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Understanding the gendered self: Implications from EI Theory, EI Self, and the BEVI

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Understanding the Gendered Self:
Implications from EI Theory, EI Self, and the BEVI

Christen Pendleton

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

JAMES MADISON UNIVERSITY

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Abstract

The current study focuses on theory, data and analyses from the Forum BEVI Project (www.ibavi.org/content/featured-projects/), a national learning assessment initiative, with a particular emphasis on the “Gender Traditionalism” scale from the Beliefs, Events and Values Inventory (BEVI). Because Gender Traditionalism is central to Equilintegration Theory (EI Theory), the EI Self and the Beliefs Events and Values Inventory (BEVI), issues of definition, measurement and theory are considered with respect to this model, framework and method along with an examination of data and analyses from the BEVI, which are relevant to a deeper understanding of this construct. Results suggest that the EI model and BEVI method are highly resonant with extant literature and help to further our understanding of the predictors and outcomes of the “gendered self.” For example, the BEVI may demonstrate that certain formative variables (e.g., such as socioeconomic status and parental education level) impact the development of traditional gender beliefs, and that the relative degree to which one endorses gender traditionalism is correlated with other belief structures (e.g., concern about the environment) as well as specific outcomes (e.g., attunement to one’s own emotional experience and the emotional experiences of others). Additionally, implications of this theoretical model and assessment method for the facilitation of better understanding and relations within and between the genders also are offered.

It is impossible to realize our goals while discriminating against half of the human race. As study after study has taught us, there is no tool for development more effective than the empowerment of women.

Kofi Annan, UN Secretary General

Arguably, our beliefs and values about “gender” are among the most pressing of our time. Why? Because even a cursory review of headlines any day of the week will reveal that what we believe about gender affects all aspects of existence, from the assumptions we harbor for why men and women do what they do; to our predilection for supporting rights in the name of gender; to our inclination to condone, tolerate, or abhor gender-based violence; to our capacity for experiencing and expressing intimacy in our relationships. Thus, it is important not only to understand *what we believe*, but *why we believe what we believe* about these fundamental aspects of the human condition. Along similar lines, it would be helpful to understand the etiology of our beliefs and values about who males and females are – and are not – since “gender traditionalism” is associated with a range of antecedents and consequences that impact one’s relationship to self, others, and the larger world, for better or worse.^{1 2}

Gender traditionalism may be defined as the degree to which an individual endorses traditional, simple, and essentialist views regarding gender and gender roles,

¹ Content from this dissertation is included as a chapter in Shealy, C.N. (in press) (Ed.), *Making Sense of Beliefs and Values*, and is published here with the permission of Springer Publishing, New York.

² Although exceeding the scope of this dissertation, we recognize that transgendered individuals may self-identify as male and/or female – or neither – gender. By definition, a “gender traditional” perspective would be inimical to transgenderism. Thus, it is our hope that the literature, findings, and discussion presented here will facilitate greater understanding and compassion regarding gender identity, writ large, including but not limited to transgendered individuals.

while also tending to endorse and promote gender inequity (Davis & Greenstein, 2009). Extant research suggests that certain formative variables (e.g., family socialization) impact the formation of gender traditionalism and that gender traditionalism is correlated with other belief structures and life outcomes (e.g., Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Brinkerhoff & McKee, 1988; Ciabattari, 2001; Davis & Greenstein, 2009; Eisler & Corral, 2009; Eisler, Loye & Norgaard, 1995; Fan & Marini, 2000; Hill, 2002). For example, ideologies regarding gender are tied to, and reinforced by, other value-based constructs such as religious ideology and cultural beliefs (Brinkerhoff & McKee, 1988). Because these constructs are difficult to disentangle, it is important to study the interrelationships among them. At a larger and applied level, gender inequity has demonstrable and largely negative outcomes for men, women, and communities, as we will describe below (Eisler & Corral, 2009; Eisler, Loye & Norgaard, 1995).

Thus, it is important to contemplate how our scholarly work on gender may inform policies and practices in the real world. Ultimately, with clearer operationalization of the construct of gender, deeper understanding of the etiology of gender ideology, and greater appreciation of the real world implications of our work, we may better be able to translate such information into applied form in order to facilitate awareness and relations within, and between, the genders. Also, as we will indicate below, new measures are needed to examine what we think we know, while helping advance our understanding of these complex processes, and facilitating growth and development at an applied level. Toward such means and ends, this dissertation examines the utility of an integrative theoretical, empirical, and applied approach to these issues, by reporting on a large dataset from the Forum BEVI Project, a multi-site, multi-

year initiative that investigated international, multicultural, and transformative learning (Wandschneider et al., in press). This project relies on a mixed methods measure – the Beliefs, Events, and Values Inventory or BEVI, and its Equilintegration (EI) framework – to examine the etiology and impact of “gender traditionalism” on a range of processes and outcomes. Specifically, the following questions will be addressed:

- 1) From a construct validation perspective, do BEVI results correspond with extant literature on gender for males and females?
- 2) How might the EI theoretical framework and BEVI further our understanding of the role of formative variables on the development of gender traditionalism?
- 3) Does a higher degree of gender traditionalism on the BEVI mediate specific outcome variables?
- 4) What are the implications of this theoretical model and assessment method for the facilitation of better understanding and relations within and between the genders?

In order to ask and answer the above questions, this dissertation is divided into the following seven sections. First, we provide an overview of literature on the construct of gender, by describing various controversies and common themes that tend to characterize this line of inquiry. Second, we turn to the formative variables (e.g., life history, demographics) that theoretically and empirically have been linked to the development of gender identity as well as how our beliefs and values regarding gender have evolved over time. Third, we focus on a dimension of gender that historically has received less attention in the larger field – how and why male gender identity develops as it does. Fourth, at a related level, we then examine why and how men and women are socialized to experience and express affect differently as well as the consequences of such processes

for gender relations. Fifth, on the basis of all of the above, we illustrate why gender identity matters, by examining the local and global implications of the “gendered self” for actions, policies, and practices around the world. Sixth, to examine how these highly complex and interacting processes may be analyzed simultaneously, we then present results from a multi-year, multi-institution assessment of learning initiative called the Forum BEVI Project, which explores the relationship between antecedents and outcomes of gender traditionalism. Seventh and finally, we show how this theoretical model (Equilintegration or EI Theory) and applied method (the Beliefs, Events, and Values Inventory or BEVI) may be used in “the real world” – to help the genders understand why they believe what they believe about “who” men and women are and should be, both individually and in their relationships together – before offering a summary and conclusion.

Introduction to the Gendered Self

Distinctions between sex and gender have long been studied across multiple academic disciplines. In general, there is consensus that “sex” refers to the biological characteristics associated with being a man or woman, such as genitalia, and for women, menstruation, pregnancy, and lactation. “Gender,” on the other hand, refers to the socially constructed understanding of what it means to be male or female, including the roles ascribed to men and women. Kahn (2009), based on the composite work of earlier researchers, defines gender as the “general social and cultural beliefs on the part of individuals and societies about people and what differentiates them. These social and cultural beliefs about gender determine societal expectations about people’s thoughts, feelings, and behaviors, otherwise known

as gender roles” (p. 52). Notwithstanding cultural variations in approach and intensity, socialization for gender roles is ubiquitous across societies; hence the “learnt roles” tend to be regarded as a natural phenomenon (Kapadia, in press). Scholars who support a purely biological or physiological basis for gender differences are termed “essentialists,” while those who point solely to social and cultural influences to explain such differences are termed “social constructionists.” In short, many theories of gender development exist including biological, cognitive and social approaches (Blakemore, Berenbaum, & Liben, 2009). At the same time, although gender largely is considered a sociocultural construction, it is important to note that gender development is likely impacted by myriad interactive factors. Blakemore et al. (2009) offer support for this multifaceted, interactional process of gender development noting,

It may be the case that some aspects of gender development have their roots in evolutionary processes, some in the effect of hormones on the developing brain, some in the reinforcement provided by parents and others, some in the interaction of children’s peer groups, some in the observation and imitation of gendered behavior and roles in the child’s experience and the media, some in cognitive constructions, and some because of social interaction with others. There is no reason to think that biological, social, and cognitive factors are not all involved in the process of children’s gender development (p.17).

A majority view of gender scholars likely would grant that some differences amongst men and women indeed are biologically endowed, although many attributes and roles associated with gender are believed to be learned, constructed, and influenced by sociocultural factors. In fact, evidence supports the impact of biological factors on some

aspects of gendered behavior. For example, males and females have differing experiences of hormone exposure across the lifespan, which results in temporary as well as permanent alterations in brain structure and function (Berenbaum, Blakemore, & Beltz, 2011; Darlington, 2009). Only in the last couple of decades have researchers begun to study the female brain (Darlington, 2009). Mainly, male brains were used exclusively in research and results were generalized across the species (Darlington, 2009). While study of the female brain has helped to determine the impact of hormone exposure and fluctuation on female development (e.g., demonstrating that varying hormone levels impact abilities differently at different times of the month), it seems questionable at best to maintain that that brain-based biological influences are the sole cause of male/female differences. As Blakemore et al. (2009) observe,

The brain is (fortunately) not a static organ; it changes in response to experience. So it is difficult to know if sex differences in the brain produce sex differences in behavior or result from differences in the experiences of men and women (p. 176).

While certain differences, such as anatomical features clearly are sex differences, due to the bidirectional impact of social and biological factors, distinguishing other dissimilarities as either “sex differences” or “gender differences” is challenging at best if not impossible (Hines, 2004). As Berenbaum et al., (2011) note,

There is a sizable literature examining associations between circulating hormones and gender-related characteristics, primarily aggression, mood, and cognitive abilities...most of this work has been conducted in adolescents and adults.

Findings are complex and difficult to summarize briefly. Much of the complexity

reflects small effects, reliance on observational studies in adults, and bidirectional effects of behavior and hormones (e.g., aggressive behavior can increase testosterone). Hormones do not have simple causal effects on behavior, and the most valuable studies are those that examine the ways in which hormones act indirectly and interact with social factors to change gender typing (p. 813).

Thus, rather than attempting to reduce gender to essentialist or constructionist explanations, perhaps the most accurate description comes from a melding of, and interaction between, these points of view into a biosocial model where each informs, but neither totally determines, male / female differences (Berenbaum et al., 2011).

So just how different are men and women? The literature on sex and gender differences is vast and at times contradictory. Although an exhaustive review of this literature is beyond the scope of this dissertation, some brief context may be helpful.

First, the debate in the literature on gender differences across psychological variables, ranges from claiming that gender differences are close to zero (Hyde, 2005) to the view that they have been obscured by methodological limitations and are actually very large (Del Giudice, Booth & Irwing, 2012), and a variety of positions in between (Lippa, 2006). According to Lippa (2006, p. 639), the real challenge for ‘gender researchers is to explain the complex profile of psychological gender differences and to untangle the myriad social and biological factors that generate both gender differences and gender similarities’ (Vianelloa, Schnabelb, Sriramc, & Nosek, 2013, p. 3).

Differences commonly cited in the literature include certain visuospatial, mathematical and verbal abilities, certain physical abilities (such as motor abilities and abilities

requiring muscle strength), children's style of play, children's play interests, and aggression. Hines (2004) points to the typically low effect sizes of many of these reported differences (as compared to an aggregate difference in height for example, which is quite large), and describes some of the challenges associated with sex difference research including the tendency to publish studies that display differences in findings (and not to publish studies that yield no sex differences), which leads to an overrepresentation of difference reports; the impact of researchers' stereotypes on perceptions and conclusions; a lack of cross-situational consistency in sex differences; and the fact that few individuals correspond to the average male or female patterns (instead there is a great deal of variation within each sex, with each having representation at the top and bottom of distributions for all characteristics). Even when consistent differences between the modal performance of males and females are found in a certain area, there almost always is significant overlap among male and female groups (Hines, 2004).

Support for gender being understood largely as a social and cultural construction is found in the *gender similarities hypothesis*, which holds that despite the messages of popular culture, more variability can be found within genders than between genders (Hyde, 2005). In lay discourse, males and females often are characterized as being psychologically different, as having different needs, and disparate ways of being and communicating. Popular culture has emphasized these putative differences in well-known books such as *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus* (Gray, 1992). While gender differences may indeed vary a great deal across context and development, as Hyde documents, results from 46 meta-analyses suggest that males and females are similar on

most psychological variables. The meta-analysis found that 78% of effect sizes (including most of those often cited in the literature) were small or close to zero. Even so, several exceptions to the gender similarities hypothesis have been identified, including larger gender differences in certain motor behaviors (e.g., throwing), facets of sexuality (e.g., regarding casual sex), and moderate differences in physical aggression. In this regard, Hyde emphasizes the need to consider context vis-à-vis the prevalence or likelihood of gender differences, noting that gender differences in aggression, academic performance, and helping behaviors appear highly dependent on the influence of social norm expectations. For example, when the social context is manipulated, assumed “differences” between the genders can in fact be reversed or magnified. A study by Vianello et al. (2013) found that sex differences in personality traits were reduced to “weak or near zero” (p.11) when implicit measures of personality were utilized compared to use of explicit measures (which are partly impacted by social norms and social desirability). Additionally, traits more typically endorsed by males or females were different using implicit measures and explicit measures of personality. These findings suggest that differences derived from explicit measures likely are impacted by social desirability and ideas about how one should be or act based upon his or her gender. Such results suggest that gender differences are neither vast nor stable as popularized accounts suggest, but instead, often are context-driven and perpetuated by conformance to varying social expectations and dynamics.

Thus, it would appear that the psychological needs of men and women are highly similar, but due to social norms and socially constructed gender stereotypes, are attended to and prioritized differently. For example, psychological aspects of self likely are

supported or not, and to varying degrees, based upon what we believe boys and girls need. Hyde (2005) discusses the negative implications of overinflated claims of gender differences including perpetuating the sense that men and women should conform to stereotypical gender roles and should not exhibit characteristics associated with the opposite sex. Such stereotypes can negatively impact women's role in the workplace and men's ability to feel comfortable in nurturing roles, particularly as fathers. Furthermore, reifying gender stereotypes and inflating differences may impact human development and communication. For example, the disproportionate focus on self-esteem deficits in adolescent girls suggests, erroneously, that adolescent self-esteem is somehow less of a problem for males. The result of this stereotype is that the emotional needs of boys at this developmental stage often are relatively unrecognized, as described below, with attendant implications for the under-emphasis regarding interventions that could be salutary. Over time then, it follows that the differential perceptions regarding gender, mediated by contextually-reinforced gender-based norms, may well be associated with different ways of treating males and females across the lifespan, with further implications for the genders' experience of self, others, and the larger world. At the very least, the construct of gender that is believed to be true or real is closely tied to, and influenced by, a range of formative variables such as one's cultural, religious, temporal, ethnic, racial, societal, and historical background (e.g., Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Brinkerhoff & McKee, 1988; Ciabattari, 2001; Davis & Greenstein, 2009; Eisler & Corral, 2009; Eisler, Loye & Norgaard, 1995; Fan & Marini, 2000; Hill, 2002).

Against the backdrop, "gender" is regarded here in terms of generally understood male and female roles, which largely are prevalent – although by no means exclusively –

across cultures and contexts around the world. More specifically, traditional masculine characteristics typically are described as unemotional, aggressive, independent, and strong while traditional feminine characteristics typically are described as dependent, sensitive, caring, and emotional (Enns & Sinacore, 2001; Levant & Kopecky, 1995). In light of such perceptions of difference, another dimension of gender that largely remains constant across contexts is the inequity inherent in gender hierarchies. As Bussey and Bandura (1999) observe, “many of the attributes and roles selectively promoted in males and females tend to be differentially valued with those ascribed to males generally being regarded as more desirable, effectual and of higher status” (p. 676). That said, different individuals – and the societies that they comprise – may show greater or lesser degrees of support for such putative differences. These gender-based beliefs, often termed gender ideology, are described by Davis and Greenstein (2009) as, “the underlying concept of an individual’s level of support for a division of paid work and family responsibilities that is based on the notion of separate spheres” (p. 89). Other terms used to describe a relative allegiance to, or justification of, gender inequity include gender traditionalism, gender-role attitude, and gender egalitarianism.

As may be evident, the gender ideologies to which we ascribe often have demonstrable and real world impact on everything from how we understand ourselves, to the ways in which we parent our offspring, to the politics we are inclined to endorse. Moreover, the degree to which we understand the origins of our gender ideologies also may determine whether and how we regard gender-based actions, policies, and practices as good, bad, or indifferent (Eisler & Corral, 2009). Thus, as noted at the outset of this dissertation, if we are to address the local and global implications of gender ideology, it is

necessary not only to understand *what* individuals, groups, governments, and societies believe about gender, but *how* and *why* formative variables (e.g., life history) mediate the construction and maintenance of belief structures, particularly those that are related to gender traditionalism. For present purposes, this final point is most fundamental, since all of the other elements emphasized above – how gender roles are defined; which gender characteristics are privileged over the other; and how such beliefs play out in “the real world” – have their origins in the formative variables that shape us all. As such, a question that is as – if not more – important than *whether there actually are differences* between the genders is *whether and why we believe or do not believe that there are differences between the genders*. Why? Because our beliefs about gender difference are much more important – from the standpoint of actions, policies, and practices around the world – than are the putative realities of any such differences.³ To illustrate how interactions among formative variables and gender identity mediate not only what we believe, but why, we examine next how our collective concepts of gender have evolved over time.

