Sex Roles, Vol. 50, Nos. 1/2, January 2004 (© 2004)

Thirty Years After the Discovery of Gender: Psychological Concepts and Measures of Masculinity[1]

Andrew P. Smiler[2,3]

Study of the construct of masculinity has undergone substantial change since the feminist critique of gender in the 1960–70s. This review focuses on constancies and changes within empirical psychological theories and measurement because measures represent masculinity and their underlying assumptions are often obscured. After a brief historical introduction, 5 distinct movements are identified by their assumptions. These movements discuss masculinity as a unipolar construct, an ideology, a source of strain, a socially constructed entity, and, most recently, as a blend of these different movements. The lack of developmental accounts of masculinity and the positioning of masculinity as an acontextual, superordinate organizing element of individual lives are also addressed. Concluding comments address the lack of influence by masculinity researchers on broader psychological thought.

KEY WORDS: masculinity; critique; measurement; gender; history.

During the 1970s psychological researchers made an important discovery: humans are gendered beings whose lives and experiences are (most likely) influenced by their gender. Although this discovery was not novel—gender-related theories and research had existed since the earliest days of psychology, particularly among those in the mental testing movement who sought to quantify gender differences (Morawski, 1985)—a substantial amount of research was soon published that overturned the existing theoretical constructs and the measures upon which they were based (Herman, 1995; Pleck, 1987). This discovery and subsequent shift in thinking originated within the women's and gay rights movements (Connell, 1993; Lisak, 2000), and its results have been important for both women and men. For men, the 1970s marked the beginning of the study of men as men and no longer as idealized, nongendered humans (Lisak, 2000; Thompson & Pleck, 1995).

During the last 30 years, the psychological study of men (in the United States) has focused primarily on identifying the main elements of masculinity, as demonstrated by the hypothetical population of all (American) men, and then quantifying the extent to which these elements are present in an individual man. In this article, I provide a brief review of the theoretical perspectives from which these measures and their accompanying theories originated and highlight the major approaches to conceptualizations of masculinity and their manifestation in measurement tools. The relationship between theory and measurement is particularly important because "psychology constitutes its object in the process of knowing it" (Rose, 1996, p. 49) and psychological tests "become symbolic signifiers and the signified" (Morawski, 1985, p. 215). Regarding masculinity, this suggests that not only does the psychological construct of masculinity reflect researchers' underlying theoretical preferences, but their measures also reflect these preferences. Because these measures serve as the operational definition of masculinity in empirical studies, the measures

[1]Portions of this material were presented at the 2002 conference of the American Psychological Association and in the Society for the Psychological Study of Men and Masculinity (SPSMM) Bulletin.

[2]Department of Psychology, University of New Hampshire, Durham, New Hampshire.

[3]To whom correspondence should be addressed at Department of Psychology, University of Michigan, 525 East University, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109; e-mail: asmiler@umich.edu.

0360-0025/04/0100-0015/0 © 2004 Plenum Publishing Corporation

serve as both subject and object, symbolically signifying/representing the construct while also becoming the focus of investigation (i.e., the measure's statistical relations).

I begin with a very brief history of gender theory prior to 1970 and the feminist critique of this literature that appeared in the early 1970s. Subsequent theory and measurement are then traced both by chronology and thematic issues, which results in five "movements" of research, all of which continue today, beginning with androgyny in the 1970s. Within each movement, discussion focuses on the underlying theoretical basis of prominent theories, the positioning of masculinity as residing within individual men and/or the larger culture, the number of masculine forms allowed (i.e., masculinities) and specification of the content of these idealized forms, identification of problematic masculinity, and masculinity's relation to femininity. Discussion of sample tests identifies the focus of measurement and scoring, including provision of subscale scores and specification of the ideal score. Interplay between different theoretical movements is included where it was connected to substantive shifts in either the conceptualization or measurement of masculinity. Developmental and contextual issues are notably absent from empirical theory and measurement, an issue that is further addressed in the concluding sections of the article.

Reviewing a topic such as masculinity over a 30-year period requires that some limits be established to allow for a coherent narrative. Thus, I focus on empirical psychological theory and its associated research instruments, so conceptualizations of masculinity as they appeared in clinical, sociological, historical, and other literatures were excluded. Sociobiological theories were also excluded because of their almost exclusive focus on sexual behavior and consequent lack of discussion of other elements of masculinity (e.g., independence) as well as their confounding of biological sex with acquired behaviors. The measures that are discussed were chosen because they are typical of a particular approach and relatively well-known. Because the focus is on the assumptions that underlie empirical theory and measures, research findings are rarely discussed, although such a review is needed.

I do not attempt to describe all measures of masculinity that were published during this period (Beere, 1990; Lenney, 1991; Thompson & Pleck, 1995), but instead draw attention to tests that are typical of a particular approach. Several reviews exist that were designed to aid researchers in the selection of a measure, and so they provide users with an index of published measures, categorized into meaningful groups, and critiqued along either methodological (Beere, 1990; Lenney, 1991) or theoretical criteria (Thompson & Pleck, 1995). Most relevant is Thompson and Pleck's review of masculinity measures, focused on "normative perspectives" that assess the extent to which participants "endorse the ideology that men *should* have sex-specific characteristics" (Thompson & Pleck, 1995, p. 131; original emphasis). On the basis of theoretical criteria, tests were divided into ideology measures that assessed support for the dominant (stereotypical) masculine role and masculinity-related measures that assess "men's experience with gender" (Thompson & Pleck, 1995, p. 147). Beere's extensive categorization of published gender and gender-related measures adopted a pragmatic, topical approach that is quite different from the theoretical distinctions made here (Beere, 1990).

Two important issues must be clarified before turning to the historical background. First is the one assumption common to all theories described in this article: gender affects individuals across a broad cross-section of their lives by prescribing certain behaviors and proscribing others, from personality attributes through attitudes, and from vocational choices through leisure activities (Lisak, 2000; Unger, 1990). Second is a linguistic convention that has been used through much of the current period (i.e., 1970 and after). In particular, theorists have used the term gender to emphasize the social basis of these attributes and avoid the idea that these attributes are related to chromosomal inheritance; the term sex is used for the latter (Unger, 1990). In this article I honor that distinction, but the titles of some measures confound the terms gender and sex.

