95% were within two sub-stages.

TABLE 6

Pearson Correlations Between Combined Primary and Secondary Transcription Codings in Both MRS and MP/WO Domains and Scores on the Mod-BMS, GRC, and WLS (* indicates inverse correlation)

	MRS Domain	MP/WO Domain
Mod-BMS	p=.002*	p=.002*
Status	p=.06*	p=.11*
Toughness	p=.031*	p=.013*
Anti-femininity	p=.001*	p=.001*
GRC	p=.312*	p=.336*
Success, Power, Competition Factor	p=.26*	p=.32*
Restrictive Emotionality	p=.49	p=.49*
Homophobia	p=.001*	p=.001*
Conflicts Between Work and Leisure	p=.001 (r=.61)	p=.002 (r=.50)
WLS	p=.002	p=.004

Coding for New Male Qualities. In addition to the coding for developmental stage in each of the two domains, the four qualities of the new male identity proposed Schapiro were used to code each interview transcription. Descriptions of Androgyny, Autonomy, Awareness, and Activism were derived from Schapiro's model and used to design a second transcription coding guide (see Table 7). Specific statements that reflected any of these qualities were identified and totalled for each transcription. This coding was compared with the stage coding, and the questionnaire scores.

The frequency of statements reflecting each of these qualities on the transcriptions varied widely among the respondents. Awareness was

TABLE 7

Transcription Coding Guide: New Male Qualities

ANDROGYNY: the balanced integration of stereotypical masculine and feminine characteristics. The ability to express any combination of these qualities:

- to express feelings;
- to pay attention to feelings in self and others, and accept them as a valid part of oneself;
- to touch and be touched by men and women without anxiety over the presence or absence of sexuality;
- to behave cooperatively;
- to accept and express the need to be dependent and to be nurtured;
- to value an identity that is not defined solely by work;
- to act in a masculine, feminine or integrated manner depending on the situation.

AUTONOMY: the liberation from any culturally imposed masculine roles or behaviors. Examples include being able

- to make self-directed choices about how to express oneself;
- to choose to behave or think in ways that contradict one's socialization and learned patterns of behavior.

AWARENESS: the social and political consciousness about how masculinity and sexism are institutionalized, about the relationship of masculinity to our socio-economic system, and about the changes necessary to create a more just and equitable society. Examples include an understanding of

- the privileges and benefits that men enjoy in this society;
- the costs to men of these benefits;
- how social institutions create, maintain, and reinforce sexist oppression;
- how traditional definitions of masculinity support and are supported by our socio-economic system;
- how one's own socialization has affected one's attitudes and behaviors in regard to sex roles;
- sexism's effects on women.

ACTIVISM: the commitment to struggle against sexism and other related forms of oppression and to struggle for what is seen as the required social and economic changes. Examples include

- to follow a personal lifestyle that is consistent with gender equity and is not oppressive to women;
- to work for social and institutional changes that will eliminate male dominance and create a more equitable society;
- to support women and other men in their efforts to change themselves and society;
- to work for the creation of a cooperative, non-hierarchical society.

the quality most often evidenced (mean = 4.8 statements/transcription), while the quality of Activism was least evident (mean = 1.0). Androgyny and Autonomy were identified with similar frequency (means = 2.6 and 2.5 respectively).

Outside reader codings of ten transcription for these new male qualities were compared with researcher codings. Qualities were coded at the identical frequency 40% of the time, within one (more or less) 65%, and within two 78% of the time. These relatively low correlations were attributed to the subjectivity of the coding process, and the ambiguous definitions of the qualities being coded.

Although mean scores of juniors/seniors for Androgyny, Awareness and Activism were higher than those for freshman/sophomores the difference was statistically significant only for Androgyny ($p=.02$). A high mean score for sophomores on Autonomy (4.3) eliminated almost all differences between freshman/sophomores and juniors/seniors for this quality. Respondents who had previous experience in a program on gender issues scored significantly higher on Androgyny, Awareness, and a combined Awareness/Activism score ($p=.01$, $.02$, and $.01$ respectively).

Pearson correlation coefficients comparing transcription coding of the four new male qualities with each other, identity development stages (combined primary and secondary coding), and the questionnaire scores are summarized in Table 8. Autonomy did not correlate significantly with any other quality. The other three qualities, however, were significantly correlated with each other. Activism had the most frequent significant correlations with other measures (9 of 15), while Awareness had the least (5 of 15).

The transcription coding scores for each of the four qualities of the proposed new male identity correlated with statistical significance

TABLE 8

Pearson Correlations Between Transcription Coding for New Male Qualities and Each Other, Coding for Male Identity Development Stages, and Questionnaire Scores (* indicates inverse correlations)

	Androgyny	Autonomy	Awareness	Activism
<u>Qualities</u>				
Androgyny	-----	p=.09	p=.03	p=.001
Autonomy	p=.09	-----	p=.31	p=.27
Awareness	p=.03	p=.31	-----	p=.002
<u>Stages</u>				
MRS Domain	p=.001	p=.01	p=.006	p=.001
MP/WO Domain	p=.001	p=.01	p=.009	p=.001
<u>Questionnaires</u>				
Mod-BMS Total	p=.14*	p=.009*	p=.19*	p=.02*
Status	p=.48*	p=.03*	p=.29*	p=.13*
Toughness	p=.42*	p=.21*	p=.21*	p=.10*
Anti-femininity	p=.002*	p=.001*	p=.25*	p=.002*
GRC Total	p=.15	p=.15*	p=.40	p=.45*
Success, Power, Competition	p=.14	p=.07*	p=.38	p=.33*
Restrictive Emotionality	p=.36	p=.47*	p=.31	p=.28
Homophobia	p=.02*	p=.03*	p=.03*	p=.009*
Work-Leisure Conflicts	p=.001	p=.13	p=.04	p=.02
WLS Total	p=.01	p=.03	p=.32	p=.008

with the transcription coding for stages of male identity development in both domains. This demonstrates that increased expression of each of these qualities is related to evidence of more developed consciousness about both male role strain and male privilege and women's oppression. However, the hypothesized relationships among Androgyny, Autonomy and the MRS domain, and among Awareness, Activism and the MP/WO domain were not demonstrated to be more significant than other relationships among these factors.

Scores on the modified Brannon Masculinity Scale demonstrated significant inverse correlations with the qualities of Autonomy and Activism, as well as with Androgyny on the Anti-femininity factor. Scores on the Women's Liberation Scale correlated with Androgyny, Autonomy, and Activism. Total scores on the Gender Role Conflict Scale did not correlate with any of the qualities. However, the Homophobia and Conflicts Between Work and Leisure/Family Relations factors once again demonstrated correlations independent of the total scale scores. They correlated significantly with all qualities, except for the latter factor and Autonomy. These two GRCS factors were the only questionnaire scores that correlated significantly with transcription coding for Awareness.

Summary of Transcription Coding and Quantitative Analysis. In this final part of Section II the coding of interview transcriptions based on two sets of categories from Schapiro's model of male identity development, stages of identity development, and new male qualities was described. This coding provided the basis for a quantitative analysis comparing these categories with each other and the questionnaire scores in order to assess the validity of this model in relation to this sample

of respondents, and to further identify patterns of consciousness among the participants of this study.

Transcription coding for identity development stages indicated that most respondents were at the first two stages (Acceptance or Resistance) in terms of both awareness of male role strain, and awareness of male privilege and women's oppression. Freshman and sophomores were mostly at Acceptance, while juniors and seniors were more often at Resistance. This is consistent with the significant differences between questionnaire scores of freshman/sophomores and juniors/seniors (see Section I). In fact, this transcription coding correlated significantly with the scores on the modified Brannon Masculinity Scale, the Women's Liberation Scale, and two of the four factors on the Gender Role Conflict Scale, providing support for the validity of this coding.

No evidence was found that the two hypothesized domains of consciousness, male role strain, and male privilege and women's oppression, developed independently of each other. MRS and MP/WO codings were highly correlated, and their correlations with questionnaire scores and coding for new male qualities was the same.

