Male Gender Role Conflict as Seen Through the Muscularity Concerns of Self-Identified Latino Men

By

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Abstract

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The purpose of the proposed research is to contribute to the emerging field of male psychology. Over the last twenty years, as more insight has been made into the challenges that shape female development, some researchers have turned their attention to the study of male psychological development, from childhood to late adulthood. At the heart of this new area of psychology is the contradiction between what is socially sanctioned for men (expectations such as independence, assertiveness, stoicism) and what is often criticized of them (emotionally unavailable/inexpressive, lack of family involvement, fear of intimacy). The result of this contradiction in the socialization of males is called male gender role conflict.

Dovetailing with this line of research was an interest in male body image after years of research on women and eating disorders. Researchers found that whereas women strived to be thinner, men often strived to be more muscular. The proposed study seeks to examine the possible connection between male gender role conflict and the importance of muscularity in Latino men raised in the United States.

For the current study, two hypotheses were tested. First, using the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS) and normative data on men of different ethnic groups, the Latino

men in the study demonstrated comparable scores with previous research of Latino men. However they did show significantly higher GRC scores than European and African-American men in the "Success, Power, Competition" subscale. Secondly, using the Swansea Muscularity Attitudes Questionnaire (SMAQ), a positive correlation was found between scores on the GRCS and scores on the SMAQ so that as GRCS scores increased, so too did scores on the SMAQ.

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My parents from a young age taught me to put God first in everything and while I haven't always done so I will begin where they would prefer. In the years that have passed working toward this degree I better understand the reason for their insistence on putting God first. While none of us was meant to pass through life alone, finding those special people, those agents for good, knowledge, comfort and love, is a complicated and often painstaking task. I imagine that was why my parents encouraged me to enlist God's help in finding those people and I'll take this moment to thank Him for bringing the following people into my life. This project and degree could not be completed without their help and support.

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Dedication

For my parents,

Carlos and Milagros Mejias

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Introduction

Over the last thirty years a gap has widened between how our society defines masculinity and the reality of the experience for men. Our culture socializes men and women to a standard of masculinity that is unrealistic to today's men and their sons, but society as a whole. This standard is deeply ingrained in our society as evidenced by advertising, popular role models, and the media that perpetuates them, specifically television and magazines. Our society's standard for maleness, which transcends a physical ideal to include a psychological-emotional ideal of what is expected of a real man, is a harmful misconception.

Men are expected to attain a physical ideal that symbolically represents emotional as well as bodily strength. This physical ideal places an emphasis on muscularity, fitness, and attractiveness. Men struggle to achieve these results in much the same way women have sought to attain an impossible standard of their own. These attributes seem to convey our society's stereotypes for how men are; namely, a man is expected to be independent, assertive, career-focused, and stoic; the better to attain success in all areas of life. At the same time however, men are criticized for being emotionally aloof and self-centered, characteristics necessary for accomplishing their life goals.

This dilemma is indicative of a phenomenon many psychologists and social theorists have observed. In the early 1980's, the term 'gender role strain' was coined to describe the dichotomy with which men struggled. The basic premise of the theory is that men are psychologically straining to fit themselves into a socially prescribed role of masculinity that is, in reality, contradictory. The ideas that comprise this model of

gender are part of a recent proliferation of research specifically concerned with male psychology.

As important as this new psychology of men is for the field of psychology, there are specific areas within the subject that have been unfortunately neglected. One of these areas is the study of men of color. Although there is a scarcity of research dealing with the experiences of men of color, Latino men and their struggles with gender role conflict was the focus of this study.

The Latino population in the United States has steadily increased over the last fifty years. The most dramatic increases have taken place in the last twenty years and continue to this day. Latinos face economic and social struggles that often require the passing of several generations to overcome. Perhaps, a better understanding of how Latino men struggle with society's expectations of them, however complicated by race and culture, can increase our empathy for them and their families.

The objective of this study is two-fold. First, this study hopes to examine the degree to which Latinos feel conflicted between what is expected of them as men and how they actually feel. Second, this study aims to observe the degree to which Latino men reveal the influence of our culture's ideal standard of the male body. The hope is to demonstrate that the dissatisfaction these Latin men feel with their bodies is emblematic of much deeper concerns and reservations they have regarding their masculinity.

There are several literary domains that are essential for establishing a foundation for this study. The first literature domain is the research concerning masculinity issues. Perhaps as a reaction to the changes that have taken place over the last thirty years, a new branch of psychology has stemmed off emphasizing the study of male psychology. For

the most part, males have been the focus of most psychological research, but in studies that portrayed men as representative of humanity. With the rise of feminist scholars came the demand for a gender-specific approach. So in the last twenty years, men's studies researchers have begun to study men in a way that takes into account their true complexity (Levant and Pollack, 1995).

This study centers on the gender role strain model first formulated by Joseph Pleck in his book *The Myth of Masculinity* (1981). This model posits that gender roles are psychologically and socially constructed and have certain advantages and disadvantages; this also means that they can change. Men experience conflict or strain when they attempt to live up to the impossible standards of the traditional, stereotyped male role. It has become more difficult for men to live up to these standards as women have rightfully progressed toward achieving professional and social equality with men. Some researchers believe that many men have turned to their bodies as a means for expressing their masculinity without experiencing the contradictions of traditional male roles.

This leads to the second literature domain- male body image research. If men increasingly see their bodies as one of the last vestiges of asserting their masculinity, what are they to do when the same rigorous standards that characterize the modern male role are also applied to the male body? Much of the basis for this study comes from research studying these issues and published in a book called *The Adonis Complex* (Pope, Phillips, and Olivardia; 2000). Their work takes a close look at male body obsession; essentially, they observe the degree to which men more and more often are emphasizing their appearances as men.

The third literary domain deals with how our popular culture and media has promoted unrealistic standards for men. Today's ideal male body is lean and muscular, not just slender and trim, as in generations past. An examination of images presented by popular culture reveals the preponderance of "super-male" bodies and images; this examination builds legitimacy for study. In addition to these images, our popular culture and media also reveal trends in the society that reinforce the legitimacy of their use. Finally, recent articles in news magazines have pointed out how others are beginning to realize the problem that has slowly simmered over the last few decades.

The final literature domain is research on Latino men. There is a severe lack of research on Latino men within body image research and the broader issue of modern masculinity. The issue of *machismo* has received some attention in the literature as an example of traditional male roles, but little work has looked at the conflict Latino men experience with *machismo*. The hope is that this study will not only demonstrate the degree to which Latino men experience gender role conflict, but also whether or not they view their bodies as problematic proving grounds for the masculinity they wish to embody.

Literature Review

Male Gender Role Conflict Theory

Joseph Pleck first formulated the gender role strain model in *The Myth of Masculinity* (1981) with the hope that it would replace the traditional "gender role identity" model that dated back over fifty years. The gender role identity model assumed that people have an inherent psychological need to have a gender role identity; the development of their personality followed from its formation. The more completely that men and women embrace their traditional gender roles, the more this inner need is satisfied (Levant & Pollack, 1995). The gender role identity model is consistent with essentialist philosophies of sex roles, namely that there is an exact, historically masculine "essence" (1995).

Male gender role strain can be defined as "a psychological state where [male] gender roles have negative consequences or impact on a person or others" (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995). Recent research has linked male gender role strain with vital and diverse areas of male psychology and masculinity. Male gender role strain or conflict has been linked to higher levels of depression and anxiety (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995; Good & Mintz, 1990), intimacy-related variables (Fischer & Good, 1997), paranoia, obsessive-compulsivity, interpersonal sensitivity (Good, Robertson, Fitzgerald, Stevens, & Bartels, 1996), willingness to admit to alcohol use (Blazina & Watkins, 1996), and relationship satisfaction (Sharpe, Heppner, & Dixon, 1995). This is by no means an exhaustive list of the different areas to which male gender role conflict has been linked.

Suffice it to say that it represents a vital area of male psychology with important implications.

While gender role strain is experienced by both genders, this study will concentrate on males who as Pleck observed suffered more severely from failing to fulfill role expectations. There are three broader ideas regarding how cultural standards for masculinity have potentially negative effects on males. They might also be conceived as subtypes for male gender role strain: discrepancy-strain, trauma-strain, and dysfunction-strain.

Pleck referred to the first of these concepts as "gender role discrepancy". The idea is that a large proportion of males demonstrate failure to fulfill male role expectations over the long-term. The result of this discrepancy between male role expectations and the reality is low self-esteem (Davis, 1988) along with a host of other psychologically negative consequences.

The second subtype implicit within Pleck's model of gender role strain is called "gender role trauma". It posits that the fulfillment of male role expectations comes at a price. An example of this trauma might be young boys being called "fags" or "sissies" by peers or family members for demonstrating what is perceived as feminine behavior, i.e. crying. This trauma is also evidenced when the actual fulfillment of these role expectations are themselves traumatic, with long-term side effects.

The third and final subtype of male gender role strain is called "gender role dysfunction". This theoretical idea contends that the successful fulfillment of male role expectations may have negative consequences because the very characteristics viewed as acceptable have inherently negative side effects. These side effects have an impact on

the males themselves or others around them like loved ones. An example of gender role dysfunction is the low level of family participation that has traditionally been sanctioned for men as fathers.

Since Pleck's work in the late seventies and eighties, the negative consequences associated with the endorsement of traditional male gender roles have come to be known by different terms. These terms all refer to the same concept and include sex role strain (Pleck, 1978), gender role conflict or gender role strain (O'Neil, 1982, 1990 & Pleck, 1995), and masculine gender role stress (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). For the purposes of this study, the term male gender role conflict will be used with the understanding that it describes the same phenomenon.

According to Pleck, the concept of masculinity ideology is central to male gender role conflict. It is implicated in the three subtypes briefly described and is generally an important co-factor in male role strain. Masculinity ideology "refers to beliefs about the importance of men adhering to culturally defined standards for male behavior" (1995). Other researchers have defined it as "the traditional, socially constructed nature of masculinity" (Abreu, Goodyear, Campos, & Newcomb, 2000). Masculinity ideology develops as males internalize cultural norms and expectations about "male-appropriate" behavior from family members, peer groups, and society.

Pleck observed that there is no absolute, single masculinity ideology, but in fact many different ideologies (1995). "The concept refers to a variety of component beliefs that may be endorsed to different degrees and related to each other in varying ways, both in different individuals and in different social subgroups" (1995). Pleck provides the

example of an average man in the pro-feminist men's movement most likely having a different masculinity ideology than the average man whose career is in the military.

So while the idea of masculinity ideology does not endorse a single, universal standard for masculinity, theoretically a particular "constellation of standards and expectations" exists, taken from the vast collection of possible and actual standards about men. This constellation of standards for men is evident in our contemporary American culture. The masculinity ideology supported by our culture structures the social expectations men face. The common dimensions of these ideologies are emotional control/restraint, achievement, homophobia, and anti-femininity (1995). The terms "traditional" and "conventional" are used to refer to this constellation of standards, but are not meant to connote that there is a single "traditional" masculinity that is representative of all men regardless of race and socio-economic background.

Pleck observed that "traditional" masculinity ideology is linked to male gender role conflict and plays a part in all three of the subtypes he described. In male gender role discrepancy, the individual man's degree of endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology translates into the standards by which he judges himself (1995). It also affects the subjective consequences of any differences between his self-concept and male standards.

Pleck believed that masculinity ideology is responsible for the gender role trauma men experience during socialization. According to Pleck, "it influences, if not regulates, how trauma from other sources is psychologically resolved" (1995). For example, our culture's traditional masculinity ideology denies men the right to express emotions like sadness or grief. Yet the same ideology sanctions the willingness of men to take risks

and seek potential trauma; the military, gangs, and fraternities all use some form of "hazing", sometimes painful and dangerous, as part of their rites to inclusion and acceptance.

Masculinity ideology is also a critical participant in the tendency men have to continue certain behaviors whose results are often dysfunctional- male gender role dysfunction (Pleck, 1995). Pleck believed that masculinity ideology influences the degree to which men will try to fulfill traditional role expectations regardless of the negative side effects it might produce. As mentioned earlier, these side effects affect the individual males and those around them.

