EXPLORING THE GENDER ROLE IDEOLOGY OF BLACK AND
WHITE MEN BETWEEN AGES 18-30

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This research is a qualitative study that explores the gender role ideology of Black and White men between the ages of 18-30. The study found that both groups are moving toward egalitarianism on different pathways. The pathways illustrate the effect of racial identity on gender role ideology. White respondents had a progressive egalitarianism which stemmed from ideas reflected individualism, secularization, and the identification with the grand narrative of the United States. Their respondents also reflected postmodern ideas. Overall their ideas reflect larger White racial identity and shows an overlap between the progressive understanding of modernity and with postmodernist ideas of non-deterministic definitions. Black respondents had a collaborative egalitarianism which stemmed from historical racial and economic deprivation. Subsequently, Blacks gender role ideology illustrates collaboration and communal interdependence between of Black men and women, and the Black church. Blacks tended to view things from a social perspective that was often reactionary. Overall, their ideas reflected the larger Black racial identity which emphasizes collaboration between men and women and a reliance on community based institutions like the Black church.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The public imagination is a funny thing. Though it can be seen in all aspects of the society, media may be the most visible cultural artifact. Viewing media not only entertains, it reveals our cultural understandings and assumptions. While these understandings are often presented intentionally, the full message they convey can be unintentional.

A couple of years ago, I watched *Cloudy with a Chance of Meatballs* with my sons. While watching, I noticed that the relationship between the Black father and son was portrayed very differently in comparison to the White father and son. I didn’t know if it was intentional but the Black father was affectionate, and caring and open with his feelings to his son. Conversely, the White main character’s father was unaffectionate, distant, and unable to openly express how he felt about his son. It was not until the end of the movie when a scientific gadget was placed on his head that he is able to express his pride and complex emotions.

It is unwise to generalize these relationships exclusively to any racial group, however these tropes suggest that the public imagination may see variations between how Black and White men relate to their sons’ gender ideology.

This research explores the gender role ideology of Black and White men between the ages of 18-30 using their personal experiences. Simultaneously exploring whether race is a factor in shaping gender role ideology among men. Gender expectations are changing and racial construction is being redefined (Helgeson 2011; Gerson 2007; Gans 1999; Bonilla-Silva 2004). These changes indicate a need to
continually study our gender role ideology. These social factors and other cultural changes have affected gender role ideology (Watson and Shaw 2011; Bederman 1995; Foucault 1990). With each change, how we define being a man or woman or decide how many genders exists, shifts creating a need to re-evaluate the cultural ideology of gender.

Justification for Qualitative Research

A qualitative research framework was chosen because it is best suited to explore how the cultural changes to race and gender have affected men’s gender role ideology. Recent research on men and gender role ideology assumes that men from different social, historical, racial, economic, etc. will have different variations in ideology (Connell 2005; Demetriou 2001). Race is a major factor that influences social location. Men have different levels of access to gender privileges. Variety of access creates multiple social realities for men and creates a space to explore race’s effect on gender role ideology.

Although research on men and gender role ideology has increased since World War II (Howson 2006), only a limited amount of scholarly research reviewed for this study utilized men's voices and experiences as the centerpiece of the analysis. There is even less empirical work exploring the significance of race as a social factor regarding gender role ideology. By letting Black and White men’s experiences and voices shape the study, this research seeks to contribute to the scholarship.
Grounded Theory

This research project utilized grounded theory procedures and techniques to explore the gender role ideology of Black and White men. According to Corbin and Strauss (1998), grounded theory is a methodology that is derived from data, systematically gathered and analyzed through the research process. It does not follow a set of hypotheses; rather the data dictates and builds the theory (Creswell 2007). It allowed for an in-depth exploration of gender role ideology of men. I was able to understand many nuances of the men’s gender role ideology and to decipher similarities and differences between the groups. From the data collected, a theory was constructed from the analysis of themes, patterns and common categories discovered in observational data (Babbie 2001). According to Corbin and Strauss (1998), by its nature grounded theory is distinct from any other research tradition because one must learn to listen, let the data speak to them. One has to relax, adopting a more flexible, less preplanned and less controlled approach to research. The analysis in grounded theory qualitative research is not static nor does it comprise a rigid process. Rather it is a free flowing and creative which moves quickly back and forth between coding, analytic techniques and procedures (Corbin and Strauss 1998).

Justification of Research

Some scholars argue that the United States is built on male domination with a rigid gender hierarchy (Kimmel and Aronson 2008; Lindsey 2011). Being labeled biologically as male or female is directly connected to your position in the gender hierarchy (Oyerwumi 1997). Men are positioned above women and the gendered norms
in nearly all aspects of life, effectively reproducing gender inequality. This prompted Kimmel and Aronson (2008) to argue that it is important to consider that gendered individuals do not inhabit gender neutral social institutions. Both individuals and institutions bear the mark of gender. They further explained that male domination is reproduced not only by socializing women and men differently, but also placing them in organizations and institutions that have inherent gendered norms and values (Kimmel and Aronson 2008). This systematic imbalance gives men systematic power over women and creates a male advantage or privilege in terms of social access, opportunities, decision making, etc. (McIntosh 2007).

However, when race is examined in context to these privileges, research suggests that men of other races often do not enjoy this privilege or only enjoy this privilege to a limited extent. Wingfield (2009) examined the minority men in the feminized field of nursing and found that while White men enjoy male privilege in the form of the glass escalator, minority men do not. The glass escalator is the process by which men get unfairly promoted in traditionally female professions (Williams 1992). While the concept of the glass escalator is sexist and discriminatory, what this research suggests is that minority men may not enjoy the same degree of male privilege as White men.

This possible variation in the distribution of male privilege should not be surprising if one considers the importance of race in shaping the experiences of Americans. In conjunction with the gender hierarchy, the racial hierarchy places men in different racial groups and in contrasting social locations. While it can be argued that men of all races will have similar experiences on one level, race creates different social
locations and often yields contradictory experiences among men of different racial
groups. It can be assumed that these similar experiences create some similar
perceptions. This connection between experiences and effect on one's perceptions can
be seen when studying police stops. Minority men are disproportionately stopped by the
police, and this has created for them a mistrust of the police (Warren, Tomaskovic,
Smith, Zingraff, and Mason 2006). Since Black and White men are on opposite ends of
the racial hierarchy, it can be assumed that their experiences and perceptions will have
the greatest distance.

Essentially, this research explores how the racial and gender hierarchy informs
men's ideology. Kinloch and Mohan (2000) stated that ideologies are a product of
societal differentiation and development, and plurality reflects socioeconomic status.
This paralleled Berger's (1967) idea that ideology is a function of social location and
knowledge based on many social factors. Taking this into account, it can be assumed
that differences in ideology among Black and White men exist.

Preliminary research suggested that there may be variation in the gender role
ideology of Black men and White men. Kane (1992) found that African American men
and African American women are more critical of gender stratification than Whites. This
was supported by Blee and Tickamyer (1995) who suggested that African American
men are more liberal than White men in their attitude about women's gender roles,
about changes in gender roles attitudes over time, and about life course influences on
gender role attitudes.

The research is far from conclusive, yet it appears to suggest that more research
is needed and that there are still spaces that need exploring in reference to men and
racial differences in the area of gender. There is often disconnect between what academia and the public perceives as feminine and masculine. This creates gaps in understanding because how academia defines the term may not reflect public sentiment. By using the voices of men outside academia to explore both the formation and outcome of their gender role ideology and gender attitudes, a more reflective picture can be constructed. This in turn helps raise awareness and understanding of issues of gender among men and women. It also leads to an ability to design a definition and understanding of gender roles that is more representative and complex.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of the study is to provide an in-depth exploration of gender role ideology of Black and White men between the ages 18-30. It also explores Black and White men’s perceptions of how social institutions influence and shape gender role ideology. While there is an ever increasing amount of literature dealing with masculinity, there is still a need to examine Black masculinity. There is a tendency to generalize the effects of masculinity to all men, with little regard to other social factors that may influence variation. Specifically, the study explores 1) how Black and White men form their gender role ideologies, 2) how social institutions shape their gender role ideology, 3) specific gender expectations for men, 4) and whether race is a factor in gender role ideology.

Although society has recognized and developed laws to address issues that confront women, the overall position of women society still lags behind men (Lindsey 2005). The social structure and gender hierarchy, which systematically gives men
power, in part explain traditional gender role perceptions (Connell 1987).

Because of their place in the gender hierarchy, understandings about men’s gender ideas are often simplified. This not only leads to assumptions about men’s ideas on gender, but often ignores the complexities. One of the complexities was communicated by (Lindsey 2011). The author discussed the emerging tenderness norm for men. This norm not only notes that many men are rejecting rigid cultural idea of masculinity, but more significantly it suggests a complex understanding of men’s gender ideas. One of the purposes of this study is to add layers to these ideas.

The purpose of the study is to merge the academic discourse on male privilege with that of general public male privilege beliefs. Increased awareness creates the possibilities of heightened understanding of gender issues and promoting social change. This can be seen as the logical extension of increasing men’s awareness to male privilege. Men’s ability to not only see but acknowledge male privilege should make them more aware of the issues that women suffer like sexual harassment. Since men occupy the highest social level and wield the majority of the social power, the redefinition of social position should encourage social change and help solve many of the issues that women face. This research may show a need to develop multiple awareness programs that address different issues connected to contrasting racially group of men.

This study contributes to the growing body of literature on sociology of masculinity because it adds to the scholarship on gender studies and the intersectionality of race and gender. It is significant because it examines how race and gender influence the construction of gender role ideology. It also provides a context to
investigate gender role ideology formation.

Significance

This research is significant because it explores two relevant issues. First, it explores how social changes have affected men’s gender role ideology. As stated in Chapter 2, the social expectations of men and women have changed over time and because of this there is a need to explore these expectations in this social moment. Second, it explores whether race affects gender role ideology among Black and White men. While there is an ever increasing amount of literature that deals with masculinity, there is still a need to examine its effect on race. There is a tendency to generalize the effects of masculinity to all men, with little regard to other social factors that may influence variation. Exploring such issues may help yield new insight to understanding current social problems.

Organization of Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into six chapters. Chapter 1 consists of an introduction or overview of the study. Specifically, the first chapter examines how men’s gender role ideology changes with the culture and why the research is significant.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on masculinity and the social factors that influences how it is defined. It also examines the current gender role ideology of Black and White men in this society. Furthermore, it provides a comparison of the gender role ideology between them. By reviewing previous research, it helps situate the findings of the study within the literature. The review helps to interpret, synthesize and analyze the
findings of the study because it provides an organized presentation of the literature on masculinity.

Chapter 3 includes an explanation of the methods including the recruitment procedures, unit of analysis, data collection techniques, data analysis, and reflexivity of the study. It gives in depth explanation of the research design and explains why grounded theory was an appropriate method to use to study the gender role ideology of Black and White men. The chapter explains how the interview guide was used to explore multiple dimensions of gender. Beyond this, by explaining the specific methodology, it provides justification for grounded theory and assures the readers it was an appropriate method for analysis.

Chapter 4 consists of an analysis of codes and themes that emerged from the data. It outlines the majors themes that emerged and compares Blacks and White's view of each theme. The analysis of the themes places the findings within the current academic scholarship on masculinity. It adds to the current discussion on not only masculinity, but the intersection on race and gender.

