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**EXPLORING MASCULINITIES:  
GENDER ENACTMENTS IN PREPARATORY HIGH SCHOOLS**

by

Judi Addelston

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1996

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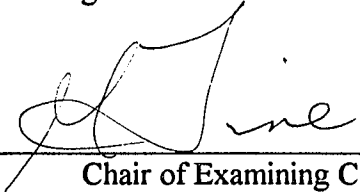
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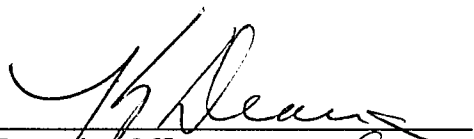
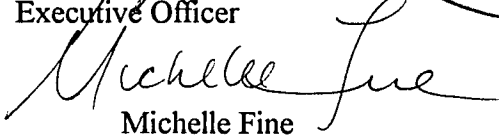
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EXPLORING MASCULINITIES:  
GENDER ENACTMENTS IN PREPARATORY HIGH SCHOOLS

by

Judi Addelston

Adviser: Professor Michelle Fine

This project was designed to investigate the effects of elite, independent single sex and co-ed preparatory education on boys' and mens' masculine identity, their attitudes about the outgroups of women and gay men, their cognitive world view, and their school loyalty. Equal status contact theory, which has previously been applied to explore racial integration and segregation, is applied here to gender. Issues of class are also important in investigating masculinities. This study finds that the development of elite masculinity may be facilitated by school loyalty and an adherence to the "hidden curriculum" within each school. Results indicate that men who attend a co-ed school are more constructionist in their thinking and have more egalitarian attitudes towards women and homosexuals. Correlational analyses reveal that the members of each institution show different clusters of attitudes. This study supports the premise of equal status contact theory -- that the more contact two conflicting groups have, that is of an equal nature, the less likely they are to be antagonistic to each other -- and finds that boys and men who attend a co-ed school express more egalitarian attitudes towards women than men from a single sex institution. The effects of equal status contact between girls and boys in high school appears to influence boys' and mens' cognition, affect, and attitudes.

This research would not have been possible without the help and encouragement of many people. I am indebted to the administrations of two high schools investigated in this study, who provided complete financial support for this research. A special thanks goes to Michael Reichert for providing the initial inspiration for this study. I am deeply indebted to Michelle Fine for the opportunity to work with her on The Citadel lawsuit, which sparked my interest in the study of masculinities. And for all her help and advice on this, and other projects -- conversations around the dining room table have sustained me throughout. My committee members, Rhoda Unger and Vita Rabinowitz, have given me extraordinary encouragement, both professional and personal, over the course of my graduate school training. I thank Kay Deaux, for starting me on this road, and for being there at the completion. And Peter Kuriloff, for stepping in at the last minute with wonderful advice, comments, and support. This work would not have been completed without the tremendous assistance of my colleagues, Michael Stirratt, Sean Massey, and Katie Cuminsky. I was also fortunate to be able to call upon several wonderful students who helped to enter the data: Eric Archer, Maryann Ayala, Susan Bernstein, Julie Burgos, Marjory Kalb, Tom Kamerasevic, Kathrya Mokrue, and Matt Palazzolo. This is truly a collaborative effort, and this work would not exist in its present form without the help and encouragement of these people.

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## Introduction

This study explores how elite, independent schools participate in the production of masculinities. We know several things about gender and education in terms of single sex schooling: we know that schools are institutions that facilitate the construction and performance of how individuals "do gender" (Thorne, 1993; Fine & Addelston, in press); we know that, in general, girls do better in single sex schools, academically and socially, than girls in co-ed schools, while boys in co-ed schools do better academically and socially than do boys in single sex schools (AAUW, 1992); and we know that working class boys distance themselves from their high schools as institutions that have failed to provide them with the necessary skills to succeed in life (Connell, 1993; Weis, 1993). We do not know much about how elite, privileged boys and men navigate their educational experiences in co-ed or single sex schools, and how these contexts impact on the rest of their gendered lives.

For the purposes of this literature review, issues concerning elite men and their educational experiences are grounded in four theoretical paradigms: the history of social and personality psychological research on masculinity; the new field of men's studies; research on single sex and co-ed schooling; and equal status contact theory. These four literatures will provide a theoretical basis to look at independent schools and the production of masculinities. Specifically, we are investigating several topics within the framework of equal status contact theory: 1) does co-ed education expand the repertoires of masculinities available to and enacted by young men? 2) if so, do these effects endure over time? 3) does co-ed education increase more egalitarian attitudes by men towards women and gay men? 4) does co-ed education expand critical thinking? Inversely, 1) does single sex education for boys restrict

their repertoires of acceptable masculinities, 2) how do these effects play out over time, 3) does single sex education for boys limit their belief in egalitarian roles for women and increase homophobia, 4) does it restrict critical thinking? Also, of interest is how school loyalty interacts with these issues.

### The History of the Psychological Study of Masculinity

The psychological scholarship on masculinity must be tied to historical forces as they have produced and provoked this body of research. Critical turning points in the study of masculinity, times of theoretical paradigm shifts, have generally been preceded by major political and economic changes in society e.g. changes in women's social role via feminist movements. Employing Gergen's (1973) notion of psychology as social history, it becomes clear that psychological research on masculinity has paralleled historic concerns about men in society.

Early research in the 1920s marked the beginning of a trend in psychology to investigate gender, but focused on sex differences, not masculinity per se. Investigated topics ranged from motor, affective and sensory abilities to color preference, handwriting and reading speed. However, although psychologists looked for, they largely failed to find significant sex differences. What few differences they did find indicated female superiority (Morawski, 1987). Psychology had thus failed to find what other scientific fields such as biology and chemistry were illuminating: the structure of sex differences. Struggling to achieve scientific respectability, psychologists turned to other ways of measuring sex differences in hopes of finding them (Shields, 1975).

Psychologists began to specifically investigate masculinity, in conjunction with its

alterego femininity, in the 1930's, a time when mass unemployment during the depression disrupted men's traditional role as the family breadwinner. The publication of Terman and Miles Sex and personality in 1936 provided one of the first of these new studies that claimed to find sex differences. Their premise, that psychological health is dependent on the degree to which an individual possesses the appropriate sex-role traits, attitudes and interests, ushered in an era of investigating normative sex-linked personality patterns via personality inventories. They introduced the term masculinity-femininity (MF) to conceptualize and measure an individual's sex-linked personality traits. Their focus was not on areas of no or few sex differences, such as motor skills or intelligence; rather, they turned to individuals' attitudes, interests, and behaviors to support notions of masculinity and femininity as separable dimensions of an intra-individual phenomenon. These bipolar definitions served the function not only of describing gender related attributes, but also the prescriptive function of calming people's fears about roles for men and women after `the roaring '20s' -- a time when gender roles relaxed following the strict definitions of gender during the Victorian Age. It also served to stake (white) men's claim to the public world of the work force during the Depression, a time when their role as breadwinner was in flux due to economic disaster.

World War II brought the proliferation of psychological testing as the army employed psychologists to determine which men were mentally prepared for combat. This prompted the investigation of "effeminacy" and "homosexuality" as problems for men with "too little masculinity". Homosexuality in men was a trait considered to be a personality disorder and closely linked to a lack of masculinity. The rise in MF testing purported to be able to ferret out homosexual men as they would supposedly score high on the F scale and low on the M

scale. However, as Evelyn Hooker's (1965) work showed, psychologists were unable to distinguish heterosexuals from homosexuals in blind readings of various projective tests.

Society's resurrection and enforcement of traditional gender roles in the 1950s prompted researchers to investigate 'hypermasculinity', men with too much masculinity, such as juvenile delinquents. Building on Terman and Miles' work, researchers at mid-century began to focus on the concept of the Male Sex-Role Identity (MSRI). Combining psychoanalytic concepts of identity development and sex role theory, the Male Sex-Role Identity theory in general posits that in order for an individual to be psychologically healthy and "normal", he must incorporate the desired traits of his sex by identifying with the same sex parent. The majority of these studies focused on boys who had absent fathers, either as a result of World War II, where many men were killed, or post-war divorces influenced by changes in gender roles during the war. Racism entered this research when researchers focused on black families, where northern migration to cities resulted in shifts in the traditional two-parent family structure. Young black men were thought to be especially vulnerable to defects in their masculinity due to the racist misconception of the black matriarch. Paternal absence was thus considered to be the cause of all boys' disruptive and anti-social behaviors, such as juvenile delinquency and gang membership.

These major assumptions constituting the traditional model of masculinity were the driving theory in psychological research on men until the 1970s. The 1960s and 1970s brought the study of "sex role strain" as men struggled to redefine masculinity in the wake of gender and sexual revolutions. The advent of the feminist movement in the 1970s, and subsequent research on sex roles, predominantly by feminist psychologists, lessened the

impact in psychology of male sex role identity research. There was also a shift in research on masculinity from idiographic, personality based theories to nomothetic, social psychological theories and research. New paradigms were sought to investigate the complexities of sex roles.

It is from this perspective that Pleck (1981) devised a new theory of masculinity. Moving away from the male sex role identity model, which construes a monolithic intrapsychic masculinity, present or absent in various degrees within the individual, Pleck formulated the male sex role strain model which relocated masculinity in an individual's social needs. "While an *innate psychological* need for sex-typed traits is the underlying assumption of the MSRI paradigm, the implications of sex-typed traits for *social approval* and *situational adaptation* are the central arguments of the sex role strain paradigm" (p. 134).

This new way of viewing masculinity, shifting from an essentialist to a social constructionist perspective, has now become the dominant paradigm in research on masculinity. Rather than assessing how much personal masculinity an individual had, as the MF scales tried to do, research generated by the MSRS paradigm asked individuals to rate their beliefs about the social aspects of the male sex role and their place in that socially constructed ideology structure.

At present, the postmodern movement has initiated the study of masculinities, the recognition that there is not one masculinity, but pluralities of fragmented and often contradictory masculinities floating in society. The concept of "masculinity ideology" is a

"new approach derived from the 'social constructionist' approach to gender, as well as from the 'gender role strain' perspective. Masculinity is viewed as a cultural construction, rather than a psychologically (or biologically) based characteristic. [The idea is that males act the way they do not because of their male role identity, or their

level of masculine traits, but because of the conception of masculinity they internalize from their culture. ... The social constructionist approach thus views masculinity not as a dimension of personality in the trait sense, but as an ideology, a set of beliefs and expectations about what men are like and should do" (Pleck, et al., 1993, pp. 14-15).

This focus on the social constructions of various types of masculinities moves the study of men from the MF concept of trait to social constructionist accounts that locate attitudes and behaviors in power differentials in society. This relocation of intra-psychic masculinity to social constructed masculinities in psychology can be placed in a new paradigm shift throughout the social sciences; the new field of men's studies.

### Men's Studies

Men's studies is a relatively new interdisciplinary field in the social sciences. It generally adheres to a feminist ideology, and seeks to investigate men qua men, as women's studies has investigated women for the past several decades. In general, the new men's studies relies on social constructionist formulations of gender, paying close attention to the history, institutions, and power relations that constitute the 'gender regime' and shape how we 'do gender' (Connell, 1987).

The main critique of men's studies is that all social science research and literature has been about men, and therefore, a specific field of men's studies is redundant. However, as men's studies proponents have pointed out, analogous to feminist critiques of the generic "he" (Henley, 1973), social science that purports to be about all people, using "man" as the universal subject, is just as devoid of analytic investigations of men and men's gender as feminist critiques have claimed it is devoid of studying women and women's gender (Brod, 1987). Brod states:

"While *seemingly* about men, traditional scholarship's treatment of generic man as the

human norm in fact systematically excludes from consideration what is unique to men *qua* men. The overgeneralization from male to generic human experience not only distorts our understanding of what, if anything, is truly generic to humanity but also precludes the study of masculinity as a *specific male* experience, rather than a universal paradigm for *human* experience.... If men are to be removed from center stage and a feminist vision fulfilled, that feminist vision must be explicitly focused on men to move them off center" (p. 40).

Moving men off center stage necessitates problematizing the minutiae of men's lives along social identities of race, class, and sexuality as well as places where men "do masculinity". What has become evident in recent years is that "the essential man", white, middle-class, Christian, heterosexual and able-bodied, who embodies an innate "true masculinity" does not exist. The common conception of masculinity as a monolithic trait, either present or absent, negates the ideological, structural and interpersonal influences that create, legitimate, and disparage a myriad of masculinities.

As feminist women's studies scholars have pointed out, gender is socially constructed. The social construction of *men's* gender, however, has not received the attention paid to understanding the ways in which women's gender is socially constructed. This is particularly true in social psychology. The relative dearth of work on masculinities allows women's issues to remain as the selected problem of investigation. This relative mono-gendered perspective neglects analyses of men and masculinities and perpetuates the locale of gender issues within women. While men's studies has begun to grow and develop in sociology (Connell, 1987; Kimmell & Messner, 1992; Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1985), philosophy (Clatterbaugh, 1990; May & Strikwerda, 1992), and anthropology (Klein, 1993), social psychology, with few exceptions (Pleck, 1981; Brannon, 1985; Pleck, Sonenstein & Ku, 1994; Herek, 1986) has not yet begun to investigate men's gender with the full attention it has paid to women's gender

(cf. Unger & Crawford, 1992).

Gender in the Western world has been divided into the study of bipolar contrasts of male and female (Deaux & Major, 1987). "The social psychology of gender identity is thus characterized, first, by the need to find meaning in a feminine/masculine divide, and, second, by the desire to find the definitive content of these categories" (Wetherell, 1986). This gender divide places women and men in opposing positions, where men are defined as the norm, and what is normal is superior (Morawski, 1990). The study of gender differences necessitated by this position leads to two modes of inquiry, one that sees significant gender differences and one that sees significant gender similarities. However, this implies that "By construing women as different and devaluing them, [this] fosters solidarity between men by construing women as a deviant out-group, which can then be devalued" (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990, p. 38).

The name problem is also evident in this discourse in two ways. Initially, there is the problem of 'sex' vs. 'gender'. The baggage handed down to feminist psychologists named the study of sex differences. Feminist psychologists renamed this the study of gender differences in the recognition that sex is a biological entity and gender is the social construction of affect, behavior and cognition associated with one's biological sex (Unger, 1979; 1990a). Consequently, gender became the focus of study, yet 'gender' is often used as a euphemism for 'women'; most studies that examine gender are really only looking at women. There are positive and negative consequences to this mode of inquiry. For the past twenty years since the modern feminist movement, putting women back into psychology where we were once absent has been an essential first step. However, if future studies of 'gender' include only

women, the field of 'gender studies' will maintain 'other' status, not only because of its exclusive focus on women (Morawski, 1990), but because the name is not honest.

This splitting of the study of gender into oppositional categories of female/male, sex/gender, and masculinity/ femininity, ill serves the acquisition of knowledge about gender. This has occurred because, generally, only women are studied, as if only women have a gender identity and men do not. The study of gender as a bipolarity, stemming from empiricist methodology, defines one side of the duality as normal, and the 'opposite' side as the other; "...empiricist science takes the male gaze as the natural perspective and continues to place women as the problematized Other" (Morawski, 1990, p. 170).

Deconstructing previous formulations of gender necessitates two "contradictory" dilemmas. First, if one is to study gender as a bipolar entity, one must study both elements in the dualism, and second, gender can no longer be viewed as a bipolarity. Although these two points seem themselves to be oppositional, they are not.