Transcription coding for each of the four new male qualities was significantly correlated with the coding for stages of identity development in both domains, indicating convergent validity between these measures. However, contrary to the assumption of the Schapiro model, there was no evidence that any of these qualities was more closely associated with development in one domain than another. The strongest relationship among the four qualities was between Androgyny and Activism, in contrast to the hypothesized connection between Androgyny and Autonomy, and Awareness and Activism.

Awareness of the socio-economic inequities of sexism, the new male quality most frequently evidenced by respondents, did not correlate with expressed support for women's rights (WLS scores). However, it was significantly correlated with androgynous self-descriptions (Androgyny) and anti-sexist actions (Activism). This points out the ambiguous, inconsistent nature of awareness. Verbal expressions of awareness could range from superficial or rote statements perceived as socially or politically required, to reflections of deeper commitments to personal and social change.

Although autonomy from culturally imposed masculinity was the only quality not significantly correlated with any of the others, it did demonstrate strong correlations with other measures of gender awareness (MRS and MP/WO coding, and WLS, mod-BMS, and Homophobia scores). As with Awareness, this ambiguity may reflect the vagueness of definition or multiple meanings of this quality.

As with previous analyses of the Gender Role Conflict Scale (i.e. correlations with education level, with WLS, and with stages of identity development), total scale scores were not significant. However, the Homophobia and Conflicts Between Work and Leisure/Family Relations factors again demonstrated important relationships, correlating significantly with all four new male qualities (except for the latter factor and Autonomy).

Conclusions from this quantitative analysis need to be approached with caution for two reasons. First, the small sample size leaves the validity of the statistical analysis open to question. When comparing sub-groups within the sample (e.g. education level) the numbers became so small that a few individual variations can significantly influence the results (for example, the high score of a few sophomores on

Autonomy). Second, the coding of interview transcriptions is highly subjective. Coding open-ended self-report interviews using category indicators that can be vague and ambiguous relies heavily on individual interpretation. The personal perspectives and consciousness of the reader will influence her/his coding. Variations between transcription codings done by this researcher and by outside readers reflect these potential discrepancies.

Summary: Comparison of Interview Data with Schapiro's Model of Male Gender Consciousness

What are the relationships between the gender consciousness among this group of college men and the model of male identity development proposed by Schapiro?

After reviewing the male identity development model proposed by Steven Schapiro (1985), the results of qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis used to respond to this research question were reported in this section.

The patterns of gender consciousness expressed in the interview transcriptions (see Section I) appeared consistent with the Acceptance and Resistance (and occasionally Redefinition) stages of the model. Coding of interview transcriptions based on the identity development stages correlated significantly with most of the questionnaire scores, providing convergent validation of this model. As on the questionnaires, juniors and seniors were coded at significantly higher developmental stages than freshman and sophomores.

Analysis of complete interview transcriptions revealed that most of the research participants demonstrated multiple, often contradictory stages of male identity development. Profiles of five respondents illustrating this range and complexity of gender consciousness were presented and analyzed.

Throughout the interviews the absence or presence of a strong peer group emerged as a significant influence in the development of male gender consciousness. Male peer group norms and values often were experienced as supporting Acceptance stage identity. Although some men seemed to embrace this frame of reference with little or no conflict, many described discomfort with or disapproval of the peer pressure. Men who were beginning to recognize the personal and/or social costs of this identity experienced conflicts between their personal needs and values and those of their peer group. Frequently, however, no alternative peer support system was available to these men. As a result, they suppressed and distanced themselves from the contradictions.

An important exception to this were respondents who were resident assistants. As part of their job these men became part of a large peer group with explicit anti-sexist norms and values. A required three credit class providing a conceptual framework consistent with Resistance stage consciousness was part of the early training for this group. Although these men also evidenced aspects of an Acceptance identity, the support of this alternative peer group gave them more confidence and consistency in their expression of Resistance stage consciousness.

These findings support Schapiro's suggestion that men's entire gender consciousness may not be totally congruent or consistent. Simultaneous expression of different stages of consciousness could be evidence of a man in the process of transition between stages, of the contradictions inherent within one particular stage of development, or of the fact that these stages are issue and situation specific and cannot be generalized to a global measure of gender consciousness.

Schapiro hypothesized separate domains within which male identity could develop at different rates. Transcription coding and analysis was

conducted based on two domains and four related new male qualities derived from his model (male role strain and male privilege/women's oppression). No evidence was found for development occurring in either of these domains independently of the other. Contrary to the model, Androgyny, Autonomy and the MRS domain, and Awareness, Activism and the MP/WO domain were not more closely related to each other. Strong correlations between each of the two domains, and between the domains and each of the new male qualities indicated that more development in any one of these was related to more development in the others.

Transcription coding for each of the new male qualities demonstrated that they were ambiguously related to other measures of gender consciousness. Although it was most frequently expressed in the interviews, Awareness was not consistently related to other measures of anti-sexism. Autonomy was the only quality not significantly correlated with the other three, suggesting that this reflects a quality that develops independently of the others. Of the four qualities, Androgyny and Activism demonstrated the strongest correlations with each other. The former, however, did not correlate with the total scores on either the mod-BMS or the GRCS. Activism was the most highly correlated with the other measures, however, it was the least evident among the men interviewed.

These findings indicate that the gender consciousness among this group of men was consistent with several stages of the male identity development model. No evidence was found for independent development in separate domains, or of new male qualities developing in different relationship to each domain. Value conflicts arising from the influence of different peer groups, stage transitions, or the contradictions inherent within a particular developmental stage may be more accurate

frameworks for understanding different configurations of gender consciousness than separate domains.

Comparisons of Data from Black and White Participants

Differences and similarities in gender awareness between the Black men and White men in this study was the focus of the last research question. For the final section of this chapter on data analysis, questionnaire scores, transcription coding, and interview responses of these two groups were compared to assess the extent that this racial difference might influence male gender consciousness.

Of the thirty college men who participated in this study 10 were Black and 20 were White. Half of each group were freshman or sophomores, and half were juniors or seniors. All of the five Black juniors/seniors were resident assistants with previous experience in a program on gender issues. Five of the 10 White juniors/seniors had previous experience, and three of these were resident assistants. None of the Black or White freshman/sophomores had previous experience. Black and White respondents had a similar range of academic majors. Although the two groups had a similar mean grade point average (Black = 2.5, White = 2.8), eight White men and no Black men reported their GPA as 3.0 or above.

Four of the Black respondents (40%) reported that they grew up in single parent (mother) families. Two of the White respondents (10%) grew up in single parent families, one with his mother and one with his father. All of the mothers of the Black respondents were working out of the home. Thirteen White respondents (65%) identified their mothers as working, while seven (35%) said they were housewives or unemployed. Black respondents reported the income of their parents (averaging less than \$30-\$40,000) as significantly lower ($p=.03$), than White men (averaging more than \$40-\$50,000).

Comparison of Questionnaire Scores

Although the Black men averaged higher (i.e. more traditional) scores (mean = 90) than White men (mean = 85) on the modified Brannon Masculinity Scale, and lower (more supportive of women's rights) scores (mean = 80) than White men (mean = 85) on the Women's Liberation Scale, these differences were not statistically significant. The difference between scores on the Gender Role Conflict Scale (Black mean = 139, White mean = 122) approached statistical significance ($p=.068$), suggesting generally higher gender role conflict among the Black students than the White students.

In order to identify the specific areas of difference on these questionnaires, an analysis of variance comparing responses to each individual test item was conducted. Items that were significantly different statistically ($p=.05$) between the two groups on the mod-BMS indicated that Black respondents agreed more than White respondents that a man should not accept a job as secretary, always be logical, and "stand on his own two feet, and never depend on other people." On the other hand, significantly more White men agreed that "A real man enjoys a bit of danger now and then."