Chapter 5 encompasses qualitative findings from the narratives of the Black and White men. It attempts to make sense of the findings by creating a theoretical framework for understanding the experiences of Black and White, which is grounded in the qualitative data. The data provides a logical understanding to the research and serves to justify the findings.

Chapter 6 is the conclusion. Overall the chapter is a logical ending that focuses on the integration of all findings and addressing the issues presented in the introduction. It not only presents the findings including the similarities and differences in gender role
ideology between Black and White men but synthesizes all the key findings. The chapter also discusses the limitations of the research and recommendations for further research.
CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Formation of Gender Role Ideology

Gender role ideology is learned through gender socialization. Aulette (2002) wrote that gender socialization is the process by which people learn what it is to be masculine and feminine. In the United Stated, gender socialization is based on the fact that physical bodies are always social bodies, so men and women are classified based on biology (Oyewumi 1997). This classification starts at birth as distinctions are made between boys and girls. Lesson such as “that’s not very ladylike” and “big boys don’t cry” are continually reinforced through social interaction with others, children’s literature and toys (Ferris and Stein 2012). As they grow, toys become a significant way to distinguish and reinforce gender roles to children. Toys marketed to girls such as dolls and household appliances seek to teach girls how to nurture and attempts to condition them to be mothers and wives in the traditional sense from the age of 2. In contrast, toys marketed to boys often encourage aggressiveness, toughness and dominance or the development of problem-solving and independent thinking skills inherent to success in science and math (Lindsey 2011).

Though gender is learned through all social institutions, the family is considered the primary agent of socialization. The changing dynamic of the family means contemporary children are being exposed to a wider range of family structure and gender arrangement (Gerson 2007). While there is literature that points to the fact that many households continue have gender chores and social expectations, most current literature finds that in regard to traditional gender roles, both men and women are

**Gender Role Ideology and Change**

The changing definitions of gender can be seen in the literature that explores gender role ideology and men. This is most prominently seen in the literature on masculinity. Examining the literature illustrates a gap because very little research explores how race affects male gender role ideology. The scholarship on masculinity is diverse, most of it agrees that gender role ideology is a cultural product that is not a fixed, crystalized construction (Foucault 1990; Bederman 1995; Connell 2005). While it has a constant presence, the definition of masculinity evolves and so does how it is defined and represented. It is not a solid, immovable construction, rather it changes from moment to moment as historical and cultural forces re-dictate, replace, and re-imagine its reconstructing (Watson and Shaw 2011; Bederman 1995).

Kimmel (2006) wrote that the history of manhood is a history of the changing “ideal” version of masculinity and parallel, competing versions of masculinity that coexist. Connell (2005) stressed that masculinities come into existence at particular times and places and are always subject to change. In his analysis of sexuality, Foucault (1990) connected these changes in masculinity with the changes in culture. He believed that masculinity was a product of social epistemology whereby society fabricates individuals into subjects within a particular discourse. Masculinity then is a productive force, one which constructs bodies and knowledge in particular ways. What may have represented a masculine ideal a hundred years or even ten years ago may be obsolete.
Recent cultural shifts have allowed researchers to study this phenomenon. Many cultural traits once seen as anti-masculine may now be considered masculine. An example of this can be seen in Ervin’s (2011) analysis of the term metrosexual, which was introduced in the 1990s. The term metrosexual denotes a straight man with some stereotypically feminine traits such as taste in grooming, culture, and an interest in consumerism. Miller (2006) theorized that the phenomenon of metrosexuality illustrates a change in social expectations of how the male body should be presented. This change was brought on by an increasing pressure for men to both look young and fit in order to stay employed. Metrosexuality represents the changes in socioeconomic status and shift in the labor market for White, privilege, straight men (Ervin 2011).

This change in socioeconomic status represents a shift in economic definitions of masculinity. According to Buerkle (2011), masculine representation has noticeably shifted since the 1980s with changing tides of capitalism. Industrial definitions and images of masculinity, emphasizing the importance of and investment of personal restraint and the investing of resources into productive ends, dominated popular discourses through much of the twentieth century. Buerkle (2011) supports Ervin (2011) assertion of a neoliberal orientation, which has become increasingly pronounced since the 1990s, producing images of masculinity that emphasizes consumption and gratification as their own rewards. The pull and play between these competing capitalistic modes has manifested in shifting cultural understandings of masculine sexuality as exhibited in men’s mediated representations (Buerkle 2011). Buerkle (2011) examined the NBC situation comedy Seinfeld to illustrate the emerging cultural changes in ideals of masculine sexuality. Seinfeld’s effect on popular culture has manifested
most clearly in White, middle class vernacular, including sexual euphemisms such as "shrinkage," “yada yada yada,” and "master of your domain." Terms like shrinkage, which refers to a man’s penis shrinking smaller than average size after getting out of the pool, more than added to the cultural lexicon, they as well as *Seinfeld* demonstrated the ever changing discourses of gender and sexuality in the United States as we shifted from gender ideology grounded in modern/industrial ideals to one directed toward neoliberal/consumerist ends (Buerkle 2011).

As a cultural artifact *Seinfeld* represents more than the economic shift of the culture; it also becomes an artifact of the post-Civil Rights era. According to Lindsey (2011), the social discourse that emerged specifically from the Civil Rights era not only threatened masculinity, but also exposed individual men to discourse about their social positions. These discourse focused on the racial and gender hierarchy. Farough (2003) proclaimed that the post-Civil Rights era has made both racial and gender privileges more public and that most men, at some point, have to confront the idea of male privilege. Messner (1997) noted the emergence of critical discourse on White masculinity that frames White men as the privileged recipient of the racialized and gender social power of the post-Civil Rights era. Wellman (1993) expanded on the reason for the increase and new public discourse by not only noting the Civil Rights improvements, but also the improvement in economic well-being of Blacks in the 1970s and 1980s as major factors.

**Black Family Formation**

The Black family is particularly important to studying the formation of Black
gender ideology. Most literature on the formation of Black gender role ideology centers on slavery and historical interdependence between men and women. Slavery had a major impact in family life of Africans because it altered the family structure (Davis 1983; Johnson and Staples 2005). Eyerman (2001) wrote that slavery created a cultural trauma. Cultural trauma refers to a dramatic loss of identity and meaning, a tear in the social fabric, affecting a group of people that has achieved some degree of cohesion. In this sense, the trauma need not necessarily be felt by everyone in the community or experienced directly at all (p. 2). Eyerman (2001) maintains that the cultural trauma exists through collective memory, a form of remembrance that grounded the identity-formation of an enslaved people. He believes that the trauma of forced servitude and of nearly complete subordination to the will and whims of another was devastating not only to those who experienced it first hand, but also for the subsequent generations.

The trauma of slavery was central in forming a primal scene that united all African Americans in the United States whether or not they had experienced it. Slavery formed the root of an emergent collective identity through equally emergent collective memory. Allen (2001) agrees with Eyerman’s assessment that the institution of slavery had long lasting effects on the family. The collective memory can be African descendants for strong kinship and family. Gutman (1976) wrote that the transmission of cultural and group history was an important part of African American family from the time of enslavement of the Africans. Lantz (1980) analyzed the narratives collected during Reconstruction and found that tracing and locating lost family members was a primary goal.

The institution of slavery created a pathology of Black culture and Black
community (Johnson and Staples 2005). The Black family has changed during different periods of time in the United States in order to ensure survival of the race and to accommodate the larger patriarchal white society (Collins 2005). The Black family has thrived within this community by exhibiting malleable characteristics that adapts and changes during different periods of time in the United States. The Black church is important in maintaining the Black family (Lincoln and Mamiya 1999; Johnson and Staples 2005).

In terms of family structure, some of the literature believed that the history of slavery removed Black men and created female headed households. Frazier (1948) wrote that the realities of the slave system necessitated that women take the lead in the family, often raising and supporting children primarily without the father. They created an environment of respect and feelings of solidarity among them and their children. Grandmothers held a powerful position of authority in the family, stemming from being the oldest member in the maternal structure, being seen as vessels of wisdom and her role as a midwife. She acts as the kindred thread between past, present and future generations.

This single headed family structure has been used to discuss the problems that plague the Black community. Moynihan (1965) linked social and economic problems of Blacks directly to the structure of the Black family. (Moynihan 1965). The problems were pointedly connected to the absence of male authority in the Black family structure (Massey and Sampson 2009).

While not supporting the argument put forth in the Moynihan report, Brown, Linver, Evans and DeGennaro (2009) reported that the familial structure affected the
message that Black children receive. In their study on whether there was a relationship between gender, racial and ethnic socialization and academic grades, the authors indeed found that aspects of ethnic socialization, African American cultural values and African American heritage were linked to adolescents’ grades. What is more significant are the findings which suggest that socialization provided by paternal caregivers around African American cultural values and African American heritage may have greater differential effects on academic grades than the socialization messages provided by maternal caregivers. If this is the case, the absence of a male or female caregiver in the house would yield at least slightly different results in the gender role ideology of children. Acock and Kieholt (1989) found for that socioeconomic status affected the adult adjustment of children. Individuals from lower socioeconomic statuses were not as adjusted as those from higher. This economic deprivation associated socioeconomic status was more influential than family structure in predicting adult adjustment. It can inferred that Blacks’ economic status country has a negative on their adjustment.

Ricketts (1989) found this assessment of the Black family to be unfair and inaccurate. The author reported that despite popular assertions, there was not a large number of single parent family before World War II. As a matter of fact, the author presented research that asserted that Blacks married at a higher rate than Whites before World War II. The author noted that the big increase in single headed family corresponded with increased Black urbanization and decrease White urbanization. This was largely the economic uncertainty and shortage marriageable men relative to women.

Ricketts (1989) believed that by continuing to use slavery and sharecropping as
excuses to for Black family formation places an over emphasis on blame and not enough focus on finding root cause black family formation problems. Wilson (1978) believed that race relations shifted following urbanization from Blacks after World War II transitioned to class and economic inequality. It also shifted how Black problems have to be studied.

Black Family Structure Effect on Black Men Gender Role Ideology

Literature on the effect of the family on Black men gender ideology suggest two outcomes. The first outcome is that Black men have a more egalitarian ideology than Whites. Burgess (1994) found that the roles exhibited within the family reflect the household sharing developed as members depended on each other. Black families exhibit more liberal and less restrictive in their ideas about gender roles Kane (1992) found that African American men and African American women were more critical of gender stratification than Whites. Furthermore, Blee and Tickamyer (1995) suggests that African American men are more liberal than White men in their attitude about women’s gender roles, about changes in gender roles attitudes over time, and about life course influences on gender role attitudes. Hunter and Sellers (1998) also found that it is common for both African American men and women to have liberal gender attitudes though the attitudes are stronger among women. But the liberal gender attitudes of African American men were significantly higher than White men. Kane (2000) found similar results when comparing African American men and White men. The author found that African American men who are more likely to be aware of such discrimination than White men. Kane (1992) found that African American men and African American women
were more critical of gender stratification than Whites, and the level of agreement between the sexes was greater for African Americans. This can be attributed to the social location of African Americans in the United States.