The exploration of masculinity ideology and its negative effects on the mental health of men- male gender role conflict- is a growing area of research interest within the field. Many researchers have observed that certain characteristics of traditional masculinity ideology are psychologically harmful for men (Good, Wallace, & Borst, 1994; Blazina & Watkins, 2000). For example, men may experience psychological strain- perhaps even physical stress- from adopting the inflexible and rigid attitudes toward their peers that they believe necessary for competing and achieving at work (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986).

O'Neil believes that boys and men are continually socialized according to a type of masculinity ideology he calls the masculine mystique and value system (O'Neil, 1981a, 1981b, 1982; O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995). This is "a set of values and beliefs [that] are learned during early socialization and are based upon rigid gender role stereotypes and beliefs about men and masculinity" (O'Neil, 1981b, p. 205). Males are taught that these values are essentially optimal.

O'Neil believes that the adoption of these values into the masculine value system also includes the fear of the feminine. He defines the fear of the feminine as "…a strong negative emotional association with stereotypic feminine values, attitudes, and behaviors" (O'Neil et al., 1986). O'Neil and his colleagues argue that the fear of the feminine helps define what is truly masculine in our contemporary culture. It guides the development of "acceptable" male gender roles by measuring and possibly rejecting any behaviors that might traditionally be considered inherently feminine. They point out that the emotional socialization of boys, which limits emotional strategies for coping due to fears of feminine behavior, places boys and the men they grow up to be at a disadvantage.

William Pollack has written extensively about this aspect of the early development of boys from a psychoanalytic perspective (1995, 1998). Pollack argues that the "disidentification" with the feminine, especially the early relationship with the mother, may result in a normative gender specific trauma. According to Pollack and others (Betcher & Pollack, 1993; Ross, 1982) this trauma, which is reminiscent of Pleck's original formulations regarding male gender role trauma, comes about as a result of maternal and paternal disconnection.

This trauma may in turn have a serious and harmful impact on the boy, and later, the man's ability to connect with others (Bergman, 1995). This applies to relationships with women, other men, and children. Emotional intimacy may be difficult to achieve in romantic relationships. Men who demonstrate high levels of gender role conflict also tend to struggle with issues of attachment and separation/individuation. Men whose views of women are less traditional and are also less emotionally restrictive tend to have fewer relationship problems (Blazina & Watkins, 2000). The former is an example of the

dysfunction suggested by Pleck as a result of socialization to a traditional masculinity ideology.

Male gender role conflict is a crucial area for the psychology of men. There is an inherent contradiction between the traditional masculinity ideology with which boys are socialized and the reality of their experience as men. However, for it to truly speak on behalf of the experience of all men in our American culture, research must be done involving different ethnic groups.

Male Body Image Research

A close examination of the research done on male body image is an important area of discussion because it serves as direct evidence for the effects of the impossible male body ideals promoted by western culture. It follows that if men have been exposed to this super-male ideal to an unprecedented degree, then signs of its impact will register in the body image literature. While much of the research written about boys and men have examined rather extreme or severe cases of body image disturbance, it is important to keep in mind that they are indicative of something troubling within the culture. This discussion will first look at male body image research before taking a closer look at a specific area of body image- muscularity concerns.

Relatively speaking, little is really known about male body image and how it is truly internalized because research tends to emphasize female body image. The research on male body image grew out of work on eating disorders and the girls and women who suffered from them. Naturally, a lot of the work began comparing males and females and

their attitudes toward eating and body concept. It is telling that twenty years ago there was little if any body image research that featured males as the subjects. The culture's belief that women were the only ones concerned with their appearance is evidenced by the omission of men in the literature up until this time. Slowly, as differences were observed, the research began to focus more on males and how they tend to conceptualize the grounds for having a positive body image. While eating disorders in males is a closely related subject of the discussion on male body image (Koplow, 1993), this section will concentrate on the role of muscularity in male body image.

Our society indirectly reinforces the negative aspects of being over-weight by glorifying images of male and female bodies that are difficult to attain for the average person. While there are legitimate public health concerns for staying fit (i.e., preventing heart disease and strengthening the immune system), these idealized bodies require an effort beyond the scope of normal fitness. Research has shown that obese people, regardless of gender, tend to have less satisfaction with their bodies than people of average weight (Pearlson, Flournoy, Simonson, and Slavney, 1981). The combination of cultural pressure to stay fit and also avoid abject failure by growing over-weight is especially intense for children and adolescents. Perhaps due to this experience, research has concentrated on young people as subjects.

Studies comparing males and females across body image concerns have resulted in findings that eventually spurred along research that focused primarily on males. One of these studies reported that underweight boys suffered from poor self-image to a similar extent as overweight females (Harmatz, Gronendyke, & Thomas, 1985). Men with eating

disorders have been shown to resemble women with eating disorders in terms of their level of dissatisfaction with their bodies (Olivardia, Pope, Mangweth &Hudson, 1995).

Another one of these studies looked at the relation between depression and body image in 50 ninth grade boys and 53 ninth girls (Rierdan, Koff, and Stubbs, 1988). While the results did not find that non-depressed boys were significantly more concerned with their bodies than girls, they did show that the depressed boys had body images scores that were as low as the depressed girls. Both of these studies are significant to our discussion because they validate that males' body image concerns are as potentially serious as those experienced by females.

Other studies have focused their attention on non-disordered subjects comparing the genders. One of these assessed almost 200 hundred young, physically active men and women for body dissatisfaction, self-esteem, and reasons for exercising, among other constructs (McDonald and Thompson, 1992). They found that both genders associated exercising for health with positive self-esteem, and for men exercising for fitness was related to higher self-esteem. Overall activity level was related to less body dissatisfaction for men, so that the more men exercised, the better they felt about their bodies.

Another study demonstrated the way in which men shared similar concerns about their bodies as women. A distorting mirror was used to exam gender differences in the estimation of body image in 30 male and 30 female healthy college students (Brodie, Slade, and Riley, 1991). No significant differences were observed between the sexes for perceived image, in fact both groups perceived themselves as fatter than their true image. However, when tested for what they believed was the ideal body image, a significant

effect was detected for men who preferred a broader build as opposed to women who preferred a slimmer build.

The results of this study are interesting for two reasons. First, it is important to note that the subjects in the study were not suffering from any eating disorders. They represent the average college-aged students' body image concerns, not that of someone suffering from an illness. Second, the results point to a very real difference in the way men perceive the ideal body for their gender; a man "should be" broader across the chest and shoulders. This distinction represents an eventual shift in the focus of male body image research.

An important aspect of male body image is that males do not suffer from poor body image solely because they believe they are overweight. One study examined why men were becoming more concerned about their physical appearance in general, leading to a greater degree of negative body image than in previous decades (Davis, Brewer, & Weinstein, 1993). They concluded that males were more concerned about their "upper body esteem". Another study of males with eating disorders revealed that similarities and differences with females with eating disorders changed over the course of the illness. One of the reasons given for this was that boys and girls diverge in social development. Because of this divergence, boys showed significantly less desire to lose weight and expressed their dissatisfaction with their upper body (Anderson & Holman, 1997).

Research has shown that males have a very different conception of what the ideal male body looks like and the ways by which they must improve in order to achieve it. In a study comparing the body image of physically active men and women, researchers reported that while women wanted to lose weight, men were evenly divided between

those who wanted to lose and those who wanted to gain (Davis & Cowles, 1991). They also found that for young men, greater body satisfaction was associated with increases in exercise. This was not the case for the older men in the study, a difference that may be partly explained by generational differences. While there are exceptions, the media tends to target a young male audience more often than a middle-age audience.

The idiosyncrasy in body image theory indicated in the above studies was found elsewhere. Raudenbush and Zellner conducted a study of both men and women and aside from finding that overweight subjects wanted to be thinner, they found that "correct" weight men wished to be heavier (1997). These men believed themselves too thin or underweight and shared similar levels of dissatisfaction with their bodies as the overweight subjects. Similar results were found in an English study whose subjects- adolescent males- were dissatisfied with their bodies are equally divided between those hoping to gain weight and those wishing to lose (Furham & Calnan, 1998). A look at male high school graduates revealed that more men wanted to gain weight than lose weight (Drewnowski, Kurth, & Krahn, 1995). Interestingly, and seemingly at odds with present day observations, the young men who wished to gain weight were more satisfied with their body shape and exercised less frequently than their counterparts.

Previous research on body image had shown that disturbances regarding body concerns were more prevalent among women than men. Apparently, body image research had not taken the complexity involved into proper account. Men's body image concerns are bi-directional, meaning that men may wish to gain or lose weight, and bi-directional, meaning that weight is not the sole issue at stake when describing male body image (Martin, 1997). Two of these other issues are muscularity and body fat.

Several studies have sought to shed light on this aspect of male body image. One of these studies provided a body image questionnaire to about 70 men and women enrolled in a weightlifting course; researchers then assessed percent body fat of the subjects (Huddy, Johnson, Stone, Proulx, & Pierce, 1997). They found that body image for the male subjects were inversely related to percent body fat; the more percent body fat the men had, the poorer their body image.

Another study examined similar issues among overweight and underweight men in college (Holle, 1999). Overweight men reported higher levels of psychological distress and avoidance of social situations involving the scrutiny of their body than men perceived as normal weight. The study also found a high percentage of men who were dissatisfied with their bodies but wanted to gain weight and more importantly, size. Overall, 95 percent of the men in the study, regardless of weight, were dissatisfied with their body shape and size in regard to muscularity.

Muscularity Concerns

The issue of muscularity in male body image is an essential part of this discussion because it is the direct evidence of the influence of the super-male body image discussed previously. One study that demonstrates the importance and potential harm involved in the desire for increased muscularity investigated and compared the body image concerns, attitudes toward eating and weight control, and reasons for exercise for two groups of high school athletes (Parks & Read, 1997). The two groups were 44 football players and 30 cross-country runners between the ages of 14 and 18. The football players in this

study reported more positive body images. The cross-country runners had a greater degree of body dissatisfaction, more disordered eating patterns, and more concern about weight control than their more muscular counterparts. The implication from this study is that the football players, because of their increased size and muscularity, had more positive body image than the thinner runners.

One group of researchers explored this seeming drive for muscularity in adolescent boys by comparing them to adolescent girls in hopes of developing a scale for this drive (McCreary & Sasse, 2000). They found that individuals high in the drive for increased muscularity were significantly more likely to be boys who were trying to gain both weight and muscle mass. The drive for muscularity was related to poor self-esteem and higher levels of depression among these boys, but not among the girls. The authors suggested that the male standard of bodily attractiveness is "bigger, bulkier, and more muscular". They wondered whether boys and men are motivated to be bigger and more muscular in the same way that girls and women are motivated to be thin.

Men tend to believe that women prefer more muscular male bodies than is actually indicated in research (Demarest & Allen, 2000). In a study involving over 120 college students of different ethnic backgrounds, both men and women misjudged which shape the opposite sex would rate as the most attractive. A recently developed scale examining muscularity concerns in male body image includes these and other perceived positive attributes of muscularity including feelings of masculinity, enhanced confidence, and greater attractiveness (Edwards, 2000).

While we have discussed masculinity issues in the previous section, these feelings and attributes men potentially attach to muscularity as a part of their body image are

powerful and influential. For some men, their feelings about their body and the physical ideal to which they strive become paramount in their lives. The research literature contains evidence of the harm some men experience because of these feelings. Body dysmorphic disorder (BDD), the misperception an individual believes about his or her own body, was originally linked with eating disorders such as anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa in women. Recent studies on body dysmorphic disorder have revealed that sufferers are more likely to have paranoid, personality, and obsessive-compulsive disorders, and more commonly, avoidant personality disorders (Phillips & McElroy, 2000). The term is now also linked with growing numbers of men, many of whom are body builders, in a manner that is consistent with previous research about male body image.

Popular Culture and Media

American popular culture is loaded with imagery that illustrates our society's fixation on a male body characterized by big, well-defined muscularity and low body fat- "super-male body images". These images are easily found in the entertainment, sports, toys, advertising, and magazines to which boys and men are exposed. Often, the only means to attaining such a body in reality is by the use of anabolic steroids- a problem that has steadily worsened since bodybuilders first began using them in the 1970's- and more recently, human growth hormones. A closer examination of popular culture reveals the constant reinforcement of an impossible standard for male appearances that is symbolic of the challenges men face when asserting their masculinity.