Four items on the GRCS related to the Success, Power, Competition factor were significantly different, indicating that the Black men felt stronger than the White men about the importance of competing, winning, moving up the "career ladder", and being more successful than others. They also agreed more strongly that "Expressing my emotions to other men is risky," and "Overwork and stress caused by a need to achieve in school affects/hurts my life."

On the WLS White respondents expressed stronger support for a woman's right to decide if she should conceive children, and stronger

disagreement with "A man has a right to expect to have sex with a woman after he has paid for an expensive date."

Although no overall differences in questionnaire scores between the White men and Black men in this study was identified, one important trend did emerge from test item analysis. Eight of the 12 items that had statistically significant differences in scores between these two groups were related to competition, achievement, status, and career success, with the Black men scoring higher. The effects of racism in our society on the relative achievement orientation of Black men and White men is one likely explanation for this difference. Black men may need to emphasize these qualities and values more than White men in order to overcome the additional obstacles to their personal and social advancement created by the racial prejudices and discrimination of the dominant White society. This may be especially true for Black college men who have successfully surmounted some of these obstacles, while continuing to face the challenges of achievement within a predominantly White institution.

Comparison of Transcription Coding

No differences between White and Black men were identified in transcription coding for stages of consciousness. Mean scores for both the male role strain, and male privilege and women's oppression domains were practically identical.

Comparison of transcription coding for the four new male qualities indicated similar mean scores for Androgyny and Activism. The Black men had higher mean scores for Awareness, while the White men had higher mean scores for Autonomy. However, none of these differences reached statistical significance.

Comparison of Interview Responses

Of the 20 White men interviewed four (20%) made some spontaneous reference to their experience in terms of race. Two simply acknowledged their race privilege at the same time that they reflected on their advantages as men.

You're just considered superior all-around, I think, in a lot of ways, you know, as a man. I would say a White man [James].

It just seems like everything comes easier because I'm young, White, Aryan, male, and I don't feel any prejudices against me [Stan].

Two White respondents mentioned the relationship of their ethnicity to gender identity. One man described how he has developed different attitudes than his father, who was from Italy.

Maybe it's a cultural thing. I don't want to make excuses for him, but he has different views....A woman has a role, it's in the home, and he's in control, and that's it. And my mother's a very happy woman in the roles she's in [James].

Another man said that he always had been emotional, "I got the Mediterranean blood flowing through my veins....We did a lot of screaming, you know, we let it all out" [Vincent].

Only one White man discussed in more depth his thoughts about race, racism, and his White male identity. This senior, who was also a resident assistant, struggled to reconcile his understanding of racism and sexism with his desire to be proud of "what I am and who I am."

Just to say that I'm proud to be a White male might be hard for some people to handle....Yeah I'm White, yeah a lot of people that look like me are oppressors. Yeah, but there's also groups that are oppressed that oppress others....White males are not the only people are oppressing people....I have a lot of close Black friends, and they can be a lot more oppressive than I can be....Hell yeah, we got a lot of racists, and a lot of sexists, and a lot of anti-Semites, but for the most part, you can't condemn the whole god damn race [Mike].

It appears that in order to maintain a positive White male identity this man needed to rationalize and distance himself from responsibility for the unjust social relationships inherent in this identity.

In their responses to the interview questions 9 of the 10 Black men (90%) made some reference to race. Two of these men described the effects of growing up in a multi-racial context.

They called us the United Nations....Hang with people of different backgrounds and stuff like that, you know, you kind of learn, common sense of how things go, how other people think....I lived in an all Black neighborhood, but I went to an all White school. So that was, you know, a big culture shock. I feel it was important for me especially, I had to know who I was, because I couldn't be one or the other, I had to be myself [Emmett].

Three of the Black men (33%), compared to one White man (5%), described the influence of their mothers on their respect for women's strength and support for women's equality.

She was able to keep the family together. She was able to work, take care of the home, and do a lot of the things that I felt, and I still feel are very strong characteristics. And it just contradicted what I thought a woman was supposed to be [Robert].

Many of the Black respondents described rules for men that they thought were especially significant for Black men. Several observed that a rule for Black men was to "have at least two or three women." Others talked about the pressure to be a positive Black male role model (for example, see profile #3: "Eric" in Section II). One man said that, since Black college men are looked upon as leaders of the Black community, they are expected to

show no emotions or little emotions to the women that they interact with...because they feel that people would judge them as having no backbone, and not really being a man if they're gonna show all of these emotions....You should be able to take care of business [Robert].

Several men described a strong feeling of competition with other Black men for achievement, status, and women.

Although these seem similar to the rules for men identified by the White respondents the influence of racism, and the small size of the Black student community made the social context for these rules quite different. Black respondents described a sense of visibility, where everybody knows and watches everybody else. One man suggested that, because of this, sexual aggression toward women is not as much of a problem among Black students as White students. "Say I made an advancement, a strong advancement toward so and so. Everybody would know about it" [Kevin].

As a result of this context of racism and the small size of the Black community, the role of the fraternity was different for Black men than for White men. Membership in a fraternity for White men in this study was strongly related to traditional attitudes toward masculinity, and less developed consciousness about male role strain and about male privilege/women's oppression. On the other hand, fraternity membership for Black men was not related to gender consciousness.

They teach you like to respect, like say if you have any animosities towards...homophobia, they teach you to respect them as men, as opposed to saying, wow, he's gay, I don't want to associate with him. Just to respect everybody as a man, as an individual [Kevin].

Several respondents explicitly described the effects of racism on their experience as Black men. "Me being a Black man, I have to prove myself twice as hard as opposed to a White man my age and qualities" (24). "I've had people who were good friends with me, who I hang out with, call me nigger when they're drunk" (28).

Six men compared the effects of sexism with the effects of racism. "That could be true for a different race." "It's just like discriminating against color." "Just as you think there's a class in

male and female, there's still a class in Black and White." "It's like a lot of the advantages and disadvantages of being Black."

One man (see profile #4: "Mark" in Section II) reflected in more depth on the effects of a combined Black identity and male identity. He qualified his discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of being a man saying that it was hard for him to talk about gender and not about race. He contrasted some of the "advantages for being a man" with his experience as a "minority", and recognized similarities between his experience and that of women.

I would like to say they [men] are not under the spotlight to perform and everything as much as women. But as a minority I feel that way too, like, you know, a role model, and there's that added pressure to do well in whatever you do, because you are setting an example, and if you screw up it's a reflection on people following you.... So for me to say some of the advantages I think I have as a man I think are in turn limited because I'm a Black man.

Summary: Comparisons of Data from Black and White Participants

What are the differences and similarities between the gender awareness of the Black men and White men in this study?

Coding of the interview transcriptions indicated that both the White and Black men demonstrated a similar range of consciousness of male role strain and consciousness of male privilege and women's oppression, as well as relatively similar frequencies in their expression of the four new male qualities. Similar degrees of support for traditional masculinity and women's rights between these two groups were evidenced by scores on the modified Brannon Masculinity Scale and the Women's Liberation Scale.

White men expressed less agreement than Black men with several questionnaire items related to achievement, competition, and success. The hypothesis that this may be an effect of racism is supported by

Black men's comments about their need to work twice as hard to prove themselves, and to be a positive Black role model.

In the verbal interviews racial identity and racism were much more likely to be conscious points of reference for the Black respondents than the White respondents in the expression of their gender awareness. The White men rarely identified race as a significant context for their gender experience, while the Black men frequently compared societal attitudes about gender differences with those related to race differences. The ability to use their awareness of racism to understand the realities of sexism may have been responsible for the somewhat greater evidence of the new male quality Awareness in the transcriptions of the Black respondents.

Although the rules for masculinity for both White and Black men appeared to be similar, the different conscious or unconscious context of race and racism seemed to influence the experiences and responses of these two groups. The pervasive awareness of interpersonal and institutional racism, the small size of the Black community on campus, and the influence of Black culture created much of the psychological and social context for the Black men's development of a male identity. In contrast, the assumptions of normalcy and privilege implicit in contemporary White racial identity seemed to confirm and reinforce those same assumptions of male identity creating a psychological and social context of entitlement and lack of self-consciousness.