Feminist scholarship has made great inroads in our conceptualizations of gender, from putting women back into psychology to formulating new psychologies of women (Miller, 1976, Chodorow, 1978, Gilligan, 1982). This has been the essential first step in the psychology of gender. The next step is to study the structuring of gender in its entirety, both women and men. Third, the social construction of gender based on a bipolar anatomical system is limited in its scope of truly understanding the many ways that gender is played out in society. To begin with, the anatomy of sex is not bipolar, but, as with all elements in nature, takes many forms (Money & Ehrhardt, 1972; Fausto-Sterling, 1985). Additionally, the social representations of gender are many and varied; they play out the gamut from, for

women, traditional homemakers to superwomen (Faludi, 1991), and for men, images of the Marlboro Man to 'sensitive New Age guys' (Brod, 1987). What is needed in the study of gender are formulations recognizing the multiplicities of 'doing gender'.

These reformulations of gender necessitate moving away from the liberal humanist philosophy of the individual *qua* individual to more radical (Kitzinger, 1987), constructionist (Gergen, 1985), postmodern (Sampson, 1989; Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990) formulations of persons centered in contextualized social settings (cf. Deaux & Major, 1987).

"There are no subjects who can be defined apart from the world; persons are constituted in and through their attachments, connections, and relationships... In effect, for the constitutive view, there is no meaningful way to speak about persons abstracted from the particular community that is an essential ingredient of their identities as persons" (Sampson, 1989, p. 918).

The move away from objective truths requires "...the recognition of identity (and, hence, the knower) as fragmented, plural, and conflicted; and the recognition that models of knowledge and truth are contingent on social relations, historical context, and the knower's interest" (Morawski, 1990, p. 172. see also Parlee, 1979; Sherif, 1982). We therefore come to a place where looking at a singular masculinity, present or absent within the individual, is no longer a viable means of addressing the question of how all men produce and enact various forms of masculinities. The essential man, once deemed monolithic, has been disrupted and dismantled; we need research to place in context the productions of various forms of masculinities.

### Current Themes in the Psychology of Masculinities

Taken as a whole, previous psychological research on masculinities includes three prominent themes that build upon each other in the social construction of what Connell

(1995) calls hegemonic masculinity, which

“refers to the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life. At any given time, one form of masculinity rather than others is culturally exalted. Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (p. 77).

First, there are many factors that are perceived to threaten hegemonic masculinity, most notably, contamination by feminine influences. Second, the disparagement of homosexuality is an essential factor in constructing hegemonic masculinity. Finally, the construction of hegemonic masculinity is inherently fragile; that is, precariously built on the denigration of outgroups. Masculinity in this context becomes weak as women and gay men encroach into spaces traditionally reserved for "men".

Threats to masculinity. When we look at psychology as social history (Gergen, 1973), it becomes clear that psychological research on masculinity has paralleled concerns about men's roles in society. Freud (1925/1989) first theorized that a boy's over-identification with his mother would lead to his homosexuality. Until the 1970s, male homosexuality was treated as a disease and seen as a sign of failed manhood (DSM, 1952; 1968; Segal, 1990; Katz, 1992).

The Boy Scouts were originally founded in 1910 to create a separate space for boys to become men away from feminine influences, and "to provide adult men a sphere of masculine validation" in the face of rapidly changing sex roles and increased bureaucratization (and implied feminization) of the workforce (Hantover, 1978, p. 191). World War II brought new representational crises in masculinity; not only were homosexual men thought to be less than men and kept out of the army (Katz, 1992), but men's emotional breakdowns during the

war, battle fatigue, were thought to be signs of male weakness due to their mother's influence (Strecker, 1946). During the 1950's and 1960's, "father absence" from the home, and concomitantly, mothers' greater role in raising their sons, was believed to be the cause of other masculine failings such as juvenile delinquency and gang membership (Pleck, 1987). Sexton (1969) argued that schools, which are dominated by female teachers who promote "feminine values" of conformity, orderliness, and self-discipline, and punish "masculine values" of independence, aggressiveness, and greater activity levels, inhibit boys' masculinization. Whyte (1956) and Ehrenreich (1983) describe men's emasculization through the ways in which the work force became "bureaucratically domesticized" (Pleck, 1987; cf. Hantover, 1978). Ehrenreich further details the ways in which healthy psychological adjustment for men was contingent upon their marrying early and fulfilling the breadwinner role (cf. David & Brannon, 1976). Men who did not marry, men who were unemployed, and homosexual men were deemed psychologically unhealthy by both society and mental health professionals.

Conceptually in the zero-sum game of MF,  $<F = >M$ . This implies that gender is an all or none identity; in order for an individual to be 'completely' masculine, all feminine influences must be kept at bay. Feminine influence may be seen as a 'threat' to masculinity. In the zero sum game of gender, the object is to remain pure. If the threat is realized, and feminine influences do intrude, they then 'contaminate', and thus lessen, men's sense of masculinity. This threat of feminization, and consequent demasculization, is evident today in a current court case to keep The Citadel, an all-male public college in South Carolina, woman-free (Fine & Addelston, in press; Faludi, 1994). (Mis)appropriating the psychological

research of Gilligan (1982) and Deaux (1985) on gender differences, Mahan and Mahan (1993) state that The Citadel must remain all-male in order for boys to develop a healthy masculinity away "from mother-dominant homes...and safe from female reaction" (p. 3). Threats of contamination are also evident in current debates about gays in the military. Gay men, stereotypically believed to be 'feminine' (Kite & Deaux, 1987), would contaminate the masculine aura of the armed forces. To be a 'real man' in America is to be homophobic, to keep homosexual (feminine) influences at bay (Herek, 1986). In this way, women and gay men are portrayed as dangerous and contaminating agents of masculinity.

Homophobia and 'real men'. Hegemonic masculinity is also evident in recent research on heterosexual's attitudes and behaviors towards gay men. Some heterosexual men, scared and hateful of gay men, appear to use homophobia as a means of bolstering their own sense of (hetero)masculinity (Kimmell, 1994). Herek (1986) states "to be "a man" in contemporary American society is to be homophobic - that is, to be hostile toward homosexual persons in general and gay men in particular" (p. 316).

Numerous studies have documented that conformity to traditional gender roles is highly correlated with homophobia, and serves the social function of patrolling the borders of masculinity (Morin & Garfinkle, 1978; Karr, 1978; Taylor, 1983; Thompson, Grisanti, & Pleck, 1985; Page & Yee, 1985; Herek, 1990;). Donaldson (1993) states that

"There are three main reasons why male homosexuality is regarded as counter-hegemonic. Firstly, hostility to homosexuality is seen as fundamental to male heterosexuality; secondly, homosexuality is associated with effeminacy; and thirdly, the form of homosexual pleasure is itself considered subversive" (p. 648).

Kimmell (1994) theorizes that homophobia is an essential feature of traditional masculinity because it is so closely associated with the feminine (cf. Kite & Deaux, 1987). He states that

"being a man means `not being like women'". This notion of anti-femininity lies at the heart of contemporary and historical conceptions of manhood, so that masculinity is defined more by what one is not rather than who one is" (p. 126). In this view, homophobia serves as a catch-all of men's fear and repudiation of all things feminine, the object of hate becomes the gay man. This can be seen the rise of hate crimes against gay men (and lesbians); yet all too often, the gay victims are blamed for the attacks, while the perpetrators receive no, or extraordinarily light sentences (Herek & Berrill, 1992).

The fragility of masculinity. One aspect of masculinity that has been explicitly under-theorized within men's studies involves the fragility of masculinity, a theme that has nevertheless appeared repeatedly throughout the history of research on masculinity. Boys' development into manhood has been viewed as a treacherous and perilous path, fraught with the obstacles of overbearing mothers, absent fathers, feminized schools, homosexual influences, an increasingly bureaucratic workforce, and women's encroachment on traditional male spaces (Sexton, 1969; Hantover, 1978; Ehrenreich, 1983; Herek, 1986; Kimmell, 1987; Pleck, 1987; Segal, 1990).

The Male Sex Role Identity model (MSRI) stated that learning one's sex role was more important for boys than girls because boys are more prone to fail at learning masculinity (Pleck, 1981). Women are seen as at once weak and powerful threats to boy's journey to manhood (Addelston & Stirratt, under review). Women become the psychological pedestal on which men build their masculinity. If the pedestal weakens and crumbles, by women attaining equal status with men, then masculinity is seen to be at risk.

Masculine fragility is based on the notion that women, as mothers or teachers, disrupt

and contaminate boys' journey into manhood. Additionally, the wake of the industrial revolution and the further bureaucratization of the workforce decreased men's reliance on traditional expressions of masculinity that physical labor or business-ownership once provided. Women's entry into the workforce and the military threatened men's sense of the superiority of masculinity by showing that women could do the same work as men. Increasingly, even the size of a man's paycheck is no longer sufficient proof of masculinity as more families have had to rely on two incomes for financial support. The fragility of masculinity documents the irony of the essential man; prescriptively strong and independent, he is descriptively weak and fragile.

The fragility of masculinity refers to places where the traditional role is over-enacted and may pose behavioral and cognitive problems for men who engage in traditional masculinity. For example, research shows that men who engage in hegemonic masculinity suffer from more stress, emotional difficulties, and health problems than men who do not practice hegemonic masculinity (Levant & Pollack, 1995). "Boys will be boys" (Miedzian, 1991), often bought at the expense of Others (women and gay men), creates a precarious pedestal on which a sense of self as "man" is "propped up". As Kimmel states "Masculine identity is born in the renunciation of the feminine, not in the direct affirmation of the masculine, which leaves masculine gender identity tenuous and fragile" (p. 127). In public performance, this is called "protest masculinity", by Broude (1990), who defines it as the "instances of extreme sex-typed behavior on the part of some males...who are in conflict about or who are insecure about their identities as males" (p. 103) and Connell (1993) who defines it as "stark homophobia, misogyny, and domestic patriarchy" (p. 618). It is analogous

to what Pleck (1987) labels "hypermasculinity; exaggerated, extreme masculine behavior" (p. 31); and Weis (1993) labels "virulent masculinity". Donaldson (1993) provides the most comprehensive definition of what Connell labels "hegemonic masculinity" which

"concerns the dread of and the flight from and women. A culturally idealized form, it is both a personal and a collective project, and is the common sense about breadwinning and manhood. It is exclusive, anxiety-provoking, internally and hierarchically differentiated, brutal and violent. It is pseudo-natural, tough, contradictory, crisis-prone, rich, and socially sustained. While centrally connected with the institutions of male dominance, not all men practice it, though most benefit from it. Although cross-class, it often excludes working class and black men. It is a lived experience, and an economic and cultural force, and dependent on social arrangements. It is constructed through difficult negotiations over a life-time. *Fragile it may be, but it constructs the most dangerous things we live with*" (pp. 645-646, emphasis added).

#### Individual Productions of Masculinities

In addition to the study of idiographic personality correlates of masculinities, some work has investigated nomothetic, structurally produced group processes crucial to the production of masculinities. Analyses of power, once incorporated into research on masculinities, operate not only at the interpersonal level, but at political and institutional levels as well (Connell, 1987; Thorne, 1993). These works are, however, relatively sparse within the psychological literature on masculinities.

At the crux of this issue is how individuals view the world around them. Unger (1988, 1990b, 1994) introduces the term "personal epistemologies" to demarcate structures that involve "implicit beliefs about the nature of reality, order in the universe, and the nature of causality" (Unger, 1990b, p.1). She defines two ways of viewing the world -- positivist or constructionist. A positivist approach is

"comprised of belief in a fixed reality; a preference for explanations based on biological or intrapsychic causality; a belief in the worth of individual effort,

meritocracy, and the societal status quo; and a conviction that science is progressive and beneficial. [While a] constructivist epistemology [is] comprised of a belief in a relativistic reality; a preference for explanations based on social or environmental causality; a belief in a societal basis for power and the need for social change; and a view that science is consensually based and random in its effects" (Unger, 1988. p. 4).

Research that focuses on these attitudes about reality has found that individuals' personal epistemologies vary by their different cultural backgrounds as well as personal attitudes. It has been shown that individuals from conservative backgrounds, e.g. religious or political, exhibit more positivist epistemologies than individuals from more liberal backgrounds who exhibit more constructivist ideologies about the world. Also, individuals who exhibit greater ingroup bias and outgroup homogeneity are more positivist while individuals who do not adhere to such strict notions of ingroups and outgroup are more constructionist (Unger, 1994). In investigating men's powered relationships with each other and their attitudes about Others, it may be beneficial to move away from identity based notions of behavior to personal epistemological explanations. Thus, the study of masculinities may be broadened by focusing on men's epistemological views of the world, rather than on "men" as a monolithic category.

These powered relationships between men need to be investigated; the ways in which racism, homophobia, classism and other spaces where men differ from, and often oppress, each other must be made explicit if we are to fully understand the scope and variety of masculinities (Segal, 1993; Kaufman, 1994). Ramazanoglu (1992) argues that in addition to uncovering these powered relationships men have over women and each other, the new men's studies must incorporate political goals of institutional transformation because "men who resist masculine dominance cannot become women, they become failed men and betrayers of masculinity...[thus] resistance makes political activity difficult because there is no basis for

mass support" (p. 347). If "a feminist vision" (Brod, 1987, p. 40) is indeed to be fulfilled by the new men's studies, then it must not only focus on the individual interpersonal aspects of gender, but turn its attention to transforming institutional and political forms of gender oppression.

### Institutional Productions of Masculinities

It is to institutions that are concerned with creating and maintaining particular forms of masculinity that we now turn. Each educational institution has a "hidden curriculum"; covert messages that the school endorses, and "teaches" to the students.

"Powerful groups, those whose knowledge is legitimized by school studies, manage and control society. Textbooks not only control the dominant groups' ideologies, but also help to form attitudes in support of their social position. Indeed, the importance of ideology to the power of dominant groups increases as the use of overt social control declines" (Anyon, 1979, p.382).

In this way, schools are not only establishments in which young people receive academic educations, they are also institutions that pass on and collect epistemological viewpoints and social values, especially about the ways we "do gender" (AAUW, 1992; Connell, 1993; Thorne, 1993; Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Faludi, 1994; Fine & Addelston, in press; OERI, 1993; Riordan, 1990; Weis, 1993).

Girls and Boys in Schools. Research on single sex and co-educational schools has found that, in general, girls do better academically in single-sex schools than girls in co-ed schools, while boys in mixed-sex schools outperform, or do as well as, boys in single sex-schools (OERI, 1993). Research on the effects of mixed-sex schools on girls' psychological and educational development has generally found that "schools shortchange girls" academically and socially (AAUW, 1992). However, we know little about how boys create

forms of masculinities in single sex or co-ed schools which facilitate or hinder their development. We also do not know much about "hidden gender curricula" for boys in schools.

Traditional masculinity, defined by the four pillars of success, confidence, aggression, and an anti-feminine stance (David & Brannon, 1976) is the ideal to which many boys aspire (Pleck, 1987; Connell, 1987). How single-sex and co-ed schools may encourage or constrain boys' masculinities is an area that needs to be researched in terms of the academic and social effects on boys and girls. Riordan (1990) investigated social/affective outcomes (self-esteem, locus of control, and attitudes towards working women) in single-sex and mixed-sex Catholic schools and found that "white males attain healthier attitudinal outcomes in co-educational schools, whereas all other groups [people of color and white women] are better off in single sex schools" (p. 111). Yet these studies of psychological effects of gender integration or segregation *on boys* are rare.