Evolving Beliefs about the Gendered Self: The Impact of Formative Variables

Relying upon 24 years of data (1974-1998) on gender-role attitudes collected from General Social Surveys (GSS), and organized by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), Ciabattari (2001) documents the evolution of gender ideology over time in the United States. Specifically, a sample size of 3,575 participants was divided into cohorts by generation (pre baby-boomers, baby-boomers, and post-baby boomers).

Because results from prior empirical findings suggest that male gender ideology is

³ See www.ibavi.org for more information regarding the mediating role of beliefs on actions, policies, and practices around the world.

influenced by socioeconomic status, family background and composition, personal history, religious and political beliefs, race, ethnicity, regional background and historical context, such factors were utilized as independent variables. On the one hand, overall results indicate that gender ideologies of men in the United States have become increasingly less conservative since the 1970's. This reduction in gender traditionalism from 1970-1990 was seen across cohorts, independent of age. Nonetheless, when examining the interaction of race and gender, interesting trends emerge. For example, African American men tend to be more accepting of women's roles in the workplace than other cohorts. Likewise, Hispanic men, while endorsing support for separate spheres of work, do not endorse the belief that children are impacted negatively by their mother working.

Notwithstanding such reductions in gender traditionalism in the United States, cross-national data on significant indicators of gender equity present a mixed picture. Trends from a 2010 United Nations report indicate that progress in the area of gender equality has been made in some areas such as health, economic participation, and education. For example, in aspects of literacy and education there has been notable progress; however, globally, women are in a much more precarious position regarding health and well-being. Consider, for instance, the social and cultural factors that increase women's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS in regions such as sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, and the Middle East. As this UN report notes,

Research shows that women are more vulnerable than men to contracting HIV, due both to biological susceptibility as well as to social, economic and cultural pressures. Unequal gender relations within and outside the family often limit the

ability of women to protect themselves from HIV infection. Refusing unprotected sex is a challenge for women who are dependent on men socially and economically and therefore have limited bargaining power. Furthermore, sex outside of the union and multiple sexual partnerships are often culturally tolerated for men (though not for women), and hence a married woman can be vulnerable to HIV infection because of her husband's concurrent sexual relations (United Nations, 2010, p. 32).

The United Nations Development Fund for Women (2007) estimates that worldwide at least one out of every three women will be physically, sexually or otherwise abused during the course of her lifetime. Women are victims at higher rates than men of sexual trafficking, sexual and domestic violence, and genital mutilation. The U. S. State Department (2007) reports that approximately 12.3 million persons that are trafficked annually worldwide (other estimates range from four to 27 million), and that eighty percent of these victims are women. Consider also that 140 million girls and women worldwide are victims of female genital mutilation (FGM), a dangerous procedure that offers no medical benefits and damaging health risks (World Health Organization, 2013). According to the World Health Organization (2013), "FGM is recognized internationally as a violation of the human rights of girls and women. It reflects deep-rooted inequality between the sexes, and constitutes an extreme form of discrimination against women" (Fact Sheet 241). In 2012, the UN General Assembly published research on the damaging effects of FGM and accepted a resolution for its elimination, yet the practice continues to occur at disturbing rates (Fact Sheet 241). Such realities illustrate the potentially deleterious impact of traditional gender beliefs, which not only promote

inequity across societies and cultures, but illustrate why gender-based discrepancies in areas of power, decision-making, and violence warrant attention.

To investigate such processes longitudinally, Fan and Marini (2000) examined 8,822 adolescents and young adults from the United States, ages 14-22, at three points in time (1979, 1982 and 1987) using the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) (a 90.4% retention rate amongst participants was reported). Participants were asked to give their level of agreement (strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree) to eight different statements regarding the employment of wives, such as, *A woman's place is in the home, not the office or shop* and *Men should share the work around the house with women, such as doing dishes, cleaning and so forth*. Overall, results indicated that “socialization of gender-role attitudes begins in the family of origin and is influenced by gender” (p. 279). More specifically, sex, family background, and race all influenced gender-role attitudes, while religious ideation did not. For example, young women demonstrated more egalitarian gender-role attitudes than did young men, but the attitudes of both sexes were impacted by family history and background (e.g., a higher degree of parent's employment and education were both associated with a greater degree of egalitarian attitudes). Both male and female participants demonstrated a shift towards more egalitarian gender attitudes as they aged. The attitudes of men changed more than the attitudes of women, although women started out with more egalitarian views. Men tended to move more towards the egalitarian beliefs held by women, such that as men aged, their beliefs became more similar to women's.

So, although gender-based beliefs may change at the individual level, and appear to be changing differentially by gender as well as socioculturally, such changes are by no

means globally universal, which begs the question why? As a partial answer, General Social Surveys (GSS) data were analyzed again in a separate study by Bolzendahl and Myers (2004), who concluded that “attitudes towards feminist issues,” including gender ideology, are mediated either by *interest-based* or *exposure-based* explanations (p. 761). In the case of interest-based explanations, when an individual’s personal goals and interests are impacted negatively by gender inequity, he or she theoretically will be motivated to develop more egalitarian gender beliefs. On the other hand, exposure-based explanations contend that the encounter with ideas, situations, or experiences, which promote gender egalitarianism (e.g., such as education or socialization) are likely to impact and ultimately change beliefs regarding gender ideology. In short, interest-based explanations contend that gender-based beliefs change when individuals are affected by the consequences of such beliefs whereas exposure-based explanations maintain that beliefs may change due to reflection and other forms of experiential learning. Even so, as Bolzendahl and Myers also suggest, this distinction between exposure and interest-based explanations probably should be framed in complementary rather than dichotomous terms since an interplay between the two appears to account best for the formation of gender ideology.

In addition to such mediational considerations, Bolzendahl and Myers (2004) also corroborated Ciabattari’s (2001) findings, concluding that “acceptance of feminist attitudes and ideas have steadily grown over the past 25 years” (p. 780). However, they conclude that the rate of such change is slowing. How was such a conclusion reached? Opinions on abortion, sexual behavior, public sphere gender roles, and family responsibilities were used to determine participants’ reaction to feminist attitudes.

Results suggest that attitudes related to abortion were not consistent with opinions in the other three domains, indicating that beliefs about abortion may occupy a different psychological space than attitudes towards gender equity. Moreover, four formative variables in particular – education, age, religious ideation, and political ideology – appeared to have particular predictive relevance to pro / anti-feminist attitudes for both men and women, even as interesting differences and similarities emerged between the genders. For example, education was a strong predictor of feminist attitudes for both sexes, but was a stronger predictor for women (i.e., greater education was associated with greater pro-feminist attitudes, especially for women). On the other hand, political ideation was not a strong predictor for either sex, but did have a marginally stronger impact on women’s attitudes (i.e., political ideation was more predictive of pro-feminist beliefs for women than men). Finally, mother’s education was found to have a more consistent effect for men’s attitudes than women’s (i.e., as mother’s level of education increased, their son’s level of gender traditionalism decreased).

This latter and intriguing finding, which receives further support from the study described below, is bolstered by other international research. For example, in a large scale study of urban college students in India, ages 18-21, the relative degree of mother’s education was likened to greater or lesser gender sensitivity. Gender sensitivity refers to awareness of, and concern for, avoiding reliance on traditional gender-based beliefs. Gender sensitivity can be seen, for example, in one’s choice of language by substituting gender neutral terms such as chairperson for gender biased terms such as chairman, or in avoiding phrases such as “crying like a little girl” or “don’t be such a girl” that evoke and reinforce outdated gender stereotypes. Among multiple sociodemographic variables,

mother's education emerged as the significant variable mediating attitudes toward a range of gender sensitivity domains such as gender roles and stereotypes, access to and control over resources, access to health care, power relations, tolerance of violence, and beliefs about sexuality (Kapadia, Shah, & Rajaram, 2007). Furthermore, a study to map the identity anchors of urban emerging adult women in Baroda, India revealed that the young women perceived education and occupation as enabling factors in developing an identity that is free from rigid gender role restrictions and impositions of traditional hierarchical family and cultural structures (Kapadia, 2011).

In addition to the above formative variables, such as gender and education, do other factors, such as ethnicity, also influence gender ideology? Fan and Marini (2000) discovered that African American participants were found to hold the most gender egalitarian beliefs, whereas Hispanic participants reported the most traditional gender-role attitudes. While African Americans tend to be more egalitarian in terms of gender role attitudes as compared to other racial/ethnic groups in the United States, a study by Stanick and Bryant (2012) indicated that within group differences correlated with yet another variable: marital quality. Specifically, in a participant group of African American couples of similar ages and educational backgrounds from the Southern United States, lower levels of marriage quality were reported amongst couples with husbands who possessed more traditional gender role attitudes. Additionally, husbands of couples who engaged in traditional divisions of labor reported lower marital quality. Husbands with traditional gender role attitudes, who also engaged in traditional divisions of labor with their wives, reported the lowest marital quality when compared to all other husbands (Stanick & Bryant, 2012). Overall, such research demonstrates that ideologies about

gender do change over time (e.g., becoming more egalitarian), that a range of variables are associated with how gender roles are defined (e.g., ethnicity), and that such beliefs have real life impact (e.g., in reports of marital quality). Along these lines, it is interesting to note that the division of labor according to gender is associated further with stereotypes that rationalize and perpetuate separate labor spheres (Schmitt & Wirth, 2009).

Carter, Corra and Carter (2009) examined the interaction of race and gender on changes in gender role attitudes in the United States using data from two composite indices of gender traditionalism from the General Social Survey from 1974-2006. Results indicated that African American women hold less gender traditional attitudes than do African American men or Caucasian men and women. At that same time, differences between African American women and other groups appear to be diminishing, with differences between Caucasian women and African American women converging most. Carter and colleagues posit that women's increased labor force participation has had a significant impact on the evolution of gender ideology in both women and men. Further explanations for shifts in gender ideology point to social changes such as the increase in dual-earner and female headed households, decreasing gender inequality in the marketplace (Cotter, Hermsen & Vanneman, 1999), and cohort replacement over time (i.e., the rate at which a new cohort, or generation, replaces the current cohort) (Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004).

Regarding such attitudinal change processes, Brooks and Bolzendahl (2004) point to external circumstances, including experiences specific to one's cohort (cohort effects) as well as social structural change which affects all adults (period effects). Utilizing data

from the General Social Survey, they found that cohort replacement accounted for 55% of the change that occurred in gender role attitudes from 1985 to 1998. The same study showed that labor force status and marital status accounted for 8% of participant change in gender role attitudes since 1985. Furthermore, results implicate the proliferation of receptivity to rights-based ideology in the United States as an impetus for changing gender ideology. As these authors note,

while aggregate trends in gender role attitudes are rooted in cohort and period effects, much of these effects appear to be *indirect*: approximately 34% of the contribution of cohort replacement and 45% of the period effects are mediated by rights-based ideology (p. 128).

Although the impact of early environmental factors on the formation of gender role attitudes is influential (Cunningham, 2001), such findings also indicate that gender role attitudes continue to be shaped by ideological influences and experiences throughout adulthood.

Pampel's (2011) study provides further explanation for changing gender ideologies as well as support for the impact of cohorts on gender related attitudes. Drawing upon data from the General Social Survey from 1977-2006, Pampel compared determinants of gender egalitarian attitudes across 86 English speaking adult cohorts in the United States from 1900-1985. Findings supported the diffusion argument, which maintains that structural changes in society (e.g., increasing numbers of women in the paid labor force and higher education; increases in the percentage of women procuring high quality jobs; increases in dual-career families) catalyze the adoption of less gender traditional attitudes as well as widespread societal value shifts. These changes occur first

in less traditional groups, and eventually (and perhaps to a lesser degree) in more traditional groups. As Pampel reports, “The early stages of change most affect the attitudes of educated and working women, those in non-traditional positions and with the strongest interests in gender equality” (p. 964). Thus, the strength of determinants of nontraditional gender views increases as pioneering groups adopt more egalitarian attitudes. While this attitudinal evolution may initially have a polarizing effect (as more traditional groups initially resist such change), it inexorably occurs, even among more traditional groups. Likewise, as gender egalitarian views disperse amongst those with less interest in gender equality, the strength of the aforementioned determinants decreases. In short, the effects of predictors of more egalitarian gender role attitudes “become stronger across cohorts as attitudes shift from largely unfavorable toward gender equality to favorable among women with greater education and higher commitment to work” (p. 976).

Among younger cohorts, the effects of predictors weaken as gender equitable attitudes become more commonplace in the population and group differences decline in importance (Pampel, 2011). These results are stronger for women than for men, who tend to hold less egalitarian attitudes towards gender and tend to be less responsive to social change. Education for example, tends to impact gender ideology in men in a similar way to women, but the impact may not reach statistical significance. Pampel attributes these findings to evidence that diffusion has occurred at a faster and deeper rate for women than it has for men, which stands to reason since diffusion theoretically is more likely for groups that hold the strongest interests in equality.

In short, regarding the impact of formative variables on gender ideology – a key focus of the analyses presented below – Pampel’s (2011) findings suggest that certain characteristics (higher socioeconomic status; lower family and religious involvement; higher levels of education; prestigious jobs and higher salaries) are predictors of more gender egalitarian beliefs. In contrast, Pampel’s study found that other characteristics (increased numbers of children and increased church attendance in men; marriage and increased church attendance in women) predict more traditional gender attitudes whereas some formative variables, such as marriage in men, have little influence on gender related attitudes. In the final analysis, American cohorts over the 20th century progressively have adopted more egalitarian views of gender, suggesting that generational influences are stronger predictors of gender egalitarian attitudes than socioeconomic status, sex, or education (Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004). Such findings support prior cross-cultural research on the impact that cohort replacement has on gender equality in industrialized nations worldwide (Inglehart & Norris, 2003).

The Gendered Self of Men

Much attention has been paid to the consequences of gender traditionalism and gender inequity on women, since they are on the receiving end of patriarchal imbalances. However, a focus on women is necessary, but not sufficient, if we are to address the root causes and effects of such inequities while also addressing potential solutions. Gender is a relational concept and hence any understanding of, and action towards, improving women’s status must of necessity address men and masculinity. In societies that are suspended between tradition and modernity, an understanding of deeply embedded masculine values is essential in addressing traditional gender attitudes, which may

manifest in the extreme as violent practices such as “honor killings.” These practices strive to preserve the status quo, including male dominance, through the ultimate control of female sexuality (Chatani, 2011; Shealy, 2010). Moreover, an understanding of “masculine” values and experiences is helpful in reaching out to men in a way that is more likely to result in engagement than resistance (Cochran, 2005). Such an understanding would facilitate applications focusing on “empowerment of men,” not in the form of power over women, but in terms of achieving freedom from stereotypical notions of masculinity, embracing apparently “feminine” qualities such as nurturance and empathy, and creating space to articulate anxieties and vulnerabilities (Khanna, Kapadia, & Dongre, 1998; Kapadia, 1999). Finally, it would be advantageous if the experience and perspective of men were better understood in order to recruit male participation in dialogue and change efforts, as is the case through organizations such as the Society for the Psychological Study of Men and Masculinity, under the auspices of the American Psychological Association.⁴

In considering gender traditionalism and its negative implications for men, it is important to understand how masculinity is defined in dominant discourse (e.g., Donaldson, 1993). For example, Kahn (2009) supports the position of prior research by suggesting that it would be helpful to identify whether specific characteristics must be expressed within a society in order to assume the role of “man.” In this context, it is relevant to acknowledge the notion of multiple masculinities, as the concept is a cultural and sociohistorical construction with different cultures privileging different attitudes about masculinity at different points in time. And yet, there is a hegemonic form of

⁴ See www.division51.org/index.htm

masculinity in every culture, which is the most visible among the other forms of masculinities (Roy, 2001). Likewise, in some cultures, certain aspects of masculinity are considered indispensable, such as the biological ability to have children. For example, a study in rural Maharashtra (India) revealed that men are pressured to prove their virility such that infertile men were referred to as “*namard*,” meaning, “not a man or lacking in masculinity” (Gujjarappa, Apte, Garda, & Nene, 2002). Along similar lines, a study in urban Gujarat (India) revealed that men who are suspected to have fertility problems may experience social ridicule and/or be pressed by the family to bring about a “solution” to this problem, which often manifests in the transfer of blame onto the woman (Mehta & Kapadia, 2008). Such patterns evince the negative implications of normative hegemonic notions of masculinity for both women and men.