When examining the gender role ideology in the context of the family, there are also distinct differences between Black men and White men. Kane (2000), points out that the legacy of more egalitarian family structure has lead both African American women and men to have greater criticism of gender inequality than Whites in the United States. Cazenave (1960) wrote that the majority of the middle class African American men surveyed supported nontraditional roles for women, women's issues, and egalitarian marital relationships. Cowdery, Scarborough, Knudson-Martin, Seshadri, Lewis, and Mahoney (2009) suggested that these roles can be seen in couple relationships which tend to operate with a pragmatic equality and a willingness to suspend gender roles for the well-being of the family as a whole. All of this suggests that men’s perception of male privilege may make them more aware of the issues that women in this society suffer from like gender discrimination.

Sarkisian and Gerstel (2004) reported that Black men are more involved than White men in practical support including, help with transportation, household work, and child care. They are also more likely than White men to live with or near extended kin, as well as to frequently see kin in person (Sarkisian 2007). Sarkisian (2007) attributed the socioeconomic disadvantage of Black men to them being less likely than White men to provide financial assistance to their family. Nevertheless, Black men’s economic disadvantage does not hinder their involvement, because cultural values and extended family structure bring their involvement to the levels of the more economically
advantaged Whites (Sarkisian 2007; Sarkisian and Gerstel 2004).

The second outcome is that gender role ideology was no different than the traditional or that it is so slight that it is negligible. Ransford and Miller (1983) wrote that African American males are substantially more traditional than White males, but only consistently with the attitude that "women should take care of running their homes and leave running the-country to men" and the notion that "most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women." From this it was postulated that most African American males do not object to their wives working, but they do object to women taking on political positions in the community. Wilson, Tolson, Hinton and Kiernan (1990) reported with Black household fathers and grandparents were involved in the household tasks, Black mothers did the majority of childcare and household tasks. This research found that tasks were not egalitarian, instead it mimicked the larger society’s gender expectation.

Some literature points to rigid gender role ideology connected to the historical treatment of Black men. According to Neal (2005), centuries of enslavement, exploitation, violence has created the idea that Black men are under attack. It is also in the foundation of a functional myth the author calls “strong Black man,” which is embraced by both White and Black community. The myth of the strong Black man has created a dysfunctional ideology surrounding Black men in which they are often given a pass for damaging behavior against women and children. Neal (2005) believes the Black community closes the ranks and protects Black men, even if the crime is against Black women and children. This is supported by the recently publicized Jena 6, a case about six Black men unlawfully charged with attempted murder. This case drew national
support last year, while the simultaneous case of Megan Williams, a Black woman
kidnapped, raped and tortured drew none. Rarely are Black women defended; instead
they are frequently blamed for the “plight of the Black men.” In this way Black
masculinity promotes a victimization of women and children and stagnation of growth
within the community and of Black men.

Murray (2007) reiterated Neal’s assertions through the analysis of James Baldwin
writings. In his analysis of Baldwin’s Go Tell It on the Mountain (1952), he found that
Baldwin went to great lengths to track the ways that patriarchal authority diminishes the
life possibilities of Black women. The novel frames Gabriel’s enlightenment as a male
heir and future patriarch as necessarily contingent upon Florence’s truncated life
chances. So while Gabriel and his mother seek to create a “royal” patriarchal line to
redeem their peasant origins, the novel itself disrupts such a project by telling the story
of Florence’s shattered bid for autonomy (p. 24). Another example of Baldwin’s
commentary can be seen in his essay “Gide as Homosexual and Husband.” Baldwin
criticizes a powerful masculinity, an ideology that prevents a woman like Madeline from
ever realizing any sense of either sexual autonomy or her womanhood and its right to
flower (p. 23). Murray (2007) added that the piece reveals Baldwin’s clear
consciousness that Black masculinity subordinates women in a pernicious manner.

With the violence and social effects of not only Black masculinity, but also
masculinity in general, Neal (2005) believes that deconstructing Black masculinity starts
with addressing the sexism, misogyny, and homophobia. The creation of a “new Black
man” is one that that understands Black male privilege is a loving father, takes a stand
against violence that targets women and is not homophobic. He also promotes alliance
Hegemonic Masculinity

While little research has focused on race and masculinity, studies have acknowledged differences in gender-based social location ideas. Specifically, Connell (2005) suggested that men do not share equal amounts of power; this creates hegemonic masculinity which denotes a hierarchy of masculinities to maintain gender relations (Lusher and Robins 2009). Hegemonic masculinity is derived from Antonio Gramsci’s concept of hegemony, which is an analysis of class, referring to the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life (Connell 2005). Demetriou (2001) cited Connell (1995) writing that particular masculinities are they subordinated by the hegemonic practice and their situations are related in different ways to the overall logic of the subordination of women to men. In this way, hegemonic masculinity, which is "always constructed in relation to various subordinate masculinities as well as in relation to women," generates dominance not only over women but also over subordinate masculinities and thus links the relations within genders and between genders together. Hegemonic masculinity is therefore understood as both "hegemony over women" and "hegemony over subordinate masculinities" (p. 340). Farough (2003) believed that these hegemonic identities further isolated men from their gender power and male privilege.

Despite this diversity in experiences, Demetriou (2001) believes that there is a hegemonic masculine hybrid bloc that unites all men and gives them gender power. The author contends that the perception of masculine power as a closed, coherent, and
unified totality that embraces no otherness and no contradiction is an illusion. Hegemonic masculinity reproduces patriarchy through a constant process of negotiation, translation, hybridization, and reconfiguration. According to Demetriou (2001), by saying that the dominant form of masculinity is a hybrid bloc that continually reconfigures itself through hybridization is to acknowledge that hegemony is "a historically mobile relation" (p. 20). The hegemonic bloc changes in a very deceptive and unrecognizable way. These changes happen through processes of negotiation, appropriation, and translation, and the transformation appears counter-hegemonic and progressive (Demetriou 2001). For instance, the appropriation of a series of signifiers from gay subcultures, such as earrings for men and dressiness, makes the dominant form of masculinity appear "softer" and less opposed to contemporary femininities (on the level of symbolization). Donovan (1998) stated that softer forms of masculinity are not inherently emancipatory for women and can actually mask the usurpation of women's rights. Masculinities are built on the idea of differences between men and women, and none posits that femininity as equal or superior to masculinity, any construction of masculinity is built on the idea that men take the dominant role. Superficial changes to the appearance do not change the fact that the foundation of masculinity is built on male domination.

Masculinity and Race

In modern times masculinity is more complicated, because in addition to class, gender and status, race now plays a major role in a man's ability to fully benefit from gender privileges. At the same time these developments in the modern gender order
were occurring in Europe, ideas on race were being constructed. Race, as we know it, is a European phenomenon. Feagin (1999) points out that race as a distinctive category was developed in the 1400’s by northern Europeans who had been largely isolated from contact with people who differed from them physically or culturally (p. 5). Fredrickson (2002) made a similar conclusion about race and Western Europe, calling it a creation of the fourteen and fifteenth centuries. Initially, race was used for descendants of common ancestors, emphasizing kinship linkages rather than physically characteristics (Feagin 1999). Feagin (1999) pointed to the development of the sea faring culture as crucial, because it allowed Europeans to interact with people from different continents.

The development of the seafaring culture facilitated the creation of racism, which became the logical extension to the establishment of a racial order. The racial order occurred shortly after the interaction with non-European groups (Fredrickson 2002). Feagin (1999) cited Francois Bernier as being one the first Europeans to sort human beings into distinct categories. This led to the establishment of a racial hierarchy with Europeans being on top. Bederman (1995) argued that European definitions of masculinity were constructed by viewing men from darker races as inferior and their culture as uncivilized. Europeans connected masculinity to cultural differences and civilization. European scholars from Charles Darwin to Auguste Comte were explicit in their pronouncement of the European racial superiority (Bederman 1995). Civilization was seen as an explicitly racial concept, in that only White races could be civilized. Anglo Saxonist imperialists insisted that civilized White men had the racial genius to conquer of more primitive darker races, according to Bederman (1995).

The connection between civilization and race was important in constructing racial
identity. In constructing a racial order and hierarchy where Africans and subsequently Blacks as the Other also created ways of understanding individuals based on racial meanings (Omi and Winant 1994; Ferber 1998). Furthermore, the interaction with other races, which initially caused confusion among the Europeans, led to the formation of racial ideology (Omi and Winant 1994). For Whites though these events and the others that followed are important to their White racial identity, because it creates a collective memory of the grand narrative of the country that continually reaffirms their identity (Feagin 2010). There is also collective forgetting of the narrative of other racial groups and this helps continue racism by ignoring their cultural history (Feagin 2010).

Fredrickson (2002) pointed to three factors laying the foundation for modern racism. The first factor was xenophobia, a reflexive feeling of hostility to the stranger or Other. The European’s xenophobia created a rigid situation when they met other groups. This bias caused them to not put any real effort into getting to know or understand other groups. The second factor was religious intolerance, including the light/dark dichotomy. According to Fredrickson (2002) religious bigotry was common in the Middle Ages among those in power often sought to persecute and condemn other religions. Also the light/dark dichotomy taught by many European churches facilitated the inferior belief of darker skin people. The third factor was culturalism, one’s culture is perceived superior to others.

While Fredrickson (2002) acknowledges that there have been non-European groups who exhibit some qualities of racism, the author points out three important reasons why the study of race and racism has to be concentrated in Europe. The first reason that Fredrickson (2002) mentioned was the fact that the way we see racism is
Eurocentric in nature. He believed that even if racism existed elsewhere in rudimentary form, it did not have any effect on Europe itself prior to the period between late medieval and early modern periods. The second reason is centers on the impact of the ideology that came out of Europe itself. Fredrickson (2002) contended that the varieties of racism that developed in the West had greater impact on world history than any functional equivalent that might detect in another era or part of the world. Finally, the author believed the logic of racism was fully worked out, elaborated implemented and carried to its ultimate extremes in the West, while at the same time being identified, condemned, and resisted from the same cultural tradition.

Faegin (1999) agreed, writing the development of ideological racism is rooted in European global expansion during the 1400s. In terms of masculinity, the colonization and development of slave systems in Americas allowed White men to use cultural differences to justify their manhood while at the same time placing themselves above men of darker races. Slavery created a system of inferiority and racism that prevented African men and their descendants from rights and privileges afforded to White men (hooks 2004).

**White Male Perceptions of Gender Hierarchy**

The literature emphasized that neither White or Black men thought that they were privileged by the gender hierarchy. The social discourse of the post-Civil Rights era has filtered down to and placed the issue of patriarchy into the public imagination of men. While there have been many changes because of this, Black and White men still struggled to view themselves as privileged. In a study of White men’s perception of male
privilege, Farough (2003) stated that most of the White men interviewed viewed their own biographies as privileged by race and gender. The author expressed a range of significant emotional reactions to this critique, such as defensiveness, frustration, ambivalence, and accusing women and people of color of hypocrisy. Fine, Weis, Addelston and Marusza (2007) found similar results. The authors’ study of White working class men found that the men 1) refused to see themselves inside history; 2) searched for scapegoats for their problem; 3) refused to organize along lines of class economic location with women and men across racial/ethnic groups. They felt that their economic positions are constantly threatened by the economic uncertainty.