We know how schools affect girls from an early age. Thorne's (1993) ethnographic study of "gender play" in elementary schools documents how boys and girls work separately and how boys tend to exclude girls, even at young ages, more than the reverse. By adolescence, research on the effects of mixed-sex schools suggests that early teen years are a critical time in female development; girls appear to become both self-critical and under-confident (Brown & Gilligan, 1992). As a result, their grades and future educational achievements may suffer. A consistent finding of the effects of schooling on girls is that girls in single-sex schools perform better academically, choose a wider range of courses in college, and enter a greater variety of professions than girls in mixed-sex schools (AAUW, 1992;

OERI, 1993). It thus becomes necessary to understand how schools, and in particular boys, participate in the co-production of this effect.

We do know some things about some boys in some schools. Riordan's (1990) study of Catholic schools demonstrates that boys in mixed sex schools perform better academically, and have more liberal social attitudes than boys in single sex schools. Studies of white working-class boys in high schools show that a sense of masculinity develops "oppositionally" to women, gay men, and people of color, and, as important, in opposition to school itself (Weis, 1993; Connell, 1993). Studies from England (Willis, 1977), the United States (Weis, 1993) and Australia (Connell, 1993) suggest that contemporary white working class men believe that affirmative action, feminism, and new global economies have "robbed" them of positions of relative power. The school thus becomes another institution that has "betrayed" them. Their educations will no longer insure a good job.

We know little, however, about elite boys - protected from a shrinking economy and yet still oppositional to women in their self-identification (Sanday, 1990; Fine & Addelston, in press). Boys and young men in elite independent schools do not appear to define self in opposition to their school. For them, the system still "works". Their school is not an institution to distance from. Rather, they exhibit strong institutional loyalty. Given the proliferation of research on white working class men who appear to define self in opposition to institutions, research on more positive expressions of masculinity, such as one defined by school loyalty, are investigated in this study.

While it may seem reasonable to conclude that all-male single-sex schools reduce sexism and ease gender relations via the absence of girls and women, data from these

institutions point to heightened evidence of derogation of girls and women (Lee, 1993). Ironically (or not), while all female spaces seem to boost girls' sense of self without denigrating others (boys), all male spaces appear to be particularly potent breeding grounds for negative attitudes towards women and gay men, whether in college fraternities (Sanday, 1990), high school and college sports teams (Messner & Sabo, 1994), or all male college campus' (Addelston & Stirratt, in press). Documentation of the links between sexism and heterosexism illustrate that these events are not unique, but rather closely coupled in a "gender regime" that defines both "appropriate" and "inappropriate" gendered behaviors and expressions of sexuality (Connell, 1987; Kite & Deaux, 1987; Herek, 1986). The psychological effects of equal status contact (and its absence) within an institution may be able to explain these effects.

#### Equal Status Contact Theory

This project empirically tests the effects of single sex and co-ed education for boys, and is theoretically grounded in equal status contact theory. It may also help us navigate towards an understanding of gender integration and segregation in secondary schools. According to this theory, the more contact two conflicting groups have, that is of an equal nature, the less likely they are to be antagonistic to each other. Allport (1954) and Sherif (1958) maintained that a superordinate, common goal is necessary to bring conflicting groups together. Amir (1969) outlined four conditions under which successful contact should occur: the context should be under cooperative rather than competitive conditions between groups; it should occur between high status, not low status members of each group; it should be intimate rather than casual; and there should be institutional support for contact. In

institutions opposing intergroup contact, the least amount of positive intergroup contact will occur.

Studies testing the equal status contact hypothesis as a method of reducing intergroup conflict have focused mainly on race. Whether in the army (Mannheimer & Williams, 1949), summer camps (Clare, et al., 1978), or housing situations (Hamilton & Bishop, 1976), results show that, in general, equal status contact between different racial groups, meeting the conditions specified above, does foster greater intergroup congeniality. The more intimate the contact situation, e.g. in a housing project rather than at work, the greater the positive feelings (Yarrow, Campbell, & Yarrow, 1958), and the more institutional support (e.g. in a school) given to the interaction, the greater the attraction between groups (James, 1955). Additionally, temporal status affects intergroup attraction. Norvell and Worchel (1981) demonstrate that if two conflicting groups are historically unequal, immediate equal status contact will not erase the history effects. The lower status group must be given a "special edge" that will compensate for their historical lower status.

Employing the principles of equal status contact theory (that there be equal status between groups, in a more intimate social setting, with institutional support, and perhaps redress for historical inequalities) in secondary educational institutions, single sex and co-educational schools become prime targets for examining the psychological effects of gender integration and segregation. This study is designed to test the effects of equal status contact on boys and men in single sex and co-ed high schools by examining their sense of self as men, their view of "outgroups" - including women and gay men, their personal epistemologies, their self-esteem and their sense of school loyalty.

### Questions Regarding Elite Boys and Men

This study was designed to investigate the impact of "equal status contact" on various masculinities, felt and expressed, supported and discouraged, by elite boys in mixed sex and the absence of "equal status contact" in single sex independent schools. Investigating two different educational settings will illuminate how context affects intergroup attitudes about Self and Others; boys' willingness to work across groups; their world view beliefs; and how loyalty to their school interacts with these questions. Examining boys and men on these dimensions will extend our knowledge of gender and schooling, not only complementing studies on girls and women, but also looking at the lasting effects produced by each school.

The two schools that were investigated in this study are both of elite status, making them ideal sites for investigation. Most research on girls and schooling has been done on white middle and upper class girls (AAUW, 1992; Brown & Gilligan, 1992); most research on boys and schools has been on white working class boys (Willis, 1977; Connell, 1993; Weis, 1993). This research on boys and men will complement previous work on girls and women of the same racial and SES group. Additionally, these are the boys and men who are in positions of power within schools and the workforce. Understanding their conceptualizations of Self and Other will also illuminate their treatment of girls, women, gay boys and men. Investigating both an all-boys school and a co-ed school will facilitate a better understanding of boys' engagement with school gendered dynamics. This design will also provide a necessary compliment to previous work on white working-class boys' distancing from schools (Willis, 1977; Connell, 1993; Weis, 1993).

Most research done on boys in school is not done from a psychological/affective

perspective; rather, most studies focus on academic and attitudinal educational outcomes. This study will expand our understanding of masculinities in schools by specifically investigating boy's and men's affective and attitudinal concepts of the Self as a man. The Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil, et al., 1986) was devised to measure these outcomes. It focuses on men's gender role conflict - the psychological state of where gender roles have negative consequences or impact on a person or others. The ultimate outcome of this conflict is the restriction of the person's ability to actualize their human potential or the restriction of someone else's potential. Gender role strain has also been described as an intrapsychic process that can lead to poor psychological adjustment and particularly low self-esteem. Gender role conflict is made up for four factors: 1) Restrictive emotionality - having difficulty expressing one's feelings or denying others their rights to emotional expressiveness; 2) Success, Power, and Competition - gaining wealth, accomplishment, and eminence as a means of substantiating and demonstrating value; obtaining authority, influence or ascendancy over others; and striving against others to win or gain something; 3) Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men/Homophobia - having limited ways of expressing one's sexuality and affection to other men; 4) Conflicts Between Work and Leisure/Family Relations - having difficulty balancing the demands of work with the responsibilities of home and family. A high sense of gender role conflict indicates that the individual experiences a "traditional" view of acceptable masculinity - is not emotionally expressive, feels a great desire for success, power, and the need to compete; does not easily express emotions to other men and is more homophobic; and feels that the need to achieve at work interferes with his participation in home and family life (O'Neil, et al. 1986). These are important issues in evaluating

masculinities and education that have not been previously explored. Gender socialization is one important aspect of a school's "hidden curriculum", one that will be investigated in this study.

This study will fill several existing gaps in the literature on masculinities. First, there is a dearth of work on how elite men (re)produce hegemonic masculinity. Specifically, this study links individuals' cognitive world view with attitudes about the self, placing masculinity in a social context and not using it as a personality variable. Additionally, attitudes about "Others" (women and gay men) are assessed to examine how men place themselves in social interactions. Second, most studies take place in one time frame. This study employs a cross sectional design to investigate how these attitudes endure or change across the life span. Finally, research on men often removes them from their situational context, providing the illusion of an independent self free from social constraints. By placing these men within the context of the schools, which are prime socializing institutions, we may view a more complete portrait of these men. Given the predictions of equal status contact theory, will attending a single sex or co-ed school produce different attitudes? Does the presence of women in an equal status situation produce different constellations of attitudes in men?

### Research Questions

#### 1. Attitudes About Reality: Cognition

Does attending a single sex or a co-ed school influence boys' and mens' cognitive orientation of reality? Since a positivist world view is associated with political conservatism and stronger ingroup bias (Unger, 1990), it is hypothesized that boys and men who attended a single sex high school will view the world in more positivist terms, and boys and men who

attended a co-ed high school will view the world in more constructionist terms. Also predicted is that how one views the world will be highly correlated with, and the best predictor of, gender role conflict, attitudes about women, self-esteem, and attitudes about one's school. That is, having a positivist cognitive orientation will be positively correlated with higher gender role conflict (traditional masculinity), more traditional attitudes about women, lower self-esteem, and higher school loyalty. A constructionist cognitive orientation will be positively correlated with low gender role conflict, more egalitarian attitudes about women, higher self-esteem, and higher school loyalty.

## 2. Gender Role Conflict: Attitudes about the Self

How do boys and men define their sense of masculinity in single sex and co-ed schools? The lack of gender diversity in the single sex school may instill more traditional gender role values to its students, while the co-ed school may impart more expansive masculinities in its male students. It is hypothesized that boys and men who attended a single sex high school will have greater gender role conflict, that is, they will think of themselves as more traditional, than boys and men who attended a co-ed high school. They will have more restrictive emotionality, greater homophobic attitudes, more need for success, power, and competition, and greater conflicts between work and leisure time; the four components of gender role conflict, than boys and men from the co-ed school.

## 3. Attitudes About Outgroups: Attitudes about the Other

How do these boys and men in single sex and co-ed schools view the designated "outgroups" of women and homosexual men? Equal status contact theory predicts that boys and men in a co-educational environment will hold more egalitarian attitudes about women

than boys and men in a single sex environment. It is hypothesized that men who attended a single sex high school will be more homophobic and hold greater traditional views about women in society; men who attended a co-ed high school will have more favorable attitudes towards women and homosexuals.

#### 4. Self-Esteem: Affect

Research indicates that self-esteem increases with age (Derlega, et al., 1991). Additionally, self-esteem is negatively correlated with gender role conflict in men. This study predicts that self-esteem will increase with age, replicating previous findings. Does greater gender role conflict correspond with decreased self-esteem? Areas of new investigation will be: is increased positivist thinking and higher school loyalty related to higher self-esteem? It is hypothesized that self-esteem will be positively correlated with positivist world views, and school loyalty; it will be negatively correlated with gender role conflict. There are no predictions that self-esteem will vary by school.

#### 5. School Loyalty: Affect

School loyalty will be investigated in order to understand how elite boys and men regard their schools. Data from working class men show that they distance from their high schools because they believe that their schools have failed them (Connell, 1993; Weis, 1993; Willis, 1977). No predictions are made by either status or school for this variable. Rather, connections to previous research will be explored.

#### 5. Long-term consequences

What are the long term cognitive consequences of engaging in these beliefs and practices in single sex and co-ed educational environments? Although the college years have

been shown to have a liberalizing influence on individuals (Astin, 1993; Pascarella & Terenzini 1991), it is predicted that the effects of the "hidden curriculum" and equal status contact theory will over ride this effect. Thus, no significant differences are predicted between seniors and alumni of both schools; the data from the seniors of each school should mirror the data from the alumni of each school respectively. Additionally, there are no predictions by school.

### Mainlining Masculinity

Prior to selecting the specific dependent variables for this study, a small qualitative study was designed to explore how boys and men express masculinities in their schools (Addelston, 1995). Focus groups were run with in an informal manner; rather than enter into these sessions with our own presuppositions, we asked several open ended questions in order to help determine which issues were important for these men -- these issues became the dependent variables for this study. Data for this project were collected from 21 alumni of an all-boys elite independent preparatory school located in the Northeastern United States that I will call The Henley School<sup>1</sup>. We met in three different focus groups, comprised of 5 - 7 participants each and selected by age, each group meeting for about two hours. The first group were entering their senior year in college, 22 years of age; the second group had recently graduated college and entered the work force, age 26; and the third group consisted of 38 year old men who were established in their professions and raising families.

Five themes emerged from these group interviews. First, their sense of self as boys and men who attended a single sex school is fundamentally constrained by their belief that there is only one narrow band of acceptable masculinity, what Connell (1987) calls "hegemonic

masculinity". Second, and related, there is a rigid vigilance about who they can not be. A polite, if uncomfortable, marginalization of women, people of color, and gay men sustains their narrow definition of acceptable masculinity. Third, in group situations, these men engage in policing the borders of masculinity through practices (what some might call hazing) in which they remind each other and the next generation about the borders of this version of masculinity. Fourth, there is evidence of a strong fraternal bond both among these men and towards their school, especially as it exists as a single sex institution. Finally, the possibility exists that there may be cognitive and social consequences during high school and after graduation incurred by adhering to this narrow definition of masculinity.

#### Mortgages: Who I Must Be

When asked to define 'what is a man', these men gave fairly consistent definitions which included responsibility, accountability, and control.

James (22): "Man is mortgage, responsibility. I consider myself more of a guy, as opposed to being an actual man. Boy - guy - man. But guy would have to last from like 16, to, I hope, 28".

This group of young men, in their third year of college, all agreed with James and claimed "guy" status, as opposed to calling themselves men. They narrated a developmental pattern, creating a third category, "guy", as an intermediate step on their journey from boys to men.

Craig (21): "You have to ask older men. When I find a wife, and have a family, and being a supportive figure with my family, like getting a house, getting my kids in school, getting work done, and being able to provide, that will make me feel better as a man then".

We asked the older men, and found very similar responses, all dealing with responsibility, control, and commitment.

Doug (26): For me, it's when I'm ready to get married and accept a commitment from someone else, and be accountable to that person. There is no one experience, though, it's an evolution. But assuming responsibility, especially in this school, assuming responsibility, assuming accountability, getting these broader shoulders, carrying more weight, more importance helps you towards that line".

Sam (26): "It's control over events, control over the conditions of your life. Being confident and comfortable around girls, and a good sports player".

Alan (38): "Yes, I'm a man. But I wouldn't have said that before college. I don't know, being grown up, being able to take responsibilities, emotional maturity, being able to handle crises, providing for, physical strength, stoic, controlled, as opposed to emotional".

Barry (38): "An accumulation of responsibilities; monetary, a family, making decisions.

In their roles in their families, there appeared to exist a certain hierarchy, a dominance ordered by gender and age. Robert describes how being the youngest brother hinders his full development as a man, and Paul wonders about his father dying, and assuming the role of family patriarch and provider.

Robert (22): "I have two older brothers, and I'll always be the baby, even when I'm fifty. So they look like men and I'm still a baby. When I'm his age and have one child, he'll have four. It's how they treat me, they make the role I play as a man less important".

Paul (38): "Being a man is confidence, control, and responsibility. But I wonder if it's when our parents are gone. But when the parents are still there, and for a lot of us you still have the fact that you can step back and they can support you. I think probably when I can sit back and say my in-laws and my parents are gone, some how there's no one up there, you're there. That means something to me".

### Sweaters and Salacious Gossip: Who I Cannot Be

There is a vigilance about what they cannot be, both as men and as students in their school. Ironically, most of the men agreed with William (22) who said that "everyone at this school is really accepting" and James (22) who said that "this environment was a really critical

one because there were no secrets. There were no pressures, no secrets", yet they acknowledged that certain secrets are necessary. There was a tension between the way they described the school as a 'free space', yet remained loyal to the hegemonic institutional script.