Summary of Chapter IV

In Chapter IV data from this interview study was presented and analyzed in three sections corresponding to the three primary research questions. As a summary for this chapter, findings relative to each of these questions will be presented.

Research Question 1

What patterns of consciousness about male role strain and about male privilege/women's oppression are evidenced among this group of undergraduate college men?

- 1) Most men were aware of at least some aspects of male role strain and male privilege/women's oppression.
- 2) Differences in gender consciousness among this group of men mostly reflected the extent that they found this awareness personally problematic or significant. Some minimized or rationalized problems they identified. For others this awareness created dissonance and motivated personal re-evaluation of, and sometimes changes in, attitudes, values, and behaviors.
- 3) Men often demonstrated critical gender consciousness in relation to some aspects of traditional masculinity while consciously or unconsciously accepting other aspects. Sometimes the same issues would elicit seemingly contradictory responses at different times.
- 4) Freshman and sophomore men were significantly more traditional in attitudes toward masculinity, and less conscious of male role strain and male privilege/women's oppression than junior and senior men. This comparison was especially significant for the measures of homophobia and toughness. Other comparisons were somewhat confounded by the influence on many of the juniors/seniors of previous experience in educational programs on gender issues.

- 5) Men with previous experience in gender issues programs were significantly more aware and critical of male role strain and male privilege/women's oppression than the men without this experience. The former also had significantly higher levels of role strain related to conflicts between work and leisure or family relations.

Research Question 2

What are the relationships between the gender consciousness demonstrated by these men and the male identity development model proposed by Steven Schapiro (1985)?

- 1) The validity of these stages as a sequence in the development of male gender consciousness was strongly supported by the significant correlations of transcription coding based on these stages with other measures of respondents' gender consciousness, and the recollections of personal changes described by respondents.
- 2) Reliability of these stages as an objective measure of male gender consciousness was moderately supported by correlations with coding by outside readers.
- 3) No evidence was found that gender consciousness develops independently in two separate domains. High correlations between measures of awareness of male role strain and of male privilege/women's oppression suggested that development in one of these domains is strongly related to development in the other.
- 4) The relationships of the four new male qualities, as proposed by Schapiro, to each other (Androgyny:Autonomy, and Awareness:Activism), and to domains of consciousness (Androgyny/Autonomy: male role strain, and Awareness/Activism: male privilege/women's oppression) were not supported. The presence of all of these qualities were significantly correlated with more

development in both domains. A significant relationship was also demonstrated between the presence of the two behaviorally oriented qualities (Androgyny and Activism).

- 5) Most of the men in this study demonstrated a gender consciousness consistent with the Acceptance or Resistance stages in this model.
- 6) Peer and social support was predominantly reinforcing for Acceptance stage consciousness. Men developing Resistance or Redefinition consciousness were often isolated from similar support, especially from other men in these stages.
- 7) Inconsistent and ambivalent gender consciousness reflecting contradictory stages was frequently demonstrated. Explanations for this finding include the prevalence of stage transitions among these men, the significance of contradictions within a particular stage, and different expressions of gender consciousness related to different issues or situations. Further elaboration of the male identity development model to more explicitly account for this is needed.

Research Question 3

What are the similarities and differences between the gender consciousness of the Black men and the White men in this study?

- 1) The gender consciousness of the Black men and White men, as reflected in the measures used in this study, was predominantly similar.
- 2) Quantitative differences were most apparent on items related to achievement, competition, and success. The Black men placed greater emphasis on the significance of these items than the White men.

3) For Black men racial identity and racism were frequently part of the explicit context for their gender consciousness. White men rarely referred to race or ethnicity in relation to their experience of masculinity.

C H A P T E R V

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study, to document and analyze the gender consciousness of undergraduate college men, has been pursued in the preceding chapters of this dissertation. In the Introduction, the need for an accurate understanding of men's actual, subjective experiences and perspectives was presented. The three research questions were stated along with a discussion of their social and research contexts. A discussion of the significance of the study, and definitions of important terms was also included.

In Chapter Two several social/psychological perspectives on masculinity were reviewed, and then compared with perspectives on Black masculinity. Directions toward a multi-cultural perspective on masculinities were suggested. Theories of male identity development were presented and Schapiro's model was described as a comprehensive hypothesis needing more empirical validation. Finally, literature related to masculinity and gender consciousness among college men was reviewed.

Chapter Three described the details of the design of this study, including the selection and demographics of respondents, methods of data collection and analysis, and the research limitations.

In Chapter Four the results of the data collection and analysis were reported in response to each research question. Quantitative and qualitative data were used to describe participants' patterns of gender consciousness, relationships to Schapiro's male identity development model, and similarities and differences between White and Black respondents.

In this concluding chapter, the findings presented in Chapter Four will be discussed in relation to a developing understanding of male gender consciousness. Implications for Schapiro's model of male identity development, as well as for consciousness-raising education for social change, will be examined. The significance of the research methods used in this study will be assessed, and recommendations for future research on men's gender consciousness and male identity development will be presented.

Toward an Appreciation of Male Gender Consciousness

In this study interviews with thirty college men were conducted to develop a more accurate and sensitive understanding of the ways that men experience and perceive the influence of gender on their lives. Perhaps the most significant observation from this study was the differences among the men who were interviewed. Not only were they different in sizes, shapes, backgrounds, races, and areas of interest, but they also had different values, attitudes, and beliefs about gender. No single image of a college man could be used to describe these men. No stereotype of the gender consciousness of college men could accurately reflect their diverse realities.

Almost uniformly, however, these men recognized a similar set of male role norms that existed as implicit or explicit social standards for many aspects of individual and group behavior. These norms for masculinity impacted men's attitudes and behaviors towards themselves, other men, and women. Significant peer pressure to subordinate expression of personal needs, feelings, and values to conformity to these norms was described by most of the men interviewed. For some men the norms and peer pressure was perceived as natural, inevitable, and

appropriate. Most, however, identified conflicts between individuality and pressure to conform to the social norms of masculinity. A variety of responses to these conflicts was documented, including minimization, the denial or suppression of feelings, social withdrawal and isolation, rebellion, self-assertion, and association with a new peer group.

The subordination of a diversity of masculine expression to the norms of a culturally dominant, "hegemonic" masculinity is consistent with the theory of masculinity described by Carrigan, Connell, and Lee, 1987 (see Chapter II, page 36). In this "new sociology of masculinity" inter-male and intra-male domination, based on conformity to this hegemonic form of masculinity, is recognized as intrinsic to the system of sexism. Men whose personal or cultural masculinity does not conform do not receive the same power and privileges (Pleck, 1977; Carrigan, Connell, and Lee, 1987; Sabo, 1987). The evidence among the Black men in this study of higher male role strain (as measured by the Gender Role Conflict Scale), especially in relation to success, competition, status issues, seems to support this hypothesis.

The relationship between awareness of male role strain and awareness of male privilege and women's oppression implicit in this theory was supported by the high correlations between these two aspects of male gender role consciousness found in this study. Men who were more aware of the limitations of the socially imposed norms of masculinity on men, and who supported the development of a more liberated, androgynous male identity, were likely also to be more aware of the discrimination, devaluation, and abuse directed towards women, and to support anti-sexist social reform. Conversely, more developed male consciousness about sexism was paralleled by more consciousness about the related damage to men.

Two of the most significant factors related to differences in the gender consciousness of the men interviewed for this study were peer group association and year in school. Men who supported more traditional male norms were more likely to be associated with peer groups such as fraternities that reinforced these norms. Men who expressed a more non-traditional gender consciousness were more often embedded in a peer network, such as a residential staff group, that reinforced this perceptual framework.