PRIOR TO 1970: "PREHISTORY" AND THE FEMINIST CRITIQUE

Prior to 1970, masculinity was primarily described by the "male sex role theory," which suggested that biological males actively attempt to acquire attributes that affirm their biological identity in an effort to become more mature (Pleck, 1987). Primarily empirical in its earliest forms (e.g., Terman & Miles, 1936), this approach drew from the psychodynamically based identity theory after World War II (Pleck, 1987). Within this framework, acquisition refers to the development of certain traits or attitudes that were consistent with a single conceptualization

of masculinity. These traits and attitudes were assumed to be natural/inherent and, therefore, culture-free. Implicitly, masculinity was a single, coherent construct, and the ideal man was active, rational, strong, and community-oriented (Morawski, 1985; Rotundo, 1993; Terman & Miles, 1936). Insufficient attainment of this ideal was predicted to lead to poor mental health so men who were identified as feminine (masculinity's "opposite") or were otherwise low in masculinity (i.e., hypomasculine) were identified as problematic (Pleck, 1987; Terman & Miles, 1936). Although being overly masculine (i.e., hypermasculine) was not initially a problem, after World War II this was identified as the source of aggressiveness, juvenile delinquency, and obedience to illegitimate authority (Pleck, 1987). It is important to note that the theoretical developments that emerged from this explicitly gender-oriented theorizing simplified Freud's original discussion of gender and were not adopted by other psychodynamically oriented theorists (Connell, 1995; Pleck, 1987).

The first published psychological inventory of masculinity (and femininity) was authored by Terman and Miles in 1936, and it codified these constructs as bipolar opposites. For these testers, masculinity was operationalized as "powerful, strenuous, active, steady, strong, self-confident, with preference for machinery, athletics, working for self, and the external/public life" and with a "dislike [of] foreigners, religious men, women cleverer than [they], dancing, guessing games, being alone and thin women" (Morawski, 1985, p. 212). For the next 35 years, tests such as the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (Strong, 1936) and the MMPI (Hathaway & McKinley, 1951) maintained similar descriptions of masculinity as well as the positioning of masculinity and femininity as polar opposites (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990; Morawski, 1985; Pleck, 1987). For these tests, scoring involved summing the correct masculine responses and (typically) subtracting the feminine responses to yield a single MF score (Hathaway & McKinley, 1951; Strong, 1936; Terman & Miles, 1936). Because being insufficiently masculine and, later, overly masculine were both problematic, the ideal score was fairly high.

One of the most famous critiques of this testing, and perhaps the most damning, was Anne Constantinople's literature review (Constantinople, 1973) in which she examined the links between cross-sex identification and poor mental health/psychopathology (e.g., homosexuality), as male sex role theory predicted. She concluded that not only did the tests not support the theoretical prediction of poor psychological functioning (see also Morawski, 1985; Pleck, 1987), but that the tests did not support either the assumed bipolarity of masculinity and femininity (invalidating the position of masculinity and femininity as opposites) or the assumption that each of two gender roles was a unidimensional construct. Combined with the rising tide of feminist criticism and the publication of new measures that positioned masculinity and femininity as distinct, sex role research experienced a "revolution" (Lenney, 1991, p. 575).

1970s: ANDROGYNY MOVEMENT: UNIPOLARITY

Androgyny theories and measures were among the most prominent of the new theories that eliminated the bipolarity assumption. Bem explicitly promoted androgyny as the ideal and described the acquisition of men's and women's gender roles on the basis of the cognitive development of young children (i.e., 0–6 years; Bem, 1974, 1979, 1997). She argued that "largely as a result of historical accident, the culture has clustered a heterogeneous collection of attributes into two mutually exclusive categories, each category considered both more characteristic of and more desirable for one or the other of the two sexes" (Bem, 1979, p. 1048), thus rejecting the notions that gender roles are biologically inherent, structurally coherent, and fundamentally opposed. Developmentally, these patterns are learned by young children who order their world on the basis of biological sex and adopt the organizational system of their adult models. Contemporaneously, Spence and Helmreich (1978) published the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ; originally published by Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1974), which also positioned masculinity and femininity as distinct, nonopposing, learned entities.

For these theorists, masculinity and femininity were "clusters of socially desirable attributes stereotypically considered to differentiate males and females and thus to define the psychological core of masculine and feminine personalities" (Spence & Helmreich, 1978, p. 3) where attributes referred to personality traits (Lenney, 1991). Although the sociocultural influence on gender was obvious to these researchers, they were consistent with past theorists and positioned gender as an individually based construct. That is, gender was "essentialist"—its

essence occurred within individuals (Bohan, 1997). Also consistent with the prior research, there was a single masculine construct whose content (powerful, strong, active, tool-oriented) was not particularly different than the previous generation of theories, a criticism that suggests that the "revolution" was limited in scope (Morawski, 1985). Androgyny researchers broke with the prior generation by positioning masculinity and femininity as distinct, nonopposing entities that any individual could possess in any quantity (Bem, 1974; Spence & Helmreich, 1978).

In their tests, which have become the most popular measures of masculinity and femininity (Lenney, 1991), both Bem (1974) and Spence and Helmreich (1978) simply asked participants to indicate the extent to which particular personality traits applied to them using Likert-type ratings. Some have noted that the descriptors included are almost exclusively positive (Lenney, 1991). On each of these tests participants receive masculinity and femininity scores that are computationally distinct (i.e., use distinct scale items) and uncorrelated. The shift to independent (sub)scale scoring represented a distinct break from the prior generation of tests. The ideal score was both highly masculine and highly feminine (Bem, 1974; Spence & Helmreich, 1978), which removed at least some of the negative connotations of high masculinity and femininity, although low scores remained problematic and were associated with the poorest outcomes (Spence & Helmreich, 1978).

1970s: IDEOLOGY MOVEMENT: UNDERLYING STRUCTURE

At the same time, masculinity was being discussed as a distinct and all-encompassing role based on the social psychological research on roles (Brannon, 1976). In contrast to the context-dependent role of "house guest," gender roles were "by far the most complex, demanding and all-involving role[s] that members of our culture must ever learn to play. . . . A large part of the next 20 years or so will be spent in gradually learning and perfecting one's assigned sex-role" (Brannon, 1976, p. 7). The roles are 'complex' and 'demanding' in part because of their 'all-involving' structure—they influence all aspects of behavior at all times. Although the roles were socioculturally determined, they are internalized by individuals, and so masculinity resided within individuals.