Robert (22): "I found myself lying in high school about hooking up with a girl to impress my friends".

Craig (21): "Certain things you do will be appreciated and certain things will be reprimanded. Like if you're a sissy, you'll get ridiculed by the boys.

Robert (22): "Being vulnerable is 'not a man'.

William (22): "We are all well-to-do, everyone drives BMWs, Mercedes, so I'm sure a kid like Brian [who is Asian] had secrets. People who had different taboos kept very secret. They'd have to, not morally, but in order to survive at this school, you'd have to keep secrets like that".

Sam (26): "There were definitely characteristics that were not manly, that did not represent you well as a man, in high school, related to the polar opposites of what we've discussed, where you had little physical strength. It was as simple as that. A lack of interest in things that are generally considered boy interests: your car, your sports, women".

Barry (38): "People who can't take responsibility, relying on others to take care of them".

Ethan (38): "Someone who knits sweaters".

There was a strong prohibition against homosexuality. Although these men claimed that there were no gay students in the school, same-sex behavior was assumed to have occurred. After graduating, they learned of classmates who were sick with AIDS, or had died of AIDS, and assumed them to be gay.

William (22): "There were no gay students, it's not a thing that happens here. If there had been a homosexual in the class, he would have been terribly ostracized and ridiculed. If I had those feelings, I'd definitely hide them."

Brett (38): "Oh, it happens here at school. We had a classmate die of AIDS. I know for a fact because he told me the nature of his contracting AIDS. So I know we have

walked amongst".

Barry (38): "I actually walked in on a couple of them".

Sam (26): "I wasn't aware of any gay students. I have since heard, unfortunately, through illness, that students were gay here. But I had no idea. And he was in another class as well.

Philip: (26): "I heard stories, I mean what more potent, salacious gossip can there be?"

All the men knew of faculty who were rumored to be homosexual. They understand the forces that prevent fellow students from coming out, but worry and wonder about institutional pressures for the faculty to remain closeted. They voice a desire for gay faculty to be "out", yet acknowledge that that might not be possible at this school. In the move from talking about the students to discussing the faculty, these men begin to voice their understandings of institutional pressures.

Doug (26): "Lets look at this one department. There were a lot of rumors about them when we were here. There still are. But if members of this department are gay, why haven't they come out of the closet? If they did, would their jobs be in jeopardy?"

Ethan (38): "I'm not sure of this answer, but I think if they [gay faculty] came out, I would think, well, if they came out, they might not be here. But yet I think that I might feel more comfortable if it was just a fact that was known".

Paul (38): "It is an issue to me just because our boys are going here and I have a legitimate concern for that, for role models, I want them to have some real role models that to me would make sure that they are lead in the direction that they should be. And I'm not saying that the school does or doesn't, but I'm saying, I think in an all-male institution, I do think sometimes of making sure that they've got the right role models. Boy, I'm gonna get myself in trouble here. O.K., I'll put it flat out. There are homosexual teachers here at Henley, I know that for a fact, and that does concern me".

### Loyalty and Fraternity: Building the Next Generation

These men spoke of a strong bond of school loyalty and fraternity. One of the main

aspects of this bond was the absence of women.

Forrest (26): "We were like family here."

Craig (21): "You come in 2nd grade, in 4th grade, and friends I made here I will have for life. It's not a choice, your parents send you here, you go to school together, and it's such an intense environment, you get really close to each other, and once you do that, you don't really want to leave.

Robert (22): "There were no pressures, no secrets, because there were no girls in the class. It was a very open environment. There were no secrets and people just ragged on each other. Sometimes people's feelings would get hurt, but not as much, I think, as if girls attended the school. You didn't have to guard yourself, you didn't have to keep your mouth shut".

Dennis (22): "You care more about what girls think than a couple of guys. When I went to a co-ed high school, I tried to dress nicer, watch what I said in the halls, probably had less confidence in the classroom. At Henley, the teachers cursed in front of the kids, in co-ed, male teachers had to watch what they said in front of the girls. I think I had a better experience here than in co-ed because I was more relaxed".

Forrest (26): "I agree with all these guys, I think this place is much better being an all-male school. Maybe we were a couple of years behind some other people when it came to going to college. But we all had very good character, but that came out and that's what's important.

### Chinks and Chugging: Maintaining the Ethics Of Masculinity

The price of loyalty is a friendly hazing of fellow classmates to police the borders of acceptable behavior. Brian struggled being one of four Asian students in his class, saying he was never really accepted, despite living in the right neighborhood and going to the right school. Yet, William (22) reminds us "Everyone at this school is really accepting. There were no secrets here".

Brian (22): "As one of four racial minorities in the class, you try to meet an expectation, especially in an all-boys prep school, of being accepted, of being one of the crowd. You can do certain things to an extent, you can excel athletically, you can do whatever, but I was the class chink".

Robert: (22) "People force you to say things that aren't true because they want to hear

it from you, so that they're sure you're a man. Like, 'did you get it on last night?'. And you have to answer, 'yeah, it was great'. You just know the response".

Barry: (38) "If you go to another school, and ask them about manhood, they might say being able to go to a bar all night and chug this or chug that or whatever. But to us here, manhood is responsibility. I think that means a lot to this institution. It's peer pressure and expectation".

### Hitting the Train Head On: Cognitive Consequences

Although most of these men enjoyed their experiences at this school, and preferred a single sex environment, many of them spoke of how difficult it was to deal with "Other" people once they left. They stressed the point that this school is excellent academically, but does not do enough to prepare them for the social aspects of the outside world. These men narrate a tale of shock, amazement, and social difficulty upon leaving the school and entering college and the business world.

William (22): "The first week of college they had club day, and there would be like six different clubs for the same issue - all on the same side! And it's overwhelming. And here, I found it to be a conservative, restrictive place for me. And then I got to college, and it's a real liberal environment, and I didn't necessarily dislike it, I just didn't know how to deal with it. You come out equipped to do really well in college academically, but socially, you're totally lost".

Craig (21): "College shocked me. All these race, gender issues, and it shocked me at first. It was uncomfortable at first. This environment breeds inacceptance of other things.

James (22): "I was a jerk, I was completely degrading to all women, I was a complete chauvinist pig. At the time it was cool, it was funny. When I got to college I realized if I did the things to girls there that I did to the girls in high school, I would have been brought up on charges innumerous times.

Calvin (26): "My first year of college was like hitting a train head on. It was very difficult. Being with so many entirely different people, different cultures, different faiths, and so many different backgrounds that I knew absolutely nothing about. A sense of real loneliness. Everyone was so different from me, I didn't feel ready to go into that world. But with women in particular, and I happen to be very much in favor of Henley staying single-sex, I think it's a real strength of the school, but there's no

question, I did definitely have a certain image of women, what true femininity was, what womanhood was. I thought to go into a classroom, and to have some women, who may even have been really attractive, absolutely dominate the conversation and just be very vocal and intellectual and be so much more prepared. That absolutely blew me away, I was not ready for that. I just felt really intimidated. Over the years, over my college years, I changed my view, that yeah, a woman can be incredibly competent, athletic, and be just as competent as a man. To be perfectly honest, I was glad to learn that, but I didn't have that here at Henley".

Forrest (26): "My freshman hall looked like the United Nations. And you compare that to Henley, which is as milky white as you can get to, you're eyes are open to a lot of different things once you leave this school.

Charles (38): "I think that anytime you're dealing with people who are seen as different, not part of the norm, I feel takes a period of adjustment. I don't care whether it's race or sexual orientation, I notice it. I do have to, just by the fact that they are different, I need a period of adjustment, I need to sense them out. And there might be a little discomfort because they're different. I think one area where this school really failed was teaching people here how to deal with differences, different people. I think that's a real issue here, social training, or exposing people to acceptance. Out class was all white, there were a few Jewish people here, but mostly not.

### Conclusion

These focus groups echo the findings from studies on single sex institutions for men that show narrowly constricted definitions of masculinity are enforced through hazing, "bonding", and ritual harassment of dissenters (Sanday, 1990; Fine & Addelston, in press). Research suggests that boys in single sex schools are more constricted in their view of acceptable courses for males, (Marsh, 1989), and have more conservative values than boys in co-ed institutions (Riordan, 1990) indicating that there may be cognitive costs of "bonding" in single sex schools for boys.

A complex picture emerges about how this single sex, all male school facilitates and hinders the production of the type of masculinity these men adhere to. Not only is there a rigid definition of acceptable masculinity, but there are tensions between proscribed and lived

behavior. Does single-sex schooling for boys have to "produce" this effect? Will the effects of schooling on boys be different in a similar, but co-ed, elite, independent high school?

## Method

### Participants

Two independent, elite preparatory high schools were selected for this study. The first, The Henley School, founded in 1884, is an all-boys day school, kindergarten through 12th grade, located in the suburb of a large Northeastern city. This school has approximately 800 students, and costs about \$12,300 a year to attend. We were invited into this school by the director of the Men's Studies Project who was interested in examining the effects of the school on boys' and men's sense of self as men.

The second school, The Thurston Academy, is a similar elite preparatory day school, kindergarten through 12th grade, founded in 1709, in a large Northeastern city. In order to compare the effects of single sex and co-ed education for boys, I invited the principal of the upper school of The Thurston Academy to be the comparison school with The Henley School<sup>2</sup>. The Thurston Academy originally started out as a school for girls and boys, became an all-boys school and reverted to co-ed status in 1972. It currently has a student body of approximately 900. The cost per annum of this school is greater than The Henley School, about \$14,000 per student. At The Thurston Academy, we also surveyed the young women in the senior class, including all the measures the young men received except the Gender Role Conflict Scale. In addition, we added a sexual harassment scale (AAUW, 1993), and several qualitative questions assessing their comfort level as young women with the school and the curriculum<sup>3</sup>.

Two cohorts participated in this study; high school seniors and alumni from each school. Due to the small size of each school, all the male seniors from each school were asked to participate and all the alumni from the past 20 years were sampled from each school; only the male alumni from The Thurston Academy were sampled. Alumni were surveyed to analyze the effects of single and mixed sex schools over time. We received a response rate of 16% of alumni from The Henley School and 9% of alumni from The Thurston Academy (see Table 1).

All of the seniors (49) completed the survey from The Henley School. Their ages ranged from 16 to 18. By race, 79.6% identified as white, 8.2% identified as African-American; 10.2% identified as Asian American, and 2% identified as Other. All the seniors from The Henley School identified as heterosexual. All had applied to college, 41.3% to Ivy League Universities, 43.5% to private colleges, 13% to public institutions and 2.2% to military academies; and they had a mean SAT score of 1254. By religion, 38.8% identified as Protestant, 36.7% as Catholic, 8.2% as Jewish, and 12.2% as Other. Politically, 30.6% identified as Republicans, 18.4% as Democrats, 28.6% as Independent, 18.4% as Liberal, 34.7% as Conservative, 26.5% as Uninterested and 4.1% as Other.

All the male seniors (53) completed the survey from The Thurston Academy. Their ages ranged from 17 to 18. By race, 77.4% identified as white, 11.3% identified as African-American; 7.5% identified as Asian American, 1.9 identified as Hispanic, and 1.9% identified as Other. By sexual orientation, 96.2% identified as heterosexual, 1.9% as bisexual, and 1.9% as homosexual. All had applied to college, 56.6% to Ivy League Universities, 35.8% to private colleges, 5.7% to public institutions and none has applied to military academies; and

they had a mean SAT score of 1311. By religion, 20.8% identified as Protestant, 18.9% as Catholic, 43.4% as Jewish, and 13.2% as Other. Politically, 11.3% identified as Republicans, 52.8% as Democrats, 17.0% as Independent, 30.2% as Liberal, 13.2% as Conservative, 17.0% as Uninterested and 7.5% as Other.

The Henley School mailed 2297 surveys to their alumni and 367 responded, for a response rate of 16%. Their ages ranged from 18 to 55, with a mean age of 36 years old. By race, 97.4% identified as white, 0.6% identified as African-American; 0.3% identified as Asian American, and 0.3% identified as Other. By sexual orientation, 96.1% identified as Heterosexual, 1.3% as Bisexual and 1.6% as Homosexual. By relationship status, 14.2% were single, 12.9% were in a dating relationship, 2.6% were engaged, 62.5% were married, 1.9% were living with their partner, 1.0% were separated, 2.9% were divorced, and 0.6% were widowed. All the participants had graduated high school, 9.1% had some college experience, 29.1% had graduated from college, 12.6% had some graduate school experience and 47.6% had completed a graduate degree. Of colleges attended, 23.6% went to Ivy League Universities, 61.2% to private colleges, 5.8% to public institutions and 0.3% to military academies. By religion, 54.0% identified as Protestant, 14.2% as Catholic, 11.0% as Jewish, and 10.7% as Other. Politically, 51.8% identified as Republicans, 20.4% as Democrats, 18.4% as Independent, 9.1% as Liberal, 11.3% as Conservative, 1.6% as Uninterested and 11.3% as Other. Of The Henley School alumni, 22.6% attended an Ivy League university, 62.7% attended a private college, 5.4% attended a state school, 0.3% attended a military college, and 0.3% attended a community college.

The Thurston Academy mailed 1025 surveys to their male alumni and 87 responded,

for a response rate of 9%. Their ages ranged from 19 to 41, with a mean age of 30 years old. By race, 77.6% identified as white, 15.3% identified as African-American; 1.2% identified as Asian American, 3.5% identified as Hispanic, and 1.2% identified as Biracial. By sexual orientation, 95.3% identified as Heterosexual, 2.4% as Bisexual and 1.2% as Homosexual. By relationship status, 21.2% were single, 18.8% were in a dating relationship, 4.7% were engaged, 43.5% were married, 8.2% were living with their partner, 2.4% were separated, none reported being divorced or widowed. All the participants had graduated high school, 12.9% had some college experience, 34.1 had graduated from college, 11.8% had some graduate school experience and 40.0% had completed a graduate degree. Of colleges attended, 35.3% went to Ivy League Universities, 55.5% to private colleges, 5.9% to public institutions and none to military academies. By religion, 31.8% identified as Protestant, 10.6% as Catholic, 30.6% as Jewish, and 22.4% as Other. Politically, 20% identified as Republicans, 38.8% as Democrats, 38.8% as Independent, 15.3% as Liberal, 12.9% as Conservative, 7.1% as Uninterested and 10.6% as Other. Of the Thurston Academy alumni, 35.3% attended an Ivy League university, 55.3% attended a private college, and 5.9% attended a state school.

### Procedure

A 121 item survey made up of five standard quantitative attitude instruments and several qualitative questions was given to all the (male) seniors and mailed to all the alumni of the past twenty years with a consent form and a letter from the alumni office of each school requesting their participation. The instrument measures attitudes about school, sense of personal masculinity, attitudes towards women, cognitive world view, and self-esteem. The

seniors met in groups of approximately 10 students per room. The teachers in each school distributed the surveys and collected them and returned them to the researcher upon completion. The alumni returned the surveys in a stamped envelope addressed to their school.

### Materials

In order to obtain a comprehensive look at masculinities, this sample was assessed on 1) cognitive, 2) attitudinal, and 3) affective factors. Data from the exploratory study at The Henley School show that these are four factors that are important in the ways these men define self and other at their school. The Attitudes About Reality scale (Unger, et al., 1986) was selected to assess mens' cognitive orientation to the world; the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil, et al., 1986) and the Women in Society Questionnaire (Lewis, et al., 1988) were selected to measure mens' attitudes toward Self and "Other"; the Self-Esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1965) is used to explore mens' self-worth; and the School Climate Instrument (Johnson, et al., 1987) measures mens' attitudes and loyalty to their schools.