Juniors and seniors were consistently more non-traditional in their expressions of gender consciousness than freshman and sophomores. This can be understood in terms of relative amounts of exposure to the college experience, the development of new cognitive structures, and the effects of including students in the sample who had previous experience in programs on gender issues. Men of all ages described the college experience as increasing their gender consciousness by exposing them to a broad range of people and ideas. The more extended college experience of the older students, therefore, may be one reason for their greater awareness.

These differences in gender consciousness also may be one manifestation of fundamental structural transformations in intellectual development (Block, 1973; Pleck, 1976). Differences observed in gender consciousness between younger and older students in this study are consistent with William Perry's (1970) research on the forms of intellectual and ethical development in the college years. Among the mostly male students in his four year longitudinal interview study of Harvard undergraduates, he documented a sequence of epistemological perspectives, developing from dualism, through relativism to the evolution of "commitment in the context of relativism". From dualistic

perspectives the world is seen in terms of polarities (i.e. right and wrong) based on obedience and conformity to established, traditional authorities. With the development of relativism a multiplicity of perspectives are perceived as legitimate. The final stages reflect personal commitment to acting from particular perspectives in the context of acknowledging a diversity of opinions.

This scheme of development is supported by the differences in gender consciousness evidenced between the freshman/sophomores and juniors/seniors in this study. The younger students were more frequently embedded in the dualism of gender differences. Conformity to the dichotomies of traditional gender roles was accepted as required obedience to social authority. The perspective of relativism was frequently evidenced by students of various ages. Although they demonstrated awareness of male role strain and women's oppression, the acceptance of multiple opinions by men from this perspective left them with little motivation for expressing a strong position challenging the status quo of male norms. Commitment to developing an explicitly non-traditional, anti-sexist masculinity was expressed more consistently by older students.

The relatively large number of juniors and seniors with previous experience in a program on gender issues is a third factor likely to have contributed to the significant differences in gender consciousness between this group and the group of freshman and sophomores. Of the 15 juniors/seniors 10 had previous experience, 8 of whom were resident assistants who had completed the required course in issues of oppression. Data analysis demonstrated that most of the significant differences in gender consciousness between the two age groups as indicated by the measures in this study (with the exception of

Homophobia on the GRCS and Toughness on the mod-BMS) could be attributed to this group of men with previous experience.

Any conclusions from this data analysis must be approached cautiously, because of the small size of these comparison groups. If nothing more, however, these results demonstrate that participation in educational programs on sexism did promote greater awareness of male role strain and male privilege/women's oppression for these male students. In addition, the formal and informal network among Resident Life staff was a source of peer support for these attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that conflicted with social norms for masculinity.

Implications for a Model of Male Identity Development

This study provided an opportunity to compare Schapiro's (1985) model of male identity development to phenomenological evidence of male gender consciousness. Specifically, three aspects of this model were examined in relation to the data from this research, the stages of identity development, the domains in which that development occurs, and the new male qualities toward which development progresses.

Stages of Male Identity Development

The sequence of Acceptance, Resistance, and Redefinition stages of this model was supported by the high correlations between the coding of transcriptions using these stages, and scores on the modified Brannon Masculinity Scale, and the Women's Liberation Scale. In other words, men whose gender consciousness was identified as consistent with Resistance or Redefinition stages of development were progressively more likely to disapprove of traditional male norms, and to support issues related to women's rights than men coded at the Acceptance stage. The

sequence of stages was also supported by their relationship in this study to respondents' year in school and previous experience in a program on gender issues (i.e. older, more experienced students demonstrated later stages of development than younger students and those without experience). Recollections of respondents about the changes in their own gender consciousness further validated the progression of these stages of development. These findings suggest that these categories can be used to identify sequential stages in the developmental of male gender consciousness.

Closer examination of interview transcriptions, however, indicated that patterns of gender consciousness usually reflected multiple, often conflicting stages, rather than single consistent ones. For example, Resistance stage consciousness on some topics did not preclude expression of Acceptance stage consciousness on other topics, or even on the same topic at different times. A different data gathering approach that limited participants' responses to comparisons among predetermined identity development stages might have resulted in more easily established, discrete stage identification (see research by Jackson, 1976, on Black identity development). However, the intention of this study was to provide a more inductive assessment of the identity development model relative to a broader scope of men's gender consciousness.

The resulting evidence of multiple levels of gender consciousness is consistent with an understanding of development as a dialectical process where conflicts and contradictions are the source of developmental change, the result of transitions between stages, and part of the process of extending new perceptual frameworks to new areas of experience (Piaget, 1971; Hefner, et al., 1975). This is also

consistent with Schapiro's (1985) suggestion that men may develop at different rates within various domains of gender consciousness.

Domains of Identity Development

For the purposes of this study, the four domains of gender consciousness proposed by Schapiro were combined into two that he suggests are "the two key facets of men's consciousness and identity" (p. 324), awareness of male role strain, and awareness of male privilege and women's oppression. Consistently high correlations in this study between the measures for these two domains (coding for identity development stages, questionnaire scores, and coding for new male qualities), however, did not support Schapiro's hypothesis that development could happen at different rates in each area. Instead, this finding supported the theory, described above, that the development of male gender consciousness in these two domains is closely related. These conclusions, however, may be limited by the small size of the sample, the subjectivity of transcription coding, and/or inadequate definition and elaboration of stages and domains.

New Male Qualities

After assessing the gender consciousness of male students before and after participating in his "Men and Masculinity" course Schapiro concluded that the curriculum promoted greater changes in levels of Autonomy and Awareness than Androgyny and Activism. He suggests one explanation for this is that changes in consciousness (evidenced by Autonomy and Awareness) precede changes in behavior (evidenced by Androgyny and Activism). Some support for this hypothesis is found in the present study. Awareness was the quality most frequently expressed by respondents, while Activism was least frequently demonstrated. Of

the four new male qualities Androgyny and Activism had the strongest pattern of correlations with each other. Also similar to Schapiro's findings was the observation in this study that Awareness and Activism was evidenced mostly in individual and interpersonal terms.

Unlike Schapiro's results, however, previous experience in programs on gender issues was related to significantly higher scores on Androgyny and Activism, as well as Awareness. Ambiguity in defining and measuring these qualities may have contributed to these differences of findings. For example, there seemed to be confusion between the new male quality, Autonomy, and the independence of traditional masculinity. Men in this study often described themselves as independent of the need to conform to the traditional norms of masculinity. This was identified as Autonomy. However, this frequently seemed more a traditional reflexive assertion of self-reliance than a reflection of a genuine conscious liberation from male norms. The use of self-report to measure behavior (Androgyny and Activism) is also open to question (Goldberg, Katz, Rappoport, 1979; Schapiro, 1985). The lack of significant correlation between Awareness and scores on the Women's Liberation Scale also raises questions about the measure of this "new male quality" that was most frequently identified among the men in this study.

The Male Identity Development Model Revisited

The analysis of gender consciousness in this study suggests several elaborations of the model of male identity development proposed by Schapiro. Figure I outlines a revision of this model based on these suggestions.

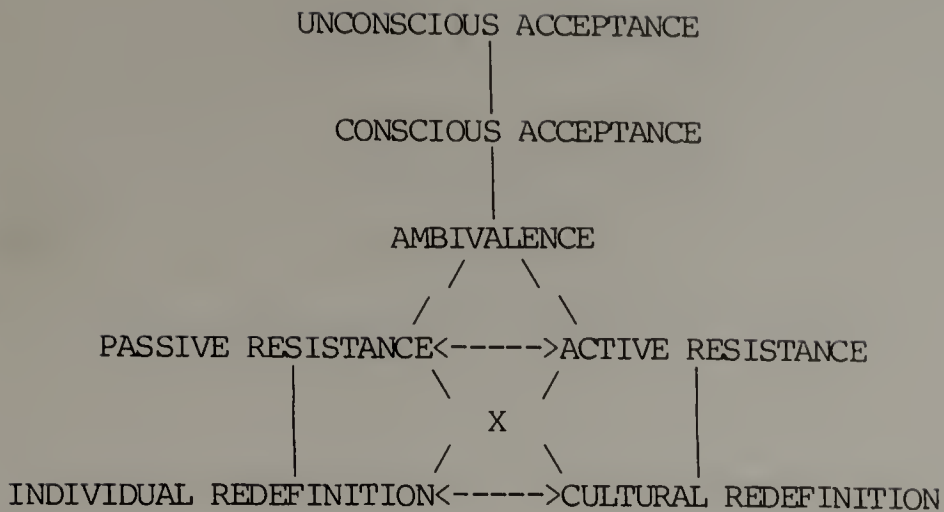


FIGURE 2

Revised Male Identity Development Model

In their description of a generic "oppression/liberation development model" Jackson and Hardiman (1982) propose that each stage of consciousness has entry, adopted, and exit substages. In this "transitional flow from one stage to another, the stage would be viewed as actually overlapping" (p.16), and "a person or group may appear to themselves and to others to be in two stages simultaneously" (p. 15). This concept is consistent with the evidence from this study, and is used in the revised male identity development model presented above to delineate the three initial stages as demonstrated in this research.

