The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

College of Education

MASCULINITY AND COUNSELING WITH YOUNG NON-COLLEGIATE MEN:

A PHENOMENOLOGY

A Dissertation in

Counselor Education

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

December 2009

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ABSTRACT

Much research has been conducted on young men attending college and instruments have been developed based on quantitative data from this population. There is little information, however, about young non-collegiate men. Nearly half of the 1.5 million men completing high school in the U.S. in 2007 elected not to pursue college upon completion of high school, yet these men are underrepresented in the literature. This study focused on young, straight, non-collegiate men in order to address gaps in the literature. Information about the ways young non-collegiate men define and express masculinity and the contexts in which these men function were investigated to inform research and counseling interventions with this population.

Interviewing, journaling, and observation were included in this phenomenological study to explore the experiences of participants. This research employed snowball sampling in order to address the experiences and needs of an underrepresented group. Snowball sampling is a method of increasing the sample size of a study by having existing participants recruit additional participants from among their acquaintances. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with six straight non-collegiate men aged 18 to 24 who shared perceptions of masculinity and reflected on their socialization and reactions to counseling. Findings were grouped according to characteristics and expectations of men, interactive contexts, and counseling perceptions.

All participants characterized men as emotionally reserved, protective and supportive, privileged, sexually motivated, honorable, and goal oriented. Four themes emerged around social expectations, including prestige and recognition, providing for a family, adherence to traditional gender roles, and avoidance of femininity. Participants reported having different interactions with men and women that extended to different contexts. In counseling, participants wanted counselors who were trustworthy and relatable. Participants spoke about counseling as a resource

that could be utilized to solve problems in cases where individuals were unable to do so independently. Participants unanimously reported that friends (male and female) would understand if participants were to engage in counseling, although four acknowledged stigmatization of counseling. Study limitations and theoretical and implications for counseling are discussed, as well as the transferability of findings to other populations.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my son, Sam Kepler, who endured stress far greater than mine in the process of completing this research. Being a doctoral student placed extreme demands on my time and constantly divided my attention. Although it was possible for the adults in my life to understand and compensate for my lack of availability, this was not so easily accomplished for my son. The times I was preoccupied or absent are too numerous to count. In spite of this, Sam was resourceful and creative and constantly motivated me by telling me "If you quit now, I won't rub your back…" Sam served as my sounding board throughout this research and reminded me of the reasons I chose to pursue counseling. I am blessed to have been given such a brilliant and patient young man. I love you, Sam.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Understanding masculinity, and more to the point, the manner in which men function and adapt, has been the focal point of working with men in clinical settings (Berger, Levant, McMillan, Kelleher, & Sellers, 2005; Bruch, 2002; Leimkuhler, Heller, & Paulus, 2007; Polce-Lynch, Myers, Kliewer, & Kilmartin, 2001; Wong, Pituch, & Rochlen, 2006). Numerous studies have focused on the manner in which masculinity affects men's engagement in counseling services in efforts to meet the counseling goals of men (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Blazina & Watkins, 1996; Englar-Carlson & Shepard, 2005; McCarthy & Holliday, 2004). In addition to the need to provide adequate and appropriate counseling interventions, there exists the need to more fully understand the reasons some men do not initiate or follow through with counseling services. There is much information about young men attending college (Anderson & Johnson, 2003; Mahalik, Locke et al., 2003; O'Neil et al., 1986; Robertson et al., 2001; Thompson & Pleck, 1986), albeit constrained to some extent by limitations that will be explored in this study. There is little information about young non-collegiate men, and this author has not found research that specifically focuses on this population in the literature. It is this group that can be better served by qualitative and eventual quantitative research that addresses masculine identification and help seeking patterns.

Statement of the Problem

Young non-collegiate men have only been found to be included in studies as subsets of larger groups (Hammond & Mattis, 2005; O'Brien, Hunt, & Hart, 2005), and this represents a gap in the literature. Several reasons exist for this need to further understand the perspectives of young men who have not attended colleges and universities. The first complication of not including this group of men in research is reflected in the mission statement of the American

Counseling Association (ACA, 2009) which asserts the counseling profession's goal of promoting life quality and advocating for social diversity (retrieved from http://www.counseling.org/). Nearly 40% of the 1.5 million men who completed high school in the U.S. in 2007 elected not to pursue college upon completion of high school (United States Bureau of the Census, 2007), yet this population is underrepresented in the literature. It should be noted here that some portion of those men may pursue collegiate, university or other educational or vocational development at some point following high school completion. This study, however, will focus on young men who elected not to initially engage in colleges or universities in order to address gaps in the literature presented in this research. It is expected that counseling will be better equipped to address the needs of male clients with the inclusion of information regarding the perspectives and needs of non-collegiate men.

More specifically, it is important to address issues of young non-collegiate men because these men may face economic and social difficulties not seen in men who pursue college. Cook and Sacks (2003) speculated that men who do not attend college tend to have racial and socioeconomic minority status and are often labeled as problem students in educational settings. Nyhan (2003) supported these findings and noted that as the cost of college increases, lower income people are less able and less inclined to pursue post high school education. Furthermore, researchers (Legge, 2008; Phillips, 2002) have suggested that low educational attainment is strongly associated with poverty, violence, and stress.

Consequences for non-collegiate men may be considered from an accessibility perspective. Access to counseling services may be limited for non-collegiate men in comparison to those attending college or who are otherwise engaged in higher education. Lunt (2004) noted that adolescent males attending high school are afforded contact and intervention by trained and

experienced professionals who tend to initiate counseling services for students in need based on referrals from teachers and administrators. Rosenthal and Wilson (2008) reported that this trend continues into college where students are made aware of counseling services by advisors who may suggest counseling for students demonstrating difficulty, or by professors who invite students to participate in counseling for course credit (Good & Wood, 2005). Although Cranford, Eisenberg, and Serras (2009) reported that mental health counseling services on college campuses were underutilized, these researchers noted that mental health services were prevalent in educational settings. The availability of counseling in college may afford young men who attend college greater opportunity than those who do not attend.

Young non-collegiate men may not have equal access to mental health services. Husaini et al. (2004) noted that community counseling may be scarce, costly, and socially stigmatized. Non-collegiate men transition from an environment where caretakers (e.g. teachers, administrators, school counselors, psychologist, and parents) monitor functioning and collaborate to foster healthy development, to environments where counseling services are generally sought by clients.

Seeking out counseling may also carry social stigmatization unique to men who are not engaged in higher education. This author found no research investigating the social ramifications or stigmatization of seeking out or engaging in counseling services for non-collegiate men. Experiences of non-collegiate men and their reactions to counseling can only be inferred at this point from information contained in the literature as a whole.

Kessler, Chiu, Demler, and Walters (2005) reported that over 26% of Americans ages 18-24 live with a diagnosable mental illness in any given year. Kessler et al. (2005) noted that mental illness is equally prevalent for men and women, indicating that there may be as many as

25 million men in this age group living with mental illness. This author was unable to obtain information on the rates that men in the community engage in counseling services. This study purports to reveal information that may enhance the quality of mental health interventions by addressing the specific perspectives and needs of men aged 18-24 who do not pursue post high school education.

Benefits of Qualitative Research

Research in counseling with men is intended to enhance the effectiveness of interventions and serve the needs of men (Bruch, 2002; Burn & Ward, 2005; Englar-Carlson & Shepard, 2005; Leimkuhler et al., 2007; McCreary, Saucier, & Courtenay, 2005). Much rich information has come from quantitative measures that assess the ways men function and make sense of the world (Englar-Carlson & Shepard, 2005; McCarthy & Holliday, 2004; Robertson, 2001; Silverstein, Auerbach, & Levant, 2002). The current study seeks to further enhance the capacity of research to inform clinicians and researchers by adding depth of knowledge to the current literature on working with men.

A number of criticisms have been offered regarding the use of quantitative measures in assessing masculinity. These include a lack of useful information about social norms (Levant & Fischer, 1996), the contexts in which gender roles are assumed (Berger et al., 2005; Pleck, 1995), and individual reasons for adherence to male roles (Addis, & Mahalik, 2003). Pleck (1995) also suggested that quantitative research has been limited in its capacity to examine how men behave in certain settings. It should be further noted that much of the research assessing male functioning has been done using subjective measures or instruments that ask men to rate reactions to different predetermined situations. It is difficult to know whether what is reported actually reflects interpersonal and intrapersonal behaviors and attitudes in practice. This can be

assessed more accurately and fully in the context of a qualitative interview. In this setting, men are more apt to fully explore situations that can be analyzed to determine realistic interpretations and behaviors. Interviewing will also permit exploration and clarification of ideas and behaviors occurring at the moment. Qualitative measures allow the researcher to inquire as the interview progresses as to how and why information is processed as such. Hence, details about perceptions of and adherence to social norms and the contexts in which gender roles are assumed are expected to be revealed in the course of the study.

It has been asserted that counseling interventions should be approached using a multicultural perspective that considers each man's masculine identity (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Good & Wood, 2005; Mahalik et al., 2003; McCarthy & Holliday, 2004; Messerschmidt, 2005). The challenge in understanding within group differences comes when male socialization patterns are treated as trait like, in spite of majority views that masculinity and its outcomes are socially determined. This hinders the capacity to treat men in counseling as environmentally dependent people who are adaptable (Addis & Makalik). Addis and Makalik suggest men are instrumental and will respond more favorably to similar counseling. Whether these suggestions are applicable to non-collegiate men is largely unknown and may be revealed in research of a more intimate nature. A qualitative interview with this group of men is expected to reveal whether experiences of non-collegiate men mirror those of collegiate men, and whether quantitative findings are therefore applicable to men who do not attend college.

Purpose of the Study

This study will address gaps in the literature regarding the experiences and perceptions of young non-collegiate men. This study will provide information about the ways young non-collegiate men define and express masculinity and the contexts in which these men function.

Further queries about the experiences of these men with counseling and related mental health interventions are expected to reveal information about perceptions of counseling stigmatization. This study purports to enhance understanding of masculine tenets and features of counseling with this group of men. This study will also explore individual reasons for adherence or nonconformity to gender roles for young non-collegiate men. Findings are expected to reveal information that might be applied to future quantitative research and to inspire additional qualitative and quantitative research.

<div align="center">Research Questions</div>

Three primary questions will be addressed in this study that permit participants to share the experiences that have led them to define and express masculinity. Reasons for adherence or non-conformity to traditional definitions of masculinity will also be discussed. Answers to research questions are expected to reveal more detailed information about definitions of masculinity and the functioning of young non-collegiate men. This researcher notes that as this study progresses, new research questions are expected to arise that may not have been originally intended in the study. These will be addressed and discussed in findings in an effort to foster future comprehensive research.

Research Question 1: How do Participants Define Masculinity?

Interview questions will elicit the sharing of experiences with male role models and interactions that have shaped participant's definitions of masculinity. As these stories are conveyed in the interview context, participant behaviors will also be discussed in order to reveal more detailed information about the relationship between definitions of masculinity and how it is displayed and functional (e.g. What does it mean to be a man? How do you demonstrate this in

everyday life?). The second research question will address this as participants express reactions to specific situations in which they were engaged or to which they had a reaction.

Research question 2: Do Participants Behave Differently in Different Contexts?

The interview format will permit this researcher to address functioning and reactions in different situations and in different contexts. Participants will be asked to share reactions to and thoughts about male and female peers, and role models in an effort to address the significance of masculinity identity in these contexts. Interview questions will also address participant's personal and social gender expectations and perceptions of social pressure to behave in gender appropriate ways.

Research Question 3: What are Participant's Perceptions of Counseling?

The third research question will include discussions about perceptions of counseling and experiences with counseling. Participants will be asked to reflect on experiences with counseling and what stigmatization is associated with engaging in counseling. Participants having not engaged in counseling will be encouraged to discuss reasons for a lack of engagement, including opportunities to engage in counseling and social expectations and repercussions of being in counseling.

<div align="center">Definition of Terms</div>

For the purpose of clarity, five key terms will be defined here. The first of these is *masculinity*. Masculinity may be defined as having qualities traditionally ascribed to men or the masculine gender (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, 2009). What can be inferred from this definition and what this research will be based upon is the concept that masculinity has changed throughout the years in response to the social contexts of gender. Attitudes, thoughts, behaviors, and expectations of men are the product of traditional definitions of masculinity.

This concept brings to light the second term that requires definition, *traditional*. Traditional can be defined as a set of beliefs or customs that are passed down from one generation to the next. The Latin translation of this word is handing over or passing on and implies that masculinity is a social construct. This study may reveal that masculinity is not a constant construct, but is dynamic in nature and defined by the tradition or historical period in which it applies. When the terms traditional or masculinity are used in this study, it will be in reference to the period being discussed. The historical contexts of masculinity will be reviewed in the discussion chapter.

The third term that will be defined here is *counseling*. Counseling is a broad term that has been defined as advising, sharing expertise, and offering direction, guidance, or support. People who offer counsel might be professionally trained in the arts of mental health interventions (e.g. a counselor or psychologist), may serve in a spiritual role (e.g. a pastor or priest), be an educator, a medical doctor, or a personal confidant. The American Counseling Association (2009) notes that 'professional counseling is the application of mental health, psychological, or human development principals through cognitive, affective, behavioral, or systematic intervention strategies that address wellness, personal growth, or career development, as well as pathology.' For the purpose of this study, the term counseling will refer to this latter definition and will be inclusive of those professionals who are trained in clinical mental health interventions. Where findings reveal a lack of clarity regarding specific training of mental health providers, the term counseling will be used and pertinent discrepancies will be discussed.

This study will solicit responses from participants regarding the manner of counseling sought and responses may include counseling that falls outside of the definition of professional

counseling. Participant responses arising that do not meet this definition will be discussed and reviewed as such.

The fourth term that will be defined is *phenomenology*. Creswell (2003) describes phenomenology as a qualitative research method that draws on the experiences of a group of people who are expected to have shared a similar experience. Phenomenology works to reveal the meaning associated with a common experience by eliciting personal points of view. Phenomenology will be explained in greater detail in chapter 3, and the term phenomenology will be used to refer to the type of study being done throughout this research.

The final term that requires explanation in this study is *non-collegiate*. For the purpose of this study, young men who are not attending colleges and universities will be the focus of research. Specifically, participants will be included who are not pursuing two or four year degrees in order to provide information missing from the literature. Studies cited in this research do not make distinctions between college men pursuing two and four year degrees (Anderson & Johnson, 2003; Blazina &Watkins, 1996; Burn & Ward, 2005; Mahalik, Locke et al., 2003; Robertson et al., 2001), and so this distinction will not be made in the current study.

It should be noted here that a college may be defined as offering a variety of degrees and having the authority to grant bachelor degrees, whereas a university is a collection of colleges (WikiAnswers.com, 2009). A distinction will be made here between college and community college. Community colleges are not able to award bachelor degrees, but may provide the first two years of education toward bachelor degrees in colleges or universities. The current study will use the term non-collegiate to refer to young men who are not currently pursuing a two or four year degree at a college or university setting, but may include men engaged in the first two years of study at a community college. This researcher acknowledges that a percentage of young men

do elect to engage in post high school education in settings other than college and university settings (e.g. military, vocational, certification programs), and these men will be eligible to participate in the current study as they are not enrolled in college settings.

Significance of the Study

The proposed study is being conducted in response to information missing in the literature and from theories on masculinity. Numerous researchers (Berger et al., 2005; Bruch, 2002; Burn & Ward, 2005; Good & Wood, 2005; Mahalik, Locke et al., 2003; Robertson et al., 2001) have called for studies that include young men who are not exclusively enrolled in college. These researchers have noted that studies that reflect the attitudes and behaviors of men attending college are not necessarily generalizable to men as a whole. Several researchers (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Good & Wood; Mahalik et al., 2003; McCarthy & Holliday, 2004) have also asserted the need to explore masculinity from the unique perspectives of men, and this can be accomplished more thoroughly by asking men who have been underrepresented in the literature to share their experiences. This study purports to address this gap in the literature by including the perspectives of young non-collegiate men.

This study will also address stigmatization associated with counseling by asking participants about experiences with counseling and reactions to it. Researchers (Robertson & Fitzgerald, 1992; Shuab & Williams, 2007) have noted that help seeking behaviors have been addressed in the literature, although counseling stigmatization needs to be explored more fully in research. Findings of the proposed study are expected to reveal information about the reasons men do or do not initiate or engage in counseling interventions.

The proposed study may also reveal information useful in refining theories on masculinity. The Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS, O'Neil et al., 1986) has been used as an

instrument to assess men's adherence to traditional masculinity with respect to the tenets of gender role conflict (O'Neil et al., 1986) and gender role strain (Pleck, 1995) theories. This study seeks to address criticisms of the GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986) by including perspectives and reactions of men who have not been adequately represented in the literature. Levant and Fischer (1996) suggested that the GRSC lacks useful information about social norms; Berger et al. (2005) noted that contextual factors influencing gender roles are largely overlooked; and Addis and Mahalik (2003) called for more information about individual reasons for adherence to male roles. These criticisms will be addressed phenomenologically by having participants share experiences and perceptions of role models, personal socialization and interactions.

Furthermore, the study may reveal similarities and differences in the categories of gender role conflict, namely, restrictive emotionality, success/power/competition, restrictive affectionate behavior between men, and conflict between work and family. The latter of these is expected to reveal findings that have been scarcely addressed in the literature because men young who do not attend college may be presented with greater work and family conflict than those who are primarily occupied with education. This phenomenology seeks to discover whether participants are similar to or differ from the tenets of the theories described herein or whether findings will reveal different dimensions to the concept of masculinity.

Delimitations and Limitations

The current study is intended to address masculinity and functioning for young, non-collegiate men. As such, there are three delimitations imposed in this research. These include the educational attainment, age, and sexual orientation of participants. The reasoning behind these delimitations will be discussed here.

A key delimitation in this study is the exclusion of men who have enrolled in two or four year colleges or universities. This delimitation is imposed to discover information that may be specific to this population. Researchers (Anderson & Johnson, 2003; Blazina &Watkins, 1996; Burn & Ward, 2005; Mahalik, Locke et al., 2003; Robertson et al., 2001) have suggested that studies focusing on men attending college have limited generalizability to the male population as whole, and this delimitation seeks to address that by including only non-collegiate men.

Given that the literature (Anderson & Johnson, 2003; Blazina &Watkins, 1996; Burn & Ward, 2005; Mahalik, Locke et al., 2003; Robertson et al., 2001) reviewed in this study has addressed the needs of young men attending college, the age of participants will be limited to men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four. This delimitation is imposed to address the perspectives of this group of men specifically and to evaluate information about this group in comparison to men previously studied.

Another delimitation imposed in this study is that participants will identify as heterosexual or straight for the current study. Men who identified as bisexual or gay were deselected to participant in this study based on research indicating gay and men are more likely to utilize counseling (Malley & Tasker, 2007; Simonsen, Blazina, & Watkins, 2000) and on findings of a pilot study conducted by this researcher (permissions for the pilot study are included in Appendix A). The pilot study revealed discrepancies between men of different sexual orientations strong enough to suggest the need to focus on heterosexual men for this particular study. This delimitation will be discussed in more detail in the methodology chapter.

Given the delimitations of educational attainment, age, and sexual orientation, this study will have limited transferability to other populations, including men who identify as bisexual or gay, men who reside in different geographic areas and collegiate men. Although this study will

only include the perspectives of six young, heterosexual men in residing in one small northeastern college town, findings are expected to reveal rich information that may be evaluated later with larger samples. Silverstein et al. (2006) justified the use of small samples in research that permits the analysis of detailed information about underrepresented groups.

Perhaps the greatest limitation of this study is that qualitative research by its nature is subject to interpretation. This will be addressed by incorporating triangulation into the study. Consultation will be ongoing and used to ensure multiple perspectives of findings. Participants will be asked within the context of the interviews to correct and clarify information and will also be asked to review transcript summaries to ensure that the findings reported are consistent with participant perceptions and reports.

This study will include perspectives of six young men residing in a small Northeastern town, and as such may not produce findings that are relevant to all men in this age or educational attainment group. As men age and have more life experiences, it is expected that they are more likely to develop different perspectives about counseling and adaptive functioning. It is for this reason that this seeks to specify and explore experiences of men who have recently transitioned from high school. Furthermore, it has been asserted that early experiences of masculine development influence later attitudes and identity (Kaneko, 2000), shaping social experiences and possible reactions to counseling. The study will, however, permit a fairly thorough exploration of the experiences of participants that may reveal areas needing specific attention. This researcher hopes that findings may lead future researchers to areas not yet explored in the literature that may be quantified with larger groups of non-collegiate men and who are potential counseling recipients.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

It is a widely held belief that men are socialized to be masculine (e.g. Anderson & Johnson, 2003; Good & Wood, 2005; Levant & Fischer, 1996; Mahalik, Locke et al., 2003; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986; Pleck, 1995). Masculinity can be defined as properties characteristic of the male sex and indicates that masculinity represents what is expected and seen in men (Mahalik, Locke et al.). This definition has arisen from history and from decades of investigation about American men and the settings in which they function. This study focuses largely on traditional masculinity, or the customs and beliefs that have been passed down or modified according to the norms of current times. This chapter will (a) explore the historical context of American manhood; (b) outline the developmental significance of gender and masculinity as is relates to seeking and engaging in counseling; (c) briefly describe the tenets of the most influential theories on gender and masculinity; (d) describe current trends in effectively counseling men; (e) outline limitations of current measures of masculinity; (f) explore ways that current quantitative research strategies may be enhanced with qualitative inquiry; and (g) offer a rationale for this qualitative study.

Historical Context of American Manhood

Traditional masculinity, or the social standards by which masculinity is defined, has changed in many ways from the colonial period to modern times (Rotundo, 1993). Much of the change has resulted from economic shifts that also affected norms governing households, families, and individuals. The way traditional masculinity has been defined will be explored in order to shed light on the impact of social expectations for men. Three key time periods will be explored that sparked corresponding changes in expectations and standards of manhood, (a) the colonial period, (b) the industrial revolution, and (c) the post-industrial period. The time periods

will be discussed, followed by interpretation of how traditional masculinity might translate into modern traditions of masculinity including restrictive emotionality, success/power/competition, restrictive affectionate behavior between men, and conflict between work and family (O'Neil et al., 1986).

The Colonial Period

What characterized the colonial period in the United States (U.S.) were foundations of family, community, and religion. Rotundo (1993) asserted that families were the fundamental unit of society, and farms, mercantile businesses, and shops were all operated by families headed by men. Rotundo notes that men were associated with authority through ongoing contact of men in positions of authority. Scott (2004) noted that men were expected to serve as protectors, leaders, and providers, and to be ultimately answerable to God. Christianity was ubiquitous in the colonial states, dictating appropriate roles for men and women and providing the foundation upon which communities were built (Rotundo, 1993). Rotundo (1993) refers to *communal manhood* and indicates:

> A man's identity was inseparable from the duties he owed to his community. He fulfilled himself through his public usefulness more than his economic success, and the social status into which he was born gave him his place in the community more than his individual achievements did. Through his role as the head of the household, a man expressed his value to the community and provided his wife and children with their social identity. (p. 2)

Men were praised for their social contributions by assuming God-given responsibilities that enabled them to manage the physically demanding task of working the land (Kriegel, 1978).

Keen (1991) asserted that being a man meant adhering to the Christian tradition wherein men were chosen to take dominion over the animals and the earth. Keen noted that men were fiercely conservative and strove to conform to standards that were prosperous for the community at large.

The social and economic conditions of colonial times dictated that men and women should fulfill specific roles in maintaining the family (Kriegel, 1978; Rotundo, 1993). Gerzon (1992) called these roles archetypes that defined manhood, including the frontiersman, the soldier, the breadwinner, the expert, and the lord. As a frontiersman, a man sought out the homestead and explored new lands. As a soldier, he protected and served his family, his community, and God. As a breadwinner, a man fostered economic prosperity for his family and community. Men were believed to be more capable and intelligent than women and were entrusted with the task of managing matters of the family (Rotundo). In this role, man was seen as an expert and as lord over the family. Gerzon noted that men in colonial America were commonly engaged in child-rearing, and manuals written on such matters often catered to both mothers and fathers.

This description of manhood during the colonial period as one of service implies that men were dutiful. This is indeed a word that was commonly used during colonial times as a closing in letters and in every day communications (Keen, 1991; Rotundo, 1993). There was an expectation that relationships were reciprocal and interdependent, including those of father-son and husband-wife, and that men were responsible as the heads of households to ensure the safety and security of those in his care (Rotundo).

Although men were the final authority, the task of running a home involved complimentary roles of men and women (Gerzon, 1992). Men hunted and plowed the fields, and women prepared foods that men brought into the home. Men assumed the primary role of

educating boys on the farm and women taught girls in the home. This style of family functioning changed with advances in technology that also brought about changes in the roles of men.

The Industrial Revolution

Industrialization in America triggered economic developments that affected the manner in which men functioned (Kriegel, 1978; Rotundo, 1993). This period fostered tremendous progress in transportation, the harnessing of energy, and in the efficiency of industrial processes that moved may men away from the farm and into towns and cities (Kelly, 2009). Kimmel (1987) reported that before the Civil War, 90% of men were self-employed in business or farming, and by the turn of the Century, this figure had dropped to less than 30%. Men who pursued individual achievement were often faced with the monotony of arduous and repetitive labor that demanded them to be answerable to another man for his family's sustenance and position (Gerzon, 1992).

This movement outside of the home brought with it changes in the performance and values of men. Just as work was a way to show productivity and accountability to the community during the colonial period, it became a measure of prosperity during industrial times (Rotundo, 1993). A man's accomplishments were the measure of manhood and his identity and status were no longer based entirely on birth. Working away from the family necessitated that men become more individualistic, creating a shift away from what Rotundo called communal manhood. Rotundo noted that although individualism was present in the colonial period (as noted by the westward migration), this became far more prevalent during the decades associated with the industrial revolution. Rotundo speculated that the shift to self or individualism was largely a gendered phenomenon as women were still in a passive role and taking care of the family. Men were viewed as active and courageous and were therefore better suited to venture forth into the

world of industry (Gerzon, 1992). The industrial revolution was a time of fierce competition and those who expressed individualism were apt to succeed (Kimmel, 1987).

Perhaps the most notable change in the expectations of men was in the way family roles were defined. Even though men and women continued to fulfill gender specific roles in the home (Kriegel, 1978), those roles became more segregated. Rotundo (1993) wrote that task of child-rearing became more fully the mother's, as more fathers became employed outside of the home and were frequently absent. Rotundo noted that there was a change in the education of boys who were no longer commonly entrusted to the care of fathers for vocational development. Education and socialization was transferred to women at home and in schools (Kimmel, 1987). Keen (1991) notes that men were frustrated by unfamiliar paths to traditional masculinity as women began to delay marriage and enter the workforce. Home, thought to provide solace from the demands of industrial work, was no longer a place where men and women were clearly defined by traditional roles (Rotundo).

The Post-Industrial Period

Men responded to female driven efforts to secure work and rights not formerly granted to women (Rotundo, 1993). Kimmel (1987) discusses the efforts of certain male dominated groups (e.g. Man Suffrage Association, Illinois Association Opposed to Women's Suffrage) to subordinate women in the post-industrial period in order to restore the hierarchy diminished by women entering the workforce, earning the vote and self defining marriage terms. It was believed that if women could be returned to the home and to more passive and clearly defined roles, men would be free to conquer the world and retain their rightful place as the heads of households and communities (Gerzon, 1992; Kimmel).

Kimmel (1987) wrote that opposition to suffrage was seen as patriotic, supporting the republic of the U.S. To be unpatriotic was to be unmanly and so men were socially pressured to condemn the suffrage movement. Men in positions of authority were known to speak out publicly against women's rights, and in 1905, Theodore Roosevelt declared women who wanted smaller families to be suffering from a decadent moral disease (as cited in Kimmel). Opposition to suffrage was also seen in the religious sect, where Jesus was depicted as muscular, reinforcing natural and God-given male dominance (Gerzon, 1992; Keen, 1991; Kimmel; Rotundo, 1993). Kimmel suggested that gender changes were perceived to be a war against nature and God, and men were encouraged socially to be masters of family and work.

A new body of literature was emerging that depicted men as possessing natural animalistic tendencies that needed to be channeled (Rotundo, 1993). It was thought to be necessary for men to return to nature where they could flourish as men, apart from the feminizing influences of women. Men sought to free boys from the feminizing tendencies of women by getting them out of the care of women and into the care of men. Hantover (1980) asserted that The Boy Scouts of American was founded in 1910 to "counter the forces of feminization and maintain traditional manhood" (p. 293).

There were also men who supported the rights of women during the post-industrial period, and sought to protect the educational, reproductive, and political rights of women (Kimmel, 1987). The post-industrial period was of great significance in part because it marked dissention from what were known to be acceptable standards of behavior for men and women (Rotundo, 1993). The concept of traditional manhood had shifted from that of quiet servitude to family, community, and God to adapting to changes in social definitions of a masculine role. Gerzon (1992) notes that into the twentieth century, men were success oriented, worldly,

aggressive, pragmatic, rational, tough, and strong. This description encompasses a variety of definitions of manhood from those who supported women's rights, those who did not, and those who fell somewhere in between the two. Diversity in views of masculinity came as a response to social demands of women (Rotundo) and may reflect ideas of masculinity in the late twentieth century.

As the women's movement grew into the twentieth century from voting rights to birth control, the social position of men was challenged (Keen 1991). Fauldi (1999) discussed men's reactions to what was perceived to be a loss of control and dominion (i.e. family, sustenance, work, and politics). The 20th century was marked by a transition from responsibility of men to community and God to the emergence of men having dominion over his environment. Fauldi noted that as men sought to retain control, women were asserting the right to share control and to be recognized for their social contributions as mothers, workers, and political instruments. The suffragette movement brought with it the need for policy makers to recognize and support the demands of women in the marketplace and at home. In 1920, the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor was formed to evaluate and protect working conditions for women and birth control clinics were being established in Northeastern cities. The struggles between men and women brought about a need for men to redefine their roles in society. Faludi asserted that control was at the center of what came to define men in the 20th century:

> A man is expected to prove himself not by being part of society, but by being untouched by it, soaring above it. He is to travel unfettered by society's clutches, alone-making or breaking whoever or whatever crosses his path. (p. 10).

This explanation of man's search for control suggests that man is removed from intimate and meaningful relationships. Robert Bly, known as the founder of the men's movement,

discussed the consequences of emotional disconnection for men. Bly asserts in an interview with Bill Moyer aired on the Public Broadcasting Network (1990) that men have suffered a loss of intimate connection with their sons and their families since the industrial revolution. Bly asserted that men have been taught to remove themselves from emotional connections and to find fulfillment in work and status. Bly further asserted that men feel interpersonally inadequate because fathers who impart interpersonal learning have been removed from American society. The absence of men as fathers may leave men without the means of understanding and expressing their masculinity.

Masculinity: Then and Now

What has defined American masculinity over centuries has changed according to social and economic need (Gerzon; 1992; Kriegel, 1978; Rotundo, 1993). In response to historical changes, researchers have attempted to quantify what defines masculinity by investigating its components (David & Brannon, 1976; O'Neil et al., 1986; Thompson & Pleck , 1995). Perhaps the most widely used and cited of the instruments used to assess masculinity was developed by O'Neil et al in 1986. The ways men express and exhibit masculinity can be applied to O'Neil et al.'s measures of this construct to more fully compare historical contexts to current thinking and to evaluate some components of masculinity that might have been passed down through generations. Masculinity will be explored by applying historical information to restrictive emotionality, success/power/competition, restrictive affectionate behavior between men, and conflict between work and family.