While a whole book could easily be written detailing the numerous examples of "super-male body images" in movies and television, a few will suffice. The movie industry has come under fire in recent years because of its portrayal of sex and violence, but more covertly super-male imagery has gradually become more pervasive over the last thirty years.

The action-adventure movie genre has long been associated with male audiences. Westerns, crime and science fiction are a few of the sub-genres that routinely produce blockbusters. In the 60's, two of the most popular male movie stars in these genres were Clint Eastwood and Steve McQueen. Both stars made successful films that remain popular with male audiences today, but their tall, slender bodies pale in comparison to their present-day contemporaries- Arnold Schwarzenegger, Sylvester Stallone, Wesley Snipes, and Jean-Claude Van Damme.

The tough guys of the past seem puny in comparison with today's most popular action heroes. Schwarzenegger is a former bodybuilding champion, Van Damme and Snipes are skilled martial artists with muscularity that dwarfs Chuck Norris and Bruce Lee, and Stallone's *Rocky* films- along with the *Rambo* movies- provide a ten-year chronicle of the way the male body standard has changed. In 1977, the lovable underdog boxer was trim and fit, if not a little doughy- barely a heavyweight boxer. By the time the third film in the series was released less than ten years later, Rocky's waist was narrower, his chest and shoulders broader, and his chiseled form was as suitably designed for a bodybuilding contest as it was a boxing match. (In 2007, Stallone was arrested for possession of human growth hormone, a muscle-building agent that is difficult to detect

in the body.) The "pumped-up" bodies of these stars are not ignored off the screen either; as they are often used for self-promotion.

Television programming for children is also not immune to the effects of super-male body imagery. One of the more popular cartoons on cable television is a Japanese import called *Dragonball Z* that features the adventures of a group of male superheroes. When necessary the already buff heroes- all of them display their huge, bare arms have a special power that enables them to increase in size and strength in order to overcome their enemy. The popular syndicated American cartoon "The Adventures of Batman and Superman" carries on a tradition of super-male body imagery that may have begun during the 80's when cartoons like *Thundercats* and *He-Man and the Masters of the Universe* were extremely popular with boys and male teens. The title characters in all of the above-mentioned cartoons are drawn with huge, bulging muscles, thin waists, and broad chests.

Comic books are another popular medium for boys and even more popular for young men and teenagers. The same male body imagery is found within the pages of most comics, a trend that has increased in the same time span as that mentioned for the trends in male action movie stars. Often in the letter's pages, readers will suggest the changing of an artist or the praising of a particular artist based on their ability to not only draw very muscular characters, but also anatomically correct and consist. "How-to" guides for the aspiring comic book artist suggest investing in bodybuilding and fitness magazines to supplement anatomical knowledge.

A quick glance through the pages of any of the most popular and timeless comics- *Superman*, *Batman*, *The Incredible Hulk*, and *Spider-Man*, to name just a few- reveals

that our heroes have gone through some extremely rigorous training and have the results to prove it. Take for example a character that became extremely popular as a member of the superhero team The Uncanny X-Men- Wolverine. When Wolverine made his debut in a late 70's issue of *The Incredible Hulk*, he was portrayed as a 5 foot, 3 inch dynamo, stocky and barrel-chested. Over the years, fans have pointed out how seldom artists draw him to his true scale. To portray him at 5 foot-three makes it more difficult to show off the muscles and size he must have as a hero.

For boys, the popularity of the male characters in comic books, movies, and cartoons is evidenced by their subsequent popularity as toys, another medium in which the preponderance of super-male body images is apparent. In fact, a recent study (Pope, Olivardia, Gruber, & Borowiecki, 1999) examined the way by which male body image ideals had evolved through action toys. Using G.I. Joe figures from 1964 to 1997, they found that action figures have gone from having the equivalent of normal, reasonably attainable bodies to hugely muscular bodies that are unattainable without steroid use. Among the other toys featured in the study are Wolverine, Batman, Luke Skywalker, Mighty Morphin' Power Rangers, and an assortment of figures based on wrestling stars.

Children are as susceptible to the influence of media images and role models as anyone, perhaps more so. In one study, eighty children between the ages of 5 and 6 were interviewed about their perceptions of images of the body that are portrayed in the media, especially from the fashion and sports industries (Gilbert, 1998). They found that these industries influence the way in which children perceived themselves and how they wanted to be regarded by the world. Children in the study were concerned with how they looked, what they wore, and what others thought of them. While girls were more

influenced by the fashion industry, boys were more influenced by sporting role models: a critical distinction considering the popularity of many of these athletes and entertainers.

Professional wrestling has drawn the ire of critics for its portrayal of women, sexual imagery and violence. Part of this criticism is due to the incredible success the WWE has with its target audience- males, especially those from 8 to 30 years of age. The WWE's *Raw is War* program routinely has ratings that are comparable with Monday Night Football. It is the highest rated program on cable television and its Thursday night program is one of the most widely watched syndicated shows on television.

Wrestling began its rise in popularity during the 1980's with the WWF- World Wrestling Federation- and its marquee superstar Hulk Hogan. Hogan later admitted to having taken steroids for thirteen years in order to achieve the physique and fame during a trial against the WWF's owner Vince McMahon, Jr. McMahon was later acquitted of charges that he conspired to supply his wrestlers with anabolic steroids.

The trial was nothing more than a speed bump on the road to the immense success that the WWF and other wrestling leagues enjoy today. Characters with names like The Rock, Big Show, and Macho Man are easily recognized by hundreds of millions of boys and young men. Their names often refer to their muscled bodies and serve as weekly examples of a dubious standard for the male body. These "suped-up" wrestling heroes are often involved in plots that involve controversies with sexy female characters- again, unconsciously promoting the idea that muscular men are more attractive to the opposite sex.

Until the recent murder-suicide case involving the wrestler Chris Benoit, professional wrestling avoided the scrutiny of steroid use by declaring itself a form of

entertainment instead of a legitimate competition. Major League Baseball is in the midst of scandals, rumors and allegations involving some of its most popular stars. The homerun chase of 1998 between Mark "Big Mac" McGwire and "Slamming" Sammy Sosa electrified the sports world and is widely credited with bringing back the popularity of the American pastime after a bitter labor dispute in 1994. But it also brought attention to the two sluggers' use of weightlifting and nutritional supplements creatine and "andro"- the latter, a steroid according to the NFL. Barry Bonds' increased size and power drew suspicion even before he broke McGwire's single-season homerun record in 2003 and continues today after he became the all-time homerun leader.

Nutritional supplements are legal on the open market and are sold in health food stores, although most have not been tested for long-range effects. These nutritional supplements often claim that they build muscle and burn fat with the use of protein products, amino acids, vitamins, minerals, "fat burners", and other more exotic substances. Together they form part of a multi-billion dollar industry that continues to grow seemingly as a reaction to the increasingly muscular male body image ideal. In 1996, American men spent over 2 billion dollars on gym memberships and another 2 billion dollars on assorted home exercise equipment like treadmills and weight machines (Pope, Jr., et al; 1997). This does not take into account how much men spend on illegal steroids in addition to gym memberships and other fitness products.

The gym and supplement industry owes much of its success to the super-male body image that has quietly become a larger part of our culture. In 1985, a survey conducted by *Psychology Today,* found that more men were dissatisfied with their bodies than men in a similar survey in 1972 (Cash, Winstead, and Janda, 1986). Their results

led them to observe that "the pressure to look good [seemed] to have intensified particularly for men". Today, the "health and fitness" industry continues to feed impossible male body standards through magazines targeted for young male audiences. Paid circulation for *Men's Health* magazine climbed from 250,000 in 1990 to 1.5 million in 1997 (Cottle, 1998).

The following is a list of fitness magazines that were all found at one small Manhattan newsstand and are marketed toward male readers: *Men's Health*, *Muscleman*, *Muscular Development*, *Men's Workout*, *Exercise-For Men Only*, *Natural Bodybuilding and Fitness*, *Pump*, *Men's Fitness*, *Men's Exercise*, *Muscle and Fitness*, *Flex*, *Exercise and Health*, and finally *Men's Journal*. This list does not include other men's magazines that emphasize fashion and pop culture like *GQ*, *Esquire*, and *Details*, but often have health and fitness features.

While many of these magazines include the words "health", "fitness", and "exercise" in their titles, their true focus is on male body appearance. Blurbs on the covers touted a menagerie of secret workouts for increasing chest size or achieving a washboard, six-packed stomach. As evidence, almost all of the issues mentioned above featured a solitary shirtless, heavily muscled man (professional bodybuilder) on the cover, often with a physique impossible to attain without the use of steroids. The exceptions either had a similarly sculpted man in the company of a woman wearing a bikini or just a woman in a bikini. Again, the connection between muscularity and sexual prowess is as blatant here as it is for television shows like *Baywatch* and the professional wrestling programs.

Today television commercials and print ads are more omnipresent than ever before, which poses a challenge for the men and women who are quietly influenced by them. An advertising executive interviewed for a study stated that the male torso is the 90's most powerful "cross-over image" because it appeals to women as well as homosexual and heterosexual men (Potter, 1997). A recent study found that the proportion of undressed women in magazine ads has remained relatively the same over the last thirty years. However, the proportion of undressed men in print ads has skyrocketed from 3 percent in the 1950's to 35 percent in the 1990's (Pope, et al; in press). These researchers observed that the latter proportion really took off in the early part of the 1980's, when many feminist milestones took place.

Considering the pervasiveness of super-male body images in our society over the last thirty years and across so many different facets of our culture, it is inevitable that some segments of the media would take notice. A *New York Times Magazine* (May 7, 2000) feature chronicled the growing number of high school boys struggling with eating disorders and beginning intense weight-training regimens. *Time* magazine had a cover piece that featured several articles discussing the curiosity men have about possible testosterone treatments in lieu of the release of a testosterone ointment (April 24, 2000). Besides reviewing *The Adonis Complex* by Pope and Olivardia (2000), a book discussed later, the articles pointed out the differences in muscularity between wrestlers and baseball players from different eras. The cover article included observations about the state of manhood- "…two of this culture's rising preoccupations: perfecting the male body and sustaining the male libido."

This brief examination of contemporary popular culture reveals the proliferation of a male body ideal that is difficult for the average boy or man to attain. This body ideal is harmful because of what it suggests about masculinity. Our entertainers, whether movie stars or athletes, our emblematic of this ideal- they are marketed as exemplars in many cases. These super-male body images have even reached the innocuous toy market for children as evidenced by the evolution of action figure bodies over the last three decades. Advertisers have taken advantage of the insecurities these images inspire in men in order to sell a wide range of products, most importantly those from the fitness and nutrition industries as men seek to perfect their bodies.

Research Involving Latino Men

The amount of research involving Latinos and masculinity is has been limited. The research that exists tends to center around several issues such as at-risk youth Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980; 1993), homosexuality (Carrier, 1995; Murray, 1995), and alcohol abuse (Caetano & Medina-Mora, 1990; Gilbert & Cervantes, 1986; Neff, Prihoda, & Hoppe, 1991). The majority of these studies examine Mexican-Americans for their subject populations; there are few studies involving Latinos from the Caribbean.

The term *machismo* has become a fixture in the vocabulary of studies dealing with masculinity regardless of whether the population studied is Latino. Some authors have understood the concept as the product of a socialization passed from a father to his son (Diaz, 1966; McGinn, 1966, Paz, 1961). The word itself has been translated and defined in numerous ways by researchers and theoreticians. Some have argued that the

poorly defined and vague use of machismo is a flaw that is likely to produce inconsistent results (Felix-Ortiz & Abreu, 1999). Machismo involves "physical strength, sexual attractiveness, virtue, and potency" (Ruiz, 1981).

When the term is used in reference to non-Latinos however, "macho" is often defined in terms of sexual promiscuity, physical aggression, and dominance of women (Ruiz, 1981). Valdez, Baron, and Ponce (1987) have argued that antisocial definitions, like this one, are the results of translation failures that erroneously equate machismo with chauvinism. They contend that it is more closely connected to the concept of chivalry, which describes the behavior as being gallant, brave, and generous.