Attitudes about reality. To test the first question about cognitive orientation -- Does attending a single sex or a co-ed school influence boys' and mens' cognitive orientation of reality? -- The Attitudes About Reality Scale (Unger, et al. (1986) was selected. It is a 40-item scale ( $\alpha = .64$ ) designed to measure an individual's cognitive orientation to the world along a logical positivist-social constructionist axis. High scores indicate a positivist cognitive orientation comprised of the belief in a fixed reality; a preference for explanations based on biological or intrapsychic causality; belief in the worth of individual effort; meritocracy and the societal status quo; and a conviction that science is progressive and beneficial. Low

scores indicate a constructionist cognitive orientation comprised of belief in a relativistic causality; a preference for explanations based on social or environmental causality; belief in a societal basis for power and the need for social change; and a view that science is consensually based and random in its effects. A sample logical positivist item is "People cannot be trained to be creative, they are either born that way or not" and a sample social constructionist item is "Deviance is not a particular kind of behavior, but a perception by others that the behavior is socially unacceptable".

Gender role conflict. To examine the question -- "How do boys and men define their sense of masculinity in single sex and co-ed schools?" -- which measures mens' attitudes about the self, The Gender Role Conflicts Scale (GRCS) I & II (O'Neil et al., 1986), a 37-item scale (alpha = .90) designed to measure men's gender role conflict -- the psychological state in which gender roles have negative consequences or impact on a person or others. The ultimate outcome of this conflict is the restriction of the person's ability to actualize their human potential or the restriction of someone else's potential. Gender role strain has also been described as an intrapsychic process that can lead to poor psychological adjustment and particularly low self-esteem. The GRCS is made up for four factors: 1) Restrictive emotionality -- having difficulty expressing one's feelings or denying others their rights to emotional expressiveness (10 items, alpha = .82, e.g., "I have difficulty telling others I care about them" ; 2) Success, Power, and Competition -- gaining wealth, accomplishment, and eminence as a means of substantiating and demonstrating value; obtaining authority, influence or ascendancy over others; and striving against others to win or gain something (13 items, alpha = .85, e.g., Moving up the career ladder is important to me"); 3) Restrictive

**Affectionate Behavior Between Men/Homophobia** -- having limited ways of expressing one's sexuality and affection to other men (8 items,  $\alpha = .83$ , e.g., "I am sometimes hesitant to show my affection to men because of how others might perceive me"); 4) **Conflicts Between Work and Leisure/Family Relations** -- having difficulty balancing the demands of work with the responsibilities of home and family (6 items,  $\alpha = .72$ , e.g., "My needs to work or study keep me from my family or leisure more than I would like"). The GRCS I is scored on a 6 point Likert scale where 1 = strongly disagree and 6 = strongly agree. High scores indicate that the individual experiences a "traditional" view of acceptable masculinity -- is not emotionally expressive, feels a great desire for success, power, and the need to compete; does not easily express emotions to other men and is homophobic; and feels that the need to achieve at work interferes with his participation in home and family life.

Attitudes about women. The Women in Society Questionnaire (Lewis, et al., 1988) was selected to answer the question -- "How do these men view the designated "outgroup" of women". It is a 22-item scale ( $\alpha = .87$ ) designed to measure how individuals feel about women's current place in society. It is measured by two factors: 1) Work roles -- financial astuteness, advancement of women's careers, and abilities for job success (11 items,  $\alpha = .80$ , e.g., "A woman should be less willing than a man to accept a career promotion that requires a family to move interstate"); and 2) Social roles -- social roles and issues (11 items,  $\alpha = .71$ , e.g., "A man is as entitled to expect doors to be opened for him as a woman is"). The WSQ is scored on a 6 point Likert scale where 1 = strongly disagree and 6 = strongly agree. A High score on the WSQ indicates an egalitarian view of gender roles in society. This scale was chosen because it is designed as an updated version of The Attitudes Towards

Women Scale (AWS) (Spence, et al. 1973). "The WSQ was conceived as a replacement for Spence and Helmreich's AWS which has been criticized for the dated content of its items" (Beere, 1990, p. 487).

Self-Esteem. To investigate if self-esteem will increase with age and if there are differences between the schools, the Self-Esteem Scale (RSES) (Rosenberg, 1965) was selected. It is a 10 item, unidimensional scale ( $\alpha = .84$ ) designed to assess global feelings of self-worth or self-acceptance (e.g., "I feel I do not have much to be proud of"). The RSES is scored on a 6 point Likert scale where 1 = strongly disagree and 6 = strongly agree; a high score indicates low self-esteem.

Attitudes about school. The School Climate Instrument (Johnson, et al., 1987) was selected to explore how these men feel about their schools. It is comprised of 40 items; of these, twelve items ( $\alpha = .84$ ) were selected. Sample items are: "School is a nice place to be because I feel wanted and needed there" ; "Students feel that teachers are 'on their side'"; "Students are encouraged to be creative rather than to conform". The SCI is scored on a 6 point Likert scale where 1 = strongly disagree and 6 = strongly agree; a high score indicates satisfaction with school life, and may be interpreted as school loyalty.

Demographic questions included age, race, religion, sexual orientation, relationship status, political affiliations, membership in various social organizations and income level. These factors will be assessed in an attempt to rule out other possible causal explanations for differences between the schools.

Additional qualitative data was collected to assess respondent's preference for single sex or co-education, threats to masculinity, and their interpretations of success and excellence

for themselves as men. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to analyze and discuss these data in full, I will present a limited portion of responses about preference for single sex or co-education to illustrate the quantitative data. Future analyses of the qualitative data will be conducted.

## Results

### Descriptive Statistics About the Scales

The Attitudes About Reality Scale ( $\alpha = .64$ ) has a normal distribution with a mean of 3.27, standard deviation of .33, and scores that ranged from 2.10 to 4.13 with an N of 438. All measures were scored on a 6 point Likert scale. A normal distribution was also obtained for the Gender Role Conflict Scale ( $\alpha = .90$ ), which has a mean of 3.35, a standard deviation of .65, and a range of scores from 1.78 to 5.22 with an N of 493. As in most research on self-esteem, results from the Self-Esteem Scale are skewed slightly to the right, indicating that individuals tend to rate themselves high on self-esteem (Derlega, et al., 1991). The Self-Esteem Scale ( $\alpha = .84$ ) had a mean of 4.93, a standard deviation of .75, with a minimum score of 2.00 and a maximum score of 6.00 with an N of 535. The School Climate Instrument ( $\alpha = .84$ ) has a normal distribution with a mean of 3.57, a standard deviation of .82, where scores ranged from a low of 1.00 to a high of 5.92 with an N of 522. Finally, the Women in Society Questionnaire ( $\alpha = .87$ ) also showed a normal distribution with a mean of 4.55, a standard deviation of .65 and a range from 2.55 to 6.00 with an N of 522 (see Table 2).

### Relationships Between the Schools

Employing ANOVAs, MANOVAs, correlational analyses, and regression analyses,

each of the specific hypotheses will be tested. The use of ANOVA's will show what differences exist between the school and status of the respondents, and MANOVAs will be employed to differentiate between the subscales of the Gender Role Conflict Scale. The correlation matrixes will tell the story of how these variables are related to one another, forming an interconnected web of attitudes. Regression analyses will highlight the main predictors of each dependent variable. We see that the predicted constellation of attitudes does emerge that may be dependent upon type of school attended (see Table 3).

#### Attitudes About Reality

Does attending a single sex or a co-ed school influence boys' and men's personal epistemologies, that is, their cognitive orientation of reality? Will boys and men who attended a single sex high school view the world in more positivist terms, and will boys and men who attended a co-ed high school view the world in more constructionist terms? As predicted, significant differences were found by school  $F(3, 434) = 25.97, p < .001$ . This indicates that students and alumni of The Henley School have a more positivist view of reality than the seniors and the alumni of The Thurston Academy. Hypothesis 1 was confirmed for school.

#### Gender Role Conflict

How do boys and men define their sense of masculinity in single sex and co-ed schools? Will boys and men who attended a single sex high school have more gender role conflict - that is - will they think of themselves as more traditional? Will the opposite be true for boys and men who attended a co-ed high school? No significant differences were found by school or status on the Gender Role Conflict Scale as a whole. One's sense of gender role conflict did not depend on which school one attended. Hypothesis 2 was not confirmed,

however, as noted below there are significant differences by status on the Homophobia subscale of the Gender Role Conflict Scale.

### Attitudes About Outgroups

How do these men view the designated "outgroups" of women and homosexual men? Will men who attended a single sex high school be more homophobic and hold greater traditional views about women in society; will men who attended a co-ed high school have more favorable attitudes towards women and homosexuals? As predicted, significant differences were found by school  $F(3, 508) = 9.48$  and by status  $F(3, 508) = 4.99, p < .01$  on the Women in Society Questionnaire indicating that students and alumni of The Henley School have a more traditional view of roles for women in society than students and alumni of The Thurston Academy. Significant differences were also found by status using a Multivariate Analysis Of Variance (MANOVA) test of the Homophobia subscale of the Gender Role Conflict Scale  $F(4, 486) = 6.45, p < .01$ ; indicating that alumni from both schools were less homophobic than the seniors from both schools. Hypothesis 3 was confirmed by school only for attitudes about women, and by status for attitudes about both outgroups.

### Self-Esteem

Does self-esteem increase with age, and is there is difference between the schools? No differences were found between the respondents from the two schools on self-esteem. However, there were significant differences found between the seniors and alumni,  $F(3, 531) = 6.52, p < .01$ . This indicates age effects on self-esteem. As predicted, the alumni from both schools had greater self-esteem than the seniors from both schools. These results replicate

previous research and confirm Hypothesis 4.

### School Loyalty

There were no significant differences found by status or school on the School Climate Instrument.

### Long-term Consequences

What are the long term cognitive consequences of engaging in these beliefs and practices? Will attitudes formed by one's senior year of high school endure throughout the lifespan? As predicted, there were no differences between the seniors and alumni of each school on the Attitudes About Reality Scale, The Gender Role Conflict Scale, except for the Homophobia subscale, and The School Climate Instrument. Thus, differences that were apparent between the seniors are sustained for the alumni for all variables except how they view outgroups; Hypothesis 6 was partially confirmed.

### Relationships Among the Variables

#### Correlations Among All Men

A correlation matrix of all the variables for the entire sample population reveals many significant correlations. The Attitudes About Reality Scale is positively correlated with the Gender Role Conflict Scale ( $r=.27$ ,  $p<.001$ ), and its subscale of Restrictive Emotionality ( $r=.12$ ,  $p<.01$ ), Homophobia ( $r=.23$ ,  $p<.001$ ), and the need for success, power and competition ( $r=.29$ ,  $p<.001$ ). The AAR is also positively correlated with Self-Esteem ( $r=.18$ ,  $p<.001$ ), and The School Climate Instrument ( $r=.23$ ,  $p<.001$ ), and is negatively correlated with The Women in Society Questionnaire ( $r=-.38$ ,  $p<.001$ ). This indicates that individuals in this sample who employ a positivist cognitive framework also are likely to evidence higher

gender role conflict, especially, restrictive emotionality, homophobia, and the need for success, power and competition; have higher self esteem; have more favorable attitudes towards their school; and hold more traditional attitudes about women than are individuals who hold a more constructionist cognitive framework (see Table 4).

The Gender Role Conflict Scale is negatively correlated with Self-Esteem ( $r=-.20$ ,  $p<.001$ ), and negatively correlated with The Women in Society Questionnaire ( $r=-.44$ ,  $p<.001$ ). For individuals who have high gender role conflict, that is, view their sense of masculinity in more traditional terms, lower self-esteem and greater traditional attitudes about women are linked. Looking at each of the subscale of The GRCS, we see that Restrictive Emotionality is negatively correlated with Self-Esteem ( $r=-.30$ ,  $p<.001$ ), and negatively correlated with the Women in Society Questionnaire ( $r=-.28$ ,  $p<.001$ ). Men in this sample who have trouble expressing their emotions also have lower self-esteem and more traditional attitudes about women. Conversely, men who are secure with expressing their emotions have higher self-esteem and more egalitarian attitudes about women. Homophobia is negatively correlated with Self-Esteem ( $r=-.15$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and negatively correlated with The Women in society Questionnaire ( $r=-.44$ ,  $p<.001$ ). For individuals who are more homophobic, lower self-esteem and more traditional attitudes towards women are related, while for men who are less homophobic, higher self-esteem and more egalitarian attitudes are related. Conflict Between Work and Leisure Roles is negative correlated with Self-Esteem ( $r=-.20$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and negatively correlated with The Women in Society Questionnaire ( $r=-.12$ ,  $p<.01$ ). For men who experience tension between their work roles and leisure time, lower self-esteem and more traditional attitudes towards women correlated. Men who do not experience this

tension have higher self-esteem and more egalitarian attitudes towards women. The Need for Success, Power and Competition subscale is positively correlated with The School Climate Instrument ( $r=.13$ ,  $p<.01$ ) and negatively correlated with The Women in Society Questionnaire ( $r=-.31$ ,  $p<.001$ ). This indicates that men who have a higher need for success, power and competition tend to hold more favorable attitudes toward their school and more traditional attitudes about women. Men who do not feel a strong need for success, power and competition appear to hold less favorable attitudes towards their schools and more egalitarian attitudes towards women.

Self-Esteem is positively correlated with The School Climate Instrument ( $r=.19$ ,  $p<.001$ ). It appears that individuals who have higher self-esteem also hold more favorable attitudes towards their school, and those who evidence less self-esteem tend to hold less favorable attitudes towards their schools.

#### Correlations Among the Seniors

Correlations for the seniors of each school reveal that the Gender Role Conflict Scale is positively related to the Attitudes About Reality Scale ( $r=.51$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and negatively correlated to the Women in Society Questionnaire ( $r=-.46$ ,  $p<.01$ ) for the all-boys school, but these relationships do not appear for the co-ed school. Again, for the all-boys school, the subscales of Homophobia ( $r=.41$ ,  $p<.01$ ) and Success, Power and Competition ( $r=.45$ ,  $p<.01$ ) are positively correlated with the Attitudes About Reality Scale indicating that those individuals who have a positivist cognitive orientation are also more homophobic and have a greater need for success and power than the boys from the co-ed school. There are also negative correlations between the Women in Society Questionnaire and the subscales of

Restrictive Emotionality ( $r=-.47$ ,  $p<.01$ ), and Success, Power and Competition ( $r=-.46$ ,  $p<.01$ ) for the all-boys school, but not for the co-ed school. Also, there is a strong negative correlation between the Women in Society Questionnaire and the Homophobia subscale ( $r=-.61$ ,  $p<.001$ ) for the all-boys school, but only a moderate negative correlation ( $r=-.32$ ,  $p<.05$ ) for the co-ed school. This indicates that there are connections for the boys from The Henley School between their traditional views of women and their restriction on expressing emotions, their need for success, power, and competition, and how they view homosexual men. For the boys at The Thurston Academy, there is a weaker relationship between their views of women and their views of homosexual men. The type of school these young men attend seems to influence the tightness of these clusters of attitudes (see Table 5 and Table 6).