Brannon (1976) is best known for identifying four underlying principles that define the boundaries of the masculine role (i.e., "no sissy stuff," "big wheel," "sturdy oak," and "give 'em hell"). These four principles brought order to masculinity by elucidating the belief system or "ideology" that directs masculine prescriptions and proscriptions (for further discussion of ideology, see Pleck, 1995; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993; Thompson & Pleck, 1995). This description of masculinity stands in sharp contrast to the androgyny theories by countering Bem's claim that the attributes assigned to masculinity were the random result of historical accidents.

Although Brannon (1976) identified several stereotypically masculine characters (e.g., 'football player,' 'jet-set playboy'), masculine role theories are typically interpreted as supporting a single form of (stereotypical) masculinity where individuals endorse and enact these tenets; individual variation in support of these tenets is rarely addressed. This masculinity is nonfeminine (or "antifeminine"), independent, status-oriented, heterosexual (or "antihomosexual"), tough, and takes risks. Consistent with other descriptions of masculinity, having too little masculinity was expected to be related to poorer outcomes. Because masculinity was a social role and not an inherited or acquired trait, Brannon was able to acknowledge directly the limitations inherent in masculinity (e.g., minimized emotional expression and openness). Different than both the bipolar and androgynous positionings, these authors viewed masculinity as partially opposed to femininity because masculinity was defined as nonfeminine (i.e., "no sissy stuff") and as unrelated to femininity (e.g., "big wheel").

Measures published in conjunction with this approach include the Brannon Masculinity Scale (Brannon & Juni, 1984) and the Hypermasculinity Index (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984). Consistent with the idea that masculinity is an ideology to which individuals attempt to conform, these tests assessed support for and/or adherence to each element of the ideology. Scale scores are thematically derived and may be used individually or to generate a total score. Because of the inherent conflicts and limitations of the masculine role, very high scores were not desirable. In fact, some authors explicitly identified very high masculinity scores as undesirable. The two Macho Scales (Bunting & Reeves, 1983; Villemez & Touhey, 1977) and the Hypermasculinity Index (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984) explicitly assessed the possibility that more macho men were, for example, more sexist (Villemez & Touhey, 1977).

1980s: STRAIN-ED MOVEMENT: THE (NEGATIVELY) LIVED EXPERIENCE OF MASCULINITY

Pleck's sex role strain paradigm explicitly discussed the difficulties of attempting to conform to a gender role (Pleck, 1981), and relied on the dominant masculine stereotype Brannon (1976) had described. According to the sex role strain paradigm (SRS; Pleck, 1981), gender roles include some dysfunctional elements (e.g., reliance on aggression), and strain is generated by a number of factors, including the contradictory and inconsistent demands of masculinity, concern about and actual violations of the masculine gender role, and historical change. Although Pleck did not publish a strain measure, the idea of gender roles (or just the masculine role) as stress inducing has led to the two relatively popular measures discussed here.

The authors of the Gender Role Conflict (GRC) scale observed that "the ultimate outcome of this [role] conflict is the restriction of the person's ability to actualize their human potential or the restriction of someone else's potential" (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986, p. 336). They designed a measure to assess how men think and feel about their gender-typed behaviors and their relative "degree of conflict and comfort in particular gender-role situations" (O'Neil et al., 1986, pp. 338–339) that accounted for individual differences. These authors positioned men's socialization and the masculine fear of femininity as common elements underlying six specific types of role conflict (e.g., homophobia, health care problems). The authors of the Masculine Gender Role Stress scale (MGRS) addressed the same issue through the application of "empirical paradigms in the 'stress and coping' literature" (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987, p. 124) to masculinity. They hypothesized that "men will experience stress when they judge themselves unable to cope with the imperatives of the male role or when a situation is viewed as requiring 'unmanly' or feminine behavior" (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987, p. 125), an approach that focuses on men's interpretation of specific situations. Both groups of researchers were concerned with how men respond in particular situations, an approach that highlights the contextual nature of masculinity and is more consistent with the social psychological description of role.

Although GRC and MGRS are highly similar, their conceptual frameworks—the restriction of human potential and stress—exist on different conceptual levels, and so they suggest different research questions and provide different interpretations to findings (see empirical reviews by Eisler, 1995; O'Neil, 2002). These interpretations are not necessarily contradictory because perpetual role stress could lead to the restriction of human potential. Conceptual variations may occur within each movement.

Consistent with Pleck's claim that gender roles are operationalized by gender stereotypes (Pleck, 1981), GRC and MGRS focused on the dominant stereotype to derive their factors empirically. These factors differed slightly from Brannon's cultural analysis (Brannon, 1976), but both GRC and MGRS included one factor that was antifeminine, and so maintained masculinity as partially opposed to femininity. This focus on the dominant stereotype implicitly supports it as the only masculine form but, by focusing on the problems associated with this stereotype, does not idealize it. Because enacting masculinity produced strain, problems related to masculinity shifted from being hypo- and/or hypermasculine to simply being masculine at all.

The measures are consistent with their theories, and they highlight the specificity of stress and conflict. Both measures provide distinct subscale scores for specific contexts or types of conflict, as well as an overall score. Lower scores are desirable.

1990s: DECONSTRUCTION MOVEMENT: SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Criticism of the gender literature and the gendered nature of science continued throughout the 1980s, including recognition of the influence of sociocultural factors on theories and measures (e.g., Connell, 1989; Morawski, 1985; Pleck, 1987). The social construction of the presently dominant stereotype was detailed in the early 1990s. Historians and sociologists have described changes from the communal manhood of New England at the beginning of the eighteenth century to an individualistic, self-made manhood focused on work in the early nineteenth century that grew to value men's passions and play/leisure activities by the end of the century (Rotundo, 1993). These same time periods have also been described as a shift from the "genteel patriarch" and "heroic artisan" of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, figures who did not compete with each other, to the "marketplace man" of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries who competed directly with other men (Kimmel, 1996, 1997). One author has explicitly identified the transition in American manhood after the civil war as a manifestation of the changes that

occurred at and the general influence of Harvard University (Townsend, 1996). Stearns (1994) described the shift from the nineteenth to twentieth century in terms of emotional styles (including gender-specific displays). He described the transition from passionate, Victorian era masculinity to the "impersonal, but friendly" (Stearns, 1994, p. 193) emotionally inexpressive masculinity of today.

