MALE SOCIALIZATION EXPERIENCE IN

TWO BIRTH COHORTS

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the

University of North Texas in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

By

Tamara Warner Minton, B.A.

Denton, Texas

December, 1998

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The purpose of this research was twofold; a quantitative examination of male socialization patterns along with an assessment of change over time in male socialization experiences. Men born in the 1950s and men born in the 1970s were compared to obtain an understanding of male socialization processes and possible changes since feminist issues have become a prevalent source of discourse in society. A survey questionnaire was utilized with a modified snowball sampling technique to explore male socialization experience. One hundred and one men participated in the project. Socialization experience for the men in this sample was five dimensional and while certain dimensions revealed change over time, others remained static. Findings indicate that quantitative measures can be successfully employed to study socialization processes.

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CHAPTER 1

THEORY

Social Constructionism

Examination of gender behavior leads to two basic theoretical viewpoints. The essentialist viewpoint posits that gender differences are biological while the social constructionist viewpoint holds that gender roles are socially created. Essentialists point to hormonal, anatomical, and chromosomal sex differences as the foundation of gender behavior while social constructionists see gender behavior as socially constructed and culturally learned (Rosenblum and Travis 1996:23). Many gender researchers speak of social constructionism, a theory which resides under the broad umbrella of symbolic interactionism. Social constructionists place the basis for gender identity on the process of socialization, particularly early family experiences (Lindsey 1990:45).

Socialization is defined as "...the process through which individuals learn their culture and prepare to become functioning members of society" (Lindsey 1990:37). Socialization transmits cultural values from generation to generation. Different cultures have different expectations of individuals based upon gender, and this fact is at the heart of social constructionism. If gender behaviors were truly biological, gender norms would not vary from society to society. Gender roles do indeed vary (1) from culture to culture, (2) within cultures historically, (3) within social contexts, and (4) over an individual's life course (Kimmel 1990:4).

From culture to culture we see differences in gender behavior and this lends strength to the social constructionist viewpoint. Definitive data does not exist to support the notion that gender behaviors are genetic, but much data exists which shows that all human behavior is malleable. Differences in gender behavior from society to society are heavily influenced by the extent of gender expectations imposed by a given society (Spence and Helmruch 1979:5). Socialization does involve mixed messages, and many different agents are involved in the process. The four main agents in American socialization are the family, school, peer group, and the media (Lindsey 1990:38). Within these agents, gender behavior is learned through reward and punishment as well as by observation and modeling. By two years of age children have acculturated gender (Lindsey 1990:44).

The childhood socialization patterns of both genders have been studied and documented through the use of observation techniques and individual experience, and many quantitative studies regarding role norm attitudes, beliefs, and expectations have been conducted. Some researchers suggest gender socialization has changed since the onset of the women's movement in the late 1960s. They point to university programs in women's studies and the increase of women in the job market. Other researchers suggest that changes have only occurred in *women's* socialization and attitudes. The following literature review will examine these issues as well as normative male socialization experiences as observed by researchers.

Review of the Literature

The review of the literature on this topic was organized as follows: first, an examination of male role typologies followed by observations on gender socialization, then a review of studies which have attempted to discern changes in masculinity over time. Clearly the women's movement and feminist scholarship have achieved dramatic gains for women, but what effect has it had on men?

While sociologists and feminist scholars studied the female role, the male role initially escaped scrutiny. Femininity was contrasted by the concept of masculinity as the norm. By the mid to late 1970s researchers had begun to examine the male role as a gender construct instead of an inevitable, biological set of behaviors. Two such researchers, Deborah S. David and Robert Brannon, stated that gender roles, more than any other single factor, have shaped social structure and society (David and Brannon 1976:1).

Content of Men's Gender Roles

Gender roles, David and Brannon insist, are socially learned. Gender roles are not specifically taught, but are learned by children from attitudes, behaviors, and activities performed within the social groups of which the child is a part of. Before a child can speak, she or he learns that mommy cares for children, does the cooking, cleaning and laundry while daddy goes to work, cuts the grass, takes out the trash, and uses tools (David and Brannon 1976:7-8). The child absorbs the appropriate color and texture

schemes: pink and soft for girls, blue and rough for boys. Learning does not only involve verbal cues, it is absorbed from the totality of the child's experience.

David and Brannon present four themes of masculinity in American culture. The researchers formulated these dimensions using observation techniques and interviews. They spoke to males and studied cultural products such as literature, films, and TV. These themes "..seem to comprise the core requirements of the [male] role":

1. No Sissy Stuff: There is a stigma of all things associated with females. Boys learn not to play with girls, cry like girls, or play with girls' toys.

2. The Big Wheel: There is a need for boys to achieve status. Boys want to own the best toys, cars, bikes, or be the best athlete in order to achieve success.

3. The Sturdy Oak: This describes the desirability of appearing
tough,   in control, and confident. Boys want to be strong and take whatever comes "like a man."

4. Give 'em Hell: The is the element of daring and aggression. Boys learn to take risks and to take what they want even over opposition. (David and Brannon 1976:12).

David and Brannon express a preference for experimental data but believe such data is unobtainable in studying gender. Observation and correlation studies are less conclusive

but have greater scope, and the researchers believe such techniques are appropriate (David and Brannon 1976:12-13).

The sex-role paradigm developed by David and Brannon is extremely useful in marking the parameters of current American masculinity, but this paradigm is limited to a model of late twentieth century America. This paradigm is not historically fluid as gender roles develop over time and vary by culture; it applies mainly to late twentieth century constructions of manhood (Kimmel 1987:280).

Socialization to the Male Gender Role

In what specific ways does culture contribute to the norms of masculine behavior? The socialization agents of family, school, peer group, and media have strong influence. Parental reaction regarding the sex organs of a newborn is immediate. A baby with a penis is clothed in blue. The color itself is an arbitrary choice, it could be green, pink, or red, but the association between "blue" and "boy" is absolute. Pink is avoided for boys, and by boys, because of its association with femininity. Parents are perturbed if their male child is mistaken as a girl (Henslin 1988:127-128).

Parents "nudge" infants and children into proper gender roles by their selection of toys. Boys are given trucks, planes, and cars to play with, and boys are permitted to bang toys noisily and play rough. Running, shouting, and climbing are tolerated by the parents of young boys while young girls are admonished to act like "little ladies". Boys are expected to get dirty but girls are scolded for soiling their clothing (Henslin 1988:128-129).

Male children come to understand they live with a different set of expectations than girls do. Girls are not welcome in a boy's world, and boys do not wish to enter the more restricted sphere of the female child. Separation of the genders becomes seen as right and proper (Henslin 1988:129-130).

When children are school age boys learn they have more freedom than girls, and girls are not tolerated in "boy" play (although a "tomboy" will be permitted to participate to a limited extent). Boys learn early that their identity is tied up in NOT being a girl. Any boy who acts like, or plays extensively with, a girl is a sissy, a traitor, and not considered a "real" boy. By the time boys are in elementary school the rules regarding girls are clear and males who do not live up to the code are marginalized (Henslin 1988:130-131).

The transition from boy to adolescent is difficult. Boys learn to behave differently with girls than they do with "the guys". Boys learn they must adopt behaviors pleasing to girls so they may reap sexual pay-offs. Boys realize that the competitive camaraderie of the male group is not appropriate when dealing with girls. As males become adults they continue to retreat into male only groups or activities as a refuge from the threatening female world (Henslin 1988:132).

The socialization patterns of manhood are poised opposite those of womanhood. Observation studies of grade school children confirm that boys and girls separate into same-sex groups and have different experiences. The social organization of boy and girl groups are strikingly different: boys hang out in large groups, play outdoors in rough physical manner, and interact competitively. Boy groups have a definite hierarchy. Girls tend toward smaller groups and engage mostly in cooperative play. Conflict in boy groups frequently ends up in fights or physical action while conflict in girl groups is

handled without physical violence. Boy groups engage in "rule breaking", and one of the most noted and frequent behaviors is that of using "dirty words". Breaking the rules by talking dirty defines much of the activity of these groups. To break rules in public is exciting to boys, and they enjoy risk taking. The researchers found that adults do not often attempt to discipline large groups of boys: while a lone boy hasn't much power, a boys' group does have power. The group gives the individual boy a sense of anonymity as well as a feeling of group support and admiration. Boys appear to experience communal, or group, arousal by rule breaking. This excitement bonds boys together, and can be seen in team sports as well as in the aggressive taunting of "marginal" boys. By nine to eleven years of age, boys have stopped touching each other in a friendly manner, so this communal arousal does not usually result in homosexuality. By fourth grade boys are using homophobic language and are very careful to appear "manly" so they won't be called "fag" or "queer". Approval of other boys seems necessary (Luria and Thorne 1986:139-141).

While boys socialize in large groups, girls choose a best friend. These pairings change frequently, as girls learn to negotiate friendships. Girls take turns in play, and they often choreograph themselves. They share secrets and learn to risk themselves by revealing information. In this way girls learn to create, sustain, and end reciprocal relationships. Girls learn about romance before they learn about sex. Boys learn about sex before they learn about romance, chiefly by viewing pornography both in groups and singly. They learn the mechanics of the sex act in a competitive group atmosphere without learning emotional intimacy (Luria and Thorne 1986:143-144).