Restrictive emotionality. Gerzon (1992) reported that colonial men were expected to conduct themselves as gentleman, owing to the communal nature of society. Men should be respectful of others and be ever aware of the need to assume command of any given situation

(Keen, 1991). Gerzon noted political expressions that served social continuity were expected and celebrated in social forums. As this implies, emotions were to be expressed in manner consistent with the heroic archetypes that characterized good men, namely the frontiersman, expert, breadwinner, soldier, and lord (Gerzon). Men could not be expected to fulfill the duties demanded in a collective society while hindered by emotional expressions. Rotundo (1993) supported this claim and cited a letter in which one man apologized for sharing sadness with another man. This is quite different from 21st century standards wherein men are less inclined to share weaknesses for fear of social reprisal (Bruch, 2002; Pollack, 2006). Perhaps this change came as a result of the industrial revolution when standards of behavior changed to reflect the competitive nature of that period. Pollack asserted that the idea that men should maintain stoicism for the benefit of endurance and prosperity perseveres.

Success/Power/Competition. Success during the colonial period was contingent upon a man's devotion to his family and community (Rotundo, 1993). Power was demonstrated as a means of conquering lands and protecting the American ideal as men assumed roles of frontiersmen and soldiers (Gerzon, 1992). A number of researchers (Faludi, 1999; Kimmel, 1987; Kriegel, 1978; Rotundo) pointed out that power was exercised in a patriarchal society that recognized men as the authority in the home, in churches, and in business, making men's power unspoken and fundamental.

In the years that followed the industrial revolution, men's power transferred to competitive venues, where men engaged in struggles to achieve financial success in a competitive industrial market (Rotundo, 1993). As more men sought employment and economic achievement in industry, new demands arose around a developing market place that placed men at the forefront of innovation. Gerzon (1992) asserted that men assumed the role of expert in

research; whereas women were disenfranchised in educational settings where they pursued courses in home economics while men pursued more powerful and prestigious curricula in nutrition and child development. Educational offerings continued to be largely gender restricted into the 20th century, ensuring that competitive markets were occupied primarily by men (Gerzon).

One area discussed by Rotundo (1993) in which men reportedly felt disempowered was in intimate relationships with women. From the Colonial period throughout the post-industrial period, it was desirable to engage in marriage as this union was perceived to be a godly and communal institution, and men worked hard at securing a loyal and caring wife (Keen, 1991). Rotundo conveyed men's intense frustration with women who, while having to wait to be pursued romantically, held the ultimate power to reject potential suitors.

Men's pursuit of success has shifted as well from the colonial period. Whereas men continue to strive for economic attainment, this is done primarily from an individualistic perspective (Rotundo, 1993), and women in the twentieth century were now a far more present competitive force. Keen (1991) speculated that the lack of clarity regarding gender roles after the industrial revolution fostered resentment in men that persists to this day. This idea has been supported by other researchers (Faludi,1999; Goldberg, 1976; Rotundo) who sympathized with men who have been disillusioned and disenfranchised by a society that fails to fulfill the promise that modern men would be rewarded for their efforts to provide for families.

Restrictive affectionate behavior between men. As noted here, emotional expressions were fairly limited in all venues for men during the colonial and industrial periods (Gerzon, 1992), although this did not necessarily apply to affections between men. Researchers (Gerzon; Rotundo, 1993) have reported that men spent a great deal of time together during the industrial

revolution and often confided in one another regarding matters of family, financial crisis, and especially courting. Rotundo discussed a letter in which a man living in the 1800s reflects on his weeping on a male companion's chest during their last night together. This man apologized for his unmanly crying, and not for the fact that he displayed affection for a man. In modern times, this behavior might be construed as inappropriate or indicative of homosexuality, which carried stigma not yet socially reconciled (Kiesling, 2005).

It is especially interesting to note that Kimmel (1987) reported that homosocialization was thought to deter homosexuality and other activities perceived to be sexually decadent. The presence of women was believed to elicit unnatural and immoral sexual urges that could be curtailed if men were encouraged to socialize without women (Gerzon, 1992; Rotundo, 1993).

In the 21st century, affection between men is often viewed negatively and is associated with homosexuality (Pleck, 1995; Messner, 1998). Rotundo (1993) suggested that the homophobia prevalent in American society today emerged during and after the industrial revolution. Movement into metropolitan areas permitted gay men to gather in larger groups, making a lifestyle that was largely socially disregarded more visible. Rotundo noted that homosexual acts were seen as lascivious choices that began to be prosecuted in great numbers in the 1880s. Rotundo asserted that the recognition and visibility of gay culture fostered solidarity that served to distinguished gay men from straight men.

Rotundo (1993) also noted that homosexuality became the subject of much research in the late 19th century and made reference to the shift from homosexuality as criminal to having natural causes. Gay men were thought to have characteristics of women, lending to the divide between what was considered manly and what was feminine. For a man to be gay was also to be considered womanly, and men often used feminine terms (i.e. *Miss Nancy*) to denote men who

were gay (Rotundo). Although the terms used to identify gay men today have changed (i.e. *fag, lily*), Rotundo suggests that derogation persists. The fact that the most widely used instrument assessing masculinity includes the category 'restrictive affection between men' (O'Neil et al., 1986) speaks loudly of this perception.

Conflict between work and family. Kriegel (1978) noted that in the agrarian society of colonial times conflicts occurred concomitantly in work and family, as the family unit functioned collaboratively to sustain itself. Family and work matters were private and were contained in the home where the male head of the household assumed responsibility for the sustenance of his family (Rotundo, 1993). Family roles were largely gender segregated, and the male role of breadwinner was complemented by the female role of caretaker. Conflict between work and family that arose subsequent to the industrial revolution was more notable as the task of providing for a family was confounded by the economic challenges of securing gainful employment (Faludi, 1999) and the social challenges of negotiating new roles and values (Keen, 1991).

Men have had to respond to economic and social changes in continuing to meet the obligation and tradition of providing for a family (Faludi, 1999). Whereas the family was a self-sustained unit during agrarian times, family became segregated during and after the industrial revolution. Many men were no longer present for much of the day, leading to disconnection with the daily tasks of maintaining the household and events that arose in the family. Women were present with children (boys and girls) for the better part of days, and assumed tasks formerly fulfilled by men, including work and social training. Bly (1990) suggested that the absence of a male influence is responsible for the lack of clarity modern men experience about identity and social roles.

Regardless of men's absence in the home, there still existed the expectation that men were to assume a leadership role at home and in the marketplace (Gerzon, 1992). Men were to be leaders in a competitive marketplace that hindered time with and investment in family. Women were struggling for recognition and envied the social status of men; whereas men envied women's freedom from work stress and their ability to spend time with children (Gerzon). Gerzon suggested that conflicts between work and family have grown because of the inequality inherent in a world where men are expected to compete and women to cooperate.

Gerzon (1992) asserted that wedlock was largely viewed as dutiful prior to the turn of the century, now it is a romantic notion that involves a whole new set of expectations. These include much more than providing for a family, and extend to areas of personality, physical attractiveness, family values, attitudes about women, emotional availability, and career status. Career is now a process of balancing individualistic needs of sustenance, status, and tradition (O'Neil & Egan, 1992). Men negotiate meeting personal needs while negotiating social and internal expectations to be accomplished and to provide for their families.

Along with these new expectations, there exists confusion among men about how to negotiate gender roles and how to manage consequences of those roles (Mahalik , Good, & Englar-Carlson, 2003). There is no longer a prevailing sense of pride in taking care of wife and family, but rather there exists anxiety and resentment about assuming the role of provider (Gerzon, 1992; Kimmel, 1987). Kimmel stated that the roles of men as masters and providers, once clearly defined, are now blurred by norms that fail to validate traditionally male contributions, due in part to the changing roles of women. Goldburg (1976) speaks of institutionalized female privileges including exclusion from the draft, advantages in alimony and child support, and in child custody.

The consequences men face in developing a masculine identity have also changed since the colonial period. Modern themes explore the benefits and downfalls of gender equality and address new definitions of masculinity. This will be explored in current research on the ways boys and men exhibit masculinity and in the issues surrounding the development of a masculine identity.

<div align="center">Developmental Significance of Masculinity and Gender</div>

Adolescence marks the transitional period from childhood to adulthood, and it has been asserted that this transition involves achieving several developmental tasks. These include emotional separation from parents (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2005; Steinberg, 2005), conceptualizing fairness, developing a sense of mastery and control, fostering a sense of self-worth and belonging, and forming a positive self-image (Greenfield et al.). For boys, adolescence involves developing a masculine identity that will serve as the basis for adult male identity (Polce-Lynch, Myers, Kilmartin, Forssman-Falck, & Kliewer, 2001).

Pollack (2006) suggests that becoming a man means adopting societal expectations to be strong, self-reliant, and emotionally detached at the expense of much needed interpersonal support. In spite of boys' desire and capacity to form close and meaningful relationships (Chu, Porche, & Tolman, 2005), many are shamed into assuming rigid roles of masculinity that stifle the development of interpersonal supports afforded girls (Blier & Blier-Wilson, 1989; Chu et al.; Phillips, 2007; Pollack). Thompson and Pleck (1986) note that rigid gender role definitions can lead to trauma that hinders boy's ability to overcome childhood and later adult discrepancies between what is expected of them and what they can attain, limiting opportunities for self actualization.

Males are reinforced for assuming masculine roles within the context of interpersonal

relationships (Anderson & Johnson, 2003) and need to balance seeking support with social messages that may interfere with healthy functioning (Korobov, 2004; McKelley & Rochlen, 2007). A number of researchers (Kiesling, 2002; Korobov; O'Neil & Egan, 1992; Pollack, 2006; Shepard, 2002) have noted the expectation that adolescent males should navigate the adult transition with strength and confidence and with minimal support or suffer the consequences of being perceived as weak or inadequate. The significance of these findings can be further explored by relating male development to tested components of gender role conflict, namely restrictive emotionality, success/power/competition, and restrictive affectionate behavior between men.

Restrictive Emotionality

During adolescence, girls become more expressive and intimate whereas boys become less so (Polce-Lynch et al., 1998). Boys are conditioned to remove themselves interpersonally at a developmental time when intimacy is learned and practiced, leaving male adolescents with confusing and mixed messages about intimate connections and masculine identity (Levant, 1996; Pollack, 2006). Boys are faced with the pressure to share feelings with female peers and partners while conforming to masculine norms and navigating the transition to adulthood. Pollack suggested that boys who engage in affectionate behaviors with same-sex peers may be perceived as weak, or feminine, and suffer the consequences of ostracism or abuse. Freudenberger and Gallagher (1995) reported that affections with parents may also be restricted with parents or other adults for fear of being perceived as childlike and inadequate. This may confound the adolescent male's opportunities to develop meaningful interpersonal relationships. Adolescent males attempting strict adherence to masculine norms are faced with difficulty developing and

maintaining meaningful relationships, academic difficulty, loneliness, isolation, depression, and antisocial behaviors (Pollack).

Polce-Lynch et al. (2001) and Mahalik et al. (2003) found self-reliance to be most closely related to masculinity and lower self-esteem among adolescent males. Mahalik et al. also found that dominance, violence, and overall conformity to masculine ideology were strongly correlated with global distress. Boys attempting adherence to social norms of masculinity are often prohibited from reaching out for help, and are subject to internal and external pressures to conform to standards that are unattainable (Chu et al., 2005; Pleck, 1995).

Given the interpersonal nature of masculine identity and that self-concept is formed in part by the perceptions and reactions of others (Good Porter, & Dillon; 2002; Kaneko, 2000), adherence to a masculine ideal may be indicative of satisfaction in interpersonal functioning (Polce-Lynch et al., 2001). Polce-Lynch et al. indicated that while age tempers the impact of social and media messages, boys report feeling pressured to define identities based upon gender stereotypical norms such as restrictive emotionality. Males are often expected to reserve or hide emotional expressions that may reflect a need for help. An example of this was seen by O'Brien, Hunt, and Hart (2005) who found some men in their study called depression 'stress', masking it for a more masculine term. By demonstrating intolerance for male expression, society places men in a precarious position of striving for inclusion with tools of self sufficiency and intimate disconnection.

Males reported significantly less confidence expressing emotions associated with a traditionally feminine identity (e.g. love, affection, fear, and sadness) than did females in a study by Blier and Blier-Wilson (1989). This finding may reflect the extent to which men are socialized to conform to a masculine ideology, rather than defining individual needs for such

expressions. In spite of greater perceived social status of being male, boys experience lower self esteem that may be related to fewer opportunities for expression and engagement in interpersonal relationships (Chu et al., 2005; Robertson, Lin, Woodford, Danos, & Hurst, 2001). Furthermore, boys are reinforced for social disengagement with media messages (Hust, 2005) and by peers to whom adolescent boys relate (Phillips, 2002). Teenage boy's expressions tend to be restricted to those that convey anger or disappointment and boys show greater comfort sharing these feelings with other males (Blier & Blier-Wilson). Young men learn to adopt roles that exclude them from meaningful connections and limit opportunities to seek out help with adjustment through reinforcement from peers and social institutions.

Although males experience strong emotions, there may be few venues in which accepted expression of these can be achieved (Robertson et al., 2001) and this may be especially true for young men who are monitored by people in educational settings. The consequences of this are of great significance. If there is no outlet for emotions, they may become repressed (Leimkuhler Heller, & Paulus, 2007) or channeled into other means of expression that are not always healthy or constructive (Chu et al., 2005). Men who are restricted from sharing reactions with others may be at a greater risk of harming the very relationships needed for sustenance. Pollack (2006) asserted that boys are taught to toughen up and report a false sense of self esteem consistent with social expectations and to be resilient and detached. Boys in Pollack's study reported expecting to grow to be men who were unloved and overworked.

Success, Power, Competition

The relationship between masculinity and the pressures men experience to be powerful, competitive, or successful has been addressed in numerous ways. Blazina and Watkins (1996) found that anger was associated with measures of power, and reported that men see anger as an

instrumental means of attaining power rather than as a destructive force. Chu et al. (2005) also reported that adolescents who held more hegemonic (traditionally masculine) views were more aggressive and deviant, and had lower self-esteem than did adolescent males with less traditional views. This may indicate role strain suggested by Pleck (1995) because boys cannot attain socially expected levels of masculinity.

The process suggested by gender role strain theory (Pleck, 1995) involves negotiating and prioritizing the stresses associated with developing a masculine identity. Part of this process may be seen in the language men use to establish and maintain appropriate gender roles. Kiesling (2002) reported that men in fraternities use feminizing language to maintain heterosexual status quo, and that men are expected to maintain power and authority over women. Men are reminded of their superior positions by peers and by a society that expects strength, emotional control, independence, and leadership. These qualities were echoed by men in O'Brien et al.'s (2005) study, where men perceived to have great responsibility and power over others (e.g. firefighters) eschewed seeking help and stated they could handle trouble themselves.

Males may engage in other methods of establishing and maintaining appropriate gender roles. The practice of *punking* refers to public acts of intentional humiliation or shame inflicted upon other males. Phillips (2002) interviewed 32 adolescent males who were either victims of punking or who had punked other boys, and found that this practice was done to maintain the masculine status quo between boys. Perpetrators reported using demoralizing or feminizing language to belittle male peers and reinforce masculine ideology. Victims reported being unwilling to seek help because this would heighten the abuse and make them appear more feminine. Punking was also performed as an initiation to include male peers in accepted masculine behaviors. It is notable that pressures to conform to a masculine ideology were

reinforced by other adolescents, even though participants in the Phillips study reported resignation about punking. One participant acknowledged that hurting his peers was mean, but added the behavior was just expected.

Phillips (2002) reported that strategies like punking continue into adult life where the pressures to conform to a masculine ideology interfere with the development of healthy interpersonal relationships and social functioning. Phillips spoke with one incarcerated man during the course of this study who reported favoring aggressive norms over being perceived as 'less than a man'. Succinctly put, men are expected to participate in acts that reinforce and maintain the power dynamics established in mainstream society (Messner, 1998). O'Neil et al. (1986) proposed that men may need to prove their masculinity (power, dominance, control, competition) and avoid femininity (vulnerability, emotions, feelings) in order to feel safe and to manage the strain of gender role expectations.

Several researchers (Mahalik et al., 2003; Chu et al., 2005; Levant, 1996; Wong, Pituch, & Rochlen, 2006) suggest that masculine bravado is often masked anxiety, confusion, and depression in young men. This tension often translates into emotional strain and anxiety for many men. Robertson, Lin, Woodford, Danos, and Hurst (2001) found that men employed in traditionally masculine professions experienced higher levels of anxiety. Levant (1996) reported that as men work to conform to male societal expectations, the strain of discounting inner turmoil deepens a sense of isolation and anxiety. Not only do many men experience anxiety about conflicting roles, this is expected to be managed independently, a task inconsistent with the act of seeking help.

Adherence to a masculine ideology may interfere with help seeking behaviors, resulting in long term mental and physical health problems (Leimkuhler et al., 2007). Leimkuhler et al.

found this to be the case with male participants who masked symptoms of depression and exhibited more irritability than sadness or social withdrawal. For male clients, the tendency to avoid help and repress feelings indicated more long term interpersonal and health problems that may not be properly diagnosed and treated, including depression (Leimkuhler et al.) and antisocial tendencies (Chu et al., 2005; Pollack, 2006).

Restricted Affection between Men

Pollack (2006) argues that traditional movement through adolescence forces boys to adhere to strict norms of separation, strength, and self-control that predispose many boys to interpersonal and social failure. Boys are taught at very young ages to repress feelings, to be independent and strong, and are reinforced socially for denying intimate connections. Messages such as "boys don't cry," "'don't be a fag," and "take it like a man" reinforce social rules that define behavioral and interpersonal expectations for young men. Kiesling (2002) reported that feminizing language was used to denote subservient male household members (brothers earning their way into a fraternity), and included terms like 'bitch', 'honey', and 'bitchboy.' Young men tend to convey emotional detachment with same sex peers in order to self-protect from social ostracism (Kiesling; Pollack). Expectations for male behaviors may be modeled by peers or in the media.

Hust (2005) conducted a qualitative study to assess adolescent males' perceptions of masculinity in the media and adherence to those norms. Hust referred to a *masculine code* that included categories of risk-taking, maintenance of a solid and stoic personality, and sexual and physical prowess in defining masculinity. Boys are taught to hide feelings they are experiencing in order to be accepted by their male peers, and exhibitions of masculinity are often a façade developed to self-protect against ridicule or ostracism from important reference groups (Pollack,

2006). The exhibition of what are perceived to be feminine characteristics is avoided for fear of losing social acceptance from male peers (Korobov, 2004).

These findings were supported by Good et al. (2002), who evaluated the self-disclosures of male characters in prime time television. Good et al. proposed that men model their identities in part on masculine roles seen in the media, namely television characters and found that male television characters self-disclosed stronger emotions more often to other male than female characters. Male television characters also self-disclosed feelings of a more gentle nature (i.e. love, affection, vulnerability) less frequently to other men, reinforcing the idea that men should repress same sex affections. Shepard (2002) reported that men who restrict emotions experience greater psychological distress in clinical and non clinical settings. The media continues to depict desirable men as tough, independent, and detached, and these messages reinforce ideas about how men should act and think. Fear of being perceived as feminine may keep men from expressing discomfort or disagreement and forces men to handle conflict on their own.

One of the few qualitative studies conducted on masculinity was done by Kiesling (2005). This researcher conducted an ethnographic study with young men residing at fraternity houses in a large Eastern university and revealed that these male participants exhibited heterosexism, dominance, and male solidarity as means of assigning criteria for social acceptance. Kiesling asserted that these categories are in conflict with developing meaningful relationships, and that men cannot form close relationships with other men if they are restricted from showing affection with other men. Men are required to be dominant together and continually perform a balancing act of navigating indirect social expressions of their need for affection. Men must constantly engage in discourse or masculine acts to achieve a sense of self

and find needed support. Even for men who reject these masculine ideals, they are subject to the social expectations of masculinity and are judged accordingly.

A number of researchers have studied the development of masculine identity (Chu et al., 2005; Phillips, 2002; Polce-Lynch et al., 2001; Mahalik et al., 2003). To more fully understand the significance of the development of masculinity, the theories underlying that understanding will be discussed. A review of the theories that have developed over the past several decades will reveal more current definitions of masculinity that will be later applied to the current study.

<center>Masculinity and Gender Theories</center>

Rotundo (1993) asserted that definitions of manhood were the product of social and economic conditions. So, too, have theories related to gender and masculinity evolved to reflect historical changes in male functioning. Four theories will be described here that ushered a new age of understanding masculinity and gender, namely the (a) sex role identity model; (b) sex role concept; (c) gender role conflict theory; and (d) gender role strain theory.

<center>*Sex Role Identity Model*</center>

Prior to the 1970s, it was a widely held belief that people had an inherent inner need to have a sex role identity and that this was a necessary precursor to full personality development (Thompson & Pleck, 1986). Failure to achieve a masculine sex role identity was thought to result in homosexuality, hyper-masculinity, or negative attitudes toward women (Levant & Fischer, 1996). Ketterlinus and Lamb (1994) discussed male sex role identity during the 1950s and noted that boys were surrounded by feminizing environments, in the home and in educational institutions where men (seen as appropriate role models) were largely absent.

Parsons and Bales (1955) reported that sex role theory was based on a functional view of the family, wherein men and women were believed to have an intrinsic need to adopt behaviors,

attitudes and beliefs consistent with one's biological sex. Parsons and Bales referred to the danger of boys assuming either a hyper-masculine identity, resulting in delinquency or a feminine identity, resulting in failure to adopt masculine roles. Parsons and Bales discussed social beliefs that the tasks of running a family should be divided into those that were instrumental (getting things done) and those that were expressive (social and expressive needs). Men were suited to instrumental tasks, whereas women were suited to expressive ones. It was believed to be dysfunctional for men and women to stray outside of sex appropriate roles as it undermined the function of the family (McGoldrick, Anderson, & Walsh, 1991).

Even while sex role development was seen as inherent, great social efforts were made to teach women and men to adopt socially appropriate gender roles. Miller and Nowak (1977) discuss the ways in which men in the 1950s were expected to assume an aggressive role sexually and to be the authority in family decisions. These authors used photographic images to support the idea that sex roles were collectively reinforced. In one such photograph from the period, a man was being beaten by a number of male coworkers for failing to denounce communism. Miller and Nowak asserted that the assault indicated social acceptance of male aggression for the purpose of enforcing collective norms.

The sex role identity model was largely the product of social expectations for women and men to behave and think in a manner consistent with traditional, or sex segregated roles (Ketterlinus & Lamb, 1994; McGoldrick et al., 1991; Miller & Nowak, 1977). In later decades, these ideas were expanded to include descriptions of expected male roles and challenged by addressing the manner in which men are socialized and function. These theories will be discussed here in order to expand understanding of traditional masculinity.

Sex Role Concept

David and Brannon's (1976) sex role concept expanded on the idea that men are expected to ascribe to traditionally male roles. The sex role concept is based on a man portraying the masculine role to its extreme and is comprised of four core themes which identify the male role. These include (a) *no sissy stuff*, (b) *the big wheel*, (c) *the sturdy oak*, and (d) *give 'em hell* (David & Brannon).

No sissy stuff or the stigma of all stereotyped feminine characteristics and qualities, including openness and vulnerability is the requirement to "never, never resemble women, or display strongly stereotyped feminine characteristics" (David & Brannon, 1976, p. 14). According to David and Brannon, boys identify with their mothers just as girls do, and are faced with the task of reconciling feminine identification with a masculine one. David and Brannon suggest that boys experience greater social pressure to fully assume a masculine identity than girls do to take on a feminine identity. David and Brannon argue that male children experience ongoing pressure to avoid being stigmatized as 'feminine' by adopting the appearance of masculinity in every aspect of personality and life. Choices are made to adhere to a male role in expressions, work, hobbies, and interactions that damage a man's psyche. David and Brannon (1976) describe the fear of femininity as a "constant reminder in the life of each male to avoid any activity or trait which may, in any way, associate him with femininity." (p. 14).

The big wheel refers to success, status, and the need to be admired, according to David and Brannon (1976). This can be accomplished in a number of ways. The most desirable of these is by attaining wealth and fame, although less prominent means are also desirable. These theorists suggest that men may be admired for excellence in work or leisurely tasks, such as the quickest delivery route or the best poker player. David and Brannon include recognition for

competence and knowledge in *the big wheel*, where examples of men who fail to ask for help and refuse to acknowledge personal ignorance are cited.

The third feature associated with sex role concept is *the sturdy oak,* or the idea that men must portray an air of toughness, confidence, and self-reliance (David & Brannon, 1976). Men are expected to maintain a confident and stoic composure that reflects persistence and strength for any crisis that may arise. This expectation is ever present, in personal and professional endeavors and dictates self-reliance and emotional control that isolates men from intimate relationships.

David and Brannon (1976) note that men are also expected to present an air of aggression, violence, and daring termed *give 'em hell!* This aspect of the male sex role depicts the need of men to dominate, humiliate, or humble others. *Give 'em hell!* Includes the aggressive side of men and may be exhibited recreationally, professionally, or interpersonally. David and Brannon suggest that men experience great pressure to be dominant and may transfer social expectations to children, often with mixed messages about aggression. Messages like "never throw the first punch" give the impression that violence is an acceptable means of managing conflict as long as the reaction is provoked. According to David and Brannon, men are socially bombarded with messages about dominance, toughness, success, and anti-femininity that require constant attention and negotiation. This process of negotiation causes inner conflict for men who cannot achieve an ideal masculine identity. This conflict was later described by O'Neil and Egan (1992) as a response to sexism.

Gender Role Conflict Theory

O'Neil and Egan (1992) challenged the idea that establishing a masculine sex role was necessary for normal functioning and supported David and Brannon's (1976) assertion that men

experience inner conflict while attempting to achieve a masculine role. O'Neil and Egan used a *Superman* model to represent the male struggle with hypermasculinity (Superman) and femininity (Superman's mild mannered side, Clark Kent). Gender role conflict occurs during times of traumatic and transformative events wherein a man must respond to social and institutional sexism that pressure masculine responses. This theory posits that transformative events are psychosocial, biological, and situational, and that a major inhibitor of role transition is the fear of femininity.

O'Neil et al. (1986) proposed that there are six aspects of conflict and strain associated with gender role conflict, including (a) homophobia; (b) restrictive emotionality; (c) control, power and competition; (d) restrictive sexual and affectionate behavior, (e) obsession with achievement and success; and (f) health care problems. O'Neil and Egan (1992) asserted that "femininity is socially devalued and is seen as inferior, inappropriate, and immature" (p. 319), and that all six facets of gender role strain and conflict emanate from men's fear of femininity.

According to O'Neil and Egan (1992), the task of achieving a masculine identity is confounded by social messages to be hypermasculine and avoid all things feminine. Hypermasculine figures like James Bond and John Wayne portray men as emotionally detached, independent, tough, self-sufficient, and resilient; and social idolization of these stereotypical men further increases internal pressures to conform to unrealistic male roles (O'Neil & Egan).

O'Neil et al. (1986) suggest that men negotiate the development of a male identity throughout life cognitively, affectively, behaviorally, and unconsciously. Cognitive tasks refer to thoughts men have about male roles, affective tasks refer to the feelings associated with those roles, and behavioral tasks are exhibited in the way men interact with others and respond to gender role expectations. Unconscious aspects of gender role conflict are intrapsychic and men

are largely unaware of these socialized influences on thoughts, feelings, and behaviors (O'Neil et al.).

O'Neil et al. (1986) and O'Neil and Egan (1992) noted that gender roles are continually redefined throughout life and that some people find strength in identity by discarding traditional views based on norms or stereotypes that may produce dysfunction or hinder growth. O'Neil and Egan (1992) maintain that men need their feminine sides to be whole and that fighting this is traumatic and self-destructive. The gender role conflict theory introduced the idea that men are subject to situational and contextual forces that affect men's development of masculinity (O'Neil & Egan). This concept acknowledges cultural differences in the development of a masculine identity and recognizes diversity between men. The contextual tenets of gender role conflict were further developed by Thompson and Pleck (1995), who asserted that men experience strain elicited by norms and stereotypes.

Gender Role Strain Theory

Thompson and Pleck (1995) discussed masculinity as an ideology based on the idea that men are socialized to be masculine according to norms and stereotypes. Gender role strain theory proposes that male norms are constructed through social modeling integral to any society's gender and power system (Pleck, 1995). Thompson and Pleck assert that masculinity is not based on actual differences between men and women, but is a socially constructed ideal for men. Masculinity is grouped into prescriptive statements (what men should be like) are descriptive statements (what men are like). Prescriptive statements are normative and are more closely linked to a masculine ideology, whereas descriptive statements are more closely linked to stereotypes. Pleck also notes that gender role conflict takes into consideration traits, biological

and psychological components that influence personality and behaviors, and what expectations are held for the male gender.

Pleck's (1995) gender role strain theory addresses the consequences men face for adhering to male norms. Gender role strain occurs when men experience distress and dysfunction at being unable to meet male role expectations. This theory asserts that (a) gender roles are operationally defined by stereotypes and norms, (b) masculine roles are contradictory and inconsistent, (c) the number of people who violate these norms is high, (d) violation of norms has negative social and psychological outcomes, (e) men endure more severe consequences for violating gender roles than do women, (f) certain characteristics prescribed by gender role norms are psychologically dysfunctional, (g) each gender experiences gender role strain in paid work and family roles, and (h) historical change causes gender role strain (Pleck).

Gender role strain theory recognizes the cultural and social significance of norms on the development of male identity and addresses the ongoing process of reconciling discrepancies arising from gender role strain. Appropriate sex roles are determined by norms (proscriptive) and stereotypes (descriptive) and are put on males throughout the lifespan by parents, teachers, and peers who ascribe to them. When men cannot live up to standards they have internalized, discrepancy strain occurs that can lead to gender role conflict that can damage self esteem and interpersonal relations. Gender role strain is dynamic throughout life and occurs as gender role discrepancy, gender role trauma, and as gender role dysfunction. These three facets of gender role strain may occur concomitantly as males negotiate appropriate roles.

Gender Role Discrepancy

When men fail to live up to gender role ideals expected in society, gender role strain occurs, leading to low self-esteem and internalization of negative messages. Men measure a

sense of worth against social standards of excellence that depict men as strong, capable, good looking, athletic, independent, self-reliant, and anti-feminine. Men failing to live up to these norms may feel and view themselves as inadequate, incompetent, and inferior. The discrepancy strain men experience is strongly akin to gender role conflict in that men experience turmoil at negotiating reactions to social and institutional pressures to be masculine.

Pleck (1995) asserted that research on gender role strain should account for how men prioritize masculinity and engage in adaptation by changing behaviors or reference groups to cope with gender role strain. This approach suggests that managing discrepancies between gender roles that are expected and those actually attained is a process and is changeable. Men may choose to adopt or discard masculine ideals that are seen as dysfunctional and diminishing the achievement of interpersonal goals, such as intimacy. Pleck further suggests that this may be the case for lesbians and gay men who do not report low self esteem as a result of nonconformity. These groups may feel empowered through the process of challenging widely held beliefs and norms and therefore experience increased self-esteem. Underrepresented groups, such as African and Latino American men may manage gender role strain by defining masculinity by their own cultural group's standards (Pleck). This may serve to diminish the discrepancy strain experiences by these groups of men and by men in general.

Gender Role Trauma

Pleck (1995) noted that gender role trauma refers to the process of socialization that boys and men experience throughout life. Men who do fulfill social expectations of masculinity may experience psychological and psychosocial distress at having assumed roles that damage interpersonal satisfaction and limit opportunities for self-actualization (Pleck). Male socialization is a process that engages all members of any society, and boys and men are subject to the

scrutiny of family, teachers, peers, and communities. An example of this gender role trauma may be seen in the These early messages of social condemnation for ascribing to anything seen as less than manly may continue into adulthood (Pleck).

