

THE UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

Stratification and Inclusivity in Ethnically Diverse Adolescent Athletes: An Ethnography and Theoretical
Evaluation of Emerging Masculinities in Multi-Cultural Contexts

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ABSTRACT

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In this multi-pronged work, I use ethnographic methods to investigate contemporary masculine relations within an ethnically and religiously diverse boys high-school athletics team in California. Utilising an intersectional framework, the aim of this provisional research is to explore ways gender structures make diverse identities consequences of and vehicles for vulnerability or equity in a sporting context. Following two primary research periods, I re-contextualize my own prior research at the site to form a longitudinal ethnography, painting the maintenance and erosion of gendered relations at the site with overlapping but distinct cohorts. In doing so, I test Inclusive Masculinity Theory (IMT) to better understand its efficacy, applications, and potential theoretical implications. Observations, informal interviews, and semi-structured interviews formed the bulk of the methodological tools used in the research periods described. The themes generated in my MPhil specific analysis of these research periods suggest variability in gendered behavior and the maintenance of hierarchies are steeped in individualistic narratives which are blind to and obfuscate power relations. These narratives reflect colour-blind and sexuality-blind frameworks, even in the face of conditions which facilitate inclusive masculinities. Thus, this research supports future directions in masculinities and gender research which speak to theories of individualism and modernity. That research direction, unarticulated before this thesis, may reveal fundamental influences on gendered behavior and relations with which we will better understand what inclusive masculinities can achieve for gendered well-being.

Keywords: [Masculinities, Sports, Youth, Culture, Diversity, Modernity, Religion]

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INTRODUCTION

A group of approximately twenty 14- to 17- year- old boys lay on a field in the middle of a track, completing a pre-run core workout led by team captains. It was the summer, and this team of high-school cross country and long-distance track runners were preparing for their upcoming season. Since the coach was supervising at a distance, the boys felt they could be more silly, more rowdy, and less formal. Their use of language relaxed a bit, and they spoke freely. They began to crack jokes about their running, about how they had raced over the weekend, and about each other. Then, seamlessly (unsurprising considering they're teenage boys) began to incorporate sexuality into their banter. One boy commented on how nice another's buttocks looked clenching in the "plank" position. Another retorted, "We already knew David had a nice butt, Alex." Maybe they forgot that their coach was close; maybe they just didn't care.

On another day, while going through the same core routine, one of the boys [Sam] gestured as if was going to grab his best friend's "package" in the middle of the routine. His best friend laughed, and tried the same antic on Sam, all without making too much of a commotion so their coach wouldn't see. A little later, when they were doing stretches standing up, John thrust behind an unsuspecting friend, mock-fucking him. The friend Andrew noticed, and while clearly laughing at John's attempt at physical banter, exclaimed "get off!" John then, came back to Andrew, and held him as if to reconcile with him. Andrew, seemingly half amused and half annoyed moments before, let John hold him, said, "Aw", and smiled.

An alumnus of the team, Julio, watched alongside me from the sidelines as the boys went through their pre-run rituals. “God, those guys can be gay sometimes. I mean, that’s coming from me, so you know it means something.” I asked, “Do you think that is a good thing, bad thing, or something else?” Julio replied, “Ummm. Haha, it’s fine. Not good or bad. They’re just really immature sometimes... but you know, what can you expect?”

“Boys will be boys,” the orthodox adage goes. But how *do* boys be boys? What conception do high school aged boys today have about how they and their peers do masculinity? Why are changing dynamics around how masculinity is done significant? What do diverse gendered performances reveal about social and cultural change in modernity? These are the questions this thesis will provide new inroads towards answering.

To contemporary masculinities scholars, the scenes I have previously described likely unsurprising. As research (McCormack and Anderson 2010; Adams 2011; Michael 2013) has noted shifts in the way many young men in the United States and Great Britain are accepting of homosexuality, many have also noted the gendered behaviors of these young men shifting to be more feminized, sexually fluid, and soft. Instead of valuing aggression and rigid forms of behavior and dress, these boys were proud of their “short-shorts” accepted a variety of personalities and masculine expressions, and did not predicate their jokes on homophobic discourse meant to police gender. What configurations and mechanisms regulate these changes among diverse groups of young men? Anderson (2009), among others (McCormack 2011; Adams 2011; Murray and White 2015), utilize Inclusive Masculinity Theory (IMT) to describe the way these changes are not static, and shift in tandem with a society’s relationship with homosexuality. However, we do not understand fully how flexible those configurations and mechanisms are, and what they look like for young men negotiating their ethnic and religious identities.

Sociological Biography

I began my journey into the sociological study of gender and sport long before I ever wrote about the sociological imagination. As a 13-year-old, budding high-school student, I was only beginning to come into my own as an adolescent; gendered rules had confined to the relatively orthodox norms of secondary school (Plummer 1999) although looking back, inclusive forms of masculinity (Anderson 2009) were beginning to swell in popular culture. I had always been a good runner—albeit not good enough to win even small district competitions—and it was suggested to me I do cross country. I was not very familiar with the sport, and basically only knew it involved running. I recalled high school runners making their way down the main street I walked home every day and the way many of my middle school peers had harassed them, heckling and hollering playful jeers such as, “Who wears short shorts?” and the ever-creative “Run Forest, run!” Still, I was relatively popular in school, and wasn’t particularly worried that running might lose me respect. I decided to give it a try.

Upon my first day in the summer of 2007, my stomach churned as I watched who seemed like grown men gather to warm-up, laughing and engaging in what seemed like mature (but was really quite crude) banter. It’s not that unsophisticated clowning didn’t go on in middle school - it was probably worse then, hormones abound - but here, it was more real. I didn’t know what to expect; this was new terrain, this is what it meant to be in high school, the doorstep of adulthood. I had quit soccer for this, and I had always been ambitious, even if in secret, so I wanted to be good. In the first few weeks, it quickly became evident that many of these young men, especially the older ones, truly *owned* their status as short-short wearing, half-naked, rebels. Part of it was that they were cocky, and that there is truly a gutsy, bleed-to-win aspect to running that they could be part of; part of it also seemed to be that they didn’t care about the homosexualizing stigmas.

Still, what Anderson (2005a) would call orthodox traits of masculinity proliferated on this team. Congruent with the reality that western society was entering a phase of diminished homophobia (Anderson 2009), my team was transitioning towards more obvious inclusivity than it perhaps was ten

years ago. There was a bit of bullying, and many of my former teammates who were gay did not come out until after they graduated. Today, more than a handful of the new generation of kids on the same team have come out. Generally, however, the team did not predicate gender policing on homophobic discourse, many embraced feminized behaviours such as leg shaving (me included), engaged in mock homosexual acts, and finally, we had no problem expressing love to one another in ways that would have been unacceptable to my father's generation (Ibson 2002). It can be hypothesized that this team, while mostly representative of inclusive traits, was living and breathing the inclusive changes Anderson (2009) describes. In fact, I was always fascinated by the manner in which the team, and even my high school as a whole, had changed in the four years I attended. There were more openly gay people than ever, bromances were beginning to enter the vernacular, and people generally seemed more friendly; the "popular crowd" consisted of those which were most involved and charismatic, not who was most untouchable, most "cool." As society was moving towards inclusivity, so was the team.

The way these teammates of mine acted throughout high school would have been completely unacceptable prior to the decline of homophobia, or the fear of being thought gay. High cultural homophobia once ruled the landscape of men's gendered behavior, but for these youth, partaking in behaviors that would have once been homosexualizing were not tied to the fear of being thought gay enough that they would change those behaviors. Theorists such as Connell (1995) and Kimmel and Messner (1992) once documented intense homophobia among the gendered behavior of young men and athletes. Kimmel (1987) stated that homophobia was masculinity itself. The growing body of literature I base this work in shows that for many men and adolescent boys, the analysis of gendered behaviors being predicated on the idea of hegemonic masculinity simply does not apply in the same way today.

Despite the growing and changing I have done since high school, those experiences undoubtedly defined who I am today. Similar experiences are shaping the lives of modern youth, despite the

intersectional identities inherent to the United States and other western societies (c.f. Generational Masculinities special edition in the *Journal of Gender Studies*). Racial, ethnic, musical, sporting, religious, among other cultural identities, proliferate in our increasingly globalized world, all while broader changes are occurring in the narrative of the gendered landscape. This dissertation aims to take a closer look at those identities.

Intersectionality of Subordinated and Privileged Identity

Born to Mexican parents who had to struggle to attain notable careers and a privileged, middle class experience for themselves and their children, I am in the position to critically examine my privileged background, and be reminded that my experiences are inextricably tied to my gendered performance. I am in the position to recognize and understand American masculinities while recognizing the traditional masculinities linked to a different culture; I am at a threshold in a sense. The cultural, masculine capital that I was afforded as a successful athlete has allowed me to apprehend that sport has been constructed in such a way that benefits some and marginalizes others. At the same time, the people that have surrounded me in my sporting experiences have fit both orthodox and inclusive masculine ideals—sport is not the same vehicle for hyper-masculine posturing it once was, for much of society. My aim is to expand the field of knowledge pertaining to the gendered experiences of young men in sport, while taking particular attention to the various religious and cultural differences and similarities between them.

My experiences are mirrored in other studies of United States athletes. In “Josh Wears Pink Cleats,” Adams (2011) notes that among college-based soccer team at a large liberal college in Northeast America, men:

demonstrate metrosexual and inclusive behaviors and attitudes. The styles of masculinity these men enact are more relaxed, liberal, and inclusive; they are well styled, well groomed, gay

friendly, and they are emotionally and physically close to other men. They are far removed from the traditional orthodox sporting masculinities of previous generations. (1)

In (2013), Michael documented that American high school wrestlers were “by and large gay friendly, accepting both their presumably gay teammate and other openly gay wrestlers, but not without their own qualifications” (p.1). They could maintain heterosexual boundaries without engaging in homophobic discourse. Anderson theorizes structural constraints in American male youths display of tactility and love (regarding legal age of alcohol consumption, but nevertheless finds inclusive attitudes and actions proliferating there, without mass homophobia (Anderson 2014). Anderson (2008c) also finds these attitudes prevalent even among fraternity members, traditionally some of the most homophobic and orthodox masculine of young men (Windmeyer 2005). Sometimes these expressions are coded as “bromance,” while other times they are coded and described as simply expressing love.

In the U.K., inclusive attitudes and tactile behaviors are even more prevalent. Anderson and McCormack (2016) have found that 37 out of 40 university athletes had slept and cuddled in the same bed. They also found broad evidence of inclusive attitudes among university and sixth form aged young men; homophobia was simply “just not acceptable anymore” (McCormack and Anderson 2010). For these young men, cuddling and sleeping together was normal. These tactile behaviors were simply a way for heterosexually identifying men to solidify and form friendships. They had no issue expressing that they engaged in these behaviors out of “love”—not homosexual desire, and that they did not think anyone would think them gay for engaging in those behaviors anyway (McCormack and Anderson 2010).

These youths did not conflate their behaviors with homosexuality, it is theorized, because they live in an era of diminished homophobia (Anderson 2010). These behaviors are simply not coded as gay because as social homophobia has diminished, men do not fear being seen as gay. Inclusive masculinities are not necessarily hegemonic in locales where they exist (McCormack 2012); using semi-

structured interview research, Rory Magrath (2015) used inclusive masculinity theory to frame attitudes toward homosexuality in 17 young Christian footballers from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. He showed that despite the recent decrease of cultural homophobia, almost half of those men maintained conservative attitudes toward homosexuality. Still, others were more tolerant, particularly when discussing legislation introducing marriage equality in the UK. The implicit insight I gleaned from these diverse studies was that the nature of inclusivity as defined in Anderson's work varied in tandem with locale and milieu. I aim in this MPhil to further understanding and theorize how athletes in inclusive locales reconcile varying religious and cultural identities, and why those identities may be fluidly reconciled in some locales (Morales 2018).

This Thesis

The empirical portion of this work represents grounded fieldwork, survey work, and interviews I conducted in a high school athletics program in the multi-cultural state of California, USA, in 2016 and 2017. While I reference co-authored work to come to inform the theory I engage with in this MPhil, I also used my own social capital as a former athlete to immerse myself in the day to day lives of the athletes, and conduct ethnographic observations which contextualized those initial findings. That ethnographic work is further informed by an ancillary study I conducted on the way religiosity manifested in the locale (Morales, 2018) . The focus on secularization in that portion of this work serves to speak to the potential relationship between gendered change, ethnicity, and individualization, as I will elaborate on in the discussion session. I focus on how the multi-cultural youth reconcile their identities with their gendered performance, and how their various cultural identities interact with dominant cultural narratives. I investigate the way these youths reconcile their sporting identity with their masculine identity, and the way by which their gendered performance might change or stay the same within and outside of their sporting lives, and over time.

I intend to add to the literature on inclusive masculinities by incorporating a methodological focus on ethnic diversity and religious perspective, in order to intersect the historicity of inclusive masculinity theory with 1) increasingly culturally diverse micro-cultures and 2) with elements that may better help us situate inclusive masculinity theory within wider sociological theory, particularly theories of modernity. I analyze the representative masculinities the athletes enact not only as a function of the simple transmission of symbols from the dominant culture, but as possibly molded and expressed from reconciling various cultural and religious identities. While there has been some exploration and data collected on inclusive masculinities and various classes and ethnicities (Adams 2011; Roberts 2013) this literature is not represented in the United States. I also believe that the insights gained in this study may help as a bridge in studying masculinities around the world where inclusive cultures interact with less inclusive cultures not necessarily so come together or interact in any capacity. It will prove useful to investigate if the way masculine culture is transmitted in certain settings are anything like the way they are transmitted in others—a full understanding of this picture will be only obtained through a rigorous and comprehensive effort by a diverse set of researchers, working within different contexts.

I observed male athletes from both the cross country and track team, and observations took place in formal settings, such as the actual practices and meets, as well as informal settings. Throughout, I kept central questions in mind as I studied the athletes, such as: “How do these boys value competition, and is that value correlated to how they enact their masculinity?” “How do these boys value and treat women, based on observations and discourse?” “What do these boys think or know the adults in their lives (that came from a more homophobic generation) think about the way they express friendship?” As well as recording observations, I conducted interviews regarding their attitudes towards homosexuality, expressions of love, friendships, and attitudes towards their religions, family culture, among other variables. In all, I aim to utilize my experiences as an athlete, as a first generation American, and my sociological training to further the academic understanding of how masculinities are

changing and how they are reconciled by young people. I hope to theorize and relate what I learn to pressing current issues, and raise questions about the changing nature of masculinities, religion, and culture so that more research may investigate these topics in the future in other locales.

In the following first chapter of this thesis, I will briefly overview the history of contemporary masculinities in the Anglo-American sphere up until approximately the end of the last century. Following that, in chapter two, I will overview Hegemonic Masculinity Theory (HMT), the paradigmatic framework Raewyn Connell used to analyze those 20th century masculinities in the context of patriarchy, homophobia, heterosexism, racism and other power structures. In chapter three, I will explicate the origins and tenets of Inclusive Masculinity Theory (IMT), Eric Anderson's theoretical contribution to the gender literature, when HMT failed to account for changing gender norms among straight men in the face of decreasing homophobia. Chapter four overviews the literature which has contributed to the development of IMT. The IMT literature—while not representing all masculinities and largely focusing on young, cisgender, heterosexual white men—best encapsulates the sea-changes in masculinities in contemporary Anglo-American society that stem from decreasing homophobia. Further, the IMT literature centralizes sporting milieus for their proximity and relevance to gender politics, as does my thesis, in part. Thus, these four chapters serve to provide the theoretical and historical context under which my fieldwork takes place, and facilitate an understanding of the subsequent themes generated. In the fifth chapter, I pull from literature on religion and ethnic diversity to further contextualize my focus on culturally diverse youth. Moreover, in this section as a part of my literature review, I choose to overview some limitations to inclusive masculinity as they are formulated at present, highlighting my research aim of understanding not only the emerging masculine landscape in multi-cultural contexts, but how inclusion is manifest or fails in those contexts.

In chapter six, I overview the 'bitzkrieg' ethnographic research that my colleague Ed Caffyn-Parsons and I enacted and published, and which forms the period of fieldwork from which the MPhil-

specific research periods emanated. From then, I move on to the methodology section, in which I justify the use of ethnographic methods and explicate my role as a researcher. In the following results section, I compare the findings from the MPhil-specific research periods with previous research at the same site to form a longitudinal analysis of the way diverse identities were vulnerable or empowered depending on the gendered structures present. I also use an ancillary study on the religiosity of the older cohort to complicate the idea of inclusion; while secularised religious identities indicated a technically diverse, gay-friendly cohort, the language used to justify that tolerance is compared to the language used to exclude. While certain markers for diversity (religion) were not important to how power imbalances were manifest, markers (race and ethnicity, femininity) were. In the discussion, I analyse how the arrangement of those identities may have also affected gender structures, and how discourses and actions that obfuscated intersectional power dynamics may have also affected the access of minority identities to wider gendered behaviours. In that section, I also touch upon future directions for research that investigates discourses or ideologies which privilege the individual in the context of modernity.

CHAPTER 1: 20TH CENTURY MASCULINITIES

Chapter Introduction

In this chapter, I explicate the way the second industrial revolution gave rise to institutions of sport and 20th century masculinities. The effect of sporting institutions—first informal, then gradually growing into multi-national media empires—and their ethos had profound implications for the construction of young men’s identities, and on the stratification of masculinities. I introduce the idea that masculine expression is predicated on attitudes on sexuality: in the 20th century, boys found homosexuality to be disgusting and immoral. I explain the relationship sport has to masculinities, and how sporting culture was traditionally an explicit means for maintaining masculine capital and power in a rapidly changing social context.

20th Century Orthodox Masculinities

20th century masculinities are inextricably defined by their relationship to sport; the manner in which society valued those sports; and the relationship between gender and homophobia. Sport was born out of a peculiar time in the history of the West, one in which industrialization completely changed the landscape of society (Cancian 1989). Sports was a protective means in which boys and men could build their moral selves up in the image of the industrial revolution; values such as sacrifice and complicity to authority were not only perceived as noble, but encouraged (Rotundo 1989). Crucially, sport was a principal ritual, an organized vehicle, by which men could prove their heterosexuality and masculinity (Kimmel and Messner 1992).

The roots of today’s sporting culture can be traced back to the second industrial revolution, which took place from the mid 1800s to the early 1900s. The increase in difficulty leading an agrarian life, as well as changes to the economy spurred immense movement into cities. Industry, and the wealth

that it created, became a source of allure for farmers, and they willingly or unwillingly traded their land for city apartments. Cancian (1986) notes that migration to cities rose exponentially around this time, from only 25 percent of people living in cities in 1800 to three times that—75 percent in 1900. Industrial technologies not only changed the landscape of capitalism, by exponentially raising production capacity, but it made many farmers lose their jobs, as less were needed to produce an increasing demand of crops.

Farmers lost the ability to gain land and competition rose, and farms began to consolidate. At this time, the population was growing rapidly, and these changes in industrialization created the appeal of decent wages and class mobility. People moved towards the cities to jobs in industry (Cancian 1986). One of—if not the greatest of—Karl Marx’s invaluable contributions to the formal study of society was to bring to the forefront of imagination the horrors and inequities that the rising capitalist paradigm brought—wages were squashed, ordinary people were powerless to attain wealth, factory conditions were brutal, workers had very little power, hours were inhumanely long, and capitalists reaped the benefits of stratification. However, factory life had its advantages as well. For the first time, many families had a reliable wage, as their livelihoods were not dependent on the whims of the weather- the availability of work was generally predictable (Miller and Melvin 1987). Those reliable wages meant that families were not in the dark about how much money they were going to have at most given moments, allowing them to invest money and build wealth.

Important to the development of sport as we know it today, the concept of leisure (as we experience it, today) spread to the working class for the first time (Rigauer 1981). Whereas daily “free time” was typically a luxury only the wealthy had (since farmers usually had to work from sun up to sun down) men that worked in factories had short hours during the day in which they could organize and play sports. Before the industrial revolution, sport have very little social value. Social historian Donald Mrozek (1983) writes:

To Americans at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was no obvious merit in sport...certainly no clear social value to it and no sense that it contributed to the improvement of the individual's character or the society's moral or even physical health. Significantly, even antebellum health reformers rarely promoted what later Americans considered to be real sport, concentrating instead on various callisthenic and exercise programs... By the end of the century...sport enjoyed a generally higher moral tone, partly because of changes imposed on its conduct during the intervening decades yet also because of a new interpretation of its utility to society.

Mrozek emphasizes that even activities such as skating or road running, which did attract some participants, were not organized into bureaucratic structures. Physical activity was limited and short in scope—associations and clubs were rarely regionally based, let alone nationally. Although laws implemented by Quakers meant to curtail physical activity has been lifted by this time, athleticism and sport were associated with violence, bullbaiting, cockfighting, rivalries, and criminality (Mrozek 1983). Rigauer (1981) notes that by the end of the century, sport simply gave boys—not girls— *something* to do after school, and helped socialize them to the values of the new economy—sport was explicitly intended to instill in them the values of hard work, discipline, and obedience in a life characterised by work. These traits were vital in surviving the mining and factory work that began to be prevalent in this era, as these occupations were extremely dangerous. Anderson (2014) argues that:

In sport, young boys were socialized into this value of self- sacrifice, asking them to do so for the sake of team victory. As adults, this socialization taught them to sacrifice their health and well-being in the workplace for the sake of family. Most important to the factory owners, however, workers needed to be obedient to authority. This would help prevent them rebelling or unionizing. Sports taught boys this docility to leadership and authority. Accordingly, organized

competitive team sports were funded by those who maintained control of the reproduction of material goods (24).

Today, we see that sports teams are normally funded by corporate or private sponsors who in turn receive recognition for funding the team; it is often a marketing technique (Shank and Lyberger 2014). We also see that sports are often mandatory in schools, whose funding and curriculum are state sanctioned (White and Anderson 2017). This relationship between sport and money can simply be seen as an investment; sport assures an inexpensive way of guaranteeing a submissive work-force. It is an investment because changing cultural values to fit the values of the industrial model directly benefits the livelihood of capitalistic institutions.

Sport and industry have many striking similarities; sport perpetuated the values of industrialization, and industrialization benefitted from the values that sport taught—hence, industry supported the development of sport (Anderson 2014). Structurally, industrialization freed up the ability for sport to be played by the masses, where that would not have been possible in agrarian life. Furthermore, agrarian life did not easily allow for people to come together and play sport, since people worked in familial contexts, and were less often likely to be around others than we are today. As more and more people moved into the growing number of cities, they were able to socialize more, and in turn, more easily organize into sporting groups. Eitzen (2000) has explained that sport teaches people to keep to a strict timetable, a timetable which is under the supervision of managers acutely aware of production. Not surprisingly, efficient production and the meeting of specific targets is a key value to the industrialized, capitalistic paradigm.

The shift to industrialization also changed the dynamic of work and home life in ways that further stratified the role of gender; industrialization created a greater separation of spheres in the relationship between men and women (Cancian 1986). Agrarian work was divided in terms of gender

spheres, however, there was less of a separation of gendered spheres than in modernity because men and women both generally toiled their land. After industrialization however, the production of capital shifted from in the home to outside of the home (Anderson 2014). This created a shift in the way women's work was valued. Since women worked principally from the home, taking care of domestic tasks and taking care of virtually all childcare duties, that type of work went unseen and unpaid (Hochschild and Machung 2012).

Capitalist paradigms then deemphasized that role, since it was not a boon to the efficient creation of capital. Cancian (1986) explains that men in this time learned that love was expressed through their hard work, toiling through dangerous conditions and being a breadwinner. Men did not need to show emotion—emotionality did not win them jobs not did it get them through the long hours and dangerous conditions. Instead, emotions were muted, and men generally put on a hardened demeanor (Cancian 1986). Cancian describes the reality of women losing power to men as the separation of gendered spheres, and as result, women had to be more expressive and put more hard work into the domestic sphere. Around this time, most women lost what little economic agency they may have been able to keep. These realities created changes in the very definition of what it meant to be a man or woman—definitions bifurcated, leading to the emerging of stereotypes of men as stoic and woman as expressive (Anderson 2014).

Hartmann (1976) emphasizes that this dynamic truly increased the scope of men's power and privilege, especially as women lost control of their ability to control their wage. The division of labor can be evidenced, for example, by the masculinity and femininity in the gendered coding of doctoring and nursing. Williams (1993) writes:

Prior to this modern division, both men and women performed diagnostic, curative techniques as well as caregiving functions (although on very different clientele). Separating these functions involved barring women from schools of medicine, and excluding men from nursing programs

(3).

The legacy of gendering work has a strong class component as well. In the upper classes, men's roles were largely white collar, managerial positions. Further, those positions were associated with a greater capacity for leadership. In the lower classes, physical strength and risk taking (for the sake of family) was highly prized. In tandem, women's work was relegated to only a few careers, such as nurturing, or caregiving—essentially, those concerned with the maintaining of men's livelihood (Anderson 2009).

Reskin and Hartmann (1986) highlighted to depths to which gender segregation affected the lives of men and women; in order to make an equal number of men and women representative in all occupations, more than half of all men or women would have to change their jobs. Mid twentieth-century, conservative theorists such as Parsons and Bales (1955) considered this stratification a natural outcome of the differences in socialization patterns; later, feminist theorists (Eisenstein 1979; Hartmann 1976) looked to patriarchy as the cause of this stratification and separation. Anderson (2014) argues it another way: boys may have learned the values of industrialization through work itself—not necessarily through sport—and so, he contends, we must return to the emergence of sport as the result of another phenomenon post-second-industrial-revolution: a moral panic.

Masculine Moral Panic

The moral panic of the 20th century was a direct result of the changes to industrialization that defined the era. Kimmel and Messner (1992) explain that, since fathers left for work early, and didn't come home until after their children were asleep, boys largely grew up without a father figure; instead being socialized by women. The socialization of boys by woman created fears within society that industrialization was creating soft, feeble, and feminine boys.

Furthermore, boys were separated emotionally from their absent father. Filene (1974) gave this

new reality a name: a crisis in masculinity. Adding to these fears, Sigmund Freud's Three Essays on Sexualities (1905) began to explain the supposed emergence of homosexuality as the result of a boy raised in overly feminized domestic spheres. This fear was only perpetuated by Britain and the United States' Victorian influenced, conservative culture (Anderson 2014).

Anderson argues that Freud's influence actually served to create a homosexual identity (Cass 1984). Prior to this, there were less predicated on a heterosexual or homosexual identity. Instead, men performed homosexual acts, but it was not seen to be a function of sexual identity. While agrarian life did not easily allow for gay men to come into contact with each other, the large population growth in the cities also allowed gay men to form an identity, and more easily meet, and gay networks begin to emerge. Furthermore, Ulrichs, Westphal, and Krafft-Ebing were some of the first academics to help spawn a gay liberation movement, which aimed to classify homosexual acts as characteristic to a type of a third sex. This new identity, an invert, or homosexual (Spencer 1995) could begin to be seen as legitimate, and hence campaign for legal and social equality (Anderson 2014).

As a reaction to the recognition of this new sexual identity, the idea of what it meant to be a man began to mold as opposite to the homosexual identity. Since the idea of homosexuality was deeply tied to the feminine, and what it meant to be a man was deeply tied to being the opposite of a woman, homophobia began to flourish. A real man was not a sodomite, or an invert. It is for these reason that Kimmel suggested in (1994) that homophobia *is* masculinity, and that within this paradigm, masculinity was that which was not feminine. Another way to counter that fear of homosexuality was through sport.

Around this time, women's movements towards social and political equality began to gain traction (Hargreaves 2002). Urbanization also allowed women to organize more efficiently than before. Men, in reaction, felt threatened by the advancements women were making in their social worlds, and thought it undermined their patriarchal power (Anderson 2014). This gave men an incentive to move towards re-masculinization, and sport would serve to facilitate that move.

White and Vagi (1990) explain that men wanted to express emotion, but had to simultaneously reject these desires publicly to uphold their orthodox masculine archetypes (Lewis 1978). These masculine archetypes are predicated on boldness and a lack of personal disclosure (Connell 2000). Connell emphasized that “men do have emotional troubles, that masculine stereotypes can be damaging, that men suffer from isolation, and that men too can hold hands and cry- this is not a bad thing” (Connell 2000: 5).