Boys are also highly socialized by athletics, both professional and amateur. Sports figures serve as role models for young boys, and these role models have become

increasingly violent. Sports figures have been routinely in the news for rape, drug use, and violence. Athletics train boys in aggression and the denigration of women. Coaches press boys to score, to win, to be on top. The worst insult a young boy can receive is to be called a girl, a pussy, a wuss (combination of woman and pussy), or faggot (Miedzan 1994:157).

The researchers conclude that boys and girls bring different expectations, needs and knowledge into the dating arena of adolescence and adulthood. Dating may teach each gender something about the other, but these differences are already established during childhood. The researchers conclude that gender roles are learned at a young age and greatly influence future gender behavior patterns.

There is no lack of data indicating that our schools teach a "hidden" gender curriculum as well as the three R's (Stein 1994:317). Not only are school curriculums biased toward male achievement, but the behavior of the children toward each other in school goes unchecked. Sexual harassment is commonplace in elementary and secondary schools and interferes with a student's right to an equal opportunity education by creating an environment of fear and/or hostility, most often for girls. Sexual harassment is not recognized as such by adults who witness it. Often, harassing behaviors are characterized as normal, and harmless, developmental behavior. Snapping bras, lifting skirts, pulling down gym shorts, groping, sexual taunts, sexual graffiti, assault, and even rape are all examples of school sexual harassment (Stein 1994:313-314). Many of these events are generally shrugged off by adults who deem it "kid stuff". If school officials do not intervene when such behavior occurs they promote the school's "hidden" gender curriculum. Boys learn they are entitled to treat females in a degrading and physically abusive manner. Boys feel entitled to touch girls without their permission. Our schools

can be seen as a training ground for later domestic violence and sex crimes. We teach girls to be victimized and boys to be offenders.

The Influence of the Media

The media plays a large part in socializing boys to disrespect females. A major part of children's socialization occurs through the media, and boys are presented with violent and sadistic role models. Several studies have documented male reactions to violence against women. Repeated exposure to violence against women desensitizes men to the victim's pain and makes men more likely to believe women enjoy force. Fifty-seven percent of college males in one such study stated they would rape if guaranteed they would not get caught. Additionally, researchers have found that adolescent boys are strongly influenced by pornography and its themes of dominance toward women (Hill and Silver 1994:287).

Pornography is a part of boyhood socialization and teaches boys to objectify the self. It shows them how "real" men have sex. Performance, not intimacy with a partner, is the key. Males use a language of work and aggression to describe sexual acts: "getting the job done", "performance", "achieving orgasm", "scoring", "screwing", and "getting laid" are common phrases. Pornography is a vital part of masculine scripting (Kimmel 1990:12).

Heavy metal rock 'n roll and rap are favorites with boys, and these songs do not encourage reciprocal relationships with women, nor do they instill respect for women. The heavy metal rock group *Nine Inch Nails* had a hit recently with the lyrics: "You let me violate you, you let me desecrate you....I want to fuck you like an animal". *Poison,*

another popular band, sold 3 million copies of a song with these lyrics: "I want action tonight...If I can't have her, I'll take her and make her". Perhaps the most horrifying example is lyrics by *Two Live Crew*: "he'll tear the pussy open, 'cause it's satisfaction...Dick so proudful, she'll kneel and pray...Suck my dick, bitch, it'll make you puke." These lyrics are cool to boys, and the idea that the consent of women is of high priority is completely lacking.

Boys have traditionally collected baseball cards, but now there are "killer cards" that glorify the sexual assault, mutilation, and murder of girls and women. Boys collect cards of serial killers like Ted Bundy, David Berkowitz, and Richard Speck. The descriptions do not reflect horror at the crime, but amusement. Richard Speck's card notes that he was just starting to tie up, rape, and murder a group of nurses: "One, then two more nurses came home. They joined the party" (Miezdian,1993:p158). These cards send the message that female victims were willing participants in their own rapes and murders.

Studies of Change in the Definition of Masculinity

There are researchers who see changes occurring in the definitions of masculinity. Changes in women's roles in the last few decades may have an effect on gender attitudes: adolescents with mothers employed full-time have less traditional attitudes than children from traditional single-earner homes (Lindsey 1990:143). However, new role models have not replaced the older ones but reside side by side with them. This has created a dichotomy in the definition of what is to be a man: breadwinner versus compassionate father, macho seducer versus loving companion, Rambo versus Phil Donahue. While

men are receiving these new messages violence and homophobia continue to rise (Kimmel 1987:9).

Michael S. Kimmel, a sociologist who studies masculinity, has noted that although many researchers have explored the parameters of the male role, few have studied it empirically. Masculinity needs to be disaggregated and its elements studied with relationships between variables specified (Kimmel 1987:15). Kimmel believes that all males, regardless of race, experience singular male socialization experiences. Social shifts need to be identified, and that is what this research project attempts to do.

Edward H. Thompson, Jr. and Joseph H. Pleck conducted a study to analyze male norms as perceived by college men. The term *male role* is used to refer to social norms which prescribe and proscribe what men should feel and what men should do. The researchers drew heavily on Brannon and David's 1984 definitions of masculinity, i.e. *No Sissy Stuff, Sturdy Oak, Big Wheel, and Give 'em Hell.* Thompson and Pleck defined their male role dimensions as *Status* (the need to achieve), *Toughness* (self-reliance and tough facade), and *Anti femininity* (avoiding traditionally female occupations and activities).

The sample (N=233) used by Thompson and Pleck was a 20% random sample from two liberal arts colleges in New England. One of the universities was Catholic. The respondents were predominantly white [96%], Catholic [84%], and middle to upper class. The study had a 58% response rate. Although the researchers refer to this as a sample of collegiate men, it seems appropriate to point out that the sample cannot be used to generalize or predict what college men feel about the issues investigated. Most American college men would not fit the characteristics of a sample drawn from two liberal arts universities in New England whose students are overwhelming white, Catholic, and

middle to upper class. One might be able to say that the results are indicative of what the male students at these two particular universities would say.

The researchers used 7 point Likert-type response categories to measure 57 statements within the three dimensions of research (*Status, Toughness, Anti femininity*). Examples of such statements include "Success at work has to be a central goal", "I like a guy who does not complain", and "Bothers me if a man does something feminine". The respondents recognized the male norms but did not score in either the highly traditional, or non-traditional range. Because of these ambivalent results Thompson and Pleck concluded that "the traditional male role is a three dimensional standard, but the strength of this normative orientation is weak in a contemporary collegiate sample" (Thompson and Pleck 1987:35). Higher education levels of parents appeared to reduce traditional male norms while race had little effect. The researchers did conclude that male roles "...appear distinct from attitudes toward women" (Thompson and Pleck 1987:15). A man can hold any attitude toward women but his masculinity is still attached to behaving differently than women do.

Another study undertaken to discern change in male/female role attitudes was conducted by Jean M. Twenge. Using the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ), Twenge compared results from samples taken from those born in the 1950s and those born in the 1970s. The 1950s children grew up with more traditional gender roles while the 1970s children grew up during the feminist movement when working women and college educated women were more common (Twenge 1997:306). Since the 1970s women have increasingly reported male stereotyped traits as their own. Males consistently endorse male stereotyped traits through both cohorts (Twenge 1997:315). While women have taken on male personality traits, men

have not taken on more traditional feminine traits. Men seem to face harsher sanctions for being "feminine" than women do for being "masculine" (Twenge 1997:317). The women's movement has apparently had an effect on women, but men do not endorse female traits for themselves.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH DESIGN

Purpose of Study

Since male socialization experience strongly influences masculine identity it seems worthwhile to determine whether the experiences observed by qualitative researchers are commonplace among men. This research project was designed to quantitatively explore male socialization experience and to measure differences in the socialization experiences of men born in the 1950s and men born in the 1970s. These birth cohorts were chosen because they precede, and succeed, the most dramatic years of change in women's roles. The 1950s cohort grew up with more traditional gender role expectations in place while the 1970s cohort grew up while working, and educated, women were growing in number.

Hypotheses

I.   Men born in the 1950s will report more traditional male
       socialization experiences than men born in the 1970s.

II.   Given that there is an association between male socialization
       experiences and birth cohort, then controlling for the education
       level of the respondent will reduce the strength of the association
       between birth cohort and male socialization experience.

The Sample

Data was collected by use of a modified snowball sampling technique and an availability technique. Random samples are difficult and expensive to obtain, and due to the exploratory nature of the research design a more convenient sample method was decided upon. One hundred and fifty survey questionnaires were distributed to men in Texas, and fifty were distributed to men in Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, and Arizona with instructions to distribute an additional two surveys to other men. The men were chosen with consideration to education level and social status and an attempt was made to include working, middle, and upper class men. Questionnaires were obtained from the University of North Texas in Denton, Texas and the University of Texas at Dallas in Richardson, Texas by distributing questionnaires in general subject classes where students of diverse majors would be present. Limitations regarding this type of sampling method will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

The Independent Variable

The independent variable was Birth Cohort. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they had been born in the 1950s or the 1970s (question 1 on the questionnaire appendix 1).