Recently, a multidimensional view has emerged that acknowledges prosocial and antisocial aspects of machismo. Casa, Wagenheim, Banchero, and Mendoza-Romero (1995) defined machismo as an extreme gender schema made up of beliefs and behaviors- that can be either positive or negative- traditionally associated with men. Their use of a schema model is consistent with the concept of masculinity ideology outlined earlier; the schema's rigid and extreme nature, more than the content, is what determines machismo.

Machismo, although potentially problematic and limiting, can be viewed as one particular kind of masculinity ideology (Cuellar, Arnold, & Gonzales, 1995) among the many different possibilities discussed earlier. A recent study comparing traditional masculinity ideology among Latinos, African-Americans, and European Americans found that Latinos endorsed higher levels of traditional masculinity ideology than European Americans (Abreu, Goodyear, Campos, & Newcomb, 2000). Their findings surprisingly also suggested that "…an increase in ethnic belonging was more strongly

and consistently associated with higher levels of traditional male gender role endorsement for European Americans than for Latinos". Machismo was seemingly more inherent to white ethnicity than to Latino ethnicity.

Latinos are the fastest growing group of people in the United States and the experience of immigration and acculturation has a great influence on the way Latino men express male gender roles. Shifts occur across generations as families acculturate, whether they are Puerto Rican or Dominican (Inclan & Herron, 1989). The change from a culture that emphasizes family loyalty to one that endorses autonomy is one example of the possible conflict that comes with immigrating to the United States, not to mention raising the next generation here. Often immigrating Latino men must also accept the necessity of their wives working, sometimes earning more than them; another conflict with their traditional ideology.

"Confronted with the male gender role demands [and expectations] of the dominant culture yet denied economic and political access to its resources, Latino men have undergone increasing stress" (Lazur & Majors, 1995). This stress is male gender role conflict. Latino men draw upon their culture of machismo to define their male gender role in this new culture and attempt to integrate the standards of their own culture with those of the dominant one.

Summary and Synthesis of Literature Review

The literature review covered several areas in the contemporary study of men. Among them are the study of masculinity- specifically in reference to male gender role

conflict theory, related research on Latino men, male body image research and finally, a brief synopsis of Western culture's promotion of male body ideals in a thirty-year span. These different areas of study have only recently begun to be linked to one another. The difficulty may be due to the range of psychological orientations represented by the different researchers involved.

The most fundamentally important of these literature domains is the theory and study of male gender role conflict, which is the cornerstone of the new psychology of men that has been developing over the last twenty years. Society's traditional conceptions of masculinity have become more outdated and potentially detrimental for men of all races. With all the socio-economic and political advances that women have made and society's adjustment to this progress, our conceptualization of masculinity has failed to evolve at a similar pace. The last of Pleck's propositions outlining male gender role conflict takes into account the evolving attitudes of our society. It states that historical changes may precipitate gender role strain.

In the same time period that has seen the continuing progress of women in all levels of society, the male body has become important as a defining source of masculinity. At a time when boys and men face conflicting messages about being male (i.e., "share your feelings but don't cry like a girl"), their bodies have become the final bastion of their masculinity. The body is an immediate, concrete and re-affirming source of one's gender. For many males, as we have already seen, muscularity seems to symbolize many of the traditional expectations of men.

Our society has increasingly celebrated the super-male body ideal. The images seem omnipresent from our movie stars and athletes to the toys given to our boys. We

are bombarded with super-muscular images in magazines claiming to focus on men's health that are filled with similarly imagined advertisements. The underlying message seems to be one that re-affirms the insecurities men feel today about their roles as men with the promise of alleviating them by appearing "more" masculine.

Some researchers have made similar observations but have concentrated on the aspects pertaining to the body while only giving the underlying issues passing mention. In *The Adonis Complex* (Pope, Phillips, & Olivardia, 2000), a strong case is made for the effect that society's ideals have had on men by concentrating on extreme cases of muscle dysmorphia. The authors generalize from these findings to hypothesize that the concerns of these men are extreme manifestations of a new dynamic at work in the wider culture.

Other researchers have commented on this disturbing trend in our society. Gillett and White (1992) in discussing "the erosion of conventional notions of masculine identity" state that:

> "…One way in which men can attempt to reclaim and reassert [the] conventional patriarchal version of masculinity is through the cultivation of their bodies according to some hyper-masculine body image. In focusing on the body in the weight room, men are able to construct a sense of masculinity within a space commonly viewed as male, through the development and display of body images that signify strength, power, authority and other characteristics associated with a traditional male identity."

The researchers state that "the hyper-masculine body [so pervasive in our culture] symbolizes an attempt by men to restore feelings of masculine self-control and worth".

Other authors have expressed these observations in the language most consistent with that of male gender role conflict. Mishkind, Rodin, Silberstein, & Striegel-Moore (1986) state that:

> "…[They] believe the muscular [body] is the ideal because it is intimately tied to cultural views of masculinity and the male sex role which prescribes that men be powerful, strong, efficacious- even domineering and destructive… A muscular physique may serve as an embodiment of these personal characteristics".

This is the effect of the message that is being handed down to boys today, a message that has already become a part of the way by which men evaluate themselves as men. The conflict men experience between the traditional roles expected of them and their everyday experience has begun to manifest itself at a physical level; like the traditional masculinity ideology with which most males are raised, the super-male body image is an impossible standard by which to live.

Research has shown that men of different backgrounds suffer male gender role conflict. However, the majority of research involving male gender role conflict and male body image has focused on white men. The results of these studies have been generalized to other men who live within the same broader society. As we have seen, cultural differences based on experience have an impact on how men experience gender role conflict. For this reason, it is important to examine men who represent different ethnicities and cultural perspectives.

Hypotheses

Latino men in the United States experience male gender role conflict and like many men in the United States, they have begun to focus on their bodies as a means of repairing what seems flawed about their masculinity. The primary question of this research is whether there is a significant relationship between male gender role conflict and the attitudes Latino men have about their bodies, specifically their muscularity. This will be answered by exploring several hypotheses.

First, using the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS), its subscales and normative data from past GRCS research, it is expected that the self-identified Latino men in the current study experience as much or more male gender role conflict as European-American and African-American men. Second, using the results of the Swansea Muscularity Attitudes Questionnaire (SMAQ) and those of the GRCS, this research expects to find a significant correlation between the gender role conflict experienced by the men in this study and their attitudes about muscularity. Specifically, it is expected that as gender role conflict increases, the desire for muscularity and the positive attributes to muscularity will also increase.

Methodology

The preceding literature review covered several areas relevant to the methodology of this study. First among them, male gender role conflict theory was the foundation from which the others followed. Male gender role conflict points out the inherent contradiction in our society between the traditional views of masculinity and the reality. The subsequent sections of the review detailed male body image concerns and the influence media has in promoting an impossible male body ideal. The next section discussed the issue of muscularity, the specific area of body image that most concerned men. Finally, the review concluded with a brief overview of research focusing on Latino men and their masculinity.

The prevalence of cultural images promoting a muscular ideal body for men symbolizes many of the traditional characteristics of masculinity. Among these are strength, stoicism, and independence. Our culture perceives a well-muscled man as more masculine than his slender or over-weight counterparts. Men today feel more conflict trying to live up to the traditional expectations of masculinity. Their bodies remain an incontrovertible source of reaffirming their manliness.

This research proposes two hypotheses. The first hypothesis proposes that self-identified Latino men suffer as much or more male gender role conflict as European-American and African-American men. The second hypothesis proposes that a significant correlation exists between the gender role conflict experienced by self-identified Latinos and their desire to be more muscular; so that as gender role conflict increases so too does the desire for muscularity and the positive attributes connected with muscularity.

Population

The subjects of my research are self-identified Latino men. The word "Latino" is a very broad term for identifying people with origins from Central and South America, as well as the Caribbean. Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Colombians could all be subjects in a study on Latinos. However, the results of such a study would have to take the different ethnicities represented into consideration when discussing conclusions. Different ethnic groups each have unique histories related to country of origin, immigration history, and experiences in the United States.

The experience of being Latino within the dominant culture of America was more important in this study than particular ethnicities. This is the culture that has experienced the sociological developments that have changed the way men and women experience themselves and each other. The dominant American culture is also the primary source of images and messages that promote an idealized image of the male body. This study was most interested in observing whether self-identified Latino men had been affected by these changes and images.

The subjects of the study were self-identified Latino men between the ages of 18 and 35 years of age. A demographic questionnaire was used to gather pertinent information for determining inclusion in the study. The questionnaire asked subjects their age, place of birth, marital status, education, race and ethnicity. Subjects were asked to describe how much they were like other members of their ethnic group and mainstream Americans. Their choices were the following: "very much like people in your ethnic group", "mostly like people in your ethnic group", "bicultural", "mostly like mainstream Americans" and "very mainstream American".

The final two questions dealt with contact with country of origin and where subjects were raised. Subjects were asked to describe their contact with their country of birth, if was not the United States. Their choices as follows: “raised for one year or more in country of birth”, “lived for less than one year in country of birth”, “occasional visits to country of birth”, “occasional communications with people in country of birth” and “no exposure or communications with people in country of birth”. The last question asked where subjects were raised with the following options from which to choose: “in the U.S. only”, “mostly in the U.S.”, “equally in the U.S. and another country”, “mostly in another country” and “in another country”.

There were several criteria for inclusion in the study based on the responses given by subjects. Only subjects who identified themselves as Hispanic/Latino and were between the ages of 18 and 35 were considered for the study. Bi-racial subjects were not considered but Latino men of multi-ethnicities (i.e., Cuban-Dominican) were eligible. Subjects who met the age requirement, identified themselves as Latino and were born in the United States were included in the study. Foreign-born subjects meeting the age requirement and identifying themselves as Latino and also described being raised “mostly in the U.S.” were included in the study.

A total of 53 men filled out the questionnaire. Three men were disqualified because they were above 35-years of age. Two men were excluded from the study because they identified themselves as being raised “mostly in another country”. Another man who identified himself as Asian was excluded. Four other men were excluded because their questionnaires were incomplete. After exclusions there were a total of 43 subjects in the study.

Instruments

Gender Role Conflict Scale

Subjects were asked to complete two questionnaires in addition to the demographic form. All three questionnaires were bound in one document. The first was a 37-item self-report instrument called the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS; O'Neil et al, 1986). The GRCS was developed by a group of researchers headed by James O'Neil (1986) to test theoretical concepts about gender role conflict. The GRCS has been used in over 250 different studies in the United States and abroad. The GRCS assesses the degree to which men feel constrained by society's expectations for their gender. It was chosen because unlike many earlier scales that purported to measure masculinity, the GRCS does not define maleness by comparing the sexes, nor does it suggest one normative definition of masculinity.

The Gender Role Conflict Scale measures four factors, or subscales: (a) Success, Power and Competition (SPC), (b) Restrictive Emotionality (RE), (c) Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men (RABBM), and (d) Conflict Between Work and Family Relations (CBWFR). The Success, Power, and Competition (SPC) subscale describes individual attitudes about success pursued through competition and power. The Restrictive Emotionality (RE) subscale is defined as difficulty or even fears about expressing feelings and difficulty articulating the words to describe basic emotions. The Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men (RABBM) subscale describes having limited ways to express feelings with other men and difficulty touching other men. The fourth subscale Conflict Between Work and Family Relations (CBWFR) describes the

difficulty of balancing work and school responsibilities with family relations resulting in stress, a lack of relaxation and too much work.

The four subscales are internally consistent (O'Neil et al found alphas ranging from .75 to .85) resulting from a factor analysis with oblique rotation and have adequate test-retest reliability over a 4-week period (rs range from .72 to .86; O'Neil et al., 1986). The current study found the following Cronbach's alpha coefficients: for the total GRCS, α = .887; for the SPC subscale, α = .826; for the RE subscale, α = .839; for the RABBM subscale, α = .895; and for the CBWFR subscale, α = .789. Construct validity of the GRCS has been determined by item-reduction procedures, factor analysis, and multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) on the resultant factors with the Psychological Attribute Questionnaire (PAQ; Spence & Helmreich, 1978) classification for all subjects (O'Neil et al., 1986). The GRCS differentiates the four sex role categories of the PAQ demonstrating concurrent validity. O'Neil et al (1986) found that men who were categorized as masculine on the PAQ scored significantly higher on gender role factors than those categorized as androgynous or feminine.