Farough (2003) found that the critical discourse on male privilege runs counter to the way White men normally see themselves. He concluded that men used a liberal humanistic discourse to interpret both social life and their identity. According to Farough (2003), this discourse frames White men as "sovereign individuals" who are self-governing and autonomous as well as separate from racial and gender issues. They saw the only way for one to be racist or sexist is to consciously act against White women and/or people of color. Thus, liberal humanist discourse obscures how individuals can be structurally privileged by the systems of race and gender. Thus, when White men are challenged by discourse that mark them as privileged, they find it difficult to see how their own individual experiences can be interpreted as advantaged. They believed that unless there is overt racism or sexism, then they do not understand how they benefit from the systems of race and gender. Liberal humanist discourse itself makes it difficult for White men to logically understand themselves as both sovereign individuals and as privileged by race, class, and gender institutions (p. 4).
These White men that used liberal humanist discourse were in opposition to White men who utilized a White supremacist discourse. While in the liberal humanist discourses White men portray themselves as not having privileges or being superior, the foundation of White supremacists’ discourse view Whites, especially White men, superior, both socially and biologically, to other groups (Ferber 1999). This discourse is both racial and gendered in nature. In analyzing White supremacists Ferber (1999) found that the discourse largely focused on interracial sexuality and miscegenation. It views interracial dating, interracial sexuality, and miscegenation as unGodly and a threat the White race. According to Ferber (1999), it views any attempt to increase racial or gender equality as a direct threat to not only the White race but also White power and hegemony.

Black Men and Perceptions of Male Privilege

When race is examined in context to these privileges research suggests that men of other races often do not enjoy this privilege or enjoy only a limited amount. Wingfield (2009) examined the minority men in the feminized field of nursing. The researcher found that while White men enjoy male privilege in the form of the glass escalator, minority men do not.

Mutua (2006) supported Wingfield's (2009) findings by asserting that Black men have not only been oppressed because of racism, but also harmed by the gender oppression implicit in the notion of gendered racism (p. 20). He uses intersectional theory to explain how Black men are affected by these multiple oppressions. Intersectionality is particularly useful because it examines how specific forms of
intersecting oppressions such as race and gender affect Black men. Intersectional paradigms remind us that oppression come in many forms and that oppressions work together to produce injustice (Collins 2000). While Mutua (2006) acknowledged that Black men are allowed some male privilege, he suggested that the current system of gender both provides privilege and harms Black men simultaneously. So Black men may be privileged in terms of not being targeted for rape, but still legal sanctions that specifically target Black men, such sagging pants laws, illustrate this contradiction.

Mutua (2006) uses racial profiling to make his point because it contradicts the idea of gender privilege by presenting a situation where Black men are not privileged by gender and race, but rather oppressed by both. While he acknowledges that there are hegemonic experiences among Black men, racial profiling shows that all Black men experience gender oppression regardless of other social factors such as class and age. Black men are clearly targeted because of their gender and this practice undermines gender privilege.

The stereotype of the sexually out-of-control Black man, further illustrates how Black men are oppressed by their gender instead of privileged by it. Slavery created a system of inferiority and racism that prevented them from rights and privileges afforded to white men. Neal (2006) and hooks (2004) note that one of the ways that these systems have become a mainstay and have even replicated themselves was through the creation of negative stereotypes during enslavement. These stereotypes serve as social control mechanisms and become perpetual antagonists because it forces Black masculinity to be solely defined in terms of Black male stereotypes. Though there are many stereotypes, perhaps the most damaging is that of the sexually out-of-control
Black man. Collins (2005) said that both African women and men were seen as hypersexual beings, but unlike African women, African men’s sexuality was seen as a threat and potentially dangerous. She states that live expression of Black male sexuality needed to be hidden from White spectators, especially audiences that might contain White women (p. 31). The Black man's image as a "walking phallus" poses a constant threat to the idealized White womanhood and thus the whole U.S. social order (Harper 1996). From that point, Black men were defined (at least in terms of the larger society) as being wild, sexual, and out-of-control. It was also one of the justifications for oppressive actions such as lynching and other acts of brutality (Harper 1996).

Furthermore, this alleged threat was indeed the foundation for much legislation geared toward controlling Black men's perceived sexual impulses (Collins 2005). For Black men gender is not always a privilege, but can actually become the justification of violence.

This justification is connected to the gendered racism that minority women and men often experience in the workplace (Wingfield 2007). In a qualitative study of 23 African American professionals in the mid-Atlantic and Southeastern region of the United States, Wingfield (2007) found that Black men experienced gendered racism in the form of White colleagues' perceptions of them as threatening, menacing, or overly aggressive, or as many respondents described, the image of the "angry Black man". Respondents defined the image of the angry Black man as a middle-class, educated African American male who, despite his economic and occupational successes, perceives racial discrimination everywhere and consequently is always enraged (p. 205).

Black male respondents perceived that White colleagues and superiors expected
them to fit this image. This perception led many of the respondents to avoid engaging in any behavior that might reflect it. To illustrate this, Wingfield (2007) cited a respondent named Todd who is a banker with a major financial institution. Todd asserted that a constant part of his job involves carefully constructing his demeanor, actions, and behaviors so that he does not threaten or intimidate his White colleagues (Wingfield 2007). Wingfield (2007) quoted Todd as saying,

Most of them haven't spent too much time around Black people, so what they think they know is usually from TV or some other stupid source. So if they already think most Black guys grow up in the 'hood and sell drugs and are basically like [popular rapper] 50-cent, then I has to do everything I can to not portray that. That means that if they say something to me that reflects that they think that about me, I can't ever get mad. I have to brush it off, always be the nice guy who's not too threatening, not too militant, because they'll lose it if they ever really see me in that way. And that would have serious repercussions for my job. (emphasis added)

Todd is in a constant battle to present himself in opposition to stereotypes of Black men. He particularly attempts to portray himself as someone who is not too "threatening or militant," since these are the key characteristics associated with the stereotype of the angry Black man. Consequently, he experiences gendered racism at work in that he must constantly show, through his behavior, speech, mannerisms, and general demeanor, that he is in no way this threatening, angry persona often associated with Black masculinity (Wingfield 2007).

An examination of the public school system shows a similar targeting of Black males because of gender. Noguera (2008) stated that within the U.S. public school system Black males, more than any other group, are more likely to be punished, labeled, and categorized for special education (often without an apparent disability), and to experience academic failure (p. xvii). While Noguera (2008) does not blame the
public school system, he does attribute much of the treatment and stigma that Black males face to stereotypes associated with their race and gender. So subsequently, a Black boy who states his opinion in class is labeled a trouble-maker, just as a Black man who speaks his mind is looked upon as dangerous (Hooks 2004).

One of the secondary findings of Wingfield (2007) was that the Black male respondents did not see themselves as privileged and actually saw themselves as oppressed. Their sentiments on not being seen the same as White men represent a long line of both public and private discourse expressed by Black men. For years Black men have been vocal about their lack of male privilege. In his declaration of the Niagara Movement W.E.B. Du Bois demands that Black men receive equal rights and thus equal privilege as White men. Du Bois (1968) wrote that full manhood rights, including the right to vote and protect his family, were undeniable to any man. He demanded that Black men be given these rights immediately and without restriction. Current social protests and movements mimic the rhetoric and discourse of the Niagara Movement. Neal (2006) stated that the Million Man March was as much about Black men discussing their lack of privilege and proclaiming their manhood rights as it was about ending racism (Neal 2006).

Another way to see the desire for Black men to fulfill the masculine gender roles is to examine the idea of being the family economic provider. In their study of unmarried African Americans fathers, Bowman and Sanders (1998) found that Black fathers feel the psychological pressure of being the bread winner within a culture that doesn’t always give those options. The authors applied a race strain adaptation hypothesis, which examined how Black men coped with their inability to fit society’s role
expectations. Ray (2008) found across Black, White, and Hispanic races, men all wanted to be the family economic provider. But Harper (2007) wrote that the material constraints of race can make White masculine ideals unattainable for African American men. These constraints and the expectations for African American men to assume these seemingly unachievable masculine roles create identity conflicts.

Majors and Billson (1992) argued that the lack of privilege has led some Black men to develop a cool pose as a coping and survival mechanism for such a restrictive society. The cool pose is a ritualized form of masculinity that entails behaviors, scripts, physical posturing, impression management, and carefully crafted performances that stemmed from their lack of opportunity and lack of privilege.

According to Mutua (2006), this reaction is to be expected due to the social limitations of the social structure. The cool pose points to the insecurities many Black men feel due to the social structure that has constantly denied them privileges. The lack of opportunity and privilege also creates insecurities within Black male identity. These insecurities create instability within Black male identity and forces reactions that become pleas of acknowledgement – wanting to be recognized and publicly accepted as a man with the full capabilities and rights of masculinity (Mutua 2006). When ignored or unrecognized, a sense of hopelessness and powerlessness takes root within Black men. One can look at members of historically Black fraternities to see examples. Members typically give themselves nicknames or “line names” and many of the names show a desire for power and acknowledgement. Line names like "Al Capone" or "The Godfather” illustrate a desire to make their masculinity and themselves relevant. This is supported by Jackson Katz in the documentary *Tough Guise*, when he states that much
of Black masculinity is a reflection of socioeconomic status and mainstream mobster movies.

According to Bederman (1995), the difference in male privilege between Black and White men should not be surprising because race was used as a way to define masculinity. Bederman (1995) criticized historical studies of masculinity that viewed it as a stagnant concept. The author stated that her study is “based on the premise that gender is a historical, ideological process...a continual, dynamic process.” At the turn of the century, with newly emancipated, educated, and landowning Black men, masculinity was no longer seen as a social category occupied by only White men. As a result masculinity was challenged, and race was used as an explicit way to redefine it. Moreover, race was used to circumvent Black men’s rights and to validate White supremacy. Bederman (1995) wrote that men in American began to define manhood by drawing connections between male power and White supremacy. In essence, Black men could not attain masculinity because of their race, regardless if they met the other conditions (male identity and male body) of masculinity.

The difference in the amount and nature of male privilege and gender power between Black men and White men, allows for an in depth study of the possible correlation between the amount and perception of male privilege and sensitivity to issues of gender. One way to measure the level of sensitivity is to study men's gender role ideology. It can be assumed that the more liberal and egalitarian a person's gender role ideology, the more aware and understanding of gender issues. It is logical to assume that similar experiences create similar understandings. Racial oppression seems to have made black men more aware because of a shared experience.
Conclusion

While previous studies have explored many aspects of gender role ideology and masculinity, most studies do not compare Black and White men. What is apparent from the current research is that social factors such as race are significant in determining and predicting ideas on gender. This dissertation focuses on the racial identity and its effect on gender ideology. It contributes to the academic scholarship because it explores a relatively new space.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the study is to explore the gender role ideology of Black and White men between the ages 18-30. One of the most thorough ways of exploring the complexities of ideology is using a qualitative study. The techniques and procedures associated with qualitative research allow for probing, which can lead to richer data and new understandings. A qualitative study using grounded theory was employed in order to explore the gender role ideology of Black and White men. There is an ever changing social definition of men and women (Foucault 1990; Bederman 1995; Connell 2005; Watson and Shaw 2011), and the notable shift from many of the industrial definitions of gender suggests that the further need to explore gender role ideology (Buerkle 2011). Grounded theory is useful because it forces the researcher to listen and let the data speak to them (Corbin and Strauss 1998). This allows the researcher to gather more information about a particular topic than could be obtained from scripted responses. It does not follow a set of hypothesis; rather the data dictates and builds the theory (Creswell 2007). This translates into a free flowing and creative analysis in which one moves quickly back and forth between coding, using analytic techniques and procedures freely (Corbin and Strauss 1998). Specifically, in this study, it allows for the in-depth exploration of the gender role ideology at this historical moment, yielding ideas, themes and that may not be evident a strictly quantitative approach.
Procedures

Pretest

Before the dissertation study began a pretest was conducted. A group of four men, 2 Black and 2 White, were used as a pretest of the questions used in this study. This pretest is a tool of reliability and validity of the questions and because it test the effectiveness of the questionnaire as tool for gathering the desired data. It gauges the responses, indicating the path that each question leads. This may signal to the researcher that a question or questions need to be changed or removed. Questions may also need to changed or removed if they produce stress, anxiety or discomfort from the respondent. This group tests the validity of the study by serving as a comparison group to the group interviewed in the study. During the pretest stage, 3 questions were removed from questionnaire due to ineffectiveness. The content of the questions was out of date and due to this the respondents were confused about how to answer them.