The Control Variables

<u>Mother's Employment Status</u>:   Respondents were asked whether their mother worked inside or outside the home.   This variable was used to determine if there were differences in male socialization experience as a result of mother's employment status (question 8 on the questionnaire in Appendix 1). The original question had three answer categories (full time outside employment, part time outside employment, full time homemaker). The question was recoded into a dichotomous variable (outside employment or full time homemaker) for analytic reasons. It was believed that a dichotomous variable would simplify the analysis.

<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>:   Respondents were asked to identify their race/ethnicity in order to examine any differences in socialization experiences which could have been a result of race/ethnicity (question 2 on the questionnaire, Appendix 1)

<u>Education of Parents</u>:   Respondents were asked to classify their parents into one of eight categories of educational attainment in order to ascertain if parent education level had an effect on male socialization experiences (question 6 on the questionnaire for father's education level and question 5 for mother's education level, Appendix 1).   These variables were recoded into a dichotomous low education/high education variable. The cutting point was high school diploma or less and some college or university degree. It was believed that a dichotomous low and high variable would simplify the analysis.

<u>Education of Respondent</u>: Respondents were asked to classify themselves into one of eight categories of educational attainment in order to examine differences in socialization experiences according to education level (question 12 on the questionnaire, Appendix 1). This variable was recoded into a dichotomous low education/high education variable. the cutting point used was the same as used for parent education, high school diploma or less

and some college or university degree. It was believed that a dichotomous low and high variable would simplify the analysis.

College Major: Respondents were asked for their college major to check the diversity of the sample (question 13 on the questionnaire, Appendix 1).

The Dependent Variable

The dependent variable was male socialization experience. Male socialization experiences were assessed by the respondent's remembered frequency of behaviors and observations during the childhood/teen years. A zero to three point Likert-type response category was used to measure socialization experience. Low scores indicated less traditional male socialization experiences (traditional being defined by David and Brannon's four themes of American manhood) while high scores indicated traditional male socialization experiences. The dependent variables probed socialization events and behaviors within the family, at school, in peer groups, in the media, in athletics, and in settings with girls. Events and behaviors were chosen from the literature review.

Limitations of Study

Several caveats are in order regarding this study. First, the sample is not random but based on availability and a modified snowball technique. Results of this study cannot be used as representative or wholly generalizable to the larger male population.

Additionally, respondents answered male socialization experience questions based on memory. Relying on the memories of respondents instead of directly observing the behaviors could result in an unknown bias, but it can be argued that what the respondents

remembered is more important than the event or behavior itself. Observation techniques observe behavior as it occurs while this study focuses on socialization experience which was internalized by the respondent.

Taken as a whole, I believe this study to be a step toward discovering the social processes behind male socialization experiences. I agree with Michael S. Kimmel when he says it is time to study masculinity as a problematic gender construct instead of a normative referent. We must not only study the structure of the male role but examine it empirically, disaggregate its elements, and identify associations with other variables. The manner in which males are socialized is intrinsic to this goal.

CHAPTER 3

The Results of the Research Project

Steps in analyzing the data obtained in this project were constructed in the following order: (1) frequency distributions on the independent and control variables, (2) a factor analysis of the dependent variables, (3) description of the dependent variable dimensions, and (4) measure of association (gamma) between birth cohort (IV) and the factored dimensions (DV).

Response Distribution on Independent and Control Variables

The first analyses consisted of determining frequency distributions on the independent and control variables. The independent variable is birth cohort (BC). The control variables include mother's employment status (MOMEMP), parent education level (DADED and MOMED), race/ethnicity (RACE), and respondent education level (RESPEDUC). Table 1 displays the frequency distributions by birth cohort. The frequency table for college major (MAJOR) was not used in the analysis and is located in Appendix 2. College major was used only to confirm a wide variety of college majors for respondent diversity.

One hundred and one surveys were returned for a response rate of 50.55%. The sample was predominantly white (74.3%) and precluded the use of race/ethnicity as a control variable in a sample this small (N=101). The sample was biased in that the majority of the respondents (88.2%) were in the high education category. A little over half of the respondents were in the 1950s cohort (52.5%). As expected, the majority of respondents from the 1970s had working mothers (75%) while a slim majority of the

Table 1
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS OF INDEPENDENT AND CONTROL VARIABLES

BIRTH COHORT

	Total No.	Sample Percent
1950s	53	52.5%
1970s	48	47.5%
	101	100%

RACE/ETHNICITY

	1950s Sample No.	1950s Sample Percent	1970s Sample No.	1970s Sample Percent	Total Sample No.	Total Sample Percent
European Descent	42	82.4%	33	68.8%	75	75.8%
Black American	5	9.8%	6	12.5%	11	11.1%
Hispanic American	3	5.9%	8	16.7%	11	11.1%
Native American	0	0	1	2.1%	1	1.0%
Other	1	2.0%	0	0	1	1.0%
	51	100%	48	100%	101	100%

FATHER'S EDUCATION LEVEL

	1950s Sample No.	1950s Sample Percent	1970s Sample No.	1970s Sample Percent	Total Sample No.	Total Sample Percent
High School or Less	23	43.4%	21	43.8%	44	43.6%
Some College/University Degree	30	56.6%	27	56.3%	57	56.4%
	53	100%	48	100%	101	100%

MOTHER'S EDUCATION LEVEL

	1950s Sample No.	1950s Sample Percent	1970s Sample No.	1970s Sample Percent	Total Sample No.	Total Sample Percent
High School or Less	26	49.1%	18	37.5%	44	43.6%
Some College/University Degree	27	50.9%	30	62.5%	57	56.4%
	53	100%	48	100%	101	100%

MOTHER'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Percent	1950s Sample		1970s Sample		Total Sample	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Employed Outside of Home Full Time	25	47.2%	36	75%	61	60.4%
Homemaker	28	52.8%	12	25%	40	39.6%
	53	100%	48	100%	101	100%

Table 5 continued

RESPONDENT EDUCATION LEVEL

Percent	1950s Sample		1970s Sample		Total Sample	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
High School or Less	6	11.3%	6	12.5%	12	11.9%
Some College/ University Degree	47	88.7%	42	87.5%	89	88.1%
	53	100%	48	100%	101	100%

1950s cohort had mothers who were full time homemakers (52.8%). Father's level of education did not differ by birth cohort, the majority of respondents had fathers with some college or a university degree (56.6% and 56.3% respectively). 50.9% of the respondents from the 1950s cohort had mothers with some college or a university degree while 62.5% of 1970s respondents had mothers with some college or a university degree.

Analysis of the Dependent Variable: Male Socialization Experience

The dependent variable consisted of several questions regarding remembered events and behaviors during childhood and the teen years. The exploratory design of the survey instrument allowed the inclusion of several items which were experimental and

did not provide consistent responses. These items were deleted from the survey. A full copy of the questionnaire including these items is located in Appendix 1.

Factor Analysis

A principal component analysis was used on twenty-two final items with a Varimax (Kaiser Normalization) rotation method. The rotation converged in 27 iterations. Five dimensions, including twenty items, emerged which accounted for 54.551% of the variance (Appendix 4 for complete factor analysis). Results indicate that male socialization is complex and happens on five levels. The five dimensions are [1] Home Care Training, [2] Separation from Girls, [3] Sexuality, [4] Don't Be a Sissy, and [5] Harassment. Items loading at .30 (a moderate weight) and above were retained in order to identify the dimensions. Table 2 on the next page displays the factor loadings.

Making Sense of the Dimensions

It is important to examine the items in each dimension to understand the socialization processes which occur in men's lives. The first factored dimension, *Home Care*, included three items and involved male socialization in child care and home care. Respondents were asked if they were taught to care for infants, if they were taught to care for young children, and if they were taught to cook or

sew. This dimension represents socialization processes which occur primarily within the family.

Table 2. Factor Loadings for Male Socialization Items

Item Content	Factor One	Factor Two	Factor Three	Factor Four	Factor Five
1. Infant Care	.896				
2. Child Care	.919				
3. Cook/Sew	.678				
4. Boys Against Girls		.296			
5. No Girls		.706			
6. Men Wear Pants		.626			
7. Women's Work		.732			
8. Boy Club		.529	.391		
9. View Porn			.783		
10. Porn Group			.806		
11. Sex Talk			.628		
12. Don't Act Like a Girl				.756	
13. Athletes Tough		.480		.466	
14. Be a Man		.347		.604	
15. Father Love				.347	
16. Girl Insults					.391
17. Winning					.604
18. Harass Girls					.637
19. Bad Words					.745
20. Female Names					.340

The second dimension, *Separation from Girls*, includes five items. Respondents were asked if they had known of, or belonged to, a boy club with a "no girls allowed" rule, if they played games "boys against the girls," if during games there was a "no girls allowed" rule, if they had heard the phrase "men should wear the pants in the family," and if they considered cooking, mopping, and doing dishes "women's work." This dimension

examined the element of separation of the genders as discussed in the literature review. These items included socialization processes with both peers and the family. The items appear to represent separation from females in work, authority, and play. Boys are taught to separate themselves and their masculine identity from femininity.