One prominent definitional and etiological model of masculinity, based upon David and Brannon’s (1976) *Blueprint for Masculinity*, has been adapted by Pollack (1999) as *The Boy Code*, a set of rules and expectations that are internalized by males during development. To understand the content of such internalizations, Pollack conducted hundreds of interviews with boys in which participants of all ages acknowledged adherence to these internalized rules of masculine conduct as well as a concomitant fear of what may occur should they be broken. According to Pollack, while all boys and men may not endorse this masculinity ideology, rejecting it likely results in a negative societal response; thus to some degree, most males conform.

One of the core defining aspects of “the boy code” is that masculinity is defined in opposition to femininity. Boys and men who endorse traits typically considered to be feminine risk being stigmatized and ridiculed. Additionally, masculinity is measured by

status and success, which are defined via the assertion of power, dominance, and control over others. Along similar lines, Kahn (2009) asserts that this kind of dominance over others occurs along a spectrum, from occupying a leadership role, to asserting dominance, to engaging in physical or sexual violence. According to this model, masculinity is defined further by the ability to be strong, confident, autonomous, and impervious to stress, and correspondingly, to eschew weakness or vulnerability. For Pollack (1999), such tendencies require men to learn how to disconnect from their emotional world in order to remain “a rock” that will hold everything and everyone together. Finally, this masculinity ideology requires men to be brave and aggressive (even violent) in the face of adversity and danger. This theme encourages an ethic of persistence, even at the risk of endangering oneself or others, in order to feel and appear masculine.

A study of men from a low socioeconomic group in urban India provides cross-cultural support for this masculinity ideology. In this analysis, a majority of respondents endorsed characteristics such as helping a woman in distress, engaging in a fight when someone makes a derogatory remark to one’s sister or wife, being aggressive, being muscular, and sticking to one’s decision even in the face of disapproval from many others as signs of masculinity, whereas crying in times of distress indicated a lack of masculinity (Rajaram, 2001). Along similar lines, another study of Indian young men 18-25 years of age revealed a range of behaviors associated with being a “real man,” such as being a leader, manager, and breadwinner of the family; being able to fight with others; engaging in substance abuse; being able to dominate and control women, tease girls, and have multiple sexual partners (Pandya et al., 2009). Resonant with such results, and

demonstrative of the cross-cultural nature of such gender-role expectations, the Male Role Norms Inventory defines traditional masculine ideology as consisting of seven norms: avoidance of femininity; restriction of emotionality; toughness/aggression; self-reliance; homophobia; non-relational sexuality; and achievement (Levant et al., 1992; Richmond, Levant, & Ladhani, 2012).

Ultimately, Pollack asserts, even in today's postmodern era, boys and men are still held to these "boy code" conceptions of masculinity to varying degrees, even as they simultaneously are expected to move beyond the traditional male stereotype. Pollack (1999) captures this complex paradox as follows:

I believe that boys, feeling ashamed of their vulnerability, mask their emotions and ultimately their true selves. This unnecessary disconnection – from family and then from self – causes many boys to feel alone, helpless and fearful. And yet society's prevailing myths about boys do not leave room for such emotions, and so the boy feels he is not measuring up. He has no way to talk about his perceived failure, he feels ashamed, but he can't talk about his shame either. Over time, his sensitivity is submerged almost without thinking, until he loses touch with himself. And so a boy has been "hardened," just as society thinks he should be. Even as we continue to harden our boys the old-fashioned way, we expect them to live up to some very modern and contradictory expectations, particularly in their relationships. We want them to be 'new men' in the making, showing respect for girl peers, sharing their feelings in emotionally charged circumstances, and shedding their 'macho' assumptions about male power, responsibility, and sexuality. In short, we want our boys to be sensitive New Age

guys and still be cool dudes. Is it any wonder that a lot of boys are confused by this double standard (pp. xxiv)?

The juxtaposition of old world masculinity with new age sensitivity is confusing at best, and is implicated in a host of negative outcomes, ranging from frustration, depression, and low self-esteem to failed and violent relationships. Boys and men thus often are caught in a double bind. They either may conform to the traditional concept of masculinity by suppressing certain emotions, thus risking psychological, relational, and physical health concerns, or be emotionally expressive, sensitive, and vulnerable and risk being labeled effeminate (Cochran, 2010; Levant et al., 1992; Levant et al., 2003; Pandya et al., 2009; Richmond, Levant, & Ladhani, 2012; Shealy, 2010).

Masculine ideology is related conceptually to, and strongly correlated with, gender role conflict (Levant, 1998; Levant et al., 2003). As many facets of traditional masculinity encourage unhealthy behaviors, internalization of such an ideology is problematic at multiple levels (Good, et al., 1995; Richmond et al., 2012). Gender role conflict describes the negative psychological and relational outcomes associated with adhering to, or deviating from, the dominant masculinity ideology. Some men will face significant obstacles in their attempts to conform to traditional masculinity norms and thus will experience a different kind of strain. Patterns of gender role conflict are the observable and measurable outcomes of Pleck's (1981) gender role strain as well as the concomitant stress related to experience with a rigidified and contradictory gender role (O'Neil, 2008). The concept of gender role strain was offered in reaction to, and as a replacement for, the gender identity paradigm. Its proposal was grounded in the following rationale, positing that:

contemporary gender roles are contradictory and inconsistent; that the proportion of persons who violate gender roles is high; that violation of gender roles leads to condemnation and negative psychological consequences; that actual or imagined violation of gender roles leads people to over conform to them; that violating gender roles has more severe consequences for males than for females; and that certain prescribed gender role traits (such as male aggression) are too often dysfunctional (Levant & Pollack, 1995, p. 3).

By way of further explication, Pleck (1995) identified three subtypes of gender role strain. First, the *discrepancy strain* (or gender role discrepancy) is associated with not successfully conforming to, or failing to fully embody and fulfill the expectations of, the dominant ideology expectations of the traditional male role. Research points to a number of negative psychological and interpersonal outcomes resultant from this discrepancy strain including increased hostility and low self-esteem (Richmond et al., 2012). Even when male gender roles are fulfilled successfully, the socialization process that enables this fulfillment may be damaging and result in long-term negative outcomes. When those subjected to the socialization of a culture's dominant male gender role are traumatized or damaged as a result, the outcome is labeled *trauma strain* or male gender role trauma (e.g., Normative Male Alexithymia), the second form of gender role strain. In other words, successfully conforming to male gender role expectations may have deleterious impacts, as many of the characteristics associated with dominant discourse masculinity have fundamentally negative side effects. Third and finally, the *dysfunction strain* describes the negative impact that adhering to culturally dominant gender roles may have at multiple levels of functioning for the individual and his relations with others

(Cochran, 2010; O'Neil, 2008). For example men tend to engage in more risk taking behavior and thus sustain more injuries (although this difference amongst genders is decreasing). Additionally boys tend to be diagnosed with psychopathology more in childhood, which is in part a function of their tendency to externalize distress at a higher rate than females (Blakemore et al, 2009).

To illustrate how such constructs have been operationalized, the Gender Role Conflict Scale measures dysfunction strain by assessing four patterns of gender role conflict – 1) success/power/competition; 2) restrictive emotionality; 3) restrictive affectionate behavior between men; and 4) conflict between work and family relations – across three contexts: intrapersonal, interpersonal, and therapeutic (O'Neil, 2008).

Attendant research suggests that adherence to a dominant masculine ideology is psychologically and interpersonally dysfunctional and produces negative outcomes for men cross-culturally. Although studies on gender role conflict with diverse populations are less prevalent, overall results suggest that this construct is related significantly to higher degrees of stress, anxiety, aggression, alexithymia and depression as well as lower self-esteem. Furthermore, studies suggest that older homosexual men experience gender role conflict, but may do so in different ways and at earlier developmental stages. As O'Neil notes further, when heterosexual men age, some aspects of gender role conflict may be attenuated. Compounding the difficulties men face at an emotional level, and likely resultant from their tendency to mask emotional hardship, men are less likely to seek mental health services, which only serves to exacerbate the depth of the original presentation. As Cochran (2005) observes,

...traditional masculine gender role socialization often produces outcomes which make seeking psychological help uncomfortable if not prohibitive for many men raised in the United States. Almost thirty years have elapsed since David and Brannon (1976) described traditional masculine values under four headings: “The Sturdy Oak,” “Give ’em Hell,” “No Sissy Stuff,” and “The Big Wheel.” Empirical research conducted over the intervening years has tended to confirm the impact that aspiring to live up to these ideals has on men’s psychological and physical functioning (p. 653).

In summary, decades of research on gender role conflict and related lines of inquiry suggest the following four themes vis-à-vis men and masculinity: 1) men do not innately possess very different psychological needs from women, and in fact are similar in terms of most psychological variables (particularly when social context is manipulated such that men and women do not feel the need to conform to social norms); 2) there is a significant relationship between gender role conflict and depression, anxiety, stress, low self-esteem, poor psychological well-being, and substance use and abuse; 3) gender role conflict significantly correlates with depression and low self-esteem across diverse sexual, racial, and cross-cultural samples; and, 4) gender role conflict is related to negative interpersonal problems (e.g., attachment, marriage) as well as dysfunctional outcomes such as negative attitudes towards women, homosexuals and minorities, and increased endorsement of sexual harassment, rape myths, and violence against women.

Finally, although this “boy code” framework is highly illuminating, it should be noted that such binary views of gender have been criticized for confusing prescriptive norms (explaining the way in which men are expected to act) with descriptive norms

(explanation of the way in which men actually act). From this perspective, any binary framework of masculinity is limiting, since it does not fully capture the experiences of all men (Kahn, 2009; Stoltenberg, 2000). Along similar lines, although the ideals of such a “boy code” framework and its concomitant frames are considered to be unattainable, harmful, and antiquated (e.g., Cochran, 2010; David & Brannon, 1986; Pandya et al., 2009; Pollack, 1999; Richmond, Levant, & Ladhani, 2012), it is important to attend to individual differences and variability of gender in order to avoid artificially dichotomizing or attenuating the complexity of these processes, a goal that is consistent with the theory and data presented below.

Affect and the Gendered Self

Of all the aspects described above, one of the most striking “differences” between men and women – and arguably at the heart of the matter – is how males and females relate to the world of emotion, in self and other. And on this point, abundant evidence suggests – including multiple findings from the current study below – that males, on average, experience much more difficulty than females in capacity to feel, label, and express what is happening within them and in others at an emotional level. Although it theoretically is possible that genetically-mediated factors might account for some portion of the variance in emotional expression, there is little evidence to date that “genes” are the cause of these substantive differences between males and females (e.g., Berenbaum, Blakemore, & Beltz, 2011; Blakemore et al., 2009; Darlington, 2009; Hines, 2004; Hyde, 2005; Lippa, 2006; Vianello, Schnabel, Sriram, & Nosek, 2013). As indicated in the above literature, a much more parsimonious explanation is that boys – for a range of socioculturally-mediated factors having to do with enduring concepts what it means to be

“a man” – simply are socialized to have relatively less access to their own emotional world and that of others.

In fact, research suggests that from infancy boys and girls are responded to differently, but not necessarily because caregivers intend to do so. Rather, such differential treatment seems mediated by largely non-conscious but internalized beliefs regarding what boys and girls need, who they should be, how they should act, and how they should be responded to. For example, although the reasons are not entirely understood, during the first few months of life, boys appear to display more emotional expressiveness than do female infants. However, by early childhood boys exhibit a far reduced propensity towards emotional expression, particularly vulnerability or distress. Boys also are allowed to whine less, and are given different messages regarding emotional expression, provided less emotional support, and pushed to be more independent at younger ages. Finally, research suggests that caregivers respond less empathically to boys on average (e.g., Levant, 1998, 2011; Haccivildan & Malatesta, 1981; Malatesta & Haccivildan, 1982; Pollack, 1999).

Again, according to Pollack (1999), the net effect of this process is a restriction in the emotional range deemed to be acceptable for boys to display (e.g., encouraging boys to smile even when they are unhappy). Although women tend to express emotions, empathy and sympathy more openly and intensely and respond to the emotions of others more frequently, “...physiological measures of emotional intensity, sympathy, empathy and interest in babies are much less likely to detect such differences in sexes” (Blakemore et al., 2009, p. 132). Along these lines, mothers tend to discuss sadness with girls, but speak more about anger to boys. Mothers also tend to mirror directly the facial

expressions exhibited by male infants, but respond with more dissimilar expressions to female infants. By responding in this way, it appears that females are afforded greater opportunities to observe, develop, and expand their capacity to experience and express a wider range of affect. In follow up studies, mothers continued to display a greater degree of emotional expressiveness with female children at ages 3-6 months and two years. Researchers concluded that this difference in exposure to a greater range of emotional expression may in part account for women being better able to decode emotional expression. By two years of age boys become less verbally expressive, and by six years of age, are less facially expressive than girls (e.g., Levant, 1998, 2011; Malatesta & Haviland, 1982; Richmond et al., 2012).

How do we account for such different processes and outcomes? Pollack (1999) suggests that society pushes male individuation to occur prematurely and more abruptly than is necessary and healthy. This push to individuate prematurely is in opposition to healthy emotional development from the perspective of attachment theory. By early childhood, boys and girls often begin to expect different responses to displays of sadness and vulnerability. Many boys come to understand that the expression of such emotions is not as acceptable; thus, they begin to display them less frequently. As boys age, they tend to become less and less emotionally responsive and communicative. Thus, boys often turn to anger as a socially acceptable means of expressing a spectrum of emotional experiences (Pollack, 1999; Richmond et al., 2012).

In discovering how difficult it was for American men (both therapy clients and research participants) to describe their emotional states, and that doing so took much practice, Levant (1992) proposed *Normative Male Alexithymia* to “account for a

socialized pattern of restrictive emotionality influenced by traditional masculine ideology that he observed in the many American men” (Richmond et al., 2012, p.63). The term “alexithymia” literally means “without words for emotions,” and began to be used in the 1960’s to describe the condition of certain psychiatric patients (Levant 2011). Levant theorized that as a result of being systematically discouraged from expressing and discussing their emotions, many boys and men do not develop sufficient awareness of their emotional states or the attendant vocabulary to describe them, particularly emotions that reflect vulnerability. And indeed, a meta-analysis of alexithymia literature concluded that men on average exhibit higher levels of alexithymia (Levant, Hall, Williams, & Hasan, 2009). Furthermore, empirical research supports a relationship between the endorsement of traditional masculine gender ideology and alexithymia in men, even after controlling for demographic variables (Levant et al., 2003). Deficits associated with Normative Male Alexithymia can result in problems such as abuse, addiction, interpersonal difficulties, and relational problems (Levant & Kopecky, 1995; Richmond et al., 2012).

The developmental antecedents and consequences of alexithymia are evident in the fact that boys who have difficulty identifying their own emotions also struggle to read the emotions of those with whom they interact. It is important to note that being unaware of their emotional responses does not mean that males do not have emotional experiences. In fact, Levant & Kopesky (1995) note that early research in this area (Buck, 1977) found that boys display just as many physiological responses to emotional situations as do girls. Boys may feel sadness or shame, but may be less aware of what they are feeling and/or confused as to the form or origins of such emotions. When the

sources of these emotions are unknown, the tendency may be to blame others and/or the environment. Because a masculine ideology does not encourage boys to identify and express needs and feelings verbally, aggressive acting out may be the primary recourse to such confusing and overwhelming internal states. As Richmond et al. (2012) observe,

Male violence is so pervasive that it has to be considered a gender-based epidemic (Kilmartin, 2007). While not all men are violent, most violence is committed by men (Hyde, 2007). Aggression and dominance (which aggression is thought to serve; Sapolsky, 1997) are centrally embedded in male role norms, meaning that to be aggressive and even violent is considered normative for boys and men. Physical aggression is thought to be a result of the way men and boys “should be,” or “are,” and hence is not regarded as deviant (p. 62).

The Local and Global Implications of the Gendered Self

Now that we have considered the influence of formative variables on gender ideology, the consequences of gender ideology for males, and the differential development of emotional awareness and expression for males and females, we turn our attention to broader implications of the gendered self for actions, policies, and practices around the world. From a psychological and behavioral standpoint, a high degree of gender traditionalism negatively impacts men as we have seen, but also perpetuates gender inequity. Although the position of power that is afforded men via patriarchy benefits them in certain ways, gender inequality – and the resulting violence against women that it promotes – negatively impact men, women, families, and communities. So contends Pinar Ilkharacan, founding president of Women for Women’s Human Rights (WWHR), a women’s NGO, based in Turkey, which has engaged in a wide range of

scholarly and advocacy projects internationally.⁵ On the basis of such work over decades, Ilkkaracan describes how and why a traditional masculine gender role can ultimately lead to abuse against women, as well as widespread inequities (Shealy, 2010). Such outcomes include, but are not limited to, violence against women and girls, in the form of discrimination, female feticide and infanticide (Rajaram & Zararia, 2009); domestic violence, honor killings, sexual assault, trafficking and rape (Abramsky et al., 2011; Hackett, 2011); other systemic consequences such as illiteracy, poverty, economic and social injustice (Chhabra, 2008); general and specific subordination and exploitation; restrictions on physical mobility and education; and, political disenfranchisement (Keleher & Franklin, 2008).