Dissertation Study

Thirty interviews were conducted with Black and White men from Baltimore, Anne Arundel, and Howard counties in the state of Maryland. Fifteen Black men and fifteen White men were interviewed using an interview guide. The respondents were interviewed once for varying durations. The average length of the interviews was 30 minutes.

Recruitment

Once the project was approved by the Institutional Review Board at the
University of North Texas, the recruiting process began. I utilized a non-probability sampling method for the pretest and the study. Though the results would not be generalizable, it was the most effective for exploring the in-depth issues of gender. These findings provide potential issues that can be explored with future quantitative analysis. In August 2010, I began recruiting Black and White men from various places in Baltimore County. After receiving the approval for the project, I wanted to target a diverse group of people, so I made a list of possible locations. Among the locations targeted were colleges, health centers, community centers and barber shops. I was allowed to freely recruit at these places, only Baltimore City Community College required that I receive permission prior to the recruitment process. To obtain permission, I composed a formal memo in which I introduced myself and explained my research design.

Recruiting was a time consuming and challenging process. The primary recruiting strategy was reliance on available subjects in which I approached individuals at various locations. Since I was not offering any incentives such as money or material goods, I often got dismissed when I approached individuals about giving up their time for an interview. Since I approached the individuals there could have been a self-selection effect. There is a possibility, that I could have unknowingly targeted a certain type of person. This could dramatically affect findings. Based on the research design, this was most effective method to recruit. Conducting one on one interviews require that participants be willing to give up a relatively larger amount of time compared to a quantitative, so face to face recruitment allows for quicker assessment of those willing. It also allowed for easy self-identification by the participants in terms of both age and
race. During the face to face recruitment, I would start by introducing myself and explaining the study. If they were interested, I would give them my business card, so that they could contact me either by email or telephone in order to set up an interview day and time. All respondents recruited in this manner contacted me first. I felt this was the best way to make initial contact so that they felt comfortable and not pressured. After the initial contact, as needed, I contacted them over the phone or email.

This method of recruiting participants had an unexpected snowballing result. While some individuals could not participate in the study for various reasons, they did serve as key informants in recruiting others. They gave my information to someone, who would contact me about setting up an interview. Additionally, some of the participants in the study passed on my information to individuals that were eventually interviewed. I limited the amount of people that an individual could snowball to one. This helped maintained diversity, because people in the same social circle may have similar views.

Since this is a grounded theory approach, 30 people should yield enough data to formulate a theory (Creswell 2007). For maximum theoretical saturation, the respondents were selected by race and age. Age becomes an important factor because it can be assumed that age will have an effect on both a person perspective and their place in society. There may be vastly different jobs, family structure, etc based specifically on age. Differences in social influences like music, pop culture, and television, may also be age specific.

Data Collection

Qualitative data collection began August 4, 2010 and was completed February
21, 2012 in northern Maryland. The sole method of data collection for the study was in-depth interviews conducted face to face. The study, including the pretest, consisted of 34 semi-structured interviews resulting in over 550 pages of single-spaced transcripts. The interviews lasted between 18 minutes and 2 hours and took place in a variety of places. Participants were allowed to choose a place that they felt comfortable to be interviewed. In some cases, I suggested places to be interviewed. Interviews were conducted in homes, public libraries, meeting rooms, and classrooms.

Before the interview started, I thoroughly explain the project and read over an informed consent form (Appendix A). Once they agree to be interviewed, they signed an informed consent, which I kept once I signed, and they received a copy of the consent form. I recorded each interview with a digital voice recorder and a Livescribe audio recording pen supplemented by handwritten notes written on Livescribe digital paper. Each digital file was securely stored on my computer in a separate file. The Livescribe pen not only allowed audio recording, but also allowed all my handwritten notes to be digitally stored as well.

In order to preserve confidentiality, neither name nor personal information of the respondents was recorded. There was a pseudo name assigned to each interview in order to keep track of them. Each was placed in separate files.

The Interview Guide

For this study, I used an interview guide (Appendix B). Using an interview guide allowed me to best utilize the participants time by providing a framework, while at the same time allowing enough freedom to fully explore, probe and ask questions (Patton
I decided to use an interviewed guide because according to Patton (1980), it also helps focus the interview so that individual experiences and perspectives emerge. Standard open ended interviews offer three advantages for this study. The first is that the questions are also composed in advance the exact same way that they are asked, so they are easily available for inspection by the IRB. The next advantage is that interviewer bias is minimized because the questionnaire has been constructed previous to the interview, so it is assured that the same question is asked to each participant. Finally, this approach helps take advantage of the allotted time for interview because the questionnaire is constructed (Patton 1980). This model also made data analysis easier because it makes it possible to locate each respondent's answer to the same question and to organize questions and answers that are similar (Patton 1980, p. 202).

The interview guide is categorized into five distinct sections. The first part of the interview guide was used to gather demographic and background data. First were questions centered on definitions of manhood. These questions were designed to explore both how they defined being a man and whether they felt that they have same opportunities as other men. Second, I asked questions centered on the work domain. These questions explored their ideas of household roles and who should be head of household. Third, I used centered on the home domain. These questions centered mostly on the conversation and jokes at work. I also probed their ideas on sexual harassment and whether the definition needed changing. Finally, I included questions centered on the sexual domain. These questions dealt with their ideas about sex, pornography and pole dancing. Lastly, I asked a closing question, what advice would you give a person about being a man?
I began the interview with by asking demographic questions such as where did you grow up? Who were the members of your household growing up? I also explored benefits and challenges of family structure by asking them to “tell some of the challenges of your mother and or father being there” and tell some of the benefits of mother and or father being there. After the demographic questions, two ice breaker questions were asked in order to make the participants more comfortable and to establish an open dialogue. This made the interview more like a conversation rather than a formal interview.

Data Analysis

According to Creswell (2007), data analysis is spiral because the process of analysis involves the researcher moving in analytical circles rather than a fixed, linear approach. The goal is to enter the process with data and leave the process with a narrative, but before one leaves, several facets of analysis interact. The data first must be organized and converted before any analysis happens. I recorded each interview with a digital voice recorder and with a Livescribe audio recording pen as a backup device supplemented by handwritten notes. All interviews were transcribed verbatim. I transcribed the pretest interviews but hired a professional to transcribe the 30 interviews for the study.

Once the data was transcribed, I transferred the data into the qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA. This software was chosen because it is versatile software that allows organization and interpretation for all phases of the research. I started the data analysis by performing detailed paragraph-by-paragraph microanalysis of the text.
within MAXQDA. During this process, I recorded my initial thoughts through memos. This is not only the beginning of the coding process, as Corbin and Strauss (1998) predicted, this process challenged me to listen closely to what the interviewees were saying, and how they were saying it. A constructivist grounded approach was used in the data analysis. Constructivists study how— and sometimes why— participants construct meanings and actions in specific situations. A constructivist approach means more than looking at how individuals view their situations. It not only theorizes the interpretive work that research participants do, but also acknowledges that the resulting theory is an interpretation (p. 130). After the initial microanalysis, I began the process of open coding which was be applied to the data. During this process ideas and concepts were classified and categorized into codes by highlighting words or sections of the texts. Memos were written simultaneously as needed during this process as a way to organize and maintain my ideas and help develop the codes and later on the theory. Thirty-four codes were assigned based on common emergent themes.

A codebook was generated and I began the process of axial coding. I analyzed the codes developed in open coding and assembled them into categories. For example, ideas on pornography were grouped with similar codes that dealt with ideas connected to sex. These categories were also selected using the memos. The memos helped identify causal relationships and conditions between codes and to develop themes. This helped generate a storyline for the research which led to the development of the theory.

**Reflexivity**

Going into this project, I had a desire to explore men’s ideas of gender. This
desire was built on experiences throughout my life which cast men in a contradictory way. I saw men who loved but could not express it, who philandered but felt lonely; these and other experiences shaped me. I went into the study value-laden. In many ways, I saw men as rigid social beings whose ideas of gender changed very slowly. However, based on my life experience and familiarity with Black centered literature, I assumed that poorer and Black men would have a more egalitarian gender attitudes.

It was important that I acknowledged this and take steps to make sure that I conduct the study as objectively as possible. The questionnaire was reviewed by my dissertation committee, in order to check its effectiveness and objectivity. The questionnaire was also pretested for the same reasons. I gave the participants the option of choosing the location to be interviewed to increase their comfort, but also to minimize the likelihood of choosing a place that might bias or influence them. I only suggested a place if they did not have a place in mind.

During the interview, I made a conscious effort not to seem to agree or disagree with any of the comments made. I did this by monitoring my body language, my verbal cues, and my personal space. I found myself feeling anxious and somewhat overwhelmed during the interviews as I wondered how I would be able to capture the essence of what the respondents were trying to say. I did not expect to feel such an allegiance and responsibility to the respondents. During the analysis, I challenged myself to interpret the sources differently than I normally would. I read scholarship from different fields, such as mythology, physics, religion and biology in order to different perspectives on gender and social life in general.
Institutional Review Board

This study was approved on August 9, 2010 by the Institutional Review Board at the University of North Texas. The study guaranteed that all the participants' information gathered before and during the interviews would be kept confidential and that no identifying information would be used. The consent forms that each participant signed is located in Appendices. The process of recruitment began immediately after receiving final IRB approval.
CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

This chapter is an analysis of the data transcribed from one-on-one interviews with Black and White men. The chapter outlines the themes that emerge from the data and provides detailed discussion. There were five major themes that emerged that illustrate the similarities and differences in gender ideology between Black and White men. The men were influenced by social factors like socioeconomic status (SES), race, history and social institutions, i.e. church and media. Overall, the data displayed how important both the masculine superstructure and public discourse was in shaping men’s views.

Sample Characteristics

Characteistics of Black and White Men

The unit of analysis for the study was Black and White males between the ages of 18 and 30. Including the pretest, there was a total of 34 participants in the study. For the pretest, 2 Black men and 2 White men were used to analyze the effectiveness of the questions. Based on the pretest, 3 questions were removed from the final interview guide due to their ineffectiveness.

For the dissertation study, 30 people were interviewed, 15 Black men and 15 White men. The interviewees self-identified demographic range of demographic data including race, sex, class, and socioeconomic status (SES). The demographic breakdown was as follows: 30 men of which 24 identified themselves as single, 4 identified as married and 2 as engaged. Of the single respondents, 2 noted that they
were in a relationship. Class demographics illustrated that 7 men identified themselves as lower class, 1 as upper class, and 1 was not sure of his class, and 21 as middle class. Of the 7 lower class, 4 identified as Black and 3 identified as White. All the men stated that they had taken at least one college course. They have a variety of jobs such as student, dock worker, teacher, archivists, fashion model, nursing home work, HVAC worker, bus worker, etc.