The third dimension, *Sexuality*, included items with regard to sexual socialization. The respondents were asked if they viewed pornography or sexually explicit material as children or teens, if other boys had shown them such material, and if they heard boys refer to sexual activity as "scoring," "getting to 2nd, 3rd, or 4th base," "getting some," "doing the job," "screwed her," or "did her." The literature review mentioned that young males learn about sex from pornography and from other boys in the locker room. The sexuality dimension seems to support this observation. Viewing pornography teaches boys how "real" men have sex. Viewing pornography and characterizing sex in a denigrating manner were highly correlated. This socialization process is concentrated in the media and with peers.

Don't Be a Sissy is the fourth dimension and included four items. Respondents were asked if they had heard phrases such as "Don't cry like a girl" or "Don't be a sissy", if being an athlete was considered cool, and if they had heard the phrase "act like a man". They were also asked how often their father expressed love and physical affection for them. There were four questions on the questionnaire regarding father's affection, but only one was used in the factor analysis. Due to their high correlation to each other they were determined to measure the same issue. The socialization process represented occurs with peers and in the family and centers around NOT being feminine. Boys learn early not to be "a sissy," they don't want to be "girlish," they must act like a "man."

The fifth and final dimension, *Harassment*, included five items involving the need to win or dominate both verbally and physically. Respondents were asked if being called

a "girl," "sissy," "wuss," "pussy," or "fag" was often considered an insult, if winning was important, if boys whistled at girls or pulled hair or snapped bras or lifted their skirts, if using "bad" or "sex" words was considered cool, and if they had heard women referred to as "pussy," "slut," or "trim." This dimension demonstrates how males are socialized to "win" or be "dominant" over females. The process occurs within the peer group. By using language and some level of physicality, boys taunt each other with "girl insults," refer to girls in a derogatory manner, and sexually harass girls. The gender literature discusses the role athletics play in teaching boys to disrespect girls. The inclusion of the "winning" variable seems to support these observations in the literature.

Analysis of the Dimensions

Scores were constructed for each dimension by computing the scores on each variable into an index. To assess the strength of the association between birth cohort and each dimension measures of association were chosen over inferential statistics since the sample was not random. Measures of association are used to determine the strength of the relationship between two variables. Birth cohort and each dimension can be considered ordinal variables since they are ranked from low to high, so gamma was considered the appropriate measure of association to test the hypothesis that the 1970s cohort would have lower, less traditional scores than the 1950s cohort.

On all questions respondents had four answer categories from which to choose. These answer categories were scored from zero points to three points. High scores denoted traditional socialization experiences. Gamma was hypothesized to be negative: the 1970s birth cohort was expected to have lower, less traditional scores than the 1950s

birth cohort. To obtain gamma for each dimension (the dependent variables) and birth cohort (the independent variable) the total scores were divided into equally percentaged thirds (as equally as possible) in order to then analyze the scoring patterns of each birth cohort. The tables identify these thirds by score categories of *Least Traditional, Middle Traditional,* and *Highly Traditional.* These categories do not necessarily reflect the true meaning of the index scores but only the scoring levels of the percentaged thirds in the sample. On a high scoring dimension, the *Least Traditional* third could still have traditional scores on the index itself.

On dimensions which proved statistically significant at the .05 level partial gamma was obtained in order to test the hypotheses that the control variables (father's education level, mother's education level, respondent education level, and mother's employment status) would reduce the association between the dimension and birth cohort. The control variable required a partial gamma at least .10 higher than the zero order gamma to have an effect on the zero order association between birth cohort and the dimension.

The Home Care Dimension

A detailed view of the scores by birth cohort was obtained by examining the index scores. The three items on the index (infant care training, young child care training, cook/sew training) have a high possible score of three points each, or nine points total on the index, and a low possible score of zero points each for a total possible score of zero. The scores appear to be spread across the possible range. These scores are displayed in Chart 1.

For the analysis of the home care dimension and birth cohort the total scores were split into equally percentaged thirds (as closely as possible). Twenty-nine percent of the respondents scored 0-2 points on the index (Least Traditional), thirty-six percent scored 3-5 points (Middle Traditional), and thirty-five percent scored 6-9 points (Highly Traditional). Analysis of the dimension and birth cohort revealed a moderate negative association between the variables (-.357) which was statistically significant (.019). The hypothesis that men born in the 1970s would have less traditional male socialization experiences than men born in the 1950s was supported for this dimension. The association between birth cohort and the home care dimension are presented in Table 3.

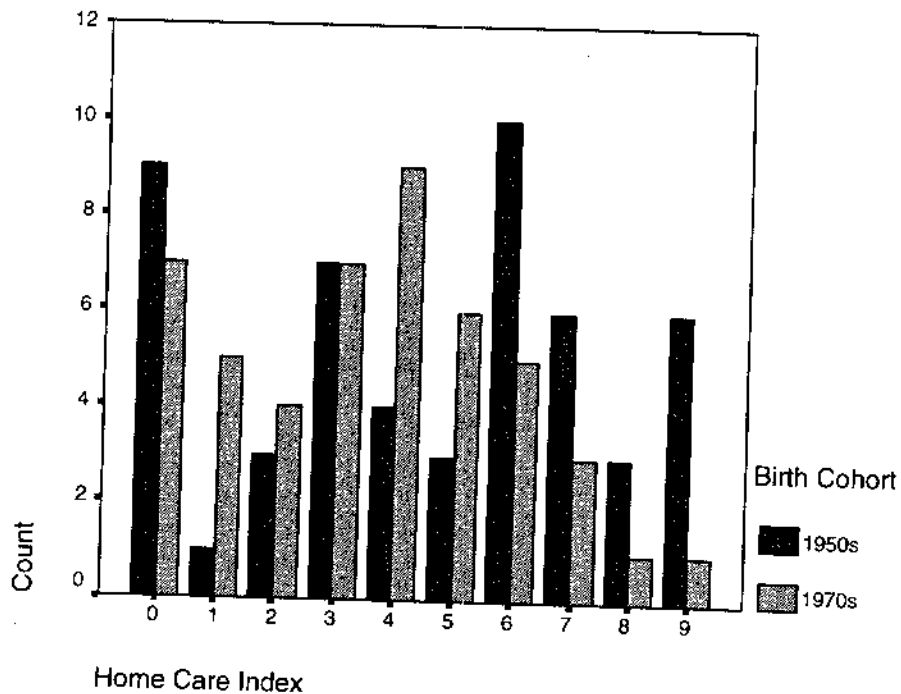## CHART 1. HOME CARE AND BIRTH COHORT INDEX SCORES

Home Care Index

TABLE 3. HOME CARE AND BIRTH COHORT CROSSTABULATION AND MEASURE OF ASSOCIATION

	Birth Cohort		Total N./ Percent
	1950s	1970s	
	N	N	
1. Least Traditional	13 [25%]	16 [33.3%]	29 [29%]
2 Middle Traditional	14 [26.9%]	22 [45.8%]	36 [36%]
3 Most Traditional	25 [48.1%]	10 [20.8%]	35 [35%]
Total	52 [100%]	48 [100%]	100 [100%]

Missing Cases=1

Measure of Association	Value	Approx. Significance
Ordinal by Ordinal Gamma	-.357	.019

To evaluate the effect of the control variables (father's education level, mother's education level, respondent's education level, and mother's employment status) on the relationship between home care and birth cohort partial gammas were obtained. The first order tables presented in Table 4 examine whether any of the control variables partially account for the statistically significant relationship between birth cohort and the home care dimension. Partial gamma must be .10 higher or above to have an effect on the zero order relationship between birth cohort and home care. None of the control variables were found to have an effect on this dimension and there was no support for the hypotheses that these control variables would reduce the association between birth cohort and the home care dimension.

TABLE 4. HOME CARE AND BIRTH COHORT: CONTROL VARIABLES

FATHER'S EDUCATION LEVEL

	Birth Cohort		Total
	1950s	1970s	
High School or Less	N	N	N
1. Least Traditional	5 [21.7%]	6 [28.6%]	11 [25%]
2. Middle Traditional	8 [34.8%]	10 [47.6%]	18 [40.9%]
3. Most Traditional	10 [43.5%]	5 [23.8%]	15 [34.1%]
Total	23 [100%]	21 [100%]	44 [100%]
Some College/Degree			
1. Least Traditional	8 [27.6%]	10 [37%]	18 [32.1%]
2. Middle Traditional	6 [20.7%]	12 [44.4%]	18 [32.1%]
3. Most Traditional	15 [51.7%]	5 [18.5%]	20 [35.7%]
Total	29 [100%]	27 [100%]	56 [100%]

Conditional Gamma for Father High School or Less=	-.288
Conditional Gamma for Father Some College/Degree=	-.403
Partial Gamma for Father's Education Level=	-.362

MOTHER'S EDUCATION LEVEL

	Birth Cohort		Total
	1950s	1970s	
High School or Less	N	N	N
1. Least Traditional	5 [19.2%]	8 [44.4%]	13 [29.5%]
2. Middle Traditional	10 [38.5%]	7 [38.9%]	17 [38.6%]
3. Most Traditional	11 [42.3%]	3 [16.7%]	14 [31.8%]
Total	26 [100%]	18 [100%]	44 [100%]
Some College/Degree			
1. Least Traditional	8 [30.8%]	8 [26.7%]	16 [28.6%]
2. Middle Traditional	4 [15.4%]	15 [50%]	19 [33.9%]
3. Most Traditional	14 [53.8%]	7 [23.3%]	21 [37.5%]
Total	26 [100%]	30 [100%]	56 [100%]