Gender Role Dysfunction

Many male characteristics viewed as desirable can have negative consequences for men and people with whom men relate. Pleck (1995) terms this gender role dysfunction, and describes it as the process of experiencing negative consequences for adhering to male gender role expectations. For example, men who restrict emotionality limit their opportunities to know their children and to develop intimate meaningful relationships. Another example of gender role dysfunction can be seen in men striving to restrict affection for other men for fear of being perceived as feminine or gay (Pleck). Men having adopted these male norms may be only superficially connected to other people, and experience loneliness, sadness, or depression (Pleck).

These aspects of gender role strain theory, discrepancy, trauma, and dysfunction, are mediated in men who are socialized and self-taught to ascribe to each at varying degrees. Pleck (1995) asserts that men engage in an ongoing and culturally subjective process of prioritizing and adopting roles that meet individual needs. For example, a teenage boy may reconcile engaging in risky behaviors, such as drunk driving (dysfunctional) in order to avoid being perceived as weak (trauma). Pleck proposed that gender role strain subjects every male to social pressure to think and act a certain way and that navigating adherence to male norms has inherent consequences.

Pleck's (1995) assertion that men are subject to social pressures to conform to a masculine norm has been supported by other researchers (Davis & Brannon, 1976; O'Neil & Egan, 1992). Researchers and theorists (O'Neil & Egan; Pleck) now approach the consequences

of adherence to a masculine ideal from the perspective of individual functioning and happiness, rather than from one of collective family functioning (McGoldrick et al., 1991). This idea is supported by O'Neil and Egan, who asserted that gender roles are dynamic and modified throughout life and that men who challenge normal and stereotypical ideas of manhood are often better able to function and grow.

Another clear distinction between earlier theories (e.g. sex role identity and sex role concept) and those of more recent theories (e.g. gender role conflict and gender role strain) is in the recognition of social institutions affecting male functioning. O'Neil and Egan (1992) introduced the idea that men are subject to situational and contextual forces that affect the development of masculinity (O'Neil & Egan). O'Neil and Egan and Pleck recognize that men are often subject to greater pressure than women to conform to appropriate gender roles as a result of sexism and narrow definitions of masculinity. O'Neil and Egan and Pleck refer to norms and stereotypes that place expectations on men to think and act according to social standards that are often unrealistic, unattainable, and potentially damaging.

In order to understand the consequences for adhering to masculine norms, it would be helpful to better define and understand those norms. As theories develop and change, masculinity has become compartmentalized into different measures that allow researchers and clinicians to address specific areas of identity and functioning. A number of instruments have been designed to support or challenge the assumptions of the theories outlined here. These instruments will be discussed here, with respect to the manner in which they have been used.

<div align="center">Constructs of Masculinity and Gender</div>

Researchers have worked to compartmentalize masculinity into various measures including (a) status, antifemininity, and toughness (Thompson & Pleck, 1986); (b) avoidance of

femininity, homophobia, self reliance, aggression, achievement status, attitudes toward sex, and restrictive emotionality (Levant & Fischer, 1996); (c) winning, risk taking, power over women, emotional control, self reliance, physical toughness, violence, dominance, play boy, primacy of work, disdain for homosexuals, and pursuit of status (Mahalik, Locke et al., 2003); and (d) restrictive emotionality, success/power/competition, restrictive affectionate behavior between men, and conflict between work and family (O'Neil et al., 1986). Measures of masculinity or gender have been used in various ways with varying instruments and these will be discussed here. The Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil et al.) is the most widely used scale and has tenets similar to those of gender role strain; therefore it will be discussed in detail here.

Male Role Norms Scale

Thompson and Pleck (1986) used the Male Role Norms Scale (MRNS) to test the assumptions of the sex role identity model by surveying 400 college men attending two New England universities and found that there was no conclusive evidence to support the idea that men who adhered to masculine norms also held traditional views of women. Thompson and Pleck also found that there was little support for the idea that men fell neatly into discrete categories that classified male role norms, namely in status, toughness, and antifemininity. This study was significant in assessing the relevance of the sex role identity model and revealed little support for the idea that men adhered to traditional norms.

Male Role Norms Inventory

Men seek to conform to what is expected of them as men by societal standards and what beliefs men have about women, and these beliefs and attitudes are measured using the Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI; Levant & Fischer, 1996). This quantitative instrument compartmentalizes male roles into avoidance of femininity, homophobia, self reliance,

aggression, achievement status, attitudes toward sex, and restrictive emotionality (Levant & Fischer). The MRNI analyzes the differences between descriptive norms (characteristics men are perceived as having) and sociocultural norms (what they should have). The MRNI has not been extensively used, and Addis and Mahalik (2003) criticize this approach for lacking information about the contexts in which men function and for failing to account for differences between men. Results of the MRNI are treated as trait like, rather than changeable, as is suggested by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005). The MRNI has not been widely supported, although the tenets of masculine ideology have been applied to the concepts of gender role conflict theory.

Gender Role Conflict Scale

O'Neil et al. (1986) designed perhaps the most commonly used survey that assesses the level of anxiety and stress experienced by men as a result of trying to adhere to masculine gender roles, the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS I). The GRCS I is a quantitative instrument that measures gender role conflict experienced in (a) success, power, and competition, (b) restrictive affection between men, (c) restrictive emotionality, and (d) conflict between work and family. The GRCS II was redesigned to reflect situational factors consistent with gender role conflict theory where test takers are asked to rate their level of stress corresponding to specific situations in which gender role stress exists (O'Neil et al.). Both the GRCS I and GRCS II are based on the idea that gender roles are socialized and that the assumption of rigid gender roles thwarts the actualization of one's or other's human potential and causes conflict and strain for both genders.

Researchers (Berger, Levant, McMillan, Kelleher, & Sellers, 2005; Blazina & Watkins, 1996; Good & Wood, 2005; Robertson & Fitzgerald, 1992) have investigated men's willingness to seek help quantitatively using the GRCS. All of these studies revealed that higher scores on the GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986) correlated negatively with help seeking behaviors (indicating

stronger adherence to traditional masculinity). Additional studies have been conducted using the GRCS to assess emotional expressiveness (Bruch, 2002), to evaluate men's psychological distress (Good, Heppner, DeBord, & Fischer, 2004; McCreary, Saucier, & Courtenay, 2005; Shepard, 2002), to evaluate the effectiveness of mental health marketing materials (Rochlen, McKelley, & Pituch, 2006), to assess the use of alcohol in men (Blazina & Watkins), and to evaluate counseling effectiveness (Robertson & Fitzgerald; Shuab & Williams, 2007).

Much of the research on gender role strain has been conducted quantitatively using O'Neil et al.'s GRCS I (1986). The bulk of this research has been done to enhance clinical understanding of male functioning and to offer empirical support for counseling interventions. Quantitative studies have revealed significantly negative correlates of adherence to traditional masculinity and help seeking, indicating that men who ascribe to more traditionally masculine views tend to have negative attitudes about counseling (Berger et al., 2005; Blazina &Watkins, 1996; Good et al., 2004; Good & Wood, 2005; Robertson & Fitzgerald, 1992).

The GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986) has proven useful in evaluating larger samples of men facing social and psychological problems by defining the extent to which men adhere to gender roles in specific domains. Good and Wood (2005) used the GRCS I to evaluate the well being and interpersonal relationships of 397 college men at a large Midwestern university. Good and Wood revealed that participants who restrict emotions had limited male friendships, lower emotional expressiveness, as a slightly higher focus on personal achievement. Finding also revealed that adherence to traditional masculinity predicted less willingness to seek counseling.

Whereas the concepts of gender role conflict have been widely tested and applied to work with college men, criticisms of the GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986) include a lack of useful information about social norms (Levant, 1996), the contexts in which gender roles are assumed

(Berger et al., 2005), and individual reasons for adherence to male roles (Addis, & Mahalik, 2003). Specific information about the limitations of the items contained in the GRCS I and II and sampling techniques will be presented later.

The GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986) was designed to offer empirical support for the tenets of gender role conflict theory. Gender role conflict posits that boys are socialized to be men and manage strain associated with failing to meet male norm expectations, with attempting to meet gender roles, and with managing male roles that may cause psychological and social dysfunction. Aspects of gender role conflict and role strain will be applied to the issues related to seeking counseling.

<div align="center">Masculinity and Seeking Help</div>

Gender development brings to light the concept of masculinity and its relevance to help seeking for late adolescent males. Masculinity delineates traditionally accepted male development or development that is true for most men in a given culture or area. Chu et al. (2005) noted that masculine ideology includes the cultural norms that define masculinity, expected male behaviors, and the individual's internalization of such norms and expectations. Masculine ideology refers to the most adherent state of being masculine by societal norms, and it is this standard by which many adolescent males measure personal masculinity (Chu et al.; Mahalik et al., 2003; Phillips, 2007). Kaneko (2000) reported that the tendency to base self-worth on social standards continues to grow for adolescent males into adulthood, suggesting adherence to masculine norms in adolescence may indeed be internalized and set a precedent for future identity. As boys transition into adulthood, adherence to masculine standards may prohibit social connections needed for healthy development and hinder the pursuit of counseling that can address healthy functioning.

Mahalik et al. (2003) found that men utilize counseling services at about one third the rate of women. Ironically, Robertson (2001) reported that men experience distress at similar and higher rates than women. McCarthy and Holliday (2004) surmised that the reason for men's underutilization of counseling services is in the dialectical nature of counseling itself. Counseling requires that the client be willing to ask for help, be reliant, vulnerable, and expressive, and these are inconsistent with masculine norms (Mahalik, Good, & Englar-Carlson, 2003; McCarthy & Holliday; Wong & Rochlan, 2005). Given findings that men have been socialized to hide feelings and appear self sufficient (Hust, 2005; Levant, 1996; Mahalik et al.; Polce-Lynch et al., 2001; Pollack, 2006), this conclusion has merit.

The lack of men engaging in counseling may be further confounded by more traditional men who believe they are doing what is socially accepted and thus are satisfied that there is no need to change (Mahalik et al., 2003). Simply put, seeking out and engaging in counseling may undermine a man's sense of identity that has been developed and reinforced socially. Given the complex and social nature of developing a masculine identity, counseling interventions should be approached using a multicultural perspective that considers each man's masculine identity (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Good & Wood, 2005; Mahalik et al.; McCarthy & Holliday, 2004).

Chu et al. (2005) note that features associated with higher self-esteem, such as humility, mutuality, and authenticity are lacking in traditional or hegemonic relationships, and it is these areas that signify the interpersonal significance of adherence to a masculine ideology. The counseling relationship can provide a microcosm for the client's relationships and reveal ways in which each male client defines masculinity, adheres to masculine norms, and derives benefits from that adherence (Englar-Carlson & Shepard, 2005; Mahalik et al., 2003; McCarthy & Holliday, 2004; Silverstein, Auerbach, & Levant, 2002). By exploring perceptions of counseling,

client definitions of masculinity, and the benefits of adhering to traditional masculinity, counseling can foster the inclusion of more adaptive functioning for men facing gender role dilemmas.

O'Brien et al. (2005) conducted focus groups with men aged 15-72 years to explore factors associated with medical and emotional help seeking, and found that younger men were subject to perceived scrutiny of male peers in resisting help seeking. One man stated he would only seek attention if his injury was obvious and he was advised to see a doctor. Many participants in this study emphasized self-sufficiency and were notably avoidant of the subject of depression, but alluded to it in the presence of male peers. Another participant was especially distressed about how other men defined his masculinity. This man finally sought treatment and was taking antidepressants for a while, but stopped for fear of social ramifications. Older men in O'Brien et al.'s study were interesting more receptive to counseling, consistent with findings from Berger et al. (2005) and Pleck's gender role strain paradigm (1995).

Addis and Mahalik (2003) suggested that understanding men's perceptions alone fails to address specific information regarding why and in what situations men do or do not engage in counseling. Consistent with the tenets of gender role strain, Addis and Mahalik surmised that men negotiate problem solving according to the following set of social expectations that should be considered in counseling. Those ideas are summarized here:

1. Is the problem normal? This question pertains to the degree to which men compare themselves to peers in their community, and recognizes that men are influenced by normative masculine behaviors.

2.   Is the problem a central part of me? This query involves activating positive self

perceptions and resources that may be used to compensate for perception that

help seeking is counter-masculine.

3.   Will I be able to reciprocate? This question reflects the need of many men to

provide for others and shows a measure of normalcy.

4.   How will others react if I seek help? This idea shows the extent to which men

evaluate and internalize messages to adhere to male role norms.

5.   What can I lose if I ask for help? This question implies that there are social and

psychological consequences of engaging in counseling.

Focusing on the male client's manner of problem-solving is expected to facilitate

counseling on a level that is consistent with each man's unique situation. Mahalik et al. (2003)

further asserted that masculinity is treated from a deficit model, meaning that men are seen as

possessing negative qualities that need to be overcome. This approach hinders men's abilities to

overcome internalized messages of inadequacy and is incongruent with effective counseling

(Englar-Carlson & Shepard, 2005). Addressing the scripts, or social roles, to which male clients

are subject serves to foster strength of character for clients who are commonly treated from a

deficit model (Mahalik et al.).

McCarthy and Holliday (2004) emphasized that men tend to be practical and instrumental

in nature. This is seen as conflicting with the social and expressive nature of counseling itself,

which may alienate men from this process. Strategies for counseling men include taking an *emic*

perspective that permits the exploration and validation the male experience, and includes

explaining the counseling process. McCarthy and Holliday also suggest focusing on the positive

aspects of being male, such as acknowledging the male client's self awareness, recognizing the

strength to participate in counseling, and helping others in the process. Men reported more favorable response to counseling that addresses cognitive or instrumental interventions rather than emotional ones (Berger et al., 2005; Wong & Rochlan, 2005). These approaches may serve to empower male clients who are conflicted about masculine messages and achieving interpersonal goals. Counseling may provide a venue in which men can develop comfort and receive validation for concerns not typically accepted in the community at large, and this may in turn, change society's standards of masculine expectations.

<div align="center">Enhancing Quantitative Research</div>

Research on masculinity and its relationship to self-esteem (Polce-Lynch et al., 2001; Pollack, 2006), emotional expressiveness (Blier & Blier-Wilson, 1989; Polce-Lynch et al., 1998; Robertson et al., 2001), interpersonal satisfaction (Burn & Ward, 2005), depression (Shepard, 2002), and social functioning (Anderson & Johnson, 2003; Hust, 2005; Phillips, 2007) has been conducted. Information has been revealed about correlations between masculinity and these areas of functioning, and long term consequences of conformity have revealed a need to reevaluate what defines masculinity in efforts to address the unique needs of men.

Limitations of Quantitative Measures

There have been suggested three key limitations in the body of research on understanding and defining masculine norms. These include (a) narrow definitions of masculinity, (b) sampling procedures that limitation the applicability of norms, and (c) barriers of perception between instrumentation and perception of the survey taker. Each of these will be explored here in greater depth.

Narrow definitions of masculinity. Masculinity tends to be defined by White heterosexual terms that limit perceptions of what is accepted as part of normal male functioning (Chu et al.,

2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Good et al., 2004; Kiesling, 2005; Mahalik, et al., 2003; McCarthy & Holliday, 2004). Ideas of self-reliance, independence, toughness, and expressiveness are exaggerated in the literature as being specific to men and dysfunctional (Mahalik et al.). Mahalik et al. make the argument that there exists a strong deficit model in studying masculinity and that positive features of masculine ideals (i.e., problem solving tactics, ability to put needs of others ahead of own, anger expression, risk taking, and logic thinking) have not yet been explored in the literature. What is deemed as normal for men needs to be addressed from the perspective of each man in evaluating normal and healthy functioning. This seems especially true for young men, who may conform to masculine norms to which they do not necessarily ascribe (Chu et al.). Chu et al. noted that young men may not have sufficiently formed a sense of self that permits the negotiation necessary to adequately define masculinity.

The question of whether narrow social standards are perpetuated by creating *tests* around these ideas should be addressed. Men completing surveys that ask them to rate their self-perceptions and reactions may influence responses that are deemed appropriate by social standards and that neglect real struggles of men ascribing to subordinated masculinities (Messerschmidt, 2005).

Sampling procedures. The vast majority of research conducted thus far on masculinity has been of a quantitative nature and has been based on White, heterosexual men attending universities (Anderson & Johnson, 2003; Blazina &Watkins, 1996; Burn & Ward, 2005; Mahalik, Locke et al., 2003; Robertson et al., 2001). There are consequently limitations to the applicability of this research to the U.S. populations as a whole. Statistics derived from normative instruments may not adequately reflect the unique perspectives of individuals. Men belonging to lower socioeconomic groups may experience different career pressures that

translate into very different standards of behavior than for men attending college. Given that only about half of the U.S. male population attends college immediately after high school and that the majority of these attendees are White (United States Bureau of the Census, 2007), measures of masculinity may fail to assess adherence to reported norms. Furthermore, men belonging to older and non-White populations are underrepresented in most quantitative measures. As the U.S. population becomes more diverse with respect to age, culture, and race, measures normed on young, White men fail to address the ways that masculinity is defined and applied for all American men. Specific information obtained from quantitative measures may fail to reflect the perceptions and behaviors of all men.

Barriers of perception. A number of instruments have been developed to evaluate men's adherence to a masculine ideology in an effort to quantify areas that might enlighten the counseling and problem solving process. Instruments like the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI, Mahalik, Lock et al., 2003), the Male Role Norms Scale (MRNS, Thompson & Pleck, 1986), and the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS, O'Neil et al., 1986) all seek to compartmentalize masculinity and assess the instrument taker's adherence to masculine norms according to predetermined categories. Much rich information has come of the use of these tests, but there are clear limitations to quantifying masculinity.

Quantified methods of assessing masculinity force the participant to answer according to the instrument's structure and fail to address the reasons for participant's selections. Although quantitative instruments serve the purpose of addressing general descriptions and needs of large groups of people, they fail to address specific needs of men. These instruments contain an inherent and undetected error, a potential mismatch between the message intended and that construed by the participants. There is no way to know from these instruments whether the

message sent is the one received and that the survey answers are what was intended to be tested. This leads to an internal validity error. Items on a quantitative instrument are often vague and force the participants to decipher the intention of the item and modify an appropriate response.

Examples of items that are vague can be seen in Thompson and Pleck's MRNS (1986), where the survey taker is asked to rate their level of agreement with 'I like a man to look somewhat tough' and 'a man should not disclose pains.' Other examples of ambiguity can be seen in GRCS I (O'Neil et al., 1986), which asks the respondent to report a level of agreement with 'I have trouble expressing my tender feelings' and 'men who touch other men make me uncomfortable'. There is no way to know from these statements how the survey taker defines 'tender feelings' or whether the latter statement refers to same sex attraction. The language itself is problematic, as it may convey a value judgment as to how the respondent should answer.

Vague and potentially leading language can also be seen in the GRCS II (O'Neil et al., 1986), which was revised to include contextual assessments. This instrument asks the respondent to rate their anxiety and comfort level with a vignette. Two such items are included in O'Neil et al.'s (1986) GRCS II and are listed here:

> "There's a guy you've idolized since grade school. He is three years older than you are, was valedictorian, the star quarterback, and was active with young Methodist fellowship. You have just learned he is a homosexual. How much conflict do you feel for your admiration for this person and the fact that he is a homosexual?" (p. 341)

> "How conflicted do you feel about what your male co-worker might think about your contact and relationship with your intimate friend?" (p. 341)

Labeling this hypothetical person 'a homosexual' may be perceived as having negative connotations and may imply that the person responding to this item should feel conflicted or may

create a sense of conflict that can not be adequately assessed by the instrument. Variations may arise from surveys that fail to address reactions to items. Consider for example responses to this item from men who identify as bi-sexual or gay. Clearly, information is missing or may be misconstrued from this type of quantitative data.

Error also exists in the applicability of quantitative instrument responses. Instruments that ask men about self-perceptions do not address the reasons for ascribing to specific norms nor do they evaluate real situations in which men function (Addis, & Mahalik, 2003; Good & Wood, 2005; Mahalik et al., 1995). Hammond and Mattis (2005) reported that African American men used similar labels to those found on the GRCS I (O'Neil et al., 1986) for their experiences, but had different meanings associated with them. Some men in this study would have scored high in restrictive emotionality on the GRCS I (O'Neil et al.), but this would not account for the need to self-protect and the idea that for an African American man, hiding reactions might indeed be adaptive and necessary. Discussion with these participants revealed information that would be lost in the GRCS (O'Neil et al.) categories and in many other quantitative instruments.

Rationale for Study

Quantitative research offers generalizable information about large groups of men that may be applied to counseling interventions. Counseling with male clients may reveal information missing from surveys, however. The reasons men adhere to or adopt specific masculine norms may come to light that render quantitative information general and lacking details only afforded more revealing and intimate relationships. It is for reasons of clarity in understanding masculinity and its relationship to male functioning that a qualitative approach is needed. Richards (2003) asserts that qualitative collection of data reveals a greater breadth of knowledge that can then be used to enhance our understanding of specific concepts, people, and interactions.

Specifically, phenomenology affords the researcher and participants the opportunity to share experiences not revealed in quantitative methods. This is especially true for men who have been assessed using instruments that limit responses to predetermined categories. As men tend to seek out and engage in counseling at lesser rates than women (Mahalik, Good, & Englar-Carlson, 2003), it is useful to explore their experiences and bring to light information lacking in surveys.

The bulk of research done thus far has been quantitative and has primarily represented the views and behaviors of men attending college (Berger et al., 2005; Bruch, 2002; Burn & Ward, 2005; Good & Wood, 2005; Mahalik, Locke et al., 2003; Robertson et al., 2001). Perspectives of young men not attending college have only been included as small proportions of studies and used as a measure of comparison with other age groups (Hammond & Mattis, 2005; O'Brien et al., 2005). As this literature review indicates, the experiences of young non-collegiate men represent information missing from the literature. Several researchers have asserted the need to explore masculinity from the unique perspectives of men (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Good & Wood; Mahalik et al., 2003; McCarthy & Holliday, 2004), and this can be accomplished more thoroughly by asking men who have been underrepresented in the literature to share their experiences.

Information obtained from qualitative inquiry with men not attending college can supplement and enrich existing quantitative measures by providing missing information about how and why men adapt to male norms and stereotypes. What is missing from quantitative measures and hence, from the data, is an understanding of each man's experience of individual functioning. Given the variety of ways men adhere to masculine norms or ideals (Addis, & Mahalik, 2003; Good & Wood, 2005; Hammond & Mattis, 2005; Messner, 1998; Silverstein et

al., 2002), it is fitting that a more thorough exploration of the experience of manhood be included

by addressing the perspectives of men who have not attended college.

Phenomenology is a qualitative method of investigating the experiences of participants

by facilitating the sharing of those experiences (Cresswell, 2003). Bogdan and Taylor (1975)

state the phenomenologist views human behavior as a product of each person's unique

interpretation of the world, and notes that rich information can be obtained from this method.

Phenomenology is especially useful in addressing characteristics and needs of groups about

which little is known, as it offers more in depth information about the experiences of these

groups than can be obtained from surveys. Furthermore, underrepresented groups are difficult to

sample in numbers that can adequately be assessed using quantitative measures (Silverstein et

al., 2006). Although White, heterosexual men comprise the greatest proportion of the United

States (United States Bureau of the Census, 2007), knowledge about the experiences of non-

collegiate men is lacking in the literature. Including the perspectives of men from this group in a

qualitative study would serve to deepen understanding of the male experience and may lead to

other research and counseling interventions aimed at this underrepresented group.

Silverstein, Auerbach, and Levant (2006) asserted that counseling and qualitative work

are complimentary since both involve the process of monitoring and checking client and

participant responses that illuminate multiple variables and relations between them. Silverstein et

al. contend that qualitative work is done using communication rather than numbers, and that this

process mirrors the intimate nature of counseling. Data obtained in this manner unfolds as

research participants convey their unique experiences.

Mahalik et al. (2003) suggested that masculinity is investigated to improve the lives of

men and the people with whom they interact. Deeper understanding of men may be had by

evaluating each man's identification with masculine norms and the manner in which adaptation is sought and achieved. This can be accomplished with phenomenological methods, or by exploring the unique perspectives and experiences of young non-collegiate men. The theoretical tenets of gender role strain (Pleck, 1995) and gender role conflict (O'Neil et al., 1986) may be enhanced or clarified by including reflections about the manner in which these men develop a masculine identity and adapt to social norms.

This study seeks to uncover how young men define their masculinity as this relates to their life experiences and how they find meaning in personal and professional relationships. It seeks to answer the questions: How do young men who do not pursue post-high school education make meaning from their experiences? Do these men experience masculinity as it is described by gender role conflict theory (O'Neil et al., 1986) or gender role strain (Pleck, 1995)? Do these men eschew counseling and if so, for what reasons? How can the meaning these men associate with masculinity be used to better the instruments used to assess masculinity for men in general? Furthermore, the study seeks to explore similarities and differences in the categories of gender role conflict, namely, restrictive emotionality, success/power/competition, restrictive affectionate behavior between men, and conflict between work and family. The latter of these may reveal findings that have been scarcely addressed in the literature because young men who are primarily occupied with education may experience different family and work pressures. This phenomenology seeks to discover whether participants are similar to or differ from the tenets of the theories described herein or whether findings will reveal completely different dimensions to the concept of masculinity.

This chapter indicates the extensive use of the GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986) as a means of deepening our understanding of masculinity. Criticisms of this instrument include a lack of

useful information about social norms (Levant & Fischer, 1996), the contexts in which gender

roles are assumed (Berger et al., 2005), and individual reasons for adherence to male roles

(Addis, & Mahalik, 2003). These areas can be addressed more fully in an interview format with a

small group of young men who have not attended college. Questions not addressed in the

literature will include (a) what experiences have led this group of men to define and exhibit

masculinity? And; (b) how does masculine socialization translate into interactions with others,

personally and with respect to seeking out counseling? Answers to these queries will advance

understanding of masculinity from a broader perspective.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

PHENOMENOLOGY OF MASCULINITY AND COUNSELING

Theoretical Framework Underlying Research

Phenomenology describes the meaning of the lived experiences of several individuals about a concept or phenomenon (Creswell, 2003). This approach recognizes that every individual's experience is valid in that it has been lived by that individual. Bogdan and Taylor (1975) state the phenomenologist views human behavior, what people say and do, as a product of how they interpret the world. The task then is to see the world from the participant's point of view and integrating each individual experience into themes that account for these experiences. This process necessitates a series of steps that ensure that the experiences of the participants are accurately reflected. Preconceptions are "bracketed" so as not to inject hypotheses, questions, or personal experiences into the study (Creswell). The first of these is a continual process that requires a removal of researcher bias in an effort to reveal the substance of the participant's experience. Moustakas (1994) refers to this process as the *epoche* and explains it as such:

> The epoche is the first step in coming to know things. This involves the setting aside of predilections, predispositions, and prejudices and allowing things, events, and people to enter anew into consciousness, and to look and see them again, as anew for the first time. (p. 85)

This process inclines the researcher toward receptiveness, without clouding the participant's communication with the researcher's ways of thinking, feeling, and seeing. Phenomenology is based on knowing a phenomenon from its appearance and presence, rather than from personal labels, judgments, or comparisons. In essence, the participant is the expert in a phenomenology

and the researcher attempts to facilitate the conveyance of the participant's experiences in a manner that deepens understanding of that experience (Creswell, 2003).

Phenomenological reduction is the task of describing just what one sees, in terms of the external objects and internal consciousness, the "rhythm and relationship between phenomenon and self" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 116). This reduction is the process of uncovering a pre-reflective description of things just as they appear and a reduction to what is horizontal or thematic, the process Creswell (2003) terms horizontalization.

Moustakas (1994) asserts that the next step in data analysis is imaginative variation. This stage involves the process of seeking possible meanings of the phenomenon by considering different views. This includes describing what was experienced and how it was experienced, and recognizing underlying themes or contexts that account for the emergence of the phenomenon. At this stage, statements are formulated into meanings that are clustered into themes (Creswell, 2003).

The final stage of phenomenological study is in the integration of themes into a narrative description that accounts for textural (what was experienced) and structural (how it was experienced) components (Creswell, 2003). Moustakas (1994) asserts that this phase involves the intuitive integration of the whole experience into a unified description or statement, and may include a reflection of personal meaning of the experience.

Consistent with bracketing or the epoche described here, two tactics will be used to inform the study of masculinity and seeking counseling. The first of these is a brief autobiographical sketch that will be included here to separate my own experiences and biases from those of participants in this study. The second of these is in the findings of the pilot study conducted to inform the study.

Researcher Background

Nightingale and Cromby (1999) stress the importance of *reflexivity*, or the recognition that an investigator invariably influences the findings of any research study. This phenomenological study involves the construction of meaning that will be determined in great part by my perspective as the principal investigator. In order to approach data analysis from the epoche suggested by Moustakas (1994), analysis will be performed with respect to the limitations of reflexivity. The inclusion of my personal background serves as a means of acknowledging how my perspectives and experiences influence and inform research findings.

My interest in studying masculinity and counseling arose from my own life experience dealing with men who are family members, friends, colleagues, and clients. I see many men adhering to socially desirable standards of masculinity that prove to be both healthy (providing, teaching, supporting, and demonstrating strength) and dysfunctional (excessively self reliant, resisting affections and emotional expression). The measures of masculinity and relationships to help seeking have focused on similar characteristics, but tend to group men into categories that discount their unique experiences. It has been my experience in talking with men of different ages, cultures, and sexual orientations that these categories of masculinity do indeed reflect American social standards of masculinity, but that they do not reflect the average person's ideas of how men should behave. Furthermore, there is evidence that adherence to a masculine ideal (such as conformity to restrictive emotionality, independence, and self reliance) does not increase the level of interpersonal satisfaction desired by many men, and that problems that men face regarding interpersonal satisfaction are largely avoided or ignored. I will explore perceptions of social and cultural expectations that influence young men's attitudes and behaviors regarding problem solving tactics, and specifically, counseling patterns.

As a counselor, my work with men has involved individual, group, and family counseling and I have experienced men to engage in a continuous struggle between what is appropriate and what is genuine. As targets of this social standard, many men attempt adherence to a masculine ideal that often proves unrewarding regardless of the perpetuation of the need to adhere to what most men guess are normal attitudes and behaviors. The results of this phenomenological study on masculinity and counseling will be compiled and used as a foundation against which future research on help seeking behaviors and effective counseling with men may be performed. Findings from the study will include acknowledgement of reflexivity, or the manner in which my personal beliefs, values, and experiences have influenced findings and how other methods of investigating this phenomenon might produce different results.

In order to evaluate the most effective and salient themes in this methodology, I conducted a pilot study in order to a) refine ideas about the selection of participants and the most effective manner and b) to facilitate the sharing of participant's experiences. Findings regarding participant age, sexual orientation, and specific details about how to effectively invite candid responses will be explored here.

Pilot Study

I conducted five approximately hour long interviews with men of different ages, races, and sexual orientations in order to inform this study. One of these participants was a 18 year old, White, heterosexual student; one was a 58 year old White, heterosexual, self employed man; one was a 47 year old Mexican, heterosexual, self employed man; one was a 22 year old, African American, heterosexual student and professional; and another was a 24 year old, White, bi-sexual professional man. These participants were recruited using snowball and convenience

sampling and were asked to share their experiences of being socialized to be men and their reactions to counseling interventions.

Over the course of these interviews, several key elements were revealed that offered clarity about the focus of this study. The first of these clarifications was in the need to select young, heterosexual men. The older men with whom I spoke were less inclined to reflect on personal meanings of masculinity, and internalized a masculine identity without question. This made the revelation of information difficult to obtain and suppository. Deciphering such data would interfere with my ability to remove personal bias, as suggested by Creswell (2003).Men age 18 to 24 in the pilot study were more reflective about their identities and the implications of such, and allowed me to confirm, or validate findings revealed in the interview process.