The majority of the participants reported that they grew up in two parent families. Of the 22 men from two parent families, 14 were White and 8 were Black. Three Black men reported being from single parent families, all led by women. Five men (4 Black men and 1 White men) reported being from extended families. The extended families included one or two of the grandparents and usually only the mother. One of the Black men responded to living in an extended family and having both parents.

**Table 1. Black and White Men Demographics Table**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID name</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ron</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>fashion model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwight</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>bus driver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kai</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>single-girlfriend</td>
<td>teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillip</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>dock worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norris</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arlando</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>archivist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grian</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>barber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yusef</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>retail sales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keith</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>warehouse worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blaine</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>security guard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyrus</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>nursing home tech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jim</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gary</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamont</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Engaged</td>
<td>shipping agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>HVAC worker and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This grounded theory approach is closer to Charmaz (2010) and Strauss and Corbin (1998) than Glaser and Strauss (1967). This updated approach to grounded theory emphasizes that the themes are built out of the researcher’s interpretation, specifically how and why the participants constructed their responses. It is in contrast to Glaser and Strauss (1967) which posited that themes are discovered. The themes were built from patterns of data collected through in-depth interviews that emerged from multiple coding stages. There were five major themes that emerged. The themes are religion, money, masculinity, preference in relationship, and reasons for women victimization. See chart below

Table 2. Description of Major Themes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>White Men</th>
<th>Black Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Traditional religion doctrine prevented progressive thinking</td>
<td>Traditional religion doctrine supported the gender views</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>Discussed economics</td>
<td>Economics was</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculinity</td>
<td>Masculinity</td>
<td>More likely to masculinity as a rites of passage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>centered on the sex work industry</td>
<td>Had a Nebulous Definition of Masculinity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preference in Relationship</th>
<th>Preference toward balance and egalitarianism in relationships</th>
<th>Preference toward balance and egalitarianism in relationships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Household Roles</td>
<td>Believed that current society dictated equal division of labor</td>
<td>Emphasized how environment influenced role expectations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of Household</td>
<td>Had egalitarian views on head of household</td>
<td>Had egalitarian views on head of household</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last Names</td>
<td>Nearly unanimous support of a woman keeping or hyphenating her name</td>
<td>Mixed support of a woman keeping or hyphenating her name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for Women victimization</th>
<th>Believe that women’s behavior and male entitlement are reasons for victimization</th>
<th>Believe that women’s behavior and male entitlement are reasons for victimization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Religion**

*White Men thought Traditional Religious Doctrine Prevented Progressive Thinking*

Though there was not a question asked directly about religion, it was a major theme throughout the data. In terms of White men, 11 out of 15 believed that gender ideology and gender-related issues were significantly influenced by religion. The data suggested that most, but not all, felt people’s reliance on religious (particularly Christian) ideals affected their ability to be open-minded and objective. Instead, the men felt people relied on religion for many of their views and religion acted as a social control.
mechanism that prevented progressive thinking. The data suggested that White men associated religion with antiquated perspectives. This association is representative of the disenchantment in modern society which has led to the questioning of traditional values (Dobbelaere 2009). Cultural changes have led Whites to be more self-actualized, anti-institutional, and pragmatic in their perspectives (Roof 2009). Looking at the responses, three key elements emerged: 1) perspectives are secular rather than religious, 2) religious ideals are seen as controlling, and 3) most White men did not identify themselves as being associated with any of the mainstream religions or their beliefs.

Throughout most of their responses there was a consistent emphasis on secular-over-religious thinking. For example, Tashuan, a 27-year-old White salesman, felt that people's inability to accept homosexuals getting married was rooted in the Christian belief in the Bible. He made it clear that he was not religious, and he was skeptical about the Bible's authenticity. Speaking specifically about the Bible and its origins, he said

Nobody knows who wrote this; nobody knows who took care of this; nobody knows these people who made up these things. And these were done years ago by a totally different society, who had different rules in place and different values than we do today.

Part of this can be attributed to the idea that using religion for a point of view was antiquated, and that society had changed. Because of this change, society now has to view things differently. He then discussed how using religion was ineffective because society's rules and values had evolved.

Lee, a 23-year-old White HVAC worker, provides another example. Like Tashuan, Lee believed that Christianity affected how people viewed homosexuals getting married.
He talked about struggling to accept homosexual marriage when his friend came out. Lee attributed his reluctance to Christian values. “This is stupid. I’d been thinking stupidly. I keep thinking this is evil…And I was raised in a Christian society, and it was very, you know, ‘Aw! It’s a sin!'” While Lee believed that his eventual acceptance was as simple as saying “This is stupid,” he made a point that he was not a Christian and his sister who is against homosexuals getting marriage is “super religious.” This implies that his acceptance was based on a pragmatic viewpoint. It also gives a sense that people who are religious are not progressive and are somehow controlled by ideology or tradition.

This was a common idea throughout the analysis where Whites compared themselves to religious people as a way of casting off religious ideals as traditional and controlling. At the same time, they presented themselves as models of progress and as rational decision makers. Harry, a 29-year-old White chiropractor, also referred to his parents being “super religious” when discussing their views on his cohabitation with his fiancée. He makes it a point to say he is the opposite of them. “I say, again, being this is the opposite of my parents, 'cause they're super religious, but live together for a while.” He explains his position by saying he is the opposite of his parents, and taking a more pragmatic approach to cohabitation. “Everything changes when you live together. You get to see the bad flaws, like when they blow up, but I would say…work together…live together for a while before you decide to get married together.”

While these men rejected religion, other men did not. Of those who expressed some sort of religious affiliation, there were two religious perspectives expressed. The disenchantment with and disestablishment of religion paved the way for new religious
expressions (Roof 2009; Giddens et al. 2009). One was a spiritualist view which is part of the new religious trends. Gary, a 29-year-old White student, referred to himself as “spiritual” and not “religious.” Also, Blair, a 21-year-old White intelligence analyst, referred to himself as a “non-religion” pagan. Both of these men’s perspectives followed the pattern of challenging traditional religious interpretation. Blair felt that Christianity made people close-minded and ethnocentric. He made the point that he, his pagan and atheist friends are “bothered” by people who do not try to understand gender. He used a description of an Islamic household to illustrate how limited religion makes our understanding. Blair challenged the notion that women in Islam have no power. “Everybody thinks that the woman has no power, and she’s gotta wear all these…but in the household, actually, she holds all the financial decisions, all of the household decisions, how the family’s gonna go, where they’re gonna live, how things are gonna be set up in the house.”

The second religious view expressed was a traditional belief in Christianity. Some of their responses included references to God. For example, Reginald, a 21-year-old White salesman, cited how an ideal mate is one understands that “God created man and woman.” He elaborated further by explaining his mate would understand, “He [God] makes half the heart, you know, for the other mate...for the other soul, rather than...not just in a physical aspect, but a spiritual.”

Lamont, a 30-year-old White shipping agent, believed that homosexuals should have all the civil rights of marriage but that that they should not use the word “marriage” because it was disrespectful to Christians. He remarked, “I think that the terminology ‘marriage’ has a religious connotation, and to insist on that word...even if
the benefits are the same…to insist on that word is almost an attack on the religious people who don’t agree with it.”

The results suggest a direct correlation between belief in traditional religious doctrine and ideas about gender. Based on modern changes, social changes like technological advances, medical advances, new public discourses, new rational and critical ideologies have emerged (Roof 2009). It should not be a surprise that religion is seen as control. Whites’ understanding of gender has been influenced more by social changes and disenchantment. Despite this, the apparent attack on religion shows how important it is even as a baseline for understanding gender.

**Black Men used Traditional Religious Doctrine to Support their Gender Views**

Unlike White men, all the Black men believed that religion was a fundamental part of their identities, and they used it to support their gendered ideas. Instead of viewing religious ideology as controlling or antiquated, Black men professed a belief in Christian ideals and principles. Religion has long been an important staple in the Black community and continues to be important (Lincoln 1999). Furthermore, Giddens et al. (2009) found that a general belief in Christianity as well as church attendance was connected to race and class. The authors found that minorities, particularly Blacks and lower SES individuals had a higher religiosity. Since Whites as a group are more likely to be economically stable, one can extrapolate that they have a lower religiosity or are less likely to need to rely on traditional religious beliefs. In his study on religiosity, Wortham (2009) found that Blacks had higher scores than Whites on belief orthodoxy, frequency of prayer and church involvement.
This infers a likely interactive effect between race and religion. As an institution, the Black church and the subsequent ideology it spawns, is significant to Blacks regardless of church attendance. Through church-based community initiatives, federal funding and public stance on race based issues, the church continue to affect the lives of Blacks despite church attendance (Kvasny and Lee 2011; Samuels 2011; Krause 2011). This also suggests that the church is a semi-involuntary institution for Blacks, and urban environments lack adequate secular outlets for expression and continued connection to the community (Ellison and Sherkat 1999; Ellison and Sherkat 1995). The Black urban community resembles rural community, in that there is a strong church in the community, an isolation from many social activities due to structural oppression, and communal involvement, which may provide social pressure in terms of church attendance and religious expression.

Its relevance could be seen among the Black male respondents who made a point to state how important their religious beliefs were to their identity. What consistently emerged not only showed how Black men viewed religion, but also that they acknowledged the importance of believing in God in shaping their views of gender.

Blacks’ traditional perspective on religion seemed to lead to more traditional gender ideology than White men possess. This is not surprising given how important the Black church has been to Blacks in shaping their ideas on gender (Samuels 2011; Littlefield 2005; Bent-Goodley, Vil, and Hubbert 2012).

Black men used religion to support their views of gender. Grian, a 30-year-old Black barber, felt it was important for a man to be the head of household. He referred to the Christian creation story to explain it. “Because I believe God created us for all
different types of reasons; and when he created, he started with the man…then came Eve…then came Adam making a mistake an eating the apple, ‘cause he was enticed by a female…”

This belief in God could be seen in how they constructed their responses. While not pointing to specific verses or ideas in the Bible, Cooper, a 22-year-old Black student, supported his ideas of household roles and responsibilities. He proclaimed,

I’m a church person, God-fearing and so most of the ideals that come across are what I’ve taken from the Bible. So, in terms of roles within the household, I do see the man as the head of the house; however, I’m not saying whatever he says is final. I think that between him and the wife should discuss matters and coming to some final agreement, rather than he just saying, ’This is how it’s gonna be.’ But I do see the man as the breadwinner.

It is interesting to note that among Black men there were no incidents where religion was seen as social control. This was significant because it yielded different results on similar topics. An example of the difference can be seen in how Black and White men used religion to discuss same-sex marriage. While White men characterized religion as controlling, Black men used religion to support their point of view. When discussing his perspective, Norris, a 22-year-old Black student, professed being a Catholic and following traditional Catholic beliefs. In regards to homosexuals getting married, he proclaimed that as a Catholic he did not approve of it. “In my religion, we do not believe a man was made to be with a man.” Similarly, Ron, a 20-year-old Black fashion model said, “I can't see eye to eye with that...I don't think God put us here for that, to date the same sex.” What these quotes illustrated is how religious ideology played a part in how Black men constructed their views. The major reason not to support it was based on their religious interpretation. While it may be seen as significant
to examine whether these men support or don’t support same-sex marriage, its more insightful to look at how religion is used to reason.