	Conditional Gamma for Mother High School or Less=	-.508
	Conditional Gamma for Mother Some College/Degree=	-.269
	Partial Gamma for Mother's Education Level=	-.357

RESPONDENT EDUCATION LEVEL

	Birth Cohort		Total
	1950s	1970s	
High School or Less	N	N	N
1. Least Traditional	2 [33.3%]	4 [66.7%]	6 [50%]
2. Middle Traditional	3 [50%]	1 [16.7%]	4 [33.3%]
3. Most Traditional	1[16.7%]	1 [16.7%]	2 [16.7%]
Total	6 [100%]	6 [100%]	12 [100%]
Some College/Degree			
1. Least Traditional	11 [23.9%]	12 [28.6%]	23 [100%]
2. Middle Traditional	11[23.9%]	21 [50%]	32 [36.4%]
3. Most Traditional	24 [52.2%]	9 [21.4%]	33 [37.5%]
Total	46 [100%]	42 [100%]	88 [100%]

Conditional Gamma for Respondent High School or Less=   -.417

Conditional Gamma for Respondent Some College/Degree=   -.366

Partial Gamma for Respondent Education Level=   -.367

MOTHER'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS

	Birth Cohort		Total
	1950s	1970s	
Employed Outside Home	N	N	N
1. Least Traditional	7 [28%]	12 [33.3%]	19 [31.1%]
2. Middle Traditional	8 [32%]	16 [44.4%]	24 [39.3%]
3. Most Traditional	10 [40%]	8 [22.2%]	18 [29.5%]
Total	25 [100%]	36 [100%]	61 [100%]
Full Time Homemaker			
1. Least Traditional	6 [22.2%]	4 [33.3%]	10 [25.6%]
2. Middle Traditional	6 [22.2%]	6 [50%]	12 [30.8%]
3. Most Traditional	15 [55.6%]	2 [16.7%]	17 [43.6%]
Total	27 [100%]	12 [100%]	39 [100%]

Conditional Gamma for Mother Employed Outside Home=   -.237

Conditional Gamma for Mother Full Time Homemaker=   -.487

Partial Gamma for Mother Employment Status=   -.306

The Separation from Girls Dimension

There were five items on the separation from girls index (boy club, boys against girls, no girls allowed, men wear pants, women's work) for a high possible score of three points each, or fifteen points total on the index, and a low possible score of zero points each for a total for a total of zero. The scores on this index are spread out with the main cluster of points in the mid-range as presented in Chart 2.

The index scores were split into equally percentaged (as closely as possible) thirds to analyze the association between birth cohort and the separation from girls dimension. Thirty-five percent of the respondents scored 0-5 points on the index (Least Traditional), thirty-five percent scored from 6-8 points (Middle Traditional), and thirty percent scored from 9-15 points (Highly Traditional). Analysis of the dimension and birth cohort revealed a moderate negative association between the variables (-.382) which was statistically significant (.012) and supports the hypothesis that men born in the 1970s will have less traditional socialization experiences than men born in the 1950s. Table 5 displays this association.

CHART 2. SEPARATION FROM GIRLS AND BIRTH COHORT INDEX SCORES

Separation from Girls Index
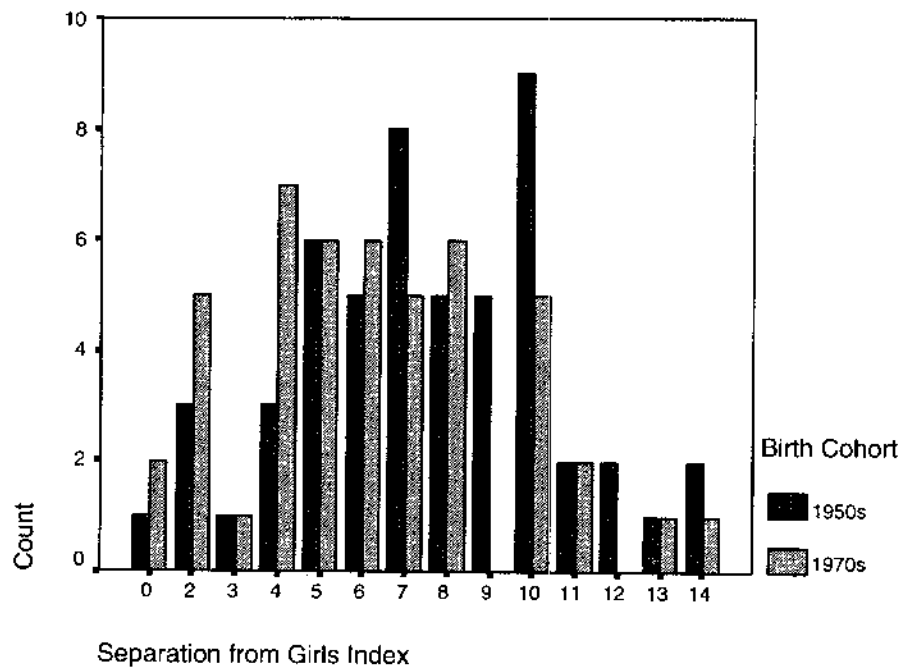
TABLE 5. SEPARATION FROM GIRLS AND BIRTH COHORT CROSSTABULATION AND MEASURE OF ASSOCIATION

	Birth Cohort		Total N/Percent
	1950s N	1970s N	
1. Least Traditional	14 [26.4%]	21 [44.7%]	35 [35%]
2. Middle Traditional	18 [34%]	17 [36.2%]	35 [35%]
3. Most Traditional	21 [39.6%]	9 [19.1%]	30 [30%]
Total	53 [100%]	47 [100%]	100 [100%]

Missing Cases=1

Table 5. continued.

Measure of Association	Value	Approx. Significance
Ordinal by Ordinal Gamma	-.382	.012

Evaluation of the effect of the control variables (father's education level, mother's education level, respondent education level, and mother's employment status) revealed that none of the control variables had an effect on the zero order association between birth cohort and separation from girls. The first order tables are presented in Table 6. There was no support for the hypotheses that these control variables would reduce the association between birth cohort and the separation from girls dimension.

TABLE 6. SEPARATION FROM GIRLS AND BIRTH COHORT: CONTROL VARIABLES

FATHER'S EDUCATION LEVEL

	Birth Cohort		Total
	1950s	1970s	
High School or Less	N	N	N
1. Least Traditional	3 [13%]	8 [40%]	11 [25.6%]
2. Middle Traditional	9 [39.1%]	7 [35%]	16 [37.2%]
3. Most Traditional	11 [47.8%]	5 [25%]	16 [37.2%]
Total	23 [100%]	20 [100%]	43 [100%]
Some College/Degree			
1. Least Traditional	11 [36.7%]	13 [48.1%]	24 [42.1%]
2. Middle Traditional	9 [30%]	10 [37%]	19 [33.3%]
3. Most Traditional	10 [33.3%	4 [14.8%]	14 [24.6%]
Total	30 [100%]	27 [100%]	57 [100%]

Conditional Gamma for Father High School or Less=	-.491
Conditional Gamma for Father Some College/Degree=	-.292
Partial Gamma for Father's Education Level=	-.366

MOTHER'S EDUCATION LEVEL

	Birth Cohort		Total
	1950s	1970s	
High School or Less	N	N	N
1. Least Traditional	4 [15.4%]	10 [58.8%]	14 [32.6%]
2. Middle Traditional	10 [38.5%]	4 [23.5%]	14 [32.6%]
3. Most Traditional	12 [46.2%]	3 [17.6%]	15 [34.9%]
Total	26 [100%]	17 [100%]	43 [100%]
Some College/Degree			
1. Least Traditional	10 [37%]	11 [36.7%]	21 [36.8%]
2. Middle Traditional	8 [29.6%]	13 [43.3%]	21 [36.8%]
3. Most Traditional	9 [33.3%]	6 [20%]	15 [26.3%]
Total	27 [100%]	30 [100%]	57 [100%]

Conditional Gamma for Mother High School or Less=   -.644

Conditional Gamma for Mother Some College/Degree=   -.122

Partial Gamma for Mother's Education Level=   -.317

RESPONDENT EDUCATION LEVEL

	Birth Cohort		Total
	1950s	1970s	
High School or Less	N	N	N
1. Least Traditional	1 [16.7%]	2 [33.3%]	3 [25%]
2. Middle Traditional	4 [66.7%]	4 [66.7%]	8 [66.7%]
3. Most Traditional	1 [16.7%]	0	1 [8.3%]
Total	6 [100%]	6 [100%]	12 [100%]
Some College/Degree			
1. Least Traditional	13 [27.7%]	19 [46.3%]	32 [36.4%]
2. Middle Traditional	14 [29.8%]	13 [31.7%]	27 [30.7%]
3. Most Traditional	20 [42.6%]	9 [22%]	29 [33%]
Total	47 [100%]	41 [100%]	88 [100%]

Conditional Gamma for Respondent High School or Less=   -.556

Conditional Gamma for Respondent Some College/Degree=   -.375

Partial Gamma for Respondent Education Level=   -.377

MOTHER'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS

	Birth Cohort		Total
	1950s	1970s	
Employed Outside Home	N	N	N
1. Least Traditional	6 [24%]	15 [42.9%]	21 [35%]
2. Middle Traditional	10 [40%]	14 [40%]	24 [40%]
3. Most Traditional	9 [36%]	6 [17.1%]	15 [25%]
Total	25 [100%]	35 [100%]	60 [100%]
Full Time Homemaker			
1. Least Traditional	8 [28.6%]	6 [50%]	14 [35%]
2. Middle Traditional	8 [28.6%]	3 [25%]	11 [27.5%]
3. Most Traditional	12 [42.9%]	3 [25%]	15 [37.5%]
Total	28 [100%]	12 [100%]	40 [100%]
Conditional Gamma for Mother Employed Outside Home=			-.391
Conditional Gamma for Mother Full Time Homemaker=			-.368
Partial Gamma for Mother Employment Status=			-.384

The Sexuality Dimension

When the raw scores on the sexuality index were examined the tendency of both cohorts to score in the highly traditional range was obvious. The three items on the index explore the sexual socialization of men and include two items regarding the consumption of pornography, both alone and with others, and denigrating sex act characterizations. The total score range is 0-9. The scores in this dimension lean toward the high middle and highly traditional range. The scores are shown in Chart 3.