Other authors, all sociologists, have documented the presence of particular masculine forms that exist today, including Jocks, Sensitive New Men, and Gay Men, and specified the contexts in which these men live (Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 1997; Messner, 1992). The relevance of status, power, nonemotionality, antifemininity, and antihomosexuality for each masculine type becomes evident in their works. For example, Messner's athletes understood that they were expected to conform to the masculine image of being a jock (Messner, 1992). That is, during high school, they were expected to obtain and maintain their status through athletic, but not academic, performance. Competition and status were limited to specific contexts, which suggests that these behaviors were enacted as needed. By contextualizing masculinity, these accounts challenged the position that masculinity is something that resides in individuals (who have learned it from their culture) by highlighting that these men are not similarly masculine in all settings.

The historical accounts maintained the idea that a common ideology organizes the traits, attributes, and characteristics that are considered masculine, and they highlighted variations in this ideology over time. In contrast to the ideology perspective, which does not discuss individual variation in the endorsement of the different elements of the ideology, the historical and concurrent accounts explicitly identified some elements of the ideology (e.g., competition) as being particularly relevant for certain masculine forms (e.g., jocks) but not others (e.g., sensitive new men). This position allows a shift in the problematization of masculinity as insufficiently or overly masculine to being insufficiently or overly supportive of specific elements of masculine ideology.

The position that masculinity has changed over time and the description of a variety of present day masculine forms explicitly supports the idea that there are multiple ways to be masculine or that "masculinities" exist. Prior theories and measures had described a single stereotypical masculine form, often specifying what masculinity was. Despite Brannon's description of distinct masculine characters, such as the football player and jet-set playboy, and empirical knowledge

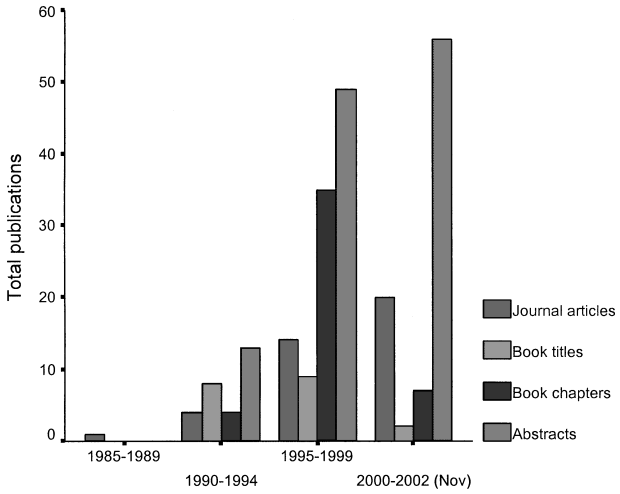

Fig. 1. *PsycInfo* citations for "masculinities."

of individual differences in support of the underlying masculine tenets (Brannon, 1976), the idea of multiple masculinities did not appear in these theoretical writings. This absence is striking when one considers the presence of different types of men in older (e.g., *The Authoritarian Personality*; Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950) and concurrent work (e.g., *The Seasons of a Man's Life*; D. J. Levinson, Darrow, Klein, M. H. Levinson, McKee, 1978) as well as then-current public discussions of different stereotypes of women (e.g., housewife, career woman, women's lib-er; for sociological discussion of stereotypes of men, see Klapp, 1962). Another approach to multiple masculinities has been the description of masculine forms related to demographically defined groups such as homosexual and African American men (e.g., Connell, 1992; Harris, 1995).

Today, however, the idea of multiple masculinities has been well received and widely adopted among masculinity researchers. A search for the term "masculinities"[4] in titles (journals, chapters, and books) and abstracts on *PsycInfo* reveals that the number of professional publications that addressed this topic has increased dramatically since the term was introduced in the late 1980s (see Fig. 1). The 5-year period from 1985 to 1989 includes exactly one publication using this term, whereas 70 masculinities publications were located a decade later (1995–99). Still, these numbers are trivial when viewed against the overall psychological database.

[4]Masculinities is not listed as a keyword on *PsycInfo*; masculinity has been listed as a keyword since 1967. The search was limited to article, book, and chapter titles to highlight prominent use of the term.

1990s: CURRENT MOVEMENTS: REVISIONS

The latter half of the 1990s saw the publication of new and updated theories based on the ideas of role, identity, and ideology that explicitly incorporated the idea of multiple masculinities and addressed other concerns raised by critics and empirical findings. Pleck (1995) reformulated the gender role strain theory and suggested that many of the social constructionists' concerns about his theory reflected a different theoretical emphasis (i.e., power) but were fundamentally compatible with his theory. He also emphasized the importance of masculinity ideology, and stressed the importance of an individual's "beliefs about the importance of men adhering to culturally defined standards for male behavior" (Pleck, 1995, p. 19). Pleck cited his own research (e.g., Pleck et al., 1993) and argued that this approach allowed multiple conceptions of masculinity and that variations among masculinities by ethnic group were distinguished by relative weighting of the same masculinity components, not by the existence of differential components.

Drawing upon Block's psychodynamic description of children's gender acquisition (Block, 1973, 1984) and research on (adult) reference and (adolescent) peer groups, Wade (1998) suggested an alternate, identity-based conception of masculinity. According to Reference Group Identity Dependence theory (RGID), men create "an internal representation of males like oneself and/or of male peers with whom one identifies" (Wade, 1998, p. 363). Individuals may be dependent (ego conforming), nondependent (ego integrated), or have no reference group (ego undifferentiated or unintegrated). This theory explicitly allows for the existence of multiple masculinities by allowing each reference group to define its own version of masculinity (which may or may not be similar to the conceptions of other groups). Similar to earlier theories, RGID acknowledges the socially constructed nature of masculinity and maintains the individualist orientation of earlier theories by specifying that men internalize their reference group's definition of masculinity and attempt to live according to that image.

For both Pleck (1995) and Wade (1998), masculinity continues to reside within the individual, although the masculine construct is explicitly defined, and potentially altered, by the social setting (e.g., ethnicity, reference group). This represents a softening of the acontextual position that was prominent before the 1990s. Neither theory explicitly prohibits individuals from changing their definition or enactment of masculinity (e.g., through a change in ethnic identity salience or reference group), and thus the theories challenge the idea of complete stability.