#### Correlations Among the Alumni

The same types of relationships among the variables for each school appear for the correlations among the alumni as well. The Gender Role Conflict Scale is positively correlated with the Attitudes About Reality Scale ( $r=.27$ ,  $p<.001$ ), negatively correlated with Self-Esteem ( $r=-.26$ ,  $p<.001$ ), and negatively correlated with the Women in Society Questionnaire ( $r=-.43$ ,  $p<.001$ ) for the all boys school alumni, but it is only negatively correlated with the Women in Society Questionnaire ( $r=-.34$ ,  $p<.001$ ) for the co-ed school alumni. It appears that the men from the all- boys school have a tighter net of attitudes that correlate with traditional masculinity than the men from the co-ed school. For the all-boys school alumni, the subscales of Homophobia ( $r=.25$ ,  $p<.001$ ), Success, Power and Competition ( $r=.30$ ,  $p<.001$ ), and Restrictive Emotionality ( $r=.13$ ,  $p<.05$ ) are positively correlated with the Attitudes About Reality Scale. Only the Need for Success, Power and

Competition subscale of the Gender Role Conflict Scale is positively correlated ( $r=.34, p<.01$ ) with the Attitudes About Reality scale for the alumni of the all boys school. This is also evidence of the men from the co-ed school having a more open repertoire of masculinities than the men from the single sex school. The Attitudes About Reality Scale is positively correlated with the Self-Esteem Scale ( $r=.15, p<.01$ ) and The School Climate Instrument ( $r=.24, p<.001$ ) and negatively correlated with the Women in Society Questionnaire ( $r=-.37, p<.001$ ) for alumni from the all boys school. This same pattern of relationships appears for the co-ed school; the Attitudes About Reality Scale is positively correlated with the Self-Esteem Scale ( $r=.30, p<.01$ ) and the School Climate Instrument ( $r=.29, p<.05$ ) and negatively correlated with the Women in Society Questionnaire ( $r=-.32, p<.01$ ) for the alumni of the co-ed school. For alumni from both schools then, it appears that positivist thinking correlates with higher self-esteem, greater positive regard for one's school and more traditional attitudes towards women. Also, more constructionist thinking is related to lower self-esteem, less favorable attitudes towards one's school and more egalitarian attitudes towards women. For the alumni from both the single sex and co-ed schools, Self-Esteem is positively correlated with The School Climate Instrument, ( $r=.22, p<.001$ ;  $r=.22, p<.05$ ) respectively. Greater loyalty to one's school is coupled with higher self-esteem. It is only for the alumni of the single sex school that Self-Esteem is positively correlated with the Women in Society Questionnaire ( $r=.11, p<.001$ ); this relationship was not significant for the alumni of the co-ed school. It seems that the men from the single sex school who have greater egalitarian attitudes towards women also have higher self-esteem and men who have more traditional attitudes about women have lower self-esteem (see Table 7 and Table 8).

To determine if these correlations are significantly different from each other, raw correlations were converted into Fisher Z scores and z-tests were performed on these data. The only significant difference between the groups was found between the seniors of both schools on levels of self-esteem and school satisfaction ( $z=-2.32$ ,  $p<.05$ ). This finding indicates that seniors who have higher self-esteem like their school better. What this means for each individual school is that for the boys from the single sex school, those with higher self-esteem liked their school less; and for the boys from the co-ed school, those with higher self-esteem like their school more.

Caution should be taken in interpreting these results. Since many correlations were run, there is the possibility of finding significance by chance alone. Also, given the differential response rate, the difference between the N from each school may have affected the results. However, given that this is an initial effort to explore the relationships among these variables in this population, and that these findings are in accord with the predictions, they are provocative.

#### Regression Analyses

A simultaneous regression equation predicting Attitudes About Reality from School (type of school attended), Status, GRCS, RSES, SCI, and WSQ was found to be significant  $F(6,397) = 28.24$ ,  $p<.001$ . The significant predictors in the model are School ( $B=-.19$ ,  $t<.001$ ), GRCS ( $B=.15$ ,  $t<.001$ ), SCI ( $B=.24$ ,  $t<.001$ ), RSES ( $B=.18$ ,  $t<.001$ ), and WSQ ( $B=.33$ ,  $t<.001$ ). Attending the single sex school, having higher gender role conflict, more positive attitudes towards ones school, higher self-esteem and more traditional attitudes towards women predicts a greater positivist cognitive orientation for this sample of men (see

Table 11).

Significant predictors of The Gender Role Conflict Scale are AAR, RSES, and WSQ,  $F(3,397) = 20.62, p < .001$ ; AAR ( $B = .17, t < .001$ ), RSES ( $B = -.20, t < .001$ ), and WSQ ( $B = -.35, t < .001$ ). This indicates that having more positivist attitudes, lower self-esteem and more traditional attitudes towards women predicts higher gender role conflict. School does not predict the Gender Role Conflict Scale.

A simultaneous regression equation predicting Self-Esteem from School, Status, AAR, GRCS, SCI, and WSQ was found to be significant  $F(6,397) = 9.40, p < .001$ . The significant predictors in this model are Status ( $B = .11, t < .05$ ), GRCS ( $B = -.23, t < .001$ ), and WSQ ( $B = .23, t < .001$ ). Self-esteem is predicted by being an alumnus, having less gender role conflict, and more egalitarian attitudes about women.

A simultaneous regression equation predicting The Women in Society Questionnaire from School, Status, AAR, GRCS, RSES, and SCI was found to be significant  $F(6,397) = 28.41, p < .001$ . The significant predictors in this model are AAR ( $B = -.33, t < .001$ ), GRCS ( $B = -.32, t < .001$ ), and SCI ( $B = .17, t < .001$ ). This indicates that having a more constructionist cognitive orientation, less gender role conflict, and positive regard for one's school predict more egalitarian attitudes about women.

Additional regressions were run on the demographic variables in order to test if these results are due to differences between persons and not differences between the schools. The only demographic variable that was a significant predictor of AAR and SCI for the entire sample population,  $F(16, 328) = 11.86, p < .001$  was being a Republican ( $B = -.28, t < .001$ ). Given the difference in religious affiliation between the schools (see Table One), it is

interesting to note that Religious Affiliation was not a significant predictor of any of the dependent variables.

### Discussion

The results of this study present a complex picture of two educational institutions of elite men, one institution single sex and the other co-ed. Within each school, a different picture emerges of how these men view "reality", self, women, gay men, and their school. Specifically, the men from the single sex school have a more positivist cognitive orientation to reality and hold more traditional attitudes about women in their senior year than the men from the co-ed school. We also see a webbing of attitudes that is consistent within each school, and different between the schools. The men from the single sex school exhibit a tighter ball of correlates at one pole meshing a positivist cognitive orientation of reality, conflict about their roles as men in society, traditional views of women, negative attitudes about gay men, and lower self-esteem. At the other pole, results indicate that the men from the single sex school exhibit a tight mesh between constructivist attitudes about reality, little gender role conflict, more egalitarian views of women and gay men, and higher self-esteem. For the men from the co-ed school, these attitudes do not cluster as strongly, exhibiting connections only between their cognitive world view; self-esteem, school loyalty and their attitudes towards women.

### The Institutionalization of Masculinities

This study is an important addition to the literature on the psychology of masculinities. We see here that there are indeed differing forms of masculinity. This study portrays two groups of men who are of the same racial and socio-economic class, but differ significantly

in their attitudes. Indeed, this is one of the first psychological studies of elite boys and men *as such*, and this alone is an important panorama of a group of people who have rarely been investigated. By catching this glimpse of elite men, we have broadened our view of masculinities.

One of the strengths of this study is its view of masculinities *in context*. We see a vibrant picture of how men think and feel within the boundaries of educational institutions. If we are to truly understand the myriad of masculinities, we cannot remove our participants from their institutional contexts. We must continue to investigate men where they 'do masculinity'; within the institutions that affect their lives. Educational institutions shape young people, and are shaped by young people. Further, in these data we see evidence of the enduring effects of the institution during these formative years.

Brod (1987) reminds us that "If men are to be removed from center stage and a feminist vision fulfilled, that feminist vision must be explicitly focused on men to move them off center" (p. 40). This study does just that. By "problematizing" men, by specifically questioning men's experiences of masculinities, we have begun to remove men from the position of "the un-problematized Other" (Morawski, 1990) and can begin to relieve the pressure of studying gender as a bipolarity which defines one side of the duality (men) as normal, and the 'opposite' side (women) as The Other and abnormal (cf. Deaux & Major, 1990; Morawski, 1990).

It is worth noting that in a presentation of these data to the faculty, administrators, alumni, and parent's board of The Henley School, the issues raised in this research were well received, despite the potentially disturbing nature of the results. The results of the data from

The Henley School paint a picture of boys and men who, relative to their peers attending a similar co-ed school, are more constricted in their critical thinking and more traditional in their attitudes towards women. Also, correlated with these attitudes is lower self esteem and greater homophobia. Representatives of The Henley School who attended the presentation were discomforted by these results, but also eager to embrace these data as a means of redressing issues they suspected were beneath the surface, and by the way, success of the school. The mothers in the group, especially, were concerned that their sons were growing up sexist, and wished to ameliorate the situation. One young faculty member, a graduate of The Henley School, once the data were presented, was able to narrate retrospectively a severe discomfort around his experiences at The Henley School. He had been a star athlete, yet he vomited before every game due to performance pressure. An English teacher talked of how the data showing narrow cognitive processes are harmful to the students in their academic work, especially in creative writing. This meeting ended with a comfortable determination to maintain the school as a single sex institution, yet a sincere willingness open up conversations about how to improve the educational experiences of the students.

#### The Fragility of Hegemonic Masculinity

This study provides additional data for several prominent themes that are central to the social construction of hegemonic masculinity. First, the disparagement of homosexuality emerged as an essential factor in young men's construction of hegemonic masculinity. Seniors from both schools were significantly more homophobic than alumni from these schools. Also, homophobia emerged as a correlate to more positivist ways of thinking and to more traditional attitudes about women for the seniors and alumni of the single sex school

but not the co-ed school.

Second, the threat to hegemonic masculinity in the form of contamination by feminine influences is evidenced by many of the men from the single sex school, but not by any of the men from the co-ed school. After the quantitative section of the survey, several open-ended qualitative questions were asked. Alumni from the single sex school expressed more traditional attitudes towards women than alumni from the co-ed school on the Women in Society Questionnaire. Additionally, alumni from the single sex school also wrote in open ended questions that they prefer single sex education as women would be a distraction in the classroom, whereas alumni from the co-ed school welcomed women in the classroom as part of life training. When asked "Please explain your preference for single sex or co-ed education for boys", 2.2% of the alumni from the co-ed school supported single sex education for boys, compared to 95.6% who supported co-ed education for boys. They wrote:

"Co-ed education is better as it reflects the "real world". It also helps in de-emphasizing sexual stereotypes".

"The world is co-ed. A school should prepare boys and girls for the world".

"Co-ed education is essential. In today's job market, you better understand, respect, and relate with women. Don't segregate, you pay if you do".

"It is abnormal to mature and adolesce without women peers. Single sex education inevitably leads to sexism".

Male alumni from the co-ed school perceive women in the classroom differently than the alumni from the single-sex school. Even though many of the alumni from the single sex school claimed that co-ed college was a difficult transition, the majority of respondents, 72%, said they prefer single sex secondary education for boys.

"To change a single sex institution to a co-ed institution is to "weaken" that

institution.

"I think single sex allows for less social competition and more creativity".

"Gender differences complicate life at a high school level. To learn, one must focus and avoid distraction"

Finally, the construction of hegemonic masculinity appears to be tightly woven and thus inherently fragile. Precariously built on the denigration of outgroups, hegemonic masculinity may only be maintained by the exclusion of the "contaminating" forces of women and gay men. Although both schools produce an elite ruling class of men, it appears that the men from the single sex school view themselves in more traditionally masculine ways. Although not significantly different on their degree of gender role conflict, traditional masculinity may be more central to the self-concept of the men from the single sex school, as evidenced by the constellation of connections related to masculinity. They portray a closer knit of attitudes related to traditional masculinity than the men from the co-ed school. They also show a tighter relationship between self-esteem and how they feel about themselves as men; the greater their belief in traditional masculinity, the lower their self-esteem. This finding is congruent with other research on masculinities and self-esteem (Levant & Pollack, 1995). Also, men from the single sex school write about how they prefer single sex education because it provides less distraction (from women) and data from the focus groups show that the homosexuality is not welcome in the school. For the men from the single sex school, this tightly woven tapestry of masculinity appears to be in danger of unraveling at the pull of a single thread. If any one of these variables -- self-esteem, attitudes about reality, attitudes towards women, or their sense of masculinity -- is threatened or harmed, it threatens to tear their tapestry of masculinity, so tightly woven is the fabric. This is why this type of

hegemonic masculinity is so fragile. Although it may appear strong because it is so tightly meshed, the irony is that if one part begins to fray, the rest of the constellation will pull apart as well. Thoits (1987) shows how women with multiple roles, e.g. worker, mother, wife, friend, are physically and psychologically healthier than women who have only one or two primary roles. Multiple roles act as a buffer; if one role is lost, there are other roles present to compensate. Thus, if men from the single sex school feel they only have "one" role as a man, a traditional man, they may be at more risk of losing the entire role if it is threatened. In this way, the men from the co-ed school do not appear as "fragile" as the men from the single sex school because their sense of masculinity is not bound into one role. Rather they are able to think more expansively about the world around them, about the Self and about Others. The self-esteem, attitudes about reality, attitudes towards women, and their sense of masculinity is not so tightly knitted; as such, it is in less danger of coming apart at the seams. Each aspect of these men's sense of Self, Other and the world appears to stand independently and thus offers better boundaries against psychological threats.

#### Enduring Institutional Effects

As expected, there were no significant differences between the seniors and alumni within each school, while there were between school differences on three of the five dependent variables. The attitudes the young men have formed by their senior year, and the ways in which they view the world, endure into middle age. For example, for the alumni of the single sex school, the broadening effect of attending college, of "hitting the train [of co-ed education] head on" appears not to be sufficient to incite a change in their (traditional) attitudes about women. Both seniors and alumni of this single sex institution presented more

traditional attitudes about women than the respondents from the co-ed school. The alumni of the co-ed school show attitudes toward women equivalent to the seniors. For them, moving into college and the world of work do not seem to be as traumatic as it is for the men from the single sex school. They perceive their high school as "the real world", and see co-ed education as an essential ingredient in a well-rounded education.

#### Testing Equal Status Contact Theory

The main difference between the two schools is that in the co-ed school there is the presence of women as equal status peers with the men. Respondents from each school were not significantly different on demographic variables, with religion and political affiliation the only exceptions. In many respects, students and alumni from both schools are similar. They show equal amounts of school satisfaction, as measured by the School Climate Instrument; they seem to appreciate the message their school is telling them and they like the ways in which their school is run. Each school has its own distinct "hidden curriculum" that is successfully absorbed by both groups of students. These institutions appear to have a great impact on these men and how they perceive the world around them. As institutional support has been shown to be a crucial factor in the amelioration of racial prejudice (Amir, 1969; Katz & Taylor, 1988; Worchel & Austin, 1986), this study demonstrates that institutional support for equal status contact between men and women might also be an essential factor in reducing men's sexism.

Reviewing the principles of equal status contact theory -- 1) that the more contact two conflicting groups have, where they are both of equal status, the less likely they are to be antagonistic to each other, 2) in a more intimate social setting, 3) with institutional support,

4) and perhaps with redress for historical inequalities -- we see that the co-ed school meets many of these requirements. The students in the co-ed school, both girls and boys, are in daily contact that is of an equal status nature (there are no girls at the single sex school); the school provides a fairly intimate environment (e.g. there is no dress code as in the single sex school); and offers institutional support for gender integration (the single sex school's covert message is one of segregation); and also provides some forms of redress of historical inequities in the form of women's studies classes (there are no such classes at the single sex school).