CHART 3. SEXUALITY AND BIRTH COHORT INDEX SCORES
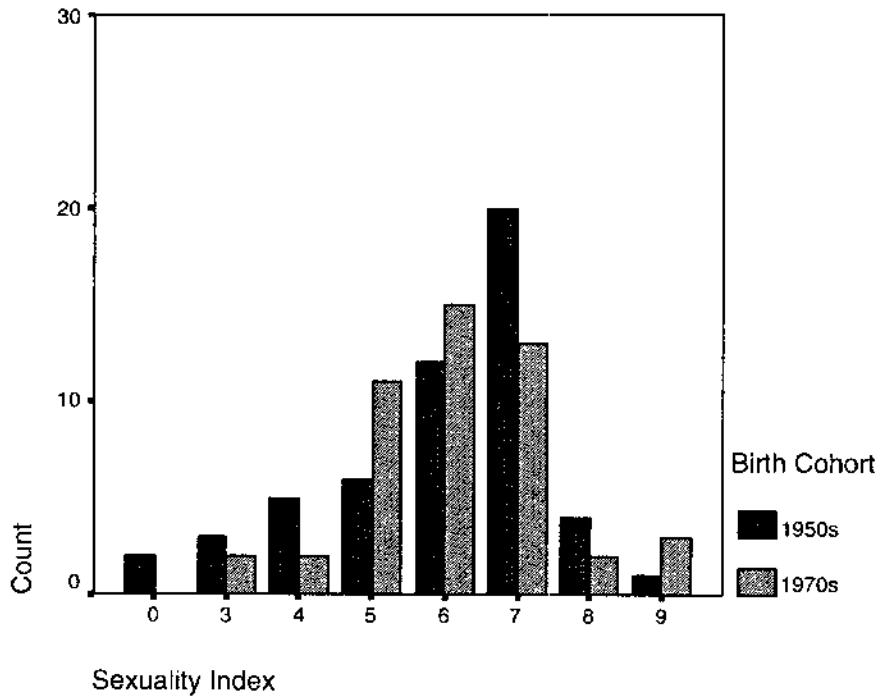
The sexuality index was split into three percentaged groups. The sample was difficult to split into equal thirds since the scores were clustered toward the upper range. Approximately thirty percent scored from 0-5 (Least Traditional), twenty-seven percent scored 6 points (Middle Traditional), and forty-three percent scored from 7-9 points (Highly Traditional). Analysis of the sexuality dimension and birth cohort revealed a weak negative association of -.111 and was statistically significant (.019). The hypothesis that the 1970s birth cohort would have a lower, non-traditional score on traditional sexual socialization was weakly supported. The tendency of both cohorts to

score in the middle to highly traditional range must be taken into consideration when analyzing this dimension. The 1970s cohort was slightly likely to have a lower score than the 1950s cohort but these scores were still in the more traditional range. Table 7 displays the percentaged thirds and measure of association.

TABLE 7. SEXUALITY AND BIRTH COHORT CROSSTABULATION AND MEASURE OF ASSOCIATION

	Birth Cohort		TotalN/Percent
	1950s	1970s	
1. Least Traditional	16 [30.2%]	15 [31.3%]	31[30.7%]
2. Middle Traditional	12 [22.6%]	15 [31.3%]	27 [26.7%]
3. Most Traditional	25 [47.2%]	18 [37.5%]	·43 [42.6%]
Total	53 [100%]	48 [100%]101 [100%]	

Measure of Association	Value	Approx. Significance
Ordinal by Ordinal Gamma	-.111	.019

Partial gammas were obtained to evaluate the effect of the control variables (father's education level, mother's education level, respondent education level, and mother's employment status) on the zero order association between the sexuality dimension and birth cohort. The first order tables presented in Table 8 show no partial gammas at .10 higher than the zero order (.111). There was no support for the hypotheses that these control variables would reduce the association between birth cohort and the sexuality dimension.

TABLE 8. SEXUALITY AND BIRTH COHORT: CONTROL VARIABLES
FATHER'S EDUCATION LEVEL

High School or Less	Birth Cohort		Total
	1950s	1970s	
	N	N	N
1. Least Traditional	9 [39.1%]	6 [28.6%]	15 [34.1%]
2. Middle Traditional	5 [21.7%]	10 [47.6]	15 [34.1%]
3. Most Traditional	9 [39.1%]	5 [23.8%]	14 [31.8%]
Total	23 [100%]	21 [100%]	44 [100%]
Some College/Degree			
1. Least Traditional	7 [23.3%]	9 [33.3%]	16 [28.1%]
2. Middle Traditional	7 [23.3%]	5 [18.5%]	12 [21.1%]
3. Most Traditional	16 [53.3%]	13 [48.1%]	29 [50.9%]
Total	30 [100%]	27 [100%]	57[100%]

Conditional Gamma for Father High School or Less=   -.042

Conditional Gamma for Father Some College/Degree=   -.139

Partial Gamma for Father's Education Level=   -.100

MOTHER'S EDUCATION LEVEL

High School or Less	Birth Cohort		Total
	1950s	1970s	
	N	N	N
1. Least Traditional	8 [30.8%]	7 [38.9%]	15 [34.1%]
2. Middle Traditional	5 [19.2%]	6 [33.3%]	11 [25%]
3. Most Traditional	13 [50%]	5 [27.8%]	18 [40.9%]
Total	26 [100%]	18 [100%]	44 [100%]
Some College/Degree			
1. Least Traditional	8 [29.6%]	8 [26.7%]	16 [28.1%]
2. Middle Traditional	7 [25.9%]	9 [30%]	16 [28.1%]
3. Most Traditional	12 [44.4%]	13 [43.3%]	25 [43.9%]
Total	27 [100%]	30 [100%]	57 [100%]

Conditional Gamma for Mother High School or Less=   -.287

Conditional Gamma for Mother Some College/Degree=   -.013

Partial Gamma for Mother's Education Level=   -.09

RESPONDENT EDUCATION LEVEL

Education Level	Birth Cohort		Total
	1950s	1970s	
High School or Less	N	N	N
1. Least Traditional	3 [50%]	3 [50%]	6 [50%]
2. Middle Traditional	2 [33.3%]	2 [33.3%]	4 [33.3%]
3. Most Traditional	1 [16.7%]	1 [16.7%]	2 [16.7%]
Total	6 [100%]	6 [100%]	12 [100%]
Some College/Degree			
1. Least Traditional	13 [27.7%]	12 [28.6%]	25 [28.1%]
2. Middle Traditional	10 [21.3%]	13 [31%]	23 [25.8%]
3. Most Traditional	24 [51.1%]	17 [40.5%]	41 [46.1%]
Total	47 [100%]	42 [100%]	89 [100%]

Conditional Gamma for Respondent High School or Less=   -.000

Conditional Gamma for Respondent Some College/Degree=   -.125

Partial Gamma for Respondent Education Level=   -.122

MOTHER'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Employed Outside Home	Birth Cohort		Total
	1950s	1970s	
	N	N	N
1. Least Traditional	8 [32%]	11 [30.6%]	19 [31.1%]
2. Middle Traditional	6 [24%]	12 [33.3%]	18 [29.5%]
3. Most Traditional	11 [44%]	13 [36.1%]	24 [39.3%]
Total	25 [100%]	36 [100%]	61 [100%]
Full Time Homemaker			
1. Least Traditional	8 [28.6%]	4 [33.3%]	12 [30%]
2. Middle Traditional	6 [21.4%]	3 [25%]	9 [22.5%]
3. Most Traditional	14 [50%]	5 [41.7%]	19 [47.5%]
Total	28 [100%]	12 [100%]	40 [100%]

Conditional Gamma for Mother Employed Outside Home=   -.069

Conditional Gamma for Mother Full Time Homemaker=   -.130

Partial Gamma for Mother Employment Status=   -.084

The Don't Be A Sissy Dimension

Four items centered around masculine identity (don't be a sissy, athletes cool, act like a man, father love) on the don't be a sissy dimension. The dimension has a low possible score of zero and a high possible score of 12. A large proportion of the sample scored in the more traditional range as shown in Chart 4.