In order to supplement information revealed in the interview with a man who was bi-sexual, I performed observations in the course of conducting the pilot study, and found men who were self-reportedly gay and bi-sexual to be more forthright about their sense of masculinity and expressing relevant concerns. While this eased the process of conveying the experiences of men who self-identify as gay or bisexual, it occurred to me that seeking and engaging in counseling may not be as problematic for them as it is for men who identify as heterosexual. The differences in responses between men who identified as straight and men who identified as bisexual or gay were strong enough that grouping these men together in this study may confound results and fail to reveal common themes for any one group of men. This information led me to select straight men as a focus of this study. By focusing on men who identity as heterosexual, more detailed information may be discovered that is missing from quantitative data.

The pilot study also permitted me to refine ideas about effectively facilitating participant expressions of personal experiences. The pilot study included a set of semi-structured questions

littered with problematic language and nuances. For example, the first question asked was "what does it mean to be masculine or feminine?" This elicited vague and brief responses from participants (of all ages) and is modified (Appendix B) to reflect lay terms that permit more comfortable and accurately reflections. There were other instances of language use that also needed to be changed, such as questions that include more than one thought and those that were vague. In designing interview questions for the current study, consultation was sought with three middle aged men, one middle aged woman, a teenage girl, and two men in their early twenties. These perspectives added to the refinement of queries that were deemed appropriate for the target group and the information being investigated.

In addition to enlightening the use of effective language, the interview itself was deemed to need more reflection of participant's experiences. Rather than adhering to the questions as a protocol, interviews will adhere less to predetermined questions, and will follow stories shared spontaneously. This will permit more flexibility and honest revelations for participants. Additional considerations will include awareness of sex and age differences between me and participants and physical barriers that may interfere with the accuracy of data. For example, my demeanor elicited what I construed as a more agreeable and less honest response in some portions of the pilot study. The fact that my participants will be of a different gender than mine might hinder the validity of my study and may also foster greater disclosure since there would be less perceived pressure to adhere to a masculine ideal. It is interesting to note that four of the participants in the pilot study expressed a preference for a female counselor, which may facilitate more in depth discussion during the proposed study. The pilot study made me aware of perceptions, setting, and any environmental considerations that influence the findings of this study, and will be evaluated in the analysis.

Current Study

Masculinity and counseling attitudes was explored following the phenomenology recommended by Creswell (2003). Creswell outlines four criteria in a phenomenological study that lead to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon being researched. The first of these is in the researcher's understanding of the philosophical underpinnings of the phenomenon. A researcher needs to be aware of the historical trends that have given rise to the phenomenon being investigated in order to address relevant issues pertaining to that phenomenon. In this study, a thorough review of literature including historical trends in masculinity have been explored, a pilot study informing the research has been conducted, and consultation with people who have shared their experiences served to inform the research.

The second criterion Cresswell (2003) suggests in conducting a phenomenology is the use of questions that explore the every day meanings of the experience being studied. Phenomenology seeks to define shared meanings for a group who having a common experience (Creswell). Little supporting information can be gained if questioning fails to address the significance of experiences for participants. Furthermore, inferences should be drawn from experiences that are common to the group being studied, and as such, every day experiences were explored. This allowed the analysis of findings to reflect commonalities among the group, rather than reflecting unusual events in the lives of participants. For the particular study, the phenomenon being studied is integral to participants, namely the experiences of being men, suggesting every day perspectives be included.

Cresswell (2003) asserts that the third criterion needed in a phenomenology is the collection of data via long interviews. The long interview allows the first two criteria to be integrated into the study by securing enough time to explore the philosophical underpinnings of

the phenomenon and the meanings associated with it. This study was expected to be challenging in that participants may not have considered the meanings associated with a masculine identity, requiring a time allotment that facilitated full exploration.

The fourth piece of phenomenology suggested by Cresswell (2003) is the analysis of data by division into statements (termed horizontalization) that form clusters of meanings. This process involved developing a list of significant statements about the experience of masculinity. These lists encompassed individual participant statements that were non-repetitive and non-overlapping. These were then grouped into larger units of meaning according to commonalities in interview statements. Individual statements were recorded as they appeared in original transcripts and categorized according to themes emerging from the data. Themes were then compiled into clusters according to common meanings. These clusters of meanings were then integrated into a textural description (what was experienced) and a structural description (how it was experienced). These descriptions include verbatim excerpts from the original interview transcripts. Sampling strategies, methods of data collection, ethical considerations, and data analysis will be discussed with respect to conducting this phenomenological study.

Sampling Strategies

This study employs snowball sampling in an effort to reach participants about whom limited information is known, namely non-collegiate, young heterosexual men. Snowball sampling has been criticized for failing to randomly sample populations and therefore, not producing generalizable information. Silverstein, Auerbach, and Levant (2006) responded to this criticism by asserting that qualitative work does not seek to find information that can be generalized to large populations, but rather may employ snowball sampling to uncover specific features of groups about which little is known. A great deal of information has been published

regarding young White men, although information about the experiences of these men and the meanings men make of these experiences has not been explored. Snowball sampling permitted me to choose men who might not otherwise be heard in the literature. For this reason, men who have been referred to me by a mutual acquaintance were asked to participate. Being referred by someone known might encourage men who would otherwise shun involvement to join a study. This is especially true for men, who base a sense of normalcy on what other men are doing (O'Brien, Hunt, & Hart, 2005; Addis, & Mahalik, 2003). My personal information was not known by the initial participant and was not made available to recruited participants. This diminished the possibility of selecting men with whom I am personally connected. Participants were contacted via telephone regarding a study I was conducting.

Phenomenology requires that participants have experienced the particular phenomenon being studied and that a clear and detailed picture be constructed from those experiences (Creswell, 2003). Gaining detailed information about large groups of men using phenomenology would be difficult as this methodology seeks to reveal the most genuine and detailed facets of participant experiences. In depth interviews were therefore conducted with six young men who were selected to participate based on their age (18-24), heterosexual orientation, educational attainment (non-collegiate men), and willingness to contribute to the study. Including the experiences of young men who have not attended college addresses a deficit in the literature. Contact information for participants was retained so that data could be evaluated and modified for accuracy. Participants were contacted via telephone to evaluate their appropriateness for this study. The researcher followed the script listed in Appendix C.

Methods of Data Collection

Three primary methods of data collection were used to inform this study. These include interviewing, journaling, and observation. Interviewing included observations and member checks within the context of the interview and by participants following the interview. Journaling allowed me to evaluate my own perspectives and separate ideas not reflected by participants.

Demographic survey. Selected participants were asked to complete a demographic survey (Appendix D) at the time of the interview to ensure that the criteria for the study were being met and to facilitate the reduction and analysis of data. Demographic information was also used to inform further research and is included in the discussion of this study.

Interviews. In depth interviews were performed in a private setting based upon the questions outlined in Appendix B. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by a paid professional, then evaluated for accuracy by the researchers and a professional colleague. Transcriptions will be retained in a secure location for a period of three years, in accordance with rules of Penn State's Office of Research Protections.

Interviews followed a semi-structured format (Appendix B) that facilitated participants' conveying of their experiences. Questions listed in Appendix B were used as a guide for the interviews, and were not necessarily followed in order or verbatim. For example, if a participant shared thoughts about counseling without provocation, that question was not asked later. Member checks were incorporated into the design by asking for clarifications and by verbal summary of information shared. The principal investigator met individually with participants approximately two weeks after the interviews to review transcripts for accuracy and to make any necessary modifications to participant responses. This review process was intended to ensure that participants reflected on the interview content more thoroughly and were given the chance to

offer clarifications. Horizontalization began after reviewing participant transcripts with the

researcher. This form of member checking served to confirm findings and ensures the validity of

information obtained.

Journaling. In addition to participant checks of information transcribed, I maintained a

reflective journal in which I recorded reactions to interviews and participants. Journaling served

to ensure that findings reflect the experiences of participants, rather than my own suppositions

(Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; Creswell, 2003; Moustakas, 1994; Silverstein et al., 2006).

Observation. In the course of the interviews, I observed the manner in which participants

conveyed information and included some of these observations in the analysis portion of the

study. Much like the checks used in the interview language, participants were encouraged to

share reactions to the interview process. This is consistent with Silverstein et al.'s (2006)

recommendations that accuracy in interpretation mirror that of the counseling relationship. When

behavioral nuances were seen, participants were prompted to explore the subject at hand in more

depth. This facilitated a better understanding of the participant's experience and served to

triangulate, or validate, information obtained in the process.

Methods of Data Analysis

All descriptions in transcribed and participant reviewed transcripts were read and

compared to journal notes in the process of extracting and identifying significant statements from

each description. These statements were then formulated into meanings and clustered into

themes. Evaluation of transcripts and the compilation of information into themes were performed

by first designating significant statements from interview transcripts, then grouping these

according the common themes. Themes were then integrated into a narrative description that

included an account of participant's textural and structural experiences.

Issues of verification/validity. In order to ensure the validity of findings, member checks, observations, and journaling were included in the course of this study. By observing and verifying information within the interview, the phenomenon being explored was accurately conveyed. Additionally, participants met with this researcher two weeks after the interview to review transcripts for accuracy prior to data analysis. Data was reduced in transcription, and as such, was limited to the perspectives of the transcriber, the researcher, and consulting colleagues. The inclusion of an outside transcriber and the views of objective colleagues served to enhance the validity of findings. Journaling was used to filter out what was my own opinion or summary, but removal was difficult. Creswell (2003) points out the challenges in fully adhering to the demands of bracketing and being fully enmeshed with another person's experience. Deciding how and what personal experiences should be introduced into the study proved daunting. Additional considerations were taken with respect to how experiences were interpreted or reduced. Member checking served this purpose, but limitations to findings will be discussed.

Triangulation. Triangulation refers to the incorporation of multiple perspectives in investigating a phenomenon (Denzin, 1989). This method is employed in qualitative research to informs the study and add confidence to research findings (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). Denzin (1989) identified four types of triangulation that will be described here with respect to the current study.

Data triangulation involves gathering data through several sampling strategies so that data reflect portions of time, situations, and people (Denzin, 1989). The pilot study served to address data triangulation in that reactions to pilot interviews were reviewed at different times with professional colleagues and with people not associated with the study. Interview questions were tested in the pilot study and refined after consultation with three middle aged men, one

middle aged woman, a teenage girl, and two men belonging to the target age group (18 to 24) for this study. This served to better inform the study by adding varying and experienced perspectives and aided the process of clarifying requested information. Information obtained in the interview process was verified by participants both during the interviews and during a second meeting at a later time, confirming their experiences and contributions. Participants also offered feedback about the validity of their responses in the transcript review process. This further served to confirm and validate any findings. Source triangulation, or confirmation of results between participants, will also be incorporated into the study as a means of validating findings.

Investigator triangulation involves multiple researchers in an investigation (Denzin, 1989). In addition to prior research and input from participants, my own evaluation served triangulation in this study. While my perspective is limited, it is well informed and was challenged using journaling and consultation with colleagues and mentors throughout the research process. Transcription was done by someone not affiliated with the study and then reviewed by the researcher to assess the accuracy of interview data. A portion of the transcriptions (10%) was randomly selected for review by a professional colleague. Consultation with the colleague involved deliberation of coding and discrepancies will be noted in the analysis of findings.

Theory triangulation involves using more than one theoretical scheme in the interpretation of the phenomenon (Denzin, 1989). A comprehensive literature review is included here that spans the historical contexts of masculinity and the development and significance of masculine identity perspectives. The theories and research explored reflect the varying perspectives of researchers and participants in past studies and serve to inform this researcher

and the study being undertaken. These views are enhanced by the participants of the pilot study I conducted to further inform this study.

Methodological triangulation involves using more than one method to gather data (Denzin, 1989). This study incorporates data from observations, interviews, literature and theory review, and through consultation with other researchers and participants. Methodological triangulation serves to enhance confidence in findings by approaching data analysis from multiple perspectives and reflecting on differences and similarities between those viewpoints.

Ethical Considerations

Information shared in the course of these interviews was sometimes of a personal and uncomfortable nature. Participants were invited to withdrawal from the study without repercussions should they become uncomfortable, although no single participant did so. This researcher was prepared to offer solicited referrals to accessible mental health professionals, although no single participant exhibited emotional distress or requested such referral. Participants were compensated in the amount of $15 in recognition for their time and contribution to the study. Compensation was also given to increase the likelihood that participants were invested in the study and available for the follow up meeting to confirm the validity of transcript information. Participants were informed about the intent of the study and the confidential nature of data collection. An informed consent contract detailing the nature of the study, confidentiality, contact information, and permission to participate was reviewed and signed by all participants (Appendix E). Given that participants were asked to review transcripts, contact information was also confirmed at the first meeting. This information is retained in a secure location with transcripts and will be destroyed after the research study is complete. Recorded interview sessions will be retained for three years, and then destroyed. Permissions to

conduct this research was obtained from the Office of Research Protections and is included in Appendix F.

Additional ethical considerations are in the potential conflict that participants might experience at coming into contact with me following the study. To address this, I informed participants that I would not acknowledge them in social settings unless they choose to initiate such contact. Participants were asked about their preferences, if any, of future contacts.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

This study was intended to reveal information about the manner in which participants define masculinity and the experiences that have shaped their definitions. Interviews were held with 6 straight, non-collegiate men wherein participants shared perceptions of masculinity, reflected on their socialization and on their perceptions of counseling and related mental health services. Participants were aged 18-24; three identified as Caucasian, two identified as African American, and one identified as Italian American; two worked in a restaurant, one worked in sales, two worked in construction, and one was a house painter. One participant completed a restaurant managerial training program; and another attended a vocational school for one year; four had no reported post high school vocational or educational training. Their experiences and ideas will be explored here with respect to the research questions intended by this study, and will then be compiled into a summary of the meanings of these experiences for these non-collegiate men. This will be followed by a reflection on the phenomenological process and issues of validation.

It should be noted that the research questions were broad so as not to restrict the scope of information that participants might reveal and hinder the phenomenological nature of the study. Furthermore, excerpts from interviews have not been modified for grammatical correctness in order to maintain the integrity of participant contributions. Participants were assigned numbers in order to maintain the confidential nature of information shared. Participants will be referred to as P1 for participant number 1, P2 for participant number 2, P3, P4, P5, and P6 throughout the body of the study. Brackets will be used to clarify roles of persons about whom participants are speaking and names will replaced with relationships to participants to protect the identity of

those not engaged in the study. Brackets will also be used to specify information deleted from participants' responses.

<center>Research Question 1: How Do Participants Define Masculinity?</center>

The first research question was how these men define masculinity. A broad range of responses came as a result of directly asking participants how they define masculinity and from questions about gender roles and role models. Responses were divided into themes regarding what characteristics participants associated with men and what perceived social expectations exist for these men.

Characteristics of Men

All participants agreed that men tend to be emotionally reserved, protective and supportive, privileged, sexually motivated, honorable, and goal oriented. Two participants also perceived men to be angry, and this will also be discussed. The feature most closely associated with masculinity was emotional reserve and this characteristic was shared by all participants.

Emotionally reserved. The young men in this study reported that they are expected to have emotional control and strove to meet this expectation. Participants also reported that the men with whom they have interacted also adhered to this expectation. Participants were encouraged to explore behaviors of role models and relationships with them in order to assess their own masculine identification. The following expressions reflect the emotional reserve participants have seen in role models and in themselves.

> P3: He [brother] wouldn't come and talk to me about his problems. He didn't tell me. He didn't want me to worry about him probably. He usually doesn't want me to worry about him at all. He wants to be a role model for me and if I worry about him, he can't do that very effectively. I tried to talk to him a couple times, but he wasn't very easy to talk to

about stuff like that. So, I just stopped trying eventually. He got defensive every time I tried to talk to him about his problems.

P1: He [dad] is almost kind of the opposite...kind of like me. I wouldn't say introverted but more on the quiet side. He sort of playing your cards close to your chest—not really letting on how he's really feeling inside. That sort of led to a lot of tension between him and me growing up because we both didn't really tell each other how we feel. We just made a lot of assumptions about each other. But…I still uh…I've had a hard time talking about issues directly…I don't talk about my feelings; he doesn't talk about his.

Emotional reserve was also discussed in terms of how participants dealt with emotions. There was agreement among participants about avoiding emotional confrontations that may reveal vulnerability. One participant called this sarcasm, and explained it in this way:

P4: Sarcasm seems to be males' biggest coping skill. It's obviously and largely mine as big humor because it's real easy to make fun of something dramatic after it happens. It's real hard to actually sit down and talk it out. The sarcasm smoothes over what you wanna say honestly. It goes back to guy talk. If you're friends with a guy for long enough, 'n you seem to get what they're about, you can actually pick out what they meant in that sarcasm. It seems like guys would love to hear a chuckle after something serious than actually deal with it. The way we were taught…that one track mind. It's a lot easier to keep going…'cause we're going to the shooting range today; I don't wanna deal with the fact that you just told me that you saw my girlfriend eating pizza with another guy. I wanna bush that off, stick that in the back of my mind…and have it explode later when I talk to her.' Like, it's not healthy.

Five of the participants reported that their roles models (e.g. dads, uncles, brothers) engaged in unhealthy practices to cope with emotional or personal difficulty, including isolation and drinking. One participant shared this reflection:

P2: In my family, drinking was a key to when people were having problems. Like my father when he was having a hard time, he would drink more. I think another key is uh seclusion. I think that comes back to being strong in public. Men typically will go off and seclude themselves so that they can break down and be more emotional. That something I noticed with my father and brother…that when they were having hard times, they would go be by themselves and deal with it. Men tend to seclude themselves, whereas when women are having a hard time they tend to go to other women and seek help and try to work together to solve problems. I'm like that in some ways….I am trying to change that actually. I don't believe it's the healthiest way to be. I think it is better to uh more open and to seek help and not be afraid to show your emotions rather than to seclude yourself and I am trying to change that.

Another participant was asked how he knew his dad was having emotional problems and shared a reaction that indicates the emotional reserve of men. It is notable that participants often needed to drawn inferences about what was happening with role models.

P4: Drinking was always one...but mainly, his [father] level of humor. That was the biggest thing. My dad was growing up…not the jokester, but always lightening things up. You'd kinda look at him and smile…like what's gonna happen? Is he like going to like surprise us with a handful of little helicopters from our tree out back? I remember this one time that my parents got into a fight and uh…he was always just like riveted with all kinds of jokes…and this one 4th of July…he had no jokes. We were climbing up this big

dirt hill and get the best spot to watch the fireworks and my dad came up and yelled 'why

are you up this hill!? It's dangerous up here and there's like a big thing of mud over

here.' And it was just so uncharacteristic of him. You could tell.

This participant's comment "you could tell" indicates that emotional expression was not

always demonstrated by role models. This was triangulated with other participants who spoke

about brothers, pastors, and fathers who were reticent in their emotional expressions.

Protective and supportive. Participants discussed their own emotional expressions as well

as those of role models as a means of facilitating the protective and supportive roles of men.

Emotional reserve was seen as an instrument of fulfilling such roles. Emotions were often seen

as burdensome, stifling the ability to focus attention on the needs of others. The following

comments were shared in response to the question "What is expected of you as a man?"

P2: I think I'm expected to be self sufficient to take care of myself…to be uh reliable…to

handle tough situations without asking for help and to take care of others without asking

for help.

P2: Men are expected to less emotional, we're supposed to be …like a foundation, we're

expected to be the cool ones in an emergency. You know I said where boys don't cry, I

think we're expected to be strong for women. I think it's a perception, and not always a

reality.

P5: I believe that as a man, not necessarily in a domineering fashion…that you should be

well respected within your sphere of influences that you should be an example to those

around you who you work with well mostly that with your family, in the workplace, in

the community—that you should be a reliable resource that people can take inspiration

from. And if uh you're not if a person if not able to do that, then their contribution to

people...it's like, if personally I were to be given a responsibility, if I fail at that, then I let people down and that would not be an acceptable view of the way I was taught that a man should be.

Saturation, or the point at which no new responses were seen in data (Guest**,** Bunce, & Johnson, 2006)**,** was achieved in participant's level of pride in caring and providing for others. All participants expressed great satisfaction at being able to offer physical and emotional strength to people in need. Even though   emotional reserve was sometimes seen as a hindrance to interpersonal satisfaction, participants reported a social benefit to that reserve. When participants were asked what they liked about being men, their responses reflected enjoyment in being protective and supportive. Two such comments are included here:

P6: I like the whole gentleman thing. I like being the protector. I like that people come to me when they're having problems. People come to me a lot for moving things because I'm big [laughs]. I kind of feel like the protector and that's like how men usually are in society…as like the protector of the women and children.

P1: In relationships, I'd rather play the role of the boyfriend…kind of the pole to lean against, but at the same time, leaning back…kind of like of a dependency thing. I like bearing the burden of someone else's feelings or emotions if it takes more away from them. Whereas, if it was the other way around, I don't think it would be as good of a relationship. I'm very good at taking someone's bad news. Like sitting down with my girlfriend, and she can tell me about how her day sucked or whatever because I have a lot of stuff that stresses me out but I don't wanna unload it on her. I do a lot less of that in return… I'm sort of a sponge.

Participant 1 said he didn't want to "unload" the things that stressed him out onto his girlfriend, indicating that he did not want to burden her with responsibilities he was expected to bear. Other participants echoed the assertion that men are expected to fulfill the role of managing burdensome tasks. Participant 5 noted that he was expected to handle responsibility and be a positive influence on those around him. Although participants spoke unanimously about serving others in a supportive capacity, they recognized their social and physical advantages.

Privileged. Participants recognized the social power that men have and the level of responsibility that comes with that power. It was acknowledged by all participants that men have advantages in the workplace with respect to wages and opportunity for employment. One participant remarked "I guess the whole glass ceiling sort of thing. Men have higher paying jobs and positions of power." The belief that men have greater economic power was triangulated between all participants. The following two comments support this assertion.

P2: Women are in the workforce and should have equal rights as men. Grounds should be the same. You know women are paid less than men…that shouldn't be. It's better but there's still a long way to go.

P3: Men run everything...uh well, since the dawn of civilization men have been in charge pretty much. It's definitely going on a different path, but men still run everything for the most part. Power breeds corruption…men are more corrupted…since men have been ruling countries and conquering countries and have had all the power for thousands of years. They think they have the power, but they don't because we're all human.

Participants also spoke about having physical advantages regarding appearance and biological capability that made being a man easier. Comments were made in reference to time

and efforts devoted to looking attractive, and ease of going to the bathroom. The following

excerpts reflect these advantages.

> P2: Well, I think it's easier to go to the bathroom. Um I can do a lot of things that women
>
> can't do. I don't have to worry about my looks, my weight. I think there's a lot less
>
> pressure on me for those two things. When it's hot out, I can take off almost all my
>
> clothes and walk around, whereas a woman can't. There's a lot of comfort factors for
>
> men. We can wear comfortable baggy clothing…I don't have to wear makeup…there's a
>
> lot less social pressure in certain circumstances.

> P4: I find like there's much more maintenance in being a female and I feel real bad about
>
> it honestly. I do not like using public bathrooms and if I had to sit on them, I would be so
>
> distraught constantly. The fact that I don't have to do my hair in the morning...I just cut it
>
> short, and I'm done.

When participants were asked to share an example of a time a man was being

inappropriate, reactions were unanimously related to the abuse of power over women. These

reactions referred predominantly to situations in which men whom the participants knew were

trying to secure opportunities to have sex with female peers. One such instance was violent and

is reflected here:

> P4: I walked up on a man raping a female. I don't mean to laugh at that, but it's funny
>
> that I have a pretty good example of that. It was right behind the football field, and she
>
> always went to the games drunk and stuff…and one of her friends took her kindness
>
> wrong and tried to take her pants off and stuff and I just kinda happened to be walking
>
> there. I heard this muffled 'no' and I basically kind of walked up and…tried to use my
>
> big voice…just like 'get the fuck off of her!'…which didn't work. Then I just ripped him

off of her and threw him down this hill. And her boyfriend showed up and just like beat the hell out of him…[laughs] which was kinda funny. There's just like tons of situations where guys are being inappropriate…but it's just become like humor now where sexism is like this joke…and I really don't think it is. I really don't find any of it funny. I think this is my mother's upbringing….my mom has a lot of influence on…and maybe being a Catholic.

This participant spoke about his reaction to an attempted rape initially, and then shared disappointment with peers who joke about sexism. Another participant reflected on the impact of media messages that perpetuate tolerance for aggression against women. This participant expressed disappointment and frustration with depictions of men in the media that fail to provide appropriate role models for boys and men.

P5: Like in society…like it really does uh hurt me to see a lot of violence against women. Like I've had friends who were or their families were victims of domestic violence. In that cast among women that uh it's uh not that its socially acceptable but that society has become desensitized to that in the home and even at the workplace. It's like that uh…we read about in the media either women or minorities or such. I guess I'd like to see even higher standards of quality and of the negative perceptions that are taken in by male society. Like TV commercials and campaigns I see a lot of messages where…even in children. That if a boy was able to see an act of violence against a women, or in a movie, whether or not it's acted out on—it's still been received and there is no consequence of that. Without that view of consequence, it's perpetuated. Either it's seen as normal or it repeats the message. I'm saying that as a man, if I had complete control over the perception and the images of violence against women, I would do that.

Sexually motivated. Although participants expressed beliefs that men hold more power and are physically advantaged, women were also perceived to have social advantages. Specifically, women were seen as being able to capitalize on men's sexual drive. Much of the information shared in interviews was related to whether participants were appealing to women and all participants shared stories about male peers trying to connect sexually with women. Participant 4 related providing for his future family to less time for sex; and three others spoke about sex as a source of tension with girlfriends. One participant related differences between him and his brother to sexual appeal:

> P3: He's [brother] definitely a lot more outgoing and charismatic with people than I am. I'm a lot more shy than he is. He's a lot more successful with the ladies than I am. Um…He has a disposition and an air of confidence around him at all times. He's a little egotistic in ways but he's just pretty genuinely confident in doing things. Confident men….whether false or real, they tend to put off that disposition when they're around people and I think that's just innately attractive to women.

Participants reported feeling susceptible to women, who could use physical beauty to manipulate the behaviors of men. In several instances, participants spoke about the desire of young men to engage in sexual relations with women as a primary motivator for much male behavior. Although participants acknowledged the power they hold socially, there were also expressions of frustration with inequality.

> P1: They [women] have it made socially. If a guy comes into a bar and runs his mouth, he'll get punched. But, hopefully that wouldn't happen to a girl. I mean with guys, there's this alpha male testosterone thing. Wherein, people start arguments to prove their manhood and it escalates 'cause neither wants to back down. I think a woman can make

very biting comments and get away with it and I also think uh I guess socially men are a lot more motivated by sex, so women have that advantage, too. Men are willing to put up with a lot more.

P3: If they want to get with a guy, they don't have to try nearly as hard to men do. They can usually mesmerize men with their cleavage…using their physical beauty and their sexuality.

P4: The guy can get the co-head position easier…that girl with the fuckin' busty dress on can easily get that secretary job and I could be qualified better in typing. And there's that issue that you can sleep with your boss…and it's horribly degrading for themselves, but it's the fact that they can do it. I can't really do that as a male unless I have a gay boss and I want to go that far. Girls seem to have things easier for them…like what I was talking about before that guys will try to help them in the workplace. You can do the eyelash thing and whip your hair and ask the guy to help you move the couch upstairs...he's on it. I try to like bat my eyelashes at a guy to help me move this car, and he's just like..'no.' Like it just doesn't work. There's a lot of things where a girls able to use a man's sexual drive against them.

Sexual motivation was related to instances of participants being torn between the desire to be polite and protective and empathy for male peers. Participant 1's comment also reflects this conflictual nature wherein he commented "If a guy comes into a bar and runs his mouth, he'll get punched. But, hopefully that wouldn't happen to a girl." This participant felt protective of girls, but at the same time, was identifying with the guy who gets punched for doing what was tolerable in girls. Another instance of this sense of conflict is shown here:

P3: There's this one guy who was hangin' at my apartment one time and was being really obnoxious and was trying to play guitar and sing and was hangin' all over these girls. Some of the stuff he said was rude. He was trying to get with some of the girls and I was embarrassed for the girls. I felt bad for him because he was making an ass of himself, but I really felt bad for the girls.

Honorable. Participants spoke about their efforts to uphold a code of honor. Regardless of comments made about peers who behaved badly in interactions with women, participants themselves expressed a desire to be gentlemen who exercised power in service of others. Reflections shared in interviews were unanimously related to politeness and courtesy. The following excerpts summarize this:

P4: The man I am is kind of ironic…'cause I try to at least be a gentleman and caring. But I can also be careless. I try to be thoughtful but I can also just not think at all. I try to be polite to everyone. I don't go to brute force. I open doors and use diplomacy and not like my fists. How you could picture a typical 50s male…but not beat my wife.

P2: Well he [Superman] protected everyone…saved the world, he was honorable, lived by a strict code of honor. He was always polite and even though he was always saving the world, he was always protecting his girlfriend….a certain type of politeness. Where his alter ego Clark Kent was this strong country boy with strong country manners was always you know, being polite to everyone and being a really good solid guy. That's who I wanted to be...taking care of people, rescuing people, honorable. I would think that I do my best to take care of the people around me and try to be the best person I can and contribute the best I can to society. Obviously, I can't be Superman, but I try to be the best I can and help people when I can.

P6: Well, how I was raised and how I feel…I feel that you should be a gentleman and that a lady should be treated really nicely, that when you're out…I don't think that the female should ever have to pay. I think that's polite and that's the gentlemanly thing to do. Just being a gentleman, holding the door for ladies and things like that. Kind of the old fashioned way…that there are roles for men that are the appropriate way to act.

Goal oriented. This identifying feature was compiled from a series of stories and expressions participants shared about work ethics, economic success, and providing for a family. Participant reactions were compiled from statements regarding self-reliance, focus, and the expectation that men be driven. Some of their reactions are listed here.

P4: I'm a painter, but I've worked in a lot jobs. I'm currently employed at [restaurant] and I do stain removal…that's all from my dad. Painting is probably the most valuable skill I have. It's painful and repetitive, but it's fun, too. Like if you're working with a crew and when you're done, you have this finished product. I'm refinishing for my aunt right now and I'm really enjoying it. It's like mine. It's the way she wants it, but I'm like putting so much of what I think it should be…it's beautiful. Like, when I paint…I go in a room and just like know what needs to be done. You gotta dust off the corners first and remove the light covers if you're gonna roll it. It's just something that's in tuned in your brain. I know the process…and that gives me a sense of mastery. Jack of all trades, master of none. I've done a bunch of different things, I've laid foundations, I've spackled, I've done roofs…but I'm not like the foreman. A foreman is like your boss. That has a lot of prestige and I would say like boasting ability to it.

P1: I did a lot of contract type work—we were tearing out windows and it was a huge learning experience for me. My uncle is very skilled in a craftsman kind of way and

know how to do all that house repair. I helped him build part of his house and helped him paint his house. He taught me a lot about hard work…if something needs to be done, you don't complain about it, you just do it. I learned a lot about the rewards of hard work...not expecting a reward out of it…just the accomplishment of the work itself.

P5: I make sure I'm at work on time as part of a team. The objective is to make sure that my work is of high quality…either that I have a place to serve in the community that I have a positive effect on my community.