Morman et al. (2013, 583) wrote that “the desire to appear masculine and to avoid appearing feminine pushes men toward less emotional and vulnerable same-sex friendships.” The cultural fear of homosexuality pushed men towards leading introverted emotional lives, characterized by a stoic demeanor (Komarovskiy 1974). Pollack (1999) showed that even fathers of this era would withhold love and affection from their children, and male children would be subject to abuse from peers and teachers for performing any feminine behaviors.

The Relationship Between Sport, Masculinities and Sexualities

Sporting masculinities have traditionally been tied to the hegemonic masculinities of the past. Male athletes (particularly from masculine coded sports) used their hyper-masculine capital to maintain the homophobia and hegemonic ideals, especially by influencing public discourse and symbolic meaning. This discourse can be said to have maintained their hypermasculine position sacred, and other masculine positions profane, in the vein that Durkheim (1912) described the stratification of gendered norms. Sage (1990), suggest that sports have taken the place of religion, and that they allow governments to communicate hegemonic social and political values. Thus, sports can be seen as a powerful institution that affects the lives of all people, and because it is so dominating, its function may be taken for granted, not questioned, and revered.

Scholars such as Girginov, Papadimitriou, & Lopez De D'Amico (2006) insist that sport has

various functional attributes that allows for the integration of racialized people. Scholars such as McCaughey (2007) believe that sports help men, who are supposedly naturally violent, to express their anger in a socially acceptable way. Another popular lore is that sports teach boys, in a controlled setting, to win and fail in public view, as they would in “real life,” allowing them to learn from their successes and misfortunes, in the process. Connell suggests (1995: 54), “men’s greater sporting prowess has become . . . symbolic proof of superiority and right to rule.” Thus, predicated on this was women’s exclusion from sport. If women were able to prove they could accomplish the same thing men could, the hegemonic structure might fall apart or be undermined.

Men’s involvement and fascination with sport, to a significant degree, thus helped prove their superiority. Consequently, functionalist approaches were more easily taken to gender, where gendered systems could be seen as self-reproducing; women continued to stay out of sports because they served a specific purpose in the domestic sphere, and men should be involved with sports and aggression as they should be involved with the industrial economy. Masculine behaviors in this context, were learned and reinforced (Hargreaves 1995).

Mathisen (1990) argues that Christianity also troubled itself undertaking the masculinizing and heterosexualizing of men in the twentieth century sexual morality, chastity, religiosity, heterosexuality, and nationalism were all exalted by ‘muscular’ Christianity, and highly encouraged in men through competitive and violent sports. Furthermore, muscular Christianity’s obsession extended to the colonization and deconstructing of Native American values as well; in this context, Anglican values were introduced to get native populations concerned with thinking about the individual, as opposed to the community based, collectivist mentality prevalent in native culture. Violent games and stoic coaching figures were justifications for enforcing these norms. Another (ironic) example of the rise of muscular Christianity was the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA). It is ironic, because this gym (now cemented in the popular imagination by the Village Peoples’ song, YMCA), started serving as a spot

where gay men could meet for sex.

Some researchers such as Eccles and Barber (1999), Carlson et al. (2005), Jeziorski (1994), Marsh (1992), 1993; Sabo, Melnick and Vanfossen (1989), have found positive elements to men's participation in team sports, including elevated self-esteem, better school attendance, educational aspirations, higher rates of university attendance and perhaps even post-schooling employment. However, Anderson (2009) argues that sport ultimately reproduces systems that privilege orthodox masculinities, and lead to socio-negative effects for men.

Anderson (2009) furthers the argument in the literature about whether the positive factors that are attributed to team sports are inherent to sports themselves, or whether they might be obtained elsewhere. If they can be obtained elsewhere, or the structure of sport and athletics generally can be reorganized to serve to provide these benefits without the cost, this will have serious implications for the 'winners' in today's sporting world, both economically, and socially. Gerdy (2002) notes that a significant aspect to the United States is that it remains one of the few countries to intertwine sports with the school system, institutionalizing and normalizing the supposed benefits of sport almost unchecked.

Not only are boys forced to play sport in schools in settings such as these—where in England for example, boys are compelled to play rugby, which causes brain damage from micro-concussive hits—but they are segregated from girls. Dworkin and Messner (2002) notes that few other institutions naturalize the segregation of men and women, in disregard to physical ability or size. For example, physical education programs and clubs alike do not always allow men and women and boys and girls of the same size to compete against each other, and this leads to small boys playing against much larger boys and small girls playing against much larger girls, which is not more fair or less dangerous than organizing by size. Furthermore, this kind of structure, especially in schools, can lead to serious injury, as adolescents often go through pubescent growth at different points, and a year can make a significant difference in

the size of a child going through puberty. Anderson (2009) articulates:

One can certainly understand feminist desire to play sports away from men, particularly because women are protected from the violence of male athleticism in gender-segregated teams. But the ethos surrounding separate sporting programs is much deeper. The separation of the sexes in sport maintains a hegemonic stranglehold on our abilities to think differently, to imagine a better model for sport. (54)

From sport, young people maintain a master identity which is inextricably tied to sport; for ‘athletes’ sport is not only a part of lives, rather it is their whole life. Thus, sport approximates a ‘near-total’ institution (Anderson 2009). Messner (1987) argues that the master identity of ‘athlete’ makes the task of breaking from the gendered ideology embedded in the athletic institutions (that they earned their identities from) incredibly difficult. Britton and Williams (1995) and Woodward (2000) argue that in this sense, sport is closely aligned to the military culture, where sport uses “myths of glory, patriotism, and masculine idolatry, along with corporeal discipline and structures of rank, division, uniform, rules and punishment to suppress individual agency and construct a fortified ethos of orthodox masculinity” (Anderson 2009, 56).

Chapter Conclusion

Masculinities in the 20th century were influenced from the industrial revolution, but also by the mass awareness that homosexuality existed, and that it could be present in men that did not necessarily embody overt femininity. This concept, known as *homophobia*, will be described more in detail in chapter three. Adolescent males in the 20th century were severely restricted in their gendered behaviours, and predicated them in homophobic as well as heterosexist discourse. Plummer (1999) suggested that homophobia among adolescents might be most prevalent in areas where their bodies were in closest contact—boys’ are almost nowhere more in proximity than in sport. Thus, sport became

a breeding ground for homophobia and hypermasculinity in the 20th century. It is also important to note that male athletes in sport have high masculine capital and had a more pronounced ability to influence popular narratives in this time. Hiller and Harrison (2004) explicated that in the 20th century, boys found homosexuality to be disgusting and immoral.

Finally, I introduced the concept of heteronormativity. Herek (1990) as well as others (Chesir-Teran 2003; Schniedewind & Cathers 2003) emphasize the significance of this concept, and its prevalence in schools and culture generally. This most significant take-away point is that sexual minorities can be marginalized, even when overt homophobia is not directed at them. Rather, oppression can happen via institutional norms and implicit discrimination and othering. Heterosexism describes a system of actions and discourses that privilege heterosexuality as the default and normal sexual orientation. Audre Lorde (1978) described heterosexism as the belief in the “inherent superiority of one pattern of loving” (45). This belief in the inherent superiority of one form of loving over another justifies its hegemony and dominance.

CHAPTER 2: HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY THEORY

Chapter Introduction

In the previous chapter, I explicated the rise of 20th century masculinities stemming from the industrial revolution. I explained that sport was borne of the industrial revolution's values and influenced and reinforced the separation of gendered spheres and the reproduction of orthodox masculinities (Anderson 2014). These masculinities were predicated on hypermasculinity, homophobia, and heterosexist discourse (Mandel and Shakeshaft 1999; Herek 1990; Davies and Furnham 1986). Now, I go in depth into hegemonic masculinity theory, the most influential theory for explicating masculinities predicated on homophobia, aggression, athleticism (physical prowess generally) and race.

Hegemonic Masculinity Theory

In 1983, Raewyn Connell set out to conceptually discuss the construction of masculinities and the experience of men's bodies, based on a field study of social inequality in Australian high schools. It was also born out of a debate over men's role in the labor politics of Australia (Connell 1982). This is when hegemonic masculinity theory was first proposed. And it is here that Connell describes multiple masculinities, and provides (albeit limited) empirical evidence of their stratified, hierarchal structures. She describes these structures as interwoven with class, and inextricably tied to gender construction. In 1985, Carrigan, Connell, and Lee widely critiqued the male sex role literature that was prevalent at the time, and proposed a new model of masculinities and gender relations (Carrigan et al. 1985). Furthermore, the theorizing that came from this work was integrated into a more systematic theory of gender within sociology. Later, "hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity" became the most widely cited phrases within the hegemonic masculinity literature (Messerschmidt 2015).

Male sex role theory began to show theoretical weaknesses, especially when expanded in the 1970s. Sex roles related to social expectations for men and women, transmitted to youth via socialization (Connell 2000). While this emphasis on conformity was appropriate for the 50s, and the concept was useful in pushing forward notions of the gendered expectations of men, the research eventually stagnated in simply assuming what men's roles were based on stereotypes (Connell 2000). This is because when feminists in the 1970s began to focus on sex role theory as women's sex roles being oppressive to women, and then on men's sex roles being oppressive to men, they used existing conventions on feminine/ masculine scales and the concept of what a "man's role" was remained stagnant—almost immutable (Connell 2000).

This paradigm shift in the literature was undoubtedly the synthesis of "ideas and evidence from apparently disparate sources" (Messerschmidt 2015). However, it made perfect sense, as closely related ideas relating to a new theory of masculinity were beginning to bubble already. Hacker for example, as early as 1957, conceptualized possible changes in men's conduct, even before the women's liberation movement. In the 1970s, "the male role" became a hot topic, and the literature surrounding it sharply criticized masculine norms as oppressive (David and Brannon 1976). Feminists around this time also placed a special emphasis on the role of men in transforming patriarchy, and the attempt of men in the "New Left" to try and organize in support of feminism put into perspective class based discrepancies regarding masculine expression (Snodgrass 1977; Messerschmidt 2015; Tolson 1977). The term "hegemony" was taken from Antonio Gramsci; at the time, the term was current, and originally was used by Gramsci to understand the stratification class relations in culture (Connell 1977). Crucial to hegemony theory is the ability for power structures to change over history, as opposed to a simple model for cultural control (Messerschmidt 2015). Generalizing claims about men began to be scrutinized when Black theorists, such as Angela Davis (1983), and bell hooks (1984), pointed out the race bias that occurs when power is only conceptualized as between men and women.

The rising gay liberation movement emphasized power and differences in ways that sex role theory could not, and developed analysis of the way men oppress as well as are oppressed (Altman 1996; Messerschmidt 2015). Thus, gay men were instrumental in developing the concept of a hierarchy of masculinity, since they had experienced violence and prejudice from straight men. Thus, a serious scrutiny of gender stereotypes was to come with gay liberation, according to some theorists (Mieli 1980). Hegemonic masculinity theory was also influenced by ethnographic studies by scholars such as Willis (1997) and Cockburn (1983) on school cultures and male-centric workplaces, respectively. Focal to these studies were also a Gramscian type analysis of a struggle for gendered hierarchy.

From these various influences an “analogue” arose in the mid-80s—hegemonic masculinity theory (Messerschmidt 2015). Hegemonic masculinity theory was then predominantly a theory about power and hierarchies. Messerschmidt and Connell (2005) herself describe the original meaning of hegemonic masculinity succinctly:

Hegemonic masculinity was understood as “the pattern of practice (i.e., things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allowed men’s dominance over women to continue. Hegemonic masculinity was distinguished from other masculinities, especially subordinated masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it. But it was certainly normative. It embodied the currently most honored way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men. Men who received the benefits of patriarchy without enacting a strong version of masculine dominance could be regarded as showing a complicit masculinity. It was in relation to this group, and to compliance among heterosexual women, that the concept of hegemony was most powerful. Hegemony did not mean violence, although it could be supported by force; it meant ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasion. These concepts were abstract rather than

descriptive, defined in terms of the logic of a patriarchal gender system. They assumed that gender relations were historical, so gender hierarchies were subject to change (832).

Hegemonic masculinity theory proved to be useful in explicating men's gendered dynamics in the 1980s and 90s. It was used in various research contexts, such as to examine teacher identities and group dynamics in physical education (Skelton 1993), and in explicating the way by which society valued some crime over others, such as white collar crime. It was used to analyze murder in Australia, football "hooliganism," in media studies of representations of men and their sports and war imagery (Jansen and Sabo 1994), in studies of psychotherapy with men (Kupers 1993), in decision making in organizations (Messerschmidt 1995), and in the study of men's sporting dynamics (Messner 1992). It was utilized in fields as variant as art (Belton 1995), geography (Berg 1994), and law (Thornton 1989), among many other uses. Growing research efforts helped further shape conceptions of hegemonic masculinity and theorizing behind it. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) explicate four main ways that research helped push forward the theory: 1) by detailing the consequences and costs of hegemony; 2) by revealing mechanisms of hegemony; 3) by showing more diversity in masculinities; and 4) by mapping changes in hegemonic masculinities.

Criticisms of hegemonic masculinity theory, according to Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), can be broken down into five categories; 1) the underlying concept, 2) ambiguity and overlap, 3) the problem of reification, 4) the masculine subject, and 5) the pattern of gender relations. Concerning the first criticism, the underlying concept was criticized by both realists and poststructuralists. The fact that men in high social positions raised concerns regarding ambiguity: who does hegemonic masculinity actually represent? Ambiguity and overlap with other theories addressed questions regarding its use as a fixed model. The third concern had to do with the concept of hegemonic masculinity being simply a reification, or objectification, of power and toxicity. Criticisms on the masculine character had to do with

the problem of creating a “settled character structure of any group of men (2005, 891). Rather, Wetherell and Edley (1999), from the standpoint of discursive psychology, argue that the focus should be on how men “conform to an ideal and turn themselves into complicit or resistant types, without anyone ever managing to exactly embody that ideal” (p. 337). Finally, regarding criticisms on the pattern of gender relations, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) note that there has been a tendency to view systems of gender as self-reproducing and insular, and view functionally.

Realist and poststructuralist critiques of hegemonic masculinity have been articulated in a variety of ways. Poststructuralist concerns are in that hegemonic masculinity does not emphasize enough the discursive nature of the construction of masculinities (Whitehead 2002). In turn, the concern is that hegemonic masculinity dichotomizes sex and gender, thus marginalizing the body. To MacInnes (1998), among others (Peterson 2003; Collier 1998), the character of men is a fluid and paradoxical reality, and hegemonic masculinity does not account for this, thus naturalizing men’s bodies. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) argue that the constructions of masculinity are useful in researching the way real bodies—specifically, masculine bodies— are affected by social processes. Example of this type of research include Messner’s (1992) analysis of the masculinity of professional athletes, the production of masculinity in a context of disability (Gerschick and Miller 1994), the production of masculine ideals and characteristics in men’s health and illness (Sabo and Gordon 1995), and boys’ interpersonal violence (Messerschmidt 2000). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) point out that it is more useful to critique theorizing masculinities when they tend to dichotomize men’s and women’s experiences.

To Collinson and Hearn (1994), hegemonic masculinity is too concerned with relations between men and not enough with underlying issues of domination and power, and is ultimately unnecessary to truly challenging the power men hold over women in society. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) argue that the concept of masculinity itself has been invaluable in understanding that masculinities can be constructed socially in a variety of ways: Masculinity is not a fixed entity embedded in the body or

personality traits of individuals. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, 836), in response to this criticism, have to go on to clarify that, “Masculinities are configurations of practice that are accomplished in social action and, therefore, can differ according to the gender relations in a particular social setting” and that research (Halberstam 1998; Messerschmidt 2004) has emphasized that masculinities can be enacted by “people with female bodies.”

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) have agreed with criticisms regarding the ambiguous use of hegemonic masculinity, while emphasizing that ambiguity is often an inherent characteristic to the gender process:

We think the critics have correctly pointed to ambiguities in usage. It is desirable to eliminate any usage of hegemonic masculinity as a fixed, trans-historical model. This usage violates the historicity of gender and ignores the massive evidence of change in social definitions of masculinity. But in other respects, ambiguity in gender processes may be important to recognize as a mechanism of hegemony (838).

Hegemonic masculinities are not necessary a descriptor of any one man or group of men. Instead, they are an ideal, and the models express fantasies and culturally exalted ideals of what a man should be. In this ‘king of the hill’ type paradigm, Connell does not actually provide a descriptor of what that hegemonic type of masculinity is at any given moment, or statically. Instead, in her theorizing of hegemonic masculinity, she described that the current (1995) hegemonic mode of masculinity was the hypermasculine model that Kimmel described as being synonymous with homophobia, among other negative attributes, such as violence.

Anderson (2009) argues that the concept of hegemonic masculinity theory has been misused; that hegemonic masculinity is all too often conflated as necessarily the archetype that Goffman (1963,

98) describes as a “young, married, White, urban heterosexual, protestant, father, of college education, fully employed, of good complexion, weight, and height, and a recent record in sports...,” the archetype that is hypermasculine, and homophobic. This is why Anderson refers to the masculinities previously described as attempting to fit the hegemonic type as “orthodox” (Anderson 2009). Furthermore, Anderson criticizes hegemonic masculinity as all too often conflated ascribed variables such as race and class with the way men actually behave in light of those ascribed variables. Martin (1998) shares the criticism that the concept often leads to varying applications, referring sometimes to a fixed type of masculinity and other times, referring to whatever type of masculinity is prevailing at a certain place and time.

Holter, in 1997, used Norwegian survey evidence to show that men’s gendered identities did not line-up directly with equality-related practices and attitudes regarding violence. Holter (1997, 2003), argues that hegemonic masculinity theory does not construct masculine power from the structural basis of women’s subordination, but from the direct, personal experience of women. Holter believes that patriarchy is the long-term structure that creates the subordination of women, while gender is a particular system of roles and exchange that arose from industrialization and modern capitalism and that we must differentiate between the two. Holster believes that hierarchy of masculinities is constructed in the context of gender relations, and should not be logically conflated with the systematic subordination of women, or patriarchy. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), in response, agreed that, “At the least, we also must factor in the institutionalization of gender inequalities, the role of cultural constructions, and the interplay of gender dynamics with race, class, and region” (839).

Collier (1998) notes that hegemonic masculinity (the archetype) and the negative characteristics associated with it—stoicism, independence, aggression—are often conflated with being the cause of violence. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) emphasize that the hegemonic masculinities and their characteristics inevitably sometimes do affect inter-personal power dynamics between men and women

when those characteristics are converted into toxic practices, such as physical violence towards women. However, hegemonic masculinity has multiple configurations, and does not necessitate that violence be present in its application. They also argue that research (Barret 1996; Warren 1997) demonstrates that hegemonic masculinities are not trapped in reification, since they provide examples of institutional masculinities that reveal subtle variations and different manifestations in the gendered behavior of men from the negotiation of masculinities. Furthermore, Collier (1998) explains that these negative characters become detrimentally tied to what hegemonic masculinity means when those negative factors take on a functionalist dynamic; the explanation for that hierarchy of masculinities become a circular argument that explains and justifies the behavior. In the pop psychology, these justifications are no better exemplified than in 'crisis of masculinity' discourse, where hegemonic masculinities become character types Connell and Messerschmidt (2005). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, 892) succinctly respond that, "there is nothing surprising about the idea of diverse practices' being generated from common cultural templates; there is nothing conceptually universalizing in the idea of hegemonic masculinity...The concept of hegemonic masculinity is not intended as a catchall nor as a prime cause; it is a means of grasping a certain dynamic within the social process."

In critiquing hegemonic masculinity's treatment of the masculine subject, a prevailing theme is that masculinities are too often analyzed as constructed through discourse, and not enough analyzed for how they are used in discourse. Wetherell and Edley (1999) take the multiplicity of meanings to hegemonic masculinity and argue that those meanings allow men to bob and weave towards and away from hegemonic ideals as they see appropriate, depending on the circumstance. Whitehead (2002) believes the masculine subject in hegemonic masculinity theory becomes lost in systematic analysis; Whitehead prefers men use discourse to get to understanding themselves, utilizing "identity work" to engage with gender power and resistance. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) believe that research that deals with this personal, symbolic dimension of masculine construction can help the understanding of

“how a locally hegemonic version of masculinity can be used to promote self-respect in the face of discredit, for instance, from racist denigration.”

A further issue with analyzing and grappling masculinities this way, in both the academy and individually, is that men are likely to resist constructions of masculinity that challenge their notions of them. Even while the masculine subject might clearly live in a divided, contradictory reality, they might believe and be convinced that they are unitary masculine subjects (even if it means bearing costs), as result of the strength of those masculine constructs. Thus, the hegemonic model might be appropriate in explicating this resistance; hegemonic masculinity in these contexts is deeply woven into what it means to be a man, and those engaging with complicit masculinities resist ‘lesser’ forms. As a final response to the claim that hegemonic masculinity theory ignores the masculine subject, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) say:

We flatly disagree with Whitehead’s (2002) claim that the concept of hegemonic masculinity reduces to structural determinism. Masculinity is defined as a configuration of practice organized in relation to the structure of gender relations. Human social practice creates gender relations in history. The concept of hegemonic masculinity embeds a historically dynamic view of gender in which it is impossible to erase the subject. This is why life-history studies have become a characteristic genre of work on hegemonic masculinity (843).

Finally, one of the strongest critiques of HMT is its predilection towards the functionalist; their dynamics as a part of a self-contained, self-reproducing system, and the explications for aspects of the system as explications for reproducing the system. However, not only Connell (2005), but Anderson (2009) as well emphasize as well that the subordination of women, gender dynamics, and hegemonic paradigms are not predicated on self-reproduction, rather on historical processes. As based in Gramsci’s original theorizing, the hegemonic is always up for contestation, and requires significant effort to maintain itself

as the dominant structure. Furthermore, the maintenance of hegemony requires the policing of men as well as the marginalization of women. This fact is evidenced by actions that serve to necessarily keep those systems going, from war (Hooper 2001), to homophobic assaults and murders (Tomsen 2002), all the way to the teasing of boys in school for being weak (Kimmel and Mahler 2003; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

While Demetriou (2001) acknowledges the historicity of gender, he suggests that there actually exist two forms of hegemony, internal and external. “External hegemony” refers to the men’s supremacy over women as a function of institutionalization; “internal hegemony” refers to the hierarchal social ordering. Demetriou argues that the relationship between the two forms was unspecified in the literature of the time and ambiguous in the original formulation of hegemonic masculinity. Furthermore, complicit and marginalized masculinities are seen as being irrelevant to the production of hegemonic masculinity; that is, complicit and marginalized masculinities exist in tension with but never impact the dominant masculinity. This conceptualization is problematic because it creates a dualistic model between the hegemonic and non-hegemonic forms. Thus, other masculinities cannot be used by the hegemonic ideal to appropriate useful characteristics for the purpose of continued domination. Demetriou (2001) views the increasing cultural visibility of gay masculinity in Western societies as evidence for a model in which the hegemonic ideal is molded from marginalized masculinities, and the hegemonic ideal is not just adapting to historical change—at odds with the principle theorizing. Thus, certain heterosexual men appropriate “bits and pieces” of gay men’s styles and practices to construct a new hybrid configuration of gender practice. One of the most pertinent examples of this in modern history can be seen in David Beckham, who popularized and made mainstream “metrosexual” dress, and did not necessarily conform to a previously hegemonic norm (Anderson 2009). Connell and Messerschmidt 2005 emphasize that, “such an appropriation blurs gender difference but does not undermine patriarchy.”

Furthermore, while Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) find some of Demetriou's ideas useful, especially regarding the way hegemonic ideals appropriate from marginalized communities, they are not convinced that this hybridization is hegemonic beyond a local sense. In 2005, they admitted that gay masculinity and sexuality were increasingly visible in Western society, but did not think there was reason to think that hybridization has become hegemonic at the regional or global level. Relatedly, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) viewed the range of masculine agendas that were being documented as not evidence for multiple hegemonies, since each of these movement laid a claim to being the ideal way a man should act.

Reformulating Hegemonic Masculinity

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) discarded some elements of the original theory and reformulated it from these criticisms. The first is the attempt in *Gender and Power* "to locate all masculinities (and all femininities) in terms of a single pattern of power, the "global dominance" of men over women" (Connell 1987, 183). It was found to be inadequate to the understanding of relations between groups of men in the hierarchy, and inadequate to the understand of women's relationship with dominant masculinities. Examples of this include the ability for privileged women to appropriate aspects of hegemonic masculinity to further their position in society; the interplay of costs and benefits to attempting to achieve the hegemonic ideal; and the ability for marginalized masculinities to affect the dominant type.

Second, "the notion of masculinity as an assemblage of traits that opened the path to that treatment of hegemonic masculinity as a fixed character type" was discarded (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) It was found to ascribed too many traits, and be too essentialist.

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) articulated four main areas in which the theory should be reformulated: 1) the nature of gender hierarchy, 2) geography of masculine arrangements, 3) the

process of social embodiment, and 4) the dynamics of masculinities. First, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) recognize the agency of subordinated and marginalized groups (even while much conditioned by their specific location). "Protest masculinity," as coined by Poynting, Noble, and Tabar (2003) is understood by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) as "a pattern of masculinity constructed in local working-class settings, sometimes among ethnically marginalized men which embodies the claim to power typical of regional hegemonic masculinities in Western countries, but which lacks the economic resources and institutional authority that underpins the regional and global patterns" (853).

Furthermore, in reformulating hegemonic masculinity theory, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) admit that non-hegemonic forms of masculinity can survive and endure, and that these masculinities can find a place in the functioning gender order without active oppression, discredit, or violence (although they believe incorporation and marginalization can occur together). In 2005 they described the position of gay masculinities in Western urban centers as having a range of experience from homophobic violence to all the way up to cultural celebration and political representation. Furthermore, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), in their reformulation, emphasize the role of femininity in models of masculinity, since masculinities are always affected and juxtaposed with relationships to women.

Geographically, in the context of a globalized (and globalizing) world, it is still not clear how hierarchies and processes in men's gendered spheres relate to each other globally, or whether masculine hierarchies in institutional spheres affect local spheres. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) argue that regional and local constructions of hegemonic masculinity are inevitably shaped by the "articulation of these gender systems with global processes" (849). They also argue masculinities can be analyzed and are related at the local, regional and global level. In defending hegemonic masculinity and in a counter argument against multiple hegemonies, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) argue that often local masculinities overlap, and that they are often (but not always) affected by regional level

hegemonies (for example, the the value of sport) and always related to models and hegemonies in the feminine sphere. However, theorizing about masculinities overlapping at local levels may actually prove useful in explicating the rise of inclusive masculinities, since in a period of low homophobia, more masculinities exist in tandem with each other (Anderson 2009). That melting pot of masculinities may appear as local masculinities overlapping.

In reformulating hegemonic masculinity theory, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) write, “Bodies are involved more actively, more intimately, and more intricately in social processes than theory has usually allowed.” Connell (2002), notes that bodies are simultaneously objects of social practice, as well as individual agents in social practice. Relatedly, Rubin (2003, 180) contends that the experience of transgender people highlights the contemporary society views bodies as a “medium through which selves interact with each other.” Patterns in health, illness, and the medical treatment all influenced and shaped by gendered dynamics should be scrutinized.

Issues surrounding social justice are generally affected by the engaging of gendered relations through institutions, economic relations, cultural symbols, among other social situations (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Privileged men’s bodies might be significant advantaged with the emergence of computer systems, global air travel, secure communications, and the effect of expensive technologies generally should be taken up for further research (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Connell and Messerschmidt write that, “Among dominant groups of men, the circuits of social embodiment constantly involve the institutions on which their privileges rest.” Donaldson and Poynting (2004) show that ruling class men use their most characteristic leisure, sporting, and even eating practices to position their wealth and power over other men. Furthermore, they used this positioning to establish interactions characterized by distance and dominance over the bodies of other men with less privilege.

The final reformulation of hegemonic masculinity theory was to specify that the complexity within masculinities does not allow for any masculinities within the framework to be described as

unitary. The expressed masculinities might enact contradictory ideas, unreconciled with different aspects of cultural context in which they are expressed. Furthermore, “Masculinities are configurations of practice that are constructed, unfold, and change through time” (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Patterns of internal division and emotional conflict in hegemonic masculinities are able to stand as contradictory and changing because of their close relationship with gendered power. For example, the reluctance of women to change gendered structures, more easily allowing for men to go back and forth on gender equality by the men in that context.