We see that elite men, unlike working class men, define self in congruence with their school (Connell, 1993; Weis, 1993; Willis, 1977). They adhere to the message their schools teach them, both academically and socially. There is some evidence that group membership influences one's epistemological view of the world to the extent that the individual identifies with the group (Unger, et al., 1986). This study confirms this finding through an institutional analysis. Even though there were no differences in School Loyalty, I suggest that because of the differences between the schools on attitudes about women, students and graduates of the all-male school may identify more strongly with the in-group of elite, white men than the men from the co-ed school. The men from the single sex school spend at least four years in an all-male environment, "bonding" with other men and feeling like "family". This might lead to high salience of this in-group. In contrast, the men from the co-ed school may not develop the same allegiance to a male in-group due to the presence of women in the high school.

Support for this hypotheses is provided by Gaertner et al. (1993). They show evidence that the introduction of a common ingroup identity is a means of reducing intergroup

bias. By reconstructing members' perceptions from an "us" and a "them" to a more inclusive "we", intergroup bias is reduced. The men from the co-ed school may very well perceive women as part of the "us" of peer students, while the men from the single sex school may view women as the "they" of another gender group as well as another school. The significant differences between the groups of men from each school in their attitudes towards women is indicative of this conclusion.

#### Covert Ideology and Attitudes About Reality

This study also provides some preliminary data that suggest that "covert ideology impedes the acquisition of information that is seen as self-evident by others with a different epistemological perspective" (Unger et al., 1986, p. 76). There is a clear difference between the men from the single sex school and the men from the co-ed school on the Attitudes About Reality Scale; men who go to a single sex school think in more positivist ways than men who go to a co-ed school. Related to this difference between the schools are the differing correlational patterns among the variables. Men from the single sex school, who are more positivist than men from the co-ed school, show connections between their gender role conflict and their traditional attitudes about women. These relationships do not appear for the men from the co-ed school. The ways in which these attitudes go together is important in understanding how these men view the world; it appears that epistemological view is an influencing factor in how one view's Self and Other. Thus, one's "covert ideology", in this case reinforced institutionally, may impede the acquisition of information that may reduce outgroup homogeneity and its accompanying effects.

#### Masculinity Ideology and Gender Role Conflict

It is important to note the differences between the two schools in the correlates to the Gender Role Conflict Scale. These differences have important consequences for how men view themselves and others. A significant theoretical component of gender role conflict is that it "is a psychological state where gender roles have negative consequences or impact on a person or others. The ultimate outcome of this conflict is the restriction of the person's ability to actualize their human potential or the restriction of someone else's potential" (O'Neil, et al., 1986, p. 336). The data from the men in this sample support this theory. We see that for the men from the single sex school, high gender role conflict (traditional masculinity) is positively correlated with lower self-esteem. This is consistent with the literature on gender role conflict (Davis, 1987; Thompson, Pleck & Ferrera, 1992). It also suggests that these men may not be living up to their fullest potential in terms of how they feel about themselves. This cluster of relationships did not appear for the men of the co-ed school. The men from the single sex school exhibit more traditional attitudes towards women, which is more strongly correlated with homophobia, than the men from the co-ed school. This would indicate that men who attend an all boys high school may tenuously base their sense of self as men on Self and Other deprecation, while the men from the co-ed school do not base sense of self on this system of deprecation.

The differences between the two schools also supports theories of masculinity ideologies--"beliefs and expectations about what men are like and should do" (Pleck, et al., 1993, pp. 14-15). Masculinities theory suggests that there are multiple ways of achieving manhood and in this study we see two groups of men who are very different in the ways they view acceptable frameworks of masculinity. Part of the "hidden curriculum" of each school

is a message about masculinity ideology. The men from the single sex school view their version of masculinity in more traditional ways. Women are seen as a distraction from scholarly pursuits, and they feel more comfortable as men in male-only groups, and believe this to be important for their sons. In contrast, the men from the co-ed school view their version of masculinity as more inclusive of differences both among men and with women. Their version of masculinity is not as exclusionary as the men from the single sex school.

### Methodological Issues

There was a difference in the response rate among the alumni of each school. The response rate of alumni from the co-ed school was half that of the men from the single sex school. There are three possible reasons for this difference. First, it appears that men from the single sex school have a greater psychological involvement with their school than men from the co-ed school. By this I mean that whether they had strong positive, strong negative, or neutral/complex feelings towards their school, they still took the time to complete and return the survey. There may be some component of the fraternal bond formed at the single sex school that increases men's psychological investment and engagement with the institution, but may have costs for individual's dealings with outgroups.

Second, it may be that because the topic of single sex education for boys is currently controversial, the alumni of the single sex school took the time to register their opinions for or against this issue. The graduates of the co-ed school might not feel pressed to respond to this current controversy. Finally, it may be that these schools have different relationships with their alumni. It was hoped that the letter from the headmaster of each school would evoke school loyalty in the respondents, and this would provide incentive for them to return the

surveys. For the alumni respondents, the offer of money would not have provided a strong incentive for returning these surveys. Although it was beyond the resources of this study to employ these measures, in order to improve the response rate, future studies of this type might include a 'personalized' follow-up letter asking respondents to return the surveys; or phone solicitation might be conducted. The main problem lies in not knowing if respondents are significantly different from non-respondents.

Most of the scales used in this survey were adequate to explore these issues. The Attitudes About Reality Scale (Unger, et al., 1986) and The Women in Society Questionnaire (Lewis, et al., 1988) proved to be the most powerful variable that differentiated between the two schools. The AAR is critical in measuring individual's ways of thinking about the world. This scale was also the most powerful predictor of all the other variables. This is important to note, especially in conjunction with political affiliation being an important predictor, because it appears that one's cognitive world view is one of the most important elements in forming attitudes about Self and Other. It also important in dealing with educational issues, especially critical thinking skills.

The Women in Society Questionnaire is also a very useful tool in assessing men's attitudes towards women. It was designed to "update" the Attitudes Towards Women Scale (Spence, et al. 1973) and proved to be a very powerful assessment instrument. Future studies investigating attitudes towards women would be well advised to employ this measure.

Expected results on the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil et al., 1986) were not obtained, except on the Homophobia subscale. Although there were no significant differences between the respondents from each school, the different patterns of correlations do tell an

interesting story about these men. It could be that for this sample gender role conflict per se is not a significant issue. Similar samples might be assessed using other measures of masculinities (Thompson, Pleck, & Ferrera, 1992).

Results on the Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965) were as expected. This is one of the more popular self-esteem scales, and was a useful assessment tool for this study. This study replicated the correlations others have found between Self-Esteem and Attitudes About Reality and Gender Role Conflict, respectively (Unger, 1986; Davis, 1987).

Issues of social desirability are always an issue in social psychological research. The desire to appear agreeable and to answer in ways that purported to guess what the researcher wanted to hear are always dangers of this type of research. However, it is believed that this did not occur in this study, or did not occur differentially between the two schools. Because significant differences were found between the groups around the "politically hot" topics about outgroups, and because the researcher identified herself as a woman, if social desirability had occurred, one would expect it to occur around this issues. The majority of the respondents mailed in their surveys. This required an act of agency on their part. It seems a stretch of the imagination that a respondent who was mailing in a survey anonymously would have a need to appear socially desirable. Because of the range of responses received, it appears that participants were fairly honest in the replies and did not engage in social desirability.

It must also be noted that each of these schools provided very generous support, both financially and in terms of assisting in data collection. Indeed, each school was excited by this opportunity to investigate the cognitive, attitudinal and affective lives of the products of their

respective institutions. Even when the results did not appear to "favor" their institution, The Henley School was magnanimous in its desire to improve their institution for the benefit of the students. To this end, this researcher has been asked to return to The Henley School to continue this line of research. More significantly, this research helped implement The Men's Studies Advisory Board at The Henley School. This Board is working to bring together researchers in fields such as sociology, education, and psychology in order to continue to investigate issues of masculinities and education.

The respondents to this survey, from both institutions, must also be commended for their thoughtful and provoking answers to this questionnaire. This was indeed a long survey -- 124 quantitative questions, 11 qualitative questions, and 2 pages of demographic questions -- and while many respondents wrote that it was too long, they also took the time to provide insightful answers to many questions. The respectable return rate, coupled with the quality of the responses, is a credit to both institutions.

#### Relationships to Other Research

This research replicates some previous research findings and expands our knowledge of other issues. The Attitudes About Reality Scale has not been previously investigated with regard to education and gender and thus this study increases our understanding of personal epistemologies. However, results of this study are consistent with other research on the AAR that shows a positive correlation between conservative values and holding a positivist epistemology (Unger, 1994).

The Gender Role Conflict Scale has never before been used with high school students and so this work is an addition to the literature (Addelston, 1995). Results of this study

support previous work showing the negative correlational relationship between gender role conflict and self-esteem, and between gender role conflict and traditional attitudes about women (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995). Self-esteem has also been shown to increase with age (Derlega, et al., 1991) and these results are consistent with that literature. Additionally, Galambos et al. (1985) found that individuals with more traditional attitudes towards women had lower self-esteem. Results of this study replicate that finding; members of The Henley School who endorsed more traditional attitudes towards women also evidenced lower self-esteem.

The Women In Society Questionnaire has not been used frequently enough to compare it with this study. However, given that it was designed as an "updated" version of the AWS, comparisons may be made between the results of studies using the AWS and this research. For example, people who hold more conservative attitudes towards women, as measured by the AWS, also hold more negative attitudes towards homosexuals (Whitley, 1987). This finding is supported in this study as well.

This study found no significant differences between the seniors and alumni within each school except on the measure of Homophobia. The attitudes the young men have formed by their senior year, and the ways in which they view the world, endure into middle age. However, this finding is not consistent with a body of literature that describes the liberalizing effects of college (Pascarella & Terenzini; 1991; Astin, 1993). It could be that their families and home social environments are more powerful than college for these men in shaping their attitudes. These issues of loyalty open up research on the "down" side of "male bonding".

#### Toward the Future

There are at least three questions generated by this study which future research might investigate. Primarily, unresolved in this study is the causal effect of single sex and co-education on boys' and men's attitudes. This study employs a quasi-experimental design and thus cannot prove the causal direction of these men's beliefs. It could be that certain types of families self-select into different types of schools. Since most respondents, from both schools, said that their parents sent them to their school, we may be seeing a self-selection effect by family or parental belief systems. There were no differences between the seniors from each school based on parents' income. However, significantly more respondents from the single sex school identified as politically conservative. Again, we do not know if the school works to produce this effect, or if these boys and men hold these pre-existing attitudes before entering their schools, or if both of these effects work in conjunction. We do not know if the school or the family is more influential in how these boys form their attitudes. Most likely, both of these institutions co-produce these effects. Tracking their cognitive and attitudinal development over time would be beneficial in assessing young boys on many of these attitudes, and would help illuminate the causal variables.

Second, we need to understand the relationships between political affiliation and cognitive belief systems. This study provides some evidence that political conservatism is a predictor of restricted cognitive thinking, traditional attitudes towards women and homophobia, while political liberalism may be predictive of expansive cognitive thinking, and more egalitarian attitudes towards women and gay men. This is consistent with other studies linking conservatism and attitudes about reality (Under, et al., 1986). Perhaps it would be worthwhile to revive the literature and research on authoritarianism and conservatism to help

understand these phenomena.

Finally, we need to know if the positive benefits of equal status in schools are similar for girls as they are for boys. This study begins to assess the effects of equal status contact on young men in different schools. We see some evidence that boys who attend a single sex high school are significantly different from boys who attend a co-ed high school in their cognition, affect, and attitudes. Further analysis comparing the girls and the boys at the same co-ed institution however, will enhance our understanding of how 'equal' equal status contact truly is. Given the oft-cited evidence that girls do better academically in single sex schools than in co-ed schools (AAUW, 1992), it may be that the kind of equal status contact available in co-ed schools primarily benefits boys, particularly on social attitudes. Academic outcomes, loyalties, and social attitudes must be teased apart to fully understand the broader effects of equal status contact on girls and boys in schools.

It is wise to remember, however, that every school is idiosyncratic. No one school can represent all single sex schools or all co-ed schools. This study is a useful beginning to explore these issues, but more research is needed on a broad based sample of many different kinds of schools to adequately answer the questions surrounding men and education.

The next generation of research on men and masculinities must take up how institutions produce certain types of masculinities. For example, it would be useful to investigate boys who join these elite institutions as early as kindergarten<sup>4</sup> in contrast with teenagers who enroll at the beginning of high school. Looking at these young men as they pass through their high schools might enable us to learn the particulars of how and when the "hidden curriculum" takes hold and is embodied and/or resisted, and whether or not the

message is taken in differently as an effect of how much time has been spent in the institution.

Additionally, different institutions must be investigated as to how they facilitate the production of masculinities as a positive strength, and not negatively in opposition to Others. Educational institutions are one of many establishments that teach gender socialization. There is currently research being done in investigating the relationships between sports and masculinities (Messner & Sabo, 1994), but more work is needed. These institutions must also be assessed as to when gender socialization is most salient, and if this is a process that endures throughout the life span. Examining young boys in school and on sports teams, for example, Little League baseball, may illuminate issues picked up in studies of adult men in institutions such as the military and their places of work. Just as the field of psychology of women has richly developed, it is time for the field of psychology of men to do so as well.