In Unconscious Acceptance men unreflectively accept the socially defined norms for masculinity. They deny or ignore negative effects of the gender system for men and for women. Through exposure to information, experiences with women, and self-reflection men usually begin to recognize some of the harmful and limiting effects.

In Conscious Acceptance, however, these problems are minimized, rationalized, and depersonalized in order to be accommodated into one's

existing concepts of oneself and one's world. Awareness is limited to specific, relatively unrelated issues (i.e. job discrimination for women, restrictions on men's crying), rather than as part of a complex social and psychological system with significant personal implications. A philosophy of individualism and relativism is often used to distance themselves from the problems, and maintain an autonomous sense of identity. Personal and societal support systems reinforce conformity to male norms. There is little need or motivation experienced to develop any personal responses to these issues.

Increasingly significant personal confrontations, however, can create a more sustained state of Ambivalence for some men. Challenges to traditional masculinity from new reference groups, close relationships with women, a heightened sense of moral responsibility, or experiences of personal limitations produce an increasing sense of dissonance and conflict. Responses are often inconsistent and contradictory. Sometimes this ambivalence can be resolved, at least temporarily, by returning to the psychological and social frameworks of Conscious Acceptance. However, as the challenges persist, and awareness of the personal implications of the gender system develops, the constructs of the previous stage are eroded, and a new set of personal responses are demanded.

When men shift their concept of themselves from being in conformity to being in opposition to socially defined masculinity they have entered the Resistance stage of identity development. They develop a critical perspective on men, and their role in perpetuating the system of sexism that oppresses women and damages men. They support the personal and social "deconstruction" of masculinity.

In Jackson and Hardiman's model (1982) this stage has two possible manifestations, Active Resistance and Passive Resistance. The men in this study who demonstrated Resistance stage consciousness seemed to fit on a continuum between these two poles. Various degrees of withdrawal, isolation, and powerlessness, characteristics of Passive Resistance, were most frequently expressed by men to the awareness of this stage. Although many men described instances of activism, these were usually individual examples of interpersonal or small group interventions. There were no descriptions of systematic activism, actions directed at institutional structures, or resistance organized in the context of a support group. Most men seemed to develop their gender consciousness in this stage in isolation from other men. Traditional vehicles for inter-male support were no longer helpful or acceptable, and no alternative structures were readily available. Without this kind of support, however, systematic and sustained Active Resistance did not seem possible.

The conflicts between the critical perspective on men of the Resistance stage and the need to develop a positive personal and cultural male identity can stimulate the emergence of Redefinition stage consciousness. Out of a deepening awareness of the interconnections between sexism and male role strain, and an appreciation of the stages in their own male identity development, men in this stage develop a more sympathetic perspective on men. They seek to reconstruct a masculinity outside of the limitations of traditional masculinity, and in contradiction to the systemic oppression of women.

Although evidence of this stage among the men in this study was relatively limited, this author proposes that, within the Redefinition stage, male gender consciousness can be expressed on a continuum between

Individual Redefinition and Cultural Redefinition. Individual Redefinition is the conscious cultivation of a personal male identity grounded in the genuine expression of an individuality liberated from the constraints of socially determined male norms, and committed to the development of egalitarian relationships with women. Cultural redefinition is the intentional creation of new cultural models of liberated, anti-sexist masculinity based on the collective visions and actions of groups of changing men. Most examples of Redefinition consciousness from this study reflected relatively isolated instances of men affirming a positive individual male identity through the development of autonomous, androgynous, and/or non-sexist qualities. As with Active Resistance, the development of male identity in the Cultural Redefinition stage seems to require the support and stimulation of other men in a similar stage.

Based, in part, on the presence and nature of peer support a man theoretically could move between Passive and Active Resistance, between Individual and Cultural Redefinition, and from Passive or Active Resistance to either Individual or Cultural Redefinition. Steven Schapiro used his concept of separate domains of male identity development to explain how some men seem to focus on an individual and/or cultural redefinition of masculinity without having taken an active anti-sexist stance. The model presented here suggests that men in Passive Resistance, who are without the support of other Resistance men to develop a more active position relative to this stage, may develop (out of the dissatisfactions with self inherent in this stage) a Redefinition consciousness, and by finding or creating a network of other men in this same stage move toward Cultural Redefinition. Evidence for this pattern of development is found in much of the

personal and theoretical literature from the contemporary men's movement (Berkeley Men's Center Manifesto, 1974; Adams, 1985; Abbott, 1987; Mifsud, 1987).

It is the perspective of this author that Active Resistance and Cultural Redefinition in their more full, active engagement with the social and institutional context of the gender system represent more effective responses to the gender consciousness of each stage. However, evidence from this study, and from the literature on masculinity, suggest that male identity development can occur through the more individual manifestations of Passive Resistance and Individual Redefinition. These latter stages, lacking the support of other similar minded men, and the impact on large and small social systems, would seem to be less stable foundations for personal growth and social change.

Educational Implications

The findings from this study support the need for educational programs that can promote the development of gender consciousness among college men. The personal and social damage of a "hegemonic" masculinity was clearly demonstrated by men's descriptions of the restrictions and frustrations they experience as a result of the pressure to conform to rigid social norms, by the conflicts and strains they demonstrated even when they were not consciously recognized, and by the evidence of continuing oppressive attitudes and behaviors towards women.

Although most men in this study did have some awareness of the social implications of gender for men and for women, this awareness often was lacking personal relevance, filled with unexamined

contradictions, and without a conceptual context for critically examining and reconciling different attitudes, beliefs, and experiences. Where a more developed consciousness of the gender system was evident, it existed in relative isolation from similar critical thinking among other men. For the most part, men's peer system of other college men and women did not support the development of a critical gender consciousness or the expression of a range of masculinities.

Findings from this study, and Schapiro's study, indicate that participation in programs on gender issues can result in a significant increase in awareness of male privilege and women's oppression. This study suggested that increases in expressions of androgyny and anti-sexist activism might also be related to these experiences. By providing a conceptual framework for analyzing personal perceptions and experiences, and by creating the context for peer discussion and support male gender consciousness can be developed.

Based on the patterns of gender consciousness identified in this study, and the understanding of masculinity and male identity development that they suggest, several recommendations for developing consciousness-raising educational programs for men are proposed.

1) Both awareness of male role strain and awareness of male privilege and women's oppression need to be promoted. This study suggests that the development of these two central aspects of men's gender consciousness is closely related, and that each of these perspectives is necessary to develop an accurate understanding of the relationship between masculinity and sexism. Programs that deny, ignore, or discount one or the other invalidate significant components of men's experience.

2) Men's own concrete interpersonal experiences should be used to facilitate awareness. This is a fundamental principle of psychological education (Greene, 1982) and consciousness-raising (Marchesani, 1981), and has been demonstrated to be important in the development of White anti-racists (Jones, 1985). Gender awareness programs for men should not make the assumption that gender, or masculinity, is already experienced as a consciously significant personal issue for most men. Individual meaning and investment are heightened when issues are explored in relation to situations where there is already engagement and self-interest. Findings from this study and Schapiro's study suggest that men's gender consciousness develops first in the context of interpersonal situations.