CHART 4. DON'T BE A SISSY AND BIRTH COHORT INDEX SCORES
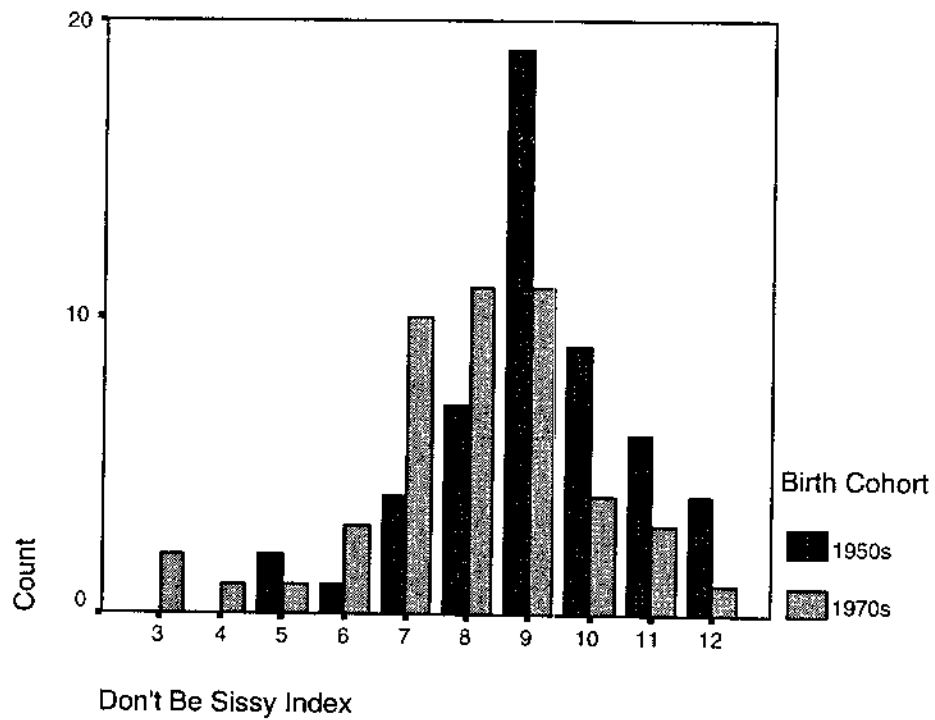
Don't Be Sissy Index

The don't be a sissy index was split into equally percentaged thirds (as closely as possible). Approximately thirty-three percent of the sample scored from 0-7 (Least Traditional), thirty-four percent scored an 8 or a 9 (Middle Traditional), and thirty-two percent scored from 10-12 points (Highly Traditional). Analysis of this dimension and birth cohort revealed a weak negative association (-.222) which was not statistically significant (.167). This level of association does not support the hypothesis that the 1970s cohort would be more likely to score in the non-traditional range. The control variables were not analyzed since the association was not statistically significant. The 1970s cohort was moderately more likely to have a lower score although this likelihood was not statistically significant and the tendency of the sample to score in the more traditional range must be taken into consideration. The analysis is presented in Table 9.

TABLE 9. DON'T BE A SISSY AND BIRTH COHORT CROSSTABULATION AND MEASURE OF ASSOCIATION

	Birth Cohort		**Total N/Percent**
	1950s	**1970s**	
1. Least Traditional	13 [25%]	20 [42.6%]	33 [33.3%]
2. Middle Traditional	21 [40.4%]	13 [27.7%]	34 [34.4%]
3. Most Traditional	18 [34.6%]	14 [29.8%]	32 [32.3%]
Total **Missing Cases=2**	52 [100%]	47 [100%] 99 [100%]	

Measure of Association	**Value**	**Approx. Significance**
Ordinal by Ordinal Gamma	**-.222**	**.167**

The Harassment Dimension

When the scores on the harassment index were examined it was observed that a vast majority of respondents scored in the highly traditional range. None of the respondents scored below 6 points on the five items included on this dimension (girl insults, the importance of winning, harassing girls and boys, sex words, calling females derogatory sexual names). The total score range was 0-15. The scores are presented in Chart 5.

The sample on this dimension was split into three percentaged groups. Equally percentaged thirds could not be obtained due to the clustering of high scores. Twenty-one percent of the sample scored from 0-10 points (Least Traditional), thirty-seven percent scored an 11 or 12 (Middle Traditional), and forty-two percent scored from 13-15 points (Highly Traditional). The level of association between the harassment dimension and birth cohort was very weak at -.148 and not statistically significant (.373). This weak association does not support the hypothesis that the 1970s birth cohort would have lower, less traditional scores than the 1950s cohort. Analysis of the control variables was not necessary since the zero order association was not statistically significant. Table 10 on the next page presents the analysis.

CHART 5. HARASSMENT AND BIRTH COHORT INDEX SCORES.

TABLE 10. HARASSMENT AND BIRTH COHORT CROSSTABULATION AND MEASURE OF ASSOCIATION

	Birth Cohort		Total N/Percent
	1950s	1970s	
1. Least Traditional	8 [15.1%]	13 [27.7%]	21[21%]
2. Middle Traditional	22 [41.5%]	15 [31.9%]	37 [37%]
3. Most Traditional	23 [43.4%]	19 [40.4%]	42 [42%]
Total Cases Missing=1	53 [100%]	47 [100%]	100 [100%]

Table 10 continued.

Measure of Association	Value	Approx. Significance
Ordinal by Ordinal Gamma	-.148	.373

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this research was twofold: to examine male socialization experiences quantitatively and to determine if these experiences had changed over time between men born in the 1950s and men born in the 1970s. These birth cohorts were chosen because one precedes, and the other succeeds, a major era of change and discourse regarding women's gender roles. Many researchers point out that there have been changes in women's socialization; this research was designed to inquire into changes in male socialization experience. Social Constructionist theory holds that gender roles are culturally influenced and that childhood socialization provides the scripting for future gender behavior; therefore, research designed to disaggregate these experiences and discern changes over time has particular importance. The research queried a sample of men about events, observations, and behaviors they remembered from their childhood and teen years. The sample, obtained by a snowball and availability technique, was not random so the results of this study cannot be used to generalize about the male population.

A factor analysis on twenty-two items uncovered five dimensions of male socialization which encompassed the four main agents of socialization: the family, the school setting, the peer group, and the media. The dimensions were *Home Care, Separation from Girls, Sexuality, Don't be a Sissy*, and *Harassment* and accounted for 54.551% of the variance on the questionnaire responses. The individual items were computed into separate indexes. The *home care* dimension revolved around learning to do home chores and child care tasks, the *separation from girls* dimension covered items

regarding playground behavior and play at home, the *sexuality* dimension focused on the viewing of sexually explicit material and denigrating sex act characterizations, the *don't be a sissy* dimension included items regarding masculine identity and girls as "other", and the *harassment* dimension included experiences with insults, harassment, and denigrating language directed at women. These results indicate that male socialization as experienced by the respondents in this sample is complex and five dimensional. Testing of the hypothesis that men born in the 1970s would report less traditional socialization experiences than men born in the 1950s yielded interesting, and important, results.

The first two dimensions, *home care* and *separation from girls*, revealed moderate associations with birth cohort (-.357 and -.382 respectively) and were statistically significant. On these two indexes, the 1970s cohort was more likely to report less traditional socialization experiences. Men in the 1970s birth cohort in this sample had more experience in child care activities and experienced less separation from girls on the playground and in play at home. The sexuality dimension revealed a weak association with birth cohort (-.111) which was statistically significant. However, the majority of the scores of both birth cohorts were clustered in the highly traditional range as seen on Chart 3 on page 34. While a statistically significant difference between the birth cohorts was found on the sexuality dimension, these differences were concentrated in a highly traditional socialization pattern. The last two dimensions (*don't be a sissy* and *harassment*) revealed no significant differences between birth cohorts. These scores were also concentrated in the highly traditional range for both cohorts (Charts 4 and 5).

The control variables were hypothesized to reduce the association between birth cohort and male socialization. These variables (father's education level, mother's education level, respondent education level, and mother's employment status) were tested on the dimensions where statistically significant differences between birth cohort and

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socialization experiences were found, but none had an effect on the zero order association.

The high index scores on sexuality, don't be a sissy, and harassment indexes are important findings. The implication in this sample was that socialization processes surrounding male sexuality, masculine identity, and harassing behaviors were still firmly in place for both cohorts. The study of these socialization processes is of paramount importance in gender studies and discerning changes in these processes over time is crucial. Future research needs to further examine these issues. In particular, a larger, and random, sample would be particularly useful since it could include the testing of control variables such as race or ethnicity, socioeconomic status, education of the parents and respondent, and the mother's employment status. The results of this study are just a beginning; research of this type needs to be attempted on a larger scale.

In conclusion, male socialization appears to contain five distinct dimensions, and in this sample, none of the control variables had an effect on these dimensions. It is possible that cultural influences and peer groups have more influence than educational levels and employment status. These results need to be confirmed or refuted with a larger, more diverse sample. These findings, particularly in sexuality, masculine identity, and harassment, suggest that traditional male socialization patterns remain strong in these areas. The 1970s cohort did experience less separation from girls and more home care socialization than men in the 1950s cohort, but their tendency to score in the highly traditional categories on sexuality, masculine identity, and harassment are of particular concern as these dimensions are the experiences which teach men how to behave toward, and relate to, women. Lack of change in the socialization experiences which teach men to be "masculine" is an important finding, and one which deserves further study.