Furthermore, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) concede that hegemonic masculinity does not translate into a positive life experience, which strengthens the claim that men’s liberation is inextricably tied to women’s. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) describe that a given pattern of gendered hegemony is dominating to the extent that it provides a solution to gendered tension, as its aim is to stabilize patriarchal power in whatever conditions necessary. Regarding the contestation of the hegemonic ideal Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) write:

Such contestation occurs continuously, through the efforts of the women’s movement (at the local, regional, and global levels), among generations in immigrant communities, between models of managerial masculinity, among rivals for political authority, among claimants for attention in the entertainment industry, and so on. The contestation is real, and gender theory does not predict which will prevail—the process is historically open (853).

In future studies of the masculinities of immigrant communities, it will be interesting to see if they ascribe to changing masculinities described in the inclusive masculinity literature, if they associate with hegemonic ideals that may come from family cultures, or some combination. It will also be interesting to examine the way women might contest or reinforce hegemonic norms. While Connell’s theory of hegemonic masculinity was very useful in explicating men’s gendered dynamics in the late 20th century,

and the theory may still be useful for explaining gendered behaviors in some locales and perhaps in the global contexts, it is evident that even in the reformulation of the theory, HMT can not account for the plethora of masculinities that display tactility and emotional openness in many Anglo-American contexts today.

Hegemonic Masculinity among Adolescents

Pascoe (2005) emphasized that orthodox masculinities, particularly among adolescents, were predicated on homophobia discourse. Contextualized with school shootings in the 1990s, among other violent, hypermasculine influenced behavior by young men, Pascoe explains that American adolescent boys predicate their masculinity by creating 'fag' identity, one that has multiple meanings, but is primarily coded as mainly gendered, but also partially raced and sexualized. Due to 'fag' discourses multiple meanings, Pascoe explains that an argument on masculinities that focuses centrally on homophobia is limited. Second, she demonstrates that 'fag' is an identity that can be temporarily attached to heterosexual boys, not only linked to homosexual boys. Finally, she highlights that this discourse is also racialized. Plummer (2001) relatedly argues that sexual identity formation is strongly influenced by 'fag' discourse. The intricate array of meaning fag discourse takes is still significant discourse for its gender policing ability, but that when boys engage in it they often avoid open homophobia. While this work was highly influential in understanding the dynamics of young people's use of gender policing discourse, and may still prove useful today in some contexts, McCormack (2013) formulates new theorizing on fag discourse, which I cover in chapter three.

Plummer (1999) suggested that homophobia among adolescents might be most prevalent in areas where their bodies were in closest contact. Further he found that homophobic attitudes became internalized as to avoid being labeled gay, or homosexualized. Hiller and Harrison (2004) found that boys related homosexuality to being disgusting, unnatural, and immoral. In this paradigm, boys who support

their homosexual peers are homosexualized and ostracized for their support—they are labeled gay themselves and are subject to violence and oppression as well (Plummer 1999; Anderson 2000). Thus, the gendered terrain these boys can navigate is extremely constrained. Social cues pushed boys into only acting in highly masculine manners predicated on stoicism, violence and a rejection of anything feminine, just as men enacted these behaviors. Boys that did not fit this ideal were marginalized. This began to change in the late 1990s, when homophobia began to erode from identity politics, the normalization of homosexuality through the media, and the broader social movement, as will be discussed later in this literature review.

Herek (1990) as well as others (Chesir-Teran 2003; Schniedewind & Cathers 2003) emphasize the significance of heteronormativity and its prevalence in schools and culture generally. This literature emphasizes that sexual minorities can be marginalized even when not the victim of overt homophobia. Heterosexism describes a system of actions and discourses that privilege heterosexuality as the default and normal sexual orientation. Audre Lorde (1978) describes heterosexism as the belief in the “inherent superiority of one pattern of loving and therefor its right to dominance” (45). Herek (1990) describes it as “as an ideological system that denies, denigrates, and stigmatizes any non-heterosexual form of behavior, identity, relationship, or community.” He argues that the broader cultural context of heterosexism allow overt homophobia by “trivializing, repressing, or stigmatizing it” and essentially making invisible homosexuality.

Mandel and Shakeshaft (1999) wrote that heterosexism in schools allowed adolescent boys to exploit their masculinity to be anti-feminine and homophobic. Thus, they argue that heterosexism is problematic in this context in that it doesn't just privilege the heterosexual position, but in that that boys are socialized in a schooling context that is aggressively sexist and not inclusive. Furthermore, they cite Butler (1990) to emphasize that the very concept of masculine and feminine is exploited by the heterosexist culture to encourage a problematic binary—a binary that is underpinned by a heterosexual

matrix. These realities also lead to the problem of girls feeling the need to conform to beauty standards, only feeling satisfaction through prescribing to and succeeding in a system that suggests their most important function is to look a certain way; furthermore, the way they are meant to look is a way that benefits the male gaze (Davies and Furnham 1986). It is not a surprise that often, the owners of and most powerful players in the corporate media outlets that encourage this are men. In studying schools, Mandel and Shakeshaft (1999) were surprised that while girls could easily describe gendered behaviors and notions (wearing a dress vs playing sport), boys could not easily do so. Furthermore, the boys generally rejected the feminine, highly valued stoicism and masculinity, and distanced themselves from homosexuality (Davies and Furnham 1986).

Chapter Conclusion

Masculinities of the 20th century were defined and culturally contextualized by homophobia. Sex role theory served to explain the relationship between masculinities and femininities, albeit with more of a functionalist angle. Theorists such as Connell (1983) began to call for new theories that could account for structural stratification of masculinities and its relationship to patriarchal power, within an anti-essentialist frame work. Hegemonic masculinity was an influential theory that helped explicate the hyper-masculinity and homophobia that defined the era in which it was devised. Kimmel famously wrote in this era that “masculinity was homophobia.” Hegemonic masculinities and sport have been closely related throughout their history from the 19th century onward, as the structure of sport is based in industrial values that perpetuate those hegemonic ideals. As Pascoe (2005) shows, hegemonic masculinity theory may also be useful in analyzing 21st century masculinities in particular, homophobic contexts. However, due to increasingly tolerant, if not positive, attitudes towards homosexuality in the contemporary context, masculinities will necessarily operate differently today. In tandem with decreasing cultural homophobia (Keleher and Smith 2012; Baunach 2012), hegemonic masculinity

theory failed to properly formulate masculine paradigms and gendered dynamics between men. It is to be determined whether HMT retains its theoretical strength in describing men's domination over women.

CHAPTER 3: INCLUSIVE MASCULINITY THEORY

Chapter Introduction

Inclusive Masculinity Theory (IMT) is a theoretical framework developed by Eric Anderson to understand attitudes relating to homosexuality in Western cultures, and their effects on creating more inclusive forms of masculinity among heterosexual Anglo-American and British men. Focal to inclusive masculinity theory is the concept of homophobia - a multi-faceted phenomena which describes a society where homophobia regulates men toward hypermasculinity. In this section, I will explain the history of inclusive masculinities and how they are theorized to have come about in the 21st century. I will go over the construction of masculinities in the US from the late 19th century in periods of homoerasure, increasing homophobia, high cultural homophobia, and declining homophobia.

Inclusive Masculinity Theory

Following the recent social trend in the U.S. of decreasing homophobia, in tandem with the widening of socially acceptable gendered behaviors among heterosexual men, there became a need for a theoretical framework to explain and document the relationships between masculinities, homophobia, and gendered behaviors in a historically situated and contextually nuanced manner (Anderson 2014; Baunach 2012; Keleher and Smith 2012). Other theories such as sex role theory, and hegemonic theory preceded it, but none could account for the leveling of acceptable and culturally revered masculinities in western contexts as homophobia began to drop drastically at the turn of the 21st century. Inclusive masculinity theory, developed by Anderson, arose as the theoretical successor to Connell's (1995) hegemonic masculinity theory, when Connell's theorizing could not account for the cause and implications for the impact of liberalizing attitudes on male's gendered expression. Focal to inclusive

masculinity theory is the concept of *homohysteria*- a multi-faceted phenomena which describes a society where homophobia regulates men toward hypermasculinity.

Anderson (2009) developed the concept of homohysteria to describe the fear of being gay. According to Anderson (2009), homohysteria describes the fear of being homosexualized within a culture and is met by three social conditions: 1) mass awareness that homosexuality exists as an established sexual orientation within a significant portion of that culture's population; 2) significant disapproval of homosexuality and the femininity associated with it; and 3) compulsory heterosexuality, or the need to visibly align their identities with heterosexuality to avoid homosexual suspicion.

Mass awareness that homosexuality exists as an established sexual orientation began to happen according to Anderson (2009) after the Oscar Wilde trials—people began to realize from these trials that homosexuality could exist in men that exhibited feminine traits. It was then, as the fear of being gay started to grow, that men slowly began to distance themselves from each other and femininity. The significant disapproval that homosexuality exists, along with disapproval with the femininity associated with it is the homophobia that characterized mid—20th century US and Britain. Compulsory heterosexuality describes a function of high homohysteria—men can't truly prove they are straight, and are so desperate to do so during periods of high homohysteria that that they prescribe to hypermasculinity and other traits associated with heteromascularity.

Inclusive Masculinity Theory (IMT) conceptualizes the changes that occur concerning masculinities within Anglo-American societies in moments of increasing and high cultural homohysteria, diminishing cultural homohysteria, and diminished homohysteria (Anderson 2009). It also conceptualizes periods of *homoerasure*. In periods of homoerasure, homophobia is still prevalent, but since men do not really believe anyone in their immediate circle or community could actually be gay, they do not restrict gendered behaviors very much. Homoerasure characterizes society's attitudes towards homosexuality throughout the late 19th and early 20th century.

Before high cultural homophobia came to define the social landscape of the United States (beginning from the late 1960's until the 1990's), the U.S. exemplified a culture of erasure. In that zeitgeist, sexual minorities concealed their identity and sexual desires from severe homophobia, and social and legal oppression (Johnson, 2004). While the medicalization of same-sex behaviors in the late 19th century established homosexuality as a constant sexual orientation (Greenberg 1988), men's gendered behaviors were generally not regulated by homophobia (Ibsen 2002). The general perception in society was that homosexuality could only exist in gender atypical men outside of one's social network, thus, it was unlikely that how a person acted would result in them being perceived as gay (Anderson, 2009). This phenomenon has been evidenced by Ibsen's (2002) analysis of men engaging in homosocial intimacy in the early 20th century- hugging, cuddling- all the while existing in an otherwise homophobic culture.

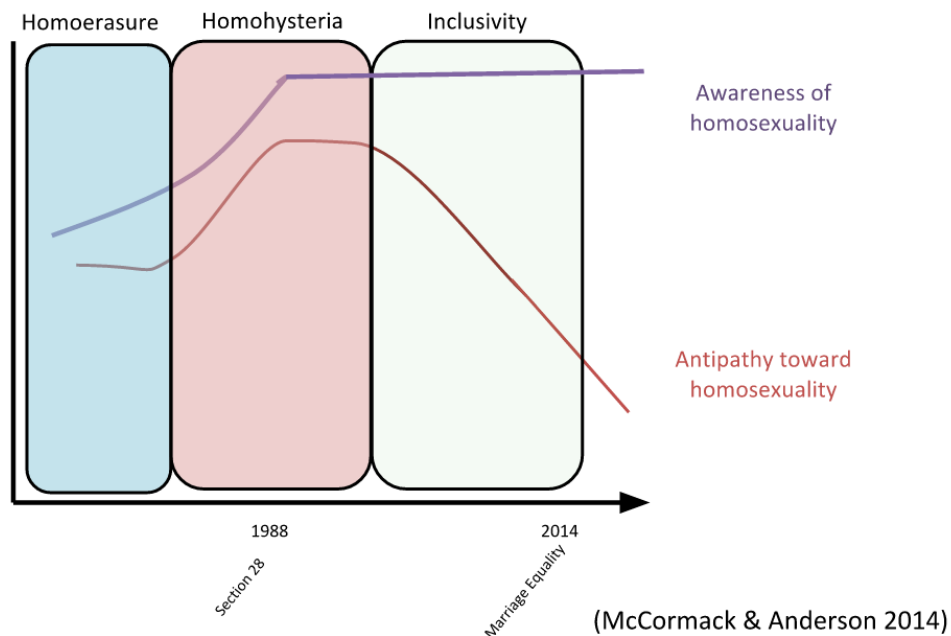


Figure 1

Men living in periods of homoerasure could display physical tactility with each other because heterosexuality was assumed and the existence of homosexuality within one's social sphere was not understood to be a reasonable possibility. Since there was no mass cultural suspicion in the U.S. that one was gay for much of the 20th century, compulsory heterosexuality and the policing of gendered behavior was not prominent. The publication of Kinsey's (1948) study of male's sexual practices began to bring homosexuality to the forefront of mainstream consciousness, as Kinsey presented homosexuality as a variation of human sexuality, and men began to distance themselves emotionally and physically (Ibsen 2002). While Kinsey's research prompted a "lavender scare"- the labeling as homosexuals as "sexual deviants" and the purging of gay men from public office (Johnson 2004) – society was not as a whole homophobic, since the oppression of homosexuality was so severe that it continued effectively erased, and identity politics among gay men could not easily occur (Anderson 2014). Despite the challenging of social conservatism with an increase in liberal attitudes towards sex and homosexuality in the 1960s and 1970s (Spencer 1995), and political activism that promoted a "politics of sameness" and gender atypicality to oppose heterosexual privilege (Shepard 2009), homophobia emerged in the 1980s from three factors.

The first and second factors relate to the revival of Christian fundamentalist ideals in the United States (even while church attendance declined) (Chaves 1989) and its proliferation into the social and political arena brought upon an increasingly conservative moral outlook in which people viewed homosexuality as a sin and threat to the nuclear family (Lotfus 2001). Conservative politicians drew upon those fears and the general moral panic to advocate for supposed traditional family values and win elections (Sherkat, et al. 2011; Lugg 1998; McCormack and Anderson, 2014). Finally, and most importantly, the HIV/ AIDS crisis made clear the notion that homosexuality existed in large numbers (Shilts 1987), that it could be present in men who previously seemed to embody heterosexuality and masculinity (McCormack and Anderson 2014), and that homosexuals worked and lived ubiquitously

among heterosexuals in every social institution (Anderson 2009). As homosexual practices fell deeply into the scrutiny of the clinical gaze, and researchers sought to find a cause for the disease, homosexuality again became highly pathologized (Weeks 1991). Gay men became subjected to repulsion and the fear of contagion (Lupton 1994), and society found an epidemiological reason to condemn and “prevent” homosexuality (Anderson, 2009). Stereotypes of gay men and AIDs victims as effeminate, thin, and weak and social anxiety about one’s perceived serostatus drove men of all sexual orientations to strive for stoic masculinity and hypermuscularity, according to Anderson (2009, 88).

The progress made by gay men and feminists in the 1960s and the 1970s was squandered in part by the re-ushering of fundamentalist Christianity in the 1980s. This happened even while church attendance began to decline (Chaves 1989). Cable television helped bring a multitude of ministries into millions of living rooms all around the country (Anderson 2009). Christian representatives on T.V. took advantage of the hysteria about homosexuality in society and asked for money from callers, who could donate with credit cards over the telephone, without fear of repercussion—it was convenient (Anderson 2009). This change to how people worshiped and received moral direction from their churches helped inspire Christianity to move from the church, where it began to decline in many locales, and into the political arena, where it could thrive under the conservatism of the 1980s.

The HIV and AIDS epidemic, came to be the primary reason by which the awareness that homosexuality existed as a static sexual orientation grew exponentially. HIV/ AIDS came about in the early 1980s, and brought such visibility to the gay community (who were most predominantly affected by the disease) that it became clear to every individual in societies mind that homosexuality existed in large numbers, and that anyone you knew could potentially be gay. Since people supposed to be heterosexual were dying not only in the public eye, but in communities all over, it could not be denied that homosexuality existed ubiquitously as a static sexual orientation. While the 1960s and 1970s were partially characterized by the sexual revolution and the emphasis on exploring once stigmatized

gendered performances and sexualities, the 1980s was a strong backlash against that in the face of conservatism. Furthermore, those bodies that were revered in the disco era became seen as too feminine, too gay, and too diseased. Homosexuality became pathologized as not only a lack of masculinity, but as synonymous with disease (Anderson 2009). The government ignored the issue, allowing the hysteria to grow and fester.

The effect of the HIV/ AIDS and homophobia on men's gendered behavior, while hard to measure, can be evidenced from cultural changes as well as quantitative research and polling. It can even be shown to have affected the field of gender studies; it is in the era of high homophobia that Connell conceived hegemonic masculinity and in which Kimmel declared homophobia was masculinity. For example, the American G.I. doll, a classic, was shown to have been radically buffed, its morphology warped to fulfill ideals of masculinity. Pope, Phillips and Olivardia (2000) note that each new version of the G.I Joe grew larger in muscle mass and muscular definition since he was first introduced in 1964. Anderson (2009) describes that it was at this time as well that steroids were added into the culture for popular use, and an era in which fitness became a major cultural phenomenon—gyms and vitamin shops becoming a common site in most urban areas. While AIDS is still overly associated with homosexuality, the crisis started Americans and activists generally talking about the rights of the gay community, albeit at a huge cost. Over time, the stigma that surrounded homosexuality began to wane.

The peak in attitudinal homophobia is evidenced by GSS from 1987 in which 77% of respondents stated that homosexuality was *always wrong*, and a national survey in 1988 in which 89% of young male participants found gay sex to be “disgusting” (Marsiglio 1993; McCormack and Anderson, 2014). It is in this epoch that homophobia was most effective in regulating men's gendered behaviors to be hyper-masculine. Under that homophobic cultural zeitgeist, Kimmel (1994) effectively and accurately described homophobia as synonymous with masculinity and the expression of femininity unacceptable (Anderson 2009). The development of this phenomenon is emphasized by the ubiquity of orthodox

masculinities and strong shift towards various socio-negative gendered traits associated with hypermasculinity, including: physical and emotional isolation, the expectation to sacrifice one's body (endorsed by a rising sports culture), increased sexism, and symbolic and actualized violence (McCreary 1994, Anderson 2009). Throughout much of the 20th century, but particularly during homophobia, homophobic discourse was the primary policing agent in maintaining the gender hierarchy (Burns 2000). Anderson (2009) describes the current period of diminished homophobia, or inclusivity, as one in which homophobic discourse and its homosexualizing utility is mostly lost. Thus, as a result of the emergence of identity politics from the HIV/AIDS crisis, social activism, and a gradual increase in the number of openly gay males, attitudinal homophobia has gradually declined since the 1990s (Baunach 2012; Keleher and Smith 2012).

While homophobia conceptualizes the character and impact of homophobia on sexual minorities (McCormack and Anderson 2014), homophobia situates when in history homophobia regulated masculinity and the context behind it. Since homophobia has declined, and men are less afraid to be seen as gay, men's acceptable gendered behaviors to vastly expand, and which has allowed masculinities in inclusive locales to proliferate without hegemony—thus is the crux of IMT. IMT argues that as cultural homophobia significantly decays, conservative masculinity, which was once hegemonic loses its dominance. As a result, softer masculinities exist and the social stigma to police them erodes, for example, the shift from hypermasculine Stallone to boyish DiCaprio as the ideal movie star (Anderson, 2009). It is in this epoch of declined homophobia that Anderson and others contend two dominant, but not necessarily dominating, forms of masculinity co-exist. These are *orthodox* and *inclusive* masculinities. Anderson (2009) uses the term orthodox as to not confuse these masculinities with hegemonic masculinity, since hegemonic masculinity has been long misused in the literature to necessarily denote an archetype. Inclusive and orthodox masculinities are dominant, but not dominating, because men who do not neatly fit into these labels or archetypes are not subjugated to

pressure to conform to any specific masculine expression. As more and more men disavow orthodox forms of masculinity, orthodox masculinity loses cultural appeal. This is characteristic of periods of declining homophobia.

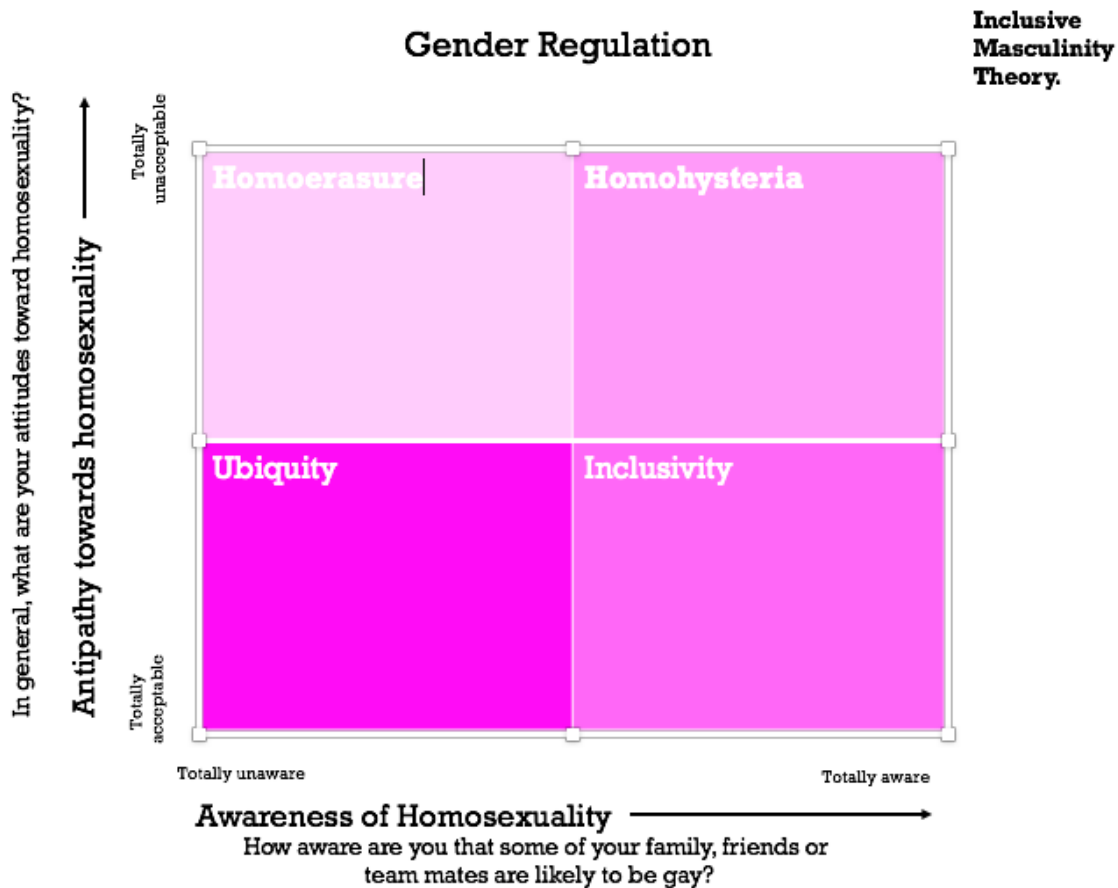


Figure 2

Orthodox valuing men continue to fear gendered expressions that are feminine, maintain homophobia, and remain physically and emotionally distant from other men. In contrast, men who ascribe to more inclusive versions of masculinity demonstrate emotional intimacy and homosocial tactility. Inclusive men do not necessarily follow gendered rules, and as a result, the lines between the feminine and masculine blur (Anderson 2009). Furthermore, in eras of declining and declined

homophobia, men ascribing to inclusive masculinity will increasingly show improved social attitudes concerning women. Anderson (2009) describes multiple processes by which this happens. First, men are able to bond with women in non-intimate ways. As compulsory masculinity erodes, men do not feel like they have to prove their heterosexuality. In not having to prove their heterosexuality, men may not feel as much pressure to have to prove to their peers that they sleep with women, and that women are simply objects to be conquered. The stigma associated with befriending women in platonic ways erodes, and men are not chastised for associating with women's narratives and understandings (Anderson 2009).

While Anderson (2009) argues this may have socio-positive implications men's cultural dominance over women as well, he does not claim inclusive masculinities guarantee the fall of patriarchy. Even hegemonic masculinity, he argues, was but one of many understood mechanisms by which men are able to retain cultural dominance. Anderson writes (2009):

A culture of inclusive masculinity is no guarantee for a realignment of the gender order. While decreased sexism is a characteristic of an inclusive culture of masculinities, it does not guarantee social parity for women. Nonetheless, when inclusive masculinities dominate, there should at least be some social benefit for women. Also, categorizing men as ascribing to inclusive masculinities does not mean that these men are completely free from other forms of orthodox sentiment or behaviors (98).

IMT VS HMT

According to Anderson (2009), Inclusive Masculinity Theory (IMT) is incommensurate to Hegemonic Masculinity Theory (HMT). IMT describes the possibility of a protest masculinity; however, one cannot ascribe the newly emerged inclusive masculinities and equally subscribed to masculinities this label. This

is because those protest masculinities are theorized to contest the hegemonic form for dominance. However, this struggle eventually (and according to HMT, necessarily) leads to another hegemonic, dominating form being realized. While the idea of protest masculinities helps explain how individual men navigate a hegemonic system and might change it, inclusive masculinity theory explains that two archetypes can proliferate without hegemonic domination (Anderson 2009).

Anderson and others' work highlight the ostensive impossibility of matching the majority of contemporary masculinities research observations to the HMT framework. For example, in his ethnography on cheerleaders, hegemonic masculinity could not account for the two different archetypes of cheerleaders (inclusive versus orthodox) because neither group modeled an ideal masculinity; the cheerleaders with inclusive ideologies did not indicate that they believed the other version of masculinity was better, that they should switch, or that they felt pressure to switch (Anderson 2009). The same went for the group of orthodox cheerleaders, who did not feel their position was inferior. Anderson (2009) argues that these men were not influenced by hierarchical positioning of masculinities, and neither group felt marginalized or subordinated in their environment. In his research on soccer teams, fraternities, and rugby teams, Anderson (2009) found the same dynamic at play. Even while inclusive masculinities were most common, they did not dominate.

Chapter Conclusion

Inclusive Masculinity Theory (IMT) argues that this gradual decrease of homophobia has led to a decrease in homophobia in much of Anglo-American culture, since heterosexual males are not concerned with being perceived as gay in areas where homosexuality is not stigmatized (Anderson 2014). In the U.K., this trend of declining homophobia has shown to create socio-positive effects for a diversity of adolescent boys (McCormack, 2013). While these settings of low homophobia are not uniform throughout the United States, they mark a significant change in the range of men's accepted

gendered behaviors in Anglo-American cultures. Consistent with Gramsci and Connell's theorizing on cultural hegemony and hegemonic masculinity, respectively, inclusive masculinity theory conceptualizes periods of diminishing homophobia as the challenging of orthodox masculinities by inclusive forms of masculinity. Finally, in cultures of diminished homophobia, such as the U.S. and Britain, inclusive masculinities and orthodox masculinities proliferate without hegemony (Anderson 2009).

Central to IMT is the erosion of homophobia, made up of mass awareness that homosexuality exists, societal homophobia, and compulsory heterosexuality. Inclusive masculinity theory explicates that in periods of high homophobia, men's gendered expression is severely limited, and men predicate their masculinities on trying to prove they are not gay. They did so through homophobic discourse, and hypermasculine posturing—men were expected to prove their heterosexuality by objectifying women, not showing emotion, and being physically tough (Anderson 2009). These realities were reflected in the popular culture's obsession with highly masculinized movie stars, such as Arnold Schwarzenegger and Sylvester Stallone. While Connell (1983) described this form of masculinity as the hegemonic ideal, Anderson (2009) calls this masculinity type orthodox, to differentiate from the old hegemonic ideal's archetype. As the idealized movie star shifted from Stallone to Ledger, so too did homophobia begin to decline. It is this decline, reflected in decreasing cultural homophobia, that allowed men to begin to expand their gendered terrains (Baunach 2012; Keleher and Smith 2012). Men that grew up in the context of declining homophobia could begin to accept their gay peers, and in turn, stopped being as worried with being seen as gay. IMT describes not only the mechanism behind these changes, but their cultural implications; men increasingly embrace feminized artifacts, are physically tactile with other men, and express emotion intimately, among other traits. These behavioral aspects will be discussed more in depth in the following section.