Echoing themes of Pollack (1999), Richmond et al. (2012), and others cited above – but from an explicitly international perspective – Ilkkaracan points first to the suppression of emotions such as sadness and fear in men while simultaneously encouraging stoicism, bravery, and strength. As a result of these processes, many boys and men around the world both fear an inability to live up to the socially-sanctioned standards and expressions of masculinity, yet experience difficulty expressing or understanding these prohibited feelings (e.g., shame). As such, by exerting control and authority over self and other, the traditionally gendered male seeks to assuage and ward off his own insecurities about prohibited feelings. According to Ilkkaracan, this sense of isolation and disconnection from one's own emotional world (which certainly impacts men's ability to recognize and attend to the emotional experience of others) is the source

⁵ See www.wwhr.org.

of much of the emotional disturbance in the male population, which ultimately impacts girls, women, and the community at large (Shealy, 2010).

Nowhere does this dynamic manifest more dramatically than in the realm of sexuality. In particular, social and cultural construction of male sexuality perpetuates male insecurity, by instilling in men the belief that they should be powerful, with attendant anxiety that they are not powerful enough. For Ilkkaracan, then, controlling female sexuality is understood as an attempt to quell male anxiety. Such tendencies are more pronounced in societies where non-democratic conditions prevail, and the rights of women are curtailed. The greater the degree of inequality between men and women, the more difficult it will be to achieve present, authentic, and equal emotional connections. This inequity further impacts healthy and pleasurable aspects of sexuality for men and women as well as the ability to establish and maintain trusting, intimate relationships. Ultimately, in societies in which the rights of women are curtailed, men are negatively impacted by the absence of experiencing healthy sexual and egalitarian relationships, and the mutual enjoyment and connection they entail. Thus, privileging the male experience – sexual and otherwise – actually harms men (Shealy, 2010).

Such privileging and power-based dynamics – which have roots in the differential capacity and inclination of men and women to experience and express affect, vulnerability, and need – ultimately play out not only at the most basic levels of functioning (e.g., sexual relations), but at the broadest level too in the allocation of resources, which impacts further the health and well-being of families, communities, and societies as a whole (Eisler, Loye, & Norgaard, 1995; Shealy, 2010). Consider for example two indices that track such processes in the form of economic activity: the Gross

National Product (GNP) and Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Traditionally, a nation's quality of life has been determined by its relative wealth as measured by GNP and GDP. However, this assumption fails to consider the human and environmental costs associated with the productivity being measured, (e.g., human rights violations and deforestation for example); fails to account for any activity not included in the formal economy (e.g., much work is performed by women in support of their families and communities, but is not included in GNP or GDP); and does not indicate how resources (e.g., food, water, medication, education) are distributed nor tracks the impact of such distribution on human life (Eisler & Corral, 2009).

Results of data collected from 89 nations as part of the Gender Equity and Quality of Life Project suggest that contrary to popular belief, a nation's level of wealth is not commensurate with the quality of life of its inhabitants. In fact, large discrepancies in quality of life are present amongst countries with very similar GDPs. Findings from the Gender Equity and Quality of Life Project suggest that women's status, and the resulting level of gender equity, is a more accurate predictor of a nation's quality of life (Eisler & Corral, 2009). Similar results were derived by Arrindell et al. (1997) who examined variations in the subjective well-being of 36 nations using Hofstede's dimensions of national culture (1980). One such dimension, labeled Masculinity-Femininity (MAS), was used to measure the continuum along which nations exist in terms of variables related to gender role social norms and includes juxtapositions such as the following two examples: *Sex roles in society should be fluid* VERSUS *Sex roles in society should be clearly differentiated* and *Differences in sex roles should not imply differences in power between the sexes* VERSUS *Men should dominate in all settings*. What are the

implications for high versus low Masculinity-Femininity (MAS) countries? Overall, low MAS countries

offer both sexes, especially women, greater opportunities for the fulfillment of multiple social roles (employment, marriage, parenthood) that are associated with good self-rated health status, low morbidity, little restricted activity, infrequent use of medical care, low drug use for both men and women, and also have additive positive health effects for both sexes (see Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Cleary, 1987) (Arriendell et al., 1997, p. 41).

In general, results of this study found that the combination of lower levels of MAS – in conjunction with sufficient financial resources – resulted in nations with the highest levels of well-being. Thus, financial means were deemed necessary in order to achieve the vision and norms that characterize a “feminine society,” such as Sweden, which tends to value those traits typically associated with femininity (Arriendell et al., 1997; see also Eisler & Corral, 2009).

Digging more deeply into these global implications of gender-based actions, policies, and practices, consider overpopulation and literacy, two issues that certainly are core to a nation’s concept of its own “quality of life.” As documented by Eisler et al. (1995), a strong positive correlation (.89) was discovered between prevalence of contraception and national life expectancy. What might account for this finding? As women are afforded control over their own bodies and reproductive rights, their survival increases due to reduced strain on their bodies from frequent pregnancy; fewer deaths from childbirth; less time spent caring for children, with subsequent allocation of their time to paid work, education, and the ability to attend to personal health and skill

building. To take another example, a substantial literacy gap between men and women was found to correlate with a lower life expectancy as well as a higher rate of infant mortality. Specifically, as literacy rates among women become more equal to that of men, rates of infant mortality decrease and life expectancy increases (.66). What might account for this finding? Perhaps the most parsimonious explanation is that more educated women are better able to access information, skills, and resources that bear directly on issues of pregnancy prevention and prenatal care, among related processes. Thus, the most cost effective means of controlling the pernicious implications of overpopulation may well be the education of women (Eisler & Corral, 2009).

Ultimately, Eisler and Corral (2009) offer two types of leadership models – domination and partnership – that account for whether or not such outcomes prevail.

From a definitional standpoint, the domination model is characterized by

strong-man rule, rigid male dominance, institutionalized violence, and the devaluation of women and the feminine...In the domination model, caring for those who are not members of one's in-group as well as caring for our environment are not priorities. Rather, the whole system is based on using the environment and people to benefit those that are on top, in terms of power or control over others. Relations conform to in-group versus out-group ranking in which difference – beginning with the most fundamental difference in our species, between male and female – is equated with superiority or inferiority, being served or serving, dominating or being dominated (p. 33).

In domination models, strict gender roles predominate; stereotypically masculine traits such as domination and power are valued, while stereotypically feminine traits such as

empathy and warmth, are deemed inferior as they do not lead to the kind of success that this model values. The partnership model, on the other hand, values stereotypically feminine traits, supports a more egalitarian, democratic social structure and less institutionalized violence. Within the partnership model, “so called feminine qualities and behaviors, whether they reside in women or men, are not only held in high esteem but also are incorporated into the operational values-based systems and structures of the society” (p. 33). This more gender equitable model values difference and collaboration, and acknowledges that both men and women can and should possess characteristics stereotypically construed as “masculine” and “feminine.” Thus the partnership model accepts and supports the gender similarities hypothesis (Hyde, 2005). It is important to note the use of the word “stereotypical” when discussing these models. As Eisler et al. (2009) point out, none of these traits are inherent in either sex. There are many men who are warm and nurturing and many women who are not. Likewise, many stereotypically masculine qualities are beneficial to female and male leaders, such as logical thinking and assertiveness.

As Eisler and Corral (2009) document, it is in our collective interest to move toward partnership, and away from, domination models around the world. To do so, we need to revisit, previously under-examined beliefs and values, such as gender roles. “The shift to partnership leadership is part of a larger shift in beliefs and values—as they are expressed through institutions, relationships, and in many other spheres of life - from the personal to the political” (p. 32). In short, current conceptions of stereotypical masculinity and femininity are outdated, irrelevant, and antithetical to meeting fundamental psychological and sociocultural needs of individuals, couples, families, and

societies. In a related sphere, contemporary research in the areas of leadership and management show also that the domination model is outdated and ineffectual, and suggest that leadership based on mutual respect, responsibility, emancipation and encouragement is necessary for economic success (see also Dyjack-LeBlanc et al., in press). As the status of women continues to rise, and partnership models gain popularity, a new conceptualization of power is being offered in which more value is placed on stereotypically “feminine” qualities. It is noteworthy, in this regard, that Finland, a nation representative of the partnership model of leadership, is ranked as more economically competitive than the much wealthier United States. Likewise, Nordic nations, which regularly garner high ranking on the UN Human Development Reports, demonstrate the significant gains that stand to be made when societies shift toward partnership models. For example these nations,

...pioneered the first peace studies courses. They pioneered laws against physical punishment of children in families. They pioneered a strong men's movement to disentangle male identity from violence. They also pioneered what we today call industrial democracy: teamwork in factories rather than turning human beings into mere cogs in the industrial machine. Environment initiatives such as the Natural Step came out of these nations. And, of course, women in the Nordic nations occupy a far higher percentage of political leadership positions than anywhere else in the world: between 40 and 50 percent (Eisler & Corral, 2005, p. 78).

In short, beliefs and values about gender matter. They have real world impact not only at the level of individual and interpersonal functioning, but in the types of policies and leadership structures that are instituted and enforced, both locally and globally.

Understanding the Gendered Self through EI Theory, EI Self, and BEVI

In the above overview, we have considered the nature, etiology, and implications of gender ideology across various levels of analysis, from basic issues of definition (e.g., what do we mean by “gender”); to the relation of specific formative variables on the expression of gender-based stereotypes; to issues of how gender ideology is formed; to the implications of such processes for the “gendered self” of males; to broader manifestations of how such processes play out at the level of individual, social, and global well-being. These are complex matters to be sure, made more so by the fact that multiple levels of analysis have to be examined simultaneously in order to understand why and how such interactions occur as well as how to translate our findings into real world application (e.g., programs, courses, policies).

Highly consistent with the present approach, Davis and Greenstein (2009) contend in their review of research on the construction and consequences of gender ideology that continued research is necessary on formative variables that impact gender ideology as well as the consequences of such ideologies at a range of applied levels (e.g., on family, work, education). Specifically, “more work can be done to extend the measurement of gender ideology using alternative types of measurement strategies...or the construction of open-ended questions that provide context to individual responses” (p. 99). Furthermore, they point to the need for “more data on how gender ideology is constructed” (p. 99). Finally, they observe that “a thorough understanding of the conceptual or theoretical processes by which such factors affect gender ideology is essential” (pp. 99-100). Highly consonant with such guidance, the remainder of this dissertation describes a theoretically and empirically derived model and method that are

designed specifically to address these sorts of recommendations. After introducing Equilintegration (EI) Theory, the EI Self, and the Beliefs, Events, and Values Inventory (BEVI), we describe results from a multi-year, multi-institution assessment initiative called the Forum BEVI Project, which bear directly on the complexity of the gendered self. We then conclude with a series of points regarding how this model and method may help further work in this area while contributing to inter-gender understanding and development at an applied level.

Although a full explication is presented in Shealy (in press), a brief overview of the three main components of the present approach – Equilintegration (EI) Theory, the EI Self, and the Beliefs, Events, and Values Inventory (BEVI) – may be helpful at this point. Equilintegration (EI) Theory seeks to explain “the processes by which beliefs, values, and ‘worldviews’ are acquired and maintained, why their alteration is typically resisted, and how and under what circumstances their modification occurs” (Shealy, 2004, p. 1075). Derivative of EI Theory (Shealy, 2004), the Equilintegration or EI Self explains processes by which beliefs and values are acquired, maintained, and transformed, as well as how and why these are related to formative variables (e.g., caregiver’s level of education, culture), core needs (e.g., for attachment, affiliation), and adaptive potential of the self. Informed by scholarship in a range of key areas (e.g., “needs-based” research and theory; developmental psychopathology; social cognition; therapy process and outcomes; affect regulation; and theories and models of “self”), the EI Self seeks to illustrate how the interaction between our core needs and formative variables results in formation and subsequent internalization of beliefs and values about self, others, and the world at large (see Shealy (in press) and www.ibavi.org/content/featured-projects).

Concomitant with EI Theory and the EI Self, the Beliefs, Events, and Values Inventory (BEVI) is a comprehensive analytic tool in development since the early 1990s that examines how and why we come to see ourselves, others, and the larger world as we do. The BEVI helps to explain how life experiences, culture, and context affect our beliefs, values, and worldview as well as the influence of such processes on multiple aspects of human functioning (e.g., learning processes, relationships, personal growth, the pursuit of life goals). For example, the BEVI assesses processes such as: basic openness to alternate ideas and ways of thinking; the tendency to (or not to) stereotype in particular ways; self- and emotional awareness; preferred strategies for making sense of why “other” people and cultures “do what they do;” global engagement (e.g., receptivity to different cultures, religions, and social practices); and worldview shift (e.g., the degree to which beliefs and values change as a result of specific experiences). BEVI results can be translated into individual and group reports, and used in a wide range of contexts for a variety of applied and research purposes (e.g., to track and examine changes in worldviews over time) (e.g., Anmuth et al., 2103; Atwood et al., 2014; Brearly et al., 2012; Hill et al., 2013; Isley et al., 1999; Hayes et al., 1999; Patel, Shealy, & De Michele, 2007; Pysarchik, Shealy, & Whalen, 2007; Shealy, 2000a, 2000b, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2012; Shealy, Bhuyan, & Sternberger, 2012; Tabit et al., 2011; for more information about the BEVI, see Shealy (in press) as well as www.ibavi.org/content/featured-projects).

Methods

This study is exploratory in that we are attempting to understand the relationship between formative variables (e.g., life history, demographics), mediators (various scales

on the BEVI), and outcomes (e.g., self-reported religious or non-religious affiliation) in a manner that is consistent with other analytic work with this measure. Analyses of BEVI results were developed on the basis of a large dataset (N = 2331) collected during 2011 - 2012 from the Forum BEVI Project, a multi-institution, multi-year project coordinated by the Forum on Education Abroad (www.forumea.org) and International Beliefs and Values Institute (www.ibavi.org). Participants primarily included undergraduate students (96.7%), although a small portion of graduate students (3.3%) also was included. The sample ranged between the ages of 17 – 26, with an average age of 19; 3.9% fell into the age range of 26 – 62, with another .9 % falling into the range of 12 – 17. Although the majority of participants reported as U.S. citizens (93.3%), non-U.S. citizens also were included in the sample (N = 156 or 6.7%). Also, participants for the overall sample were drawn from 38 different countries of origin. Of the sample, 79.1 percent reported as Caucasian with 20.9 percent as non-Caucasian (6.6 percent Black or African American; .9 percent American Indian or Alaskan Native; 7.4 percent Asian or Pacific Islander; 2.9 percent Hispanic / Latino; 3 percent Other). Finally, from the standpoint of gender, 40.8% of the sample was female, with 59.2% male. All participants were required to provide informed consent as determined by multiple Institutional Review Board processes at each institution involved, and participation was entirely voluntary (e.g., participants were not required to complete the BEVI, and could elect to discontinue participation at any time). Analyses were conducted via SPSS and MPLUS, and consisted of ANOVAs, regression analyses, and Structural Equation Modeling (SEM). More information (e.g., institutional participants, methodological issues) from the Forum BEVI Project is available at www.ibavi.org/content/featured-projects.