The scale uses a 6-point Likert-type scale where 1 equals *Strongly Disagree* and 6 equals *Strongly Agree.* Higher scores indicate greater gender role conflict.

For the purpose of this study, only the overall/total GRCS mean score was used in analyses. Only completed questionnaires were used. Four questionnaires were disqualified for being incomplete.

The following tables show the normative data for the GRCS among different racial groups of adult men. The data for European-American men comes from eight studies that studied a total of 1156 men (Campbell & Snow, 1992; Cournoyer & Mahalik,

1995; Sileo, 1995; Alexander, 1995; Sharpe, Heponer & Dixon, 1995; Cortese, 2003; Swenson, 1998; Chamberlin, 1993). The data for Latino men comes from two studies and totaled 277 men (Leka, 1998; Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2000). The data for African-American men comes from five studies that had a total of 743 men (Brewer, 1998; Laurent, 1997, Wade, 1996, White, 2002, Lily, 1999).

Table 1- Normative Data on Gender Role Conflict Among Different Races- Mean GRCS Factor Scores (Scale Score Averages)

	SPC	RE	RABBM	CBWFR	Total GRCS
European-American Men N = 1156	3.42	3.07	3.30	3.70	3.37
Hispanic/Latino Men N = 277	3.93	3.25	3.67	3.68	3.66
African-American Men N = 743	3.52	3.63	3.63	3.60	3.45

SPC = Success Power Competition
RE = Restrictive Emotionality
RABBM = Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men
CBWFR = Conflict Between Work and Family Relations

Swansea Muscularity Attitudes Questionnaire

The second instrument used in this study was the Swansea Muscularity Attitudes Questionnaire (SMAQ) (Edwards & Launder, 2000). Latino men have never been studied using this measure. The SMAQ was chosen because it measured both the importance of muscularity for an individual as well as the individual's thoughts about muscularity. The SMAQ contains 20 items to which subjects respond on a 7-point Likert scale, corresponding to *definitely, strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree,* and *definitely not.* The SMAQ contains two subscales; one measures the positive attitudes toward muscularity (PAM) and the other measures the drive for muscularity (DFM). The PAM assesses beliefs regarding the benefits of being muscular.

The DFM represents the desire to gain greater rather than lesser muscularity. The two subscales each contain 10 items with higher scores indicative of a higher drive for muscularity and a higher positive attitude toward muscularity, respectively. The authors report a high level of internal reliability for the two subscales that comprise the instrument (α = 0.94 for the DFM subscale; 0.91 for the PAM). Edwards and Launder did not conduct additional psychometric testing of the SMAQ.

However, other researchers have examined the scale score reliability of the SMAQ's subscales (DFM and PAM) finding high alpha coefficients. In a study of 86 men, Hatoum & Belle (2004) found alpha coefficients of .97 on both the DFM and PAM subscales of the SMAQ. Tylka, Bergeron, & Schwartz (2005) found alpha coefficients of .92 on the DFM and PAM subscales. The current study found the following alpha coefficients: for the DFM subscale, α = .90; for the PAM subscale, α = .92; and for the total SMAQ, α = .94. On the other hand, the size of these alpha coefficients suggests that they may be due to item redundancy (Coste, Guillemin, Pouchot & Fermanian, 1997).

The Tylka et al (2005) study is the only one providing evidence of the SMAQ's concurrent validity. They found statistically significant correlations between McCreary, Sasse, Saucier, & Dorsh's (2004) Muscularity-oriented Body-image (MBI) subscale and both the DFM (r = .55) and PAM (r = .52) subscales of the SMAQ. The correlation between scores on McCreary et al's Muscularity-oriented Behaviors (MB) subscale and the DFM subscale were modest (r = .22) but statistically significant. The correlation between the MB and the PAM was not significant (r = .14). The authors noted that the correlation between the MBI and the DFM suggests that approximately 30% of the

variance in the MBI may be accounted for by the DFM. This proportion suggests a modest level of predictability from one measure to the other.

Procedures

Subjects were recruited in two ways. The first was at a Council of La Raza convention in San Diego during the summer of 2008. The Council of La Raza is a non-profit community organization that represents the interests of Latinos in the United States. Men were invited to hear about the study directly from the researcher in a prepared script approved by the IRB of City College and the Graduate Center of CUNY. The dissertation research was described as a study examining Latino men, gender roles and their thoughts about muscularity. The researcher explained that participation in the study was completely anonymous. Volunteers were given a separate room to fill out the questionnaire and an unmarked envelope in which to return the questionnaire. Subjects usually completed it within 15-20 minutes.

The researcher also recruited volunteers with the help of colleagues who handed out the previously mentioned script as a letter to prospective subjects. Interested volunteers were given the contact information for the researcher and then made appointments to complete the questionnaire. Volunteers completed the questionnaires in a private room and returned them in an unmarked envelope. The IRB's of both City College and the Graduate Center of CUNY agreed that the research did not require signed consent forms since subjects were completing questionnaires anonymously.

Statistical Methods

The demographic information was entered into a database along with the mean scores for the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS) and the Swansea Muscularity Attitudes Questionnaire (SMAQ). Mean scores for the GRCS were computed by adding the responses and dividing by the total number of items (37). Adding the raw scores and dividing by the number of items it contained (13) calculated the mean scores for the Success, Power, Competition (SPC) subscale. The mean scores for the Restrictive Emotionality (RE), Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men (RABBM) and Conflict Between Work and Family Relations (CBWFR) subscales were calculated similarly but dividing by the number of items each contained; respectively, 10, 8 and 6. Mean scores for the SMAQ, Drive for Muscularity (DFM) subscale and the Positive Attributes of Muscularity (PAM) subscale were calculated by adding their raw scores and dividing by the number of items each contained; respectively, 20, 10 and 10. All analyses and tabulations were performed using SPSS 16.

Results

Subject Demographics

The final number of subjects qualifying for inclusion in this study was 43 (N=43). Per the requirements for inclusion in the study, all of the men studied identified themselves as Hispanic/Latino. Of the 43 men, 76.7% further identified themselves ethnically as being Mexican-American and 18.6% identified themselves as Puerto-Rican. The two remaining subjects identified as Cuban and Colombian, respectively. Per the requirements for inclusion in the research, all subjects were between the ages of 18 and 35 (X = 25.33 years, where X = Mean). 76.7% identified themselves as single and 18.6% reported being married. 20.9% reported a high school education and 76.7% were either currently attending college, had graduated from college or were currently pursuing a graduate degree.

Of the 43 subjects, 93.02% were born in the United States and 6.98% were born in Mexico. When asked, "Where were you raised?" 79.07% reported *only* being raised in the United States while 20.93% reported being raised *mostly* in the United States.

Additionally, subjects were asked to identify the description that best fit them with the following choices: "very much like people in your ethnic group", "mostly like people in your ethnic group", "bicultural", "mostly like mainstream Americans" and "very mainstream American". 62.79% identified themselves as "bicultural, both like people in [their] ethnic group and like mainstream Americans". 16.30% identified themselves as mostly like people in my ethnic group, 13.95% identified themselves as

being mostly like mainstream Americans and 4.65% identified as very much like people in my ethnic group.

Three sets of normative data were used to compare with the current study. The first set of GRCS data came from 8 studies (N = 1156) of European-American men (Campbell & Snow, 1992; Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995; Sileo, 1995; Alexander, 1995; Sharpe, Heponer & Dixon, 1995; Cortese, 2003; Swenson, 1998; Chamberlin, 1993). The second set of GRCS data came from 2 studies (N = 277) of Latino men (Leka, 1998; Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2000). The last GRCS data set was from 5 studies (N = 743) of African-American men (Brewer, 1998; Laurent, 1997, Wade, 1996, White, 2002, Lily, 1999). Comparisons were analyzed for each subscale and the total GRCS score (e.g. the mean SPC subscale score for European-American men was compared with the mean SPC subscale score of the current study) so that a total of 15 t-tests were conducted.

The comparisons between the results of the normative data from previous GRCS research and the results of the current GRCS study of self-identified Latinos were examined using t-tests. Assuming that both variables were approximately normally distributed, the null hypothesis tested was stated as the following:

> Ho: There is no significant difference between the mean scores of past GRCS research on different racial groups of men and the mean scores of the current GRCS research on Latino men.
>
> $\mu = \overline{X}$
>
> Ha: There is a significant difference between the mean scores of past GRCS research on different racial groups of men and the mean scores of the current GRCS research on Latino men.
>
> $\mu \neq \overline{X}$

A 2-tailed test with a significance level of .05 alpha was set as the rejection criteria.

The second hypothesis tested was whether a relationship existed between scores on the GRCS and the SMAQ so that as scores on the GRCS increased, so too would scores on the SMAQ and its subscales. Correlations were calculated between the results for the GRCS and the results for the SMAQ and both its subscales (DFM and PAM). Assuming that both variables are interval/ratio and also approximately normally distributed, a Pearson's correlation was calculated to test the null hypothesis as stated:

> Ho: There is no significant relationship between the mean scores of the current GRCS research on Latinos and their mean scores on the SMAQ and its subscales.
>
> $r = 0$
>
> Ha: There is a significant relationship between the mean scores of the current GRCS research on Latinos and their mean scores on the SMAQ and its subscales.
>
> $r \neq 0$

A 2-tailed test with a significance level of alpha .05 is the criterion set for rejecting the null hypothesis, with df = 41 (where df = degrees of freedom; n-2) establishing a critical value t = 2.0195 from the t-distribution. Pearson's *r* for each correlation was calculated using SPSS 16. If the Pearson's correlation coefficient (*r*) exceeded the critical value t = 2.0195 and the probability of a difference that large was less than or equal to the significance level, then the null hypothesis was rejected in favor of the alternative and the outcome was said to be statistically significant. If the Pearson's correlation coefficient (*r*) were equal or greater than the critical value t = 2.0195 and the probability of a difference that large, if any, was more than the significance level, then the null hypothesis would not be rejected. This would indicate insufficient evidence to

conclude a statistically significant correlation between the mean GRCS scores and the mean scores for the SMAQ, DFM and PAM, respectively.

The following table (Table 2) presents the results on the Gender Role Conflict (GRC) Scale for this study. The mean score for total GRC was 3.66 (σ = .657, where σ is the standard deviation). The mean score for the Success, Power, Competition (SPC) subscale was 4.21 (σ = .809). The mean score for the Restrictive Emotionality (RE) subscale was 3.19 (σ = .936). The mean score for the Restrictive Affectionate Behavior between Men (RABBM) subscale was 3.40 (σ = 1.165). Finally, the mean score for the Conflicts between Work and Family Relations (CBWFR) was 3.60 (σ = 1.077). The results were normally distributed and fell within the acceptable limits of skewness (Total GRC $\gamma 1$ = -.538; SPC $\gamma 1$ = .137; RE $\gamma 1$ = -.370; RABBM $\gamma 1$ = -.397; CBWFR $\gamma 1$ = -.187) and kurtosis (Total GRC β_2 = -.227; SPC β_2 = -.179; RE β_2 = -.908; RABBM β_2 = -.785; CBWFR β_2 = -.412).