CHAPTER 4: INCLUSIVE MASCULINITIES RESEARCH

Chapter Introduction

In this chapter, I explain the changes to symbolic gender expression and regulation declining homophobia drives among young men. In the current period of diminished homophobia in the U.S and Britain, the diminished ability for homophobia to regulate gendered behavior has ostensibly led to various socio-positive traits among men who display forms of inclusive masculinity. Inclusive Masculinity Theory (IMT) has now been utilized by a plethora of gender and sexualities scholars (Adams 2011; White and Robinson 2016; Anderson 2014; McCormack 2013; Murray and White 2015) to explain the new paradigm of men's gendered relations and gender performance. First, I'll contextualize these changes with contemporary quantitative measures of decreased homophobia.

Next, I'll focus on contemporary qualitative research, the majority of which reflects the phenomena IMT predicts. Anderson's research (2008b, 2012) has documented a number of characteristics to the homosocial behavior of mostly white, middle class heterosexual males. First, heterosexual are increasingly described in the literature to be less afraid to associate with homosexual peers, have been documented to maintain friendships with them (Stotzer 2009). Second, diminished homophobia has allowed heterosexual males to embrace artifacts once stigmatized as feminine (and thus, coded as homosexual). This is evidenced by the now outdated term metrosexuality, a loose term that describes a feminine model of masculinity, a form of sexual objectification of men, and the appropriation of high fashion (McCormack and Anderson 2014).

Next, Anderson and others describe the rise of increased emotional intimacy (Anderson 2009; Luttrell 2012; Baker and Hotek 2011). Finally, the increased rejection of violence as an effective solution to solving problems is used to contextualize IMT (Anderson 2011c) I'll outline homo-positivity, homosexually-themed-language, non-sexual homosocial physicality, emotionality, bromances,

popularity, and internet culture in the contemporary masculinities research, as 1) these are its strongest currents and 2) they follow and incorporate IMT's predictive categories. The sections on friendships and internet culture are built on and critical to framing the exploratory research in this MPhil.

Quantitative Measures of Decreasing Homophobia

Various quantitative measures have accounted for decreasing attitudinal homophobia, but also for increasingly inclusive attitudes among athletes (Keleher and Smith 2012; Baunach 2012; Bush, Anderson, and Carr 2012). These measures come in tandem with and help inform the qualitative work that has described the acceptance of gay peers into sports groups (Anderson 2009), positions of popularity (Morris and Anderson 2015), and schools (McCormack 2012). Baunach (2012) examined attitudes on same-sex marriages over time using regression and decomposition techniques, analyzing General Social Survey (GSS) data from 1988 to 2008. Attitudes on same sex marriage and their influences have shifted radically towards support. For example, the percentage of respondents who answered, "strongly agree" to the statement, "Homosexual couples should have the right to marry one another increases nearly sevenfold from 1988 to 2010 (Baunach 2012). Furthermore, the percentage answering "agree" nearly triples (Baunach 2012). GSS data also shows that the middle category of "neither agree nor disagree" becomes less usual over time (Baunach 2012).

Consistent with Anderson's theorizing on the cultural causes of decreasing homophobia, in 1988, opposition to same sex marriage was high for nearly every demographic, only reduced for the highly educated, urban residents, and those with less conservative or no religious affiliations (Baunach 2012). Many of the characteristics associated with opposition to same-sex marriage—being African American, living in the southern United States, being an evangelical Protestant, and being Republican—only became associated with opposition to same-sex marriage in recent years. By 2010, antagonism to same-sex marriage became associated with more specific demographics: older Americans, southerners,

African Americans, evangelical Protestants, and Republicans (Baunach 2012). Baunach's (2012) decomposition analysis suggests that it was not demographic changes that drove pro-gay-marriage attitudes, but attitudinal changes in society, indicating cultural shift.

In *The Declining Existence of Men's Homophobia in British Sport*, Bush, Anderson and Carr (2012) quantitatively measured British athletes' attitudes on homosexuality for the first time. The researchers utilized questionnaires to examine the attitudes of 2016 university athletes from all sports upon entry to the university (2006), and subsequently upon exiting the university (2009). In this study, minimal instances of homophobia upon the first questionnaire were eradicated by the second (Bush, Anderson and Carr 2012). They also found that athletic identity is associated with lesser degrees of support for gay teamsport athletes when they were first surveyed, but again, this effect is gone upon the students exiting the university. Other teams of researchers (Twenge et al. 2016; Keleher and Smith 2012), have also quantitatively examined attitudes towards homosexuality to shift towards accepting using survey data, especially compared with the unaccepting attitudes recorded in surveys in the 1980s and 90s.

Homo-Positivity in the Qualitative Research

A plethora of research has increasingly noted the ubiquity of gay-friendly attitudes proliferating amongst young men, especially in sporting contexts—contexts traditionally predisposed to the most homophobia and orthodox masculinity. McCormack (2011), in his research on sixth forms in England, found gay friendly attitudes to proliferate among youths at three different schools in the south of England. Adams (2011) documented the way in which university soccer players in the American mid-west took up gay friendly attitudes and the feminized artifacts that accompanied them, characterized by Josh's pink cleats. Magrath, Anderson, and Roberts (2013) set out to the next generation of professional British football players, and their attitudes regarding inclusivity. They wanted to study this group of athletes because they represent athletes that are on the doorstep to the professional football area, where

traditionally, football players have been deemed to be homophobic (Magrath et al. 2013; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2001.)

These studies contrast with Anderson's (2002) early research, conducted more than ten years prior: in that context of decreasing homophobia, he found that gay male athletes were accepted last decade only as long as they were successful in their sport—only as long as they have high social capital. In contrast, the contemporary heterosexual male adolescent athletes in this study offered the categorical acceptance of homosexuality. This reality applied even to two men who believed they maintained Christian morals—even while they articulated homosexuality was not a part of their god's divine plan, they both ostensibly stood by the civil and social rights of gay men (Magrath, Anderson and Roberts 2013).

Players held pro-gay attitudes even while they had little to no direct social contact with gay men—they were at a camp where they interacted almost exclusively with themselves, and they all reported being heterosexual (Magrath, Anderson and Roberts 2013). The aforementioned researchers also used Anderson's (2005a) concept of a 'near-total institution—inspired by Goffman's (1961) notion of a total institution—to describe the way by which these youths were confined to their small social circle within their sporting world (Magrath, Anderson and Roberts 2013). The best explanation of this, according to Magrath, Anderson and Roberts, is that phenomena is a function of the decline of the significance of homophobia (McCormack 2012). Rather than needing to have come into prolonged contact with gay men, media visibility and the broader changes to culture and popular narratives has led to the unacceptability of homophobia for most young men in the UK. Theoretically, there is reason to suspect that modern media would have had similar effect on other young men whose social networks are limited (Magrath et al. 2013).

Swain (2006) found personalized masculinities among pre-adolescents that did not aim to subscribe to orthodox masculinities, and were comfortable in doing so. Reflecting shifts in the fabric of

homophobic gender policing, Michael (2013) found inclusive attitudes present among high school wrestlers, a sport heavily coded as orthodox masculine. Considering the inherently tactile nature of their sport, it is particularly significant that those athletes' maintained heterosexual maintenance boundaries not predicated on homophobic discourse. While no late work on otherwise tactile behavior by male high school athletes has been conducted in the United States, the trends and similarities among the inclusive attitudes of high school and university aged men in the U.S. and U.K (Michael 2013; Adams 2011; Anderson and McCormack 2015) indicates likely changes in the expressed tactility and emotionality of high school boys in American locales. Thus, that work is the direct foundation on which this research is built.

Homosexually Themed Language

Men that display inclusive masculinities are also using language differently than ever before. New theorizing has been developed on the changing nature of homosexually-themed language (McCormack 2012). The understanding of changing discourse relating to homophobia and gender expression is vital because language "is the currency through which ideas and social norms are consolidated (McCormack 2011). That homophobic language has been used to police gender and keep many athletes in the closet has been documented in the past by various scholars (Messner 1992; Parker 1996; Anderson 2002). As cultural homophobia has fallen (Keleher and Smith 2012), and gender is not policed by homophobic language in inclusive settings, new theorizing became necessary in understanding dynamics in language.

McCormack relates levels of homophobia in a culture to explicate how language that used to be homophobic in intent is either losing its anti-gay meaning, or being used in pro-gay discourse. He develops a model to understand and explain the transition from overtly homophobic language to 'fag discourse' to actually pro-gay language. In his research (2011, 2012), McCormack document that heterosexual and gay youths use gay banter, or the playful use of words that used to be used to police

gender and disparage to bond. McCormack (2012) labels the use of homosexually-themed language in this way “pro-gay language,” because its intent is to affirm friendships with gay peers. This can happen because as cultural homophobia and homophobia has fallen, ‘fag discourse’ loses its power—youths increasingly do not care if they are seen as gay, and homophobic discourse is diminished. Accordingly, the meaning and intent for the use of this language for heterosexual and gay youth changes in some contexts.

McCormack (2011) describes two variables which he defines as necessary to make up homophobic language 1) it is said with pernicious intent; and 2) it has a negative social effect. The first prerequisite describes the associating of homosexuality as a tactic to degrade an individual. Homophobic language with pernicious intent often includes an “intensifier,” an aggressive adjective used before the word to indicate the pejorative context (Thurlow 2001). Not only does homophobic language stigmatize same sex desire and reproduce homophobia, it regulates men’s gendered behavior (McCormack 2011). Furthermore, homophobic language contributes to an intimidating sports culture for male youth generally (Messner 1992). However, McCormack emphasizes that it is important to contextualize the environment in which the homosexually-themed-language is spoken, due to the intricate relationship between changing cultural norms and changing attitudes toward homosexuality.

Pascoe first introduced the concept of “fag discourse” in 1996, based on Thorne and Luria’s (1986) notion of “fag talk.” Instead of trying to influence sexuality, the point of fag discourse was not necessarily to regulate boys’ behavior—it did not always include pernicious intent (McCormack 2011). Still, fag discourse showed antipathy towards gender non-conformity (McCormack 2011). Pascoe’s work documented the changing nature of homosexually-themed language, and McCormack and Anderson (2010a) were the first to investigate how homosexually-themed language operates in a pro-gay environment (McCormack 2011). They used Ogburn’s (1950) concept of cultural lag to explicate the way pro-gay rugby players used phrases like “don't be gay” and “that's so gay (McCormack and Anderson

2010a). Essentially, the meaning bifurcated; it kept its negative connotation, but that negative connotation was not targeted toward sexuality or regulating gender. Two social variables changed at different paces: the use of these players' homosexually themed language behind their pro-gay attitudes. The following graph illustrates McCormack's theorizing that as cultural context changes from a homohysteretic culture to a gay friendly culture, and as intent changes from pernicious to positive, homosexually themed language can move from having negative social effect to positive social effect.

Figure 3.

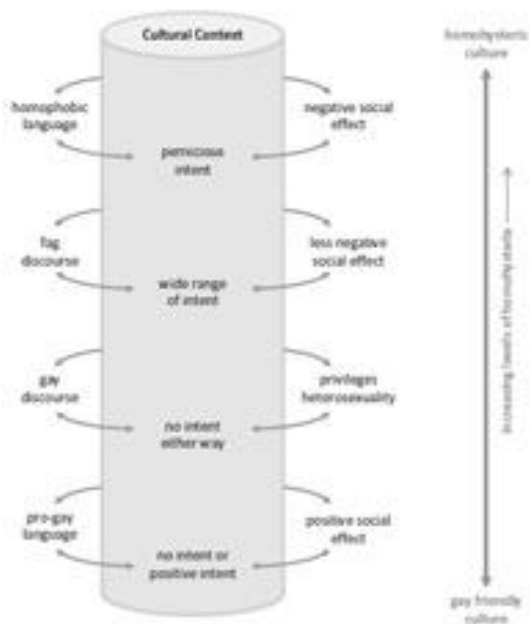


Figure 3

McCormack believes homosexually themed language, when used with positive intent, can be used as a bonding mechanism between heterosexual and gay peers, and believes it can serve to diminish the negative connotation for the word (McCormack 2011). McCormack (2011) also emphasizes that phrases such as “no homo” –which he describes as used as a mechanism for heterosexual recuperation (McCormack 2012) —is gay discourse, used to denote “I’m straight, but I love you.” While he notes this language privileges heterosexuality, McCormack and Anderson (2010) note it can be used to *expand* heterosexual boundaries. This research is important because it highlights that way people understand words is dependent on their lived experiences, and that youths lived experiences are changing with the decline of homophobia. Generation sexualities (Plummer 2010) are important in understanding how sexual identities and the way the social world is mediated by individuals is dependent on the age and cohort one is born into.

Homosocial Physicality

In the early 21st century, it was documented that the same-sex kiss as a humiliation in sports team and fraternity hazing. However, this act has lost its meaning as disgusting or socially unacceptable enough a display for team initiations (Anderson, McCormack and Lee 2012). Instead, throughout western universities and nightclubs (especially among sports-team members, there is an exponentially increasing frequency by which heterosexually identifying men are kissing. These men kiss on the cheeks and lips freely, all without the fear of persecution for being gay, and even without (largely) the fear of being seen as gay (Anderson 2014). This is considered a function of the decline of homophobia and the normalization of same sex behaviors. Anderson (2014) succinctly describes that kissing, “began to drip into virtually every corner of youth masculine culture in England” (p.133).

As described by the inclusive masculinities scholarship, men are increasingly free to engage in physical intimacies with other men. These behaviors would have been avoided and scorned behaviors in

previous decades, since they would have coded the man as homosexual (Anderson 2009). As Anderson (2008a; 2008b) describes, the one-time rule of homosexuality is eroding.

In one study, Anderson (2008a) found that the heterosexual male college cheerleaders (40% of which used to be high school football players) he interviewed in the United States engaged in a range of same sex behaviors, kissing being representative of some of the more mild behaviors. Drummond et al. (2014) found that 29% of heterosexual undergraduate Australian men disclosed having kissed another man on the lips before. In interviews conducted by Anderson, Rivers and Adams (2012) that sought to shed qualitative light on why young men were kissing, one participant explained that “It’s no more a sexual act than kissing your father.” Another explained, “It’s like shaking hands. Well, it’s more than that, but it’s the same attitude” (p.5). These responses represent the prevailing attitude among many men in England have regarding same sex kissing; it doesn’t represent lust or sexual desire on either party’s part, necessarily. Whereas kissing would once have been coded as a sexual act, especially if done by two heterosexual men, the symbolic meaning of kissing is now interpreted differently than ever before by these young men. Analogous to this phenomenon, we can relate the manner in which homosexually themed language has changed, according to McCormack (2013).

In the United Kingdom survey distributed in a diversity of educational institutions found that 89% of 145 participants, or nine out of ten heterosexual male students (between the ages of had at one time or another in the past kissed their male friends on the lips (Anderson, Adams and Rivers 2012). These youths were between the ages of 16 and 25, representing a demographic far removed from the demographics studied by previous masculinity scholars.

Thus, the ordinary operation of heteromale intimacy among good friends now involves kissing. When one participant was asked in Anderson’s 2014 study about who he kisses and who he does not, he answered, “I wouldn’t kiss just anyone. I kiss my good mates... It’s not that there is a system to who gets it or not. Instead, it’s a feeling, an expression of endearment, an act that happens to show they

are important to you” (Anderson, Rivers and Adams 2012: 5) Ollie added, “You do it sometimes when out having a laugh with your mates, yeah. But I suppose it’s also a way to show how much we love each other, so we do it at home, too” (Anderson, Rivers and Adams 2012: 5).

Another prevalent theme in these studies on same-sex kissing is that they occur between athletes. Anderson (2014) explicates the prevalence among these behaviors being among athletes because “they maintain high degrees of heterosexual capital, and because sport promotes increased camaraderie and emotionality... these responses were mirrored by a number of athletes: the rationale, location, and meaning behind these kisses did not substantially vary between them” (p.135). This research is consistent with other literature in the sexuality scholarship that stresses that competitive sports serve as a place where exclusive social bonding takes place and privileged friendships thrive (Geary et al. 2003), and where levels of association are formed between men very quickly in a particular manner that not many other activities can succeed in duplicating (Russell 1999; Anderson 2009). Thus, primary relations are able to be created and proliferate, and these relations take priority over other friendships. This is because athletes interact as such a high frequency, especially when compared to other social groups. Furthermore, athletes find homogeneity in their group, by nature of all those in the group being athletes (Booth and Hess 1974). However, it is significant to note, as I will explicate in the next section, that kissing does not represent the only way athletes show affection for one another.

This research is significant because the kisses are described as a form of social bonding, and a way of demonstrating close friendship, not as sexual. Further, informed by international work on men’s kissing behaviors (Anderson et al. 2012; Drummond et al. 2015), same-sex kissing among this demographic of young men (heterosexual, university) seems to be “an act of emotional expression, and not sexual fluidity” (McCormack and Anderson, 2017, 19).

In Anglo-American societies, bonding behaviours among heterosexually identifying men are not limited to kissing; they include bed-sharing, cuddling, and spooning (Anderson and McCormack 2014).

This empirical research has illuminated in the academic literature that heterosexual undergraduate male athletes in Britain are increasingly engaging in prolonged intimate activities other than kissing, including cuddling, hugging, spooning, and bed sharing (Anderson and McCormack 2014). For example, 37 out of 40 of the men in Anderson and McCormack's (2014) study that shared a bed with another man. Furthermore, they clarified that it was not out of homosexual attraction, but heterosexual affection and convenience, as the kissing was. Spooning was described as for relaxation, generally, and described as a comfortable activity Anderson and McCormack 2014. Some variance in who bed sharing takes place with was reported, although it's prevalence generally was articulated by every participant (Anderson and McCormack 2014). Some described the bed sharing behaviors as only taking place between close friends, while others, such as 'Jamie' gave examples that suggested bed sharing could acceptably take place between friends of friends or acquaintances:

We were at a mate's drinking, and I just was like 'that's it. I'm going to sleep.' So I crawled into one of the beds with some guy already in it. I knew who he was, but no, we were not friends per se. (7)

One participant's experience was nearly representative of the majority:

Basically, my house is nearest town. When we go for a night out, those that haven't pulled come back to mine and we share a bed. We don't have spare sheets and shit like that, so it's just less hassle. (7)

37 of the 40 athletes interviewed said they had spent the night in bed with a heterosexual male friend and cuddled him. One participant said, "we're always cuddling, my lot. We're all comfortable with each

other” (Anderson and McCormack 2014: 8). Others expressed that cuddling even occurs during the day, not just at night after a night out. “I spoon, yeah ... It is very common for us to go out, and then the next day after class receive a text from someone saying something like ‘do you want to come and nap?’” (Anderson and McCormack 2014, 9) one participant explained.

Cuddling has been documented to extend past the private sanctuary of the bedroom. Magrath, Anderson and Roberts, in their 2013 qualitative study on 16- to 18-year-old soccer players at one college in Britain, found that these athletes cuddle in larger groups when watching movies. Furthermore, Peterson and Anderson (2012) have found men intimately dancing with one another in nightclubs, and McCormack (2012a) has observed cuddling in British schools. Still, Anderson (2014) explains that these results can’t be generalized to the greater public—that these findings indicate that some young men are engaging in physically tactile behaviors, but that this is a “new phenomenon and more research would be required to determine this” (p.164). Like all qualitative research, generalizability is a significant hurdle. These behaviors have not been widely documented among teams with significant numbers of ethnic minorities, or in athletic communities of color.

In my own research (Morales, Caffyn-Parsons 2017), I found that while these behaviors were not as common for American high school students, they still engaged in tactile behaviors and some cuddled. In addition, Anderson and McCormack (2014) emphasize that these behaviors do not eliminate the significance of hetero-masculinity as the primary context by which these youths justify their behaviors (the researchers also argue for the use of hereromasculinities to properly capture this nuance). They articulate:

I argue that the combination of these new behaviors and the continued importance of heteromascularity trouble the efficacy of queer politics. Notwithstanding the continued gender inequalities within British and American society, these changes document the power of collective

identity movement politics in effecting social change; even though participants are not aware that they are part of a movement (16).

Cuddling and kissing behaviors detected among young men represent a soft level of same-sex physical intimacy; at the same time, heterosexual men, particularly in universities have also shown a willingness to participate in two-male one-female threesomes, particularly with their friends. This stands in contrast to the previous power dynamic and paradigm, where threesomes were for the most part, envisioned as taking place with two males and one female. This can be theorized to be the result of, or a function of at least, declined homophobia. Without the fear of being perceived as gay, young men can more easily engage in sex acts alongside their friends, even while maintaining their heterosexual identities and engaging in heterosexual acts.

A significant number of scholars (McCormack 2012; Adams 2011; Magrath 2015; Scoats 2015), as well as a plethora of Anderson's work (2005b; 2008a; 2009; 2010; 2014) have documented that young men do not feel the need to express an overtly heterosexual identity and express homophobia (as was the norm in the 1980s and early 1990s); instead, they embrace kissing, cuddling and other pseudo-sexual behaviors. Increasingly, there is a much more flexible, organic and go-ahead attitude to sexual and pseudo-sexual conduct between young men. Furthermore, recently, it has been noted that an more and more young men openly identify as 'mostly straight' as compared to just "straight," when presented with the opportunity (Savin-Williams and Vrangalova 2013), perhaps enabling them to account for the occasional homosexual experiences they have. Barrett (2015) recently found that bodily touching has become commonplace between straight and gay men that are friends, while most of the inclusive masculinity literature ideas with interactions and expressed masculinities between straight men only. Thus, men do not only feel comfortable engaging in homosocial behaviors with straight men, but may

feel comfortable doing so with gay men as well; more research should be done to better assess whether in these contexts, sexual meaning is also coded out of the encounters completely.

The wider consensus in modern studies of sexuality among academics which maintain that there has been a marked expansion in the social and political landscape for gays, lesbians and the sexually flexible come in tandem with this literature that describes the expansion of homosocial tactility (Savin-Williams 2005; McCormack 2012; Weeks 2015). Furthermore, research suggests that young people progressively esteeming liberal attitudes towards casual, anal and kinky sex, without as much stigma to these sexual acts as were in the past (Attwood 2005; Hammers and Sheff 2011). The fathers of today's undergraduate youth would have been shamed for and likely shamed male same-sex tactility and non-standard sexual practices. In contrast many college students in the contemporary age value physical tactility, the freedom to engage in a greater range of gendered behaviors, and generally engage in more diverse sexual pleasures. Essentially, they have benefitted from diminished homophobia and the erosion of the one-time rule of homosexuality. The development of these social realities in many contexts has allowed young men to express fraternal love for one another through the actions of kissing, cuddling and more adventurous sexual behaviors, such as threesomes. As explained by Anderson and Robinson (2016):

None of this is to imply that men are becoming more fluid in their sexual attraction; rather, they are just more flexible in their approach to heterosexuality than men have traditionally been allowed to be. The expression of femininity and embracing of gendered and sexual behaviors that were (not long ago) taboo have set this generation of young, heterosexual men apart. It is a form of social change unique to millennials (p. 259).

New Dynamics in Emotionality

A less explored area in the literature is friendships and emotional disclosure between men, particularly in regard to the rising phenomenon of 'bromances'. In this section, I explore the gendered aspect of friendship. I investigate gendered friendships between men and how they have been defined historically in relation to relationships between women. While men's friendships were severely restricted in eras of high homophobia (Caldwell and Peplau 1982), they are expanding, and men have been recently documented to have more fulfilling, satisfying same-sex friendships (Morman, Schrodt, and Tornes 2013).

A fulfilling female friendship has long been recognized by the literature as integrally including the sincere expression of emotional support between friends (Riessman 1990; Newcomb and Bagwell 1995; Hruschka 2010). However, hypermasculine ideals, homophobic propaganda and restrictive gender stereotypes had pervaded culture in decades prior to the 2000s, making it difficult for men to engage in these behaviors, and severely restricting their ability to widen gendered acts and attitudes (Caldwell and Peplau 1982; Ibson 2002; Anderson 2009). Traditionally, Emotionality has been associated with femininity (Kring and Gordon 1998; Winstead 1986), and men's desire to associate with heteromascularity, particularly in the 1900s and 1990s, has meant that they have distanced themselves from feminizing behavior, since feminizing behavior was coded as gay and would put men in a marginalized position prone to violence and discrimination (Pleck 1981; McGuffey and Rich 1999).

Men and boys who grew up in the late 20th century were not culturally allowed or effectively given the freedom to express fear, affection, uncertainty, or weakness around other men, to the point where masculinity was characterized by stoicism and homophobia (Plummer 1999). As a consequence, men who grew up in this era were significantly socialized towards the hegemonic ideal that was that hyper-masculine, stoic, violent ideal, meaning that their friendships were emotionally distant and unsupportive. Research from this time suggested that the increased homophobia of this era had a direct

correlation with unsupportive, problematic friendships (Stokes, Fuehrer, and Childs 1980; Bank and Hansford 2000). Pleck (1981) found that 58% of men had not even told their same-sex friend that was closest to them that they liked them (let alone that they loved them), because of the possible homosexual connotations that expression might infer—this dynamic vastly changed in the 21st century, as men lost the fear of being gay. Morman, Schrodt, and Tornes (2013) explain this desire to appear masculine and its dynamic:

The desire to appear masculine and to avoid appearing feminine pushes men toward less emotional and vulnerable same-sex friendships. Although most men tend to adopt a more overtly masculine style of friendship, the inherent qualities and demands of close friendship (e.g., closeness, satisfaction, and commitment) may extend beyond the common, more stoic and activity-driven mandates of masculine norms (p. 583).

Anderson (2014), in tandem, has explicated that his recent research on young men strongly suggests that, “support for friend’s emotional needs are abundant” (123). McCormack (2012) finds this new dynamic in the gendered sphere to be ubiquitous across same-sex male friendships in the United Kingdom. Essentially, Morman, Schrodt, and Tornes (2013) suggest that the young men in the new millennium enjoy and appreciate more emotionally supportive, close and satisfying friendships—all in the face of the recent decline of cultural homophobia had previously limited same-sex male friendship (Magrath, Anderson and Roberts 2013; Anderson 2014; McCormack 2012).

There is a wide-reaching shift in young men’s perspectives on homosexuality, and they are now far less concerned with being labelled as a homosexual (Anderson 2014). They have also shown to be more tolerant of generations before them (Twenge et al. 2016). One way this liberalization Men’s willingness to cry in front of one another—which was previously been humiliating—is one example of the liberalization of behaviours men are able to engage in (Fasteau 1974; Williams and Morris, 1996).

Men are increasingly willing to cry in front of one another in the 21st century (Becht et al. 2001), and Anderson (2008b) concludes that men in his research seemed to rejoice in the ability to do this in front of friends. Further supporting this paradigm shift, Adams (2011) shows how university athletes openly shared feelings of love with their same-sex male friends, and compared their friendships to the emotionally intimate one seen in the movie *I Love You, Man*. Movies and television shows such as this one both reflect the changing culture and help normalize it. Evidently, many young men are exploring deeper, more meaningful, and more emotional friendships with other men (Hammarén and Johansson 2014; Adams 2011; Murry and White 2015). Anderson (2009) illuminates how masculinities are less rigid, and how this change enables men to embody more feminine and emotive behaviors:

This culture permits an ever greater expansion of acceptable heteromale behaviors, which results in a further blurring of masculine and feminine behaviors and terrains. The differences between masculinity and femininity, men and women, gay and straight, will be harder to distinguish, and masculinity will no longer serve as the primary method of stratifying men (97).

In tandem, Johansson writes (2016):

The traditional opinion that they [men and women] inhabit different worlds with totally different sexualities and attitudes is currently changing into a more flexible view that emphasizes ambivalence and fissures. Young men's and women's attitudes are converging in several areas in society, at the same time as certain areas are characterized by tendencies toward maintaining the traditional order. Homosexuality is one of these areas (43).