These theories do not specify any particular form of masculinity as the ideal because they explicitly allow multiple masculinities (at the group level). Consistent with the lack of an ideal form is the lack of a problematic form of masculinity, although both Pleck (1995) and Wade (1998) observed that overly rigid adoption/adherence to masculine norms can be problematic. The identification of the problem as overadherence is a subtle but important shift in masculinity theorizing. The problem no longer lies in either the structure or "possession" of masculinity, but rather the lack of behavioral flexibility, an issue Bem (1974, 1979) had previously highlighted. In yet another break with prior theories, these authors did not specify any particular relation between masculinity and femininity, although Pleck's discussion of men's desire/need to fulfill the stereotypical role presumably includes the partial opposition identified previously. Still, the lack of a specific relation to femininity is striking when one considers the importance of being nonfeminine in earlier conceptualizations.

Accompanying measures that focus on the relevant dimensions have been published. The Male Role Attitudes Scale (MRAS) assesses adherence to the dominant masculine ideology (Pleck et al., 1993) and the RGID scale indicates the importance and presence of a male reference group (actual or imaginal; Wade, 2001; Wade & Gelso, 1998). The MRAS is surprisingly short (only eight items) and emphasizes adherence to the presently dominant stereotype, including one item that is explicitly anti-feminine. A single score is generated, and higher scores indicate greater possession of a masculine ideology. Consistent with many prior measures, high scores are undesirable (because they indicate overadherence to the stereotypical masculine role). The recently published Conformity to Male Norms Index (Mahalik et al., 2003), which assesses adherence to 11 different masculine norms, may be a more useful measure of masculine ideology.

The RGID scale is longer (28 items for professional adults, 30 for undergraduates; Wade, 2001; Wade & Gelso, 1998, respectively), includes subscales, and assesses the importance an individual places on having a masculine reference group without ascribing any particular beliefs to that group. Scoring produces subscale scores only. High scores on the Reference Group Nondependent subscale reflect an integrated

ego identity and are associated with less sexist and less racist attitudes (Wade, 2001; Wade & Brittan-Powell, 2001).

MOVEMENT FROM AND MOVEMENT TOWARD: CONCLUSIONS

After reviewing the nature of empirical psychological masculinity theories and measures over the past 30 years, several transitions became evident. The most important constancies include the proposition that masculinity is governed by an underlying ideology, an idea that has been widely adopted within this literature, as well as a reliance on role and ego-identity theories. The shift from a single masculinity to recognition of multiple masculine forms is an important change. Masculinity has continued to be positioned as something that resides within the individual, but this position has been softened recently with the (re-)inclusion of social and sociocultural influences on an individual's experience of masculinity. The positioning of masculinity as partially opposed to femininity, but neither completely opposed nor completely independent, is also historically recent and widely accepted. However, no relation between masculinity and femininity has been specified in the most recent theories, and at least one commentator has warned against a complete separation of masculinity and femininity (Morawski, 2001).

Masculinity has been viewed as having a distinct set of underlying tenets, or "ideology," that delineates masculine behavior (e.g., competition). Except for the androgyny theories, this construct is present throughout these theories. Thompson and Pleck (1995) identified 12 of the 18 masculinity measures they reviewed as ideological measures, which also attests to the popularity of this construct. O'Neil's review of the GRCS literature (O'Neil, 2002) has identified a consistent link between greater levels of emotional control and depressive symptomology. A thorough review of the ideology literature is needed.

The ideology perspective includes the claim that gender is related to a broad variety of personality attributes, attitudes, behaviors, and activities (vocation and leisure), as well as abstract properties (cf. Bem, 1974; Spence & Helmreich, 1978). Combined with the American cultural belief that gender is causal, this leads to the "obvious" positioning of masculinity as a superordinate construct. Some theorists in the self-concept literature do not share this conclusion and have not included gender in their models (e.g., Harter, 1990). If masculinity ideology is a superordinate organizer of personality attributes, attitudes, behavior, etc., then there should be a statistical relation between ideology scores and measures of these other constructs. Malamuth, Addison, and Koss (2000), for example, have demonstrated that men who express a "hostile masculinity" and are sexually promiscuous have a higher risk of sexual aggression and also greater levels of pornography use. In this example, hostile masculinity is related to two (somewhat) different behaviors, and so more credence may be put to the claim that masculinity organizes behavior.

During the 1970s and 1980s, theorists drew upon the essentialist assumption of an individually based entity to describe masculinity as something that resided within individuals. This position is consistent with ego-identity theorists' focus on the individual, but it requires role theorists to ignore the social context in which the role occurs, and thus ignore the social psychological roots of role theory. Critics have highlighted the influence of sociocultural factors in determining the structure of masculinity, and newer theories, still rooted in the role and ego-identity literatures (Pleck, 1995; Wade, 1998), have explicitly discussed the importance of social influences. The assumption of a superordinate/organizing position, as well as psychologists' tendency to focus on individual characteristics (Danziger, 1990), both contribute to this acontextuality.

The positioning of masculinity as acontextual is consistent with the essentialist assumption that masculinity is relatively fixed/stable. Flexibility has been emphasized by both Pleck and Wade, which suggests a softening of this position, but it is not assessed in these authors' measures. Other individual-level factors, such as possession of a masculine ideology (Pleck, 1995) and ego-development (Wade, 1998), are more prominent in both theory and measurement. Empirical assessment of fixity/stability could be achieved by having participants complete existing ideology measures once for each role (e.g., breadwinner, employee) or context (e.g., family, work). Repeated completion of the same measure has been used to identify discrepancies between participants' actual- and ideal-gendered self (e.g., Weisbuch, Beal, & O'Neal, 1999; Williams & Best, 1990).

The idea that masculinity is only enacted in situations where it is required/expected has been discussed in the sociological and historical masculinity literatures. Social psychological theories of gender include this possibility (Deaux & Major, 1987; Eagly, 1987). Eagly (1987) has argued that gender typical behavior

is the result of well-known stereotypes that are contextually specific and an individual's willingness to conform to those stereotypes, thus eliminating gender as an individual-level construct. Deaux's model (Deaux & LaFrance, 1998; Deaux & Major, 1987) includes elements of the individual actor ("self"), the observer ("perceiver"), and the context that highlight the gender schemas (i.e., ideology) of both individuals, their actions toward each other, and their interpretations of both their own and each other's behaviors.