Table 2- Statistics for GRCS and Subscales

		Total GRCS	SPC	RE	RABBM	CBWFR
N	Valid	43	43	43	43	43
	Mean	3.6606	4.2093	3.1907	3.4012	3.6008
	Std. Error of Mean	.10015	.12339	.14270	.17768	.16417
	Median	3.7027	4.1538	3.3000	3.6250	3.6667
	Mode	4.03	3.92[a]	2.70[a]	3.88[a]	4.17
	Std. Deviation	.65673	.80910	.93575	1.16514	1.07653
	Variance	.431	.655	.876	1.358	1.159
	Skewness	-.538	.137	-.370	-.397	-.187
	Std. Error of Skewness	.361	.361	.361	.361	.361
	Kurtosis	-.227	-.179	-.908	-.785	-.412
	Std. Error of Kurtosis	.709	.709	.709	.709	.709
	Range	2.62	3.23	3.50	4.25	4.50
	Minimum	2.05	2.62	1.10	1.00	1.33
	Maximum	4.68	5.85	4.60	5.25	5.83

a. Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

SPC = Success Power Competition
RE = Restrictive Emotionality
RABBM = Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men
CBWFR = Conflict Between Work and Family Relations

Table 3 compares the normative data (as mean scores) for the GRCS among European-American men, Latino men and African-American men with the data collected from Latinos in the current study. A series of t-tests were conducted to compare the data from the Latino men in the current study to the normative data for each racial group. A t-test was used to compare the total GRCS score and each subscale from each racial group

with its counterpart in the current study, totaling 15 t-tests. The tables for the results of all t-tests performed are found in the appendix.

The series of t-tests found three comparisons yielding significant results that allowed the null hypothesis to be rejected in favor of the alternative hypothesis. Another comparison yielded marginally significant results. The first of these comparisons was the

Table 3- Normative Data and Current Study Data

	Total Score	SPC	RE	RABBM	CBWFR
European-American Men N= 1156	3.37	3.42	3.07	3.30	3.70
Hispanic/Latino Men N = 277	3.66	3.93	3.25	3.67	3.68
African-American Men N = 743	3.45	3.52	3.63	3.63	3.60
Current Study of Latino Men N = 43	3.66	4.21	3.19	3.40	3.60

SPC = Success Power Competition
RE = Restrictive Emotionality
RABBM = Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men
CBWFR = Conflict Between Work and Family Relations

t-test comparing the mean score of the SPC (Success, Power, Competition) subscale among European-American men with the Latinos in the current study (See Table 4). The SPC mean scores for European-American men and the Latino men in the study were 3.42 and 4.21 respectively, yielding a significant difference beyond the .001 level ($t = 6.397$; $df = 42$). Comparing the total GRCS mean score for European-American men (3.37) with those of Latinos in the current study (3.66) resulted in a marginally significant difference (.006), just outside the .005 level of significance ($t = 2.902$, $df = 42$) (See

Table 5). A larger number of subjects (N = 43, for the current study) may have strengthened the significance of this difference.

Table 4- T-Test Comparing SPC Means Between European-American Men with Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
SPC	43	4.2093	.80910	.12339

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.42					
					95% Confidence Interval of Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
SPC	6.397	42	.000	.78930	.5403	1.0383

Table 5- T-Test Comparing GRCS Means Between European-American Men with Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GRCS	43	3.6606	.65673	.10015

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.37					
					95% Confidence Interval of Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
GRCS	2.902	42	.006	.29059	.0885	.4927

There were no significant differences between the normative data on Latinos and the Latinos in this study. In fact, the results for the Latinos in this study were consistent with previous research. There were two other significant differences between Latinos in

this study and the data on African-American men. A significantly higher score beyond the .001 level was found between the SPC mean for Latinos in this study (4.21) and that of African-Americans (3.52) (t = 5.587, df = 42) (See Table 6). Latinos in this study scored significantly lower than African-Americans (3.19 and 3.63, respectively) in the Restrictive Emotionality (RE) subscale (t = -3.078, df = 42) (See Table 7). This difference was significant below the .005 level (.004).

Table 6- Test Comparing SPC Means Between African-American Men with Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
SPC	43	4.2093	.80910	.12339

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.52					
					95% Confidence Interval of Difference	
	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
SPC	5.587	42	.000	.68930	.4403	.9383

Table 7- T-Test Comparing RE Means Between African-American Men with Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
RE	43	3.1907	.93575	.14270

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.63					
					95% Confidence Interval of Difference	
	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
RE	-3.078	42	.004	-.43930	-.7273	-.1513

Table 8 presents the results on the Swansea Muscularity Attitudes Questionnaire and its two subscales. The mean score for total SMAQ was 4.51 (σ = .969, where σ is the standard deviation). The mean score for the Drive for Muscularity (DFM) subscale was 4.74 (σ = .974). The mean score for the Positive Attributes of Muscularity (PAM) subscale was 4.30 (σ = 1.143). The results were normally distributed and fell within the acceptable limits of skewness (Total SMAQ $\gamma 1$ = -.859; DFM $\gamma 1$ = -.511; PAM $\gamma 1$ = -.870) and kurtosis (Total SMAQ β_2 = .853; DFM β_2 = .825; PAM β_2 = .361).

The SMAQ results and both of its subscales produced several outlying scores, all to the low side. The distribution of scores for the total SMAQ produced two low outlying scores (x = 1.80 and 2.0 respectively where x is the experimental value). In both cases, the scores were still included in the data analysis as their Z scores fell within 3 standard deviations of the mean (Z = -2.807 and Z = -2.600, respectively; X = 4.52 and σ = .969). The distribution of scores for the DFM subscale produced one outlying score (x = 2.0) that was also retained in the analysis because it was still within 3 standard deviations of

the mean (Z = -2.810, respectively; X = 4.74 and σ = .975). The distribution of scores for the PAM subscale produced 3 outlying scores (x = 1.40, 1.60 and 1.70, respectively). However all three scores remained in the analysis because their Z scores were within 3 standard deviations of the mean (Z = -2.537, Z = -2.362, Z = -2.275, respectively; X = 4.30 and σ = 1.143).

Table 8- Statistics for SMAQ and Subscales

		Total SMAQ	DFM	PAM
N	Valid	43	43	43
	Mean	4.5186	4.7372	4.3000
	Std. Error of Mean	.14785	.14868	.17432
	Median	4.7000	4.8000	4.5000
	Mode	4.90[a]	4.70	4.90
	Std. Deviation	.96954	.97493	1.14310
	Variance	.940	.950	1.307
	Skewness	-.859	-.511	-.870
	Std. Error of Skewness	.361	.361	.361
	Kurtosis	.853	.825	.361
	Std. Error of Kurtosis	.709	.709	.709
	Range	4.40	4.90	4.50
	Minimum	1.80	2.00	1.40
	Maximum	6.20	6.90	5.90

a. Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown
SMAQ = Swansea Muscularity Attitudes Questionnaire
DFM = Drive for Muscularity
PAM = Positive Attitudes toward Muscularity

A series of Pearson correlations was calculated to determine if a relationship existed between the results of the Swansea Muscularity Attitudes Questionnaire and the

results of the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS). In each case, the null hypothesis was rejected, as each Pearson's *r* calculated was greater than zero past the necessary level of significance. A Pearson correlation was calculated between the total mean score of the GRCS and with both subscales of the SMAQ. A moderate degree of correlation (r = .504) was found at the .01 level of significance (2-tailed) between the total mean score for the GRCS and the mean score for the Drive for Muscularity subscale (See Table 9). This positive correlation indicates that as GRCS increases, DFM increases. A moderate degree of correlation (r = .571) was also found at the .01 level of significance (2-tailed) between the total mean score for the GRCS and the Positive Attributes of Muscularity subscale (See Table 10), indicating that as GRCS increases, PAM increases. Finally, a moderate degree of correlation (r = .590) was calculated at the .01 level of significance (2-tailed) between the total mean score for the GRCS and the total mean score on the Swansea Muscularity Attitudes Questionnaire (See Table 11) indicating that as GRCS increases, the total score for the SMAQ increases.

Table 9- Pearson Correlation Between the Total Gender Role Conflict (GRCS) and the Drive for Muscularity (DFM) Subscale

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
GRCS	3.6606	.65673	43
DFM	4.7372	.97493	43

Correlations

		GRCS	DFM
GRCS	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.504**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.001
	N	43	43
DFM	Pearson Correlation	.504**	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	
	N	43	43

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 10- Pearson Correlation Between the Total Gender Role Conflict (GRCS) and the Positive Attributes to Muscularity (PAM) Subscale

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
GRCS	3.6606	.65673	43
PAM	4.3000	1.14310	43

Correlations

		GRCS	PAM
GRCS	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.571**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	43	43
PAM	Pearson Correlation	.571**	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	43	43

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 11- Pearson Correlation Between the Total Gender Role Conflict (GRCS) and the Total Swansea Muscularity Attitudes Questionnaire (SMAQ)

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
GRCS	3.6606	.65673	43
SMAQ	4.5186	.96954	43

Correlations

		GRCS	SMAQ
GRCS	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.590**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	43	43
SMAQ	Pearson Correlation	.590**	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	43	43

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Discussion

The results of the study raised interesting questions regarding self-identified Latino men, gender role conflict and their attitudes about muscularity. It was expected that Latinos in this study would demonstrate more gender role conflict than other men from different races, namely European-Americans and African-Americans. A series of t-tests compared the GRCS results for the Latinos of this study with the normative GRCS data among European-American, Latino and African-American men.

While GRCS research on Latinos is fairly limited, the results from the Latino men in this study were consistent with that previous research. The t-tests did not find any significant differences between their results on the GRCS or any of its four subscales. In general, the Latinos from the current study also scored similarly to whites and African-Americans with the exception of one subscale.

Latinos most differed from European-American and African-American men on the Success, Power, Competition (SPC) subscale. It is worth noting that of these counterparts one represents the American mainstream; the other represents the minority group most historically discriminated against in America. The Latino men in this study scored significantly higher on the SPC subscale than both groups.

In many ways the SPC subscale represents the most traditional of male gender roles. The 13 items within it not only pull for feelings about being successful, dominant and independent; but also how important these feelings are for the individual. Some examples of these items illustrate this: "Moving up the career ladder is important to me", "I strive to be more successful than others" and "I like to feel superior to other people"

(See appendix for complete lists of subscale items). They represent aspects of the "provider" role that has been a traditional tenet of masculinity. The fact that Latinos scored significantly higher in this area of gender role conflict not only raises issues about male gender roles in America, but also the power of the American Dream itself.

The values that define the path to the American Dream are rooted in a dedicated work ethic and a desire to succeed and over-achieve, often from humble beginnings. Competition and ambition are the engines that power the way to success in America. These values are synonymous with the traditional male roles espoused in the SPC subscale. The white American male does not just represent these values; he represents their successful implementation.

The white American male is a model for success in this country for every minority group already here and for every immigrant arriving with hopes of a better life. Like all Latinos in America, the men in this study experience this powerful symbol as members of a minority group. They also experience it as immigrants, whether directly through their own experience as a child immigrant, or by witnessing family members as they adjusted, acclimated and assimilated to different degrees in a new land. The witnessing may have been by direct observation or by shared stories of the obstacles that family members overcame as they sought to establish themselves in America.

Discrimination and racism are obstacles that Latinos, like other minority groups, must often overcome to succeed in America. It has often been the same white American male symbolizing the path to success and exemplifying American maleness that is responsible for the obstructions to Latinos succeeding. These obstructions have taken many different forms. They range from petty personal slanders and off-color humor to

more troublesome institutional forms of discrimination like hiring practices, police profiling and funding for school districts with heavy Latino populations. Regardless of the form it takes, discrimination by the mainstream, especially white males, places its victims in a one down position to the majority of American society. The shame, the anxiety and the bitterness it inspires works at cross purposes with the efforts to become more powerful, more competent and more successful in this country. Latino men may find themselves challenged by the same forces they aspire to; the same role model of successful American maleness is also the chief impediment to Latino success.

One might then imagine that Latinos in this study would react against this image of maleness and the values inherent in it. But this study, specifically with the significantly higher scores for Latinos on the SPC subscale, revealed a strong identification with these traditional male roles. This suggests that Latinos identify with the dominant model of these values, the white American male, who often simultaneously holds the keys to succeeding or not succeeding in America.

Whether this is merely evidence of assimilation or a complex example of identifying with the aggressor, it remains a powerful dynamic at work in America today. This identification with the aggressor could be an outgrowth of insecurity and conflict about being outside the mainstream, a feeling that minority groups like Latinos and African-Americans may be prone to after decades and generations spent in the United States. Generations of Latinos, like other minority groups, have internalized the white American male as the preferred symbol of success and maleness as part of the melting pot phenomenon.