These changes are not limited to sports teams, or the privileged middle or upper classes. Way (2011), in a study on young working-class ethnic minorities in the United States, highlights that those men described their close friendship groups as “circles of love” (91), and the men willingly engage in discussions about emotionally contentious personal issues, not superficially, but in depth. Silva (2012) observed a similar case in a different group of working class young men. Describing therapeutic narratives, Silva found that they would often discuss important personal issues from their past with one another as a means of overcoming the anxieties that these experiences caused. Anderson (2014) and Scoats (2015) explain how the new found cultural obsession with social media has enabled these narratives to spread online, particularly on Facebook. Anderson (2014) and Scoats (2015) note that it is common on Facebook to see two friends listed as either ‘brothers’ or ‘in a relationship,’ as a symbol to show the strength of their friendship, even while they are not literally brothers or romantically involved. Relatedly Anderson (2012) highlights the emotionality shown in a text messages sent between two best friends. The friends wrote, “Love you, this week has made me realize how weak I can be without you. And I don’t like not being with you. x” (p. 161). Boys who manage to develop close, male friendships have been shown to take strength from those relationships to resist the social pressures of their peer group (Chu 2005). Thus, the increased ability to form close friendships may have broad implications for the way men generally think about resisting peer pressure.

The reduced fear of expressing more femininity among young men in the 21st century is evidenced through a plethora of mediums, including but not limited to fashion interests, hairstyles and in their relationship with the arts (Edwards 2006) Young men now normally wear skinny jeans, neck scarves, and use tanning lotions, moisturizers, guy-liner (colloquialism for eye-liner used by men) and pink shoes (Anderson 2014). Men who embody these feminine traits are increasingly popular, and this exposure to embracing once feminized artifacts helps normalize the behaviors and continue to expand the acceptable range of men’s gendered expression (Morris and Anderson 2015; McCormack 2012). While

these interests and behaviours are relatively new for men, these changes can be theorized to give these men new found levels of emotional intelligence, openness and fluidity. The acceptance of these behaviors is now required to meet the demands of the ways men are socialized in the contemporary age.

Various studies discuss the value in the development of boys' emotional expression, the development of safe spaces for them to express those emotions, and "the deepening and broadening of boys' friendships resulting from their self-disclosure and mutual support" (Reichert et. al. 2012). Furthermore, late adolescents and young adults that subscribe to "emo" culture have been shown to reject the traditional masculine norm of restrictive emotionality (Allooh et. al. 2013). While traditionally hegemonic forms of masculinity militated against this emotional development, and has been documented to continue to do so in some locales, the rise of the inclusive paradigm for adolescents in Anglo-American cultures now documents emotional disclosure in adolescent boys (McCormack and Anderson, 2010; Dean 2013). Within inclusive masculine locales and cultures, and as sports team settings devalue hypermasculinity and stoicism, team-settings may begin to provide the sort of safe safes described in the literature as being necessary to express those emotions (Reichert et. al. 2012). It should be emphasized, though, that inclusive masculinities in secondary and high school settings will not be perfectly uniform, and that traditionally orthodox masculinities will be reproduced in some school environments (Stoudt 2012).

Bromances

Since the turn of the 21st century, popular culture has not been very interested in glorifying the hypermasculine characteristics typical of Arnold Schwarzenegger and other movie stars from the 1980s—movie stars from the height of homohysteria (McCormack 2012; Morris and Anderson 2015). In particular, Hollywood movies have begun a trend of bringing forth two male characters that have an

close friendship to play the leading role in films—furthermore, these two characters often have tactile chemistry (Boyle and Berridge 2014). The literature on popular culture has identified a genre of film called the ‘Lad Flick’ or “Lad Movie” (Hansen-Miller and Gill 2011). These movies are described as a hybrid of the ‘buddy movie’ and ‘romantic comedy’ (Gill and Hansen-Miller 2011). Importantly, the romance can be said to be between the leading heterosexual male protagonists. Rotundo (1989) similarly refers to romantic friendships having this dynamic a century ago. Set in the 21st century relationships given a large platform in these movies have been popularized and termed; a bromance (Anderson 2014). The popularization can be said to mirror popular culture, but it can also be said that the media culture helps encourage and normalize these behaviours.

The term ‘bromance’ was made popular in the popular imagination and media around the year 2005, when there was a sharp rise in the number of close relationships between men shown on screen (Boyle and Susan Berridge 2014; DeAngelis 2014; Gill and Hansen-Miller 2011). The ‘bromantic’ relationships represent characteristics intertwined from two types of relationships; the kind found in a brother (companionate love, with elements of kinship, loyalty, and trust), and the excitement, infatuation and intimacy found in romantic relationships (Fisher 2004). This dynamic between the brotherly aspects and the romantic aspects are clearly reflected in the name, as it is a portmanteau of ‘brother’ and ‘romance.’ The term was adopted at least in part as an effort to account for the increasingly intimate and emotional affection being displayed between heterosexual men on the silver screen. (DeAngelis 2014). It was also employed in an effort to account for the increasingly intimate and emotional affection being displayed between heterosexual men in celebrity culture (DeAngelis 2014). Accordingly, vast majority attention paid to the bromance relationship in the academic literature revolved around media analysis, and in work that highlighted the changing nature of male friendships in movies and television (DeAngelis 2014).

Film that embrace that close relationship between two men often carry the same narrative as traditional romantic comedies. However instead of the ending being illustrating a man and women falling in love, the films usually conclude with the two male leads having overcome shared hardships to achieve a more intimate, more lasting, and closer friendship (DeAngelis 2014). Often, the word love is used between the two leading men. However, it should be stressed that this dynamic cannot be said to occur in all contemporary movies, as some continue to exercise a cultural lag. Reluctant to discard the Rocky-Rambo discourse of the 1980s (Kellner 2003), these movies appeal to more hyper-masculine, or orthodox men—usually men who have that relationship to the masculinities of the 80s and 90s. An appropriate example would be the movie *The Expendables*, which ironically, is premised on reuniting the action stars of the 20th century. In these movies, the aging action stars attempt to continue to engage in hyper-masculine posturing and unrealistic, violent abilities that were characteristic of movies in the 80s.

Hit movies such as *I Love You Man*, *21 Jump Street*, *Due Date*, *The 40-Year Old Virgin*, *Superbad*, *the Hangover*, *American Pie* and *The Other Guys* have enthusiastically depicted the capacity of men to engage in loving, complex, and dynamic relationships grounded in closeness, trust and homosociality. The New Statesman Magazine in titling a segment, elegantly described, “22 Jump Street isn’t just homofriendly – it’s homolovely,” highlighting the popular films inclusive attitude towards same-sex love. Notably, and important to the relationship between bromances and inclusive masculinity theory, these films are particularly popular with young men (Hansen-Miller 2011). This is because men from previous generations would most likely struggle to relate to the newer generation of characters and films, since men from previous generations grew up in an era where those behaviors were not only unacceptable, but indicative of homosexuality. Men in these contemporary bromance films are not presented as heroic or unheroic, they are the everyday guys, having an ordinariness that we have not come to expect from Hollywood (Gill and Hansen-Miller 2011); furthermore, they reflect the experiences of Millennials and

modern day young men. As described in the literature on inclusive masculinity theory, the homophobia prevalent in the 1980s and subsequent hyper-masculinity that emerged from it did not allow for men to engage in physically tactile and emotionally open relationships, so the bromance is a phenomenon of those who grew up in the current age of diminished homophobia. Without the fear of being gay, men are able to engage in these bromances. It is the fall of homophobia that these bromances grew out of.

Thompson (2015) notes that there is a disagreement among scholars regarding both the benefit of having such a phenomenon as the bromance, and its definition, nonetheless concluding that television and film are “highlighting a subtext of male emotion within bromance[s] that warrants further exploration” (p.3). This project endeavors to address Thompson’s (2015) proposal by engaging in, observing, and interviewing young men in a university sports team over an extensive period of time about their bromances; attempting to achieve a deeper comprehension and understanding of the way in which these bromances operate in the everyday lives of young men.

Popularity in Inclusive Cultures

In the past, it was considered that boys who were introverted behaviors were socially ostracized, and labeled as nerdy, or gay. McCormack (2012) and others (Anderson 2009; Blanchard et al 2015; Morales and Caffyn-Parsons 2017) have documented that boys in American and British high schools are espousing pro-gay attitudes. These positive attitudes towards homophobia are not only documented to lead to an expansion of gendered behaviors, as the inclusive masculinity literature indicates, but has also been documented to create changes in the social dynamics of these boys in their schools; the nature of and perceptions towards popularity are now vastly different to what they were in eras of high homophobia. Inclusive cultures are leading adolescent boys to redefine masculinity, and hence popularity (McCormack 2011).

McCormack (2012) notes that not all aspects of friendship from previous generations have changed, in the same vein that not all orthodox traits are lost in inclusive cultures. For example, competition is still prevalent in setting where boys congregate. McCormack (2011), in his research at a British sixth form, 'Standard High' noted that boys still liked to try and outperform each other, in that case with skateboard tricks. One of the biggest differences McCormack noted was in the way the boys valued winning. In that setting, winning was less important than charisma. Charisma is just one of four traits McCormack documents to be the factors that stratify boys' popularity. The other three are authenticity, emotional support, and social fluidity (McCormack 2011).

McCormack (2011) demonstrates that authenticity was an important factor in determining popularity for modern, inclusive youth. The boys in his ethnography at 'Standard High' wore a wide variety of clothing styles. He found that while clothing was an important factor in determining popularity, it was not the actual style of clothes worn that mattered. What mattered to the boys at Standard High was not the style of clothes one wore, but how well that clothing style was compatible with one's personality (McCormack 2011). For example, while low hanging trousers and designer t-shirts are popular at Standard High, so was 'Jack's' style, which was "garish" (94). Jack's style was suspected because it was deemed to be original; his popularity is evident, and his individuality celebrated. While charisma plays a role in his popularity, McCormack (2011) notes that this new dynamic relating to individuality allows boys that aren't typically charismatic an opportunity to increase their popularity.

Social fluidity is defined as how boys befriend a wide range of peers (McCormack 2011). Instead of being part of cliques that antagonize each other, what boys valued most at Standard High was the ability to move between social groups. McCormack notes that there are no cliques at Standard High. Social groups are described as just between different groups of friends. Social fluidity, however, means more than just being able to socialize with a wide range of people; it also means being able to socialize outside of one's friend group. McCormack writes:

Indeed, social fluidity blurs somewhat with charisma. This is because charismatic boys are better socially equipped to talk to people beyond their friendship group. Of significance, however, is that popular boys who do not socialize beyond their immediate social network do not rank as highly as boys that maintain a broad range of friends. Notably, the most popular boys desire to mix with all students, and participant observations show the most popular boys are also happy for less popular students to join their friends (96).

This research on popularity is important because it shows how inclusive cultures are affecting the gendered behaviors of boys to be softer, and more accepting. For boys in inclusive cultures, friendship and popularity is not predicated on aggression or marginalization, as it once was. These boys are rejecting bullying and feel good about the way in which they stay away from marginalizing their peers (McCormack 2011). While bullying and exclusion has not been eradicated from schools, increasingly, popularity is determined by how extroverted, authentic, and inclusive a boy is (McCormack 2011). Furthermore, McCormack (2011) explains that these boys are not on a negative popularity ranking system—that is to say, boys are okay with not being as popular, and are not marginalized by their status as outsiders. These dynamics have been found in multiple schools (McCormack 2012) and more research should be done to explore how these changes might be similar to or different from American locales.

The emergence of the 'metrosexual' identity in the early 2000s, particularly between 2001 and 2004, helps understand the beginning of feminized expression gaining cultural capital and relatedly, the expanded range of men's gendered behavior (Anderson 2009). Cashmore and Parker (2003) explained English football player David Beckham to fit the description of metrosexual because:

Beckham's complex and contradictory identity suggests that there is more room for more than one version of masculine construction (224). He possesses a kind of ambivalence that makes him beguiling to a wide audience. Beckham acknowledges this ambivalence, publicly confirming, for example his awareness of the admiration of the gay community in the UK (222) . . . To this end Beckham's inclusive popularity should be seen as a positive step in terms of the masculine norms which he clearly transcends and the subversive trends and behaviors he explicitly displays (225).

Coad (2008) understood the term to have emerged not only because heterosexual men were more open to commoditization and sexualization, or because they wore high-end clothing but also because it evolved into a definition for heterofemininity among men (Anderson 2009). Anderson (2009) highlights that the flexibility of the term allowed men to maintain a more fluid heterosexual identity, and that it does not constitute an archetype. To conclude his point on the significance of metrosexuality as a concept, Anderson aptly writes:

The emergence of metrosexuality compelled us to realize that an alternate masculine narrative existed, at least for those privileged enough to afford it. A decade later, however, the muted definition of metrosexuality (real or imagined) has permitted men of all classes and backgrounds to more freely associate with femininity, with or without identifying as metrosexual (100).

Inclusive Masculinities in Internet Culture

In the most comprehensive study on YouTube culture and masculinities, Morris and Anderson (2015) show the way gendered change has been demonstrated through the rise of young, male video bloggers (vloggers), who are extremely popular. These include Charlie McDonnell, Dan Howell and Jack and Finn

Harries, and the researchers analyzed 115 of their vlogs, or video blogs. Together, these young vloggers attract over 2 million subscribers each, a million more casual viewers—they represent a new form of celebrity (Morris and Anderson 2015). These vloggers, in their popularity, are soft gay-friendly, and feminist-oriented. The masculinities these young men portray are vastly different from the masculine expression of previous generations that lived in periods of high homophobia. Morris and Anderson (2015) document these youths' emotional openness, inclusion of sexual minorities, enactment of feminised behaviours, and willingness to engage in homosocial interactions with other men. Ostensibly, these young men do not fear being thought of as gay or feminine by their peers, a reality that can be attributed to the fall of homophobia, as Anderson (2009) has theorized (Morris and Anderson 2015). Like other youths (Anderson, 2014; Cleland, 2013; Jarvis, 2013), instead of being stratified according to aggression, hypermasculinity, and dominance, these youths are popular for their inclusivity and charisma—they use their position online to enhance their popularity, all the while being comfortable with emotional intimacy towards other gay, bisexual, and heterosexual males (Morris and Anderson 2015).

The vloggers in Morris and Anderson's (2015) study interact with gay men including gay vloggers—they often feature other vloggers in their videos. Charlie's vlogs even have a trademark ending in which iconic gay British performer, Stephen Fry, says, "You've just had the almost imponderable joy of watching Charlie is so cool like, which makes you, like, cool" (Morris and Anderson 2015). This varies substantially to that traditional research from before the turn of the millennia (Epstein, 1998; Kimmel, 1994) on masculinities has suggested. Morris and Anderson highlight that these vloggers are comfortable appearing in and spending time in videos with a young gay man, whose channel appeals to many other young gay men—evidence of the inclusive culture these videos are contextualized by. Some of the actions that the heterosexual vloggers take part in with the gay vloggers can be considered what McCormack and Anderson (2010) call ironic heterosexual recuperation, as

described previously. By joking about which One Direction member they like, the heterosexual youth can solidify their heterosexuality—they are proving they are not gay by seeming comfortable with acting gay (Morris and Anderson 2015). Still, this behavior is common in inclusive locales, where heterosexual boys' and men's gendered behaviors can extend far beyond the hypermasculine expression common in the 1980s and 1990s.

The vloggers were also documented to be particularly emotionally open with one another, and allowed each other to display vulnerability. Morris and Anderson (2015) evidence this by highlighting the way the boys describe themselves in their vlog. In one episode, Dan describes himself by saying, "I'm a pretty nice guy. I'm about as violent and intimidating as a pink butterfly that's got stuck on a marshmallow." In *Why Women Scare Me*, Morris and Anderson (2015) quote Charlie as introducing himself by saying, "My name is Charlie, I'm 18-years-old. I am a boy, and I am afraid of lots of things: I'm afraid of commitments, I'm afraid of multitasking, I'm afraid of my little pony, I'm afraid of moths, but most importantly I am afraid, no, I am petrified of women."

In their analysis, Morris and Anderson (2015) emphasize that Charlie is not bothered by any of the teasing, homosexually themed comments. Instead Charlie laughs along with their jokes—Charlie is able to do this and remain extremely popular because youth today do not care that the banter is homosexually-themed; Charlie doesn't care if people see him and gay, people wouldn't care if he was gay, and the physical tactility presented by the vloggers isn't necessarily coded as gay by many. Again, this example of physical tactility and gay banter can be seen as a way of consolidating a heterosexual identity, as McCormack (2011b) highlights. However, it should be noted that this heterosexual recuperation can have the socio-positive effect of facilitating straight men to strengthen bonds with gay men.

In a content analysis of 1,100 Facebook photographs, Ryan Scoats (2015) examines the symbols, or semiotics in the pictures to see how men construct their masculinities, and the underlying meanings

of those photographs relating to masculinities. He aimed to see how Facebook culture reflects and may affect the display of masculinities. He uses 44, White, straight males emerging into adulthood to analyze behaviors encouraged by their peer culture (Scoats 2015). These men were found to often kiss, touch, and dance with each other; Scoats (2015) used inclusive masculinity theory to contextualize these behaviours as a function of decreased homophobia. Furthermore, these young men perform masculinity in a way that is disassociated with orthodox forms of masculinity.

Scoats (2015), argues that the conforming to specific masculine ideas in Facebook pictures is reduced in importance as a function of wider social norms towards inclusivity, particularly reflected in the online culture. Being able to display a wide range of gendered behavior in a public forum is representative of emerging adulthood (Scoats 2015). These examples serve to show that in Anglo-American cultures, youth masculinities have undergone a radical transition (Anderson, 2009; McCormack and Anderson, 2010; Roberts, 2013). These changes can be theorized to be reinforced by the influence of social media and technologies that aid in globalization and the distribution of pro-gay culture generally (Morris and Anderson 2015).

Roberts (2017) analyzed the complexity of masculinities in YouTube vlogging and gaming cultures, “of particular sociological interest given the latter’s associations with the (re)production and function of hegemonic masculinity.” Roberts’ research is done in a context where men account for 80% of gaming content viewers (Blattberg 2015). Roberts (forthcoming) examines three vloggers, PewDiePie, Vanoss and Sky, and examines the way by which they enact their gender expression in the online format, especially important in an age so centered on the internet, and particularly for young people. Roberts notes that while PewDiePie and Sky in their videos express 5/10 and 7/10 instances of homosocial expression, respectively, Vanoss abstains. Vanoss seemed to embody more orthodox forms of negotiating his masculinity and friendships. Even then, Vanoss engages in homosexual-role-play (Roberts forthcoming), behavior that would have been previously homosexualizing (Anderson 2009).

While all three vloggers engage in behaviors that may be considered inclusive, they did it in varying ways, some possibly more along the lines of heterosexual recuperation.

Chapter Conclusion

In the late 20th century, boys and men were not culturally permitted to express fear, affection, uncertainty, or weakness around other men. Men who grew up in this time were driven towards hyper-masculine ideal, and their friendships were emotionally distant and unsupportive. Masculinity was characterized by stoicism and homophobia (Plummer 1999). The increased homophobia characteristic of this era was directly related to unsupportive, problematic friendships (Stokes, Fuehrer, and Childs 1980; Bank and Hansford 2000). However, with the rise of decreased homophobia and the rise of expanded gendered behaviors, shifts began to occur with regard to young men's, emotional relationships and friendships.

The reduced ability for homophobia to police gendered behavior has been theorized to create socio-positive traits among men who display inclusive masculinities, all within the context of a culture of reduced homophobia. The IMT literature has documented a number of characteristics to the homosocial behavior of these mostly white, middle-class, heterosexual males (Anderson 2009; Murray and White 2015; Adams 2011). First, heterosexual men in settings of inclusivity are not afraid to associate with their lesbian, gay, and bisexual peers, and have been documented to maintain friendships with them (Stotzer 2009; McCormack 2013; Drummond, et. al. 2015). Second, heterosexual men are able to embrace artifacts once stigmatized as feminine (and thus, coded as gay). This was first evidenced by metrosexuality, a loose term that describes a feminine model of masculinity, a form of sexual objectification popularized by the likes of David Beckham at the turn of the millennia (Hall 2014).

Third, research has also documented the rise of increased emotional intimacy, including among ethnic minorities (Luttrell 2012; Baker and Hotek 2011 McCormack 2011; Murray et. al. 2016). Finally, inclusive men have been shown to discard violence as a problem solving tool (Anderson 2011).

For boys and young men in inclusive cultures, popularity has vastly changed in incorporate four elements: charisma, authenticity, emotional support, and social fluidity (McCormack 2011). Furthermore, popularity itself in inclusive cultures itself has been documented to not be as important to these boys, since popularity is not necessarily a negative ranking system (McCormack 2011). These changes in popularity and friendship dynamics show a marked difference in the way youth behave today compared to the orthodox cultures of the late 20th century.

In addition to a preponderance of findings showing this in sport, the internet culture reflects the behavioral components of cultures of inclusive masculinities, too; YouTube stars such as Charlie McDonnell and Jack and Finn Harries have been documented to display not only gay friendly attitudes, but tactile behaviours with other men and display emotional openness (Morris and Anderson 2015).

The homosocial, loving, traits documented by the inclusive masculinity research—increasing two-man-one-woman threesomes, bed sharing, kissing, cuddling, and bromances—are all indicative of changes that became possible due to decreased attitudinal homophobia in society and decreased homophobia

For boys in inclusive cultures, friendship and popularity is not grounded on marginalization. The boys examined by the inclusive masculinity literature reject bullying and relish in positive relationships (McCormack 2011). None of this is to say bullying and exclusion have been eliminated from schools—the nature of bullying and exclusion itself may take a new face in a new context. However, in inclusive masculine cultures, popularity is ostensibly predicated by how extroverted, authentic, and inclusive a boy is (McCormack 2011).

In Anglo-American cultures, where inclusive masculinity theory has best explicated the increase in gendered behaviours boys and men can display, boys and men are able to express love and bond with each other in unprecedented ways. No longer is the hypermasculine bodily ideal of the 1980s the idealised type—men of all shapes and sizes have befriended each other in loving ways onscreen. These complex and vibrant relationships, grounded in closeness, trust and homosociality, have made their way into the popular imagination since the turn of the century, in tandem with the fall of homophobia.

CHAPTER 5: RELIGION, CULTURE, AND LIMITATIONS OF INCLUSIVITY

Chapter Introduction

This chapter incorporates sociologically relevant religious and cultural themes in the same space as I review limitations to inclusivity and inclusive masculinity theory. This is primarily to reflect the internal logic of this MPhil; limitations to inclusivity and inclusive masculinity theory both need to be empirically examined by contextualising diverse and multi-cultural contexts. This is especially the case in a globalising and increasingly diverse world, and since inclusive masculinity theory underrepresents ethnic minorities and multi-cultural contexts in the present literature. First, I briefly review the history of the sociology of religion particularly in the context of secularization theories. I then explicate the current paradigm of religious institutions and religious expression mostly within the United States—where this thesis bases its theorizing— and their relationship to anti-gay, or homo-negative attitudes.

In the second section, I briefly overview the way some non-Anglo masculinities are culturally expressed, in relation to such phenomena as depressive symptomology as well as to inclusive attitudes. These examinations help contextualize my research on inclusive behaviors across various ethnicities and religious backgrounds.

Finally, I provide the case study of sexual assault in athletics to theorize on the limitations to inclusive cultures. While many socio-positive aspects can be theorized in relation to the rise of inclusive masculinities for young men, less is known about their impact their rise will have on patriarchal structures and gender relations, especially within sport.

Religion, Society, and Secularization

Karl Marx was perhaps the first sociologist to explain religion as inexorably tied to the broader social context. Marx emphasized religious expression as dependent on the economic relations between

capitalist, worker, means of production (Davie, 2003). Further, Marx evaluated religion as a distraction from the exploitative relationships inherent to a capitalist society, perpetuating and normalizing alienation (Davie, 2003). The relationships Marx examined thus, had much to do with the relationships between religion and a male dominated economic model. Religion as a distraction from oppressive economic paradigms then, implies the role of religion in shaping the way men perceive their economic and social system.

Emile Durkheim, the father of sociology, postulated that “the idea of society is the soul of religion,” and that the “universal and eternal objective cause of these [religious] sensations *sui generis* out of which religion is made, is society” (Durkheim, 1912). Durkheim related “primitive” religions and others as spiritualistic at their core, and the purpose of that spirituality to “act upon the moral life” (Durkheim, 1912). Primitive and modern religions alike strove towards an idealized form of society that Durkheim argued was the assimilation of “ideals elaborated by society” (Durkheim, 1912). This perspective may prove to be particularly useful in understanding the secularizing nature of young men’s inclusive attitudes (Morales 2017). As the idealized moral perspective changes to become one that is gay friendly, the young men shift their religious perspective to one that allows them to maintain their spirituality and moral positioning, at the same time as reconcile their gay friendliness they were socialized to.

Max Weber’s approach understood the “multi-causality of social phenomena,” and in doing so “conclusively refutes the standpoint of ‘reflective materialism’ whereby the religious dimensions of social living simply reflect the material” (Davie, 2003). This approach reinforces the notion that religion “constituted as something other than, or separate from society” and thus 1) religions varyingly relate to their surrounding contexts, 2) religion and society must be studied in their particular historical context, and 3) the distance between religion is society is shrinking, and moving towards “disenchantment,” or secularization” (Davie, 2003). Important to this thesis, inevitably, those religious contexts are influenced

by family culture, friends, as well as dominant cultural ideals. Those cultures Marx, Weber, and Durkheim alike predicted the significance of religion would decline (Giddens, 1997). Social scientists have since used the frameworks these founding theorists laid to create theories of secularization and explicate social changes in religious expression and the power of religious institutions.

Secularization has since taken various meanings associated with displacement, decline, or change (Demerath, 2007). Secularization theory—which one way or another, describes religion’s decline— has been hotly debated by various camps; evidence has given validity to both arguments. As a modern example of evidence for and against secularization, the Catholic church in Europe has experienced declining membership since Vatican II, which may have reduced the power of the church to influence laws, policies, media, norms, and family structures (Adamczyk and Pitt, 2009). This trend is unlike Islam, which enjoys continually adamant participation around the world (Adamczyk and Pitt). Adamczyk and Pitt (2009) suggest that if the growing number of conservative Protestants and Muslims across the world is any indication, “religion’s influence is not declining, even as countries develop and stabilize.” Mark Chaves— following Parson’s notion of societal differentiation with “new differentiation”—quelled arguments (Hadden, 1987) against secularization by reformulating it as defined by declining religious authority, and by abandoning religion as secularization’s object (Chaves, 1993).

Smith et al. (2015) find that while Americans continue to participate in religious life in high numbers, they have disavowed specific religious affiliation at a steady pace since about 1990, and were more likely to state they had “no religion” in 2014 than in the past. They also note that praying and attending religious services are less frequent than they were twenty years ago, but people who have a religious preference are not significantly less likely to attend services weekly than in the past (Smith et al., 2015). Hadaway et al. (1993) have described the United States’ religious tendencies as an anomaly, but not necessarily inconsistent with secularization theories, and estimated that church attendance

among Protestants and Catholics are approximately half of what polls suggested.

Pew reports Millennials are far less likely than their elders to be religious, however, they maintain spirituality as defined by variables such as believing in an afterlife and feeling a sense of wonder about the universe (Pew Research Center, 2015a). Thus, a characteristic of secularization may be considered continued religious observation as a function of the maintenance of spirituality as well as religious disaffiliation. Twenge et al. (2015) also note that Millennials are significantly less religious than previous generations at the same age, and suggests a movement toward secularism. The analysis describes declines in religious affiliation as larger among girls, Whites, lower-SES individuals, and in the Northeastern U.S., very small among Blacks, and non-existent among political conservatives (Twenge et al. 2015). There is evidence to suggest secularization as declining religious participation is related to the increase in inclusive attitudes among men. For example, the decline in religious participation over time among GSS participants may have accelerated the increase in acceptance of same-sex sexuality (Twenge et al., 2016).

Homosexuality and Western Religious Institutions

Religiosity has been found to be one of the most significant indicators of attitudes toward homosexuality (Herek and Gonzalez-Rivera, 2006; Hicks and Lee, 2006; Rowatt et al., 2006). As Barnes and Meyer succinctly put it, “Most religious environments in the United States do not affirm homosexuality” (Barnes and Meyer, 2012). Specifically, research has regularly established that religious individuals are less accepting of same-sex sexual behavior and marriage (Whitley, 2009; Sherkat et al., 2011; Twenge et al., 2016). Furthermore, significant quantity of academic work has documented denominational teachings, scriptural passages, and prejudice on the part of the church community have created conflicts and socio-negative effects within LGB youth, another indicator the strong anti-gay tendencies of religious institutions (Schuck and Liddle, 2000; Barton, 2010; Jaspal and Cinnirella, 2010;

Jaspal and Siraj, 2011; Barnes and Meyer, 2012; Wilkerson et al., 2012).