Arlando, a 29-year-old Black archivist, talked about it being a fundamental part of learning to become man. He grew up in an environment at home and school that emphasized a strong belief in “Christ.” Arlando further discussed the role his church played. He explained, “at my church that I presently go to…I would say even the church I grew up in…it’s very, I would say cognizant about developing men. And not necessarily in the sort of societal definition of gender role of a man, but rather the Godly, Christian development of men.”

The Godly Christian man is flawed and emotional, according to Arlando, is explained in the Bible. “If I was to define him, I would look to the Bible, and truthfully, men are flawed [Laughter]. That’s just how it is. We’re very intelligent, but we’re also very dumb, and we do dumb things.”

He continued by recalling the story of Moses.

There are a number of examples of men in the Bible who are emotional, you know. And it’s okay to be emotional, but it’s also understanding where those emotions come from. I remember once, we had a discussion about Moses; and although most people would look at Moses and sort of define him as being this great leader of the people of Israel, he was also a murderer. And his first act was he murdered a man, and then he went on the one. And then God came and found him and said, ‘Hey, I have a job for you.’ And so, it shows that you can be flawed on one hand, but still be used for another…for a positive purpose.

The fact he differentiates between religious and social expectation of manhood is significant. It shows a higher reverence for religious ideology.

Another difference between Black and White men is how they relate to their family’s religious beliefs. White men tended to differentiate themselves from their
family’s religious ideals and Black men did not. They aligned with their family’s religious beliefs and acknowledged how it shaped their gender ideology. Yusef, a 21-year-old Black salesperson, noted that his family’s Christian beliefs shaped his gender ideology saying, “My family’s like real Christian-like, so they follow traditions, and that’s what my beliefs are.” An example of how this affected his ideas can be seen later in his responses. When asked who should be the head of the household, he used the Bible in his explanation. “In the Bible, the man is the head. The woman is the co-captain.”

Racial or Religious Difference

It is difficult to distinguish whether the variation in responses by Black and White men illustrated a difference in religious beliefs, or race. Since all of the Black respondents followed traditional religious values, and many Whites did not, the difference in their views could be a religious difference. In order to address this, the responses of the three Christian White respondents were compared to the responses of the Black men. In terms of religion, their responses centered the family inside the home. For example, Austin felt it was important for the family to do Biblical devotions after dinner. Reginald stated, “I want them to grow up in a very positive household a very spiritual, uplifting household.” Very rarely did they use traditional religious values to support their views. Their responses were similar to other Whites and not Blacks. Examining responses, where religion is typically used to support a traditional perspective, they did not use one. For instance, Austin thought it was completely natural for a woman to keep her last name in modern society. He and Reginald also discussed how it was desirable to have an equal head of household. What this indicates is that the
difference in the research is racial and not religious. Their responses emphasize individualism and support aspects of the White racial identity.

Money

*White Men’s Discussion of Economics Centered on the Sex Work Industry*

In terms of money, other than believing that men should be the bread winner or provider in the family, White men only discussed it in terms of the sex work industry. Interestingly, the topic of money was not specifically explored by the interview guide. The fact that they did not reference their personal financial situation speaks to the economic hierarchy in society. Examination of the SES, opportunities, and power distribution in the United States, place White men as the dominant group, so there is an assumption they will be economically stable. Also it speaks to the shift in masculinity towards consumerism (Buerkle 2011); the consumption of bodies is ubiquitous.

Most of the responses pertaining to money occurred when the interviewees were questioned about pornography. The researcher prompted, *Pornography is really prevalent, talk about ideas concerning pornography.* Nearly all the responses, in one form or another, alluded to the economic status of the industry or the fact that sex work was used by people to make money. Even though, there is objectification of men and women, predictably the men focused on women. Money was the undercurrent connecting the responses. This suggested that pornography and stripping have been used to validate the sexualization of women’s bodies because of the commercial financial success. Currently, the United States is the world’s leading producer of hard-core videos. The United States produces 150 new titles of pornography videos per
week. Also widely disseminated are computer porn, sex magazines, adult cable programming, live sex acts, and phone sex. The amount of money spent on adult materials is higher than Hollywood’s domestic box office receipts or the entire revenue from rock and country music recordings (Egan 2000; Schlosser 1997). Indeed, pole dancers can expect to earn $75,000 a year (Egan 2000).

Responses did not necessarily address whether it was right or wrong, rather they referenced the fact that there is an enormous amount of money made from strip clubs and pornography. Case in point, Reginald, a 21-year-old White salesman, stated. “Pornography, in my opinion, is just another way to make money.”

This idea was placed in historical context by some men who contended that there is a long history of making money off women’s bodies. They pointed to the fact that pornography and prostitution have been around for many years. Because of this, Kroy, a 25-year-old White student, did not think it would change. “It’s been around for thousands of years…Don’t really see that anything has really changed over those years either. “ Lamont believed that the genetic desire for sex cements pornography’s place within society. He mentioned pornography and prostitution in Pompeii to show that there is a history of exploiting sex desire for money. He thought that pornography and prostitution will always be around because “there’s too much money to be made in it.”

Accessibility to sex work through the internet and other media sources presents itself as a legitimate form of income. Tashuan told a story of an ex-girlfriend who moved to California and eventually started acting in pornographic movies. There was a progression from bridal magazine model to porn actor as she realized the amount of money that can be made from pornography.
Also the fact women earn money from stripping is important because it justifies the consumption and removes the guilt. Reginald stated “I personally wouldn’t like my girl to do it. But, I mean, it’s a job. It’s a legal way to make money.” Harry was more nonchalant about strippers, choosing to see their work as a viable high paying job.

I'm about to go to a bachelor party next weekend. So, I don't care what people do in their general life...strippers, pole dancing...whatever. It's your choice...your life...do whatever you want. Pole dancing, again, people pole dance because they get more money than they do waitressing or working at McDonald's.

Drew, a 22-year-old White nursing home tech, discussed the idea of personal choice and the necessity of making money. “So, if someone wants to go in front of a camera naked, I guess that's up to them. I don't think that they should feel like they need to do that to make money, though; but I understand that some people do that just to get by.”

As pole dancing has moved from the margins to the center of public imagination, you see people, younger girls, exposed to it. Lamont expressed disappointment and disbelief at a scene he viewed during a recently attended engagement party. His disbelief was not at what he saw, but who he saw.

A friend’s father got remarried, and his wife, for their engagement party, had a pole in the house; and both she and her eight-year-old daughter were dancing on this pole in front of all his family and friends. I mean, they weren’t stripping or anything like that, but they were pole dancing and belly dancing. I found it very objectionable to have a young child doing something like that.

The results should not be surprising considering how masculinity has shifted since the 1950s. Osgerby (2001) stressed that the representation of masculinity in the 1950s and 1960s shifted from industrial definitions of masculinity to one that emphasized the playboy, leisure lifestyle. These images of middle-class White men
hanging on beaches, dating multiple women were perpetuated by *Playboy* magazine. *Playboy* created a safe, public space for men to consume women’s bodies. This continued in the 1980s, when images of men investing resources into productive ends gave way to images that emphasized consumption and gratification as their own rewards in the 1990s (Ervin 2011; Buerkle 2011). The consumption of women’s bodies through various mainstream media has been lucrative and has become a part of masculinity.

*Black Men’s use of Economics was Focused on the Household*

The data revealed that Black men were concerned about their economic opportunities and maintaining a household that was financially secure. The responses yielded both anxiety and seriousness as they discussed how being financially stable was important for their family. This is not at all surprising when one considers both the social and historical realities for racial minorities. Through various social and structural factors, Black men are more likely to be removed from the household, struggle to find work and be a part of the underclass (Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson 1995).

These men acknowledged the racial realities as they discussed how their financial opportunities are affected by race. Kai, a 26-year-old Black teacher, stated that while technically everyone has opportunities, being Black does create limitations.

As a Black man, you have less of a chance of being put in an advantageous position to strive and get to those many different levels. You have less of a chance than somebody else who’s put in that position whose fathers and grandfathers and uncles and friends of the family and this and that are the people who are controlling the institutions of this society.

Cooper believed that these opportunities were affected by where you go to
college. He specifically talked about how the assumption and subsequently negative perception of going to a HBCU (Historically Black College or University) versus a PWI (Predominantly White Institution) limited his career path.

Say I was to go to Morgan, as opposed to going to Towson or John Hopkins (sic), you know. When you say, 'I should probably go to Morgan, 'cause it's cheaper.' Being international, I'm thinking of the money. So, you know, I'm saying I wanna go there 'cause it's too expensive. But then people are like, 'Can't watch your money, because Morgan is a Black school, and you'll get a job faster if you go to John Hopkins.' And you're like, 'Why?' And they're like, 'The population there is kind of White based.' You know? (I'm not sure this quote makes sense.

This anxiety created urgency for financial stability which was a major component within the household. Dwight, a 25-year-old Black bus driver, thought that financial stability was the most important quality of a family. He expressed that other elements within the family are hard to negotiate without being financially secure. He reflected on growing up poor, and how the struggle for money created many problems for his household. He saw financial stability not only as a way to support him and his family but also as a way of preventing many problems.

The desire for financial stability appears to have created more egalitarian households. This echoed previous research which suggested that Blacks have egalitarian households due to the fact that both men and women work out of economic necessity. Because of this, Black men are more likely than White men to be supportive of a working wife (Lyson 1986; Blee and Tickamyer 1995). Two incomes make a household more financially stable, and there is research to suggest that Black men seek financially stable women. King and Allen (2009) found African American men and women seek well-educated, financially stable, monogamous, and affluent partners who are spiritual, religious, self-confident, and reliable. This is supported by the data. Kai
stated that he wanted to marry on the “same level” and at the “same socioeconomic level.”

The need to be financially secured has made Blacks egalitarian in the household. Bryant and Beckett (1997) studied the effects that resources have on the financial status and gender role ideology of African American couples. They stated that since the couples were African American, they likely were socialized in the egalitarian tradition of role-sharing between males and females within the household. Miguel, a 23-year-old Black nursing home tech, stated that even though he wanted to be the head of household, he was open to his wife being the head if she made more money. “If my wife made more money than me, she calls the shots, a’ight”?

The desire for financial security appeared to be connected to race. It was consistently referenced by Black respondents despite their socioeconomic statuses. The middle and lower class Black men all spoke of wanting to financial security and how financial security was key for household stability.

Blacks’ concern with financial security is supported by research that shows a steady gap in income and wealth between Whites and Blacks. McKernan, Ratcliffe, Steuerle, and Zhang (2013) reported that as of 2010, White families earned about $2 for every $1 that Black families earned. The authors found a big disparity in terms of wealth as well. The average White family wealth is $632,000 in wealth versus $98,000 for Black families. Based on these numbers it can be assumed that despite current class, Whites believe that this can be changed with hard work; and though the research did not show this, they may also take for granted that they will be secure one day. Tashaun, who is White and lower class, shows the racial difference by specifically mentioning his
Black friends.