The process of identifying with the aggressor may be facilitated by the degree to which Latinos already feel comfortable with some of the values promoted by the dominant culture. Latino men may culturally have more in common with some of the values embodied in the image of the white American male and the SPC subscale. The traditional values reflected in the SPC subscale are not radically different than the values on which many Latino men are raised. In fact, one could argue that the values of hard work, ambition, power and success are tantamount to those of machismo, which stresses the importance of the male as a provider. Perhaps Latino men are more primed to buy into the standard set by white American men because they already share some of these traditional beliefs. While this study did not examine the similarities between the traditional roles that contribute to gender role conflict and those of machismo, some researchers have begun exploring some of these connections (Cuellar, Arnold, & Gonzales, 1995; Abreu, Goodyear, Campos, & Newcomb, 2000). Machismo has been a concept often regarded in mostly negative terms, but some researchers have pointed out positive attributes like ambition and work ethic (Casa, Wagenheim, Banchero, & Mendoza-Romero, 1995).

So the higher scores on the Success, Power, Competition subscale may be explained by a compatibility with the values on which Latino men are raised. These existing values and male roles are reinforced and affirmed by the dominant mainstream culture. Latino men internalize these values as they grow up but also have them re-affirmed as the model of successful maleness by the most dominant and powerful example of them- the white American male.

Perhaps this explains why Latinos scored higher on the SPC subscale than African-Americans. African-Americans have been a part of the United States since its inception, although they were brought as slaves and were denied citizenship for hundreds of years. While they have been exposed to the same dominant culture for hundreds of more years, they have also suffered many more years of racism and persecution. By comparison, Latinos only began immigrating in earnest to the United States in the 20th century. They have had to overcome racial obstacles- cultural differences, language, and skin color- but did so after several waves of European immigration prepared the way. By the time Latino immigrants began arriving in the United States the mainstream American society had already experienced waves of immigration from Europe.

The immigration experience may supplement the reasons for the higher SPC scores by Latino men. Like many immigrants, Latinos have had a sense of urgency to assimilate into American society, to better integrate successfully. Perhaps this need to accept what the dominant culture offered, overrode the sting of discrimination and the feelings of otherness so common to minority groups. A quicker rise to autonomy also has the benefit of gaining independence from the dominant culture sooner. Although the Latino men in this study may not have been immigrants themselves, the experience of their ancestors resonates with them and dovetails with their path to success in America. The current study was limited in how much it asked subjects about family histories, especially regarding fathers and immigration, but further research in this area and how it relates to traditional male roles of success and power within the dominant culture in America might strengthen the point.

Another aspect of the study that explains the higher SPC scores by Latinos is the level of education of the subjects in the current study. Of the 43 men in the study, 33 were either attending college or were college graduates. The demographic questionnaire did not ask subjects about their professions or intended professions, but the greater number of educated men in the study suggests that these Latino men may be more inclined to accept the SPC values. Being college-educated already demonstrates an advanced level of ambition as well as an acceptance of a particular path to financial and professional success. Historically this path is most identified with the American middle class, which is made up of the dominant culture. Perhaps educated Latinos were more committed to the male gender roles of being a successful, powerful provider. A follow-up study could explore the possible differences between Latino men of different education levels and class.

The reasons for the higher scores by Latinos in the SPC subscale are not mutually exclusive. The importance of traditional values like ambition and power inform the existing role expectations for Latino men especially as generations of Latinos become more assimilated into American society. Latino men are influenced by the immigrant experience of those who prepared the way for them to be successful in America despite the rigors often imposed by the dominant culture. Yet with each generation the distance between the ideals represented by the white American male and those of Latino men shortens. The differences in their perception of maleness seem to diminish and the frequency at which they agree increases.

For the most part the notion of male gender role conflict in Latino men has been presented in a negative light. While Latinos in this study demonstrated more gender role

conflict in the subscale with the most traditional notions of maleness, there were other aspects of the data that suggest a positive trend regarding gender roles and Latinos. A closer look at the data suggests that Latino men may not only be more comfortable with their contemporary gender roles, but also feel more secure about their masculinity than has been suggested.

Latinos, when compared to white and African-American men, showed more gender role conflict in the SPC subscale, but they did not demonstrate a greater degree of gender role conflict in the other subscales. These subscales reflected different aspects of male gender roles and expectations. Latinos did not show more gender role conflict than white men in any of the other three subscales. So there were no significant differences when it came to Restrictive Emotionality (RE), Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men (RABBM) or Conflicts Between Work and Family Relations (CBWFR).

This supports the premise that the gap between how white males and Latinos identify maleness is diminishing. In fact one could argue that an amalgamation between the two racial groups may be taking place. However, this may just be an indicator of how society and male gender roles in general are slowly evolving in America, regardless of race. For example, both groups of men reported similar scores on the conflict they feel between their work and family obligations (CBWFR), as if they have both internalized the importance of being successful, powerful providers for their families. The data suggests that there may be less conflict because some men, regardless of race, have accepted the importance of some traditional roles without actually contesting their veracity.

Another area where there were no significant differences between Latinos and white men was on the Restrictive Emotionality subscale. The RE subscale asks men about how they feel about expressing emotions. Several items in this subscale examine reactions to expressing intimate, tender feelings specifically with a partner/spouse. It hints at the possibility of expressing a wider range of emotions and potentially sharing vulnerabilities with loved ones. Regardless of the possible effects of machismo, Latinos did not demonstrate any significant differences regarding the expression of these feelings. There was no divide between the two groups, one historically encumbered by the traditional male values of restraint and stoicism, the other historically limited to expressing only a few emotions like anger and jealousy. Whether this reflects a convergence in attitudes or not, the data here indicates that Latino men are as comfortable expressing their feelings as their white counterparts.

When compared to African-American men on the RE subscale, Latinos scored significantly lower. Again this may suggest that the toll of generation after generation of institutionalized racism has taken a greater toll on African-American men than Latinos. Perhaps for African-American men, the generations of discrimination have put a premium on defending one's emotions from others, of protecting oneself against the possibility of more painful reprisals and challenges. The increased conflict between feeling intense feelings of anger and sadness and not feeling free to express them manifests itself as higher scores on the RE subscale.

The data suggests that Latino men may be more confident and secure in expressing a fuller range of emotions, not just the traditionally sanctioned feelings of anger and lust often associated with machismo. This seemingly is at odds with the

stronger allegiance to the traditional male role of success and power but consistent with the lack of differences between Latinos and their counterparts regarding affectionate behavior between men (RABBM subscale). The data again suggests that Latinos, and perhaps many men today, are less self-conscious and more comfortable with affectionate behavior between men.

There are two possible explanations for the lack of significant differences in the RABBM subscale scores for Latinos and mainstream men. First there is the cultural consideration regarding Latino men who are often raised in environments where fathers kiss sons and men embrace one another, regardless of whether they are brothers, cousins or old friends. Latino men raised in such an environment are free of the homosexual fears related to behavior they construe as natural.

The second explanation for the findings in the RABBM subscale score is the change in the American mainstream culture regarding affection between men. Today there is greater freedom and social acceptance of men showing physical affection for each other without homoerotic implications. During the 1992 presidential campaign the issue was addressed when Bill Clinton and his running mate Al Gore embraced at the Democratic National Convention rather than exchange the traditional handshake. Today it is so commonplace that the embracing etiquette for John McCain and his female running mate Sarah Palin received more attention- albeit tongue-in-cheek. Again a cultural convergence seems at play regarding how acceptable the mainstream perceives affection between men. This convergence conveniently appeals to the cultural sensibilities of Latinos, perhaps explaining the lack of conflict regarding the issue.

The fact that this study examined the very question of gender role conflict in Latino men assumes there are multiple options concerning maleness from which to choose. In the past those options were more limited than they are today for both Latinos and mainstream men. Today, American society and American men from different racial backgrounds have a greater range of roles to choose from. They range from the traditional roles of strong, family provider to the more cosmopolitan stay-at-home-dad. Although the greater freedom to choose from a wider set of options is beneficial to men, it also has diffused male identity, at least in the short term.

American society has slowly relaxed its adherence to traditional standards of male gender roles and become more tolerant of alternatives over the last few decades. Today men are not as restricted as they once were in many facets of life. It is not unusual today to watch an athlete tearfully announce his retirement or listen to men discuss child-rearing tips with one another. Sensitivity in a man is more often viewed as a positive attribute worth seeking in a good partner. A man making less money than his wife is not frowned upon today as it may have been in the past.

It seems that male roles have been in flux, slowly evolving to incorporate a more complex and varied set of expectations. Yet as these changes have taken place over the last thirty years or so, a greater emphasis has been placed on the male body. The literature review described the predominance of male imagery that highlights a more muscular body, sometimes to unrealistic expectations. It seems that as male identity has become more complex and diffuse, society, and men by proxy, have turned toward the male body as the only enduring symbol of maleness.

In this study of Latino men, a relationship was sought between male gender role conflict (GRC) and muscularity concerns using the Swansea Muscularity Attitudes Questionnaire (SMAQ). The items making up the SMAQ detail different aspects related to muscularity (see appendix for a copy of the SMAQ). The data produced positive correlations between GRC and scores on the SMAQ and its two subscales- the Drive for Muscularity and Positive Attributes of Muscularity. As GRC increased, the desire to attain a more muscular body increased. Also, as GRC increased, the more positively was muscularity perceived. Latinos in the study connected a muscular body with being more attractive, feeling more masculine and feeling greater confidence.

These correlations indicate a positive relationship between gender role conflict and muscularity concerns, but do not explain a causal relationship. The limitations of this study preclude drawing specific conclusions for explaining the relationship. Emphasis was first placed on exploring how Latino men experienced gender role conflict compared to other groups of men. While one cannot conclude that more gender role conflict leads to a greater desire for a muscular body, the data suggests there is some kind connection between the two.

The interesting point to consider is the way two social phenomena have evolved over the last thirty years in America. Gender roles for men and women have become more flexible and less rooted in the traditions of the past. Women have gained equal footing with men especially regarding career choices and education. They are no longer limited to being homemakers and mothers. At the same time, men are more often expected to play a significant role in the caring of children than they did in previous generations. Men are not limited to just being providers anymore and are often expected

to participate in the daily responsibilities of childcare once reserved for women. Today, men compete with women professionally, not just with each other.

During the same timeframe that saw the definition of maleness expand to include traditionally female roles, the perception of the male body seemed to change. As notions of masculinity became more complex, the male body became more stereotyped. The stereotype of the male body has emphasized its muscularity, sometimes to extreme degrees as detailed in the literature review. The cultural predominance of muscular male body imagery has ranged from our movie and sports stars to children's toys, from its use in advertising to the increased use of bodybuilding supplements.

Perhaps men, including Latinos, living in America during these changing times have turned to their bodies as the one concrete symbol of maleness. To combat the conflict they may feel about their masculinity or the uncertainty of whether they are successfully living up to it, some men may feel motivated to appear more typically masculine. Having a more muscular body may symbolize some of the traditionally male values that are more often shared with women, such as strength, power and dominance. The culture has apparently reinforced this notion by endorsing the importance of muscularity for the male body. It has done so by idealizing a super-muscular male body through different forms of media and the entertainment industries.

Due to the demographic requirements for inclusion in this study, one can conclude that these Latino men were exposed to the dominant culture in America for the majority of their lives. This suggests that they were also exposed to the muscular male body imagery described. However, because they were not asked questions about the muscular imagery seen within American culture, there is no way of knowing the impact

of this imagery on their desire to be more muscular. Perhaps the dynamics of gender role conflict, muscularity concerns and today's use of muscular male images share a common bond. A study examining men's views on the male imagery in popular culture alongside gender role conflict and muscularity concerns might uncover a relationship between all three.

In summary, this study of Latino men revealed several conclusions based on its results. The first set of observations concerns itself with the comparisons between men from different races on the Gender Role Conflict Scale. Using normative data from previous research, the data found that the Latinos in the present study had scores consistent with previous studies of Latino men on the GRCS. But Latinos scored significantly higher than European-Americans and African-Americans on the subscale that represented many of the most traditional aspects of masculinity and male roles; specifically this role was that of the successful and powerful provider.