Religious beliefs are particularly important in explaining attitudes toward homosexuality in countries with a strong emphasis on self-expression such as the US (Adamczyk and Pitt, 2009). Adamczyk and Pitt's 2009 study provides much context relevant to the religious identities represented in this piece of work. Utilizing data from the fourth wave of the World Values Survey, and Hierarchical Modeling techniques, they find support for the micro and macro effects of religion and a survival vs. self-expressive cultural orientation (Adamczyk and Pitt, 2009). Adamczyk and Pitt (2009) also find that "compared to Muslims, people with no religion, Catholics, Jews, people who did not identify a religion, and [others] have more approving attitudes about homosexuality," while "Muslims do not differ significantly in their disapproval of homosexuality from Protestants, Hindus, Buddhists, Orthodox Christians and [others] (Adamczyk and Pitt, 2009).

According to Pew Research from 2015, many of the largest U.S. religious institutions have remained, "firmly against allowing same-sex marriage, including the Roman Catholic Church, the Orthodox Jewish movement and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, as well as the Southern Baptist Convention and other evangelical Protestant denominations." Other groups that officially oppose same-sex marriage are the nation's largest historically black church, the National Baptist Convention, and its biggest Pentecostal denomination, the Assemblies of God (Pew Research Center, 2015b). Concurrently, some churches have moved towards allowing for gay marriages within their traditions, including the Reform and Conservative Jewish movements, the Unitarian Universalist Association, and the United Church of Christ (Pew Research Center, 2015b). Finally, consistent with the inclusive masculinities scholarship, Pew reports that 62% of white mainline Protestants favor allowing gays and lesbians to wed, with just 33% opposed; 63% say there is "no conflict" between their religious beliefs and homosexuality Christ (Pew Research Center, 2015b).

Tensions between changing popular opinion and theological orthodoxy test the adaptability of religious institutions. For example, Pope Francis has caused controversy within the Catholic Church, his more liberal image (as compared to his predecessors) and tendencies causing a “struggle for the soul of Catholicism,” as described by Paul Vallely (2015). Vallely explains that prior to his appointment to Pontiff, the church was in disarray, viewed as intolerant, corrupt, and out-of-touch. Upon the establishment of Francis as pope, however, Catholicism was thought to have been breathed new life, Francis’s ostensibly off-the-cuff honesty and tolerance the trademark of a new, welcoming, and perhaps more progressive church, in touch with a changing world. Nevertheless, Francis has proved to not be a social liberal from a secular standpoint, and espouses many of the same policies as his predecessors regarding, for example, reproductive and gay rights. He has denigrated gay marriage as “an anthropological regression,” and endorsed *Humanae Vitae* (an encyclical written by Pope Paul VI in 1968 which prohibited artificial contraception). The Catholic church continues to view gay acts as sinful, moral transgressions, and gay marriage as unacceptable.

In Brazil, Ogland and Verona (2014) have found that Brazilians prescribing to Catholicism and other forms of Christianity have the least accepting views toward homosexuality, and the strongest opposition to same-sex civil unions, whereas followers of Afro-Brazilian and spiritist religions, as well as those with no religious attachment are inclined to assume a more tolerant moral posture toward LGBT issues. Considering the widespread disapproval of homosexuality among the Brazilian population, it seems that the Christian participants in that study are analogous to our sample of adolescent Christian boys; both groups identify as Christian, and adhere to the culturally accepted opinion their societies have about homosexuality. However, in Brazil, that norm is currently homophobia, while in California, it is inclusivity.

Masculinities in U.S. Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Cultures

Within contexts of acculturation, enculturation, and pluralization, societies will contain a range of masculinities proliferating. Inclusive masculinity theory theorises the proliferation of a range of masculinities (Anderson 2009), but does not address the cultural interplay of masculinities which are inextricably contextualized by, and which often reveal, a boy or man's ethnic and racial affiliation, practices, codes, and norms. In part, the aim of this thesis is to spearhead this area of inquiry.

Masculinities within ethnic and racial lines are not monolithic. Even in culturally homogeneous countries, such as Chile and Japan, there is no unitary masculinity (since patterns vary by class and generation, or from recent developments) (Valdés and Olavarría 1998; Ishii-Kuntz 2003).

Even in cases where there is a definite public masculine identity—Mexican “machismo” for example—there is more complexity to be found. In the case of machismo, it developed inextricably tied with the development of Mexican nationalism and masks the complexity of how actual Mexican men perform different masculinities (Gutmann 1996). At least four patterns of masculinity in the working-class urban settlement in Mexico have been found by Gutmann (1996). He insists that even these four are constantly being renegotiated and are further crosscut by other social divisions.

Finally, masculinities subject to cultural changes in the context of modernity are evidenced in various international examples (Messerschmidt and Connell 2005). For example, Ferguson (2001) suggests that in Ireland traditional stereotypes of masculinity—such as the celibate priest and the hardworking family man—have been replaced by more modernized and market-oriented models. The close of Apartheid—a system of segregated and competing patriarchies—ushered in a new era of masculine expression in that country (Morrell 1998). Dasgupta (2000) notes that the “salary-man” figure has been contested, and men are beginning to deviate from that role. Meuser (2003) analyses masculine change in German men based on generational change, and in relation to gender changes to women. The inclusive masculinity scholarship precisely documents the manner in which generational change in Anglo-American cultures has created masculine change toward gay friendly models, and a model in

which masculinities can proliferate, ostensibly without hegemony. They not only proliferate without hegemony, in theory, but they are not regulated by other forms.

Harris (1996) documented the dominant masculine norms of White Americans and African American men in the United States. They presented a general model for male identity formation based on the influence of cultural perspectives, dominant cultural norms, and the individual circumstances of those men they studied (Harris 1996). Interestingly, they found that White men and the African American men held similar perspectives on masculinity that diverged as they got older (Harris 1996). As dominant cultural norms change however, and cultural perspectives become accordingly more inclusive, it is important for more research to expand on how minorities respond to those changing norms. Research will also help in understanding if the changes through adulthood Harris (1996) describes continue to happen. Furthermore, it is important to question whether the changes Harris (1996) noted in his study are the result of generation change toward inclusivity. Results from this thesis as well as other academic work on the trends regarding White/ European American masculinities, African American masculinities, and other minority masculinities will help bridge the gap in understanding how and when cultural perspectives, dominant cultural norms, and individual circumstances converge or diverge the masculinities of those various ethnic groups.

A study by Iwamoto, Kanji, and Liu (2010) investigated various masculine strategies among college age Asian men to be associated with depressive symptoms, all while examining how these Asian men endorsed Asian values. The study helps contextualize this thesis, as the diverse area of Southern California where this research is based in has a high Asian American population. The study by Iwamoto, Kanji, and Liu (2010) found that the masculine norms *winning* and *dominance*, as well as an avoidant coping strategy were significantly associated with depressive symptoms among Asian American men. Winning was negatively associated with depressive symptoms, while dominance and an avoidant coping strategy were positively associated with depressive symptoms. In the same study, they found that the

endorsement of the Asian culture values: *self-reliance* and *emotional control* were not associated with the depression.

It is of noteworthy importance to examine how the endorsement of other cultural values students in a diverse environment might hold are related to masculine norms, and the degree to which in inclusive environments, youths hold on to masculine norms of winning and dominance. In other words, do inclusive environments significantly mold those masculine values? Moving closer to answering these questions (as this thesis aims to do) maintains implications for the future of sporting contexts, since winning and dominance are traditionally focal norms in sporting culture. It will also have significant impact on understanding the impact of inclusive masculinities on emotional and physical health, and the general impact of inclusive masculinities on risk and protective factors. To complicate matters, in the short term at least, the west finds itself in the peculiar situation; the salience of combat sports in the media is growing, evidenced by the exponential rise of the UFC, all the while masculinities scholars find increasingly inclusive masculine traits among groups of young men, and in the context of a growing consciousness around traumatic brain injury.

Mahalik, Good, and Englar-Carlson (2003) noted that winning is traditionally valued by American society among men. Studies on men such as those by Iwamoto, Kanji, and Liu (2010) therefore, should be contextualized by a critical analysis of *embodied* masculinity. Without this key contextualization, external cultural variables cloud the inferences researchers might draw from the data. The key finding in Iwamoto Kanji and Liu's (2010) study is that adherence to different traits related to specific cultural or broader values, such as self-reliance, may illicit various differing physiological and psychological outcomes depending on the cultural background the respondent comes from. For example, Mahalik, Good, and Englar-Carlson's (2003) findings with a large undergraduate sample found that self-reliance was associated with depressive symptoms. In Iwamoto, Kenji, and Liu (2010) study, self-reliance was

not. This may have been the case due to Asian values and coping mechanisms as influencing factors on the Asian-American sample (Iwamoto, Kenji, and Liu 2010).

Masculine dysfunctional-strain theory, a psychological lens on masculinities, contends that even while the fulfilling of “male codes,” those norms create additional burden and strain on the individual (Levant 1996). Masculine norms are defined as an intricate construct, developed through scripts, cultural expectations, norms, and beliefs that inform what it means to be a man (Mahalik, Good, and Englar-Carlson 2003; Levant 1996). The struggle to meet specific masculine norms creates “dysfunction-strain” or “psychological distress,” and may result in socio-negative traits, including those related to violence, according to the masculine gender role strain paradigm (Plek 1995; Levant 1996; Iwamoto, Kenji, and Liu 2010).

Iwamoto, Kanji, and Liu’s (2010) study on an adolescent ethnic minority group was contextualized by research by Mahalik, Good, and Englar-Carlson (2003) that posited that the traditional masculine norms in America comprise of Winning, Emotional Control, Self-Reliance, Dominance, Risk-Taking, Violence, Playboy, Primacy of Work, Power Over Women, Disdain for Homosexuals, and Pursuit of Status. The Conformity to Masculine Norm Inventory (CMNI) was the specific subject of Mahalik, Good, and Englar-Carlson’s (2003) study. Burns and Mahalik (2006) found that the masculine norms *emotional control* and *self-reliance*—defined as masculine norms in that study—were related to negative mental health among men treated for prostate cancer. However, these results are inevitably tied to the demographic and age range of those participants, and results may not be replicable to men of differing ages and masculine conceptions. This is significant to note, since Anderson (2009) emphasizes that older and younger men perform masculinity vastly different—psychology is inextricably tied to the gender paradigm.

Research on adolescent boys and depressive symptomatology (Jackson 2007) found that masculinity predicted higher levels of depressive symptomatology. Again, highlighting the potential

effect of age and varying periods of cultural homophobia, other studies detected an inverse relationship between masculinity and depressive symptoms (Lengua and Stormshak, 2000; Sanfilippo, 1994). These discrepancies may be due to not only the specific cohort that was studied, but the different timeframes in which these various studies were conducted—masculinities in 1994 were generally more orthodox than in 2007, for example, and this time frame difference is vital to research comparisons.

In other words, the stress that adherence to specific cultural or orthodox masculine traits creates may outweigh the benefits of adherence. However, inclusive masculinity theory contends that the range of accepted masculine expression is vastly expanded in eras of low or no cultural homophobia and low homophobia (Anderson 2009). Furthermore, many of these aspects of masculinity, such as violence, are changing with the rise of inclusive masculinity theory. Thus, inclusive masculinity theory may have significant implications for reformulating dysfunctional-strain theory, or may better position dysfunction strain theory's relationship to hegemonic models of masculinity. As the literature on inclusive masculinities grows, scholars should continue to observe which orthodox, or "traditional" norms are maintained and which ones are forfeited. These inquiries will help form better models of behavior and masculinity, especially when analyzed through various cultural and immigrant centered lenses. Generally, the literature on male gender role strain and male gender norms focus heavily on white college students and generalize too broadly about one type of masculine expression they may not necessarily enact (Iwamoto, Kanji, and Liu 2010). Furthermore, they tend to not to be used in studies of men's health behavior (Iwamoto, Kanji, and Liu 2010).

Not much is known about how minority cultures in western nations enact masculinity in any comparative sense to the larger Anglo-American culture, except for inferences social scientists may draw from surveys on attitudes around homosexuality. However, the traditional literature and even some contemporary literature has indicated that norms are generally more orthodox than the ostensibly inclusive-moving wider culture (Magrath, Batten, Anderson, 2017). In a study by Swami (2015),

participants of various ethnic backgrounds in Britain completed self-report measures of drive for muscularity, need for power, adherence to traditional cultural values, and ethnic group affiliation. Black and South Asian men in this study reported a much higher drive for muscularity than White British men. Furthermore, a larger need for power was found to be significantly associated with a higher drive for muscularity in the men from an ethnic minority. It was not significantly associated for the White British men (Swami 2015). Swami (2015) also found that greater adherence to traditional cultural values was associated with lower drive for muscularity in all ethnic groups. These results add to the literature that suggests that ethnic minority men in Anglo cultures may prescribe to more orthodox forms of masculinity compared to their Anglo counterparts. Swami (2015) believed that these ethnic minority men may desire more muscularity as a means of reconciling their appearances with their expectations and aiming to attain high masculine capital. These examples provide useful insight as to how ethnic minority men may be navigating the wider Anglo culture they inhabit. Still, there exists no unified mode of analysis or theory for understanding the mechanism by which changing masculine norms, as described by IMT, diffuse into men (particularly diverse young men of color) whose own domestic cultural influences clash with mainstream changes in norms and scripts. This analysis may be aided by utilizing the tools from the study of culture, as well as insights gleaned from the literature on cultural diffusion. Thus, in the following section, I will briefly overview some research and insights on culture and cultural diffusion, particularly as it relates to a globalizing world.

Limitations to Inclusive Cultures

In this section, I outline the way by which inclusive cultures are not a gender utopia. Even in inclusive cultures, social structures, among other cultural factors, may still allow for the proliferation of patriarchy. One example in which this is clearly the case, and with which I provide a case study, is when examining sexual assault in the sporting world. While the sporting landscape is changing to be more

inclusive, even in sports traditionally billed as hypermasculine (Magrath 2016), structures that objectify women's bodies and privilege men's experiences can still allow for not only symbolic acts of violence, but physical ones, even in light of a gay friendly culture. It is important to emphasize that patriarchy pervades every institution; it is not germane only to sexual assault. Furthermore, inclusive masculinity theory does not claim to address issues of patriarchy; the theory has validity simply in its explanatory power for the widening of men's gendered behaviors in the face of decreased homophobia. However, this section is a reminder that social structures play a pivotal role in the complex negotiation of gendered expression and the way that masculine expression and structural masculinities contribute, or are possibly complicit, in the reproduction of patriarchy. This case study serves as a reminder of contextualizing gendered change with broader issues such as patriarchy and violence against women.

The structures of sport in universities and the professional world facilitate the manifestation of socio-negative cultural traits that contribute to higher instances of sexual assault (and lower instances of conviction) among male athletes. It is vital to examine these structures, even in the face of inclusivity, in order to better understand why student athletes make up only 3.7 percent of the men at Division 1 universities, but are responsible for 19 percent of sexual assault reports to campus Judicial Affairs offices (Crosset et. al., 1995).

The prestige and money tied to universities and professional sports teams create significant incentives for the organizations to protect themselves, and suppress allegations of misconduct. This because those allegations might hurt the universities reputation and financial well-being. Social movement theory (Morris 1992) helps explain the way by which organizations want to reproduce and protect themselves. Organizations go to lengths to suppress threats that may undermine their legitimacy, such as reports of sexual assault. This may happen through various tactics, such as administrative hurdles, negligence on the part of staff (who find a myriad of ways to reconcile their organizational bias), the shutting down of allies for sexual assault victims, and deep pockets to navigate

litigation with. These structural norms help proliferate patriarchy even in the face of an increasingly inclusive culture. While there is insufficient evidence on how much the change and expansion of men's gendered behaviors can help with the undermining of patriarchy, it is significant to note that structures do not necessarily change with a culture change. Whether this is due to culture lag, or simply due to the proliferation of softer masculinities not directly combating the patriarchal norms of these structures should be investigated. Furthermore, it raises the question of how organizational structures that allow for the reproduction of patriarchy are coded in terms of gender, and how those masculine and feminine coded structural norms are maintained or subordinated.

As professional and especially collegiate male athletes gain high amounts of cultural capital and the privileges and perks that come with that capital, they are more easily likely to believe they can get away with more than the average person, and may more easily diffuse responsibility for bad behavior. In *Is There Life After Football: Surviving the NFL*, the authors refer to this as "relinquishing responsibility and control" (Holstein et. al., 2015). William Rhoden describes the exploitation of talent of young players as their selves are distorted as a product of "the sports-industrial complex" (Holstein et. al., 2015). As athletes come to see themselves as special, they often come to expect special treatment, and "lose sight of conventions, rules, and regulations by which almost everyone else abides" (Holstein et. al., 2015). The documented recruitment tactics of many elite university teams also sets the stage for male athletes internalizing privilege, and reflects the lengths sports institutions will go to make a good economic investment. Among elite male athletes and coaches generally, the power, wealth, and glory afforded to them might more easily allow a would-be abuser to have the confidence to "groom" (psychological manipulation with the intent of preparing a young person to engage in sexual acts) a victim, as described regarding abusive coaches towards female athletes (Owton and Sparkes, 2015; Brackenridge and Fasting 2005).

“Hostess” programs at universities such as Oklahoma State, Alabama, and Tennessee have been documented to have female students take recruits around campus. These “hostesses” pose ostensibly as tour guides, but in reality, their presence implies the lure of sex and female attention. In 2013, *Sports Illustrated* reported that between 2001 and 2011, some members of an all-female recruitment group had sex with visiting high school football players during their recruitment trips. Effectively, many college programs have set up sexual economies, where they lure in the best players they can with the promise of sex. Not surprisingly, the promise of women as a tool to recruit athletes has led to demonstrably disastrous results. In 2001, three women reported that recruits at the University of Colorado had raped them; the athletes were never charged, ostensibly because they believed the consent had been pre-secured by a third party. Sexual assaults have taken place by recruits on campus visits in Colorado in 1997, University of Florida in 200, and William and Mary in 2013, just to name a few. These athletes internalize the message that women are commodities, reproducing patriarchy and the objectification of women, and this socialization is directly or indirectly sanctioned by sports organizations. Again, this dynamic can be partially linked to the economic incentive structure, physical structure of campus life, as well as to cultural expectations about women; the better athletes an organization can get, the better that organization does financially, and college campuses provide ample opportunity for sexual abusers to engage with co-eds, especially under the influence of alcohol.

The internal structures surrounding collegiate and professional sports teams that may assist in facilitating higher instances of sexual assault reflect external norms. Sex segregation is considered standard protocol in most teamsports, and is established relatively early in life. Instead of grouping youth sports teams by weight, size, and ability, we segregate by gender and age, without paying attention to the vast diversity of physicality between members of the same gender and age. Because society heavily values sport, and believes social good is derived from sport, it has heavily entrenched sport in physical education programs and even the university system in the U.S. Instead of focusing on

physical fitness and formal education about the body, society has placed sport competitions at the center of its focus.

Furthermore, these sports competitions place a heavy emphasis on winning. In the U.S., this is most evident in that winning in university sanctioned sports is tied to economic gain. Consumers value the entertainment university teamsports athletes provide, and so reflect that value in the money they pay to buy team merchandise, the hours spent watching collegiate athletics, and the taxpayer dollars they allow spent by public universities on those sports teams (with the exception of a few schools, the vast majority of universities lose money in funding their sports teams). Consumers do not tie their money to how well those athletes perform in school, how fit they become or help others become, or how much they learned from training in their sport almost 50 hours a week in some cases— they tie their money to watching spectacular athletic feats, and hoping for their team to win. Now, structures often reflect culture, and vice versa, and there is nothing necessarily wrong with valuing winning in it of itself. However, if the structure and culture of sport changed to reflect the ability of all genders to work together for a common cause, for example, basketball teams from the P.E. to university level might require that boys and girls play on the same teams and pass the ball to a member of the opposite gender every turn. Rugby might be eschewed for a men's and women's mixed relay in track and field. Gender integration in sport can theoretically create more a more equal power dynamic in the way society values men and women athletes, and teach men the value of respecting women outside the insular microcosm of sport as well as within it. However, we as a society hardly explore those possibilities, and internal structures of universities and professional sports teams do not allow for them. Thus, external cultural norms and expectations about the roles of men's and women's bodies inform structures that may facilitate an environment in which sexual assault might more easily occur.

Chapter Conclusion

In conclusion, religious contexts are influenced by family culture, friends, as well as dominant cultural ideals. They do not exist in a vacuum and should always be seen in that context, while critically examining the relationship between texts and belief. Social scientists have since used the frameworks these founding theorists laid to create theories of secularization and explain social changes in the power of religious institutions, and in the characteristic of belief. Since the theoretical debate on secularization and the death of religion has begun, the term has since taken numerous meanings related to displacement, decline, or change (Demerath, 2007).

A few statistics can help contextualize what secularization and the landscape of religion may mean today, particularly in the context of inclusive attitudes and behaviors. Pew reports Millennials are far less likely than their elders to be religious. At the same time, they maintain spirituality as defined by variables such as feeling a sense of wonder about the universe (Pew Research Center, 2015a). In short, “Most religious environments in the United States do not affirm homosexuality” (Barnes and Meyer, 2012). Furthermore, religiosity has been found to be one of the most suggestive indicators of attitudes toward homosexuality (Herek and Gonzalez-Rivera, 2006; Hicks and Lee, 2006; Rowatt et al., 2006).

Racial, ethnic, and religious groups in an increasingly pluralistic United States have varying, intersecting, and often opposed conceptions of masculinity. Further, as the US and other pluralistic societies find a range of masculinities proliferating (Anderson 2009), questions arise as to how ethnic minority communities, first generation Americans, and other minorities—whose gendered norms are informed by multi-cultural experiences— negotiate changes in the rapidly evolving gendered landscape. While not much is known about how minority cultures in western nations enact masculinity compared to the larger Anglo-American culture, the traditional literature and even some contemporary literature has indicated that it is generally more orthodox than the inclusive moving wider culture (Magrath, Batten, Anderson, and White, 2017; Magrath, 2020). As inclusive masculinities proliferate, more

research is needed to understand how immigrant and minority cultures in various locales within the United States take up inclusive masculinities.

CHAPTER 6: 'I LOVE YOU, MAN:' THE CONTEXTUAL STUDY

Chapter Introduction

While this project initially began as a PhD, upon transforming into an MPhil, its purpose became to use the empirical research I led in the represented locale (including some of the PhD-specific work) to engage with theory and illuminate areas where an intersectional account of change might be appropriate. In this thesis, I analyse new observations and prior, formal tests of Inclusive Masculinity Theory (IMT)—a formal, mid-range sociological social movement theory—on ethnically and religiously diverse cohort of adolescent athletes to better understand its efficacy, applications, and potential theoretical implications. The vehicles which made this level of analysis possible were research and observations from and organized in 2017, referencing back to my own co-authored research from the same locale one year prior (Morales and Caffyn-Parsons, 2017). In this chapter, I will briefly outline that study which inspired and formed the base of further multi-modal ethnographies which make the entirety of this thesis. In that research, my colleague Edward Caffyn-Parsons and I combined observational data with ten in-depth, individual interviews to record the expressed homosocial behaviors and attitudes towards homosocial behaviors and homosexuality in a 28-person high school cross country team in California. This cohort overlaps with the cohorts I cite in the results and discussion section of this dissertation.

Methodology

The participants in the structured interviews were aged 16 to 17 years and all self-identified as heterosexual, while the larger 28-person sample were aged 14 to 17. The second author socialized with the cross country team for the period of a week, throughout which observational data on the entire team was collected and ten individual interviews conducted. To do this, the second author was hosted

by one of the athletes for the entire ethnographic period. While the research period was relatively short to reflect a full ethnographic account of the team, the intensive degree to which the second author was involved in athletic and social team activities, and the degree to which I was a respected, known insider in the field (considering my background in athletics) led us to design a “blitzkrieg” ethnography. The participants in the formal interviews were recruited via snowball sampling—the second author utilized his rapport with his host participant throughout the week to recruit runners to interview. Since the nature of cross country means running to and from various locals for workouts and distance runs, observations were taken from various social settings, from the school and track, to parks, local neighborhoods, busy pedestrian areas, and the beach. While much data was collected during official practice time, the socializing that took place with the athletes before and after official practice became an especially rich source for illuminating data.

Questions utilized throughout the in-depth interview process were designed to facilitate the recall of personal experiences and meanings regarding attitudes towards gay men, perceptions of popularity among peers, and homosocial situations. The interviews were recorded, transcribed, and independently thematically coded by the researchers. Upon comparison, our codes fitted clearly into the following themes: views on friendship and popularity, emotional and bonding experiences with other boys, awareness and perception of homosocial behaviors, and perspectives on homosexuality. Interviews lasted approximately 60 minutes. All participant names were changed.

Findings

Previous sexuality research had shown the prevalence of kissing, cuddling, loving, and other homosocial behavior among heterosexual men and adolescents the United Kingdom in recent years (Anderson, Adams, and Rivers 2012; Anderson and McCormack 2015; McCormack 2012). However, this study was one of the first of inclusive masculinities in American high schools; no recent research had explored the

prevalence of homosocial behaviors on high school athletes in the United States. While the adolescent runners in the U.S. studied did not display homosocial behavior as intensely as the British athletes, they nonetheless displayed a clear preference towards inclusive behavior including, but not limited to touching, bed sharing, emotional disclosure, and non-violent conflict management. These boys were able to engage in these behaviors without recourse, homophobic discourse, without being homosexualized, and without the hegemony of a uniform masculine ideal. Furthermore, despite the prevalence of inclusive attitudes and homosocial behaviors, heterosexism remained by privileging heterosexuality as the assumed sexual orientation, their “boundary maintenance” (McCormack and Anderson 2010) predicated on that assumed heterosexuality.

Those observations were consistent with the contemporary theorizing on the effects of declining homophobia (McCormack and Anderson, 2014), the partial exception being the erosion of the one-time rule of sexuality (Anderson, 2008) regarding the runners’ attitudes on same-sex kissing— the runners generally coded same-sex kissing as sexual, and hence, conflated it necessarily with homosexuality. The one-time rule of homosexuality did show corrosion in some contexts, even if not in others; the runners did not conflate other homosexualizing behavior such as bed sharing with necessarily reflecting homosexuality, highlighting the contextual and volatile nature of unspoken rules such as the one-time-rule, via rituals and symbols.

This study also highlighted the differences between the way young men at different stages or in different cohorts negotiate the construction of their masculinity. While more data on high school and college aged male athletes should be collected to establish a robust model on the transformation of homosocial behaviors in the transition to adulthood, this data provides insight as to the way heterosexual boys—in the process of forming their gendered identity—may begin to engage in homosocial behavior and emotional intimacy in high school (as they realize their behaviors are no longer

homosexualizing), then increase the prevalence of that behavior at university, their behavior is expanded to be even less homosexualizing due to a more liberal environment.

The physical tactility and emotional intimacy recorded in the field were consistent with the socio-positive effects Anderson (2009) theorizes arise contemporaneously with diminished homophobia in an inclusive culture. The intention of some of the most physically affectionate boys to create a comfortable and open setting by exaggerating their behaviors at first reflects care for the experience of their teammates. Though some of the athletes expressed displeasure at the most overt sexually themed play, they agreed that their experiences together allowed them to build and maintain intimacy. Physically exemplified intimacy allowed the young men to more easily engage in a kind of emotional bonding and disclosure that would not have been found in highly homophobic cultures (Anderson, 2009).

The most overt tactile behaviors were not typically coded as genuine affection in interviews; on the other hand, the participants could not easily ascribe motive or meaning to their tactility. They mostly offered that their behaviors were a joke, and did not generally articulate tactility as a genuine expression of homosocial love. Yet, observations of these behaviors indicate that it was used as a bonding mechanism between close friends. William was, for example, not kissing teammates on the cheek who he was not a good friend of. Furthermore, these observations left my co-author and I with the sense that the tactility was, even if funny, designed to show friends that they love them. In other words, the technique of using tactility as a vehicle for humor was a part of a process of normalizing these behaviors among close friends as a way to both build and maintain homosocial intimacy. The same mechanism for expressing affection extends to the use of "I love you, guys". While masculinizing elements were utilized to maintain heterosexual boundaries, they are still able to engage in behaviors that allow them to express remarkable levels of affection, physically and verbally.