Results and Discussion

Consistent with the above literature regarding how females and males differentially experience self, others, and the larger world, BEVI results demonstrate striking and consistent statistically significant differences across a range of analyses. The following ANOVA results at the item level of analysis on the BEVI illuminate this pattern. Specifically, relative to females, males appear to:

1) report a more rigid conceptualization regarding their own masculine identity;

Table 1. *Gender difference for the statement: "A man should act like a man."*

Source	Sum of Squares	Mean	df	Mean Square Error	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	870801		1	87.801	142.236	0.00
Intercept	18639.723		1	18639.723	30195.95	0.00
Gender	87.801		1	87.801	142.236	0.00
Male		3.004				
Female		2.608				
Error	1423.476		2306	0.617		
Total	20151		2308			
Corrected Total	1511.277		2307			

Note: $R^2=0.058$ (Adjusted $R^2=0.058$)

2) be less likely to acknowledge and/or experience awareness of basic feelings, needs, and vulnerabilities;

Table 2. *Gender difference for the statement: "I am a very feeling person."*

Source	Sum of Squares	Mean	df	Mean Square Error	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	45.657		1	45.657	77.572	0.00
Intercept	19106.613		1	19106.613	32462.33	0.00
Gender	45.657		1	45.657	77.572	0.00
Male		2.763				
Female		3.05				
Error	1353.729		2300	0.589		
Total	20506		2302			
Corrected Total	1399.387		2301			

Note: $R^2=0.033$ (Adjusted $R^2=0.032$)

Table 3. *Gender difference for the statement: "Sometimes I feel needy and vulnerable."*

Source	Sum of Squares	Mean	df	Mean Square Error	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	67.638		1	67.638	143.165	0.00
Intercept	17970.404		1	17970.404	38036.89	0.00
Gender	67.638		1	67.638	143.165	0.00
Male		2.658				
Female		3.007				
Error	1080.958		2288	0.472		
Total	19119		2290			
Corrected Total	1148.596		2289			

Note: $R^2=0.059$ (Adjusted $R^2=0.058$)

Table 4. *Gender difference for the statement: "I have real needs for warmth and affection."*

Source	Sum of Squares	Mean	df	Mean Square Error	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	62.909		1	62.909	120.512	0.00
Intercept	19309.418		1	19309.418	36990.34	0.00
Gender	62.909		1	62.909	120.512	0.00
Male		2.757				
Female		3.093				
Error	120.1673		2302	0.522		
Total	20574		2304			
Corrected Total	1264582		2303			

Note: $R^2=0.050$ (Adjusted $R^2=0.049$)

3) express a relative preference for intellectualization and emotional control;

Table 5. *Gender difference for the statement: "I value clear logic above most other things."*

Source	Sum of Squares	Mean	df	Mean Square Error	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	6.034		1	6.034	13.652	0.00
Intercept	19812.582		1	19812.58	44829.08	0.00
Gender	6.034		1	6.034	13.652	0.00
Male		3.003				
Female		2.898				
Error	998.384		2259	0.442		
Total	20817		2261			
Corrected Total	1004.418		2260			

Note: $R^2=0.006$ (Adjusted $R^2=0.006$)

Table 6. *Gender difference for the statement “My emotions can sometimes get the better of me.”*

Source	Sum of Squares	Mean	df	Mean Square Error	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	55.825		1	55.825	105.289	0.00
Intercept	19558.688		1	19558.683	36888.46	0.00
Gender	55.825		1	55.825	105.289	0.00
Male		2.785				
Female		3.102				
Error	1219.487		2300	0.53		
Total	20834		2302			
Corrected Total	1275.312		2301			

Note: $R^2=0.044$ (Adjusted $R^2=0.043$)

4) are less likely to grant legitimacy to the value of understanding and working through painful emotions;

Table 7. *Gender difference for the statement “It helps to work through painful feelings from the past.”*

Source	Sum of Squares	Mean	df	Mean Square Error	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	18.103		1	18.103	40.698	0.00
Intercept	20261.073		1	20261.073	45550.59	0.00
Gender	18.103		1	18.103	40.698	0.00
Male		2.896				
Female		3.076				
Error	1020.824		2295	0.445		
Total	21300		2297			
Corrected Total	1038.927		2296			

Note: $R^2=0.017$ (Adjusted $R^2=0.017$)

5) grant greater legitimacy to violence in terms of pursuing goals;

Table 8. *Gender difference for the statement “Violence is not a good way to achieve a goal.”*

Source	Sum of Squares	Mean	df	Mean Square Error	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	77.994		1	77.994	150.958	0.00
Intercept	20677.388		1	20677.39	40021.26	0.00
Gender	77.994		1	77.994	150.958	0.00
Male		2.871				
Female		3.249				
Error	1166.618		2258	0.517		
Total	21922		2260			
Corrected Total	12446.12		2259			

Note: $R^2=0.063$ (Adjusted $R^2=0.062$)

6) report less interest in learning about or being accepting of different cultures and their practices;

Table 9. *Gender difference for the statement: "I enjoy learning about other cultures."*

Source	Sum of Squares	Mean	df	Mean Square Error	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	82.145		1	82.145	171.67	0.00
Intercept	22200.952		1	22200.95	46396.57	0.00
Gender	82.145		1	82.145	171.67	0.00
Male		2.959				
Female		3.344				
Error	1092.904		2284	0.479		
Total	23376		2286			
Corrected Total	1175.048		2285			

Note: $R^2=0.070$ (Adjusted $R^2=0.070$)

Table 10. *Gender difference for the statement: "We should be more tolerant of different cultural practices."*

Source	Sum of Squares	Mean	df	Mean Square Error	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	45.248		1	45.248	123.541	0.00
Intercept	23292.37		1	23292.37	63595.15	0.00
Gender	45.248		1	45.248	123.541	0.00
Male		3.092				
Female		3.38				
Error	827.382		2259	0.366		
Total	24165		2261			
Corrected Total	872.63		2260			

Note: $R^2=0.052$ (Adjusted $R^2=0.051$)

7) report experiencing less concern regarding the rights and experiences of women;

Table 11. *Gender difference for the statement: "I strongly support equal rights for women."*

Source	Sum of Squares	Mean	df	Mean Square Error	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	75.290		1	75.29	186.393	0.00
Intercept	25211.171		1	25211.171	62414.54	0.00
Gender	75.29		1	75.29	186.393	0.00
Male		3.177				
Female		3.547				
Error	918.539		2274	0.404		

Total	26205	2276
Corrected Total	993.829	2275

Note: $R^2=0.076$ (Adjusted $R^2=0.075$)

Table 12. Gender difference for the statement: "Pornography degrades women."

Source	Sum of Squares	Mean	df	Mean Square Error	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	154.517		1	154.517	213.633	0.00
Intercept	16737.955		1	16737.96	23141.69	0.00
Gender	154.517		1	154.517	213.633	0.00
Male		2.49				
Female		3.019				
Error	1650.528		2282	0.723		
Total	18543		2284			
Corrected Total	1805.045		2283			

Note: $R^2=0.086$ (Adjusted $R^2=0.085$)

8) and, endorse less expressed concern about the environment and natural world.

Table 13. Gender difference for the statement: "I worry about our environment."

Source	Sum of Squares	Mean	df	Mean Square Error	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	30.321		1	30.321	54.603	0.00
Intercept	20514.502		1	20514.502	36943.47	0.00
Gender	30.321		1	30.321	54.603	0.00
Male		2.89				
Female		3.123				
Error	1277.177		2300	0.555		
Total	21822		2302			
Corrected Total	1307.498		2301			

Note: $R^2=0.023$ (Adjusted $R^2=0.023$)

Table 14. Gender difference for the statement : "I worry about the health of our planet."

Source	Sum of Squares	Mean	df	Mean Square Error	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	26.243		1	26.243	49.4	0.00
Intercept	20457.564		1	20457.564	38509.18	0.00
Gender	26.243		1	26.243	49.4	0.00
Male		2.895				
Female		3.112				
Error	1219.193		2295	0.531		

Total	21703	2297
Corrected Total	1245.436	2296

Note: $R^2=0.021$ (Adjusted $R^2=0.021$)

Overall, findings from BEVI item analyses are consonant with prominent themes from the above literature. For example, central tenets of Pollack's (2009) "boy code" (e.g., denial of vulnerability; emotional restriction; reduced capacity to understand the emotional experience of self and other), Levant's (1992) "normative male alexithymia," and Eisler and Corral's (2009) "dominance model" all would appear to predict these very sorts of findings. But can we go further than this descriptive level of analysis to issues of etiology? For example, because the BEVI examines a wide range of formative variables (e.g., life history, demographics), is it possible to determine whether certain variables or scores on specific scales predict a greater degree of gender traditionalism? The short answer is yes, as illustrated by the following ANOVA, regression, and Structural Equation Models (SEM) analyses.

Consider first Table 15 below, which examines the relationship between Negative Life Events and Gender Traditionalism on the BEVI. Basically, the significant finding here is that the more individuals report that they have experienced negative life events (e.g., a troubled situation in their home environment; conflicts with parents or peers; difficulties in school), the more likely they are to report a higher degree of Gender Traditionalism. Thus we can consider higher levels of accrued negative life events to be predictive of more traditional gender ideologies.

Table 15. *The relationship between Negative Life Events and Gender Traditionalism on the BEVI.*

Source	Sum of Squares	Mean	df	Mean Square Error	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	30.281		3	10.094	9.874	0.00

Intercept	58434.624	1	58434.624	57160.54	0.00
Negative Life Events	30.281	3	10.094	9.874	0.00
Strongly disagree	4.906				
Disagree	5.071				
Agree	5.117				
Strongly agree	5.227				
Error	2310.375	2260	1.022		
Total	60773.697	2264			
Corrected Total	2340.656	2263			

Note: $R^2=0.013$ (Adjusted $R^2=0.012$)

Consider next Table 16. Here, regression was utilized in order to examine variables deemed to be predictive of gender traditionalism. All of the following variables were found to be significantly predictive (minimally $p < .05$) of participants' scores on the Gender Traditionalism scale: gender; grade point average; whether or not participants were learning a foreign language at home; and, the degree to which participants relied on television news programs for news.

Table 16. Effect of demographic and background variables on *Gender Traditionalism*: Regression analysis

Coefficients	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	
Scales Sig.					
Constant	4.987	0.113		44.175	0.00
Gender	0.646	0.052	0.31	12.507	0.00
GPA	-0.046	0.01	-0.118	-4.79	0.00
Learning foreign language at home	0.173	0.081	0.053	2.133	0.033
Rely on television news programming for news	0.139	0.049	0.07	2.852	0.004
Hours per week of using cell phone during study abroad	0.018	0.01	0.045	1.799	0.072
F	41.451***				
R-square	0.124				

Adj. R-square

0.121

More specifically, being female, having a higher GPA, learning a foreign language at home, and watching news programs on television all were significantly predictive of a *lower* degree of Gender Traditionalism.

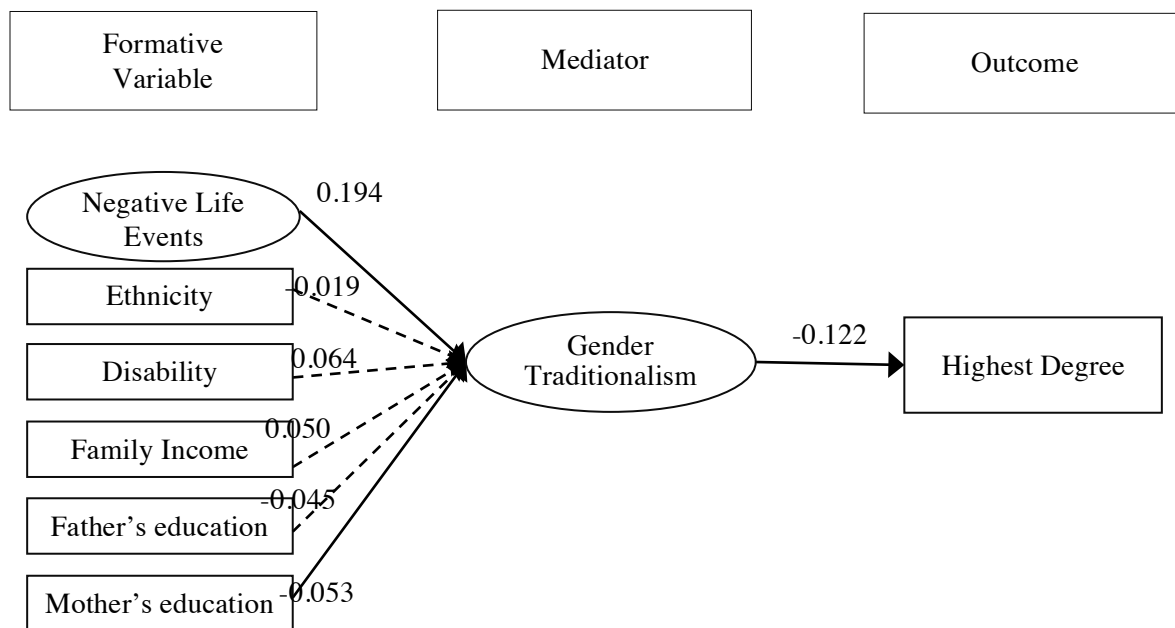
Finally, grounded in an EI theoretical framework, we used Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) to test causal relationships among 1) Formative Variables (i.e., Negative Life Events and Positive Life Events scales, as well as background variables including ethnicity, disability, family income, father's education and mother's education); 2) Mediators (i.e., the Gender Traditionalism scale from the BEVI); and 3) Outcomes (e.g., educational aspirations, political ideology and religious orientation). Results from all models found both Negative Life Events *and* Positive Family Relations to be significant predictors of Gender Traditionalism, a point that is expanded upon further below. Additionally, results identified the status of being married; the relative lack of interest in international or multicultural education experiences; lower educational aspirations; lower GPA; a tendency to endorse a Christian orientation; and a tendency to endorse a Republican political orientation as among the main variables to be significantly associated with a *higher* degree of Gender Traditionalism.

To illustrate the nature of such relationships, consider two sample SEMs. Figure 1, which examines the causal pathways between Negative Life Events and other formative variables, to the mediating variable of Gender Traditionalism, to the outcome of a relative degree of educational achievement. For purposes of interpretation, note that all three of these models fit the data adequately using standard fit indices (e.g., RMSEA, CFI), meaning that the covariance structure in the model approximates the covariance

structure in the data. Within each of these models, dashed lines refer to relationships that are not significant, and solid lines refer to significant relationships. From a theoretical standpoint (and SEM basically allows for the empirical evaluation of theoretically derived models), each of these SEMs essentially is asking whether “Formative Variables” (e.g., life history, demographics) are predictive of “Mediators,” which from the standpoint of developmental psychopathology are “processes that account for the linkage” between Formative Variables and “Outcomes” (Cummings, Davies, & Campbell, 2000, pp. 131).⁶

⁶ From an interpretive standpoint, Positive Life Events (PLE) and Negative Life Events (NLE) are CFA derived factors comprised of items regarding how positively or negatively an individual reports their upbringing and family environments were (e.g., a positive value on PLE indicates a greater degree of positive life events; a positive value on NLE indicates a greater degree of negative life events). Ethnicity is a dummy measured variable; value "0" indicates the respondent is a minority, and "1" means the respondent is a Caucasian. Disability also is a dummy variable; "0" indicates the person is not eligible for services for students with disabilities, and 1 means otherwise. Family income is measured by a series of numbers indicating the respondent's annual family income. It ranges from "1" (Less than \$10,000) to "10" (\$175,000 or more). Both father's education and mother's education are ordinal measured variables. They range from "0" (Some high school or less) to "8" (Doctoral degree). Finally, we used WLSMV (weighted least squares, robust standard errors, and mean and variance adjusted chi square test statistic) as the estimator for all the structural equation models because the variables have an ordinal or dummy measure.

Figure 1. *Structural Equation Model examining the relationship between formative variables, gender traditionalism, and educational achievement.*



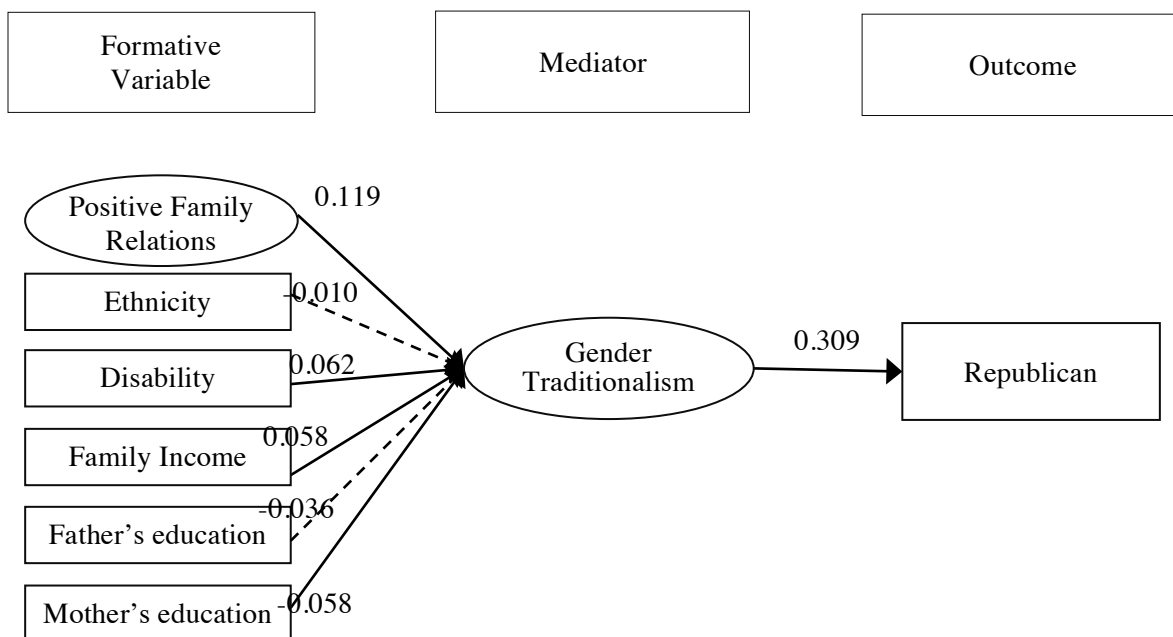
Note: $X^2=1996.222$, $df=264$, $p=0.0000$, $RMSEA=0.053$, $CFI=0.925$.