Recognition of multiple masculinities has increased (Connell, 1995), which demonstrates a willingness to incorporate ideas from outside of the psychological tradition, but the psychological literature has defined multiple masculinities primarily in terms of demographic categories (e.g., Black, homosexual). This stands in contrast to the sociological literature that has defined masculinities in terms of their social and societal roles (Connell, 1995; Messner, 1992). The sociological approach allows for greater examination of within-group variability, and this is needed to understand how men function psychologically (Connell, 1995). In recent years, high, moderate, and low levels of masculine socialization have been associated with violence, inability to express emotion (i.e., alexithymia), and poor self-esteem, respectively (Garbarino, 1999; Levant, 1992; Pleck, 1995). Clearer identification of how masculinity is related to undesirable behaviors (e.g., as a function of masculinities, as a function of ideological components), would not only enhance the literature, but would also combat the identification of masculinity as inherently problematic.

Masculinity theories have consistently provided a mechanism for identifying those men whose masculinity is problematic. Being insufficiently masculine was explicitly identified as problematic before 1970 and, to a lesser extent, by the androgyny theories (i.e., undifferentiated), but the identification of hypomasculinity as problematic has not appeared since that time. Being hypermasculine, which was not originally defined as problematic, became problematic after World War II. It was potentially desirable in the androgyny theories, if paired with high femininity, but not explicitly problematic. However, most masculinity theories published between the early 1970s and mid-1990s identified hypermasculinity as problematic. Consistent with the theoretical idea that hypomasculinity is acceptable but hypermasculinity is undesirable, most tests identified the optimal score as moderately high. In the late 1990s, the problem shifted from being overly masculine to being overly rigid in one's adoption/enactment of masculine behavior. Thus, the problem was not located in masculinity per se, but rather in the way in which individuals enacted masculinity. Bem (1974, 1979) had identified flexibility as a desirable element of androgyny, and a review of the androgyny research may provide useful insights on this subject.

The are several plausible reasons for the change in problem area. The theoretical move away from the construction of masculinity and femininity as polar opposites and toward partial opposition, the lack of empirical support for cross-gender identification as problematic (Constantinople, 1973), and the influence of feminist thinking on the researchers may hinder the identification of hypomasculinity as problematic. On the cultural level, I suspect that the increased recognition and acceptance of gay men and the depathologizing of homosexuality have also affected the increased acceptance of hypomasculinity. The continued problematization of hypermasculine (or overly rigid) men as overly violent appears to be a continuation of the World War II era thought that has been highlighted/emphasized in discussion of men's power and violence.

Measures created during this 30-year period have changed in accordance with the relevant theories and have also been influenced by technological advancements that made factor analysis more readily accessible. Consequently, tests have continued to be fairly broad, assessing masculinity ideology and stress as a whole, as well as assessing specific elements of these constructs (e.g., antifemininity) through factorially distinct subscale scores. Measures have recently begun to assess multiple masculinities, and two approaches seem obvious. One method is to regress the masculinity score on the grouping variable to identify significant variations (e.g., Pleck et al., 1993). Another method is to identify distinctive patterns of support for the different elements of masculine ideology (e.g., high competition, high status, low power over women) using either discriminant analysis or cluster analysis to create distinct masculinity groups.

The reliance on individualistic and acontextual approaches contrasts with other models and may be the reason why masculinity theories, like the psychoanalytic gender theories of the 1950s (Pleck, 1987), are not influencing mainstream psychological thought. The most recent discussion of gender in the *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Deaux & LaFrance, 1998), as well as a slightly older current issues section on gender in the *American Psychologist* (Buss, 1995; Eagly, 1995; Hyde & Plant, 1995; Marecek, 1995),

did not reference any of the masculinity theories reviewed here, although they did acknowledge the androgyny theories and measures (i.e., Bem; Spence & Helmreich). The evolutionary-based Sexual Selection Theory (Buss, 1995; published in the aforementioned special section) equates masculinity with sexual behavior and ignores cultural influences, assumptions that are explicitly challenged (and in some cases refuted) by the literature reviewed here. If masculinity researchers seek to influence the field (and society) as a whole, then we must make a substantial effort to draw from other current models of gender and connect them to our existing models and empirical research. The recent publication of a masculinity article in the *American Psychologist* (Addis & Mahalik, 2003), which was the first *American Psychologist* article to use the keyword masculinity since Deaux (1984), suggests that this may be changing. The presence of four journals devoted to research on men and masculinity, most of which have been founded in the last 5 years, suggests great potential for influence (*Journal of Men's Studies, 1992; Men and Masculinities, 1999; Psychology of Men and Masculinity, 2000; International Journal of Men's Health, 2002*).

Another method of increasing the relevance of masculinity theory is to view another construct (e.g., help-seeking) through the lens of masculinity by asking how being masculine influences this construct. For example, men who emphasize independence should experience greater difficulty in seeking therapeutic help (Addis & Mahalik, 2003). Existing masculinity measures, particularly those with a specifically relevant subscale, could be used in such studies.

The occasional reference to developmentally derived theories is also noteworthy. The general lack of such theories has facilitated a reliance on the ideas of socialization and role, despite their known problems (Connell, 1995; Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990). The simultaneity of the development of masculinity components, the longitudinal stability of each element, and the stability of their interrelationships could be examined using the existing conceptualizations of masculinity (for discussion of developmental change and stability, see Overton & Reese, 1981). Developmental researchers have identified an increased emphasis on gender, labeled "gender intensification," that occurs during the middle school years (Galambos, Almeida, & Petersen, 1990), which suggests that this time period/age group would be particularly useful for an examination of the acquisition of masculine behaviors, beliefs, and ideologies. One recent study of preadolescents adopted a group norm approach to measurement that did not assess ideology and reported relative stability of boys' endorsements of stereotypically masculine occupations, activities, and traits from the beginning of sixth grade through the end of seventh grade (Liben & Bigler, 2002). Existing measures would be appropriate for older adolescent and adult samples, although wording changes would likely be necessary for younger children.

Developmental changes in the construction of masculinity and its importance may also be of interest. Changes in the value of work and family were implicit in Levinson et al.'s discussions of the impact of childbirth and childrearing (Levinson et al., 1978), an event that may highlight the breadwinner role and its related ideological elements. The Gender Role Journey model, which focuses on individuals' "thoughts, feelings, and behaviors about gender roles, sexism, and gender role conflict" (O'Neil, Egan, Owen, & McBride, 1993, p. 169), describes a developmental path related to the perception of gender. The "journey" from acceptance of traditional gender roles through anger and toward the integration of roles would likely be associated with, for example, lower ideology scores.