We argued that it was the sea-change toward the acceptance of homosexuality that had granted these adolescent boys the ability to expand their gendered behaviors. Further, while we recognized that dynamics of class and race often influenced gendered behavior, we do not focus centrally on those variables in this research. In context, we did not consider them to overtly impact on these young athletes in any significant sense— race and class were not recorded to have prevented any of the boys from engaging in homosocial behavior in this setting. However, this postulation, likely emboldened by the ephemeral nature of blitzkrieg ethnography, was to be significantly challenged when I returned to the field. The athletes in this study, despite likely differences in family culture and individual wealth, all attended a middle class high school which provides them with a level of privilege inextricably tied to the observed behaviors observed as well as to their personal cultural and financial influences. Still, overwhelmingly, the centrality of maintaining a heterosexual identity was not predicated on homophobia, hyper masculinity, or shying from previously homosexualizing behavior for these high school athletes. While these results were not to be generalized to all American sporting youth, we noted that the demographics of the group reflected much of the pluralism present and growing in the United States today. Thus, while preliminary, those results were not only significant in that they were a lens into how inclusive cultures had impacted expressions of physical tactility, but that those behaviors occurred within a relatively ethnically diverse middle class demographic. While with significant limitation, that research helped expand the understanding of the way modern-day adolescence is changing for those in inclusive settings, and provided a lens to the process by which boys may emerge into adulthood, and hence, the process by which men might go on to express inclusivity and homosocial behaviors at university and beyond.

Chapter Conclusion

To adequately understand the gendered phenomena from the research period which I will describe, I

followed my comprehensive overview of inclusive masculinity theory, its competing theoretical frameworks, and further theoretical considerations for it with a study at the same site where I conducted my fieldwork for this MPhil. In essence, that first short ethnography served as a valuable jumping point from which I could adequately answer my research question, focusing on the experiences of the minorities on the team and focusing on ways stratification and inclusion of identities could be the result of structure. In the following section, I will go in-depth as to how my methodological tools will serve to validate and enrich the enactment of the further, long term research periods. While the short ethnography was invaluable to sketching one manifestation of inclusive masculinities, the centering of intersectionality, the comparative method, and multi-modality create the basis for a much richer ethnography in the context of this work; it allows for the kind of work which has more explanatory power and which can generate implications which drive at deeper sociological phenomena that are inextricably tied with gender, such as race.

CHAPTER 7: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Ethnographic works and their constituent methodological tools must be reflexively vetted to clearly establish their ontological integrity and epistemological position. My background as an athlete, person of color, and cis man informs my fieldwork, which is ultimately personal, emotional, identity work (Coffey, 1999). Thus, I preface my methodology with an overview of my academic roots. Then, I articulate the research aim and describe intersectionality, a fundamental frame for this work. Next, I provide an in-depth justification of my ethnographic methods and describe my role as a researcher; I describe my 'ethnographic self' (Coffey, 1999). Finally, I cap off this section with further descriptions of the setting, procedures, and with a statement regarding the necessary steps taken to fulfil my ethics duties.

Academic Roots

I first met Eric Anderson, my current MPhil advisor, in 2011. I had just graduated high school and was preparing to enter University of California, Santa Barbara. I had a partial scholarship for cross country and track and field, but was undecided on what course, or major to choose while there. I was introduced to him by my high school coach, Martin Pennell, who had known Anderson from Anderson's days as a successful high school cross country and track coach in Orange County, California. Upon meeting Anderson, I didn't have much of an idea that he was sociologist, or what his area of expertise was. Our conversations focused more on training and running, and I thought of him as a coach. I was not sure about what to expect in the world of division 1 NCAA cross country and track and field, but he helped me understand what I was getting into, the type of training that would be involved, and what the coaching culture was truly like. He gave me a few copies of his books on training, and they proved

extremely useful to me in those first few daunting months at UCSB. Incidentally, Anderson was America's first openly gay high school coach. His stunning, dreadful experiences with homophobia, which inspired him to become a sociologist and study the reason by which people could act so deplorably, are documented in his book, *Trailblazing* (2000).

Within two quarters, I left UC Santa Barbara. While it was a wonderful school, and inspired my academic journey, I was felt dissatisfied with the coaching culture, injuries, the financial commitment, and the uncertainty surrounding my undecided major. It would not be until my post-graduate studies in the sociology of sport that I would understand that much of my dissatisfaction with high-level, institutional sports was due to the toxic and abusive culture and expectations sport can breed, and often does. I returned to Orange County to attend Orange Coast College and find part-time work. Athletically, I found a wonderful home; the team was close, the coaching top-notch, and my athletic capacity improved quickly. At Orange Coast College, I was exposed to even more masculine expression and cultural influence. While the expressed masculinities in this setting were ostensibly gay-friendly, I noticed their capacity to shift from orthodox to inclusive, and remember the Hispanic boys (of which there were many), having to work harder to manage the acceptable masculine behaviors available to them, always varying depending on the situation. It was also through my athletic success that I retroactively understood many of the inequities sport was capable of constructing—much of my masculine capital was deeply rooted in athletic success inextricably produced by physical talent I had no claim to fabricating.

It is at Orange Coast College that I took my first sociology class, and found a passion for examining social phenomena. In high school, my best subjects were always English and History, so it made perfect sense for me to choose sociology as a major, as I once again applied to four-year-universities.

I was to begin a new academic and athletic journey in San Luis Obispo, the Polytechnic State University. It was there that I further stoked my passion for sociology, and my passion extended from political economy to black feminist thought to social stratification. Interested in public policy and politics, I even took a master's level public policy analysis course. While I appreciated that I learnt in that environment, it served as a good experience in teaching me that I should not pursue a post graduate degree in public policy; I was far more interested in empirical research, and the application of that empirical research. Evidencing this, some of my favorite classes were in qualitative and quantitative research methods. Creating research design, enacting it, analyzing data, and applying theory to that data came most naturally to me. To further my knowledge and to apply myself more formally to the study of my ancillary interests, I decided to minor in public policy and economics. I also decided to apply to postgraduate research programs, as I was sure about wanting to continue my sociological studies.

My experiences as a runner and as a young man of Hispanic descent from a middle class, inclusive culture never left me, and while I was ready to move on from competitive running, I knew that in entering a life of post-graduate studies I could make an impact studying my athletic community. Not only could I more easily make a difference in studying sporting communities (since it was a community I was personally involved in) but I could explore the masculine dynamics in those locales.

My interests in gender studies had been stoked throughout my university experience, but what I learnt studying masculinities in class did not wholly encompass my experiences with inclusive masculinities. While many of the arguments and theories I learnt in class regarding masculinities were often appropriate for studying gendered dynamics between men, women, and other genders, I retroactively noticed that there was a truly a theoretical gap in the mainstream academic understanding of men's gendered dynamics.

Around this time, it became clear to me that my old coach and mentor, Eric Anderson, explored concepts in the way I wanted to explore them; through an empirical, historically based, critical,

sociological lens. So, I applied to study at the University of Winchester, where he was based, hoping to continue my studies and engage in rigorous research, with someone who understood my experience as a “21st Century Jock” (Anderson 2014). I understood this to be the most effective manner by which I could be guided toward my goal of creating original, empirically based knowledge in a multi-disciplinary capacity. Since, I found a supportive and dynamic academic environment at the University of Winchester. It is this genesis which lead to the production of this MPhil thesis.

This thesis is inspired by my own experiences as well as by burgeoning changes to the landscape of ethnic diversity and masculinities. It aims to explore these factors more in-depth by utilizing my own ancillary empirical work as a reference for how diversity intersects with masculine performance over a period of more than one year, and how hierarchies are maintained and/ or eroded throughout. It aims to gain greater insight as to the way values are transmitted and masculinities regulated in environments where white and ethnically-marginalized youths work learn and work together. These changes are important to document in a western world that is simultaneously religious in some contexts and rapidly losing religion in others (Pew Research Center, 2015a). Furthermore, the world is globalizing, and immigration is on the rise. Statisticians predict that in a few years’ time, there will be more People of Color (POC) in the United States than Whites (El Nasser 2014). While immigration is inextricably weaved with the history of the United States, technology has allowed globalization to take on a new significance. All the while, there is significant backlash to the trend of globalization and immigration. In researching the relationships between masculinity, sport, and multi-cultural contexts, I aim to gain further insight as to how gendered values are transmitted among young men, and how masculinities are expressed and regulated in a multi-cultural and modern context. Further, I begin to engage with sociological literature in attempting to explain *why* gendered structures, social practices, and identities regulate and de-regulate in a historical process (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

Research Questions

As described earlier, I intend for this thesis to center multi-cultural identities in understanding how particular configurations and mechanisms relate to gender structures to regulate masculinities. Inclusive Masculinity Theory (IMT), for all its explanatory power, has not adequately addressed how flexible those configurations and mechanisms are, and what they look like for young men negotiating their ethnic and religious identities. By drawing on my own history as a person of colour, through critically applying IMT to multiple ethnographic studies I conducted over four years, as well as through utilising the induction inherent to fieldwork (Dicks, Soyinka, and Coffey 2006), in this multi-modal work my fundamental research question is: **What are the conditions for equity and diminishing hierarchies of masculinities in an ethnically and racially diverse youth context? What conditions facilitate inequity, and what can we learn about gender structures that make identities vehicles for and consequences of vulnerability?**

Further, in beginning to answer this question, I seek to begin to find inroads to better understanding the nature of diminishing homophobia and increasing gender behaviours on a broader sociological scale. In turn, doing so will allow social scientists and others to understand the fundamental nature of and drivers for liberalising and liberating change, as well as limitations to that change. It will give theories like Inclusive Masculinity Theory more explanatory power and empower researchers and other stakeholders in education, sports, or any other gendered institution to create equitable conditions.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is the fundamental framework by which I aim to answer my primary research question. While a full discussion of the history of and nature of Intersectionality is beyond the scope of this project, intersectionality centers around the idea that gender, ethnicity, race, class, sexuality, ability, age, and other traits exist not mutually exclusive entities, but rather construct realities reciprocally, and

that their presence creates implications larger than their parts.

The term intersectionality was first coined by the legal scholar Kimberle Williams Crenshaw, and stemmed from a branch of legal scholarship known as critical studies. Dr. Crenshaw used the term as a tool by which to better explain how intersecting identities could obfuscate discrimination and social problems when those identities separately might not manifest in the same harm. For example, Black men and White women in an organization or workplace may not have separately experienced discrimination for those relevant aspects of their identities. Thus, when it was brought to claim that a Black woman was suffering from discrimination, this was rejected on the basis that the organization or workplace was already cleared of engaging in discrimination for those that were black or women separately; the implication was that since Black people and women separately were not suffering from discrimination, a Black woman, someone holding both those identities simultaneously, could not suffer from discrimination. However, this was wrong, as it was precisely those identities in tandem which were not only the result of vulnerability, but also which obfuscated harm and thus were vehicles for it.

Thus, as Collins (2015) describes, it is a knowledge project whose whole reason for being is inextricably tied to power relations and social inequalities. As a fraught term, Collins examines three sets of concerns: 1) intersectionality as a field of study that is situated within the power relations that it studies; 2) intersectionality as an analytical strategy that provides new angles of vision on social phenomena; and 3) intersectionality as critical praxis that informs social justice projects. While all three notions of intersectionality are relevant to this project, it's analysis is based on the second. In the same way as it has been used to illuminate instances of inequity where multiple identities are present, I choose to focus on the way gender politics may combine with primarily race and ethnicity to create opportunities for harm, or opportunities for inclusion and equity.

Researcher Effect and the Research Process

In the primary data collection phase post 2016, I immersed myself in the runner's circles to obtain cultural capital; rapport, however, was facilitated through my experience in high school and NCAA athletics, being a person of color (especially when addressing questions of race with ethnic minorities), and looking almost the age of the older adolescents studied. Before then, the interviews I examine in this work were conducted by an openly gay second researcher. That author was trained in collecting and coding data, while the collection of non-participatory observational data was aided by the first author's previous experience in high school and collegiate cross country running. By understanding the dynamics of cross country cultures in various geographical settings and age cohorts, I was able to distinguish ideal sites for observation and better recognize tacitly as it occurred, positioning the observed group's experience against his own experience as a high school runner. Still, the relationship between researcher and student is intricate, and the employed manner of research can lead to unexpected and complex effects of the data (Carspecken 1996; Davies 1999). Fieldwork research itself 'constructs, reproduces, and implicates the self, relationships, and personal identities' (Coffey, 1999).

To dissect contextualizing experiences and even emotional proclivities is not enough. Reflections on the self in the field must exist within a framework that creates epistemological purpose. The term co-creation is powerfully appropriate in describing the ethnographic process precisely because fieldwork affects the researcher as much as the researcher affects the field. A fundamental step in the reflexive process is to 'locate the self' (Coffey, 1999). Despite my deep involvement with long distance running, and cultural proximity to many of the experiences of the members of the cross country team I immersed myself in, there were generational differences (not to mention pivotal differences in power between researcher and participants) that necessitated a constant localisation of the self in the field. Coffey (1999, p.47), writes, 'In researching, constructing and writing the lives of others, we are engaged in negotiating and writing ourselves.'

Further, the cultivation of interpersonal relationships is to a successful ethnography because it is necessary to conduct research with social actors (Coffey, 1999). Thus, in contrast to a more objectivist epistemology, it is best to understand my role by understanding that in the field, the lines between friend, mentor, coach, and researcher often played in tandem with each other, and that that in itself is the ultimate research instrument. Coffey (1999) describes that enactment as a physical act, in this case, notwithstanding the literal physical activity I engaged in with the sports team.

Coffey (1999) describes going into the field and taking on 'roles and identities as a way of *getting on* with the task at hand.' In other words, they are often chosen as a means by which you'll conduct a successful study, as a means by which you feel you will best answer your research question. However, these identities are not always simply chosen—sometimes they are imposed, can 'adapt and change; can be singular or multiple. (pg.24). In the field, as such, I also have to navigate the appropriateness and acceptability of personas. On top of the personas that were co-created in the space (such as being an elite runner and coach) there were peripheral ones too, like teacher, musician, and care-taker. Then there were the ones that were likely to most affect the research and co-creation process; these include being Latinx, ostensibly straight, cis, and middle class, some of those identifiers the same minority identities I was studying in the field. In being reflexively aware of these, I engage in 'self-conscious impression management' (Coffey, 1999, pg.64) In most cases that management was utilised to help me form rapport where and when I most needed it to integrate or detach from the field. In these cases, I had to wrestle with my own privilege and understand what behaviours I had access to and why. One or more of my identifiers may or may not have precluded me from the very gender hierarchies I was studying in the field. Where my identity as a Latino may have opened a certain informal interview up to me, my privilege may have changed the nature of that interview.

Finally, it should be made explicit that there is an inherent tension between immersion and distance in a field especially in this case, since I am already something of a 'native' due to my

background in long distance running—I already possessed some ‘esoteric knowledge and an empathetic self’ (pg.33) According to Hammersley and Atkinson (2019), it is in the space created by distance from the field that the rigorous analytical work is done. In the recording of field notes— a private process—the ethnographic self is ever-present. Still, though I examine the ethnographic self, I do so in a way that is epistemologically productive. I am not the focus of the fieldwork- generation differences, even if slight, create rifts sometimes helped or hindered the research, even in the face of the high amount of rapport I entered with and built on the site. These rifts also helped me face and be aware of, and if necessary, mitigate the natural power differences between the participants and I, as a researcher and adult on site.

Why Ethnography?

Ethnography and its constituent tools—formal and informal interviews, participant observations, etc—is the most appropriate research vehicle for its power to create deep, rich stories over time in a way that other qualitative methods alone, and especially quantitative methods alone, could not. Ethnography allows for and in my case—choosing to center IMT—necessitates an inductive and deductive approach. The induction inherent to the coding process (elaborated upon in procedures) allows me to best consolidate and co-create natural themes, while my secondary goal of testing IMT is best positioned in the ethnographic context so I may gauge attitudes on homosexuality as well as the tenets for inclusivity present in the literature including eschewing violence, feminised artifacts, the one-time-rule, and so on. Further, I choose ethnography for reasons inextricably tied to my relationship with the field; as a reflexive researcher who is a relative insider to his field, ethnography allows me to best dig within the phenomena within a field I understand and have in parts enacted, not only as an athlete, but as a researcher myself. As a researcher in the field, I inherently play with gender, race, and class politics in a way impossible to do with other methodologies. In recognizing these aspects, as explored in the

previous section, I provide greater epistemological strength to this work.

Similarly, much of the masculinities literature has centered the sporting arena. While a full history of gender and sport is just outside the scope of this project, sports were historically a site not for the generation of health and well-being, but for the reproduction of gender norms and masculine and capitalist ideals (Anderson, 2009). While the main-stream understanding of sport is somewhat removed from its old premise, sports context provide rich opportunities to study gender in a place where it is centralised, not least through its regulation of gender spheres through gender segregation in many cases. Further, schools are rich sites by which to study *emerging* masculinities—as is my goal, as they are formed by and shape young people.

Finally, the dynamic nature of the phenomena I study necessitates a research methodology that is flexible and able to adapt to rapidly changing conditions on one hand whilst on the other allowing consistent access to a site if necessary, for long periods of time. It is no wonder—as one can tell from skimming the literature review—the vast majority of the masculinities literature is based around ethnography.

Setting

The high school in question is located approximated thirty-five miles from Los Angeles, in a middle-class suburb in an historically White, conservative county. However, Hispanics and Asians together now make up the majority in this county. With the influx of new faces comes social and political change: Hillary Clinton won this county in the 2016 election, and House of Representative seats that had decisively gone to Republican candidates for the better part of a century were flipped ‘blue’ in the 2018 midterm elections. These demographic shifts are driven not only by Hispanic and Asian voters (who are more likely to register as independents or Democrats) but in large part by young voters, who heavily lean Democratic (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). The dynamics and tensions between the changing nature of

socio-cultural norms—in tandem with changing gender norms—are likely to play some part in the gendered landscape, and thus largely contribute to the motivation for this study.

The high school is large, with an enrollment of over 3,600, drawing students not only from the city (population 55,000) in which it is located, but from neighboring cities as well. Further, it is well ranked, consistently outperforming the schools in its district in most academic measures. Finally, while historically white, it has an increasingly ethnically diverse population with 14 percent Hispanic, 47 percent Asian, and 32 percent white students at the time of my conducting this research. Black respondents, at 1 percent, are largely under-represented compared to the county's proportion of African Americans. Traditional notions of class do not ostensibly affect the friendships observed at this high school, but the complex relationship between race and class is informed by its socioeconomic and cultural standing in a demographically shifting conservative area.

Procedures

Since the nature of cross-country means running to and from various locales for workouts and distance runs, observations were taken in various social settings, from the school and track, to parks, and from local neighborhoods and busy pedestrian areas to the beach. This was the case in the original ethnographic research period (Morales and Caffyn-Parsons, 2017), but also in the ethnographic uniquely referenced in this MPhil. While much data was collected during official practice time, the socializing that took place with the athletes before and after official practice was an especially rich source of illuminating data. These data were collected primarily through participant observations and interactions, in-depth and informal interviews, both in person, virtually, and over-the-phone. Note-taking was conducted by immediate recall as to minimize the visibility of the research process (Spradley 1988). Note taking was further facilitated by technology. As it is common in contemporary youth culture to use a cell phone almost indiscriminate of context, I was able to enact the recall process inconspicuously by

accessing the 'notes' iPhone app soon after relevant observations. I carried my cell phone with me on most runs, and was typically on me during warm-up sessions and other social contexts. While the athletes were aware of my positionality as a researcher, the appearance of my cell phone usage blended in with theirs. These techniques helped to enable the runners to forget that research was being conducted, facilitating as close to a natural ethnographic setting as possible. Further, online ethnography was an important tool with which to collect data. As is the nature of social life in the 21st century, much enriching contextualizing information was recorded via digital means. Thus, this research incorporated 'muti-semiotic modes' of data collection (Dicks, Soyinka, and Coffey, 2006). Thematic analysis, or thematic coding—beginning with interpreting to categorizing to consolidating to structuring—occurred early (beginning after a few weeks) and often (every two weeks or so) in rounds as to maintain the immediacy of meaningful interactions and to track the change of themes over time.

Finally, consent forms were distributed to all participants of interviews, separated for each internal project (including the PhD/ MPhil specific clearance). All requests of the relevant host organization (FVHS, during school sanctioned events such as meets and practice) were met prior to the active research period.

CHAPTER 8: RESULTS

Introduction

These results and findings provide an adequate answer for my research question through the comparative method. In synthesising my data to account for the intersectional dynamics, I am able to paint a richer picture of the way inclusion is maintained or eroded. Following that, I'm able to take a more deductive approach to testing inclusive masculinity theory. In the first ethnographic period, I observed a highly tactile, gay-friendly athletics team (Morsles and Caffyn-Parsons, 2017). These youths represented various religions and ethnicities, although they were all, with few exception, of middling social-economic-status. They engaged in tactile behavior so often they did not even realize the degree to which they were—furthermore, they were open about their support for homosexuality and used humor to demonstrate it, this humor incommensurate with the fag-talk (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014) of the past. However, in the second ethnographic period, the most striking difference was that while many of the inclusive behaviours remained, the ethnic minority youth were less likely to be able to utilise and enact inclusive masculinities to maintain capital or erode hierarchies. Themes in the second ethnographic period centered around the ethnic minority youth and more feminine acting youth having markedly less flexibility and higher regulation in their gendered behavior. Banter in the second research period was aimed at creating hierarchies steeped in ability to exclude; rather than include, as described by McCormack (2011). Further, these behaviours were justified under the guise of equality via power-blind discourse. Homosexually-themed-language (HTL) was similarly defended as an equalizing artifact of inclusion; in practice, it was disproportionately aimed at youth which held less masculine power in any particular context. In the following sections, I will contrast trends from the second, MPhil specific research period with the base one. Further, I review the results from the religion study in new light (Morales, 2018).

Inclusivity

The most robust finding from both ethnographic portions was the unanimous acceptance (to varying degrees) for gay people among the whole of the team. One informal vehicle by which homophobia can be measured is to pose a hypothetical, to ask, 'what would you do if a teammate came out as gay?'

To this hypothetical question, a few of the athletes responded like Gary, saying "I would be okay with it". John flatly stated, "I wouldn't care". When asked to clarify what he meant by the word "care", John responded, "I just wouldn't mind at all if they were gay, it doesn't make a difference to me. I'd support them". William expressed, "Nothing would change, I would still feel the same way about them." Interestingly, Zach said, "I would expect it, considering how normal it is in society". As McCormack (2012) found in the three English Sixth Forms he collected data from, the students' attitudes are not defined by homophobia, but rather by inclusivity.

Other runners expressed celebration and proactive support as hypothetical reactions. Grant said he would "welcome them with open arms". Yassir said, "I would be happy for them because their family is supportive of them. And because it shows he is comfortable around me, can trust me and be himself." Unsure how Yassir used the word 'family,' the interviewer asked him to clarify. "We are a team, but also a family. If someone came out they would be totally accepted here."

Some of the runners reported that they would be surprised if a teammate came out. When asked, Dennis expressed a bit of confusion, saying, "I'd be surprised, I don't know, I just wouldn't expect them to be gay." Gary also indicated he'd be surprised, and when asked why, he said, "I don't know, it's just not something I think about happening." This is explained both by participants presuming heterosexuality (a form of heterosexism) but also because, as Zach notes, "I feel like I would know them enough that I would have a hint that they were gay or bi."

Homosocial Tactility

These boys framed much of their tactile behaviors, much homosexually themed, as a mechanism of banter, unlike studies of adolescents engaging in tactility in England (McCormack, 2011), but consistent with Magrath et al. (2013) on 16- to 18-year-old English footballers. In this study, we observed a clear difference between stated tactile behaviors and observations of tactile behavior. For example, when asked about how often they hug another teammate, responses ranged from 'not at all' to 'as an occasional occurrence' to 'very frequently.' The purpose of these hugs was stated to be for a greeting or farewell, or for the expression of emotional intimacy. However, our observations indicated that physical tactility in this peer group, including hugging, was much more common than any of the participants indicated—even the individual who said he does not hug male teammates at all hugged his teammates. In fact, the frequency of touch between the boys' bodies was so great that it was difficult to capture field notes.

In the later ethnographic period, however, the tactile behaviors were noted to be more crude; like much of what I observed in the second ethnographic period, the inclusive behaviors became a vehicle to banter in such a way that was more likely to marginalize. The typical butt of banter or jokes were the youth of colour. Further, the banter evolved to become more intense and physical, and for the purpose of displaying dominance, whether in a pool, or over the pool table.

Anderson (2009) suggests that in the 1980s men concluded a brief hug with two strong pats on the back as an indicator of heterosexuality, but in this research only two of the eight boys who described themselves as frequently giving hugs said that they concluded those hugs with strong pats on the back. The other six described their hugs as a "full embrace" or "full frontal" without the need to pat. This diversity in expressed tactility not only highlights that different social situations code for variations of expressed tactility, but that inclusive masculinities are not monolithic. Behaviors traditionally coded as orthodox may not reflect orthodox attitudes when considering ancillary behaviors and a larger context.

Mason was among the most affectionate participants, stating, “We [teammates] are just *so* comfortable with each other.” The most physically tactile member of the group, though, was William, who was apparently not aware of the frequency of his same-sex tactility. William not only hugged and high-fived, but he also kissed other boys on the cheek and neck. Mason believed that William’s holding hands in public and playful groping of buttocks was “just to get a reaction”.

Buttock-groping—the most overtly homosexually-themed humor observed—was sometimes looked upon unfavorably. The second author noticed this after a group of the runners described William’s behaviors as “going too far” sometimes; William’s behaviors, in this case, may have crossed the heterosexual maintenance boundaries these boys created for each other, later discussed. When the second author asked William if he knew that some of his teammates found his touching overly effusive, William smiled and exclaimed, “it’s just a joke!”. Other teammates, such as Matthew, agreed that his tactile behaviors were designed to get a reaction. Even though William and his teammates suggest that these tactile behaviors are designed to be funny, we noted multiple times in which the humor of the situation was not played upon, and genuine tactility for homosocial bonding took place. Butt-groping diminished in the second research period. Further, when it did occur, it notably stopped occurring among the ethnic minorities; this is consistent with that in the second research period, the ethnic minority youth paid a higher price for softer masculinities than their white teammates, usually in the form of ridicule.

Adding to the complexity of the use of touch in friendship formation, the most affectionate and tactile boys on the team explained that they tried to make their friends feel uncomfortable for short periods so that they may feel more comfortable in the future, a technique they employed on the second author when he arrived to the research setting. Upon arriving, William played with his hair, seemingly without fear of boundary-crossing. A few days later, when asked how he felt so comfortable being so tactile with a person he had just met (as to not risk posing that question as judgement), William responded, “It’s because I wanted you to feel like you could act how we act, even if weird for a second. We [more affectionate teammates]do it when someone seems

uptight, not that you did.”

While present in the second ethnographic period, no such justification was noted for similar behaviours in the second ethnographic period. Tactility, while based in humor at least as much as in the first ethnographic period, was more likely to be based in competitive contexts, such as pool games, and only among the athletes with the most capital, or those willing to spend time with the more confident upperclassmen. Willingness to spend time with the boys with higher social capital (or lack thereof) defined much of the social dynamic outside practice time, and subtler, during practice. Per my field notes, on at least four occasions it was noted that the boys with less social capital—each time more likely to be ethnic minority youth and youth less likely to engage in hyper-masculine posturing—left gatherings precisely as jokes would become more racialized, games more physical, or banter more sexual.

Occasionally, the boys would hold hands in the first ethnographic period. Sometimes these behaviors were designed for the expression of homosocial affection, but most of the time it was designed as a joke. Whilst different from Anderson and McCormack’s (2015) research that documented young men’s touching being explicitly more about love, this observational data is rich in instances where teammates used ostensibly sincere hugs and other forms of tactility to show affection. The athletes’ difficulty in explaining their tactile behaviors may further highlight the normalized status of those behaviors in this setting. Further, re-contextualized, it may also predict why, in the second research period, they could not explain why some of them could enact the behaviours without consequence and others could.