Overall, results suggest that a greater degree of negative life events and a lower level of maternal education are significantly predictive of a higher degree of Gender Traditionalism. Subsequently, a higher degree of Gender Traditionalism also is predictive of a lower degree of educational achievement. In other words, individuals who report a higher degree of Negative Life Events and lower levels of maternal education are

more likely to endorse higher levels of Gender Traditionalism and less likely to report higher educational aspirations.⁷

As Figure 2 illustrates, however, the causal relationships among these variables do not always follow the same pathways.

Figure 2. *Structural Equation Model examining the relationship between formative variables, gender traditionalism, and political orientation.*



Note: $X^2=1250.029$, $df=159$, $p=0.0000$, $RMSEA=0.054$, $CFI=0.951$.

Overall, results suggest that a higher degree of Positive Family Relations, a self-reported disability status, higher socioeconomic status, and lower level of maternal education all are predictive of a higher degree of Gender Traditionalism. At the same time, the tendency to self-identify as Republican also is mediated by Gender

⁷ On the background information section of the BEVI, this question on educational aspirations is worded as follows: "Please indicate the highest academic degree that you intend to obtain," with response options ranging from no intention of pursuing a degree to the intention of securing a doctoral degree.

Traditionalism. In other words, a higher degree of Gender Traditionalism is predictive of a greater likelihood of self-identifying oneself as Republican.⁸

Especially noteworthy from such analyses is the finding that both negative and positive life events may be associated with a higher degree of Gender Traditionalism. Thus, it may be that value-based messages regarding the “proper” role of males and females are communicated, and inculcated, in family situations that are experienced as either negative *or* positive, which may be explained – at least in part – by the following observation. Note that higher socioeconomic status was predictive of higher Gender Traditionalism in the Positive Family Relations, but not Negative Life Events models, and that higher SES was predictive of a greater likelihood of a Republican orientation, but not with Democrat or Independent orientations. Note further that in both models, a lower degree of maternal education was predicative of a higher degree of Gender Traditionalism. Although tentative, perhaps it is the case that as one’s SES increases, Gender Traditionalism goes up, but mainly for those who self-report as Republican. In any case, across both models, a higher degree of Gender Traditionalism is predictive of a lower tendency to pursue and complete higher education or excel in school. Finally, the fact that negative and positive life events are associated with higher levels of Gender Traditionalism suggests that gender ideology is impacted by formative life events in conjunction with other variables such as peers, culture, and the media.

⁸It should be noted that a higher degree of Gender Traditionalism was significantly and negatively predictive of Democratic (the standardized coefficient is -.222) and Independent (the standardized coefficient is -.051) political orientations whereas it was significantly and positively predictive of a Republican (the standardized coefficient is .309) political orientation.

Summary and Conclusion:
Toward Real World Applications

In this dissertation, we examined a wide range of perspectives and findings across six levels of analysis. First, we provided an overview of literature on the construct of gender, by describing various controversies and common themes that tend to characterize this line of inquiry. Second, we turned to the formative variables (e.g., life history, demographics) that theoretically and empirically have been linked to the development of gender identity as well as how our beliefs and values regarding gender have evolved over time. Third, we focused on a dimension of gender that historically has received less attention in the larger field – how and why male gender identity develops as it does. Fourth, at a related level, we then examined why and how men and women are socialized to experience and express affect differently as well as the consequences of such processes for gender relations. Fifth, on the basis of all of the above, we sought to illustrate why gender identity matters, by examining the local and global implications of the “gendered self” for actions, policies, and practices around the world. Sixth, to examine how these highly complex and interacting processes may be analyzed simultaneously, we then presented results from a multi-year, multi-institution assessment of learning initiative called the Forum BEVI Project, which explores the relationship between antecedents and outcomes of gender traditionalism.

In addition to this summary overview, recall also that we sought to address the following four research questions at the outset of this dissertation:

- 1) From a construct validation perspective, do BEVI results correspond with extant literature regarding gender identity for males and females?

- 2) How might the EI theoretical framework and BEVI further our understanding of the role of formative variables on the development of gender traditionalism?
- 3) Does a higher degree of gender traditionalism on the BEVI mediate specific outcome variables?
- 4) What are the implications of this theoretical model and assessment method for the facilitation of better understanding and relations within and between the genders?

Regarding the first three of these questions, we hope to have illustrated that the EI model and BEVI method indeed are highly resonant with extant literature, while furthering our understanding of the predictors and outcomes of the “gendered self.” For example, we have shown how the BEVI may demonstrate that certain formative variables (e.g., such as socioeconomic status and parent’s level of education) impact the development of traditional gender beliefs (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Ciabattari, 2001; Davis & Greenstein, 2009; Fan & Marini, 2000; Hill, 2002), and that a proclivity towards gender traditionalism is correlated with other belief structures (e.g., concern about the environment) as well as specific outcomes (e.g., attunement to one’s own emotional experience and the emotional experiences of others) (Brinkerhoff & McKee, 1988; Davis & Greenstein, 2009; Eisler & Corral, 2009; Eisler, Loye & Norgaard, 1995). Hopefully, then, the literature, theory, and results presented above help advance our understanding of the etiology of gender ideology, and provide an empirically grounded assessment tool for examining a wide range of outcomes that are predicted by a higher, or lower, degree of gender traditionalism. However, the fourth question – regarding issues of application – has yet to be addressed, mainly because our focus largely has been on theoretical and empirical questions of interest. So, in closing, we would like to illustrate, briefly, how

this model and method may be used in the “real world” in order to facilitate understanding and relations within, and between, the genders. To do so, we first will showcase an example from Coates et al. (in press) regarding therapeutic assessment and second offer additional implications of this work.

By way of context, the BEVI allows for the development of individual, group, and organizational “reports,” which essentially consist of narrative text, scale profiles, and tables, designed to communicate quantitative and qualitative information from the BEVI in an accessible form. The BEVI is well suited to address gender-based issues (e.g., in courses, programs, organizational contexts) not only due to the fact that Gender Traditionalism is a BEVI scale, but because it can provide a breakdown by sex for each of the scales on group reports. In addition, group reports offer a breakdown of the Gender Traditionalism scale (and all scales) by deciles. This reporting feature allows the group to determine the percentage of participants who scored in each decile, and thus to compare the frequency with which certain scores appeared, as depicted in the below example. Moreover, the BEVI contains three qualitative items, which makes it a “mixed methods” instrument, and allows for analysis of thematic content that is subjectively offered in the participant’s own words, a specific recommendation of Davis and Greenstein (2009) regarding the study of gender.

Against this explanatory backdrop, the following case study was derived from a military higher education institution and presented in (Coates et al., in press). Although space limitations do not permit a full explication of the case study, the adapted passage illustrates the application of BEVI results towards prompting discussion around issues of gender.

This group of college age students scored very high (82nd percentile) on Gender Traditionalism (which again measures the contention that men and women are built to be a certain way and should occupy “traditional” gender roles). And indeed, most of the individual profiles for this group reflect a strong Gender Traditional predilection. However, interesting and relevant to the group – sparking considerable discussion and debate – was the fact that *not everyone* saw matters in the same way. By way of illustration, consider this excerpt from the “Decile Profile” table, which is derived from the overall group profile, and part of the group report. Note that Gender Traditionalism shows the following spread across the ten deciles of this scale:

Gender Traditionalism Scale for BEVI Group Report

Lowest Decile

Highest Decile

5%	5%	0%	5%	10%	5%	5%	5%	14%	48%
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How do we interpret such findings? Perhaps most dramatic, approximately half of these individuals in this group preparation session (48%) responded in the 90th percentile on Gender Traditionalism. In other words, half of the group scored as high as possible on this specific scale of the BEVI. What is particularly interesting – especially in this military context – is that one fourth of the group was at or below the 50th percentile on Gender Traditionalism, with two individuals in the bottom twenty percent. Prompted by such findings, key aspects of the discussion dealt with how “gender” was regarded in the military, and how the rights and experiences of women were understood and managed by group members.

Perhaps reflective of these results, the group expressed considerable intensity around the issue of “gender” (e.g., on the one hand contending that it “didn’t matter,” while also describing – from the women in the session – how “femininity” reportedly needed to be, of necessity, suppressed). As important, the fact that the group did not see itself “the same” at this level, despite strong and unanimous feelings by half of the group, was an illuminating point for the group to consider. However, Gender Traditionalism was *not* one of the most intensely responded to scales for this group (i.e., the group tended, as a whole, to “Agree” and “Disagree” rather than “Strongly Agree” or “Strongly Disagree” to this scale).

Such a finding provides context vis-à-vis this group, by suggesting that although views for some were very strongly held, overall, the group tended to be somewhat more moderate in their beliefs along these lines, at least relative to other scales on the BEVI. Overall therapeutic assessment at the group report level provides a way to illuminate beliefs and values; helps individual members to understand who they are as a group with greater depth, sensitivity, and nuance; increases engagement; assesses openness and defensiveness and utilizes a non-pathologizing frame that is designed to facilitate transformative change.

The example above elucidates one way in which the BEVI can be utilized to deepen awareness of participants' belief structures and facilitate deep and meaningful discussion in a group setting. If this work is to be used towards the goal of better understanding and even altering gender ideologies, research supports the combination of exposure to new information regarding the predictors and consequences of gender ideology, in conjunction with use of the BEVI across a range of academic, training and clinical settings. At the academic level, this format could be used in group settings such as process based college courses designed around the topics reviewed in this dissertation, or courses that embed this material as a component of curriculum. The BEVI could be utilized, as shown above, to illuminate a deeper understanding of participants' belief structures and facilitate conversation and process around topics related to gender role attitudes. Additionally, generation of BEVI reports – pre- and post-course completion – offers a way to measure shifts in attitudes, and thus better to assess the impact of these experiences on ideology alteration. Based on the arguments set forth in this dissertation, it would be particularly important that these courses be marketed towards males as well

as females. One way to do this would be to offer the course in departments including, but not limited to, those focusing on women's or gender studies. Because research suggests that gender ideologies are impacted by modeling, cognitive processes, education, and the influence of others – and because beliefs about gender impact models of leadership – it makes good sense for this material to be incorporated into a range of courses, programs, and contexts in addition to those that traditionally focus on aspects of “gender studies” (e.g., educating the educators in primary, secondary and higher education settings; management training for business leaders). As another example, this format can be utilized much the same way to facilitate introspection in a clinical or counseling context in order to promote deeper awareness of self and others via a specific focus on issues of gender (e.g., in individual, couples, and family work; process / psychoeducational groups; intergroup dialogue). Additionally use of the BEVI at the beginning and end of these experiences provides outcome data and thus a means for assessing change and efficacy of treatment (e.g., see Coates et al., in press; Cozen et al., in press).

In short, although the primary emphasis of this dissertation was theoretical and empirical, it seems fitting to conclude with this applied example, since at the end of the day scholars and practitioners who focus on gender likely are united in their conviction that the “gendered self” is not a mere abstraction, but has a real and demonstrable impact upon us all. Applied measures are needed in real world settings, like mental health, if we are to grapple in tangible form with the implications of the dominant discourse, gender-based conflict and gender inequity (e.g., Davis and Greenstein, 2009). For example, in working with men, Cochran (2005) recommends the following:

By using the best available clinical reports and research evidence and by integrating this with a consideration of the male client's values, a clinician will be better equipped to provide a respectful and collaborative approach to the assessment tasks at hand (p. 657).

Such guidance is highly aligned with usage of the BEVI report system in a mental health context, with individuals, couples, groups and families (Coates et al., in press; Cozen et al., in press). Thus, whatever we can do – in a valid and reliable manner – to promote better understanding and relations within and between the genders ultimately seems aligned with this shared goal. In so doing, we must recognize the interplay between macro (e.g., policy) and micro (e.g., therapy) levels of analysis vis-à-vis gender roles and relations. The interweaving of macro and micro issues is imperative from the standpoint of psychology, to be sure, but also from an interdisciplinary perspective if we are to address real world problems, such as gender inequity, in a comprehensive and integrative manner over the long-term (Cultivating the Globally Sustainable Self, 2014; Kapadia, 2011).

In the final analysis, as Eisler and Corral (2009) maintain, “to build foundations for a less violent, more equitable world, attention must be given to the childhood dynamics that shape people's emotions, actions, and minds, which all culminate in what we believe and value about ourselves and others” (p.32). Clearly, our acquired beliefs and values about gender represent one of the most important areas of inquiry and practice if we are to create a more sustainable world for us all. Hopefully, the model and method presented here take us that much further towards these essential means and ends.

Appendix: Annotated Bibliography⁹

Abramsky, T., Watts, C., Garcia-Moreno, C., Devries, K., Kiss, L., Ellsberg, M., Jansen, H., & Heise, L. (2011). What factors are associated with recent intimate partner violence? Findings from the WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence. *BMC Public Health*, 11, 1-17.

This study examines data on intimate partner violence (IPV) collected from ten countries included in the World Health Organization's Multi-country study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence. Intimate partner violence, including physical and/or sexual partner violence, is associated with a host of adverse consequences. This study sought to identify variables that were consistently associated with these kinds of abuses. In order to gather data, standardized population-based surveys were distributed to households for three years beginning in 2000. A random selection of female participants aged 15-49 were selected from these households and any who reported having had male partners were queried regarding their experiences with intimate partner violence. Multivariate logistic regression analysis was utilized in order to generate predictors of IPV within the past year. Results found that the percentages of women who reported having experienced intimate partner violence were widespread and ranged from 15 to 71 percent. Despite the variance in percentages, several variables impacted women's risk of IPV across countries and the strength of these predictors was greater when both the participant and her male partner possessed the risk factor. Cohabitation, alcohol abuse, the presence of domestic violence in one's childhood home and previously experiencing or committing other kinds of violence were all found to increase one's risk of

⁹ In order to facilitate future scholarship and practice in these areas, and consider relevant perspectives and approaches in greater detail, an annotated bibliography of selected literature is included in this dissertation.

experiencing IPV, whereas higher socioeconomic status, being married and having a secondary education were all found to be protective factors against IPV. Findings were used to inform the construction of intimate partner violence prevention programs, and along these lines suggestions were offered including a focus on altering gender norms and attitudes, focusing on child abuse and reducing alcohol abuse and improving access to education.

Arrindell, W. A., Hatzichristou, C., Wensink, J., Rosenberg, E., van Twillert, B., Stedema, J., & Meijer, D. (1997). Dimensions of national culture as predictors of cross-national differences in subjective well-being. *Personality and Differences* 23(1), 37- 53.

This article examined variations in the subjective well-being of 36 nations using Hofstede's dimensions of national culture (1980). Particularly relevant to this chapter was the Masculinity-Femininity (MAS) dimension, a continuum along which nations exist based on variables related to gender role social norms. The article discusses implications for high versus low Masculinity-Femininity countries. In general, results of this study found that the combination of lower levels of MAS – in conjunction with sufficient financial resources – resulted in nations with the highest levels of well-being.

Berenbaum, S. A., Blakemore, J. E. O., & Beltz, A. M. (2011). A role for biology in gender related behavior. *Sex Roles* 64(11-12), 804-825.

This article reviews gender research from the biological perspective. Research is offered on the biological and particularly hormonal impact on gendered behavior. The article

addresses the complexity in separating biological from social influences on gender.

“There is a sizable literature examining associations between circulating hormones and gender-related characteristics, primarily aggression, mood, and cognitive abilities...most of this work has been conducted in adolescents and adults. Findings are complex and difficult to summarize briefly. Much of the complexity reflects small effects, reliance on observational studies in adults, and bidirectional effects of behavior and hormones (e.g., aggressive behavior can increase testosterone). Hormones do not have simple causal effects on behavior, and the most valuable studies are those that examine the ways in which hormones act indirectly and interact with social factors to change gender typing (p. 813).” Authors further consider reasons that biological influences do not receive as much representation in the literature as social influences, make the important distinction between influencing and determining behavior and offer the recommendation that a biosocial understanding of gender differences is indicated.

Blakemore, J. E. O., Berenbaum, S. A., & Liben, L. S. (2009). *Gender development*.
New York, NY: Psychology Press.

Authors offer an introduction to the concept of gender development and a trajectory of its study. They review and describe differences amongst the sexes in the areas of biology, motor development, cognition, personality and social behaviors. Differences commonly cited in the literature include certain visuospatial, mathematical and verbal abilities, certain physical abilities (such as motor abilities and abilities requiring muscle strength), children’s style of play, children’s play interests and aggression. Authors then describe the various biological, social and cognitive approaches that explain gender development.

They offer evidence for the impact of hormones on certain sex differences (such as differences in spatial ability, activities and interests, partner preference and other facets of social behavior), but also validate the strong influence of social and cognitive factors on gender development and differences, as well as the interaction amongst these factors.