3) Men's diversity needs to be acknowledged, explored, and validated. Stereotypes about men and masculinity consciously and unconsciously influence most people's attitudes and beliefs about men. These stereotypes tend to portray all men as fitting a few particular images (i.e. macho chauvanist, wimp), and reinforce men's internalization of these social pressures to conform to traditional, rigid male norms.

Attention should be directed, not only to understanding this idealized, socially imposed form of masculinity, but also to the multiplicity of unique personal and cultural masculinities that this dominant masculinity occludes. The conflicts between the pressures of this hegemonic masculinity and the unique characteristics of men's ethnic, racial, religious, and class background, as well as individual personal qualities, should be exposed and studied. Different responses to these conflicts and pressures should be discussed as the basis for developing a critical perspective on their costs and benefits. By

genuinely listening to the full range of men's experiences and perceptions, and exposing the differences that exist below the illusion of one-dimensionality, this hegemonic masculinity can be demystified, and its homogenizing effects can be disentangled from the truth of the diversity among men. Grounding the exploration of masculinity in these personal realities is likely to increase the personal meaning and investment for men in this learning process.

4) Men's gender awareness education should not assume that masculinity is the most salient or personally significant social identity for all men. Findings from this study suggest that the psychological and social context of race and racism was consistently significant in the gender consciousness of the Black respondents. For men who are racially oppressed, or oppressed in terms of their membership in other social groups, these different identities may have more immediate significance, and may form the context for their experience of masculinity and gender consciousness.

5) Programs that examine masculinity in terms of one or more specific cultural contexts (i.e. Black masculinity, Jewish masculinity, gay masculinity, etc.) are important. They can challenge one-dimensional stereotypes about men, and validate and explore the unique forms of masculinity from diverse cultural contexts. They can examine the patterns of masculinity that emerge from the relationship between the male privileges of sexism, and masculinity within the context of oppressed social groups.

6) The analysis of peer group influence on gender consciousness, and the development of networks of peer support for new stages of male identity development should be explicitly included. The significance of peer support in the maintenance and development of gender consciousness

was demonstrated in this study. Peer relationships with other men, for the most part, were described as reinforcing conformity to traditional masculinity. Men need to examine the norms, values, attitudes, and behaviors of their current peer group in relation to changes in their gender consciousness. Particular attention should be paid to developing new patterns of inter-male support critically challenging traditional masculine norms, and creating alternative models of masculinity.

7) The creation of a safe, accepting environment is necessary to accomplish these recommendations. Much of the conformity to traditional male norms described by the men in this study seemed directly related to their need for acceptance and recognition, and their fears about being ostracized, isolated, and rejected. Resistance to participation in gender awareness education programs is also related to these fears. In order for men to be willing to participate, and to engage in the reflection and dialogue necessary for the development of male gender consciousness, their needs and fears should be taken into account.

These recommendations are consistent with the pedagogy of men's consciousness-raising developed by Steven Schapiro (1985) and the curriculum for a men's studies program developed by Sam Femiano (1987). To implement them completely in the context of academic college courses would be most effectively accomplished with a combination of presentation, seminar discussion, and laboratory training.

Recommendations for Future Research

The use of open-ended, face-to-face interviews combined with written questionnaires worked well in this study to compare, validate, and elaborate patterns of gender consciousness reflected in each data gathering method. Beginning with the written questionnaires seemed to be

particularly helpful for orienting men to the subject before engaging in the verbal interviews. This helped to define the focus of the interview and stimulate thinking, as well as provide points of comparison for interview responses.

The verbal interviews seemed especially important for understanding the varied personal contexts and nuances of men's attitudes, and perceptions. At times, however, this interview process required the researcher to be persistent and flexible in order to solicit more than perfunctory responses from men for whom explicit thinking and/or talking about this subject was a novelty and perhaps somewhat unsettling. The interview itself often seemed to stimulate new observations and understandings among the research participants. Several shared experiences or thoughts they had not expressed to others before. Others commented on the personal value of the experience. In this sense, the interview was, in itself, an important educational experience, especially for those who would not ordinarily attend an educational program on gender issues. It appeared likely that they walked away with a sense of satisfaction from having honestly discussed experiences and attitudes about gender with another man, and with greater clarity on the many facets, and some contradictions, of their own perspectives.

The results of this study suggest that future research on men's gender consciousness should consider the following:

- 1) Expand the size and diversity of the sample used in this study. A similar study based on a larger group of men would enhance the validity of quantitative and qualitative subgroup comparisons. Including a wider range of age, race, geographical location, socio-economic background, etc. would guarantee a more representative sample, provide a more inclusive picture of the varieties of male gender

consciousness, and create opportunities for further study of the relationships of different personal and cultural masculinities to hegemonic masculinity.

2) Conduct a longitudinal study of men's gender consciousness. By conducting sequential interviews over the course of men's college years, for example, changes in consciousness could be documented, and factors influencing those changes more closely identified. This could also be conducted as a comparative study if one group of men participated in a structured consciousness-raising experience.

3) Use more focused interview questions to further evaluate the different domains of male identity development. Although the two domains of consciousness examined in this study, awareness of male role strain and awareness of male privilege and women's oppression were highly correlated, there was evidence of men's gender consciousness reflecting different stages of development simultaneously. The question of whether these differences reflect differential rates of development within separate domains, contradictions inherent within single domains, or conflicts from stage transitions remains for future studies.

The data collection methods used by Jackson (1976) in his study of Black identity development could be modified for use with male identity development. He first asked respondents to do a multiple choice sentence completion inventory. The four response choices reflected the four stages in his identity development model. He then asked them to respond to questions about each of four excerpts written by Black authors. Each of the excerpts again reflected one of the four stages. This format could be expanded to include male identity development stages within each of the four domains proposed by Schapiro, for

example, to more specifically evaluate the relative develop in each domain.

4) Re-evaluate the use of the Gender Role Conflict Scale.

Consistently low correlations of the GRCS total score with most other measures of gender consciousness used in this study raises questions about the relevance of this measure. Two of the factors within this scale (Homophobia and Conflicts Between Work and Leisure/Family Relations), however, did have important correlations. These two factors could be assessed for use as a separate measure of gender consciousness.

5) Implement and evaluate men's consciousness-raising programs and men's studies programs. This study, together with other recent research (e.g. Schapiro, 1985; Femiano, 1986), is significant as a foundation for the development of educational programs that promote changes in men's attitudes and behaviors away from rigid conformity to personally and socially unhealthy norms, and the compulsion to enact oppressive roles with women, and toward the development of new redefined models of masculinity. Without the support of educational institutions these remain, for the most part, interesting exercises. The next steps are clearly to begin to implement these programs, in response to the needs being documented and articulated by growing numbers of men and women.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Participant Consent Form

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview about college men. The University of Massachusetts requires that people who participate in any research projects must first give written "informed consent".

This interview will take approximately 60 minutes. Information from these interviews will be used to identify the experiences, needs and perspectives of undergraduate college men, and to develop programs that can respond to these needs. Your responses in this interview will be completely confidential, and at no time will your name be used in connection with the information generated from the interview. The interview will be audio-taped so that I can more closely and accurately understand what you have to say.

Although there is no risk of physical, emotional, or mental injury from participating in this interview, the University guidelines specify that no treatment or compensation will be available if physical injury occurs in connection with the conduct of the research. You are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation in this project at any time.

I would be happy to answer any questions or concerns you have. If you would like more information about the development of men's issues programs at UMass please let me know.

Thank you!!