Unlike straight male athletes of the 1980s and 1990s (Anderson 2009), for these runners, there is no fear of being thought gay for bed sharing. This extends to cuddling in bed, too. While not all of the boys have cuddled, four of the ten boys say that they have held another friend while lying in bed (or on the sofa). This type of physical proximity is mostly described as a genuine aspect of friendship. Resting a head on each other was described as being common and natural. Yet, some asserted that efforts are made to sustain distance – “there is

always something between us”.

Emotional Intimacy

When asked whether love was verbally expressed among teammates, many of the athletes cited Mason’s habit of addressing the group and saying “I love you”. Two runners reported that they did not tell each other “I love you” at all, while those who did say “I love you” described nuance in their manner of expression. Matthew commented, “I put the ‘I’ in when I mean it”. It was observed to be uncommon for the boys to use “I”, and to not use a masculinizing word at the end such as “man”, or “guys”. Instead of stating clearly “I love you”, it was very common to hear, “I love you, guys” or “Man, love you”. It was uncommon for teammates to address each other by their names when expressing love, instead using “brother”, a reminder of platonic or fraternal love.

The youth indicated that proclamations of love tended to be said in a “joking” or “teasing” manner. Dennis explained he uses “Luv u” distinctly from “I love you” online as “semi-serious”, because he feels uncomfortable using the entire phrase. Again, we interpret the reluctance to express love without masculinizing the situation as heterosexual boundary maintenance. The boys have not lost their sense of sexual identity and their behaviors indicate that they will only comfortably engage in tactile behavior so far as in to not cross a homosexualizing boundary. Here, this boundary is not firm, but lies somewhere along kissing and expressions of love not coded as fraternal. Still, the boys express an extraordinary amount of flexibility in dealing with behaviors that cross the normal frequency of touching and expressions of love, as evidenced by their tolerance of William’s overt tactility. Furthermore, while some of the runners expressed discomfort with using the term “I love you” per se, they are still using the slightly more masculinizing version of the phrase to express the far wider range of gendered behaviors that would have been allowed during periods of high or moderate homophobia (McCormack and Anderson 2010; Pollack 1999).

Religious Inclusivity

The youth participants in the religion study were largely represented in the second ethnographic period. The inclusive, secularized responses to diversity among teammates regardless of religion complicates notions of exclusion or hierarchy in the second research period. These types of contradictions noted in the research period—fluctuations between stated inclusion and relations in-practice—should be prioritized and doing more to recognize them explicitly stated in the inclusive masculinities literature. While secularised religious identities indicated a technically diverse, gay-friendly cohort, the language used to justify that tolerance was remarkably similar to the language used to exclude. These included phrases around how some ‘other’ are ‘people too.’ Ultimately, while certain markers for diversity (religion) were not important to how power imbalances were manifest, markers (race and ethnicity, femininity) were.

A key observation was the degree to which these adolescent boys—regardless of faith— felt the equality of gay peers should be obvious. Virtually the same phrase was independently uttered by six of the eleven boys, when asked if gay couples should have equal access to socio-legal institutions of marriage and adoptions: “Of course, they’re people too”. From the tone of their responses, was as if they were surprised that I was even asking them such a question.

The others shared similar sentiments. “Tom”, an atheist, stated that “Gays marrying is just like other people marrying...if it makes them happy and it’s not hurting anyone, why should I mind”? “Amrish”, said “there is no reason all people shouldn’t be equal. There should be a separation of church and state.” “Hassan”, a Muslim, said that he “doesn’t see an argument any other way in today’s society” and “I don’t really mind if homosexuals do what they want. I see no reason to be angry with their choice of who they want to love.”

Brian asserted “I don’t think they (gays) should be treated any differently”, “I don’t see anything wrong with it (gay marriage and adoption), and “I don’t believe (sexual orientation) should separate us.

Everyone's a human being and I think all human beings should be treated the same." "Furthermore, Brian seemed to have distaste for progressive social movements and feminists he was exposed to on social media. On a tangent at some point, he expressed:

Some people believe that gays are treated like criminals and they want more attention for that cause and stuff. Not necessarily gays, but anyone that believes super strongly about something and wants more attention and freedom and that gets kind of annoying. In America we should all be treated equally... like feminists sometimes feel they aren't getting equal rights, but were all making an effort, we're all doing the same things, and we all should be getting treated the same and they shouldn't be complaining.

This suggests that for these youth, at least, gay rights are no longer coded as a cause that needs fighting for. As a function of the cultural shift towards the normalisation of homosexuality, inclusive attitudes are perhaps seen as the norm (and not social activism), whilst in the past inclusive attitudes were indicative of being progressive. While this attitude may not result to be problematic in locales where the social inclusion of gays is the norm, the propensity for some to conflate the positive experiences of sexual minorities in inclusive locales with their experiences in all locales risks over-looking homophobia in contexts where sexual minorities are marginalised. While seemingly benign, the very language they use to justify the inclusion here betrays a lack of criticality around why gay people may or may not be able to get married in the first place, Ironically, feminist movements are those which helped guarantee the rights of gay couples to marry in the United States and United Kingdom, precisely through the use of identity politics, and not through obfuscating identity.

Reconciling Personal Beliefs and Church Orthodoxy

Every religious participant individually described their churches as not hostile to gays, even while some were not sure of their religion and/ or church's official stance on homosexuality. However, an emergent theme was the emphasis on the generally positive attitude their churches ostensibly had towards gays, even whilst homosexuality was not a common topic of discussion, and even while they were aware of some homophobia by older church members. Relatedly, the ambiguity in many of the responses regarding the Church's beliefs towards homosexuality was a cause for contradiction in some cases, when participants stated their views did not differ from their church's. Rather than the inconsistencies seeming to compromise the youths' religiosity, the participants simply emphasised the positive.

Thomas (Mormon) explicated what he perceived to be his churches stance by saying, "As far as I know, we don't discriminate it (homosexual orientation), but we don't encourage it, because according to the scriptures it says that man and woman shall be together... but our prophet (Joseph Smith) says that we should keep religion separate from the laws of the land. So we stick to the old ways and not like society with our customs, but we still love them (gays) because they are God's children." I asked Thomas if he differed from his church in any way, and he said, "I believe in everything that they believe. It kind of has to do with common sense and good attributes." I immediately had to ask him to clarify, since he had previously stated he believed gays should be able to marry and adopt. He said, "My church doesn't believe they should have marriage right but I believe they should still have those rights. I'm not sure, but I think they do support adoptions". "So would you consider that a difference then or still the same?" I asked. "Different, I guess," Thomas said.

Hassan (Muslim) reported that his church had a "traditional view on homosexuality", and that he thought the consequence might be "hell" in the church's eyes, but expressed doubt on the truth of certain doctrines. This phenomenon may be related to how Demerath (2007) envisions society able to be affected by processes of sacralisation and secularisation at the same time. Conversely, Hassan said

that his mosque believes gays should be able to marry, “based on the logic that no one deserves to be persecuted for their beliefs and because that is something us Muslims are currently dealing with and have been for centuries”. He also said they “preach that we should obviously treat them equally as they are human beings as well.”

Brian (Christian), Nathan (Catholic), Jack (Catholic), and Andrew (Catholic) all expressed that their churches emphasised the importance of loving and supporting everyone because “that’s what a good Catholic would do” (Andrew) or because, “God says you should love everyone regardless” (Jack). Brian thought his church took more of “a moral stance on it” and doesn’t suggest “gay marriage” because it’s not God’s plan,” but also that, “God says to love everyone and treat your neighbor and enemy like you would yourself.” Still, Brian didn’t know his church’s official stance on gay marriage and adoption— he only knew that they said “it was good to accept them”.

The three Catholic youth all stated that the topic of gays did not come up much in their supplementary religious instructions or sermon, and to Nathan that it seemed, “Everyone in my community is okay with it”. Andrew and Jack also believed their inclusive beliefs lined up with their church’s. Andrew even asked a minister about homosexuality once, and was told that, “We have to be supportive of everyone”. However, Andrew and Jack did expressly report overhearing homophobia from older members of their church. All three admitted not knowing the scriptures explicitly. This is a point of interest, because traditionally, protestant Christians adhere to 'Sola Scriptura', or accessing scriptures directly, and are thought to be generally more familiar than Catholics about scriptures, who receive more of their information from their priest (Allert, 2004).

Reconciling Personal Beliefs and Social-Familial Influence

Some of the athletes—such as Juan, whose mother had “a homosexual experience”—reported being influenced by their parents in their inclusive beliefs, while others did not. Amrish (Hindu) explained that in his home environment, “that conversation [about homosexuality] never came up as a child” and that by the time he was in high school he had “already made up” his views from what he learned in health class and from openly gay friends. Amrish continued on to explain that his parents were not homophobic, but are quite conservative concerning sex (consistent with Hindi culture), and would be “scared about what their society would think if I were gay... they act like it would be the gravest thing... my family specifically is a very high profile family in my country of Nepal, so everything that I would do would be reflected upon the family” (Sharma, 1993). However, he did emphasise that, “It’s kind of complicated... I was raised by my parents to treat everyone with respect” and that “my parents are excepting of the fact that they [gays] should have equal rights, even if they do feel marriage should be between a man and a woman.”

“Jack” (Catholic) and “Andrew” (Catholic) both stressed that their parents did not influence them because they did not have conversations about sexuality around the house.

“I don't think I've been influenced by anyone, it's just logical... I don't think I've been pushed in any direction”.” Jack said. Andrew guessed, “Maybe my parents didn't talk about it because they're Asian”.

Most of the students also reported not having thought about issues surrounding homosexuality before high school, but a few had, and suggested inclusive attitudes maintained value even then. Amrish explained, “I think it was the school environment in general, like, even from middle school and high school everyone was so accepting and there was no reason to you know, discriminate against gays, and it taught me that equality should exist.” In contrast, Thomas (Mormon) had never even heard the word gay before entering high school. In his words, “High school changed me because some people in class I had never met before said they were not straight, and I asked them, ‘what do you mean by not straight?’” Consistent with contact theory (Bowen and Bourgeois, 2001), his exposure to openly gay

peers is likely a strong factor in creating pro-gay attitudes within him, Generally, despite the relatively recent trend toward inclusivity in western cultures and religions with anti-gay or gay-negative doctrines and histories, all respondents not only espoused inclusive attitudes towards homosexuality, but engaged in a narrative that married their church affiliation as compatible with gay-friendly attitudes.

These results show that these young men reconcile their church's stances with their own inclusive beliefs, reported ostensibly inclusive environments within their church communities, and articulated their belief in equality through secular discourse. As church communities in inclusive locales deemphasize anti-gay principles and posture inclusivity, young people may maintain religious identities as a function of secularization as declining religious authority.

Despite the inclusive experiences I had in high school on my team, the was even more inclusive—while masculinities will not be constant everywhere, and can vary and change over time, the comparison between this team and mine of a decade ago can be theorized to be representative of the shift further towards inclusivity (Anderson, McCormack, and Lee 2012). The second study expanded on the first via semi-structured interviews regarding many of the religious youths (and some of the secular youths) experiences within their churches, and how they reconciled their inclusive beliefs with their religions. I theorized their answers and their churches ostensive behaviors as a function of declining religious authority and secularization, while raising questions on the degree to which we can consider religious influence will decline as a function of the rise of an inclusive culture, and on the relationship between social movements and religious meaning.

Conclusion

While my original research found that the relationships these high school athletes form with each other are not primarily predicated on homophobia or hypermasculinity, and that religious diversity was tolerated, further ethnographic work builds on findings on heterosexual boundary maintenance and

heterosexism to show masculine hierarchies reformed more readily and less predictably among intersectional ethnic lines; heterosexism was bolstered in tandem with the reification of hierarchies. Finally, I discuss the relationship between inclusive masculinities, religiosity, and secularization; in doing so, I explore mechanisms by which dominant cultural narratives (in this case, the acceptance of homosexuality) might transform religious expression and religious institutions as a function of individualisation.

CHAPTER 9: DISCUSSION

Introduction

My ethnographic work has engendered in me the idea that culture is meaning centered and arises from a matrix of micro, meso, and macro phenomena. As a burgeoning masculinities scholar, my work in the IMT realm—a social movement theory in modernity—is well positioned to turn its head and speak to the wider sociological literature, especially in light of these preliminary findings. First, I outline some implications for the comparisons I drew between research periods and what they might mean in the masculinities literature. Then, I incorporate the theoretical and empirical implications of these studies to further observations and wider sociological theory.

Implications for IMT

Previous sexuality research has shown the prevalence of kissing, cuddling, loving, and other homosocial behavior among heterosexual men and adolescents the United Kingdom in recent years (Anderson et al. 2012; Anderson and McCormack 2015; McCormack 2013). No recent research has explored the prevalence of homosocial behaviors on high school athletes in the United States. While the adolescent runners in the U.S. studied did not display homosocial behavior as intensely as the British athletes, they nonetheless displayed a clear preference towards inclusive behavior including, but not limited to touching, bed sharing, Emotional disclosure, and non-violent conflict management. These boys were able to engage in these behaviors without recourse, homophobic discourse, without being homosexualized, and without the hegemony of a uniform masculine ideal. Furthermore, despite the prevalence of inclusive attitudes and homosocial behaviors, heterosexism remained by privileging heterosexuality as the assumed sexual orientation, their “boundary maintenance” (McCormack and Anderson 2010) predicated on that assumed heterosexuality.

These observations are all consistent with theorizing on the effects of declining homophobia (McCormack and Anderson 2014), the partial exception being the erosion of the one-time rule of sexuality, regarding the runners' attitudes on same-sex kissing— the runners generally coded same-sex kissing as sexual, and hence, conflated it necessarily with homosexuality. Otherwise, the one-time rule of homosexuality did show to be corroded as the runners did not conflate other homosexualizing behavior such as bed sharing with necessarily reflecting homosexuality.

As noted in the literature review, the physical tactility and emotional intimacy recorded in the field are consistent with the socio-positive effects Anderson (2009) theorizes arise contemporaneously with diminished homophobia in an inclusive culture, and the intention of some of the most physically affectionate boys to create a comfortable and open setting by exaggerating their behaviors at first reflects care for the experience of their teammates. Physically exemplified intimacy allowed the young men to more easily engage in a kind of emotional bonding and disclosure that would not have been found in the 1980s or 1990s, due to the highly homophobic culture of the time (Anderson, 2009). However, in context, these behaviours come at a price, especially when they cross the often blurry line from sincerity to sarcasm. Tactility may regulate toward inclusion, but not all regulation is created equal. It may regulate towards less homosexualisation of tactile actions, while at the same time castigate femininity, namely if the cuddling is done for hetero-sexual recuperation. Further, it has the potential to establish White dominance, even if unintendedly, if it is only the White youth that can engage in these behaviours without castigation or regulation. Thus, even these seemingly inclusive behaviours with potentially marginally positive implications can cause harm when intersectionality is not framed.

I argue, within the framework of IMT, that while it is the culture change toward the acceptance of homosexuality that has granted adolescent boys the ability to expand their gendered behaviors, the level of equity and freedom of that expansion is limited and defined by the grows along narratives and discourses that emphasize individuality. Future research directions should investigate whether the he

emancipatory politics of inclusive masculine behaviours may be inextricably tied to individualization, and how those tensions may play out in setting power dynamics in the micro, meso, and macro.

Consistent with inclusive masculinity tenets, youth in the first and second ethnographic periods alike were not explicitly excluded or stratified based on bullying-type behaviour, and diversity in gendered behavior was not regulated out—even in the more highly stratified second ethnographic period, the boys with less masculine capital more removed from the group with more capital showed little interest in modifying their behavior. Thus, inclusive masculinity theory maintains explanatory theoretical power, as the gay-friendly conditions present in these research periods do consistently point to less regulation (less incentives to modify behaviour, at least among the majority of the youth) than was documented in previous research periods in the hegemonic masculinity zeitgeist. What has been missing in the literature is an account of more subtle gendered stratification that takes micro-aggressive turns, or stratifies through exclusion on clearly racialised or orthodox masculine privileging lines, even while that stratifying behaviour takes place in the face of ostensibly gay-friendly attitudes and a tolerance for diversity. These observations help synthesize seemingly disparate descriptions of modern masculinities including hybrid masculinities with Inclusive Masculinity Theory. IMT is a formal, mid-range social movement theory which describes the expansion of masculine behaviours as a function of decreased homophobia and a flattening of gender hierarchies. While the notion of hybrid masculinities has no explanatory power, its logic may be nestled in the idea of attempting to reconcile behaviours which maintain dominant structures with all the while changing gender norms.

Implications for Religion and Secularization

While positive attitudes toward homosexuality are proliferating, t religiously affiliating youth had an interest in fulfilling their spiritual lives, as evidenced by the high religiosity and general perception that

their church's stance (corresponding to homo-negative views) didn't vary much with theirs. Even if the youth's perceptions about their ostensibly gay-friendly church were the function of a willing or unwitting misunderstanding of homo-negativity in their religion, it is significant that they hold their religion and pro-gay stances as clearly compatible, and that might be related to the strong levels of religiosity found in this sample.

The attitudes of many of these youths vary slightly with Dillon's (1999) analysis of who she has referred to as "pro-change Catholics," while only Hassan (Muslim) and Brian (Christian) seemed to understand differences between themselves and their church pre-interview. While Dillon shows that these "pro-change Catholics" build an identity that maintains stability and solidarity with the Catholic tradition, she also describes them challenging authority with individual reason, recognising its authority while promoting change within it.

The possibility that homo-negative churches were actually (consciously or not) deemphasizing policies against homosexual equality may point to a broader trend of secularization (declining religious influence in comparison to cultural norms). Thus, religious institutions may face an adapt-or-die situation, in which secular norms are a significant force by which those institutions shape their rules and customs over time. However, the confusion by the adolescents as to the official policy of their church may allow the corresponding religious institutions to maintain relatively inclusive or ambiguously inclusive doctrines at local levels, while continuing to espouse homophobic practicing at a broader structural level. Furthermore, I theorise the responses by these adolescent boys as a function of "muting" religious narratives to fit secular morality, and as a possible dilution of the doctrines by some church communities as to not alienate their millennial and Generation Z constituents.

Inevitably, social trends in culture will affect the way a faith is interpreted in that locale. This idea is not new. Durkheim claimed that religion was a mirror of society itself as early as 1912. More recently, Linda Woodhead explores this analysis of religion in *Gender Secularization Theory* (2008), by

linking women's patterns of religious affiliation and disaffiliation to their working lives. It is important to emphasise that this study does not make hard claims about what religions necessarily mean to convey in their doctrines regarding homosexuality; there are a plethora of interpretations, and this is not the aim of sociologists (Dillon, 2003). Rather, the propensity for multiple interpretations of religious doctrines and texts *supports* the postulation that religious expression often bends to the whim of societies' values.

As Chaves (1993) has argued, considering the decline of structural religious affiliation, secularisation theory (as declining religious authority) might best explicate the direction of religious life for young people in the United States. This research suggests that the decline of homophobia may drive secularization as defined by Chaves, since churches lose moral authority on matters such as homosexuality as social movements shift culture. In this sense, secularization may then also drive inclusivity. The disconnect between homo-negative religious structures and their inclusive followers may follow a tenet of "new differentiation" theory—rather than the integration of inclusive beliefs into the dogma of the church (as is a future possibility), the "functional sphere" of the church may simply refrain from "producing insoluble problems" for the sphere that is inclusive men (Dobbelaere 1985:383; Luhmann 1982, 1990; Chaves, 1993).

It should also be considered a possibility that the continuing trend of liberalising attitudes towards sexual minorities in influential cultures may affect the narrative religious institutions espouse on a global level. Anderson has stated in an interview that "globalisation has brought a particular, positive, perspective on what it means to be gay from Hollywood" (Morales, 2016, p. 27). American exports have humanised and normalised portrayals of gay men through movies such as *Milk*, and T.V. programs including *Modern Family*. If pro-gay cultural expectations diffuse throughout the world as a function of globalisation, religious institutions may partially or fully adapt to reflect those cultural expectations. As I will elaborate in the next section, those adaptations may be the consequence of a more specific force in modernity: individualisation. Furthermore, the adaptation of a religious

institution to those elements of culture may accelerate the transmission of secular ideals between societies with adherents to that religious institution. Broadly, we might be able to examine transformations in religious doctrine as a function of shifts towards secular morality in public spheres.

Hicks and Lee (2006) found that religiosity is a valid predictor of attitudes toward homosexuality, even when controlling for religious conservatism. Since the landscape of acceptable gendered behaviours for men has significantly widened since 2006, more research needs to be done to see if for youth— largely prescribing to inclusive attitudes towards homosexuality— religiosity is still a valid predictor of attitudes towards sexuality. Longitudinal research that traces the religiosity of inclusive youth as they grow into adulthood might provide further insight into the relationship between inclusive cultures and secularisation.

Further Theory

In making sense of these various themes, I am drawn to the structurationist theories of Giddens (1991), Beck's 'risk society' (Beck, Lash, and Wynne, 1992) as well as engage with Bourdieu's (1990) conceptualisation of habitus and domination within a field. The relative precariousness by which the ethnic minority youth maintained their status over time, after the first ethnographic period, is a potential limit to the current framework of IMT. Methodologically, it suggests a limitation to blitzkrieg ethnography; if not for the subsequent observations which showed the higher control the white youth had in maintaining masculine capital when hierarchies re-arose, the short ethnography's snapshot-in-time would reveal nothing of hierarchical stability.

The concept of habitus and structurationist theories of individualisation may prove to be the best way to reconcile an increased sense of agency with an increased sense of gendered freedom, even if ethnic and religious minority youth are less likely to be able to, under some conditions, adapt to behaviours related to higher positions in the small group hierarchy. Individualisation (at least an

American variety) might be represented in the onus the athletes put on the individual while defending his right to gay marriage. Individualisation is a particularly useful theoretical for future work to use in the context of inclusive masculinities, exemplified by synthesising and contextualising the work on religion (Morales, 2018). The empirical claim that this study spearheads in testing, inspired by these theories, is the following: are ethnic, religious, and other minorities able to reap the possible benefits of individualisation, especially as they relate to the intersectional changes to inclusive masculinities? Are changes in ethnic and religious diversity factored into a social awareness of 'risk' (Beck, Lash, and Wynne, 1992) that social actors are then able to act on? Or does colour-blind framing obfuscate these experiences in the explicit imagination, such that the nature of stratification is more difficult to gauge?

Contextualizing and situating the socio-historical construction of orthodox masculinities is necessary when researching its expression across different countries, cultures, and societies. This literature supports the idea that homophobia is not a monolith, and that its varying roots and manifestations in different countries might lead to or reflect varying expressions of masculinity. Further, the historically grounded nature of IMT allows room for explications of masculine relations that may continue to disadvantage women and ethnic-minority men. The IMT framework explicates the changing behavior of boys and men in relation to a gay-tolerant culture, separate to and not necessarily interwoven with attempts to theorize the much-contested notion of patriarchy, and without implying or necessitating equality among men. In light of this, is my position that the explanatory power of IMT works well within a framework that presumes patriarchy.

My observations on the religiosity of these athletes works in tandem with Guhin's (2014) suggestion that religion be thought of not as an analytical category, but as a *site*. By working with the study of religion as a site, one is better able to export (Guin, 2014) the theoretical implications of that work. The central crux of this dissertation is that masculinities—to resolve the hegemonic vs hybrid, vs inclusive debates, to understand how it works for all people, masculinities must be intersectional. The

reason it is hard or impossible to currently apply inclusive masculinity theory to ethnic and religious minorities is because it is only with this MPhil that I suggest the processes that may be allowing the proliferation of gay friendly attitudes may be the same processes that put the onus on people of color when they are the disproportionately marginalized. This potential also implies that a new kind of sex-blind perspective that claims to be benign, one that makes its euphemistic claim as an 'equal opportunity offender.' As in colorblind racism, the perpetrator may claim that the erasure of identity was not intentional, without recognizing the larger forces which facilitated the *justification* for that marginalization. It is through studying the intersection of fields as seemingly different as masculinities and religion that this could come to life.

Within relationships, the accuracy of one's interpretation about the nature or significance of ethnic or racial signifiers may or may not be sound; what cannot be denied, however, is that consciously or not, these signifiers and their individual, intra, and inter-group negotiation are integral to the consolidation of gendered practices. More difficult to empirically study in ethnography, alone, is the long-term effects of uneven processes of marginalization. The gendered norms of ethnic minority communities, first generation Americans, and other minorities are informed by multi-cultural experiences; thus, a negotiation of changes that are occurring more quickly in a gendered landscape that is stable in its meeting the cognitive needs of its adherents.

This research contributes to the literature on gender in being the first contemporary (ethnographic) account of sporting adolescent masculinities in multi-ethnic and multi-cultural spaces within an inclusive masculine cultural context. Significantly, it may be considered this research takes place in an Anglo-American (and in theory, inclusive masculine) context. Multi-ethnic youth have begun to uptake the behaviors that began to emerge by mostly young white men in the United States and Britain, as a result of intra-national cultural diffusion or otherwise. This work opens the floodgates for wider theoretical debates around individualization.

Inspired by Ulrich Beck's theory of risk society, I hypothesise that as 'individualisation' has led social class positions to lose their significance in explaining risk and risk perceptions in late modernity, 'individualisation' has also led homophobia alone to lose its significance in explaining the maintenance or erosion of gender hierarchies in the present day. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) argue that 'the individual is becoming the basic unit of social reproduction for the first time in history' because rather than 'linear' structures related to social reproduction, late modern individualization is 'non-linear' and 'open-ended.'

Giddens associates individualisation at least in part to to the increase in individual reflexivity and knowledge. Individualization of this kind may be argued to enhance individual choice and/or to promote social inclusion (via labour market participation and receipt of wages). However, individualisation at the level of the family and household is far from complete in practice. Women in a majority of Western European countries work part-time (albeit to very different degrees) and still do most of the unpaid work of care. Thus, in the same way policies that assume rapid progress towards economic autonomy will in all likelihood promote greater gender inequality, the idea that the erosion of homophobia leads to equitable outcomes may promote greater intra-gender inequality.

In the *Normal Chaos of Love*, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2018) argue that, "as traditional social identities gradually fade, the antagonisms between men and women over gender roles emerge in the very heart of the private sphere..." Multiple questions arise here, in light of the prior associations I had made between the gendered phenomena in my field and the discourse around the individual. Are masculinities actually a part of this new era of antagonism and chaos? What identities are well situated within the risk society? Which aren't as well situated? If inclusive masculinities (de-regulated, individualized) are well situated, what does that indicate? Are inclusive masculinities, theoretically derived from subjective empirical data, prime examples of the reflexive modernity?

Further, two more questions arise with particular regard to the idea of 'risk' in explicating

individualisation in the gendered sphere. First, what is the relationship between more gendered behaviours available and identity formation?

Second: is this idea of having more behaviours available and being more permissible with norms around sexuality a response to risk? If it is, how so? What is the language by which this is defined or insinuated? Homophobia was definitely a response to risk, by definition; industrialization brought upon obviously not homosexuality itself, but the idea of homosexuality as a relatively static sexual orientation. The rise of awareness of this led to strategies for coping with it, namely heavy regulation of masculinities. Anderson and Beck describe the same process, but Anderson identifies the mechanism for masculinities and attitudes towards homosexuality.

“We Can Actually Be What We Want”

In the face of fears potentially individualistic attitudes obfuscates (gendered) inequality, we can't ignore the potentially positive role of increased agency and personal liberation in the face of oppressive power structures. Ironically, in a risk society or individualised society, the more power is blanching the harder it will be to determine who benefits from individualisation to rise above power structures or to maintain them. Individualisation makes it harder for individuals in society to recognize structural problems, because individualisation hasn't only made responses to collective experiences more diversified, but also has made reflexive actors also privilege their individuality. At the same time, individualization has probably allowed for the creation of systems of equity, as old identifiers break down and become part of the larger myriad of things that make of identity; these identities then either struggle (who?) or coalesce around new political and social categories of significance. As scholars note, the significance of not only homophobia is declining but on homosexuality itself (McCormack, 2010). Maybe this is what has driven the re-strengthening of white nationalism at the same time as sex blind and color-blind narratives are proliferating. Further, as much as intersectionality is often insinuated, concepts around identity are not

well understood because there is still increasing diversification of identity and increasing interests and categories. The intersection between the wider sociological theory and the gender literature is ripe with opportunities; these are all questions future research should engage with.

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