P4: He [father] was in school and like taking care of a bunch of mentally disabled people. Like that's what my dad's field was. That basically got interrupted by me and I just think it's funny that he went from like nature to nurture to like raising a son. So it was like cool the fact that he just dropped everything for me and became a painter. Something he did was an offset thing and he just made that his career for the rest of his life …just so he could take care of us…just for financial reasons. He was dedicated. But like, he just always did what he had to do and that was always awesome in my eyes because no matter what bump he ran into, like...I remember the one time he sprained his ankle really bad and he would still get up on those ladders and paint because he had to provide for his family. His greatness was his determination and drive…like it just comes out of nowhere. Okay, he was doing it for us, but like what was there to just like keep him going every day. Was it really just us or did he have his own self motivation? I probably should have taken that drive, but I've probably abused that in most of life.

P2: I think well its an easier way to say it us uh where women are taught to be a team, men are raised to sort of beat each other and to sort of overcome each other—there's a higher level of competitiveness and there's also a higher level of sort of um having to be

self-sufficient there's that pressure to…there a greater pressure for a man to work than women.

These reactions show a level of pride in participants' chosen work roles and in performing work related tasks well. All participants acknowledged social expectations to work and to have their work recognized by others. Participant 4 also spoke of the drive men have to be economically successful, sometimes to the point of unrealized potential. This participant reported that many men are so focused on economic success that this drive blurs realistic opportunities. The following excerpt reflects this drive:

P4: But it also it seems like when a guy gets a business opportunity and he will just keep on that path and he will drive through that. It seems like as soon as the males choose their path, it takes a lot of work to get off of it…if it's wrong. I know a guy, he's going to be a doctor and he should not be a doctor. He's like failing these courses and just like taking them over and over again and he's trying to get into a medical school or something he's trying to switch over and just the fact that he's determined on that goal—he's going to be a doctor. And he just can't let it go.

Angry. Two participants shared perceptions that men are angry or aggressive, although these young men discussed these features in terms of other men. Other participants shared reactions to what was perceived to be aggression in men, and also noted that they did not identify with aggressive features of masculinity.

P3: Powerful and um….I don't really know what they'd say. I don't really hang around manly guys that much. A manly guy is like…you've seen the manly guys around town. The bro guys…they're always drinking and running around town and getting into fights and things like that. That's my perception of the manly guy. The guys I hang out with are

a lot less rowdy. We are not violent at all. We never argue where it gets so heated that we're just like yelling at each other…and I'm just more attracted to those people.

P4: It's what I gathered and observed with most of the males I grew up with and went to school with. The friends I chose were different. We wouldn't try to solve things by butting heads and getting pissed and stuff. But, yeah, when I tend to think of males, I think of males…at least nowadays…just very chauvinistic and just like shallow and angry and just like everything is driven by that goal…and whether something comes in the way or not…you don't care. They just seem to very to the point of disappointed in their overall state of being. I think a lot of guys are just like smash smash. Where's the monster truck at halftime? I kinda use the monster truck as a metaphor for all male's kind of fascination with like destruction and explosions and being a beast and like animalistic instincts. The monster truck is the pinnacle of male happiness…what situation can you put a guy in where he would be happier than in that monster truck? The monster truck runs over things. There's just nothing to stop you. Smash it over. It seems to automatically make you the alpha male or top dog. So many are just based off of that stereotype. Typical guy. It's like, this is what we do. We go to work, we hit stuff, we lift heavy boxes. It's almost as if they're not satisfied so they get like mad.

These comments reflect what was seen as defining masculine men, although these participants did not identify with those features. All participants spoke about characteristics and roles that were deemed socially appropriate. Although participants expressed an awareness of masculine social standards, adherence was thought to be individually determined.

Social Expectations

The most notable expressions in this study came from an array of expectations about what men are supposed to be and how men are expected to behave. Participants spoke freely about existing stereotypes about men and women and the roles men are expected to fulfill. Three themes emerged around social expectations, including a) prestige and recognition; b) providing for a family; c) adherence to traditional gender roles; and d) avoidance of femininity.

Prestige and recognition. Comments such as "there's a pressure to do something with my life" and "I do feel some pressure to go to college and make something of myself" indicate the perception that men are expected to achieve some level of recognition and status. Four participants reported aspirations to attend college in the near future as a means of achieving greater social status and meeting parental expectations. One participant asserted that the pressure to attain status and recognition was experienced by both men and women.

> P3: In this day and age, both men and women feel pressured to be something do something…get out there…make yourself known…status…recognition. You could stay in the same town or travel and meet different people. I want people to know my ideas and to recognize to share with the world.

Providing for a family. In addition to this perception, participants felt pressured to make the greatest financial contributions to the home. This expectation was seen as unfair and sometimes impractical. The following comments reveal this and supports the idea that attaining prestige and recognition are often perceived as a man's responsibility.

> P4: Heavens, yes. This may be biased, but it's still how I feel. I mean its how I felt since I was little…society in short, is this brainwashed machine that like shoves down your throat whatever it wants and like people accept it. Except for in times where there's been

revolutions and one person brings out that one strange thought...nn everyone goes 'okay, maybe that's not that strange. Maybe that's normal.' The best example I can think of is a stay at home dad, which in my view would be awesome! I would love to stay with my kids; I'd love to cook for my family. I love cleaning. There's a big thing of sexism— sexism will never go away. And the fact that I know if my girlfriend became a lawyer and I became a lawyer, I'm gonna make more money than her. I'm probably going to be hired by a better firm unless she's an outstanding and better lawyer than me. So I feel like I'm somehow robbing my family of a better lifestyle if I don't become a man of the house and be the ultimate provider, the head cornerstone, the foundation. It's stupid because I know my girlfriend is two times more capable than me of doing it, but I still feel pressured.

P1: Society puts a lot of stresses on me to conform…you think of the man who has the house and wife and two kids…and he's supposed to be successful and uh…you know its kind of turning the other way and, look at other relationships, like bi and homosexual relationships and dads who stay at home while the mothers work. But I'd say on the whole, you know it's the typical…I think this idea of the alpha male...this tough stoic individual is still very alive in society. There's pressure to conform to that. There are some really male dominated careers…like the military or professions that are men's jobs…like construction…there's this camaraderie or brotherhood and in those professions there's a lot of pressure to fit in…especially the military that still refuses to accept gay men because they fear that it will break this really strong camaraderie.

This participant indicated that even though the expectation exists that men assume a role as the head of the household, families that don't conform to this expectation not only exist, but

are undervalued in society. This belief was echoed by other participants who were asked whether they believed there was social pressure on men.

> P2: If a man stays home, people seem to look down on that sometimes. I don't see anything wrong with it personally, but I think there are pressures there.

> P4: The one thing growing up I was pressured to was…like school leading to a definitive purpose and job and like all that. And the fact that I've been in and out of work and I have a girlfriend that is easily supporting me right now…has made it easier, but like I do feel pressure that I have to be as motivated and as strong as my dad was in how he dropped everything to provide for a family.

Adherence to traditional gender roles. Although participants named things that they associated with masculinity, all expressed a belief that masculinity lies on a continuum rather than at discrete dichotomous points between masculinity and femininity. Participants further asserted frustration with expectations that men assume traditional roles regardless of the efficiency of those. These men noted that there were caretaker and provider roles that may be better suited to men or women (e.g. women may be more nurturing and better suited to caring for children), but these should be determined by individuals, rather than by feminine or masculine ideals.

> P5: When it comes to raising a family I see that there are some instances where like nurturing children maybe would fall slightly toward a woman because maybe in my own life I could see that like plays into it also, but there really is no difference. Professionally, I don't think there is a role that is just for a man or woman. I think men and women are just as capable. I wouldn't think less of a man who takes care of his children just as long as ideally the children are taken care of…having regular contact with both of their

parents. I don't think that necessarily that because you're a man , that you know that at one end of the spectrum I don't think you have to be ultra machismo, or that at the other end of the spectrum like be I don't wanna say like feminine, but that I guess like one way. There's an extreme balance. For some people, they would know the nurturing aspect of being ultra feminine. I don't think anyway, that because we interact together so there's a time and a place for masculinity to come out and there's a time when femininity can come out.

P6: A lot of stereotypes that I mentioned that there are some stereotypes that are pretty outrageous. It can go both ways. Women can fix things and men can clean—it can go both ways. I wish that stereotypes like that that can be eliminated. As we become more intelligent we realize that we're more equals in the sense of like mentally equals.

P5: Growing up in a single parent home, I've seen my mom have to uh balance work and home and other issues and such. ….and she does that extremely well. So I take a piece of that from her like taking care of her family, her professional life, like she's also a pillar. So, its uh, its not necessarily exclusive to men and women, it's just that for me, seeing men do that…kinda related to them more on how to do that. Even though there are women everywhere who are in the same way…pillars to their homes.

Avoidance of femininity. Participants spoke of social pressure to behave in a manner consistent with masculine ideals, such as exhibiting bravado and avoiding the appearance of femininity. As participant 4 stated "a lot of younger generations are afraid to seem gay...afraid to even use emotions." It was expressed by all participants that men are expected to seek union with men who adhere to an anti-feminine norm, lest they appear feminine themselves. Participants 3 and 1 discussed experiences in high school with this expectation.

P3: I notice differences in personality between girls and guys. I think it starts in early

adolescence like in middles school. That's when guys and girls start breaking off into

little clicks --segregation. And then they develop socially…girls becomes more feminine

and guys become more masculine because that's who they're around all the time. There

are exceptions….like if there's a guy who hangs around girls, everyone calls him gay

because he hanging around girls all the time. He's stereotyped as gay…I don't believe

that's true, I believe he's stereotyped as gay.

P1: Any number of events during middle school or high school or even after where you

have a bunch of guys together drinking or whatever…and somebody dares you to do this

or that and you're a sissy of you don't. So, you gotta man up and do it even if it's against

your best interest or your health to do it. So, the idea is to not chicken out. I usually did it

to avoid being branded a wimp.

Participants experienced pressure to fulfill gender specific roles (women clean and care

for children and men provide and protect), as well as to adhere to heterosexual behaviors.

Although participants talked at great length about being expressive with one another, the

pressure to avoid the appearance of femininity was strong. Throughout the interviews,

participants made references to being gay and did not associate feminine qualities with peers or

role models. There was one exception to this in a statement offered by participant 6, who

remarked that his brother was both feminine and masculine.

P6: And uh my brother, I guess I consider him a little of both because he is a very

emotional person…but he has plenty of features about him that are masculine. He's

strong. He acts like a man but he definitely shows his emotions and sometimes he puts

makeup on, too, which is a little feminine I guess.

It is interesting to note that this participant felt the need to justify his brother's masculinity by stating "he has plenty of features about him that are masculine" and "he acts like a man." An avoidance of femininity was seen throughout language in interviews, regardless of participants' expressions that roles were unfairly gender segregated.

Research Question 2: Do Participants Behave Differently in Different Contexts?

One of the goals of this research was to discover whether there was variability in masculine behaviors from one situation to another. Participants reported being different with men and women and discussed a few different contexts in which they functioned, including work settings, time with peers, and time with role models. Limited information was found, however, about specific contexts in which masculinity might be assessed, and this will be discussed in limitations.

Interaction with Men and Women

The primary ways men exhibit masculinity was discussed in terms of verbal exchanges and behaviors. Participants reported being direct in their communications with other men, and spoke about a level of camaraderie, or shared experiences between men. Directness seemed to reinforce expectations that men adhere to standards of emotional toughness and this, in turn, facilitated a shared connection between participants and other men. The following excerpts support these findings:

> P4: My main thing I really like about being a guy is like guy talk…honestly. Well, girl talk seems to be a lot of background and it has a bunch of different connections that like through my girlfriend I try to go along with and understand. But with guy talk, it's just straight…it's just out there. It's like there's like this big thing going around where there's a lot of younger generations are afraid to seem gay...afraid to even use emotions. But at

least the friends I pick…we usually just tell each other straight out like hey…this even sounds gay, like a stereotype or something 'your shoes look like crap' and like 'what are you doing.' I can't think of a very good example, just like…the way we seem to talk is still kinda like...It's just like our predominant thoughts or feelings at the time are said. It's not like you're trying to sugar coat anything. All my guy friends seem to tell me exactly how it and not sugar coat things cause we don't care that much if we hurt each other. But uh...my mom would always do the same, but it always after the fact. She would come around and say the most profound thing. And I was like 'What! Where was that like a half hour ago?' With my dad, it's a little different. We have a strong relationship now. We can always relay on each other. There's never a time where one of us will give up on the other. And if we need each other, we're always there for each other.

P5: I could talk to them [pastors]...the way I could relater to them. There was a bonding. There was nothing I had to explain to them about growing up, about being an adolescent male. I didn't have to explain. It started from a clean slate. I could state an issue and they could chime in. I remember when they gave me guidance on through the experiences they had and would relate that to me. I tend to think I pulled different uh qualities from them—all of them. All my role models range from either single males to being married-young or old…uh, professional, business like or active, you know coaching and such. You know, there was no fluff either…completely honest. There was no beating around the bush. They were very honest in their opinions. It was direct.

P2: Men are raised to sort of beat each other and to sort of overcome each other. There's a higher level of competitiveness and there's also a higher level of sort of um…having to be self sufficient…there's that pressure, too. By being competitive, there's a way of being

competitive but having the same goal. Its like Survivor, you know everyone's tryin' to win but there ends up being teams and alliances…I find that there seems to be an easier way for men to have alliances than for women.

Although interactions with other men were reportedly direct, they were also less detailed than with women. Participants spoke about exchanges with women as being more interpersonal in nature and given to lengthier conversations. This was expressed by participant 3 in the following comment:

P3: When I'm with both men and women at the same time, I just kinda act like I would with anyone. But when I am with just women, I tend to listen more to what they have to say. Conversations with guys tend …..well, if you're talking about something more intimate, it kind of trails off into something else. When you're talking about intimate stuff with girls, you keep on the conversation for quite a while. It's mentioned, it's recognized, it's understood, but it's just not talked about in the same detail. Women tend to go into more detail.

Conversations with women were more verbal and detailed than with other men, and participants referred to an unspoken understanding between men. This was triangulated by participant 5, who stated he did not have to explain himself to male role models, and all other participants who reflected on emotional reservations with male peers and role models. These findings support the idea that men communicate differently with men and women.

Participants also talked about different situations in which they functioned, and their behaviors in these settings. These included work settings, casual time with peers, and time with role models. Participants shared reactions about each of these settings in terms of expectations and functioning, and reflected on differences between men and women.

Work Settings

All participants spoke about pressure to produce work of high quality and three noted that this expectation was internally motivated. Consequently, work behaviors were goal directed and intended to achieve recognition for quality and reliability. One noted "the objective is to make sure that my work is of high quality." The expectation that work be a means of service was internally motivated by participants. Two comments reflect this motivation:

P1: Well, to do my job quickly and well. It's a small privately owned store. But the pressure comes more from me.

P4: It's my standard. Nobody else puts it on me.

Other participants reflected on the communal nature of work; that functioning in a work capacity facilitated interdependence among community members. This was seen in participant 5's assertion "I have a place to serve in the community that I have a positive effect on my community." Participant 3 noted "I make sure I'm at work on time as part of a team." Participants spoke about work as a shared experience, a common ground from which a service role was nurtured.

Casual Time with Peers

Reactions shared during interviews might be grouped according to the type of setting in which participants functioned. When in larger or social groups, such as in school or at parties, participants reported being more reserved in their expressions and more apt to conform to more traditionally masculine roles (e.g. unemotional, aggressive). Participants reported experiencing greater social pressure to behave in manly ways during middle and high school, and added this pressure diminished significantly as participants left high school and formed closer associations with male peers.

P3: Yeah. I think there is [social pressure to be manly]. But um…as guys grow up they just kind of fit in. There's only pressure when they're in adolescence because there's so much pressure to kind of fit in like at school. As I got older, I found groups of people who I got along with and fit in with and the pressure is like nonexistent.

P1: Sure. It's [pressure to conform] definitely present. Any number of events during middle school or high school or even after where you have a bunch of guys together drinking or whatever…and somebody dares you to do this or that and you're a sissy of you don't. So, you gotta man up and do it even if it's against your best interest or your health to do it. So, the idea is to not chicken out. I usually did it to avoid being branded a wimp. The friends I've chosen over the years don't really follow that Neanderthal idea.

In private, or smaller and more intimate settings, participants reported feeling freer to express concerns and show support. Five participants reported talking intimately with male friends about troubles with girlfriends. These exchanges were of a caring and supportive nature, although succinct. Three of these reflect a concern about the participant's mental health and functioning.

P3: Well, they [male friends] were definitely concerned…I mean I was in a pretty long relationship. They definitely had my sort of my mental health was one of their concerns…well, I guess that's sort of an extreme way to say it. They wanted me to cheer up and be happy. I did my best to not mope around and you know just act like a downer all the time. I was pretty bummed out for a while.

P4: I try caring about things, but I will just give it you straight. I try to work it into a conversation where someone will be ready for that blunt point. I don't wanna just shove it in your face like 'she's cheatin on you' or something. I will like go to the point where

they almost expect me to say it. Like my friend has been dating this girl…and she's selfish is what it is. She asked him to make her an omlette and deliver it to her at work, and he did. Nnn…I was just like you can love the girl all you want, but you are letting her run a lot of stuff. And it was just the fact that I knew if I went up to him straight up 'like hey, she's a lunatic...she's selfish. Please just stop this.' It's not that I want him to break up with her, it's just that I want him to kinda look at what he's doing other than making a lot of sarcastic comments to brush it off like 'uh, I know what I'm doing.' But you're still making her the omlette, you're still driving it to her.

The reflections show differences in the ways participants expressed concern for peers. Participant 3 expressed reservation about showing his pain and loss, as seen in his remark "I did my best to not mope around and you know just act like a downer all the time." The second reflected on his gentle, but direct approach to encouraging his friend to address a difficult situation.

Time with Role Models

Private, or intimate, interactions with male role models were the predominant reflections shared in interviews. Reflections showed that masculinity was modeled to participants by significant males in participants' lives. Participants spoke about their experiences with role models with reverence and admiration, reflecting on experiences that molded participant's lives.

P3: When I was younger, I would hang out in his [brother's] room and watch him play video games and he would talk to me and tell me what was going on with like the world and stuff like that. I just always liked what we talked about. He really influenced my ideas.

P1: I spent a lot of time with him [uncle] because I did a lot of contract type work—we were tearing out windows and it was a huge learning experience for me. My uncle is very skilled in a craftsman kind of way and know how to do all that house repair. I helped him build part of his house and helped him paint his house. He taught me a lot about hard work…if something needs to be done, you don't complain about it, you just do it. I learned a lot about the rewards of hard work...not expecting a reward out of it…just the accomplishment of the work itself.

P5: I had quite a number of male pastors, young and old that I looked to growing up. I didn't have a father growing up, and they really stepped in and uh, were there for me when I had questions or concerns. I'd say there were 3 or 4 pastors in my church that I looked up to. I would learn how to sit down and break down a problem and not have a knee jerk reaction. You know some issues come up and you feel out of control about. But uh there's always a reference point that you can go back to and at least attempt to solve a personal issue like they did.

P6: They are kind of what I molded my life as. Up to about 12 or 13, I tried to do everything the way they did it. Then I tried to take my own direction and stuff. Like my brother was getting to trouble and doing things that I didn't want to do. So, I tried to take a different direction. I guess I'm also a really hands on person, I try to help. My dad, kind of the handy man, and I always try to learn from him how to do certain things. And I've used it in my life to fix stuff.

P1: A lot of it is moving away from them [parents]…without their guidance...allowed me to evaluate me without them. They used to provide all my basic needs and I do that for myself now. Understanding how stressed out he [father] was with raising a family…I can

understand it now. My ability to put myself in other people's shoes has improved as I got older.

Some experiences participants shared were regarding role model's efforts to avoid emotional expressions. Even though family interactions were seen as private, role models exhibited behaviors more consistent with public forums when they were reportedly distressed. The following remarks show how problem solving was sometimes demonstrated by role models.

P2: I think another key is uh seclusion. I think that comes back to being strong in public. Men typically will go off and seclude themselves so that they can break down and be more emotional. That something I noticed with my father and brother…that when they were having hard times, they would go be by themselves and deal with it.

P3: I kind of found out through my parents. He [brother] wouldn't come and talk to me about his problems. He didn't tell me. He didn't want me to worry about him probably. He usually doesn't want me to worry about him at all. He wants to be a role model for me and if I worry about him, he can't do that very effectively.

These comments about time with role models show the progression of participant's views from childhood or adolescence to adulthood. Participants noted that their behaviors and interactions were subject to conditional and relational components, differing according to a level of intimacy. Although participants shared perceptions that their private experiences with male role models were often intimate as adults, reflections in this study were expressed in terms of developing skills that permitted recognition and prestige and in terms of problem solving.

Research Question 3: What are Participant's Perceptions of Counseling?

This research question was intended to discover aspects of counseling that might be deemed effective for this group of men and how counseling might better serve young non-

collegiate men. Specifically, participants were asked to discuss their experiences with counseling or related mental health services, if any, and to share reactions to those experiences. Findings will be explored here according to two main themes, including participant experiences with counseling and their perceptions of counseling. It should be noted here that the term counseling refers to mental health services, and that participants reported having received services from counselors, psychologists, psychiatrists, and pastors.

Experiences with Counseling

All but one participant reported having been engaged in a therapeutic relationship with a counselor, psychologist, or a psychiatrist, and the participant who had not been formally counseled had spoken with male pastors in times of difficulty. Reasons for engaging in mental health services included depression, grief and loss, and drug addiction. All participants were referred for mental health or pastoral services by teachers, parents, or law enforcement officials, and none sought out services independently. All participants shared positive and negative experiences with mental health services, reflected in statements about the genuineness and honesty of their counselors or mental health providers and the ability of counselors to help participants resolve personal issues. The following responses were given to the query "What was the counseling experience like for you?"

> P1: I guess I was in high school…11th or 12th …actually, I might have graduated. I went to a psychologist for a while. I really just didn't get much out of it. The guy…you could tell he was lying a lot and I could tell he was sort of…I know it was part of his method to get information out of me…and I just didn't cope with it. I just felt like he wasn't being straight up with me. I wouldn't say it was a bad experience; it just didn't really help me all that much.

P2: The first [counseling experience] wasn't very positive. The therapist tried to tell me my feelings were wrong and so that wasn't very helpful. The second was good…I talked with a counselor who helped me accept myself and get in touch with my emotions.

P3: It kinda seemed like he…he had a lot of good stuff to say, but he was a lot older and it seemed like he had experiences that were very different from me. It didn't seem genuine. I just kinda went along with it and it seemed a little fake in some ways. It didn't seem like it was helping me, so I stopped going to him. He did give me some confidence about who I was and where I was going… he made me recognize the more good characteristics of myself. Like when he asked me about my good qualities. He made me feel better about myself at the time and then when I left, it was like…'that was kind of worthless.' Because I have a good amount of confidence in my life, but I still have problems.

P6: Well, it wasn't very impressive. I mean it was helpful and she tried to be comforting and all…I thought she was sincere, but it's not the same as talking with someone who is in your life all the time and knows how you think and act in the raw. Cause when you meet someone new you almost put on an act not to turn them off right away from you. Like to have someone who really knows you, that's the best situation, I think. I guess in a way it was helpful just to be able to get stuff off our chests and to talk about all the things we were all thinking about. I might as well have just yelled at my wall. I was almost like a venting.

P4: My counselor was very useful, though…because he was actually an addict before. I would go to him and just like kind of get him to think I was the best little thing he'd ever done or seen…cause like I said a lot of my life was just appeasing people. I really made

like this false friendship before starting on my own. He was a big alcoholic for a long time. He could see some of the stuff from my perspective. As much as I liked the sober perspective, how could you make a comment if you'd never even walked a block in the other person's shoes? It was helpful to actually relate to some of the stuff that I was in…stuff like that. He helped me grow as a person. Like you're always an addict, but he helped me grow out of stuff. He helped me like what I was when I was not using. I needed someone to see how I looked…remembering times and appointments...like baby steps.

The most common element between the experiences of participants with counseling was in their need to talk with someone who was trustworthy and could relate to participants. This was also reported by participant 5, who had spoken with pastors for guidance. This participant noted that the most helpful interactions with pastors were with those whom had overcome adversity and shared their experiences honestly. Participants in this study reported feeling deceived and pressured by some mental health providers, and having to develop "fake" relationships with people who were not personally connected to participants.

Perceptions of Counseling

Participants were asked to share general thoughts about the counseling profession in order to assess the inclination to participate in counseling in the future and to evaluate things that might be improved in the counseling profession. Participants spoke about counseling as a resource that could be utilized to solve problems in cases where individuals were unable to do so independently. Participants noted that counseling could be used to become more self-aware and to express feelings that might be perceived as unacceptable in other arenas.

P4: I think that I can say if you know you need it, you can probably help yourself. I think that most people who think that they need to see a psychiatrist, you probably already know the problem. Then after you go, you can say 'this is what I need.' There's nothing wrong with going to someone for help. That's what people are for. There's more than one of us. But you should be able to address it yourself, I think. And it really depends on how you're raised. Some people just aren't raised right and they obviously need to depend on a psychiatrist…they obviously can't go back to the person who raised them. That's where the problem started, so it's like…person by person, really. Me myself, I just need to get to the point where I know what's going on in my head.

P2: Could be a waste of time and money...if it doesn't work. Well, if you go to therapy with certain goals….there are things that aren't resolved. Whereas it does work and you grow and resolve the issues that you want to resolve, then there's a lot benefits. You're more stable and aware and usually more satisfied with your life. You get to learn things about yourself that you never knew.

P3: I think it really helps with a lot of people to be able to open up honestly to someone and to share parts of themselves that they wouldn't necessarily share with people in their lives—it's safer. You know that if you're talking to a counselor, they're not going to tell your buddies or whatever.

P6: I guess in some cases if you really need it [counseling] and it's severe enough and you don't really have anyone else to talk to. And sometimes you need an outside perspective and to give yourself a reality check because sometimes family and friends will kind of be protective of you and not hurt your feelings. So it's good sometimes to have an outside perspective.

P5: I think people would see that as someone who was trying to better themselves and uh a person who is trying to get a handle on life's issues. Some people might not feel comfortable revealing personal issues to another person and might feel pressured to bring back memories and I guess it really hinges on the trust between the person and the person doing the counseling. A lot of times we see people airing dirty laundry. I think counseling is a good thing because like uh there are established ways of working through issues that counselors are trained to address.

Counseling was perceived to be a valuable tool, but this assertion came with the condition that the problem being addressed was one that could not be handled without professional intervention. Counseling was seen as offering a safe environment where personal information could be confided in a trained professional. Honesty and trustworthiness were seen as characteristics of good counselors.

Stigmatization of counseling. Participants were asked to discuss reactions of others who knew that participants were engaged in counseling. Questions were designed in this way to permit participants to share honest reactions without identifying their own stigmatizations of counseling. Participants unanimously reported that friends (male and female) would understand if participants were to engage in counseling, although four acknowledged stigmatization of counseling. The following remarks indicate a tolerance for the need to engage in counseling.

P2: When I was going to see my therapist, they [friends] didn't think much of it. I think some people think it's weird—there's a bit of social stigma attached to it, but…you know I wouldn't worry about it too much. I think there is a stigma that guys will think of you as weak.

P4: He [friend] didn't think we were like pansies or anything derogatory like that…he just couldn't understand that it was a problem. It [drug use] was just a lifestyle choice. I guess he just didn't have something as bad happen to him. My girlfriend like that I was seeing a counselor.

P1: Depends on what I was getting counseled for…um…I don't know, I don't think they [friends] wouldn't judge me for it. I only have a few close friends and they're the kind of people who wouldn't judge me for things like that. Everybody's got personal problems and I don't think it would matter.

Each of these comments indicates a degree of understanding about the need for counseling, although participants used phrases that indicate a level of stigmatization associated with counseling. One noted that it might be seen as "weird"; another stated "he didn't think we were pansies;" and a third reported "depends on what I was getting counseled for." There was a tolerance in most of the comments that indicates counseling was not seen as mainstream. Two participants reported having less conditional perceptions of counseling, and are listed here:

P5: There's no negative shadow cast on my mind about people who go to counselors or therapists. They're a great resource for people to deal with great issues or every day issues. Like dealing with the death of a parent or battling other mental or physical issues, like eating anorexia.

P6: I don't think there are any negatives [of engaging in counseling], I think they're all positive. It's always good to talk about something when you have a problem. You need to talk about it because it's just gonna keep piling up and even the littlest thing will set you off and that will be the end of that and all your problems will keep flowing out.

Preferences for counseling. One of the goals of this study was to explore characteristics of counselors that this group of men found appealing. Participants were asked to share ideas about what would make a good counselor and what characteristics participants would prefer in counselors. The following remarks were shared.

P1: Honesty, good listener. Someone who was very adept at listening to anecdotes or someone's description of feelings and is able to hone in on what is causing the symptoms…because I think a lot of sort of disparity between the symptom and the cause itself. Some people may focus on treating the symptoms, but what you really need to do is treat the root cause…and that's all we can do to treat AIDS, cancer…and I think the same is true of counseling. I would look for someone who was good at being able to interpret the outcomes of problems and then backtrack it through this person's life and say what is bothering you.

P2: Someone who truly cares about you and knows what they're doing. A professional who cares about being good at what they do. And someone who's very in touch with themselves and someone who's very in tuned to the various things you pay attention to in therapy. I think it's extremely important to find a therapist who is the right match for you. It's important to talk about the hard things…you feel beat up after the first couple sessions. Like if you do that, then it…what you put in you get out. It's very helpful.

P3: Credibility…I'd want them to know what they're talking about…training, background, schooling, whatever they did to get where they were. I'd want to know their knowledge or from personal opinion.

P4: Open-mindedness…able to be humorous at times…uhm…kind of a free spirit. I don't wanna go somewhere and feel like I'm in jail or something. They at least have to look

like they can relate to me. Just like be there and let me talk when I like wanna talk... 'you

got a good point…remember it' cause that good point's gonna help me a lot.

P5: Somebody who is honest. Somebody who is not afraid to say that they have an

issue—just being completely honest with anything that could be an aid. If I were to go, I

would want to know that the counselor would be available to me to work through all the

issues.

P6: I would probably have to go to the counselors to see how they react to me. Someone I

could get along with…I guess if it goes back to sexes, I would probably choose a female.

Females seem to listen better and seem to focus on your problems. Instead of just being

like 'Oh if you think that's bad, well listen to this…'

Participants reported qualities that counselors should be honest, caring, relatable, and

well trained. This latter category included good listening skills and focus on participant needs.

One participant reported a preference for a male counselor, saying he might reveal too much

information too quickly to a female counselor, thereby undermining his sense of control. All

others reported a preference for a female counselor and added they would feel more comfortable

talking honestly and expressing feelings with a woman.

Summary of Meanings of Experiences

Themes emerging from this research were divided according to the research questions

and were categorized accordingly. Specifically, meanings derived from the experiences shared

by participants were grouped according to a) features of masculinity; b) interactive contexts; and

c) counseling perceptions. Summaries of meanings for each of these research concepts will be

described here.

Features of Masculinity

Participants reported beliefs that men are expected to hide emotions and to make due with inferences about how other men are feeling and about what they are experiencing. Participants learned this from role models and adopted much of this expectation, but also reported frustration with this. Emotional reserve permits men to appear strong and powerful, but may leave them ill-equipped to address emotional confrontation.

Participants noted that emotional expression was freer with women, and discussions were more lengthy and detailed. Discussions were perceived to be direct with adult males and peers, although there was reserve or avoidance about emotional expressions that may be perceived as weakness. Interestingly, drinking alcohol was used as a means of coping with emotional difficulty by four participants, and was discussed by all participants as problematic in men with whom participants were close. Drinking was a means of isolating and withdrawing from difficulty that might reveal inadequacy. Emotions were viewed as burdensome and having negative connotations, such as vulnerability and weakness.