While Latinos demonstrated a greater adherence to these particular roles, they did not show a significant difference in the other areas of traditional masculinity- expressing a fuller range of emotions, showing affection to men, and conflicts between work and family obligations. These results suggest that men from different racial backgrounds may have more in common with one another when it comes to perceiving the development of male roles. It also suggests that men in the United States, including Latinos, have accepted and internalized these developments better than one expected.

The second set of observations concerns the finding of a significant correlation between scores on the GRCS and scores on the Swansea Muscularity Attitudes

Questionnaire. A positive correlation was discovered so that as scores on the GRCS increased, so did scores on the SMAQ and its two subscales, one measuring the desire for muscularity and the other examining how positively men view a muscular body. While the correlation shows a significant relationship between the two variables, it does not predict or explain causality.

The increased desire for a muscular body by Latinos may be an unconscious effort to retain an aspect of maleness that is indisputable, the male body. Although they demonstrated comparable levels of gender role conflict with their counterparts, Latinos still attached importance to having a muscular body. American society may play a role by promoting an ideal for the male body that is very muscular, at times unrealistically so for most men.

Appendix

Appendix A- Copy of Questionnaire

A-1: Demographic and Ethnicity Information

Age-_____

Present Marital Status: ___ Married ___Single ___Divorced ___Remarried

Race: ___White ___Black ___Hispanic/Latino ___Asian

Ethnicity (i.e., Puerto Rican, Dominican, Mexican, etc.)-_____

Which description fits you best?

_____ Very much like people in your ethnic group.
_____ Mostly like people in your ethnic group.
_____ Bicultural, both like people in your ethnic group and like mainstream Americans, that is people who are not in your ethnic group.
_____ Mostly like mainstream Americans.
_____ Very mainstream American.

Place of Birth-_____

What is the contact you have had with the country of your birth (if other than the U.S.)?

_____ Raised for one year or more in country of birth.
_____ Lived for less than one year in country of birth.
_____ Occasional visits to country of birth.
_____ Occasional communications (i.e. phone calls) with people in country of birth.
_____ No exposure or communications with people in country of birth.

Where were you raised?

_____ In the U.S. only.
_____ Mostly in the U.S., some in another country.
_____ Equally in the U.S. and another country.
_____ Mostly in another country.
_____ In another country.

Educational Level: (check the highest level that fits you.)

___High School Diploma ___College Freshman ___College Sophomore

___College Junior ___College Senior ___College Graduate ___ Master's Degree

___PhD. ___Professional Degree ___Military ___Other

A-2: Gender Role Conflict Scale

Instructions: In the space to the left of each sentence below, write the number that most closely represents the degree to which you Agree or Disagree with the statement. There is no right or wrong answer to each statement; your own reflection is what is asked for.

Strongly Agree					Strongly Disagree
6	5	4	3	2	1

1. ___ Moving up the career ladder is important to me.
2. ___ I have difficulty telling others I care about them.
3. ___ Verbally expressing my love for another man is difficult for me.
4. ___ I feel torn between my hectic work schedule and caring for my health.
5. ___ Making money is part of my idea of being a successful man.
6. ___ Strong emotions are difficult for me to understand.
7. ___ Affection with other men make me tense.
8. ___ I sometimes define my personal value by my career success.
9. ___ Expressing my feelings makes me feel open to attack by other people.
10. ___ Expressing my emotions to other men is risky.
11. ___ My career, job, or school affects the quality of my leisure or family life.
12. ___ I evaluate other people's value by their level of achievement and success.
13. ___ Talking (about my feelings) during sexual relations is difficult for me.
14. ___ I worry about failing and how it affects my doing well as a man.
15. ___ I have difficulty expressing my emotional needs to my partner.
16. ___ Men who touch other men make me uncomfortable.
17. ___ Finding time to relax is difficult for me.
18. ___ Doing well all the time is important to me.

Strongly Agree					Strongly Disagree
6	5	4	3	2	1

---

19. ___ I have difficulty expressing my tender feelings.
20. ___ Hugging other men is difficult for me.
21. ___ I often feel that I need to be in charge of those around me.
22. ___ Telling others of my strong feelings is not part of my sexual behavior.
23. ___ Competing with others is the best way to succeed.
24. ___ Winning is a measure of my value and personal worth.
25. ___ I often have trouble finding words that describe how I am feeling.
26. ___ I am sometimes hesitant to show my affection to men because of how others might perceive me.
27. ___ My needs to work or study keep me from my family or leisure more than I would like.
28. ___ I strive to be more successful than others.
29. ___ I do not like to show my emotions to others.
30. ___ Telling my partner my feelings about him/her during sex is difficult for me.
31. ___ My work or school often disrupts other parts of my life (home, family, health, leisure).
32. ___ I am often concerned about how others evaluate my performance at work or school.
33. ___ Being very personal with other men makes me feel uncomfortable.
34. ___ Being smarter or physically stronger than other men is important to me.
35. ___ Men who are overly friendly to me, make me wonder about their sexual preference (men or woman).
36. ___ Overwork and stress, caused by a need to achieve on the job or in school, affects/hurts my life.
37. ___ I like to feel superior to other people.

A-3: Swansea Muscularity Attitudes Questionnaire

Instructions: Please answer each of the questions to the best of your ability. Each item has a scale that includes *definitely*, *strongly agree*, *agree*, *neutral*, *disagree*, *strongly disagree*, and *definitely not*. Circle the one that corresponds best to your answer. Circle only one. Please do not mark between responses.

1. I feel that I am less attractive to prospective partners when I have small muscles than when I have larger muscles._____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

2. I would like to be bigger in the future._____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

3. Men with small muscles are less masculine than men with larger muscles.

_____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

4. I aim to develop further my physique._____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

5. I would like to be more muscular in the future._____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

6. I feel bad about my body when I do not feel very big or muscular._____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree – definitely not

7. I would like to spend more time building up my muscles._____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

8. I think that large muscles are a sign of masculinity._____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

9. I often engage in bodybuilding._____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

10. I feel more masculine when I am more muscular._____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

11. I intend to become more muscular in the future._____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

12. Being larger, stronger-looking, and more muscular makes men more attractive to prospective partners._____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

13. I want to be more muscular than I am now._____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

14. I often engage in activities that build up my muscles._____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

15. I feel less of a man when I have small muscles than when I have large muscles.

_____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

16. It is important to me that I should be more rather than less muscular.

_____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

17. Being muscular gives me confidence._____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

18. I feel that when I have small muscles I do not look as good as when I have large muscles._____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

19. I would prefer to be more rather than less muscular._____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

20. I feel more of a mature man when I have large muscles._____

definitely - strongly agree - agree - neutral - disagree - strongly disagree - definitely not

Appendix B- Items for GRCS Subscales

B-1: Success, Power, Competition (SPC)

1. ___ Moving up the career ladder is important to me.
5. ___ Making money is part of my idea of being a successful man.
8. ___ I sometimes define my personal value by my career success.
12. ___ I evaluate other people's value by their level of achievement and success.
14. ___ I worry about failing and how it affects my doing well as a man.
18. ___ Doing well all the time is important to me.
21. ___ I often feel that I need to be in charge of those around me.
23. ___ Competing with others is the best way to succeed.
24. ___ Winning is a measure of my value and personal worth.
28. ___ I strive to be more successful than others.
32. ___ I am often concerned about how others evaluate my performance at work or school.
34. ___ Being smarter or physically stronger than other men is important to me.
37. ___ I like to feel superior to other people.

B-2: Restrictive Emotionality (RE)

6. ___ I have difficulty telling others I care about them.
9. ___ Strong emotions are difficult for me to understand.
8. ___ Expressing my feelings makes me feel open to attack by other people.
13. ___ Talking (about my feelings) during sexual relations is difficult for me.
15. ___ I have difficulty expressing my emotional needs to my partner.
19. ___ I have difficulty expressing my tender feelings.
22. ___ Telling others of my strong feelings is not part of my sexual behavior.
25. ___ I often have trouble finding words that describe how I am feeling.
29. ___ I do not like to show my emotions to others.
30. ___ Telling my partner my feelings about him/her during sex is difficult for me.

B-3: Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men (RABBM)

3. ___ Verbally expressing my love for another man is difficult for me.

7. ___ Affection with other men make me tense.

10. ___ Expressing my emotions to other men is risky.

16. ___ Men who touch other men make me uncomfortable.

20. ___ Hugging other men is difficult for me.

26. ___ I am sometimes hesitant to show my affection to men because of how others might perceive me.

33. ___ Being very personal with other men makes me feel uncomfortable.

35. ___ Men who are overly friendly to me, make me wonder about their sexual preference (men or woman).

B-4: Conflicts Between Work and Family Relations (CBWFR)

4. ___ I feel torn between my hectic work schedule and caring for my health.

11. ___ My career, job, or school affects the quality of my leisure or family life.

17. ___ Finding time to relax is difficult for me.

27. ___ My needs to work or study keep me from my family or leisure more than I would like.

31. ___ My work or school often disrupts other parts of my life (home, family, health, leisure).

36. ___ Overwork and stress, caused by a need to achieve on the job or in school, affects/hurts my life.

Appendix C- T-Test Tables

C-1: T-Test Comparing SPC Scores for European-American Men and Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
SPC	43	4.2093	.80910	.12339

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.42					
					95% Confidence Interval of Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
SPC	6.397	42	.000	.78930	.5403	1.0383

C-2: T-Test Comparing RE Scores for European-American Men and Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
RE	43	3.1907	.93575	.14270

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.07					
					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
RE	.846	42	.402	.12070	-.1673	.4087

C-3: T-Test Comparing RABBM Scores for European-American Men and Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
RABBM	43	3.4012	1.16514	.17768

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.30					
					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
RABBM	.569	42	.572	.10116	-.2574	.4597

C-4: T-Test Comparing CBWFR Scores for European-American Men and Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
CBWFR	43	3.6008	1.07653	.16417

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.7					
					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
CBWFR	-.604	42	.549	-.09922	-.4305	.2321

C-5: T-Test Comparing Total GRCS Scores for European-American Men and Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GRCS	43	3.6606	.65673	.10015

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.37					
					95% Confidence Interval of Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
GRCS	2.902	42	.006	.29059	.0885	.4927

C-6: T-Test Comparing SPC Scores for Previous Latino Men and Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
SPC	43	4.2093	.80910	.12339

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.93					
					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
SPC	2.264	42	.029	.27930	.0303	.5283

C-7: T-Test Comparing RE Scores for Previous Latino Men and Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
RE	43	3.1907	.93575	.14270

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.25					
					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
RE	-.416	42	.680	-.05930	-.3473	.2287

C-8: T-Test Comparing RABBM Scores for Previous Latino Men and Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
RABBM	43	3.4012	1.16514	.17768

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.67					
					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
RABBM	-1.513	42	.138	-.26884	-.6274	.0897

C-9: T-Test Comparing CBWFR Scores for Previous Latino Men and Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
CBWFR	43	3.6008	1.07653	.16417

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.68					
					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
CBWFR	-.483	42	.632	-.07922	-.4105	.2521

C-10: T-Test Comparing Total GRCS Scores for Previous Latino Men and Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GRCS	43	3.6606	.65673	.10015

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.66					
					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
GRCS	.006	42	.995	.00059	-.2015	.2027

C-11: T-Test Comparing SPC Scores for African-American Men and Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
SPC	43	4.2093	.80910	.12339

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.52					
					95% Confidence Interval of Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
SPC	5.587	42	.000	.68930	.4403	.9383

C-12: T-Test Comparing RE Scores for African-American Men and Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
RE	43	3.1907	.93575	.14270

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.63					
					95% Confidence Interval of Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
RE	-3.078	42	.004	-.43930	-.7273	-.1513

C-13: T-Test Comparing RABBM Scores for African-American Men and Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
RABBM	43	3.4012	1.16514	.17768

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.63					
					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
RABBM	-1.288	42	.205	-.22884	-.5874	.1297

C-14: T-Test Comparing CBWFR Scores for African-American Men and Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
CBWFR	43	3.6008	1.07653	.16417

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.60					
					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
CBWFR	.005	42	.996	.00078	-.3305	.3321

C-15: T-Test Comparing Total GRCS Scores for African-American Men and Latinos in Current Study

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
GRCS	43	3.6606	.65673	.10015

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 3.45					
					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
GRCS	2.103	42	.042	.21059	.0085	.4127

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