“The brain is (fortunately) not a static organ; it changes in response to experience. So it is difficult to know if sex differences in the brain produce sex differences in behavior or result from differences in the experiences of men and women (p. 176).” The authors offer a multidetermined view of gender development, noting, “It may be the case that some aspects of gender development have their roots in evolutionary processes, some in the effect of hormones on the developing brain, some in the reinforcement provided by parents and others, some in the interaction of children’s peer groups, some in the observation and imitation of gendered behavior and roles in the child’s experience and the media, some in cognitive constructions, and some because of social interaction with others. There is no reason to think that biological, social, and cognitive factors are not all involved in the process of children’s gender development (p.17).”

Bolzendahl, C., I. & Myers, D., J. (2004). Feminist attitudes and support for gender equality: opinion change in women and men, 1974-1998. *Social Forces*, 83(2), 759-790.

This article uses General Social Surveys (GSS) data from 1974-1998 to examine trends in feminist attitudes, or attitudes related to gender equality, amongst men. Bolzendahl and Myers purport that feminist attitudes, are produced by interest-based or exposure-based explanations. Interest-based approaches posit that when an individual’s personal goals

and interests are negatively impacted by gender inequity, he or she will be motivated to develop more egalitarian gender beliefs. Exposure-based explanations argue that exposure to ideas and situations such as education, socialization or personal experience, which promote gender egalitarianism, impact and change beliefs related to gender ideology. Thus Bolzendahl and Myers hypothesized that variables falling under the categories of education, family structure and background and socialization would serve as determinants of feminist attitudes. Regression models for each year from 1974-1998 were calculated and data was subsequently divided into two time periods (1974-1986 and 1987-1998). Both interest and exposure based explanations for gender ideology formation were supported. One approach was not found to be more influential than the other. Furthermore, results suggest that it is likely an interplay of the two which best accounts for formation of gender ideology. Results found that “acceptance of feminist attitudes and ideas have steadily grown over the past 25 years” (p. 780), but indicated that the rate of this change is slowing. Opinions on abortion, sexual behavior, public sphere gender roles and family responsibilities were used to determine participants’ reaction to feminist attitudes. Results determined that attitudes related to abortion were not consistent with opinions in the other three domains, indicating that attitudes toward abortion may exist separate of attitudes towards gender equity. Findings indicated that a number of predictive variables were relevant to these four domains for both men and women including education, age, religious ideation and political ideology. This study found men and women to be more similar than different in terms of predictive variables. Some variables, however, proved to be stronger predictors of egalitarian gender beliefs in one sex versus another.

Brooks, C. & Bolzendahl, C. (2004). The transformation of US gender role attitudes: Cohort replacement, social-structural change, and ideological learning. *Social Science Research, 33*, 106-133.

Thus, authors of this study examined aggregate public opinion trends towards gender equality using data collected from the General Social Surveys (GSS) from 1985 through 1998 (supplemented with data from the 1977 survey) and critiqued various explanations for shifting gender role attitudes. Results found considerable cohort replacement effects and determined that ideological learning might mediate a substantial portion of said effects. Regarding such attitudinal change processes, authors point to external circumstances, including experiences specific to one's cohort (cohort effects) as well as social structural change which affects all adults (period effects). The study found that cohort replacement accounted for 55% of the change that occurred in gender role attitudes from 1985 to 1998, and that labor force status and marital status accounted for 8% of participant change in gender role attitudes since 1985. Furthermore, results implicated the proliferation of receptivity to rights-based ideology in the United States as an impetus for changing gender ideology. The article offer implications for these findings, particularly examining and understanding the impact of ideology on public opinion.

Buck, R. (1977). Nonverbal communication of affect in preschool children: Relationships with personality and skin conductance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 35* (4), 225-236.

This study examined the tendency of young children to utilize spontaneous gestures and facial expressions to accurately communicate messages. Examiners had twenty-four children, aged four to six, view emotionally laden stimuli. Unbeknownst to the children, their mothers viewed their reactions by television. Examiners measured the participants' skin concordance and affect expression. The study found that high communication accuracy was correlated with low skin concordance responses. Further, high rates of affect expression were correlated with high accurate communication rates and low rates of skin concordance responsiveness. Children with high communication accuracy, but low skin concordance responding were labeled "externalizers," while children with opposite response pattern were labeled as "internalizers." The study notes that results were not congruent with patterns in adult samples of then current research, which found that females tended to be externalizers while males tended to be internalizers. No significant sex differences were found in significant maternal communication rates, communication accuracy or skin concordance responding. Results found that communication accuracy measures tended to be negatively correlated with age for boys, but not girls, although this correlation was not significant (as it had been in the author's previous study).

Carter, J. S., Corra, M., & Carter, S. K. (2009). The interaction of race and gender:

Changing gender-role attitudes, 1974-2006. *Social Science Quarterly*, 90, 196-210.

This article examines the interaction of race and gender on changes in gender role attitudes in the United States using data from two composite indices of gender

traditionalism from the General Social Survey from 1974-2006. Results conclude that African American women hold less gender traditional attitudes than do African American men or Caucasian men and women. That said, differences between African American women and other groups appear to be diminishing, with differences between Caucasian women and African American women converging most. Authors purport that women's increased labor force participation has had a significant impact on the evolution of gender ideology in both women and men.

Chatani, L. (2011). Culture and honor killing. *WSRC Communiqué*, No. 1, 1-2.

Chatani introduces India as a society that straddles "tradition and modernity (p.2)" and discusses honor killings in the context of this dialectic. She explains the way in which women and girls can suffer from culture and cultural values. Chatani's exploration of honor killings serves an introduction to a critical examination of the practice offered by the Women's Studies Research Center at the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda.

Ciabattari, T. (2001). Changes in men's conservative gender ideologies cohort and period influence. *Gender & Society*, 15(4), p. 574-591.

Using results from 24 years of data (1974-1998) on gender-role attitudes collected from General Social Surveys (GSS), this article provides further evidence that race influences gender ideology. A cross-sectional sample of English speaking, male United States citizens born between 1925 and 1980 were surveyed in order to measure change in male gender ideologies. A sample size of 3,575 participants was divided into cohorts by generation (pre baby-boomers, baby-boomers and post-baby boomers) in order to

compare results across cohorts. Using multivariate analysis, Ciabattari measured the impact of independent variables as well as cohort, on attitudes towards employed mothers and separate spheres (i.e., the notion that men should focus on work and women on the home). Results indicate that gender ideologies of men in the United States have become increasingly less conservative since the 1970's. This reduction in gender traditionalism from 1970-1990 was seen across cohorts, independent of age. While conservative gender ideology reduced, differences in views were seen between cohorts, such that gender traditionalism decreased in younger cohorts compared to older cohorts. The oldest cohort remained significantly less egalitarian than younger cohorts, even in the 1990's. Despite these trends, many male respondents endorsed concern for children of working mothers, as well as preference for separate spheres. Some differences in gender traditionalism by race were found. In addition, family context, mother's level of education and work history, socioeconomic class, religious ideation and political beliefs were predictors of gender ideology. While education of participants was found to impact gender ideology of men born prior to 1945, it had little effect for men born later.

Cochran, S. V. (2005). Evidence based assessment with men. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 61*(1), 649-660.

The article recommends an incorporation of these male values in conjunction with best available clinical reports and research evidence as male sensitive evidenced-based practice. The author posits that one reason for men's tendency to underutilize mental health services, despite presenting with comparable tendency to develop mental disorders as women, is the impact of male gender role socialization. The article suggests that one

consequence of this socialization in males is the tendency to suppress or obscure psychological distress, which in turn makes the assessment, diagnosis and treatment of this suffering arduous. The author suggests that an understanding of dominant discourse “masculine” values and experiences is helpful in reaching out to men in a way that is more likely to result in engagement than resistance.

Cochran, S. V. (2010). Emergence and development of the psychology of men and masculinity. In J. C. Chrisler & D. R. McCreary (Eds.), *Handbook of gender research in psychology*. New York, NY: Springer.

This chapter provides an overview of the history and evolution of the psychology of men and masculinity. The author offers a review of the field’s growth from 1960, tracking publications in as one important marker of the field’s significant expansion in terms of research, scholarship and generation of theory.

Cotter, D. A., Hermsen, J. M., & Vanneman, R. Systems of gender, race and class inequality: Multilevel analyses. *Social Forces* 78(2), 433-460.

This study aimed to determine the extent to which systems that privilege men also privilege Caucasians and those with higher socioeconomic status. Examiners compared the likelihood that white, African American, Hispanic, and Asian women and African American, Hispanic, and Asian men would earn salaries comparable to white men at five earnings percentiles. Examiners compared each group’s earning patterns over the three most recent decades and analyzed earning potential fluctuation across metropolitan areas of the United States in 1990. Data for the longitudinal analyses are taken from the 1965-

1998 March Current Population Surveys (Mare & Winship 1990). Data from multiple sources examined white, African American, Hispanic and Asian men and women, age 25-54, who worked full-time (35 hours or more in the average week) year-round (50 or more weeks per year) and reported positive earnings. The sample spanned metropolitan areas across the United States. While some exceptions were found, results indicated a general pattern of gender differences in salaries existed across all racial groups at every earning interval.

Cunningham, M. (2001). Parental influences on the gendered division of housework. *American Sociological Review*, 66(2),184-203.

This article reviews the impact of early socialization, and particularly the impact of parents, as a predictor of household labor habits of adults. Results suggest that parental influences impact not just children's gender ideology, but gendered division of housework, particularly in males. This study examines longitudinal data collected over 31 years from Caucasian mothers and children in order to determine the predictive power of parenting on gendered division of labor in the adult child's home. Parental influences were measured once in during childhood and again during adolescence. The practices of the adult children were measured once in their early twenties and again in their early thirties. A number of formative variables are considered including mother's gender ideology and employment, parents' division of household labor and parent's level of education. Results found that different formative variables impacted the future labor practices of males and females differently in some cases. Mother's employment during early childhood was found to be predictive of female children's later tendency to share

housework, while parent's engaging in division of household during male participants' early childhoods was found to be predictive of adult men's tendency divide household responsibilities as adults.

Darlington, C. (2009). *The Female Brain*. Boca Raton, FL: CPC Press.

The author provides an introduction to the brain and to neuroscience and then explores the history of medical research, noting that traditionally females were excluded as research participants due to concerns regarding the impact of pregnancy and hormone fluctuation on the data. Despite the exclusive use of male participants, research outcomes were believed to apply to both sexes. Thus, the author helps to explain that research on the female brain has only recently begun. Subsequent chapters discuss structural and functional differences in the male and female brain, the impact of hormone variation and cycling on abilities and functioning, and sex differences in perception, cognition, laterality, neurology, psychopathology and drug interactions. The author explains chemical fluctuations that occur across the lifespan of the female brain, as well as monthly in conjunction with the menstrual cycle, and the ways in which cycling hormones enhance different abilities at different times.

Davis, S. N., & Greenstein, T., N. (2009). Gender ideology: components, predictors, and consequences. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 35, 87-105.

This article defines gender ideology and gender traditionalism, reviews extant research on the construction and consequences of gender ideology and purports that further research in this area is necessary. Gender-based beliefs, often termed gender ideology, are

described in this article as, “the underlying concept of an individual’s level of support for a division of paid work and family responsibilities that is based on the notion of separate spheres” (p. 89). Gender ideology exists along a continuum from quite traditional and inequitable to ideology more inline with the notion of gender equality. Other terms used to describe a relative allegiance to, or justification of, gender inequity include gender traditionalism, gender-role attitude, and gender egalitarianism. Authors define gender traditionalism as the degree to which an individual endorses traditional, simple, and essentialist views regarding gender and gender roles, while also tending to endorse and promote gender inequity. Certain formative variables, belief structures and outcomes are associated with the tendency to endorse gender traditionalism. Authors justify use of assessments in this type of research by asserting that, “more work can be done to extend the measurement of gender ideology using alternative types of measurement strategies...or the construction of open-ended questions that provide context to individual responses” (p. 99). Authors elucidate the need for “more data on how gender ideology is constructed,” and clarify that “a thorough understanding of the conceptual or theoretical processes by which such factors affect gender ideology is essential” (pp. 99-100).

Eisler, R., & Corral, T. (2009). Leaders forging values-based change: Partnership power for the 21st century. *Beliefs and Values, 1*(1), 31-44.

This article discuss the importance of understanding both our gender ideologies, and the etiology of these beliefs and their impact, on our opinions concerning gender-based actions, policies and practices. The authors offer, define and contrast two types of

leadership models: domination and partnership. The article explores the impact of these two styles of leadership on society, and specifically gender equity. Authors suggest a shift away from the outdated domination model (stating it does not serve to meet the psychological and sociocultural needs of humans and society) and towards the partnership model (which equally values typically feminine and masculine qualities). They note that this process will require examination of beliefs and values, and belief and value construction, because leadership models are their representations and expressions. Traditionally, a nation's quality of life has been determined by its relative wealth as measured by GNP and GDP. Authors find fault with this method of measurement, as it fails to consider the human and environmental costs associated with the productivity being measured, fails to account for any activity not included in the formal economy, does not indicate how resources are distributed and fails to track the impact of such distribution on human life. The article sites results of the Gender Equity and Quality of Life Project to support the argument a nation's level of wealth is not commensurate with the quality of life of its inhabitants. Instead results suggest that women's status, and the resulting level of gender equity, is a more accurate predictor of a nation's quality of life. Finally, the article posits that gender inequality has negative outcomes for men, women, and society at large.

Enns, C. Z., & Sinacore, A. (2002). Feminist theories. In J. Worrell (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Women and Gender*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

This chapter elucidates the importance of feminist theory in understanding the aims, underpinnings and suppositions of feminism. Authors provide a historical overview of

the three waves of feminism and introduce nine feminist theories. The chapter offers an explanation for gender inequity and thoughts on how to achieve movement towards a more gender equitable society from varying theoretical perspectives.

Fan, P. & Marini, M., M. (2000). Influences on gender-role attitudes during the transition to adulthood. *Social Science Research*, 29, p. 258-283.

This article offers research on the evolution of beliefs about gender roles over time. The longitudinal quantitative study was conducted with a nationally representative sample of 8822 adolescents and young adults ages 14-22 to measure gender role attitudes and changes in those attitudes over time. The study commenced in 1979 and data was collected at three points (1979, 1982 and 1987) over the course of eight years using the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY). It is unclear how participants were sampled, but a 90.4% retention rate amongst participants was reported. Gender-role attitudes were measured by administering items with Likert scale response choices to determine participants' level of agreement. Results support earlier theoretical propositions that gender attitudes are affected by cultural values, encompass beliefs, values and norms, and develop at least in part from social learning. Results further indicate that sex, family background and race influence gender-role attitudes. Race and sex differences are reviewed. Both male and female participants demonstrated a shift towards more egalitarian gender attitudes as they aged. The attitudes of men changed more than the attitudes of women, although women started out with more egalitarian views. Men tended to move more towards the egalitarian beliefs held by women, so that as men aged their beliefs became more similar to women's.

Good, G. E., Robertson, J. M., O'Neil, J. M., Fitzgerald, L. F., Stevens, M., DeBord, K. A., Bartels, K. M., & Braverman, D. G. (1995). Male gender role conflict: Psychometric issues and relations to psychological distress. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 42*(1), 3-10.

This article addresses gaps in the existing research on male gender role conflict. Authors conducted two studies in order to examine the psychometric properties of the Gender Role Conflict Scale as well as the relationship between male gender role conflict and psychological distress with clinical samples. In the first study, the Gender Role Conflict Scale “demonstrated excellent factor stability, good internal consistency, and freedom from a socially desirable response bias (p. 8).” Additionally the measure demonstrated good construct validity for three of its four scales. In the second study, a significant relationship was found to exist between gender role conflict and psychological distress in male university counseling center clients. Finally, the article offered suggestions for clinical practice and future research.

Hill, S. (2002). Teaching and doing gender in African American families. *Sex Roles, 47*(11/12), 493- 506.

This article examines the gender socialization of African American families. The study entailed semi-structured interviews with a nonrandom sample of 35 African American parents, including 25 mothers and 10 fathers. This formed the qualitative thread of a sequential mixed methods study. A much larger sample of African American parents were surveyed and a few of the surveys included request for participation in Hill's

interviews. Those parents who volunteered to participate in Hill's study were interviewed. Results found that African Americans tend to express support for gender equality in child rearing. Gender ideology was mediated by social class, religion, education and homophobia. Specifically, as level of education and social status increased, gender traditionalism decreased. In addition to race, the study identifies religious ideation and level of education as variables that influence gender traditionalism. Participants with higher levels of religious ideation and fundamentalism tended to endorse more traditional gender ideology. Additionally, results indicated a negative correlation between level of education and gender traditionalism. Newly middle class African Americans were found to endorse more traditional gender ideology. The study did not specifically examine how parental views of gender ideology are transmitted to children, but did discuss the way in which parent's gender traditionalism impacted parenting, treatment of children, division of labor and child care.

Hines, M. (2004). *Brain Gender*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press Inc. This book discusses the impact of both biological and social influences on development. The author reviews sex differences and gender differences, as well as their interaction. Difficulties with sex difference research, the impact of hormones on development, various differences amongst males and females and the difficulty completely disentangling sex and gender differences are explored.