Emotional reserve was seen as strength by participants, allowing them to serve as protectors and assume responsibility for others. Participants assumed the task of managing difficulty for others without being encumbered by what was perceived to be weakness. Being protective and supportive involved earning some level of respect from people with whom participants interact. Participants expected that they should not only be self-reliant, but be reliable for those around them. Participants also perceived a social responsibility, as well, that they were aware that this supportive task was scrutinized by society as a whole. Participants expressed great pride in being a resource for others, and bearing burdensome tasks.

Participants were aware of their social and physical advantages, including ease of using the bathroom and time needed to prepare one's appearance. Men were also perceived as having advantages economically, having higher paying jobs. Participants shared a sense of responsibility in exercising power appropriately, namely in service of those who might not be able to protect themselves. This was echoed by participants as a responsibility to honor women. Although participants spoke of honor with women, frustration with women's sexual power was expressed. Men were viewed as being sexually motivated and hence, inclined to oblige women. Participants also experienced frustrations with inequality, including expectations that men be primary breadwinners and not primary childcare providers.

Participants spoke of their experiences with work and social expectations to be successful. Work was seen as a necessary, because it was socially valued in men and because it was a means to earn respect and status. All participants shared positive reflections of work experiences, reporting pride in doing their work well. Participants experienced pressure to have their work recognized and to achieve work related status; for four participants, this included educational attainment.

Participants experienced social pressure to avoid things feminine, although they reported gender identity to be continuous. Masculinity and femininity were seen as belonging to all people to varying degrees. Although participants viewed gender roles as individually determined, they experienced social pressure to conform to behave in traditionally masculine ways (e.g. physically and mentally strong). This social pressure was greatest in high school and diminished as participants self-selected and developed closer male relationships after high school.

Interactive Contexts

Participants reported having different experiences with different people and in different settings. Expectations to conform to a masculine ideal reportedly changed throughout life, as did participant experiences. Adherence to traditional gender roles in high school (e.g. unemotional, aggressive, self-reliant) was a means of establishing friendships by adopting socially expected behaviors. This conformity both suited participants and frustrated them. Participants enjoyed association with peers who shared their interests, but also expressed beliefs that adherence to social standards lacked needed intimate connections and accountability. As participants became more independent, it became more important to develop associations with people whom participants believed supported their unique identities. The dynamics with role models and peers changed to permit more intimate and rewarding connections with peers.

Support was needed and sought out from other men, who shared similar experiences, and from women, who permitted more expressive and detailed conversations. Adult male role models were revered for their guidance and support, and were seen as having problems participants have grown to understand and in many cases, to which participants could relate. Participants also expressed exhibitions of masculinity that were private and public. Private masculinity was more expressive and supportive; whereas public masculinity was experienced as being more emotionally reserved. Interactions with male role models tended to be of a public nature, focusing on emotional control and problem solving.

In work settings, participants experienced a sense of honor in doing a job well and working collaboratively to achieve some goal. Participants were more likely to offer assistance to women; whereas they believed men to be independent and capable of achieving tasks independently.

Counseling Perceptions

Participants reported both good and bad experiences with counseling. Bad experiences included feelings that the counselor was dishonest or manipulative, or did not validate their experiences. Regardless of negative experiences, mental health services were seen as a means to address problems that participants were not prepared to address alone. Participants did not generalize experiences with counseling to the counseling profession on the whole, but expressed beliefs that counseling was a resource that might be used in the future. Counseling, was, however, perceived to have social repercussions, including perceptions of weakness and dependency on others.

Reflection on the Phenomenological Process

Phenomenology includes methods of journaling and triangulation to enhance its validity, as suggested by Cresswell (2003). I included a brief autobiographical profile on page 62 in this study to facilitate the removal of my own biases and maintained a journal in which I reflected on observations and the process of conducting this research. Reflections allowed me to evaluate my perceptions of the data and to question findings that may have led to assumptions about participant experiences and the meanings of those experiences. One of my journal entries included reactions to a participant's desire to stay home, clean house, and care for his children. His reaction was unexpected as I assumed that most men eschewed roles typically fulfilled by women, and I found myself embracing this participant as someone who identified with my own experiences. The challenge in evaluating this information was to be aware of my bias and evaluate his experiences based on what was recorded and observed in his story and my own reaction to it.

Triangulation also served the purpose of enhancing the validity of findings. By discussing interview transcripts and reviewing horizontalization with colleagues, findings were modified to more accurately reflect main themes and meanings of experiences. Prior to consulting with colleagues, for example, the category 'work oriented' was termed 'driven'; consultation permitted this category to be further specified since participant's shared experiences were all related to work ethics and statuses. Colleagues, prior research, and participants served to triangulate data from different perspectives and using different methods. Other similar modifications were made during the reduction process as a result of consultation and reference to the literature.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Major Findings

In relation to non-collegiate men, four major areas were found in this study. These included a) characteristics of men; b) social expectations of men; c) interactive contexts; and d) counseling perceptions. A summary of these major findings will follow, and each will be discussed in terms of reasons for findings and with respect to current literature on masculinity. This discussion will include relevance of current quantitative assessments of masculinity (e.g. GRCS, O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986) and will be followed by theoretical and implications for counseling, study strengths and limitations, and suggestions for future research.

Characteristics of Men

Participants did not define masculinity, but reported that men tend to have certain characteristics, namely that men tend to be emotionally reserved, protective and supportive, privileged, sexually motivated, honorable, and goal oriented. Two participants also discussed the anger that young men exhibit and this finding will be discussed, as well.

Emotionally reserved. Participants discussed expectations to hide or mask their emotions and said that emotional reserve was seen in their role models. Men with whom participants associated modeled emotional reserve, indicating that this aspect of masculinity is indeed traditional, or passed on from one generation to the next. Bly (1990) noted that men have adopted an emotional deficiency from fathers who are largely absent or who fail to demonstrate emotional expressions to their sons. Participants in this study supported Bly's assertion in that their role models were reluctant to share emotions that may hinder fatherly guidance, although this finding was reportedly more common in youth. Participants did report having adult men

present in their lives with whom more intimate and expressive relationships developed as participants grew older. The emotional reserve that participants adopted was viewed as an instrumental means of achieving the social responsibility of proving for others and supporting others. This is consistent with Pollack's (2006) assertion that men exhibit stoicism to maintain social prosperity and to fulfill protective roles.

Although emotional reserve was understood as instrumental by participants, they reported frustration with expectations that they be emotionally tough and with role models who were reluctant to share feelings. This may indicate that young men are in need of the very support that they are expected to provide for others. A number of researchers (Kiesling, 2002; Korobov; O'Neil & Egan, 1992; Pollack, 2006; Shepard, 2002) proposed that adolescent males transition from childhood to adulthood lacking needed emotional support. This was seen in participants who reported peer pressure to be self-reliant, tough, daring, and independent during adolescence.

Participants noted that conversations with women were more expressive and intimate, indicating that this group of men may have learned to rely on female peers for intimate connections. This is consistent with Polce-Lynch, Myers, Kilmartin, Forssman-Falck, and Kliewer's (1998) finding that boys learn to identify with media messages to be emotionally reserved and to interact with girls by being expressive. Participants indicated that they spoke more intimately with women during adolescence and this pattern was seen during study interviews. Conversations had with me during interviews also reflected this free and intimate expression.

It is interesting to note that Pollack (2006) reported boys attempting adherence to masculine norms are at a greater risk of strained intimate relationships, isolation, depression, and antisocial behaviors. Four participants in this study reported having used alcohol to manage

emotional difficulty; two participated in counseling for underage alcohol abuse; two participants engaged in counseling for depression; and four discussed strained interpersonal relationships. These findings are consistent with Pollack's assertion, although it is not known whether this study's sample is representative of all young non-collegiate men or whether there are specific aspects of masculinity associated with these social and interpersonal problems. Furthermore, these findings may be indicative of what is considered normal for this age group.

Emotional reserve was the most significant finding in this study with respect to the unanimity of participant responses and the frequency of responses related to this characteristic. This finding is consistent with the Restrictive Emotionality scale found in the GRSC (O'Neil et al., 1986). The GRCS was designed to assess the level to which a man adheres to traditional masculinity, and high scores on this scale have been associated with men's psychological distress (Good, Heppner, DeBord, & Fischer, 2004; McCreary, Saucier, & Courtenay, 2005; Shepard, 2002) and alcohol usage (Blazina & Watkins, 1996). It is important to note that all participants reported having experienced either depression or trouble with alcohol and also shared restrictions in emotional expression.

Protective and supportive. Being emotionally reserved was seen as strength by participants, enabling them to support and protect others. Emotions were seen as cumbersome, limiting opportunities to be reliable and to gain respect. Participants expressed great pride in being able to use their emotional and physical strengths to serve those with whom participants interacted in personal and professional settings.

Being in service to others is also a piece of masculinity that appears to be traditional. Scott (2004) suggested this was common during the Colonial period, when men were expected to serve as protectors of their homes and communities, and were ultimately in service to God.

Christian foundations were mentioned by two participants in this study who discussed their faith as a guide in being men.

The finding that men are protective and supportive shows a notable distinction from what is assessed in measures of masculinity. None of the instruments discussed in this study evaluate a protective or supportive component of masculinity. Furthermore, none include what might be construed as positive aspects of masculinity. Levant and Fischer (1996) and Mahalik, Locke et al. (2003) included a component of status in their evaluations of masculinity and O'Neil et al. (1986) included success/power/competition as a subset of masculinity. Results from the use of related assessments might reveal some level of inference regarding positive masculine features, although the positive attributes of being male are largely missing from current measures. This will be discussed later in theoretical implications.

Privileged. Participants reported having economic and physical advantages not had by women, including more relaxed standards for appearance and better paying jobs. Participants acknowledged the power that they hold socially, and shared a sense of responsibility in using that power to protect others. Although participants reported social awareness of issues faced by women, they also shared frustrations with double standards that favor women, including exclusion from the draft and preference in child custody. This is consistent with Goldburg's (1976) writings that referenced institutionalized female privileges. It is notable that Goldburg's work is now over 30 years old, and these participants still expressed frustration with inequality of an institutional nature, suggesting that social change may be slower than awareness of the institutions that perpetuate social standards.

Participants unanimously believed that men and women are equally capable of fulfilling roles in the home and in society. One participant complained that women were not required to

register for the draft. These findings mark a great change from the Colonial period, when men were believed to be more capable and intelligent than women and assumed roles of expert and lord in homes and communities (Gerzon, 1992).

Sexually motivated. Participants asserted that men were viewed as being highly responsive to the sexual appeal of women. This sentiment was accompanied by frustrations with the sexual power women hold over men. This trend has continued from the Colonial period where men reportedly were frustrated with women, who held the ultimate power of choosing suitors (Rotundo, 1993).

The sexual motivation of men (as seen by these participants) is echoed in measures of masculinity designed by Levant and Fischer (1996) in the Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI) as attitudes toward sex; and by Mahalik, Locke et al. (2003) in the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI) as playboy. No reference can be made to the GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986) as this instrument does not evaluate sexual motivation.

Honorable. Participants spoke about their efforts to be respectful of others and to uphold a code of honor. For participants, this meant exercising power in service of others, especially women. Honor was also expressed in terms of integrity and recognition for the services participants performed. This can be equated with expectations to be good providers and protectors. Participants shared reactions to social expectations that they assume roles in work and family that afforded social respect. Although the GRCS (1986) does not include honor as a source of conflict for men, it can be related to measures of success/power/competition. Participants in this study were given the opportunity to express specific things they enjoyed about being men, as well as to share contextual experiences, including interactive situations and work experiences.

Goal oriented. Participants spoke of their experiences with work and social expectations to be successful. Work was seen as a necessary, because it was socially valued in men and because it was a means to earn respect and status. All participants shared positive reflections of work experiences, reporting pride in doing their work well. Participants experienced pressure to have their work recognized and to achieve work related status; for four, this included educational attainment.

Participants did not reveal experiences of conflict between work and family, a measure found in the GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986). This finding may be attributed to the fact that marriage and childbearing occur at later ages than the 18-24 aged participants included in this study. Participants spoke about future prospects of marriage and work, and referred to parents and roommates in discussions about tension at home. One participant foresaw having difficulty having time for sex with his wife once they had children and were both working.

Although participants shared an egalitarian view of maintaining a household, they expressed concerns that men are expected to be primary breadwinners. This was not asserted as a belief, as Gerzon (1992) noted about the Colonial period, but rather was in response to social pressures to be goal oriented and honorable. Gerzon suggested that conflicts between work and family have grown because of the inequality inherent in a world where men are expected to compete and women to cooperate. This view was supported by participants who expressed beliefs that men and women should assume roles that serve the family, rather than adhering to gender specific ones.

Angry. This characteristic was explicitly expressed by two participants who spoke directly about their perceptions that men were angry or aggressive. All participants expressed anger and frustration with social norms that men should be aggressive and assume gender

appropriate roles (e.g. primary breadwinner, soldier). Participant criticisms of institutionalized

sexism mirrored those of Goldburg (1976), who also complained about women's advantages in

child custody and exclusion from the draft. It is notable that writings about men during the

Colonial period included no such social criticism, as men's roles were clearly defined (Rotundo,

1993). Kimmel (1987) states that the roles of men as masters and providers, once clearly defined,

are now blurred by norms that fail to validate traditionally male contributions, due in part to the

changing roles of women. This may provide reason for the anger two participants viewed men as

possessing and may contribute to the frustration participants expressed about gender roles.

The conflict men experience has been evaluated in the GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986) as

Success/Power/Competition. Blazina and Watkins (1996) found that anger was associated with

measures of power, and reported that men see anger as an instrumental means of attaining power

rather than as a destructive force. This is consistent with findings from this study in that

participants expressed anger in opposition to social expectations and in that participants saw

anger to be an instrumental means of establishing power over others. Phillips (2002) noted that

punking (acts of humiliation between young males) allowed men to convey and enforce social

expectations of domination. Masculine ideology interferes with the development of healthy

interpersonal relationships and social functioning.

Social Expectations

The characteristics participants associated with men were separated from what they

viewed as social expectations for men in order to distinguish what was actually seen as

masculinity from what was expected of men. Gender role strain theory (Pleck, 1995) also

suggested that there are distinctions between how men behave and what is expected of them.

Pleck asserted that what men should be like is normative and linked to a masculine ideology,

whereas descriptions about men are linked to stereotypes. Participants described "bro guys" and men who parade around in Speedos and get into fights stereotypically, although their prescriptive statement mirrored masculine ideals. Participants did not identify with stereotypical descriptions, but identified with a more normative masculine ideal, including being protective and emotionally strong. This is consistent with the tenets of gender role strain theory (Pleck, 1995) that suggest standards for behavior are based on what is expected and socially valued.

Findings in this study are also consistent with tenets of gender role conflict theory. O'Neil et al. (1986) noted that gender roles are continually redefined and that some men choose to discard different aspects of traditional norms or stereotypes. O'Neil et al. suggested that norms and stereotypes may be discarded throughout life in place for the sake of psychological and social prosperity. This was supported by participants in this study, who challenged many traditional ideas and discussed social expectations that were unattainable or potentially damaging. Participants questioned social expectations in areas of a) prestige and recognition; b) providing for a family; c) adherence to traditional gender roles; and d) avoidance of femininity.

Prestige and recognition. O'Neil et al. (1986) asserted that men experience conflict in achieving status as measured in success, power, and competition on the GRCS. Participants reported experiencing this conflict as pressure to have their work efforts recognized and to be successful. Participants reported that this pressure was internal, but spoke about expectations of role models and a desire to achieve what was socially valued. This suggests that success may be a measure of conformity to masculine ideals, and the pressure men experience motivates men to attain status. This has both negative and positive connotations. The positive implication is that men strive to be socially interconnected, as a means of serving the community and those with whom they interact. A negative implication of this suggestion is that men may be driven to

unrealistic or destructive means to achieve some level of power or success. This is indeed what was suggested by gender role conflict (O'Neil et al., 1986) and gender role strain (Pleck, 1995) theories, that suggested adherence to traditional roles may be psychologically and socially damaging.

Participants disputed social norms that demand men achieve recognition by suggesting that both men and women experience pressure to attain status. Although participants expressed egalitarian beliefs about appropriate gender roles (awareness of discrepancies in pay between men and women), they discussed their own perceptions that the economic endeavors of men are socially valued. The drive for status and recognition, therefore, also appears to be traditional. Although participants expressed disagreement with norms dictating adherence to standards of success, they reported feeling pressured to attain a masculine ideal that included success. From the Colonial period when men headed families (Scott, 2004) to the post-industrial period when men were cornerstones in business and industry (Rotundo, 1993), the expectation that men be leaders perseveres.

Providing for a family. Participants challenged the idea that men should be the primary breadwinners in the family, although they reported pressure to do so. Findings revealed beliefs that family roles should be governed by what best sustains the family, rather than being based on gender determined roles (e.g. men earn money and women take care of children). This marks a notable change from earlier time periods in which family roles were determined by what were believed to be inherent traits (Rotundo, 1993). Rotundo suggested that in agrarian society men were believed to be more capable and intelligent and thus performed physical and managerial tasks; whereas women were more nurturing. Although participants remarked that women and men may be better suited to gender specific roles, they acknowledged that gender distinctions are

individual. Many comments were shared that reflected a belief that men are expected to achieve economic success in order to fulfill expected roles as providers. This was also reportedly a measure of status and recognition, but was mentioned less frequently than work status. It is interesting to note that participants reported conflict in negotiating the role of provider with beliefs that family roles should be determined by what best served the family. They acknowledged that some women may be better suited to financially support the family, yet their capacity to provide was seen as a measure of masculinity.

This may be correlated with the conflict between work and family scale of the GRCS (O'Neil at al., 1986). Although participants did not report experiencing any conflict arising from negotiating roles of provider with that of father (as none had fathered children and none were married), they expressed concerns about fulfilling such roles. Participants discussed how they might fulfill expected roles and argued that providing sometimes unfairly fell to men. Responses were socially constructed, based on what they had experienced with parents and role models. The anxiety participants expressed about fulfilling expected roles supported Kimmel's (1987) assertion that men face anxiety and resentment about assuming the role of provider.

Adherence to traditional gender roles. Although participants viewed gender roles as individually determined, they experienced social pressure to behave in traditionally masculine ways (e.g. physically and mentally strong). This social pressure was greatest in high school and diminished as participants developed closer male relationships after high school. Kaneko (2000) reported that the tendency to base self-worth on social standards continues to grow for adolescent males into adulthood, suggesting adherence to masculine norms in adolescence may indeed be internalized and set a precedent for future identity. This idea was challenged by participants who perceived peer pressure to be greatest in high school and diminish thereafter. Although

participants did base their identities on perceptions of others, their sense of worth was based on self-selected reference groups as they completed high school and aged. Participants attributed diminishing pressure to their ability to select reference groups. It is also possible that professional interventions (e.g. counseling, advising) helped participants to develop identities based on individually determined values. Participants did report findings that counseling was useful in this way. Hence, findings revealed less dichotomous beliefs about gender roles.

Non-traditional beliefs about child care and household duties were also apparent in the findings of this research. Participants unanimously reported beliefs that roles associated with childcare sustaining a household should be determined by what was best for families. One participant stated "I would love to stay with my kids." There was also agreement that traditional roles were still expected, although the existence of non-traditional families and exposure of these in the media may be influencing the social acceptability of less traditional roles. The social change indicated here seems to be responsive to economic changes, rather than by communal and religious standards that governed the U.S. during the Colonial period (Gerzon, 1992). Appropriate roles for men throughout the centuries have come as a response to economic conditions and changing roles of women social position of men was challenged (Keen 1991). Participants asserted that traditional family roles are still expected, but are often impractical in sustaining families.

Thompson and Pleck (1986) noted that rigid gender role definitions could limit opportunities for self actualization, or achieving full potential. Most participants reported having experienced dysfunctional coping during adolescence (e.g. alcohol use and isolation) and reported having later developed awareness of this dysfunction and confidence in expressing problems. Bly (1990) suggested that the absence of a male influence is responsible for the lack of

clarity modern men experience about identity and social roles. This assertion has merit, given participant's reported contact with male role models who provided a foundation from which participant identity was developed. Participants noted that their role models did not always fit gender specific types, modeling changeable gender roles. For this group of young men, age and male role models tempered the effects of peer pressure to behave and think in gender dichotomous ways.

    Avoidance of femininity. Participants experienced social pressure to avoid things feminine, although they reported gender identity to be continuous. Masculinity and femininity were seen as belonging to all people to varying degrees, but there existed a pressure to adhere more strongly to a masculine ideal. O'Neil et al.'s (1986) gender role conflict theory proposed that men may need to prove their masculinity by avoiding the appearance of femininity. O'Neil at al. noted that avoidance of femininity allows men to feel safe and manage the strain of gender role expectations by clearly defining the masculine role. Participants in this study were aware of social expectations to avoid appearing feminine and conformed to these expectations during childhood and adolescence, and challenged the need for a clearly defined masculine role as they aged.

    Gender role conflict (O'Neil et al., 1986) used a Superman model to explain the struggle to reconcile hypermasculinity and femininity. One participant discussed Superman as his role model, and others talked about hypermasculine media figures that were admired growing up. It is interesting to note that the personification of Clark Kent was not the figure to be admired, but was pitied or ridiculed as a lesser man. O'Neil and Egan (1992) suggested that social messages to avoid all things feminine confound the task of achieving a masculine identity because they limit admiration of feminine qualities. This was seen in participant responses in that they referred

to masculine models to define their masculinity; but was challenged in that participants expressed beliefs that feminine qualities were of value (nurturing, supporting). Participants also shared beliefs that hypermasculine models were largely unattainable and unrealistic, supporting O'Neil and Egan's assertion.

Avoidance of femininity is at the core of gender role conflict theory (O'Neil et al., 1986). Antifemininity is seen as a component of masculinity by other researchers (Thompson & Pleck, 1986; Levant & Fischer, 1996). It seems that a measure of masculinity continues to be based on what is not feminine. Rotundo (1993) noted that the division between masculinity and femininity began during the post-industrial period, when gay men were thought to have characteristics of women. Although participants noted that avoiding femininity was expected of them, findings did not reveal this to be a characteristic of men. It is possible that this discrepancy with gender role conflict was related to O'Neil at al.'s assertion that the assumption of gender roles is largely unconscious; however, participants were able to elaborate clearly on their awareness of masculine standards and expected behaviors.

Interactive Contexts

Participants reported having different experiences with different people and that interactions changed as participants grew. During adolescence, participants were more susceptible to peer pressure; and communications with male peers were superficial and based on shared activities (e.g. sports). Participants reported efforts to adopt masculine behaviors and eschew feminine ones to achieve male solidarity and a sense of belonging. This is consistent with notions that boys navigate the adult transition by exhibiting traditionally masculine behaviors in order to gain much needed support from reference groups (Pollack, 2006; Shepard, 2002).

Interactive experiences became more intimate as participants left high school and chose interpersonal relationships based on their own needs. Interactions continued to be reportedly different with men and women; more intimate and detailed with women and more direct and lacking emotional depth with men. Adult interactions with role models also changed as participants reported being able to relate to the experiences of role models. Participants exhibited masculinity of a private and public nature, whereas private masculinity allowed more emotional expression and sharing of support. Interactions with male role models tended to be of a public nature, focused on emotional control and problem solving. Participants discussed romantic concerns about girlfriends with male peers, and noted that this support was sought because of shared experiences. This manner of seeking support was also seen in the colonial, industrial, and post-industrial periods (Rotundo, 1993), suggesting that interactions between men and women continues to be based on common concerns.

Findings indicate consistency with gender role conflict theory (O'Neil et al., 1986) and gender role strain theory (Pleck, 1986) in that participants reported their behaviors to be contextual and based on specific circumstances. The scope of situations conveyed in this study was limited to what participants chose to discuss, and findings are therefore only conclusive with respect to circumstances discussed. It is fair to conclude, however, that participant expressions and exhibitions of masculinity and femininity changed within different contexts and with different people.

Counseling Perceptions

Five participants had engaged in counseling with either counselors, psychologists, psychiatrists, or pastors, and all were referred for these services. The fact that this number is inconsistent with reports that men in the general population utilize counseling services at about

one third the rate of women (Mahalik et al., 2003) can be attributed to the convenience sampling of this study. Given the fact that most participants were referred to me by the first participant, it is not unlikely that they shared similar experiences and were more comfortable taking part in this study. Participants' engagement in prior counseling may have also prepared them for the nature of the questions being investigated. It should be noted here that participants had all been referred for counseling, confirming Lunt's (2004) assertion that counseling services in high school and referrals made during that time serve as a powerful resource for adolescent males.

The emotional reservation participants shared and discussed as characteristic of men was also expressed in terms of engagement in counseling. Participants spoke about the need for counseling to be a safe place where expressions not accepted elsewhere could be shared. This indicates that although participants feared sharing expressions that conflicted with a social identity, there was also a need for such expressions. This supports assertions from numerous researchers (Hust, 2005; Levant, 1996; Mahalik, Good, & Englar-Carlson, 2003; Polce-Lynch et al., 2001; Pollack, 2006) who contend that men have been socialized to hide feelings and appear self-sufficient. It has been further asserted (Mahalik et al.; McCarthy & Holliday; Wong & Rochlan, 2005) that counseling suggests that male clients be willing to demonstrate characteristics incongruent with masculine norms (e.g. willing to ask for help, be reliant, vulnerable, and expressive). Gender role strain (Pleck, 1995) and gender role conflict (O'Neil et al., 1986) theories posit that men are subject to great internal and external pressure to conform to a masculine ideal and that men need to acknowledge and embrace both their masculine and feminine qualities. The pressure to conform and the need to express this were shared in interviews. One participant remarked about the benefits of counseling "you're more stable and

aware and usually more satisfied with your life." This comment may suggest that counseling permits the acknowledgment and acceptance of both masculine and feminine qualities.

Participants expressed a desire that counselors be relatable and trustworthy. This sentiment was also found in participant reports about role models and peers. This suggests that counseling with men would be beneficial if a relationship were established in which there were shared experiences between the client and counselor. A counseling relationship between men may foster a sense of solidarity. It is interesting to note, however, that five participants reported a preference for a female counselor. Only one preferred a male and stated this was due to a fear that he would share too much with a woman and retreat from the relationship. Participants felt that females were more expressive and safe, although there were not shared experiences between participants and women with whom they interacted. Female counselors may therefore be better equipped to address male client issues by encouraging exploration of the male experience.

Findings from this study are consistent with the tenets of social influence theory (Asch, 1966). Social influence theory suggests that changes in behavior are the product of the way people perceive themselves in relationship to influential others and society in general. This theory recognizes conformity, compliance, and obedience as precursors to change. Participants in this study reported desires for belonging and acceptance in their interpersonal and counseling relationships consistent with the conformity Asch proposed. In several instances during interviews, participants also reported obedience to social expectations (e.g. demonstrating emotional reserve and modeling as engaged counseling clients) in spite of reported disputation of expected social norms. Findings suggest that there exists a struggle between what was perceived by reference groups and society to be acceptable behavior and characteristics held by

participants. This struggle may be addressed within the counseling relationship to enhance men's individual development.

Implications for Counseling

What is missing from the body of literature on men is information about the contexts in which gender roles are assumed (Berger et al., 2005), and individual reasons for adherence to male roles (Addis, & Mahalik, 2003). Mahalik et al. (2003) noted that understanding how men identify with masculinity and function in specific situations can help to improve counseling interventions for men. Having efforts recognized also relates to the assumption of gender roles in different situations and interactions. Within the context of counseling, participants wanted counselors to whom they could relate and build trusting relationships. This may be interpreted as meeting the desire for solidarity or union participants expressed in interviews. Female counselors might encourage male clients to share their experiences of being men in order to build trust that enables men to address gender barriers. Participants in this study were forthright and shared insecurities and experiences with sex and aggression. It is the belief of this researcher that the candor displayed in this study was due in part to the welcoming and nonjudgmental environment conveyed within the interview context. Participants also voiced a desire to have this repeated in counseling relationships, a method that may also invite honesty and candor in counseling. Likewise, male counselors might permit in depth emotional expressions that model what might be missing from interactions with other men. Participants expressed remorse at not being able to voice concerns candidly with male role models. This might also be explored in counseling where the male counselor-male client dyad serves as a microcosm for interpersonal relationships.

Findings from this study revealed that participants associated emotional reserve with men, and that this characteristic served the purpose of maintaining gender roles that are expected

in men, as well as meeting individual men's desire to be of service and to have their efforts recognized. Participants reported having emotional reservations, noting that emotional expression was burdensome and may reveal weakness. An association could be made in counseling between strength and meeting challenges collaboratively, meeting the needs of male clients who are goal orientated and supportive. Similarly, counseling with men could also include reflection on the focus and tenacity involved in the counseling process, and that the goal is in protection and sustenance of the very people and communities clients wish to serve.

These suggestions mirror those of Mahalik et al. (2003) and McCarthy and Holliday (2004), who suggested counseling with men draw from the positive qualities men possess. Mahalik et al. criticized theories and instruments that treat masculinity from a deficit model, meaning that men are seen as possessing negative qualities that need to be overcome. McCarthy and Holliday suggest focusing on the positive aspects of being male, such as acknowledging the male client's self awareness, recognizing the strength to participate in counseling, and helping others in the process. Findings from this study showed very positive characteristics of men (e.g. being protective, supportive, and egalitarian) that might be effectively included in counseling interventions.

Men reportedly prefer counseling of an instrumental or problem-solving nature (Berger, Levant, McMillan, Kelleher, & Sellers, 2005; Wong & Rochlan, 2005). McCarthy and Holliday (2004) also suggest focusing on the positive aspects of being male, such as acknowledging the male client's self awareness, recognizing the strength to participate in counseling, and helping others in the process. It may therefore be suitable to address counseling and to design outreach programs for men that are succinct and process information instrumentally. Solution focused or brief counseling, for example, may engage male clients collaboratively in a goal-oriented task

that fosters exploration on terms established by the client. This counseling technique is strength oriented, focuses on client goals, and invites the client to share experiences and perceptions. It should be noted that solution focused counseling should not replace or hinder intimate expressions, but rather be used as a template to broach issues that male clients may mask. Counselors employing this method of counseling should be aware of client concerns and invite male clients to explore their stories in a safe and nonjudgmental climate. This is consistent with the findings of this study in that participants expressed a desire for counselors who were supportive, caring, and willing to stay the course to problem resolution.

The American Counseling Association (2009) purports that counseling serve the unique needs of clients. This study has revealed characteristics of this group of non-collegiate men that is mirrored in other literature and is also different from other studies. Perhaps the most significant finding here is that there is diversity among men, and that counseling should be approached using the emic perspective suggested by McCarthy and Holliday (2004). By using a multicultural perspective that considers each man's masculine identity (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Good & Wood, 2005; Mahalik et al., 2003; McCarthy & Holliday), male clients may be more inclined to initiate and engage in counseling. A multicultural approach may allow men to define masculinity on their own terms, apart from social expectations that thwart efforts to seek help and undermine men's identities.

Counseling that draws from the positive characteristics of men facilitate more effective counseling and serves to diminish the negative stigma associated with counseling. Participants associated counseling with weakness and dependency, and suggested that counselors should be relatable, and willing and able to build honest trusting relationships with male clients. Building collaborative counseling relationships that foster exploration of each man's unique experiences

may address social stigma associated with counseling. While it may be asserted that the relationship is the key to effective counseling (Silverstein et al., 2006), for these non-collegiate men and other men who may engage in counseling, the outcomes of counseling should also be considered. Specifically the cost and effectiveness of counseling should be considered, as well as the social ramifications associated with engaging in counseling.