TABLE 1 - DEMOGRAPHICS

	HENLEY		THURSTON	
	seniors	alumni	seniors	alumni
n	49	367	53	85
Age	16-19	18-55	17-18	19-41
<b>Race:</b>				
White	79.6%	97.3%	77.4%	77.6%
Black	8.2%	0.5%	11.3%	15.3%
Asian	10.2%	0.3%	7.5%	1.2%
Hispanic	--	--	1.9%	3.5%
Biracial	--	--	1.9%	1.2%
Other	2.0%	0.5%	--	1.2%
<b>Religion:</b>				
Protestant	38.8%	54.0%	20.8%	31.8%
Catholic	36.7%	15.3%	18.9%	10.6%
Jewish	8.2%	10.6%	45.1%	30.6%
Other	12.2%	12.0%	13.2%	22.4%
<b>Political Affiliation:</b>				
Republican	30.6%	52.0%	11.3%	20.0%
Democrat	18.4%	20.7%	52.8%	38.8%
Independent	28.6%	17.7%	17.0%	38.8%
Liberal	18.4%	9.0%	30.2%	15.3%
Conservative	34.7%	10.4%	13.2%	12.9%
Uninterested	26.5%	1.9%	17.0%	7.1%
<b>Sexual Orientation:</b>				
Heterosexual	100%	95.6%	96.2%	96.4%
Bisexual	--	1.4%	1.9%	2.4%
Homosexual	--	1.9%	1.9%	1.2%
Mean SAT Score	1254		1311	
<b>College Attended</b>				
Ivy League		22.6%		35.3%
Private		62.7%		55.3%
State		5.4%		5.9%
Military		0.3%		--
Community		0.3%		--

TABLE 2 - SCALE DESCRIPTIVES

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	Skewness	Min	Max	Alpha	N
AAR	3.27	.33	-.37	2.10	4.13	.64	438
GRCS	3.35	.65	.01	1.78	5.22	.90	493
RSES	4.93	.75	-.89	2.00	6.00	.84	535
SCI	3.75	.82	-.22	1.00	5.92	.84	522
WSQ	4.55	.65	-.18	2.55	6.00	.87	512

TABLE 3 - ANOVAS

Variable	Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
AAR	Between Groups	3	3.04	1.01	9.82	.000***
	Within Groups		434	44.72	0.10	
	Total		437	47.75		
GRCS	Between Groups	3	1.21	0.40	0.95	.416
	Within Groups		489	206.79	0.42	
	Total		492	207.99		
HOMOPH	Between Groups	3	8.30	2.77	2.77	.041*
	Within Groups		527	526.05	.99	
	Total		530	534.34		
RSES	Between Groups	3	6.32	2.11	3.85	.009**
	Within Groups		531	290.95	.55	
	Total		534	297.27		
SCI	Between Groups	3	0.83	.28	0.41	.755
	Within Groups		518	347.24	0.67	
	Total		521	348.17		
WSQ	Between Groups	3	5.67	1.89	4.53	.004**
	Within Groups		508	211.90	0.42	
	Total		511	217.57		

\* p < .05  
 \*\* p < .01  
 \*\*\* p < .001

AAR = Attitudes About Reality Scale  
 GRCS = Gender Role Conflict Scale  
 RSES = Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale  
 SCI = School Climate Instrument  
 WSQ = Women in Society Questionnaire

TABLE 4

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR ALL SUBJECTS BY ALL VARIABLES

	GRCS	EMOTION	HOMOPHOB	WORK	POWER	RSES	SCI	WSQ
AAR	.27 *** (418)	.12 ** (424)	.23 *** (435)	.07 (438)	.29 *** (434)	.18 *** (436)	.23 *** (432)	-.38 *** (428)
GRCS		.75 *** (493)	.77 *** (493)	.58 *** (493)	.71 *** (493)	-.20 *** (491)	.02 (479)	-.44 *** (476)
EMOTION			.56 *** (502)	.29 *** (507)	.25 *** (502)	-.30 *** (504)	-.05 (494)	-.28 *** (490)
HOMOPHOB				.24 *** (527)	.36 *** (522)	-.15 *** (525)	-.07 (512)	-.44 *** (507)
WORK					.29 *** (530)	-.20 *** (532)	.03 (518)	-.12 ** (508)
POWER						-.03 (528)	.12 ** (513)	-.31 *** (504)
RSES							.19 *** (513)	.07 (508)
SCI								.02 (495)

\* p < .05  
 \*\* p < .01  
 \*\*\* p < .001

TABLE 5

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR THE HENLEY SCHOOL SENIORS

	GRCS	EMOTION	HOMOPHOB	WORK	POWER	RSES	SCI	WSQ
AAR	.51 *** (39)	.24 (39)	.41 ** (40)	.29 (40)	.45 ** (40)	.11 (40)	.15 (40)	-.46 ** (39)
GRCS		.77 *** (45)	.90 *** (45)	.39 ** (45)	.78 *** (45)	-.03 (44)	-.03 (40)	-.60 *** (43)
EMOTION			.73 *** (45)	.01 (47)	.30 * (45)	-.03 (44)	-.27 (44)	-.47 ** (43)
HOMOPHOB				.13 (47)	.58 *** (47)	-.05 (45)	-.12 (46)	-.62 *** (44)
WORK					.28 (47)	-.17 (45)	.12 (46)	-.07 (44)
POWER						.07 (45)	.16 (46)	-.46 ** (44)
RSES							-.21 (44)	-.05 (44)
SCI								.09 (43)

\* p < .05  
 \*\* p < .01  
 \*\*\* p < .001

TABLE 6

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR THE THURSTON ACADEMY SENIORS

	GRCS	EMOTION	HOMOPHOB	WORK	POWER	RSES	SCI	WSQ
AAR	.13 (39)	.01 (39)	.09 (41)	-.14 (41)	.26 (41)	.27 (40)	.31 * (39)	-.05 (38)
GRCS		.65 *** (43)	.74 *** (43)	.66 *** (43)	.80 *** (43)	-.16 (42)	.15 (41)	-.26 (39)
EMOTION			.19 (44)	.43 ** (44)	.24 (44)	-.34 (43)	.02 (43)	-.06 (40)
HOMOPHOB				.33 * (49)	.52 *** (49)	-.09 (48)	-.01 (48)	-.33 * (44)
WORK					.36 ** (51)	-.15 (49)	-.00 (49)	-.17 (43)
POWER						-.12 (49)	.20 (48)	-.16 (43)
RSES							.29 * (46)	.03 (42)
SCI								.05 (41)

\* p < .05  
 \*\* p < .01  
 \*\*\* p < .001

TABLE 7

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR THE HENLEY SCHOOL ALUMNI

	GRCS	EMOTION	HOMOPHOB	WORK	POWER	RSES	SCI	WSQ
AAR	.27 *** (272)	.13 * (277)	.25 *** (284)	.02 (287)	.30 *** (284)	.15 ** (286)	.24 *** (284)	-.37 *** (282)
GRCS		.76 *** (330)	.74 *** (330)	.59 *** (330)	.69 *** (330)	-.26 *** (330)	-.00 (320)	-.43 *** (321)
EMOTION			.57 *** (336)	.30 *** (338)	.23 *** (338)	-.36 *** (341)	-.04 (330)	-.29 *** (332)
HOMOPHOB				.23 *** (348)	.28 *** (345)	-.19 *** (350)	-.08 (339)	-.43 *** (338)
WORK					.29 *** (350)	-.22 (355)	-.01 (342)	-.11 * (340)
POWER						-.05 (352)	.09 (340)	-.32 *** (338)
RSES							.22 *** (343)	.11 *** (342)
SCI								.03 (333)

\* p < .05  
 \*\* p < .01  
 \*\*\* p < .001

TABLE 8

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR THE THURSTON ACADEMY ALUMNI

	GRCS	EMOTION	HOMOPHOB	WORK	POWER	RSES	SCI	WSQ
AAR	.19 (68)	-.01 (69)	.06 (70)	.17 (70)	.34 ** (69)	.30 ** (70)	.29 * (69)	-.32 ** (69)
GRCS		.79 *** (75)	.80 *** (75)	.61 *** (75)	.73 *** (75)	-.08 (75)	.11 (74)	-.34 *** (73)
EMOTION			.59 *** (77)	.31 ** (78)	.33 *** (75)	-.18 (76)	-.00 (77)	-.18 (75)
HOMOPHOB				.32 *** (83)	.44 *** (81)	-.03 (82)	-.02 (80)	-.41 *** (81)
WORK					.31 *** (82)	-.16 (83)	.13 (82)	-.15 (81)
POWER						.06 (82)	.28 ** (79)	-.31 ** (79)
RSES							.22 * (80)	-.04 (80)
SCI								-.10 (78)

\* p < .05  
 \*\* p < .01  
 \*\*\* p < .001

TABLE 9

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR ALL HENLEY SCHOOL

	GRCS	EMOTION	HOMOPHOB	WORK	POWER	RSES	SCI	WSQ
AAR	.30 *** (311)	.15 *** (316)	.27 (324)	.05 (327)	.31 *** (324)	.13 * (326)	.23 *** (324)	-.39 *** (321)
GRCS		.76 *** (375)	.76 *** (375)	.56 *** (375)	.70 *** (375)	-.24 *** (374)	-.00 (364)	-.46 *** (364)
EMOTION			.59 *** (381)	.27 *** (385)	.24 *** (383)	-.32 *** (385)	-.07 (374)	-.31 *** (375)
HOMOPHOB				.22 *** (395)	.32 *** (392)	-.18 *** (395)	-.08 (385)	-.46 (382)
WORK					.28 *** (397)	-.22 *** (400)	.01 (388)	-.10 (384)
POWER						-.03 (397)	.10 * (386)	-.34 *** (382)
RSES							.17 *** (387)	.10 * (386)
SCI								.03 (376)

\* p < .05  
 \*\* p < .01  
 \*\*\* p < .001

TABLE 10

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR ALL THURSTON ACADEMY

	GRCS	EMOTION	HOMOPHOB	WORK	POWER	RSES	SCI	WSQ
AAR	.16 (107)	.01 (108)	.07 (111)	.07 (111)	.30 (110)	.29 ** (110)	.29 ** (108)	-.25 ** (107)
GRCS		.74 *** (118)	.77 *** (118)	.62 *** (118)	.75 *** (118)	-.10 (117)	-.11 (115)	-.36 *** (112)
EMOTION			.45 *** (121)	.34 *** (122)	.29 *** (119)	-.23 ** (119)	.00 (120)	-.17 (115)
HOMOPHOB				.31 *** (132)	.48 *** (130)	-.07 (130)	-.02 (127)	-.39 *** (125)
WORK					.33 *** (133)	-.15 (132)	.09 (130)	-.16 (124)
POWER						-.02 (131)	.23 ** (127)	-.25 ** (122)
RSES							.24 ** (126)	-.01 (122)
SCI								-.06 (119)

\* p < .05  
 \*\* p < .01  
 \*\*\* p < .001

TABLE 11  
REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Predicting Variable	R Square	F	Predictor Variable	B	Beta
GRCS	.2376	20.62	SCHOOL	.0736	.0491
			STATUS	-.0289	-.0171
			AAR	.3256	.1654***
			SCI	.0267	.0291
			RSES	-.1788	-.2030***
			WSQ	-.3519	-.3501***
AAR	.2991	28.24	SCHOOL	-.1472	-.1935***
			STATUS	.0480	-.0557
			GRCS	.0772	.1520***
			SCI	.0987	.2391***
			RSES	.0806	.1802***
			WSQ	-.1694	-.3318***
RSES	.1243	9.36	SCHOOL	-.0525	-.0309
			STATUS	.2086	.1082*
			GRCS	-.2645	-.2331***
			SCI	.0822	.0890
			WSQ	.0889	.0779
			AAR	.5031	.2251***
SCI	.1060	7.84	SCHOOL	.1419	.0770
			STATUS	-.0210	-.0100
			GRCS	.0419	.0341
			AAR	.7385	.3050***
			RSES	.0985	.0909
			WSQ	.2606	.2108
WSQ	.3004	28.41	SCHOOL	.0998	.0670
			STATUS	.0833	.0493
			GRCS	-.3195	-.3212***
			SCI	.1334	.1649***
			RSES	.0546	.0623
			AAR	-.6487	-.3312***

\* p < .05  
 \*\* p < .01  
 \*\*\* p < .001

TABLE 12

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR ALL INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES

	SCHOOL	STATUS	AAR	GRCS	HOMOPH	POWER	EMOTION	WORKLEIS	WSQ	RSES	SCI
SCHOOL	1.0000 ( 554) P=.	-.2971 ( 554) P=.000	-.2354 ( 438) P.000	-.0280 ( 493) P=.536	-.0478 ( 531) P=.272	.0504 ( 533) P=.245	-.0434 ( 511) P=.327	-.0674 ( 547) P=.115	.1252 ( 512) P=.005	-.0777 ( 535) P=.073	.0018 ( 522) P=.967
STATUS	-.2971 ( 554) P=.000	1.0000 ( 554) P=.	-.0147 ( 438) P=.759	-.0587 ( 493) P=.193	-.0865 ( 531) P=.046	-.0237 ( 533) P=.585	-.0715 ( 511) P=.106	.0109 ( 547) P=.800	.0633 ( 512) P=.153	.1338 ( 535) P=.002	-.0356 ( 522) P=.417
AAR	-.2354 ( 438) P=.000	-.0147 ( 438) P=.759	1.0000 ( 438) P=.	.2672 ( 418) P=.000	.2291 ( 435) P=.000	.2941 ( 434) P=.000	.1230 ( 424) P=.011	.0661 ( 438) P=.168	-.3770 ( 428) P=.000	.1770 ( 436) P=.000	.2342 ( 432) P=.000
GRCS	-.0280 ( 493) P=.536	-.0587 ( 493) P=.193	.2672 ( 418) P=.000	1.0000 ( 493) P=.	.7673 ( 493) P=.000	.7131 ( 493) P=.000	.7526 ( 493) P=.000	.5767 ( 493) P=.000	-.4357 ( 476) P=.000	-.2014 ( 491) P=.000	.0217 ( 479) P=.636
HOMOPH	-.0478 ( 531) P=.272	-.0865 ( 531) P=.046	.2291 ( 435) P=.000	.7673 ( 493) P=.000	1.0000 ( 531) P=.	.3592 ( 522) P=.000	.5575 ( 502) P=.000	.2442 ( 527) P=.000	-.4439 ( 507) P=.000	-.1461 ( 525) P=.001	-.0661 ( 512) P=.136
POWER	.0504 ( 533) P=.245	-.0237 ( 533) P=.585	.2941 ( 434) P=.000	.7131 ( 493) P=.000	.3592 ( 522) P=.000	1.0000 ( 533) P=.	.2459 ( 502) P=.000	.2910 ( 530) P=.000	-.3066 ( 504) P=.000	-.0337 ( 528) P=.440	.1269 ( 513) P=.004

TABLE 12 (cont.)

## CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR ALL INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES

	SCHOOL	STATUS	AAR	GRCS	HOMOPH	POWER	EMOTION	WORKLEIS	WSQ	RSES	SCI
EMOTION	-.0434 ( 511) P=.327	-.0715 ( 511) P=.106	.1230 ( 424) P=.011	.7526 ( 493) P=.000	.5575 ( 502) P=.000	.2459 ( 502) P=.000	1.0000 ( 511) P=.	.2857 ( 507) P=.000	-.2831 ( 490) P=.000	-.2968 ( 504) P=.000	-.0494 ( 494) P=.273
WORKLEIS	-.0674 ( 547) P=.115	.0109 ( 547) P=.800	.0661 ( 438) P=.168	.5767 ( 493) P=.000	.2442 ( 527) P=.000	.2910 ( 530) P=.000	.2857 ( 507) P=.000	1.0000 ( 547) P=.	-.1202 ( 508) P=.007	-.1992 ( 532) P=.000	.0263 ( 518) P=.550
WSQ	.1252 ( 512) P=.005	.0633 ( 512) P=.153	-.3770 ( 428) P=.000	-.4357 ( 476) P=.000	-.4439 ( 507) P=.000	-.3066 ( 504) P=.000	-.2831 ( 490) P=.000	-.1202 ( 508) P=.007	1.0000 ( 512) P=.	.0668 ( 508) P=.133	.0174 ( 495) P=.699
RSES	-.0777 ( 535) P=.073	.1338 ( 535) P=.002	.1770 ( 436) P=.000	-.2014 ( 491) P=.000	-.1461 ( 525) P=.001	-.0337 ( 528) P=.440	-.2968 ( 504) P=.000	-.1992 ( 532) P=.000	.0668 ( 508) P=.133	1.0000 ( 535) P=.	.1852 ( 513) P=.000
SCI	.0018 ( 522) P=.967	-.0356 ( 522) P=.417	.2342 ( 432) P=.000	.0217 ( 479) P=.636	-.0661 ( 512) P=.136	.1269 ( 513) P=.004	-.0494 ( 494) P=.273	.0263 ( 518) P=.550	.0174 ( 495) P=.699	.1852 ( 513) P=.000	1.0000 ( 522) P=.

### Footnotes

1. The name of both schools that participated in this study have been changed to provide anonymity.
2. One of the reasons the principal of the upper school of The Thurston Academy was eager to participate in this study, along with her interest in gender and education, is that her husband had attended The Henley School.
3. The data gathered from the young women of The Thurston Academy are not presented in this paper. They were gathered on the request of the principal of the Academy and are used solely as an internal document for the school.
4. The term coined for students who attend The Henley School from kindergarten to 12th grade is "survivor". At another elite, all-boys high school in New York City, the term for these men is "lifers". These terms connote having passed through a holocaust and prison, respectively. Even in jest, there is a profound meaning behind these terms. They imply that these all-male spaces are not "free" and in fact require much psychological effort to pass through them successfully.

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