I have focused on works that originated within the United States in an attempt to limit the review to a manageable number of theories. Theorists and authors from outside the United States have and will continue to contribute to this literature. In particular, I would like to draw attention to research from the United Kingdom that has given theoretical and empirical attention to the process by which men understand and enact masculinity. This research complements the ideology research reviewed here. For example, Wetherell and Edley (1999) have examined this issue through discursive psychology, which allows them to highlight the complexity of the enactment of masculinity, and have described how individuals attempt to enact and understand a "heroic" masculinity, or use the heroic form as a contrast for their own "ordinary" or "rebellious" forms.

In sum, empirical psychology's masculinity research has been fruitful over the last 30 years and has provided an empirically grounded description of this construct. Collectively, researchers describe masculinity as an internalized construct that is bounded by a small number of underlying tenets (Mahalik et al., 2003; Morawski, 2001), and one of these tenets specifies that masculinity is the opposite of femininity. At the same time, differences in the underlying theoretical framework (e.g., as role, as identity), identification

of an ideal, and identification of problem masculinity reflect important distinctions between theories. Measures have become increasingly sophisticated during this time period, typically providing both a total score and subscale scores that reflect the relevant construction of masculinity. A related body of research has developed that focuses on the experience of being masculine, primarily in relation to its stresses. Future researchers must begin to examine the influence of contextual factors, including verification of the assumption of the invariance of an individual's masculine behaviors across settings. Greater connection to the lifespan developmental literature is also needed to enhance both masculinity theory and developmental theories. Research on within-group variations of masculinity (i.e., masculinities) must also continue, partially to combat broad descriptions of masculinity as undesirable, and partially to address Danziger's concern about psychology's reliance on demographic grouping variables (Danziger, 1990). Finally, and perhaps most important, masculinity theorists (and researchers) must make substantial efforts to have their work acknowledged more broadly and move it into the mainstream of psychological thought.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work was completed in pursuit of the doctoral degree. Thanks are extended to James O'Neil, Russell Kosits, Victoria Banyard, William Woodward, and Hans Pols for their comments on earlier versions of this work.

REFERENCES

Addis, M. E., & Mahalik, J. R. (2003). Men, masculinity, and the contexts of help seeking. *American Psychologist*, *58,* 5–14.

Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D. J., & Sanford, R. N. (1950). The authoritarian personality. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Beere, C. A. (1990). *Gender roles: A handbook of tests and measures*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Bem, S. L. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *42,* 155–162.

Bem, S. L. (1979). Theory and measurement of androgyny: A reply to the Pedhazur–Tetenbaum and Locksley–Colten critiques. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *37,* 1047–1054.

Bem, S. L. (1997). Gender schema theory and its implications for child development. In T. Roberts (Ed.), *The Lanahan readings in the psychology of women* (pp. 539–552). Baltimore: Lanahan.

Block, J. H. (1973). Conceptions of sex role: Some cross-cultural and longitudinal perspectives. *American Psychologist*, *28,* 512–526.

Block, J. H. (1984). *Sex role identity and ego development*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Bohan, J. S. (1997). Regarding gender: Essentialism, constructionism and feminist psychology. In M. M. Gergen & S. N. Davis (Eds.), *Toward a new psychology of gender* (pp. 31–48). New York: Routledge.

Brannon, R. (1976). The male sex role: Our culture's blueprint for manhood and what it's done for us lately. In D. David & R. Brannon (Eds.), *The forty-nine percent majority: The male sex role* (pp. 1–48). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Brannon, R., & Juni, S. (1984). A scale for measuring attitudes toward masculinity. *Psychological Documents, 14*, 6–7.

Bunting, A. B., & Reeves, J. B. (1983). Perceived male sex orientation and beliefs about rape. *Deviant Behavior*, *4,* 281–295.

Buss, D. M. (1995). Psychological sex differences: Origins through sexual selection. *American Psychologist*, *50,* 164–168.

Connell, R. W. (1989). Making gendered people: Bodies, identities, sexualities. In M. M. Ferree, J. Lorber, & B. B. Hess (Eds.), *Revisioning gender* (pp. 449–472). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Connell, R. W. (1992). A very straight gay: Masculinity, homosexual experience, and the dynamics of gender. *American Sociological Review*, *57,* 735–751.

Connell, R. W. (1993). The big picture: Masculinities in recent world history. *Theory and Society*, *22,* 597–623.

Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Constantinople, A. (1973). Masculinity–femininity: An exception to a famous dictum? *Psychological Bulletin*, *80,* 389–407.

Danziger, K. (1990). *Constructing the subject: Historical origins of psychological research*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Deaux, K. (1984). From individual differences to social categories: Analysis of a decade's worth of research on gender. *American Psychologist*, *39,* 105–116.

Deaux, K., & LaFrance, M. (1998). Gender. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology* (Vol. 1, pp. 788–827). Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Deaux, K., & Major, B. (1987). Putting gender into context: An interactive model of gender-related behavior. *Psychological Review*, *94,* 369–389.

Eagly, A. (1987). *Sex differences in social behavior: A social-role interpretation*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Eagly, A. (1995). The science and politics of comparing women and men. *American Psychologist*, *50,* 145–158.

Eisler, R. M. (1995). The relationship between masculine gender role stress and men's health risk: The validation of a construct. In R. F. Levant & W. S. Pollack (Eds.), *A new psychology of men* (pp. 207–225). New York: Basic Books.

Eisler, R. M., & Skidmore, J. R. (1987). Masculine gender role stress: Scale development and component factors in the appraisal of stressful situations. *Behavior Modification*, *11,* 123–136.

Galambos, N. L., Almeida, D. M., & Petersen, A. C. (1990). Masculinity, femininity, and sex role attitudes in early adolescence: Exploring gender intensification. *Child Development*, *61,* 1905–1914.

Garbarino, J. (1999). *Lost boys: Why our sons turn violent and how we can save them*. New York: Free Press.

Hare-Mustin, R. T., & Marecek, J. (1990). On making a difference. In R. T. Hare-Mustin & J. Marecek (Eds.), *Making a difference: Psychology and the construction of gender* (pp. 1–21). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Harris, A. C. (1995). African-American and Anglo-American gender identities: An empirical study. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *22,* 182–194.

Harter, S. (1990). Issues in the assessment of the self-concept of children and adolescents. In A. M. LaGreca (Ed.), *Through the eyes of the child* (pp. 292–325). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Hathaway, S. R., & McKinley, J. C. (1951). *Manual for the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory* (Rev. ed.). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota press.