Hyde, J. S. (2005). The gender similarities hypothesis. *American Psychologist*, 60(6), 581-592.

This article, based on the results from 46 meta-analyses, suggests that males and females are similar on most psychological variables. The meta-analyses found that 78% of effect sizes of variables studied were small or close to zero. These results serve as the basis for the gender similarities hypothesis, which posits that more variability can be found within than between genders. Several exceptions to the gender similarities hypothesis were identified, including larger gender differences in certain motor behaviors and facets of sexuality and moderate differences in physical aggression. The article emphasizes the importance of context with regard to the prevalence or likelihood of gender differences, explaining that when social context is manipulated, assumed “differences” between the genders have been found to reverse or magnify.

Hyde, J. S. (2007). New directions in the study of gender similarities and differences.

Current Directions in Psychological Science, 16, 259-263.

This article highlights four trends in recent research on the psychology of gender: the gender similarities hypothesis, the concept of gender as a stimulus value, the impact of sociocultural variables on gender differences and the role of plasticity in the study of neuroscience and gender differences. The authors suggests that these trends serve as directions for future research and offers several related recommendations.

Kahn, J. S. (2009). *An introduction to masculinities*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

In this book, Kahn elucidates the complexity of conceptualizing masculinity. He draws from theory and research to offer multiple perspectives by which masculinity, its definition, origins and crises can be understood. Kahn begins by exploring the impact of

social context, particularly patriarchy, on masculinity, noting that not all men benefit equally from patriarchal systems, and that social context changes and evolves over time. In terms of defining masculinity, Kahn introduces the major ways (social, psychological and interactive) in which the construct has historically been understood, approached and studied. Kahn then defines and critiques social, psychological, interactive and social constructionist models used to explain development and existence of masculinity. Kahn explains the crises of masculinity as he sees it, and then offers and critiques essentialist, sociocultural and social constructionist perspectives for of explanation and resolution.

Kapadia, S. (2011). Psychology and human development in India. *International Society for the Study of Behavioral Development Bulletin*, Number 2, Serial No. 60, pp.37-42.

This publication reviews the history of the fields of psychology and human development in India. It highlights the major concentrations of study in both fields over the course of the last several decades, as well as more recent progressions and developments.

Beginning in the eighties, researchers in both fields began to address topics pertaining to women's lives and mental health. Despite this, gender still is not a mainstream topic of research in Indian psychology. Recently both fields have seen a shared interest in social development, shifts towards the inclusion of qualitative and mixed methods research, and the burgeoning of sub-branches, such as feminist psychology. At present, both fields are known for the melding of cultural and indigenous considerations into research and a focus on application of research findings to solve real world problems. Indian psychology offers an alternative model of the field, as it is based on Eastern philosophy.

The publication posits that utilizing models and concepts based on Indian tradition and Eastern philosophy is a positive development and shift away from attempts at adaptation of western prototypes. Finally, the author emphasizes the need for future psychological research (and the application of research findings) In India to integrate and consider multiple perspectives from Indian society.

Kapadia, S., Shah, U., & Rajaram, N. (2007). Gender sensitivity among college youth in Baroda. *WOHTRAC Small Grants Report*. Baroda: WOHTRAC-WSRC, The M. S. University of Baroda.

In this large scale study of urban college students in India, ages 18-21, authors examined the relative impact of mother's education on participant's level of gender sensitivity. Gender sensitivity refers to awareness of, and concern for, avoiding reliance on traditional and outdated gender-based beliefs. Among multiple sociodemographic variables, mother's education emerged as the significant variable mediating attitudes toward a range of gender sensitivity domains such as gender roles and stereotypes, access to and control over resources, access to health care, power relations, sensitivity towards intolerance of violence, and beliefs about sexuality.

Khanna, R. (2010). Sexual rights are human rights: Lessons from community action in India. *Beliefs and Values*, 2(1), 16-26.

This article describes the work of the Society for Health Alternatives (SAHAJ), a nongovernmental community organization in India that works to advance sexual rights at the community level. During the last decade the organization has addressed issues of health, gender and sexual rights in impoverished urban areas in India. Case studies are

utilized to elucidate sexual health issues faced by Indian women. The article defines key concepts and terminology including sexuality, sexual rights and sexual health. Authors acknowledge that sexual rights are still largely aspirational in India, but offer concrete examples of implementation at the community level with both youth and adults. A description of SAHAJ's efforts including educational interventions, such as group sessions with adolescents, premarital counseling opportunities, educational efforts to shift attitudes, use of "boys-only" spaces and public dialogue; research on child sexual abuse and related advocacy are offered. Finally, the article provides recommendations for continued efforts to promote sexual rights.

Levant, R. F. (1992). Toward the reconstruction of masculinity. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 5(3-4), 379-402.

This article introduces men's studies as a field. It provides a brief overview of the psychology of men and then explains the "crisis of masculinity." While traditional Western notions of masculinity historically defined men as breadwinners, strong yet unemotional providers and heads of household, men in modern society are faced with shifting, and even competing, gender roles and expectations. The article proposes a reconstruction of masculinity that does not revert back to outdated notions or create support for unyielding stereotypes. This new construction parses out those aspects of the traditional masculinity that are helpful and alters those facets that are antiquated and dysfunctional. Finally, the article addresses the potential negative impacts of gender role socialization on men across a number of different domains.

Levant, R. F. (2011). Research in the psychology of men and masculinity using the gender role strain paradigm as a framework. *American Psychologist, 66*(8), 765-776.

The author provides an introduction to the psychology of men and masculinity by reviewing research that has utilized the gender role strain paradigm as a framework. The article offers an explanation of the psychology of men and masculinity and the gender role strain paradigm. The author defines and discusses masculinity ideologies, including ways in which they are measured. Levant touches on conformity to male gender norms before reviewing types of masculine gender role strain (discrepancy, trauma and dysfunction) and the normative male alexithymia hypothesis. The term “alexithymia” literally means “without words for emotions,” and began to be used in the 1960’s to describe the condition of certain psychiatric patients. Levant theorized that as a result of being systematically discouraged from expressing and discussing their emotions, many boys and men do not develop sufficient awareness of their emotional states or the attendant vocabulary to describe them. This, he states, is particularly true of emotions that reflect vulnerability.

Levant, R. F., Hall, R. J., Williams, C., & Hassan, N. T. (2009). Gender differences in alexithymia. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity, 10*, 190-203.

Authors of this study conducted a meta-analysis of existing literature on alexithymia in order to determine empirical support for gender differences. The study seeks to determine the presence and extent of gender differences. Authors explore the etiology of alexithymia, including research and theory in support and opposition of the argument that

Normative Male Alexithymia is a possible byproduct of gender role socialization. The article then demonstrates the need for a comprehensive meta-analysis of gender differences in alexithymia. Based on Levant's (1992) concept of Normative Male Alexithymia, researchers hypothesize the presence of higher levels of alexithymia in men. Results, based on an accumulation of empirical findings using several instruments that measure alexithymia with both clinical and nonclinical populations, found that men clearly displayed higher levels of alexithymia than did women. As predicted the effect size was small and the overlap amongst male and female scores was considerable. Evidence for moderators of gender effect size was not found. Authors offer implications of these findings for clinical practice, theory and future study of these topics.

Levant, R. F., Hirsch, L. S., Celentano, E., Cozza, T., Hill, S., MacEachern, M., Marty, N., & Schnedeker, J. (1992). The male role: An investigation of norms and stereotypes. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling, 14*(3), 325-337.

At the time of this article's publication, only one measure existed (the Brannon Masculinity Scale) that assessed male gender role norms. Noting concerns with the content validity of the existing measure, as well as its failure to include certain basic dimensions of the male role, authors attempted to develop an instrument that would more sufficiently represent those basic dimensions. This article reports on the development of the Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI), which consists of seven subscales representative of the basic dimensions included in the Brannon Masculinity scale and also included homophobia and sexual attitudes, two important dimensions of the male role not represented by the Brannon Scale. The MRNI was administered to 287 participants, most

of whom were undergraduate university students. “Data analysis included an assessment of internal consistency (Cronbach’s alpha) and the subscale correlation matrix, confirmatory factor analysis and analyses of variations in responses by sex, marital status and age. The Male Role Norms Inventory defines traditional masculine ideology as consisting of seven norms: avoidance of femininity; restriction of emotionality; toughness/aggression; self-reliance; homophobia; non-relational sexuality; and achievement. The results indicated that MRNI consists of three factors: Factor 1, consisting of five subscales, is relatively homogenous and seems to tap aspects of male role norms that are currently changing: Factors 2 and 3, consisting of the Self-Reliance and Aggression subscales respectively seem to tap aspects of the male role norms that remain stable” (p. 325).

Levant, R. F., & Pollack, W. S. (Eds.). (1995). *A New Psychology of Men*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

This book on the psychology men is divided into four sections: theory, research, applications and the varieties of masculinity. Section one updates the gender role strain paradigm and introduces psychoanalytic and relational theories of the psychology of men. Section two reviews fifteen years of research on the psychology of men. Section three explores the harmful aspects of masculinity, addresses men’s roles within the familial context and offers an approach to the reconstruction of masculinity. The final section acknowledges alternative conceptions of manhood and the impact of ethnicity, culture and sexuality on these variations.

Levant, R. F., Richmond, K., Majors, R. G., Inclan, J. E., Rossello, J. M., Heesacher, M., Rowan, G. T., & Sellers, A. (2003). A multicultural investigation of masculinity ideology and alexithymia. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity, 4*(2), 91-99.

Utilizing the Male Role Norms Inventory and the Toronto Alexithymia Scale, this study tested the social constructionist perspective that masculinity differs based on social context, as well as the purported relationship between Alexithymia and masculinity ideology amongst men. Results found that male participants endorsed a more traditional view of masculinity than did female participants. Cultural differences impacted tendency to subscribe to traditional male norms, such that African Americans tended to endorse a more traditional view of masculinity than did European American men, with views of Hispanics from the United States and the Caribbean falling in the middle. Results supported a relationship between the endorsement of traditional masculine gender ideology and alexithymia in men, even after controlling for demographic variables.

Pampel, F. (2011). Cohort changes in the socio-demographic determinants of gender egalitarianism. *Social Forces 89*(3), 961-982.

This study provides an explanation for changing gender ideologies, as well as support for the impact of cohorts on gender related attitudes. Drawing upon data from the General Social Survey from 1977-2006, the study compared determinants of gender egalitarian attitudes across 86 English speaking adult cohorts in the United States from 1900-1985. Structural arguments, value shift arguments and diffusion arguments have been all used to explain the shift toward more gender equitable values. Findings from this study supported the diffusion argument, which maintains that structural changes in society

catalyze the adoption of less gender traditional attitudes as well as widespread societal value shifts. These changes occur first in less traditional groups, and eventually (and perhaps to a lesser degree) in more traditional groups.

Pandya, A., Parmar, N., & Khanna, R. (2009, November). Exploring young men's notions about men and masculinity. *WSRC Communiqué*, No. 1, 4-6.

This qualitative study examines the socialization of young men in India and explores their beliefs about men and masculinity. Purposive sampling was utilized with nineteen Indian men age 18-25 from varying social and religious groups. All participants resided in the same slum area of the country. Results indicated that participants were socialized to be aggressive, dominant, brave and different than females. The study indicated that male children were raised with different social roles and expectations and responded to differently than female children. Males who did not conform to traditional notions of masculinity faced ridicule. Specific socio-cultural notions of masculinity and manhood were reported such as being a leader, manager, and breadwinner of the family; being able to fight with others; engaging in substance abuse; being able to dominate and control women, tease girls, and have multiple sexual partners. The study acknowledged the existence of multiple masculinities across contexts. While some participants endorsed or demonstrated alternative masculinities, they still measured them and their success, against hegemonic masculinity.

Pleck, J. H. (1995). The gender role strain paradigm: An update. In R. F. Levant & W. S. Pollack (Eds.), *A new psychology of men* (pp. 11-32). New York, NY: Basic Books.

This chapter provides a review of existing literature on the male gender role strain, critiques and responds to criticisms of the model and offers three subtypes of male gender role strain. Pleck offers his formulation of the gender role strain and then expands on three larger theoretical notions about the potentially damaging impact of traditional masculinity ideology.

Pollack, W. (1999). *Real boys: Rescuing our sons from the myths of boyhood*. New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company LLC.

Based on two decades of clinical practice and research as the co-director of the Center for Men at McLean Hospital/Harvard University, Pollack purports that socialization of boys to embody conventional standards of masculinity involves a process of toughening that decreases their emotional awareness of self and other and results in a host of negative outcomes. Pollack adapts David and Brannon's (1976) definitional and etiological model of masculinity to create *The Boy Code*, a set of rules and expectations that are internalized by males during development. To understand the content of such internalizations, Pollack drew upon data from hundreds of interviews with boys in which participants of all ages acknowledged adherence to these internalized rules of masculine conduct as well as a concurrent fear of what may occur should they be broken. The Boy Code is comprised of four main tenets: masculinity is defined in opposition to femininity; by the ability to be strong, confident, autonomous, and impervious to stress; and

correspondingly, to eschew weakness or vulnerability. Masculinity is measured by status and success, which are defined as being achieved through the assertion of power, dominance, and control over others, masculinity is further defined. Finally, this masculinity ideology requires men to be brave and aggressive (even violent) in the face of adversity and danger. This theme encourages an ethic of persistence, even at the risk of endangering oneself or others, in order to feel and appear masculine. Adherence to these tenets occurs along a continuum, but it is Pollack's assertion that all boys are impacted by The Boy Code. Socialization of boys in this way results in a host of negative psychological, relational, and academic consequences. Pollack suggests that rejecting this ideology likely results in a negative societal response; thus to some degree, most males conform, or risk stigmatization, teasing, humiliation, harassment or rejection. After defining, discussing and disproving myths of masculinity and their consequences Pollack offers a more accurate portrayal of the nature of boys as determined by the stories of hundreds of clients and research participants and finally offers insight and guidance for strengthening connections and relationships with boys and helping them to more authentically express emotions.

Shealy, C. (2010). Women's rights are human rights: An interview with Pinar Ilkcaracan. *Beliefs and Values* 2(1), 8-15.

In this article, Craig Shealy editor of *Beliefs and Values*, interviews Pinar Ilkcaracan, founding president of Women for Women's Human Rights (WWHR), a women's NGO, based in Turkey. Ilkcaracan explains how and why traditional masculinity ideology can ultimately lead to abuse against women, as well as widespread inequities. Going beyond

the typical scope of arguing that gender equality is beneficial to women, Ilkharacan explicates ways in which gender inequality – and the resulting violence against women that it promotes – negatively impact men, women, families, and communities. Ilkharacan echoes much of the masculinity studies literature, but from an explicitly international perspective. The interview also reviews the many ways in which Ilkharacan has worked as a psychotherapist, researcher, activist and organization president, at the individual and systemic level for gender equality and women's rights.

Stanik, C. E., & Bryant, C. M. (2012). Marital quality of newlywed African American couples: Implications of egalitarian gender role dynamics. *Sex Roles, 66*(3-4), 256-267.

This study utilized an ANCOVA mixed methods design to analyze relationships between African American spouses' gender role attitudes, division of household labor, and marital quality. Results found within group differences in gender role attitudes amongst African Americans and an association with marital quality. Specifically, in a participant group of 697 African American couples of similar ages and educational backgrounds from the Southern United States, lower levels of marriage quality were reported amongst couples with husbands who possessed more traditional gender role attitudes. Additionally, husbands of couples who engaged in traditional divisions of labor reported lower marital quality. Husbands with traditional gender role attitudes who also engaged in traditional divisions of labor with their wives reported the lowest marital quality when compared to all other husbands

Vianello, M., Schnabel, K., Sriram, N., & Nosek, B. (2013). Gender differences in implicit and explicit personality traits. *Available at SSRN 2249080*.

This article summarizes the debate in psychological literature that gender differences exist across psychological variables. Authors note a continuum of findings have been published that range, “from claiming that gender differences are close to zero (Hyde, 2005) to the view that they have been obscured by methodological limitations and are actually very large (Del Giudice, Booth & Irwing, 2012), and a variety of positions in between (Lippa, 2006). According to Lippa (2006, p. 639), the real challenge for ‘gender researchers is to explain the complex profile of psychological gender differences and to untangle the myriad social and biological factors that generate both gender differences and gender similarities’ (Vianello, Schnabel, Sriram, & Nosek, 2013, p. 3).” The article goes on to review a study by the authors that measured sex differences in personality traits using implicit and explicit measure of personality. Authors found that sex differences in personality traits were greater when explicit personality measures were utilized and were smaller when implicit personality measures were used. These findings suggest that differences derived from explicit measures are likely impacted by social desirability and ideas about how one should be or act based on his or her gender. Results support the argument that gender differences are neither vast nor stable as popularized accounts suggest, but instead, often are context-driven and perpetuated by conformance to varying social expectations and dynamics.

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