Stigmatization associated with counseling might be addressed and diminished within the context of group counseling. Reports of participants that solidarity is sought with other men and that may also suggest that group counseling be an effective counseling intervention with non-collegiate men. Group counseling may permit men to share experiences and pressures associated with a masculine identity and offer support from other men. This type of intervention might address some of the characteristics and needs expressed by participants in this study, including building expressive skills and trust with other men, nurturing male support mechanisms, and giving voice to the conflict associated with social expectations. This might be especially useful for men who do not identify with traditionally masculine roles.

These findings reveal implications for school counselors, in particular. Lunt (2004) noted that schools are a valuable resource for those in need of counseling, and five participants were able to engage in mental health services as a result of referrals. School counselors should be aware of indications that boys may be having emotional difficulty, including isolation and aggressive behaviors. Participants in this study discussed pressure to exhibit tough bravado in high school in order to gain acceptance from peers and discussed isolation as a means of coping. This information may inform the counseling process by inviting adolescent males to share their experiences and to strengthen solidarity. School counselors might recommend that adolescent

males seek membership in school clubs and activities to foster a sense of belonging and provide a venue for male bonding.

Counselors may also use the information found here to support adolescent males struggling to gain acceptance and convey that within counseling relationships. In cases where male students are exhibiting unmanageable difficulty, appropriate referrals should be made according to the needs of the students. Participants in this study reported a preference for counselors who were relatable and trustworthy, and this indicates a need to maintain confidentiality and to select counselors or mental health professionals who will honor male student's wishes. This study also suggests that a collaborative counseling relationship would benefit male students by including them in counseling and encouraging ownership in goals. As one participant in this study stated "you feel beat up after the first couple sessions. Like if you do that, then it…what you put in you get out. It's very helpful."

<div align="center">Theoretical Implications</div>

This study was partly intended to explore whether participants identified with or differed from current theories or measures of masculinity. Specifically, the tenets of gender role conflict theory (O'Neil et al., 1986) and the instrument used to evaluate the conflict men experience were addressed in this study. The GRCS (O'Neil et al.) was intended to measure those characteristics and behaviors that induce stress for men and includes components of restrictive emotionality, success/power/competition, restrictive affectionate behavior between men, and conflict between work and family. Findings revealed areas of similarity between participant's experiences and the GRCS. What was most notable about differences between participant experiences and the GRCS were distinctions between what were interpreted as negative and positive characteristics of men. Scales of the GRCS have been interpreted as negative by Mahalik et al. (2003) and McCarthy

and Holliday (2004). This assertion was supported by this study in that non-collegiate men do experience strain associated with masculine identity, but that they also experience satisfaction and pride in being men. Current instruments that assess masculinity fail to address the positive attributes of being men. This study revealed aspects of masculinity as things associated with male characterization and with social expectations that can be related to the tenets of the GRCS (i.e. restrictive emotionality, success/power/competition, restrictive affection between men, conflict between work and family). Findings will be discussed with respect to theoretical associations with the GRCS (O'Neil et al.).

The most salient theme in this study was in participant's characteristic emotional reservation. This is termed restrictive emotionality on the GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986), and is a measure of adherence to traditional expectations that men be stoic. Findings from this study revealed participants did conform to expectations that they be emotionally reserved, but added explanation for this conformity of an instrumental nature. Specifically, participants associated emotional control with being able to protect and support others and to achieve prestige and recognition. The former of these has positive connotations not implied in the GRCS; prestige and recognition were associated with honor and providing for a family. Participants in this study expressed great pride in being men and being able to offer their strength and skills in service of others. When prompted to reflect on how they would chose to be different, three participants said they liked themselves just as they were and all discussed the nature of social expectations that devalue their capacities to nurture. The positive contributions of men are not reflected in measures of masculinity, as Mahalik et al. (2003) suggested they should be. This researcher supports that assertion, as do the findings of this research.

Theories on masculinity might be enhanced by including perceptions of privilege in measures of masculinity. This might be accomplished by evaluating men's' reactions to specific situations or vignettes describing the behaviors of men and women in the workplace, at home, and in socio-political contexts. Participants in this study noted that men have social and physical privilege that might be related to the success/power/competition components of the GRCS. This particular component might be further broken down to include perceptions of power, prestige and recognition, and the goal orientation participants associated with men in order to clarify contextual information missing from research and the literature on masculinity.

Findings that participants perceived social pressure to avoid of femininity and conform to traditional gender roles might be related to restrictive affection between men component of the GRCS (O'Neil et al., 1986), although the avoidance of femininity was not at the core of masculine identification for participants. This study revealed stronger associations with being protective and supportive with male characteristics. This suggests a shift from gender role conflict (O'Neil et al.) and gender role strain theories (O'Neil & Egan, 1992) that posited all facets of masculinity stemmed from antifemininity. Although participants experienced pressure to conform to masculine norms, they discussed masculinity and femininity as continuous and negotiable. This does not suggest that antifemininity measures be removed from theories seeking to explain masculinity, but rather that masculinity might be better evaluated in context and with respect to the variability of identification suggested in this study.

Findings revealed that participants did associate male characteristics (e.g. emotionally reserved, goal oriented) with scales of the GRCS (e.g. restrictive emotionality, success/power/competition), although other features of the GRCS (e.g. conflict between work and family, restrictive affection between men) were associated with social expectations for

participants. The diversity of responses suggests that components of masculinity might be best addressed individually and normed on different cohorts. Sexual preoccupation, for example, might not be significant component of masculinity with men older than the men included here. Middle aged men might be expected to reveal higher scores in areas of conflict between work and family on the GRCS (O'Neil at al., 1986). Additionally, senior men may not identify as preoccupied with financial success, and may present greater concerns with generative characteristics such as mentoring.

This study was intended to explore masculinity in different contexts, and how these participants perceived counseling. A variety of responses to these research questions were seen, suggesting that theories and instruments be designed according to the specific arenas in which men function. Mahalik et al. (2003) and McCarthy and Holliday (2004)'s called for inclusion of positive male attributes. This might be accomplished by including contextual factors in quantitative instruments that may reveal reasons for adherence to masculine norms. O'Neil at al. (1986) included contextual factors in the revised GRCS II, but could not capture the all circumstances in which men behave or interact. This study, too, included a very limited range of responses due to time limitations and a narrow discussion format. Participant responses were spontaneous and may not have reflected the breadth of characteristics associated with masculinity. Although not comprehensive, findings revealed some of the contexts in which participants functioned and reasons participants attempted to maintain emotional control. Theories developed in the future might include contextual and interactive factors such as professional and private settings to more accurately assess the experiences of men.

Counseling theory is intended to aid clinical practice. Given the lack of literature addressing reasons for men's engagement in counseling (Robertson & Fitzgerald, 1992; Shuab &

Williams, 2007), it is fitting that theories be developed that explore the stigmatization men associate with counseling. This is especially relevant for non-collegiate men who may be faced with limited, costly, and socially stigmatized mental health interventions (Husaini et al., 2004). Some participants in this study associated counseling with weakness and dependency and one referred to the cost of counseling as a measure of its usefulness. Just as this study suggests the need to approach masculinity from a positive standpoint, counseling stigmatization might be addressed by considering the benefits of counseling. Addis and Mahalik (2003) recommended that counseling address the manner in which men solve problems, an approach that might be referenced in considering social stigmatization of counseling. For example, stigmatization could be assessed by considering the male client's perceptions of reference groups, identification with gender norms, and how a masculine identification serves the client and people with whom the client is connected. This may serve potential male clients by encouraging engagement and diminishing the negative repercussions associated with counseling.

It is the belief of this researcher that instruments assessing counseling stigmatization or masculine characteristics convey judgment to the test taker that carry a stigmatization all their own. Theories and measures based on negatively skewed perceptions may predispose test-takers to self-identify with negative characteristics or to answer items that don't fully or accurately represent them. This researcher concurs with those (Mahalik et al., 2003; McCarthy & Holliday, 2004) who assert the need to evaluate masculinity from balanced perspectives that include both the conflicts men experience and the pleasures men take in being men.

<center>Study Strengths</center>

The methods employed in this research were rigorous, revealing findings that may be incorporated with other literature. This study was informed by a pilot study conducted with 5

men belonging to different ages, races, and sexual orientations residing in the same region as participants in the current study. The pilot study provided invaluable information about the focus population of this research by revealing similarities and differences in presenting concerns between pilot participants. Findings in the pilot study also revealed misleading or vague interview questions and helped to clarify these. My skill as a researcher also developed throughout the course of conducting pilot interviews as I was able to review and refine my interviewing methods and to select a focus population for this research.

Non-collegiate men represent a substantial portion of the U.S. population (United States Bureau of the Census, 2007), and their experiences have not been previously explored in the literature (Berger et al., 2005; Bruch, 2002; Burn & Ward, 2005; Good & Wood, 2005; Mahalik, Locke et al., 2003). This research addressed the experiences of non-collegiate men and, to the best of this researcher's knowledge, represented a group not formerly included in the literature. Non-collegiate men were selected to share their experiences in order to address information missing from the literature. Findings revealed useful information regarding perceptions of masculinity and contexts in which men function, including personal and counseling interactions.

Characteristics of men revealed in this study do not encompass all the characteristics of men, but rather represents those themes most salient for this group of non-collegiate men. Distinctions between definitions of masculinity and results of this study may be compiled in efforts to better understand and serve the needs of male clients. Several researchers (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Good & Wood; Mahalik et al., 2003; McCarthy & Holliday, 2004) have suggested a need to explore masculinity from the unique perspectives of men, and this was accomplished in the contexts of this phenomenological study.

This author found no research investigating the social ramifications or stigmatization of seeking out or engaging in counseling services for non-collegiate men. This qualitative study addressed information missing from the literature by investigating the experiences of young non-collegiate men. Information revealed about what features participants associated with masculinity and the interactions in which participants engaged may permit better understanding of their cohort. This information may be used to improve counseling interventions with non-collegiate men and may foster the use of positive interventions for men in general.

<center>Study Limitations</center>

A number of limitations were found in this study. These included limited transferability to populations other than those described herein. The participants in this study expressed perspectives that may not be typical for non-collegiate men. The beliefs that masculinity and femininity lie on a continuum, for example, may not be shared by young men in other geographical areas where norms dictate gender segregated behaviors and attitudes. This researcher found this group of young men to be well spoken, using phrases and verbal expressions that were surprisingly acute. This may have been due to the educational expectations of the small college town from which the study sample was drawn. Two participants reported having fathers who were employed as college professors at the regional university, indicating there may have been a higher family expectation for educational success. The fact that the sample was one of convenience (participants associated with one another), may also indicate that they shared common beliefs and expressions. This was supported by many findings in the study. Findings did indeed show commonalities in participant's definitions of masculinity, social expectations, interactions, and in counseling perceptions. These findings may not be representative of groups found in less affluent communities, in areas where there are no

universities, or where regional culture dictates different educational standards. The findings may have been different if participants were sampled in more rural or urban areas.

Another limitation in transferability is in the study's applicability to older men and men belonging to groups not selected in this study. The sample included non-collegiate men in a small Northeastern university town and may not reflect the experiences of men who have had different or more diverse life experiences. Given the aging population of the United States (United States Bureau of the Census, 2007); it stands to reason that more studies with older men would be useful in addressing the changing needs of the population. Additionally, this study included African and White American men and as such may not be transferable to other male populations. This study did not include, for example, Hispanic/Latino, Asian, Native, or Middle Eastern Americans, and so findings may not reflect prevailing perspectives and experiences of men belonging to these groups.

This study may have contained social desirability bias, or the tendency of participants to respond in a manner that they expected to be favorably viewed. The fact that I am a middle-aged White woman may have influenced participant responses or experiences they chose to share. Participants shared some experiences with parents, and this may have predisposed them to reveal information that was conducive to family oriented discussion. It is not known whether participants associated this researcher with a maternal figure or someone whom they revered as an expert. It is also not known whether responses catered to what was perceived to be acceptable conversation with a woman. Responses may not have been as candid with this researcher as they would have with a male researcher. For example, if participants perceived me to be less tolerant of violence, they might not have revealed identification with anger or aggression. Participant 3 was irritated with some of my questions about perceptions of masculinity and this may have

indicated reluctance to share this information with a woman. Had the sample in this study consisted of the "manly guys" participants spoke about, responses may have reflected more traditional ideas of masculinity.

Perhaps the greatest limitation of this study is in the nature of qualitative work itself. Quantitative research may lack details about why participants select questionnaire answers as results are compiled into categories. Qualitative research, too, is subject to inference and generalizations. The process of phenomenological reduction in this study involved grouping individual perspectives and experiences into larger, more general categories (themes), and in that process, details about each individual's experience were lost. Additionally, the reduction process itself involved some guesswork regarding what was intended by participants. In many cases the interview format permitted clarification of participant's views, but this was not consistent throughout the study. One possible solution for this error might have been to talk with participants as a group to evaluate consensus of opinions and experiences. This was not possible for this particular study, and it is not known whether a group format would have produced consensus of all research findings.

<div align="center">Suggestions for Future Research</div>

This study brought to light areas not formerly addressed in the literature and may foster future research that continues to investigate areas related to masculinity. Future studies may include more information about reasons for adherence to traditional masculinity among different age groups and reference groups, and men who have not pursued higher education. Numerous researchers (Berger et al., 2005; Bruch, 2002; Burn & Ward, 2005; Good & Wood, 2005; Mahalik, Locke et al., 2003; Robertson, Lin, Woodford, Danos, & Hurst, 2001) have called for studies that include young men who are not exclusively enrolled in college. This

recommendation has merit given the aging U.S. population (United States Bureau of the Census, 2007). It would therefore be useful to include instruments and interventions that reflect attitudes and behaviors of older American men. Participants in this study were single and without children, and hence, did not reveal conflicts between work and family, as measured by O'Neil at al. (1986) in the gender role conflict scale. This finding may have been very different if participants were older and occupied by roles more commonly experienced later in life (e.g. partner, spouse, or parent). Additionally, an older sample of men may not be as preoccupied with sexual endeavors or appeal as were participants in this study.

Facets of masculinity have come to light in this study that may foster future research. Larger qualitative studies should be conducted to evaluate other characteristics associated with masculinity in order to more fully understand men and to address their needs. Qualitative work may permit revelations of a contextual nature, as well as provide reasons for adherence or nonconformity to traditional norms. This research was preceded by a pilot study that served to enhance its focus and refine the methods employed. It is recommended that future studies also include pilot studies that improve the rigor of research. One such possible study might involve verbally administering an existing instrument that assesses masculinity and discussing each participant's reasons for selecting or disputing items. A future study might also compare men's actual beliefs and behaviors to stereotypical ideas. This could serve to disable the stereotypes that are perpetuated about men and empower men to self-define their own masculinities. Either of these suggestions could include men belonging to diverse groups, including those identifying as gay, bi-sexual, transgendered, or as non-White Americans.

In order to deepen understanding of men and masculinity, a future study about men who engage in counseling might be conducted. This study might explore the reasons men selected

counseling, their reactions to the process, and outcomes. This study addressed some of this information, but future research on larger scales would permit counseling to address the unique perspectives of male clients. This in turn, may foster better outreach programs that cater to the needs of men and serve to destigmatize the counseling profession.

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Appendix A: Office of Research Protections Approval for Pilot Study

PENNSTATE

1855

<div align="right">
Office for Research Protections
201 Kern Building
University Park, PA 16802
814-865-1775
Fax: 814-863-8699
ORProtections@psu.edu
</div>

EXEMPTION DETERMINATION FORM

OFFICE USE ONLY

Form Instructions:
o   To complete the form, press TAB or SHIFT TAB between boxes and enter an 'X' or text. For assistance, contact the Office for Research Protections.
o   Submit recruitment materials, informed consent forms, and all other materials as attachments to the application. **Do NOT** include within the application.
o   Handwritten applications will NOT be accepted.

Project Title: Masculinity and Help Seeking in Adult Men

Exemption Screening Questions:

PLEASE ANSWER *ALL* OF THE SCREENING QUESTIONS. If you answer 'Yes' to any of the following questions A through D below, then **STOP** and use one of the *Applications for the Use of Human Participants – Expedited & Full Reviews* for initial IRB review.

If you answer 'No' to all of the questions A through D below, continue to complete this *Exemption Determination Form*.

A. For research involving special populations, interventions or manipulations
  1. Does your research involve prisoners?   ☐ Yes   **X** No
  2. Does your research involve using survey or interview procedures with children?   ☐ Yes   **X** No
  3. Does your research involve the observation of children in settings where the   ☐ Yes   **X** No
     investigator(s) will participate in the activities being observed?
  4. Does your research involve the use of deception?   ☐ Yes   **X** No

B.   For research using survey procedures, interview procedures, observational procedures, and questionnaires
  1. If data are to be audio or video recorded, is there potential harm[1] to participants if the   ☐ Yes   **X** No
     information is revealed or disclosed?

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[1] Harm to participants means that any disclosure of the human participants' responses outside the research could reasonably place the participants at risk of criminal or civil liability or can be damaging to the participants' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

2. If participants will be identified either by name or through demographic data, is there potential for harm to participants if the information is revealed or disclosed? ☐ Yes **X** No

3. Is the research regulated by the FDA and is NOT a food or taste study as outlined in category 6? ☐ Yes **X** No

C. For research using existing[2] or archived data, documents, records or specimens only

1. Will any data, documents, records or specimens be collected from participants after the submission of this form? Yes **X** No

2. If the data, documents, records or specimens are originally labeled in such a manner that the participants can be identified, directly or indirectly through identifying links, is the investigator recording the data for the purposes of this research in such a manner that participants can be identified, directly or indirectly through identifying links (e.g., demographic information that might reasonably lead to the identification of individual participants – name, phone number, or any code number that can be used to link the investigator's data to the source record – medical record number or hospital admission number)? ☐ Yes **X** No

3. If genetic tests are conducted on specimens, are the specimens and/or results linkable to participants or contain identifiable information (coded)? ☐ Yes **X** No

4. Would the data, documents, records or specimens being used in this study be classified as a "restricted usage" dataset? ☐ Yes **X** No

D. For research using protected health information

1. Will the research involve the use or disclosure of individually identifiable health information including: names, dates (other than years), telephone numbers, fax numbers, electronic email addresses, social security numbers, medical record numbers, health plan beneficiary numbers, account numbers, certificate/license numbers, device identifiers and serial numbers, web URLs, internet addresses, biometric identifiers, full face or comparable images, or any unique identifying number, characteristic or code? ☐ Yes **X** No

---

Principal Investigator: Eva E. Reed	PSU User ID (e.g., abc123): eek116
University Status (Faculty, Staff, Student, etc.): Student	Telephone Number: 814-867-0297, 814- 574-0047
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Email Address: jgt3@psu.edu	Telephone Number: 814-863-7536
Dept: Counselor Education, Counseling Psychology, and	College: Education

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[2] Existing means the items exist before the research was proposed or was collected prior to the research for a purpose other than the proposed research.

Rehabilitation Services
Mailing Address: 311 Cedar Building   Campus: UP

Is there anyone you wish to include on correspondence related to this study (e.g., a study coordinator, etc.)?

Name: N/A	PSU User ID (e.g., abc123):
University Status (Faculty, Staff, Student, etc.):	Telephone Number:
Email Address:	Dept:
College:	Campus:
Mailing Address:	Role in this study: Choose one of the following

1. **Funding Source: Indicate the name and mailing address of internal and external sources of funding. If the study is not funded, indicate such. If applicable, a copy of your grant proposal must be included with this application.**
> Study is not funded

2. **Class Project: Is this a class project?**
> ☐ Yes → Provide the following information:
> * Instructor's Name:
>   Course Title and Number:
>   Semester course is being offered:
>
> **X** No

3. **Conflict of Interest: Do you or any individual who is associated with/responsible for the design, the conduct, or the reporting of this research have an economic interest in or act as an officer or a director for any outside entity whose financial interests would reasonably appear to be affected by this research project?**
> ☐ Yes → Refer to Penn State Policy RA20 AND HR91 for additional information
> **X** No

4. **Exempt Research Categories: Read the following categories and choose one or more that apply to your research. Your research must fit in at least one category in order to be considered for an exemption determination.**

☐ **Category 1:** Research conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings, involving normal educational practices, such as (i) research on regular and special education instructional strategies, or (ii) research on the effectiveness of or the comparison among instructional techniques, curricula, or classroom management methods. **(This category _may_ include children. This category _may NOT_ include prisoners or be FDA-regulated.)**

X   Category 2: Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or observations of public behavior unless: (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human participants can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the participants; _and_ (ii) any disclosure of the human participants' responses outside the research could reasonably place the participants at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the participants' financial standing, employability, or reputation. **(This category _may NOT_ include prisoners or be FDA-regulated.)**

♦ Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement) for which participants cannot be identified, or release of the information would not be harmful to the participant. **(This category _may_ include children.)**

♦ Research involving the use of survey procedures or interview procedures or **observation of public behavior** for which participants cannot be identified, or release of the information would not be harmful to the participant. **(This category _may NOT_ include children except for research involving the observation of public behavior of children, when the investigator does not participate in the activities being observed.)**

♦ **PLEASE NOTE:** This category **CANNOT** include the use of diaries, journals, or asking participants to perform a task(s) [e.g., conducting searches on the Internet & then completing a questionnaire]. The entire study must fit into a category not just portions of it.

☐ **Category 3:** Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or observations of public behavior that is not exempt under #2 of this section, if: (i) the human participants are elected or appointed public officials or candidates for public office; or (ii) Federal statute(s) require(s) without exception that the confidentiality of the personally identifiable information will be maintained throughout the research and thereafter. **(This category _may NOT_ include prisoners or be FDA-regulated.)**

☐ **Category 4:** Research involving the collection or study of existing data, documents, records, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens, if these sources are publicly available or if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that participants cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the participants. **(This category _may_ include children. Existing data means the items exist [are 'on the shelf'] before the research was proposed or were collected prior to the research for any purpose. This category _may NOT_ include prisoners or be FDA-regulated.)**

☐ **Category 5:** Research and demonstration projects that are conducted by or subject to the approval of department or agency heads, and which are designed to study, evaluate, or otherwise examine: (i) public benefit or service programs; (ii) procedures for obtaining benefits or services under those programs; (iii) possible changes in or alternatives to those programs or procedures; (iv) possible changes in methods or levels of payment for benefits or services under those programs. **(This category _may_ include children. This category _may NOT_ include prisoners or be FDA-regulated.)**

☐ **Category 6:** Taste and food quality evaluation and consumer acceptance studies, (i) if wholesome foods without additives are consumed or (ii) if a food is consumed that contains a food ingredient at or below the level for a use found to be safe, or agricultural chemical or environmental contaminant at or below the level found to be safe, by the Food and Drug Administration or approved by the Environmental Protection Agency or the Food Safety and Inspection Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. **(This category _may_ include children. This category _may NOT_ include prisoners.)**

NOTE:
- The Principal Investigator is responsible for ensuring that all individuals conducting procedures described in this application are trained adequately prior to involving human participants.
- All personnel listed on this application who (1) are responsible for the design/conduct of the study, (2) will have access to the human participants (i.e., will consent participants, conduct the study), or (3) will have access to identifying AND confidential information must successfully complete the IRB's Training on the Protection of Human Participants or provide verification of training from their home institution. PSU's training may be located at http://www.research.psu.edu/orp/education/modules/irb/index.asp. **Approval will NOT be granted until all individuals have successfully completed the training.** Verification of training does NOT need to be sent in if the individual completed the Penn State's training.
- As personnel change, you must submit a _Modification Request Form – Exemption_ to add or remove personnel.

11. <u>Consent:</u> **Describe the methods you plan to use in order to obtain informed permission to participate in this research. Attach a copy of the written description or script for oral presentation. If you cannot obtain informed permission for this study, explain why it cannot be obtained (e.g., the data are de-identified).**

> Informed consent form is attached and will be presented to participants before the study beings. Participants will be asked to review this form and relate any questions prior to signing and beginning the study.

12. <u>Compensation:</u> **If individuals will be offered compensation, indicate the type and amount of compensation that will be offered.**
> ☐ Money → Amount:
> ☐ Gift Certificate → Amount:
> ☐ Extra/Class Credit → Amount:
> ☐ Drawing → Explain:
> ☐ Other → Explain:
> **X** Compensation will **NOT** be offered → Skip to Question 14

13. <u>Compensation:</u> **If extra/class credit is being offered, describe the alternative available for earning the extra/class credit. The alternative must be equal in time and effort to participating in the research.**

14. <u>Recordings:</u> **If recording will be done for this research, indicate the type of recording that will be made.**

> **X** Audio ☐ Video ☐ Photographs ☐ Recordings will **NOT** be made → Skip to #16

15. <u>Recordings:</u> **Describe (a) where the recordings will be stored; (b) who will have access to the recordings; (c) how the recordings will be transcribed and coded, if applicable; (d) who will transcribe the recordings; (e) how and by what year will the recordings be destroyed. If you wish to retain the recordings indefinitely, provide a sound justification for doing so.**

> Recording will be stored in a fire proof metal locked safe to which only the principal investigator will have access. Recordings will be transcribed and coded during pre-determined meetings by the principal investigator and research consultants and then returned to the locked safe until all data has been coded and transcribed. Recordings will be retained in the locked box until January 2011 following transcription so that data from interviews can be used to support further quantitative dissertation research. On or before January 2011, interview recordings will be destroyed to protect participants from any affiliation with the study in question.

16. <u>Abstract:</u> **The abstract below will assist the ORP in reviewing your research. The abstract must address the important elements of the exemption category you indicated your research meets in Question 4 above. The information in the abstract must include a specific description of the procedure(s) involving human participants to demonstrate the study meets all the requirements for the chosen category (ies). Depending on the category(ies) chosen in Question 4 above, the abstract should address the following:**

> **Category 1:** Specify whether 1.i. or 1.ii. applies and briefly explain.
> **Category 2:** Assure condition 2.i. and/or 2.ii. applies and briefly explain. Attach copies of tests, surveys, interview questions, focus group topics or applicable instruments.
> **Category 3:** Explain why identifiers or links must be collected. Explain if participants hold a public office (3.i.) or assure federal statutes for maintaining confidentiality apply (3.ii.). Attach copies of tests, surveys, interview questions, focus group topics applicable instruments.
> **Category 4:** Provide the following information for the data/specimens that will be used in this study:
> - a brief explanation about the original study and the origin of the data/specimens – include web address (URL) if known & applicable

o a list of all data points that will be used in this study (or attach the data collection sheet) and what the data/specimens will be used for

o a statement regarding how the data/specimens to be reviewed exist as of the date of the submission of this application (i.e., the data/specimens are 'on the shelf' and no new data/specimens will be added to this study

o if the data/specimens are NOT publicly available, a description of how access to the data/specimens will be gained.

    o Submit written documentation of permission/approval from the person authorized to grant access to the data. The documentation must include the following information: (1) a statement indicating identifiers linked to the data/specimens will not be provided OR (2) if identifiers are linked to the data, a statement indicating access to identifiable data/specimens has been granted, why this is necessary, and that the data/specimens will be recorded in such a manner that participants cannot be identified directly or indirectly through coded identifiers linked to the participants

Category 5: This exemption is extended only to research and demonstration projects conducted by or subject to the approval of Federal Department or Agency Heads and are designed to study, evaluate, or otherwise examine Federal public benefit or service programs. Explain how this study meets these criteria. Identify and describe which of the categories (5.i. – 5.iv.) apply.

Category 6: For taste and food quality evaluations, assure the safety of the foods by addressing how conditions 6.i. or 6.ii. are met.

Use the following sections to complete your abstract:

a. **Background/Rationale:** Briefly provide the background information and rationale for performing the study and any potential benefits.

Men seek out and engage in counseling at a far lesser rate than women do, and more information is needed to assess the reasons for this underutilization of services. Participants are likely to gain self knowledge over the course of the study, and their collective information will be used to further knowledge about reaching and serving potential counseling clients.

b. **Key Objectives:** Summarize the study's objectives, aims or goals.

This qualitative study is being conducted to explore the ways in which adult men address personal problems and engage in problem solving. Specifically, the interviews conducted will involve discussion of each participant's self concept and origins of a sense of masculinity, and will further involve an exploration of perceptions of personal problems and how each participant addresses and manages those problems. Information obtained will be used as a foundation on which further quantitative research may be conducted to assess help seeking behaviors as they relate to adherence to masculinity. This particular study will be used as a basis for my doctoral dissertation.

c. **Study Population, Samples and/or Charts:** Describe the characteristics of the participant population, such as anticipated number to be involved, age range, gender, ethnic background and health status.

I intend to interview 5 adult males from Euro-American, African American, and Hispanic American cultures.

d. **Major Eligibility Criteria:** Identify the criteria for inclusion and exclusion.

Adult men aged 24-60 who identify as any race or belonging to any sexual orientation.

e. **Research Procedures involving participants:** Summarize the study's procedures by providing a step-by-step process of what participants will be asked to do, emphasizing the procedures that may cause risk. **Include enough details to demonstrate that the research meets the requirement(s) for the exemption category (ies) chosen in Question 4 above.**

Participants will be asked to meet with the primary investigator in a private setting where the interviews will take place. Participants will be identified by a random number and that number will be pre-recorded on the demographic questionnaire (attached) and to the corresponding interview sheet so that specific differences between responses of participants can be observed and recorded. No names, social security numbers, publicly registered means of identification, or physical identifying features will be recorded regarding any participants. Participants will be asked to respond to a series of questions (see attached interview questions) pertaining to recollections of role models, and methods of addressing personal emotional problems over the course of 30 to 60 minutes. Information obtained in the interviews will not be related to any social, political, or vocational issues that might interfere with or otherwise damage participants' reputations or standing in the community. Participants' responses will be audio recorded during each interview and will then be transferred to a secure lock box accessible by the primary investigator.

f. **Risks and Discomforts:** If applicable, describe any reasonably foreseeable risks and discomforts – physical, psychological, social, legal or other.

Participants will be asked to recall relationships with role models and personal methods of coping with emotional difficulty. While the study is not intended to elicit discomfort, participants may experience emotional discomfort at being asked to share personal recollections or methods of addressing personal problems. Participants will be informed of this possibility and their right to withdraw from the study at any time.

g. **Confidentiality & Privacy:** Explain how the confidentiality of the data and the privacy of the participants will be maintained.

Participant responses and demographic information will be recorded using a random number. Interview responses will be documented during the interview and then transferred to a locked heavy metal safe, to which only the principal investigator has access. Transcripts of interviews will be reviewed collectively by the principal investigator and the consultants listed herein based on the written materials collected at the time of the interviews. No identifying information other than those recorded on the demographic sheet will be used in coding or evaluating interview responses. Data collected from the interviews will be retained for 3 years following the completion of the interviews in order to permit adequate time to assess cumulative responses. After that one year period of data assessment has lapsed, interview data and demographic information will be destroyed.

h. **Investigator Qualifications & Specific Role in the Research:** Describe the role of each individual (including the advisor, if applicable) listed on this form. Clearly state (1) the procedures or techniques he/she will be performing and (2) his/her level of experience in performing the procedures/techniques.

Eva Reed, Principal Investigator: will recruit participants, conduct interviews, maintain confidential records, code data, arrange and prepare any materials resulting from this study for publication. Eva is a doctoral candidate in Counselor Education and Supervision. Experiences include having conducted personal interviews for class research, psychological intake assessments, and student/client interviews for the purpose of service and or progress evaluation. Background research conducted in qualitative research and evaluation. Principal researcher is a nationally certified counselor (NCC) with three years experience working with clients with mental or physical disability or adjustment concerns, and is trained and experienced in maintenance of confidential records.

Samantha Herrick, Data Analysis Consultant: will recruit participants and assist in evaluation and coding of data; will review any materials prepared for publication. Samantha has eight years experience working in Rehabilitation Counseling and is a CRC. Samantha has worked on quantitative research projects involving correlational regression analysis.