Herman, E. (1995). *The romance of American psychology: Political culture in the age of experts*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hyde, J. S., & Plant, E. A. (1995). Magnitude of psychological gender differences. Another side to the story. *American Psychologist, 50,* 159–161.

Kimmel, M. (1996). *Manhood in America: A cultural history*. New York: Free Press.

Kimmel, M. S. (1997). Masculinity as homophobia: Fear, shame, and silence in the construction of gender identity. In M. M. Gergen & S. N. Davis (Eds.), *Toward a new psychology of gender* (pp. 223–242). New York: Routledge.

Klapp, O. E. (1962). *Heroes, villains, and fools: Reflections of the American character*. San Diego, CA: Aegis.

Lenney, E. (1991). Sex roles: The measurement of masculinity, femininity, and androgyny. In J. p. Robinson, p. R. Shaver, & L. S. Wrightsman (Eds.), *Measures of social psychological attitudes* (Vol. 1, pp. 573–660). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

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

Levinson, D. J., Darrow, C. N., Klein, E. B., Levinson, M. H., & McKee, B. (1978). *The seasons of a man's life*. New York: Knopf.

Liben, L. S., & Bigler, R. S. (2002). *The developmental course of gender differentiation*. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, *67* (2, Serial No. 269).

Lisak, D. (2000). Editorial. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*, *1,* 3.

Mahalik, J. R., Locke, B. D., Ludlow, L. H., Diemer, M. A., Scott, R. P. J., Gottfried, M., et al. (2003). Development of the conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory. *Journal of Men and Masculinity*, *4,* 3–25.

Malamuth, N. M., Addison, T., & Koss, M. (2000). Pornography and sexual aggression: Are there reliable effects and can we understand them? *Annual Review of Sex Research*, *11,* 4–17.

Marecek, J. (1995). Gender, politics, and psychology's ways of knowing. *American Psychologist, 50*, 162–163.

Messner, M. A. (1992). *Power at play: Sports and the problem of masculinity*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Morawski, J. G. (1985). The measurement of masculinity and femininity: Engendering categorical realities. *Journal of Personality*, *53,* 196–223.

Morawski, J. G. (2001, November). *Masculinity in crisis: Are there limits to gender?* Paper presented at the University of New Hampshire, Durham.

Mosher, D. L., & Sirkin, M. (1984). Measuring a macho personality constellation. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *18,* 150–163.

O'Neil, J. M. (2002, August). *Twenty years of gender-role conflict research: Summary of 130 studies*. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Chicago, IL.

O'Neil, J. M., Egan, J., Owen, S. V., & McBride, V. (1993). The Gender Role Journey measure: Scale development and psychometric evaluation. *Sex Roles*, *28,* 167–185.

O'Neil, J. M., Helms, B. J., Gable, R. K., David, L., & Wrightsman, L. S. (1986). Gender-Role Conflict Scale: College men's fear of femininity. *Sex Roles*, *14,* 335–350.

Overton, W. F., & Reese, H. W. (1981). Conceptual prerequisites for an understanding of stability-change and continuity-discontinuity. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *4,* 99–123.

Pleck, J. H. (1981). *The myth of masculinity*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Pleck, J. H. (1987). The theory of male sex-role identity: Its rise and fall, 1936 to the present. In H. Brod (Ed.), *The making of masculinities: The new men's studies* (pp. 21–38). Boston: Allen & Unwin.

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

Pleck, J. H., Sonenstein, F. L., & Ku, L. C. (1993). Attitudes toward male roles: A discriminant validity analysis. *Sex Roles*, *30,* 481–501.

Rose, N. (1996). *Inventing our selves: Psychology, power and personhood*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Rotundo, E. A. (1993). *American manhood: Transformations in masculinity from the revolution to the modern era*. New York: Basic Books.

Spence, J. T., & Helmreich, R. L. (1978). *Masculinity and femininity: Their psychological dimensions, correlates and antecedents*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Spence, J. T., Helmreich, R. L., & Stapp, R. (1974). The Personal Attributes Questionnaire: A measure of sex role stereotypes and masculinity–femininity. *Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology, 4*, 43–44.

Stearns, P. N. (1994). *American cool: Constructing a twentieth-century emotional style*. New York: New York University Press.

Strong, E. K. J. (1936). Interests of men and women. *Journal of Social Psychology*, *7,* 49–67.

Terman, L. M., & Miles, C. C. (1936). *Sex and personality: Studies in masculinity and femininity*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Thompson, E. H., Jr., & Pleck, J. H. (1995). Masculinity ideologies: A review of research instrumentation on men and masculinities. In R. F. Levant & W. S. Pollack (Eds.), *A new psychology of men* (pp. 129–163). New York: Basic Books.

Townsend, K. (1996). *Manhood at Harvard: William James and others*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Unger, R. K. (1990). Imperfect reflections of reality: Psychology constructs gender. In R. T. Hare-Mustin & J. Marecek (Eds.), *Making a difference: Psychology and the construction of gender* (pp. 102–149). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Villemez, W. J., & Touhey, J. C. (1977). A measure of individual differences in sex stereotyping and sex discrimination: The "Macho" scale. *Psychological Reports*, *41,* 411–415.

Wade, J. C. (1998). Male reference group identity dependence: A theory of male identity. *Counseling Psychologist*, *26,* 349–383.

Wade, J. C. (2001). Professional men's attitudes toward race and gender equity. *Journal of Men's Studies*, *10,* 73–88.

Wade, J. C., & Brittan-Powell, C. (2001). Men's attitudes toward race and gender equity: The importance of masculinity ideology, gender-related traits, and reference group identity dependence. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*, *2,* 42–50.

Wade, J. C., & Gelso, C. J. (1998). Reference Group Identity Dependence scale: A measure of male identity. *Counseling Psychologist*, *26,* 384–412.

Weisbuch, M., Beal, D., & O'Neal, E. C. (1999). How masculine ought I be? Men's masculinity and aggression. *Sex Roles*, *40,* 583–592.

Wetherell, M., & Edley, N. (1999). Negotiating hegemonic masculinity: Imaginary positions and psycho-discursive practices. *Feminism and Psychology, 9*, 335–356.

Williams, J. E., & Best, D. L. (1990). *Sex and psyche: Gender and self viewed cross-culturally*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.