I AM WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS PROJECT

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Campus address: _____

Campus phone: _____

BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

1. Age: _____

2. Educational level:

_____ Freshman _____ Sophomore _____ Junior _____ Senior

3. Academic major (or current primary area of interest):

4. Current grade point average (or estimate): _____

5. Present marital status: _____ Single _____ Married

_____ Divorced _____ Remarried

6. Race: _____ Black _____ White _____ Latino

_____ Asian American _____ Native American

7. Family income of parents: _____ < \$10,000

_____ \$10,000 - \$20,000 _____ \$20,000 - \$30,000

_____ \$30,000 - \$40,000 _____ \$40,000 - \$50,000

_____ > \$50,000

8. Occupation of father: _____

9. Occupation of mother: _____

10. Age of brother(s) (if any): _____

11. Age of sister(s) (if any): _____

12. Have you participated in any program or activity related to men's issues, women's issues, or sexism? _____

If so, what was it? _____

PART I

Instructions: In the space to the left of each sentence below, write the number which most closely represents how much you agree or disagree with the statement. Be honest. There is no right or wrong answer. Your own genuine reaction is what is being requested. THANK YOU!!

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	SLIGHTLY AGREE	SLIGHTLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
6	5	4	3	2	1

1. _____ Success in his work has to be man's central goal in his life.
2. _____ When a man is feeling a little pain he should try not to let it show very much.
3. _____ It bothers me when a man does something that I consider "feminine".
4. _____ The best way for a young man to get the respect of other people is to get a job, take it seriously, and do it well.
5. _____ Nobody respects a man very much who frequently talks about his worries, fears, and problems.
6. _____ A man whose hobbies are cooking, sewing, and going to the ballet probably wouldn't appeal to me.
7. _____ A man owes it to his family to work at the best-paying job he can get.
8. _____ A good motto for a man would be "When the going gets tough, the tough get going."
9. _____ It is a bit embarrassing for a man to have a job that is usually filled by a woman.
10. _____ A man should generally work overtime to make more money whenever he has the chance.
11. _____ I think a young man should try to become physically tough, even if he's not big.
12. _____ Unless he was really desperate, I would probably advise a man to keep looking rather than accept a job as a secretary.
13. _____ A man always deserves the respect of his wife and children.
14. _____ Fists are sometimes the only way to get out of a bad situation.

STRONGLY AGREE 6	AGREE 5	SLIGHTLY AGREE 4	SLIGHTLY DISAGREE 3	DISAGREE 2	STRONGLY DISAGREE 1
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15. _____ If I heard about a man who was a hairdresser and a gourmet cook, I might wonder how masculine he was.
16. _____ It is essential for a man to always have the respect and admiration of everyone who knows him.
17. _____ A real man enjoys a bit of danger now and then.
18. _____ I think it's extremely good for a boy to be taught to cook, sew, clean the house, and take care of younger children.
19. _____ A man should never back down in the face of trouble.
20. _____ I always like a man who's totally sure of himself.
21. _____ In some kinds of situations a man should be ready to use his fists, even if his wife or his girlfriend would object.
22. _____ I might find it a little silly or embarrassing if a male friend of mine cried over a sad love scene in a movie.
23. _____ A man should always think everything out coolly and logically, and have rational reasons for everything he does.
24. _____ A man should always refuse to get into a fight, even if there seems to be no way to avoid it.
25. _____ A man should always try to project an air of confidence even if he really doesn't feel confident inside.
26. _____ A man must stand on his own two feet and never depend on other people to help him do things.

PART II

Instructions: In the space to the left of each sentence below, write the number which most closely represents how much you agree or disagree with the statement. Be honest. There is no right or wrong answer. Your own genuine reaction is what is being requested. THANK YOU!!

STRONGLY AGREE 6	AGREE 5	SLIGHTLY AGREE 4	SLIGHTLY DISAGREE 3	DISAGREE 2	STRONGLY DISAGREE 1
------------------------	------------	------------------------	---------------------------	---------------	---------------------------

1. _____ Moving up the career ladder is important to me.
2. _____ I have difficulty telling others I care about them.
3. _____ Verbally expressing my love to another man is difficult for me.
4. _____ I feel torn between my hectic school schedule and caring for my health.
5. _____ Making money is part of my idea of being a successful man.
6. _____ Strong emotions are difficult for me to understand.
7. _____ Affection with other men makes me tense.
8. _____ I sometimes define my personal value by my success in school.
9. _____ Expressing feelings makes me feel open to attack by other people.
10. _____ Expressing my emotions to other men is risky.
11. _____ My school work detracts from the quality of my leisure or family life.
12. _____ I evaluate other people's value by their level of achievement and success.
13. _____ Talking about my feelings is difficult for me.
14. _____ I worry about failing and how it affects my doing well as a man.
15. _____ I have difficulty expressing my emotional needs to my partner.
16. _____ Men who touch other men make me uncomfortable.
17. _____ Finding time to relax is difficult for me.

STRONGLY AGREE 6	AGREE 5	SLIGHTLY AGREE 4	SLIGHTLY DISAGREE 3	DISAGREE 2	STRONGLY DISAGREE 1
------------------------	------------	------------------------	---------------------------	---------------	---------------------------

18. _____ Doing well all the time is important to me.
19. _____ I have difficulty expressing my tender feelings.
20. _____ Hugging other men is difficult for me.
21. _____ I often feel that I need to be in charge of those around me.
22. _____ Telling others of my strong feelings is not part of my sexual behavior.
23. _____ Competing with others is the best way to succeed.
24. _____ Winning is a measure of my value and personal worth.
25. _____ I often have trouble finding words that describe how I am feeling.
26. _____ I am sometimes hesitant to show my affection to men because of how others might perceive me.
27. _____ My needs to work or study keep me from my family, friends, or leisure more than I would like.
28. _____ I strive to be more successful than others.
29. _____ I do not like to show my emotions to other people.
30. _____ Telling my partner my feelings about her/him is difficult for me.
31. _____ My school work often disrupts other parts of my life (home, family, health, leisure).
32. _____ I am often concerned about how others evaluate my performance at school.
33. _____ Being very personal with other men makes me feel uncomfortable.
34. _____ Being smarter or physically stronger than other men is important to me.
35. _____ Men who are overly friendly to me, make me wonder about their sexual preference (men or women).
36. _____ Overwork and stress, caused by a need to achieve in school, affects/hurts my life.
37. _____ I like to feel superior to other people.

PART III

Instructions: In the space to the left of each sentence below, write the number which most closely represents how much you agree or disagree with the statement. Be honest. Your own genuine reaction is what is being requested. THANK YOU!!

STRONGLY AGREE 6	AGREE 5	SLIGHTLY AGREE 4	SLIGHTLY DISAGREE 3	DISAGREE 2	STRONGLY DISAGREE 1
------------------------	------------	------------------------	---------------------------	---------------	---------------------------

1. _____ In general, the activities of women's liberation groups will have a very good influence in our society.
2. _____ Women should be given the same consideration as men when both are applying for the same job.
3. _____ Women, whether married or single, should receive the same salary as men for doing the same job.
4. _____ Women should have the same educational opportunities as men in all fields of study.
5. _____ All occupations should be equally accessible to men and women.
6. _____ There should be free child-care centers to help mothers who don't have to work but would like to get a job.
7. _____ There should be free child-care centers to help mothers who have to work.
8. _____ Men and women should share equally the responsibilities for making a living, running the home, and bringing up children.
9. _____ Every woman has the inalienable right to decide whether or not she should conceive children.
10. _____ Advertisers should not use women as sex symbols in order to sell their product.
11. _____ One of the most important issues today is to completely change the traditional roles of men and women.
12. _____ Women can obtain sexual satisfaction with other women as well as with men.
13. _____ The Equal Rights Amendment guaranteeing women's equality under the law is a needed addition to the Constitution.

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	SLIGHTLY AGREE	SLIGHTLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
6	5	4	3	2	1

14. _____ Men should take an active role in ending violence against women.
15. _____ Sexual violence against women is reinforced by many parts of our culture.
16. _____ In spite of some changes discrimination against women continues to be common in our society.
17. _____ A man has a right to expect to have sex with a woman after he has paid for an expensive date.

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