APPENDIX I.

Questionnaire and Code Key

1. In what year were you born?

_____ [1] 1950'S   [2] 1970'S

2. What is your Race/Ethnicity?

[1] European Descent American   [2] Black American   [3] Asian American

[4] Hispanic American   [5] Native American Indian   [6] Other_____

3. As a child OR teen, did you experience or observe the following events/attitudes/ behaviors? Please *circle* your response.

a. Were you encouraged to, or did you, play with dolls?

often [0]   occasionally [1]   rarely [2]   never [3]

b. Before the age of 10, did you go to the homes of girls, or have girls over to play at your home?

often [0]   occasionally [1]   rarely [2]   never [3]

c. Did you play with GI Joe and/or Action Figures and/or Toy Soldiers?

often [3]   occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

d. Know of, or belong to, a boy "club" or group with a "no girls allowed" rule?

often [3]   occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

e. Did you play on organized sports teams with girls?

often [0]   occasionally [1]   rarely [2]   never [3]

f. In elementary school, did you play games "boys against the girls" where boys and girls took different sides?

often [3]   occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

g. On the school playground in elementary school, did you play in groups with girls?

often [0]   occasionally [1]   rarely [2]   never [3]

h. On the school playground in elementary school, did you play in groups with other boys?

often [3]   occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

i. Did you have a group of male friends that hung out and played together?

often [3]   occasionally [2[rarely [1]   never [0[

j. During games, was there a "no girls allowed" rule?

often [3] occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

4. How many brothers did you have? _____ How many sisters? _____

    code: sister? yes [1]   no [2]

5. What level of education did your mother complete?

    [1] less than high school   [5] some graduate study

    [2] high school diploma or equivalent   [6] master's degree

    [3] less than two years of college   [7] Ph.D.

    [4] college degree   [8] medical/dental/law degree

6. What level of education did your father complete?

    [1] less than high school   [5] some graduate study

    [2] high school diploma or equivalent   [6] master's degree

    [3] less than two years of college   [7] Ph.D.

    [4] college degree   [8] medical/dental/law degree

7. As a child OR teen, did you experience or observe the following events/attitudes/behaviors? Please *circle* your response.

a. Did you ever hear phrases such as "Don't cry like a girl", "You're acting like a girl", "Don't be a sissy"?

    often [3]   occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

b. Was being called "a girl", "sissy", "wuss", "fag", "pussy", or "queer" often considered an insult?

    often [3]   occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

c. When playing sports was it important to the team to win?

    often [3]   occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

d. Did boys ever whistle at girls OR pull their hair OR snap their bras OR lift/look up their skirts OR call them sexual names?

    often [3]   occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

e. While in a group of boys, was using "bad words" or "sex words" considered funny and/or cool?

    often [3]   occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

f. Was it common in elementary school for boys to hold hands or be affectionate with each other?

    often [0]   occasionally [1]   rarely [2]   never [3]

g. Was it common in Jr. High or High school for boys to hold hands or be affectionate with each other?

    often [0]   occasionally [1]   rarely [2]   never [3]

h. Was being an athlete considered cool, macho, tough?

    often [3]   occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

i. Were you ever told/did you hear the phrase "act like a man" or "he's a real man"?

    often [3]   occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

j. Did you view/look at/read pornography or sexually explicit material as a child *or* teen?

     often [3]   occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

k. Did other boys ever show you sexually explicit material (books, pictures, movies)?

     often [3]   occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never[0]

l. Did you hear males refer to females as "pussy", "trim", or "slut"?

     often [3] occasionally[2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

m. Did you hear males refer to sexual activity in any of the following ways: "scoring", "getting laid", "doing the job", "screwed", "got some"?

     often [3]   occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

n. Did you watch action or horror films or TV shows as a child or teen?

     often [3]   occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

o. Did you watch romance or love story films or TV shows as a child or teen?

     often [0]   occasionally [1]   rarely [2]   never [3]

p. Did you cry in front of other males when physically hurt?

     often [0]   occasionally [1]   rarely [2]   never [3]

q. Did you cry in front of other males when emotionally hurt?

     often [0]   occasionally [1]   rarely [2]   never [3]

8. Was your mother employed outside the home while you were growing up?

     [ ] my mother was employed full time outside the home

     [ ] my mother was employed part time outside the home

     [ ] my mother was a full time homemaker

9. Were you born and raised in the United States?

     [ ] yes   [ ] no (if no, please answer the question below)

     How old were you when you moved to the United States?_____

     *if respondent was older than 5 years old, the instrument will be excluded.

10. As a child OR teen, did you experience/ observe the following events/experiences/behaviors ? Please *circle* your answer.

a. Did you ever hear the phrase "men should wear the pants in the family"?

     often [3]   occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

b. Did you or other boys consider doing dishes and/or cooking and/or mopping and/or vacuuming "women's work"?

     often [3]   occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

c. As a child or teen were you expected to cut grass and/or take out trash and/or wash the car?

       often [3]   occasionally [2]   rarely [1]   never [0]

d. During your teen years was your future education OR earning ability OR job stability important to your parent(s)?

       Very [3]   somewhat [2]   not really [1]   not important at all [0]

e. During your teen years was it important to your peers to grow up and achieve financial security or success?

       Very [3]   somewhat [2]   not really [1]   not important at all [0]

f. As a child or teen did you consider being a househusband or homemaker?

       often [0] occasionally [1]   rarely [2]   never [3]

g. As a child or teen did you expect to share equally in household tasks with your wife?

       yes [0]   sometimes [1]   once in a while [2]   no [3]

h. As a child or teen did you expect to share equally in childcare tasks with your wife?

       often [0]   occasionally [1]   rarely [2]   never[3]

i. As a child or teen, were you taught to care physically for infants?

       often [0]   occasionally [1]   rarely [2]   never [3]

j. As a child or teen, were you taught to care physically for young children?

       often [0]   occasionally [1]   rarely [2]   never [3]

k. As a child or teen, did you, or were you taught how to care for someone who was ill?

       often [0]   occasionally [1]   rarely [2]   never[3]

l. How often did your father tell you he loved you when you were elementary school age?

       often [0]   occasionally [1]   rarely [2]   never [3]

m. How often did your father tell you he loved you when you were a teen?

       often [0]   occasionally [1]   rarely [2]   never [3]

n. How often did your father show you physical affection (a hug or kiss) when you were elementary school age?

       often [0]   occasionally [1]   rarely [2]   never [3]

o. How often did your father show you physical affection (a hug or kiss) when you were a teen?

       often [0]   occasionally [1]   rarely [2]   never [3]

11. What level of education have you completed?

    [1] less than high school   [5] some graduate study

    [2] high school or equivalent   [6] master's degree

    [3] less than two years of college   [7] Ph.D.

    [4] bachelor's degree   [8] medical/dental/law degree

13. What was, or is, your college major?

_____

       * I will code these as they come in.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION. PLEASE RETURN THE SURVEY IN THE ATTACHED ENVELOPE.

Appendix 2. College Major Frequencies

Statistics

	N		Mode
	Valid	Missing	
college major	97	4	15

college major

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Finance/Accounting	5	5.0	5.2	5.2
	Business/Marketing	17	16.8	17.5	22.7
	Engineering/Computer Science	6	5.9	6.2	28.9
	Fine Art	3	3.0	3.1	32.0
	History/Political Science	9	8.9	9.3	41.2
	Social Sciences/Economics	10	9.9	10.3	51.5
	Physical Sciences	5	5.0	5.2	56.7
	Media/Film	5	5.0	5.2	61.9
	Psychology/Social Work	3	3.0	3.1	64.9
	Physical Education/Education	1	1.0	1.0	66.0
	no major	33	32.7	34.0	100.0
	Total	97	96.0	100.0	
Missing	Language/Education	4	4.0		
	Total	4	4.0		
Total		101	100.0		

Bar Chart for College Major
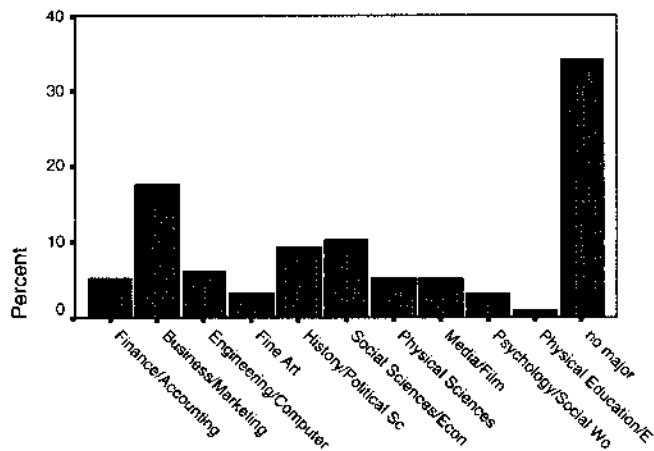
college major

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