Paul Datti, Data Analysis Consultant: will recruit participants and assist in evaluation and coding of data; will assist in reviewing any materials resulting from this study prepared for publication. Paul has 12 years experience working as a Rehabilitation Counselor, is a CRC, and has worked as a research assistant in both quantitative and qualitative studies.

Dr. Jerry Trusty will not be actively involved in this research study, but may be retained for advisement should the need arise.

i. References: If applicable, provide any relevant literature references/citations.

N/A

17. Assurances

I agree to report to the Office for Research Protections (ORP), in a timely manner, information regarding (a) any injury to a human participant, (b) any unanticipated problems involving risks to participants or others, or (c) any new information involving risks to participants. All individuals listed on this form have completed the training requirements. I have adequately explained in this form the role of each individual and their experience in performing that role.

I understand that any changes that occur after the initial exempt determination is made, **must be submitted to and reviewed by the ORP** *before* **implementation**, except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants. In the latter instance, the ORP must be notified by the next workday.

I affirm that as the principal investigator on this study, I will adhere to the policies and procedures described in Penn State's Federalwide Assurance with the Office for Human Research Protections as well as Federal regulations for the protection of human participants involved in research (45CFR46; 21CFR parts 50 & 56). Copies of these documents are available in the ORP upon request or on their website – http://www.research.psu.edu/orp/.

_____   _____
Signature of Principal Investigator, REQUIRED   Date

I hereby confirm that I have read this application and my signature denotes the completeness and accuracy of the information provided.

_____
PRINT Name of Faculty Advisor, REQUIRED IF PI IS A STUDENT

_____
_____
SIGNATURE of Faculty Advisor, REQUIRED IF PI IS A STUDENT   Date

I hereby confirm that I have read this application and my signature denotes departmental/unit approval of this project. To the best of my knowledge, the information in the attached application relating to members of my department is correct.

The investigator(s) who are members of my department are qualified to perform the roles proposed for them in this application. Any novice researchers from my department will be supervised by qualified investigators.

_____
PRINT Name of PI's Department/Unit Head, REQUIRED

_____
_____
SIGNATURE of PI's Department/Unit Head, REQUIRED   Date

Appendix B: Interview Questions

1. Tell me about your male role models.
2. Will you tell me about your time with them?
3. In what ways are you like these men?
4. What do you like about being a man?
5. When you think about what it means to be a man, what's the first thing that pops into your head?
6. Is that what your experience of being a man is like? How so?
7. How do you think other men would answer this?
8. As a man, do you feel pressured? In what ways? By whom or what?
9. Will you tell me about work?
10. Will you tell me about your family life?
11. How are you different with men than with women? Situations (parties, work, what is your primary goal)?
12. Tell me about a time when you knew a man that was being inappropriate or out of line. What was the experience like for you?
13. How do you think women have it made? What are their social advantages?
14. How do men have it made? What are their social advantages?
15. How did you know when your male role models were having personal problems?
16. How were these problems handled by these men?
17. Do you believe you handle problems in the same way? In what ways?
18. Can you tell me about a time when you had a serious problem? Who did you tell? How come you chose that person?
19. Did you confide in anyone else about this problem? Whom?
20. If you had shared this problem with a buddy, how would he have reacted?
21. Have you ever talked with a counselor about personal problems?
22. If yes, what was the experience like for you?
23. Was it helpful and if so, what was it that made it so?
24. Was your counselor a man or a woman?
25. What are your thoughts about counseling?
26. What would your buddies think if they knew you were in counseling? What would women in your life think?
27. If you were to seek out counseling, would you prefer a male or female counselor? How come?
28. What qualities would you look for in a counselor?

Appendix C: Telephone Script

Hello, my name is Eva Reed, and I am a doctoral candidate with the Pennsylvania State University. I am conducting research involving a series of interviews with straight men about their personal beliefs and problem solving methods. I would like to opportunity to talk with you for about one hour so that your contribution can be included in this research, then a second time for about a half an hour so that you can confirm your answers. I realize this is a time commitment for you and you will be paid 15 dollars at the second meeting for your contributions. The information you share will be compiled with that of other participants and used to promote understanding of men's perspectives. All information will be kept private and confidential and will be destroyed by January 2011. This study will only include the perspectives and experiences of men who identify as straight or heterosexual. Does this sound like something you are interested in doing? May I confirm some information about your age and education before we make arrangements to meet for an hour?

Appendix D: Demographic Information

Please answer the following questions by completing the information on the line following each statement **or** by checking the appropriate box. All information will be kept private and confidential and will not be used to identify the person completing this form.

I have completed high school and have *not* attended a two or four year college or university (***circle*** one)

YES   NO

Please ***print*** your answers.

My age is_____

My race is_____

My occupation is_____I work _____hours per week

My sexual orientation is: (please ***check*** one)

Heterosexual/Straight_____

Bisexual _____

Homosexual/Gay_____

My marital status is: (please ***check*** one)

Single_____

Married_____

Separated ____

Divorced_____

Serious Partner_____

I have _____children

Appendix E: Informed Consent

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
The Pennsylvania State University

Title of Project: Masculinity and Help Seeking in Young Non-Collegiate Men

Principal Investigator: Eva Reed, 1007 Golfview Ave. #28, State College, PA 16801
                        (814) 867-0297 eek116@psu.edu

Other Investigator(s): Paul Datti, 905 W Aaron Drive, Apt. O, State College, PA 16803
                        Samantha Herrick, 991 Southgate Drive, State College, PA 16801

Student's Adviser: Dr. Jerry Trusty, 311 Cedar Building, University Park, PA 16802
                        Email: jgt3@psu.edu Phone: 814-863-7536

1. Purpose of the Study: The purpose of this research is to explore your self concept and methods of problem solving.

2. Procedures to be followed: Participation in this research will include responding to a series of questions about yourself, your problem solving tactics, and methods you have used and are willing to use in addressing issues of personal concern. A demographic questionnaire will also be administered. You will be contacted a week or two after the interview to review and confirm the information you shared in the interview.

3. Benefits:
    a. You may learn more about yourself by participating in this research, especially about how you address problematic situations and feelings.
    b. The benefits to society include providing information that may help others.
    c. Compensation in the amount of $15.00 will be paid to you after completing the study.

4. Duration/Time: It will take approximately one hour to complete the interview and one half hour to review the interview transcript two weeks following the interview meeting.

5. Statement of Confidentiality: Your responses during this interview will be kept confidential and retained in a secure box to which only the principal investigator has access. Information obtained from talking with you will be coded using random numbers that will be written on your demographic questionnaire and on the corresponding audio tape. These will then be used by the principal investigator and two coding assistants to transcribe and collate data collected. No indentifying information will be retained on tape recordings and tapes will be destroyed following the transcription process and be retained no later than January 2011 to ensure accuracy of coding. Your responses will not be

matched to your identity in any transcription or written work related to findings of this experiment.

6. Right to Ask Questions: You have the right to ask questions and have those questions answered. You can ask the experimenter in charge questions. Questions regarding the experiment or interview process should be directed to Eva Reed, eek116@psu.edu, (814) 574-0047.

7. Voluntary Participation: your participation is voluntary. You can withdraw from the study at any time by notifying the principal investigator. You can decline to answer specific questions.

You must be 18 years of age or older to consent to participate in this research study. If you consent to participate in this research study and to the terms above, please sign your name and indicate the date below.

You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep for your records.

_____ I give my permission to be AUDIO taped.

_____ I do not give my permission to be AUDIO taped.

_____I give my permission for portions of this interview to be directly quoted in publications or presentations.

_____I do NOT give my permission for portions of this interview to be directly quoted in publications or presentations.

_____   _____

Participant Signature   Date

I, the undersigned, verify that the above informed consent procedure has been followed.

_____   _____

Investigator Signature   Date

Appendix F: Office of Research Protections Approval for Current Study

PENNSTATE
1855

EXEMPTION DETERMINATION FORM

OFFICE USE ONLY

Form Instructions:
o To complete the form, press TAB or SHIFT TAB between boxes and enter an 'X' or text. For assistance, contact the Office for Research Protections.
o Submit recruitment materials, informed consent forms, and all other materials as attachments to the application. **Do NOT** include within the application.
o Handwritten applications will NOT be accepted.

Project Title: **Masculinity and Help Seeking in Young Non-Collegiate Men**
Exemption Screening Questions:

PLEASE ANSWER _ALL_ OF THE SCREENING QUESTIONS. If you answer 'Yes' to any of the following questions A through D below, then **STOP** and use one of the *Applications for the Use of Human Participants – Expedited & Full Reviews* for initial IRB review.

If you answer 'No' to all of the questions A through D below, continue to complete this *Exemption Determination Form.*

A. For research involving special populations, interventions or manipulations
1. Does your research involve prisoners? ☐ Yes **X** No
2. Does your research involve using survey or interview procedures with children? ☐ Yes **X** No
3. Does your research involve the observation of children in settings where the investigator(s) will participate in the activities being observed? ☐ Yes **X** No
4. Does your research involve the use of deception? ☐ Yes **X** No

B. For research using survey procedures, interview procedures, observational procedures, and questionnaires
1. If data are to be audio or video recorded, is there potential harm[3] to participants if the information is revealed or disclosed? ☐ Yes **X** No
2. If participants will be identified either by name or through demographic data, is there potential for harm to participants if the information is revealed or disclosed? ☐ Yes **X** No

_____

[3] Harm to participants means that any disclosure of the human participants' responses outside the research could reasonably place the participants at risk of criminal or civil liability or can be damaging to the participants' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

3. Is the research regulated by the FDA and is NOT a food or taste study as outlined in category 6? ☐ Yes **X** No

C. For research using existing[4] **or archived data, documents, records or specimens only**

1. Will any data, documents, records or specimens be collected from participants after the submission of this form? Yes **X** No

2. If the data, documents, records or specimens are originally labeled in such a manner that the participants can be identified, directly or indirectly through identifying links, is the investigator recording the data for the purposes of this research in such a manner that participants can be identified, directly or indirectly through identifying links (e.g., demographic information that might reasonably lead to the identification of individual participants – name, phone number, or any code number that can be used to link the investigator's data to the source record – medical record number or hospital admission number)? ☐ Yes **X** No

3. If genetic tests are conducted on specimens, are the specimens and/or results linkable to participants or contain identifiable information (coded)? ☐ Yes **X** No

4. Would the data, documents, records or specimens being used in this study be classified as a "restricted usage" dataset? ☐ Yes **X** No

D. For research using protected health information

1. Will the research involve the use or disclosure of individually identifiable health information including: names, dates (other than years), telephone numbers, fax numbers, electronic email addresses, social security numbers, medical record numbers, health plan beneficiary numbers, account numbers, certificate/license numbers, device identifiers and serial numbers, web URLs, internet addresses, biometric identifiers, full face or comparable images, or any unique identifying number, characteristic or code? ☐ Yes **X** No

Principal Investigator: Eva E. Reed	PSU User ID (e.g., abc123): eek116
University Status (Faculty, Staff, Student, etc.): Student	Telephone Number: 814-867-0297, 814- 574-0047
Email Address: eek116@psu.edu	Dept: Counselor Education, Counseling Psychology, and Rehabilitation Services
College: Education	Campus: UP
Mailing Address: 1007 Golfview Avenue #28, State College, PA 16801	

Faculty Advisor, if PI is a student: Dr. Jerry Trusty	PSU User ID (e.g., abc123): jgt3
Email Address: jgt3@psu.edu	Telephone Number: 814-863-7536
Dept: Counselor Education, Counseling Psychology, and Rehabilitation Services	College: Education

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[4] Existing means the items exist before the research was proposed or was collected prior to the research for a purpose other than the proposed research.

Mailing Address: 311 Cedar Building	Campus: UP

Is there anyone you wish to include on correspondence related to this study (e.g., a study coordinator, etc.)?	
Name: N/A	PSU User ID (e.g., abc123):
University Status (Faculty, Staff, Student, etc.):	Telephone Number:
Email Address:	Dept:
College:	Campus:
Mailing Address:	Role in this study: Choose one of the following

1. **Funding Source: Indicate the <u>name and mailing address</u> of internal and external sources of funding. If the study is not funded, indicate such. If applicable, a copy of your grant proposal must be included with this application.**
        Study is not funded

2. **Class Project: Is this a class project?**
        ☐ Yes → Provide the following information:
        • Instructor's Name:
          Course Title and Number:
          Semester course is being offered:
    X No

3. **Conflict of Interest: Do you or any individual who is associated with/responsible for the design, the conduct, or the reporting of this research have an economic interest in or act as an officer or a director for any outside entity whose financial interests would reasonably appear to be affected by this research project?**
        ☐ Yes → Refer to Penn State Policy RA20 AND HR91 for additional information
    X No

4. **Exempt Research Categories: Read the following categories and choose one or more that apply to your research. Your research must fit in at least one category in order to be considered for an exemption determination.**

☐ **Category 1:** Research conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings, involving normal educational practices, such as (i) research on regular and special education instructional strategies, or (ii) research on the effectiveness of or the comparison among instructional techniques, curricula, or classroom management methods. **(This category *may* include children. This category *may NOT* include prisoners or be FDA-regulated.)**

X **Category 2:** Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or observations of public behavior unless: (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human participants can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the participants; <u>and</u> (ii) any disclosure of the human participants' responses outside the research could reasonably place the participants at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the participants' financial standing, employability, or reputation. **(This category *may NOT* include prisoners or be FDA-regulated.)**

♦ Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement) for which participants cannot be identified, or release of the information would not be harmful to the participant. **(This category _may_ include children.)**

♦ Research involving the use of survey procedures or interview procedures or **observation of public behavior** for which participants cannot be identified, or release of the information would not be harmful to the participant. **(This category _may NOT_ include children except for research involving the observation of public behavior of children, when the investigator does not participate in the activities being observed.)**

♦ **PLEASE NOTE:** This category **CANNOT** include the use of diaries, journals, or asking participants to perform a task(s) [e.g., conducting searches on the Internet & then completing a questionnaire]. The entire study must fit into a category not just portions of it.

☐ **Category 3:** Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or observations of public behavior that is not exempt under #2 of this section, if: (i) the human participants are elected or appointed public officials or candidates for public office; or (ii) Federal statute(s) require(s) without exception that the confidentiality of the personally identifiable information will be maintained throughout the research and thereafter. **(This category _may NOT_ include prisoners or be FDA-regulated.)**

☐ **Category 4:** Research involving the collection or study of existing data, documents, records, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens, if these sources are publicly available or if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that participants cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the participants. **(This category _may_ include children. Existing data means the items exist [are 'on the shelf'] before the research was proposed or were collected prior to the research for any purpose. This category _may NOT_ include prisoners or be FDA-regulated.)**

☐ **Category 5:** Research and demonstration projects that are conducted by or subject to the approval of department or agency heads, and which are designed to study, evaluate, or otherwise examine: (i) public benefit or service programs; (ii) procedures for obtaining benefits or services under those programs; (iii) possible changes in or alternatives to those programs or procedures; (iv) possible changes in methods or levels of payment for benefits or services under those programs. **(This category _may_ include children. This category _may NOT_ include prisoners or be FDA-regulated.)**

☐ **Category 6:** Taste and food quality evaluation and consumer acceptance studies, (i) if wholesome foods without additives are consumed or (ii) if a food is consumed that contains a food ingredient at or below the level for a use found to be safe, or agricultural chemical or environmental contaminant at or below the level found to be safe, by the Food and Drug Administration or approved by the Environmental Protection Agency or the Food Safety and Inspection Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. **(This category _may_ include children. This category _may NOT_ include prisoners.)**

NOTE:
- The Principal Investigator is responsible for ensuring that all individuals conducting procedures described in this application are trained adequately prior to involving human participants.
- All personnel listed on this application who (1) are responsible for the design/conduct of the study, (2) will have access to the human participants (i.e., will consent participants, conduct the study), or (3) will have access to identifying AND confidential information must successfully complete the IRB's Training on the Protection of Human Participants or provide verification of training from their home institution. PSU's training may be located at http://www.research.psu.edu/orp/education/modules/irb/index.asp. **Approval will NOT be granted until all individuals have successfully completed the training.** Verification of training does NOT need to be sent in if the individual completed the Penn State's training.
- As personnel change, you must submit a _Modification Request Form – Exemption_ to add or remove personnel.

5. <u>Research Personnel:</u> Provide the name of the other individual(s) assisting with this study who (1) will be responsible for the design/conduct of the study, (2) have access to the human participants (i.e., will consent participants, conduct the study), or (3) have access to identifying AND confidential information. If the individual does not have a PSU Access User ID, please provide some other form of contact information. If additional space is needed, attach a separate sheet containing the same information.

Name	Email Address	PSU User ID (e.g., abc 123)	Mailing Address	Role in this Study
Samantha Herrick	sjh271@psu.edu	sjh271	991 Southgate Drive, State, PA 16801	DataAnalysis/Consultant
Paul Datti	pad104@psu.edu	pad104	905 W Aaron Drive, Apt. O State College, PA 16803	DataAnalysis/Consultant

6. <u>Participants:</u> Estimated numbers of participants/samples/charts to be involved (Enter one number – not a range):   8

7. <u>Participants:</u> Will there be an equal representation of:

Gender Identity	☐ Yes	**X** No	If No, explain.	please	Study is based on males only
Racial/ethnic groups	**X** Yes	☐ No	If No, explain.	please	
Sexual Orientation	☐ Yes	**X** No	If No, explain.	please	Study is based on heterosexual men

8. <u>Participants:</u> Age range – Choose all that apply:

☐ Less than 1 year   ☐ 7 – 12 years   **X** 18 – 25 years   ☐ 40 – 65 years

☐ 1 – 6 years   ☐ 13 – 17 years   ☐ 26 – 40 years   ☐ 65+ years

9. <u>Recruitment:</u> Describe from where and how the participants will be identified or recruited, who will make the initial contact with the participants, and how you plan to distribute or display any recruitment materials for this research (e.g., bulletin board, emails, newspaper advertisement).

Snowball sampling—principal researcher will contact neighbor regarding a number of men in the State College area who would be willing participants. Those potential participants will then be contacted via telephone and addressed by principal investigator who will follow the attached telephone script.

10. <u>Recruitment:</u> Indicate how participants will be recruited to participate in this study & attach copies of the materials. Choose all that apply:

☐ Advertisement   ☐ In-person Script (Verbal)   ☐ Flyer   ☐ Email

X Telephone Script   ☐ Information Sheet   ☐ Letter   ☐ Other → Explain:

11. <u>Consent:</u> Describe the methods you plan to use in order to obtain informed permission to participate in this research. Attach a copy of the written description or script for oral presentation. If you cannot obtain informed permission for this study, explain why it cannot be obtained (e.g., the data are de-identified).

> Informed consent form is attached and will be presented to participants before the study beings. Participants will be asked to review this form and relate any questions prior to signing and beginning the study.

12. <u>Compensation:</u> If individuals will be offered compensation, indicate the type and amount of compensation that will be offered.

- **X** Money → Amount: $15.00
- ☐ Gift Certificate → Amount:
- ☐ Extra/Class Credit → Amount:
- ☐ Drawing → Explain:
- ☐ Other → Explain:
- ☐ Compensation will **NOT** be offered → Skip to Question 14

13. <u>Compensation:</u> If extra/class credit is being offered, describe the alternative available for earning the extra/class credit. The alternative must be equal in time and effort to participating in the research.

> Participants will meet with principal interviewer twice, once for the initial interview and a second time to review and confirm information obtained in the interview. Compensation will be given in the amount of $15 at the time of the second meeting.

14. <u>Recordings:</u> If recording will be done for this research, indicate the type of recording that will be made.

X Audio ☐ Video ☐ Photographs ☐ Recordings will **NOT** be made → Skip to #16

15. <u>Recordings:</u> Describe (a) where the recordings will be stored; (b) who will have access to the recordings; (c) how the recordings will be transcribed and coded, if applicable; (d) who will transcribe the recordings; (e) how and by what year will the recordings be destroyed. If you wish to retain the recordings indefinitely, provide a sound justification for doing so.

> Recording will be stored in a fire proof metal locked safe to which only the principal investigator will have access. Recordings will be transcribed and coded during pre-determined meetings by the principal investigator and research consultants and then returned to the locked safe until all data has been coded and transcribed. Recordings will be retained in the locked box until January 2011 following transcription so that data from interviews can be used to support further quantitative dissertation research. On or before January 2011, interview recordings will be destroyed to protect participants from any affiliation with the study in question.

16. <u>Abstract:</u> The abstract below will assist the ORP in reviewing your research. The abstract must address the important elements of the exemption category you indicated your research meets in Question 4 above. The information in the abstract must include a specific description of the procedure(s) involving human participants to demonstrate the study meets all the requirements for the chosen category (ies). Depending on the category(ies) chosen in Question 4 above, the abstract should address the following:

Category 1: Specify whether 1.i. or 1.ii. applies and briefly explain.

Category 2: Assure condition 2.i. and/or 2.ii. applies and briefly explain. Attach copies of tests, surveys, interview questions, focus group topics or applicable instruments.

Category 3: Explain why identifiers or links must be collected. Explain if participants hold a public office (3.i.) or assure federal statutes for maintaining confidentiality apply (3.ii.). Attach copies of tests, surveys, interview questions, focus group topics applicable instruments.

Category 4: Provide the following information for the data/specimens that will be used in this study:

- o a brief explanation about the original study and the origin of the data/specimens – include web address (URL) if known & applicable

     o a list of all data points that will be used in this study (or attach the data collection sheet) and what the data/specimens will be used for

     o a statement regarding how the data/specimens to be reviewed exist as of the date of the submission of this application (i.e., the data/specimens are 'on the shelf' and no new data/specimens will be added to this study

     o if the data/specimens are NOT publicly available, a description of how access to the data/specimens will be gained.

         o Submit written documentation of permission/approval from the person authorized to grant access to the data. The documentation must include the following information: (1) a statement indicating identifiers linked to the data/specimens will not be provided OR (2) if identifiers are linked to the data, a statement indicating access to identifiable data/specimens has been granted, why this is necessary, and that the data/specimens will be recorded in such a manner that participants cannot be identified directly or indirectly through coded identifiers linked to the participants

Category 5: This exemption is extended only to research and demonstration projects conducted by or subject to the approval of Federal Department or Agency Heads and are designed to study, evaluate, or otherwise examine Federal public benefit or service programs. Explain how this study meets these criteria. Identify and describe which of the categories (5.i. – 5.iv.) apply.

Category 6: For taste and food quality evaluations, assure the safety of the foods by addressing how conditions 6.i. or 6.ii. are met.

Use the following sections to complete your abstract:

a. **Background/Rationale:** Briefly provide the background information and rationale for performing the study and any potential benefits.

Men seek out and engage in counseling at a far lesser rate than women do, and more information is needed to assess the reasons for this underutilization of services. Participants are likely to gain self knowledge over the course of the study, and their collective information will be used to further knowledge about reaching and serving potential counseling clients.

b. **Key Objectives:** Summarize the study's objectives, aims or goals.

This qualitative study is being conducted to explore the ways in which adult men address personal problems and engage in problem solving. Specifically, the interviews conducted will involve discussion of each participant's self concept and origins of a sense of masculinity, and will further involve an exploration of perceptions of personal problems and how each participant addresses and manages those problems. Information obtained will be used as a foundation on which further quantitative research may be conducted to assess help seeking behaviors as they relate to adherence to masculinity. This particular study will be used as a basis for my doctoral dissertation.

c. **Study Population, Samples and/or Charts:** Describe the characteristics of the participant population, such as anticipated number to be involved, age range, gender, ethnic background and health status.

I intend to interview 5 adult males from Euro-American, African American, and Hispanic American cultures who report having no major medical or psychological problems.

d. **Major Eligibility Criteria:** Identify the criteria for inclusion and exclusion.

Adult men aged 18-24 who identify as any race and identifying as straight/heterosexual. This study will focus on young men who have not pursued education in two or four year universities or colleges. Participants to be excluded include males who do not fit into this description.

e. Research Procedures involving participants: Summarize the study's procedures by providing a step-by-step process of what participants will be asked to do, emphasizing the procedures that may cause risk. Include enough details to demonstrate that the research meets the requirement(s) for the exemption category (ies) chosen in Question 4 above.

Participants will be asked to meet with the primary investigator in a private setting where the interviews will take place. Participants will be identified by a random number and that number will be pre-recorded on the demographic questionnaire (attached) and to the corresponding interview sheet so that specific differences between responses of participants can be observed and recorded. No names, social security numbers, publicly registered means of identification, or physical identifying features will be recorded regarding any participants. Participants will be asked to respond to a series of questions (see attached interview questions) pertaining to recollections of role models, and methods of addressing personal emotional problems over the course of approximately 60 minutes. Information obtained in the interviews will not be related to any social, political, or vocational issues that might interfere with or otherwise damage participants' reputations or standing in the community. Participants' responses will be audio recorded during each interview and will then be transferred to a secure lock box accessible by the primary investigator. Participants will be asked to meet a second time two weeks following the interviews to review responses for accuracy.

f. Risks and Discomforts: If applicable, describe any reasonably foreseeable risks and discomforts – physical, psychological, social, legal or other.

Participants will be asked to recall relationships with role models and personal methods of coping with emotional difficulty. While the study is not intended to elicit discomfort, participants may experience emotional discomfort at being asked to share personal recollections or methods of addressing personal problems. Participants will be informed of this possibility and their right to withdraw from the study at any time.

g. Confidentiality & Privacy: Explain how the confidentiality of the data and the privacy of the participants will be maintained.

Participant responses and demographic information will be recorded using a random number. Interview responses will be documented during the interview and then transferred to a locked heavy metal safe, to which only the principal investigator has access. Transcripts of interviews will be reviewed collectively by the principal investigator and the consultants listed herein based on the written materials collected at the time of the interviews. No identifying information other than those recorded on the demographic sheet will be used in coding or evaluating interview responses. Data collected from the interviews will be retained for 3 years following the completion of the interviews in order to permit adequate time to assess cumulative responses. Participants will be asked to meet with principal investigator two weeks after interviews to confirm transcriptions of interviews. This second meeting will take place in a private location to maintain anonymity of participants. Participants will be reminded that findings are held confidential and destroyed. After three years, interview data and demographic information will be destroyed.

h. Investigator Qualifications & Specific Role in the Research: Describe the role of each individual (including the advisor, if applicable) listed on this form. Clearly state (1) the procedures or techniques he/she will be performing and (2) his/her level of experience in performing the procedures/techniques.

Eva Reed, Principal Investigator: will recruit participants, conduct interviews, maintain confidential records, code data, arrange and prepare any materials resulting from this study for publication. Eva is a doctoral candidate in Counselor Education and Supervision. Experiences include having conducted personal interviews for class research, psychological intake assessments, and student/client interviews for the purpose of service and or progress evaluation. Background research conducted in qualitative research and evaluation. Principal researcher is a nationally certified counselor (NCC) with four years experience working with clients with mental or physical disability or adjustment concerns, and is trained and experienced in maintenance of confidential records.

Samantha Herrick, Data Analysis Consultant: will recruit participants and assist in evaluation and coding of data; will review any materials prepared for publication. Samantha has eight years experience working in Rehabilitation Counseling and is a CRC. Samantha has worked on quantitative research projects involving correlational regression analysis.

Paul Datti, Data Analysis Consultant: will recruit participants and assist in evaluation and coding of data; will assist in reviewing any materials resulting from this study prepared for publication. Paul has 12 years experience working as a Rehabilitation Counselor, is a CRC, and has worked as a research assistant in both quantitative and qualitative studies.

Dr. Jerry Trusty will not be actively involved in this research study, but may be retained for advisement should the need arise.

i. References: If applicable, provide any relevant literature references/citations.

N/A

17. Assurances

I agree to report to the Office for Research Protections (ORP), in a timely manner, information regarding (a) any injury to a human participant, (b) any unanticipated problems involving risks to participants or others, or (c) any new information involving risks to participants. All individuals listed on this form have completed the training requirements. I have adequately explained in this form the role of each individual and their experience in performing that role.

I understand that any changes that occur after the initial exempt determination is made, **must be submitted to and reviewed by the ORP** *before* **implementation**, except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants. In the latter instance, the ORP must be notified by the next workday.

I affirm that as the principal investigator on this study, I will adhere to the policies and procedures described in Penn State's Federalwide Assurance with the Office for Human Research Protections as well as Federal regulations for the protection of human participants involved in research (45CFR46; 21CFR parts 50 & 56). Copies of these documents are available in the ORP upon request or on their website – http://www.research.psu.edu/orp/.

_____   _____

Signature of Principal Investigator, REQUIRED   Date

I hereby confirm that I have read this application and my signature denotes the completeness and accuracy of the information provided.

_____   _____

SIGNATURE of Faculty Advisor, REQUIRED IF PI IS A STUDENT   Date

I hereby confirm that I have read this application and my signature denotes departmental/unit approval of this project. To the best of my knowledge, the information in the attached application relating to members of my department is correct.

The investigator(s) who are members of my department are qualified to perform the roles proposed for them in this application. Any novice researchers from my department will be supervised by qualified investigators.

_____   _____

SIGNATURE of PI's Department/Unit Head, REQUIRED   Date

VITA—EVA ELIZABETH REED

EDUCATION

The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA   Expected Graduation December 2009
Ph.D., Counselor Education and Supervision

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Guest Lecturer: Effective Career Decision-Making, University Park, PA   Spring 2009
     Professional Resume Development
     Interpretation of the Self Directed Search
     Holland's RIASEC Model
Guest Lecturer: Master's Level Internship Class, University Park, PA   Spring 2008
     Interventions for Adolescents who Self-Injure
     Preparation for Career Development
Class Co-Instructor: Counseling Adolescents, University Park, PA   Summer 2007

ADVISING EXPERIENCE

Academic Advisor: Rehabilitation and Human Services, University Park, PA   2006- 2008

COUNSELING EXPERIENCE

Career Counselor: Bank of America Career Services, University Park, PA   2008-2009
Counselor: Cedar Clinic, University Park, PA   Fall 2002, 2006
Psychotherapeutic Counselor: Seven Mountains Academy, Lewistown, PA   2005-2006
Mobile Therapist/BehaviorConsultant: NHS, State College, PA   2004- 2005
School Counseling Intern: Indian Valley Middle School, Reedsville, PA   2003- 2004

SUPERVISION EXPERIENCE

Guest Group Supervisor: Master's Level Counseling Practicum, University Park, PA   Spring 2009
Practicum Supervisor: Master's Level Counseling Practicum, University Park, PA   2007-2008

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Doctoral Candidate Search Committee, Department of Counselor Education   2007-2009
     The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA

PUBLICATIONS

Reed, E. (2008). Counseling adolescents for parental death. Journal of School Counseling, 6(2), Available at http://www.jsc.montana.edu/articles/v6n2.pdf

Reed, E. (2008). Case study in a book entitled: Self-injurious Behaviors Edited by Doris Rhea Coy, Ph.D. Publisher Ron-Jon Publishers Addison, TX

PRESENTATIONS

Reed, E., Herrick, S., Datti, P., Lasher, E. (2008, October). Maintaining our sanity: Addressing professional stress. Presented at North Atlantic Regional of the Association for Counselor Educators and Supervisors conference, Portland, ME.

Reed, E. (2007, October). Self injurious behaviors: The art of practice. Presented at Association for Counselor Education and Supervision conference, Columbus, OH.

Reed, E. (2004, March). Adolescent aggression: Problems and solutions. Poster presented at the Pennsylvania School Counselors Association Conference (PSCA), State College, PA.

Reed, E. (2004, March). Adolescent aggression: Problems and solutions. Poster presented at the Pennsylvania School Counselors Association Conference (PSCA), State College, PA.