You know, I’ve heard from other friends...Black guys...friends of mine...And they're, 'It’s so harder....' And this and that...And I'm like, 'You have...I can get the same Pell Grant that you can get. That's what I'm going to school. I'm going to school on a Pell Grant. I don't have money like that. My family doesn't have money like that. So, that's what I do.' And I was like, 'You can easily go to school, and you can easily go do these other things.' And everybody has their choices in that matter. Some people go on to do what they wanna do.

Conversely, Blacks, of all economic classes, may never feel financially stable. As referenced earlier by Kai, who is Black and middle class, says that Blacks tend to feel that history has put them at an economic disadvantage. The numbers support that financial life outcomes are different for Whites and Blacks and the research seems to suggest racial differences in perception of money.

Examining the responses of the other lower class Whites further implies a racial difference. There was not a reference to financial stability in their discussion of the household. Instead, they spoke of household support and love as main qualities in the household. Gary focused on communication and support within the household. 'Mother and father should get along and demonstrate that and their respect for each other to their children. So, in turn, their children have respect for other people. Family...like positive role models, you know." Lamont focused on a safe healthy environment for kids.

It's important to have both of the parents. I do. And just that it's a loving environment for the children...that it's not hostile. There's...I mean, you're always gonna have spats and fights between spouses and people that spend that much time together, but I do think it's important to provide a safe environment for children.
Masculinity

Black Men were More Likely to View Masculinity as a Rite of Passage

One of the themes that emerged from the data suggested that Black men saw masculinity as a rite of passage. Black men rooted their definition of masculinity, not in the idea of a man taking his rightful place on top of the gender hierarchy, but rather it was seen as a transition from childhood into adulthood. Black men gave responses suggesting that they identified with at least some of the expectations of traditional roles associated with being a man, i.e. provider, taking care of children, and meeting responsibilities. However meeting these expectations implied a transition that was a rite of passage. Van Gennep (2010) wrote that rites of passage entail transitioning from a previous identity to a new one which incorporates new roles and statuses. So by this definition Black masculinity is interpreted as a rite of passage. Even though Van Gennep (2010) emphasized that rites of passage have formalized social interactions like formal ceremonies, it can be argued that these formalized interactions for these men come from being formally recognized or acknowledge by their family and friends as a being man. Yusef, who is a college student and retail salesperson, recalled the academic mistakes he made growing up and how he was once off track. He focused on his aunt as the major reason he was able to correct himself.

In 10th grade in high school, I had this teacher named Mr. Grant. Failing his class miserably. I had like a 68 my first two semesters. My aunt said, ‘You need to quit wrestling, and you need to focus on your academics.’ When I did that, my grade jumped to an 89 in his class for third quarter, and then an 87 for the fourth quarter. And I got a hundred on the final, based on overall performance and a group effort for the final. So he gave me a hundred. So, I passed the class with like an 80 average.

He thought it was important for him to push himself to perform better to be a role
model to young men. Once he learned from his mistakes and took advantage of the opportunities, he eventually graduated from high school with honors and attended college. Though he credits his aunt with helping him focus, he uses a traditional masculine view of women to explain his idea of being a man.

All females are emotional. Every man knows this, but don’t let it bring you down to a level of disrespect to them. Being a model for younger kids to follow after, because you got some kids over here that looks up to you, and if they see you selling drugs or killing people, they say, ’Oh! I wanna be just like him!’ So, you wanna be like that gentleman. You know? That man that everyone looks up to like, ’Oh, he talks to the ladies, and he gets them, you know, because he’s a nice man.

Interestingly, Yusef noted that he participated in a formal program at his high school, sponsored by Alpha Phi Alpha, a Black fraternity, in order to learn how to be a man.

I didn’t have a father figure, so I looked at what other men were doing and picked different things that I liked and made it my own...to be the person that I am today. Like, my principal was the only male figure that I really looked up to, ’cause he was an Alpha man. So, he put me in this program called the Botillian program, for Alphas. And it’s basically how to make young men successful in life, and then putting them in situations to become Alphas, but also to gain success in life.

He said that the most important thing he learned was “As a man, you go through processes where you learn from your mistakes, and you take advantage of what’s there, and then, you make that your own and make it a success.”

Though most of the Black men interviewed did not go through a formal rites of passage program, it is not unusual for young Black men in the Baltimore and Washington D.C. area to go through one. Many of these programs are influenced by Afrocentric ideas that encourage nurturing Black males who because of social neglect and oppression are less likely to achieve (Harvey and Rauch 1997; Harvey and Hill
Programs like the Ma’at program in Washington D.C. have been used successfully to increase academic achievement largely because they build upon known strengths of these youth, thus linking students, families, and their communities to the educational experience (West-Olatunji, Shure, Garrett, Conwill and Rivera 2008).

Throughout the variety of ways that the participants defined manhood, a common and consistent theme emerged. Meeting the expectation of a man was seen as something that is done once you move from childhood to adulthood. This implies a sense of transition and conveys the sentiment that being a man is about completing a rite of passage. Cooper explained when he will consider himself a man.

I really see myself as being my own man when I’m able to step out there on my own…I’m able to fend for myself. Even before I’ve taken a family or whatever, and try to have some kids or whatever, I really see myself as being a man when I’m able to call my own shots…when I’m able to work my money and make all the decisions for myself.

Cooper’s story illustrates an important part of the rites of passage theme. The idea of self-reliance and the ability to support oneself is central to understanding Black men’s perspective. His use of the word “fend” is interesting because not only does it mean that you can provide and care for yourself but also that you are defending against something or someone. It presents the duality of masculinity for Black men, where they are taught that self-reliance is important to being a man and systematically marginalized. For every positive image, there is a negative counterpart. Too often the social outcomes for Black men are decided by images and stereotypes put forth by the mainstream culture. For every stride made with the election of Barack Obama, there are legal (such as sagging pants) and illegal (Driving While Black) actions that highlight Black men’s place in the social system.
Using fending is almost a plea of acknowledgement – wanting to be recognized and publicly accepted as a man with the full capabilities and rights of masculinity. For years Black men have been vocal in this plea. In his declaration of the Niagara Movement, W.E.B. Dubois demands that Black men receive equal rights and thus equal privilege as White men. Dubois (1968) wrote,

> In detail our demands are clear and unequivocal. First, we would vote with the right to vote goes everything: freedom, manhood, and the honor of our wives, the chastity of our daughters, the right to work and the chance to rise and let no man listen to those who deny this. We want full manhood suffrage, we want it now, henceforth and forever (p. 250).

Other men used the word mature to convey a sentiment of transition. Many of the men mentioned maturity, being mature or described situations associated with being grown and responsible in their definition of man. The fact that it is mentioned so much highlights the notion that becoming a man is a journey and that reaching maturity is the stop sign of adulthood. Joe, a 25-year-old Black student, believed being a man is about being educated and taking care of his responsibilities; but above all a man is mature. Similarly, Kai exclaimed that in order to be a man, one has to exhibit control over one’s self. This control is connected to maturity as well. “He has a certain level of control over his own environment. As far as his personal space, he’s in control of that. So, there’s a certain level of maturity he exudes, on an aspect of society.” Keith, a 29-year-old Black warehouse worker, sums up all of these ideas by proclaiming that a man “doesn’t do childish things.” This statement relayed the transitional dimension of the idea. Men do not act like children. They take care of their responsibilities and moreover accept that even though they may make mistakes they learn from them.
Table 3. Qualities Associated Maturity

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualities associated with being Mature</th>
<th>Qualities associated with being Immature</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Educated</td>
<td>1. irresponsible</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Taking care of responsibilities</td>
<td>2. Act like Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Certain amount of control over ones’ self</td>
<td>3. Do not learn from mistakes</td>
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<td>4. Control his personal space</td>
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<td>5. He does not do childish things</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. growing up in a religious environment</td>
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* Striving to achieve masculinity, equals striving for recognition/respectability of manhood. Mature denotes respondents are striving to Normative Hegemonic Masculinity.

Some of the data suggested that these responsibilities and maturity were encouraged by some of the men’s religious environments. There appears to be a connection between maturity and spiritual growth. In reference to learning to become a man, two men particularly mentioned it being connected to growing up in a religious environment. Miguel grew up in an Islamic home and went to an Islamic school. He recalled that in sixth grade he took a class called “Manhood Training,” which was centered on teaching male students what it meant to be a man. Though he does not go into great detail, it can be assumed that these lessons were interpreted from the Quran. Most likely, these lessons were not only about being a man but also about growing spiritually. Arlando, a 29-year-old Black archivist, was clearer on the connection between being a man and spiritual growth. “The church I grew up in…it’s very, I would say cognizant about developing men. And not necessarily in the sort of societal definition of gender role of a man, but rather the Godly Christian development of men.”

The responses can be interpreted as presenting an idea of masculinity as being a transition from childhood to adulthood. While masculinity may be oppressive within patriarchy (Lindsey 2011), what emerges is that men view the embodiment of
masculinity as the culmination of maturity. It is the completion of a journey that they began as a boy and completed as a man.

However, Blacks’ perspective of masculinity seems to lead to more traditional perspectives of male gender roles. This consequently leads to less questioning of the outcomes of the roles and emphasizes achievement of the status instead. This seems to be connected to a history of Black men’s pleas to be acknowledged as men and urgency to prove their manhood to larger society. This desire and the more traditional perspective of religion seem to lead to a more rigid perspective on gender roles than Whites.

*White Men were More Likely to have a Nebulous Definition of Masculinity*

Studies have shown that among some men who desire to free themselves from the demands of the traditional male roles a quiet revolution has emerged (Blayac, Conilleau, Delahayes, and Quanquiny 2001). A growing number of White men support gender equality. They perceive the benefits of wives pursuing careers outside the home. Working wives bolster the family income, relieving their husbands of working so hard to make a living.

While Black men were likely to see masculinity as a rite of passage, 5 out of 15 White men had a more nebulous definition of masculinity. In comparison, all the Black men had a distinct definition. The number of Whites may not be huge, but it is significant because it could possibly indicate that White men rebel more against the standard definition of masculinity. The data has shown that White men’s cultural values are less dependent on antiquated notions, so this is not surprising. It could also point to a social
change in the expectations of men. Lamont explained that he did not think there was a distinct definition because there is no difference between women and men and therefore no need for a distinction. Tarick, a 21-year-old White audiovisual technician, discussed how it is difficult to have a definition because it has changed over time. “It’s tough, because it’s changed over the past couple years; even from when I was a little kid.”

Social progress and the move toward egalitarianism continued to shift the idea of traditional masculinity. Even so, it is not surprising that these men do not align with the traditional definition. Previous scholarship contended that there is not a single definition of masculinity (Connell 1995). This has created diversity among men. This diversity is partly due to the fact that all men do not share the same amount of power. According to Connell (1995), this creates hegemonic masculinity, which denotes a hierarchy of masculinities. Traditional masculinity is at the top of the hierarchy. Gary does not believe in a distinct definition. He identified himself as lower class and said his life opportunities were limited by hanging around the wrong crowd in high school. Gary’s acknowledgement as not having much power seems to confirm hegemonic masculinity. It also helped explain how there can be a difference between these men. The variation in their lives creates a different interpretation of masculinity.

This connection was only seen in White men, despite the fact that some Black men had similar backgrounds. The difference could be the household gender ideology of Black men. Blacks are more liberal, have nontraditional roles, and are less restrictive in their ideas about gender roles than Whites (Burgess 1994; Cazenave 1960). This may create a flexibility and wider range of expectations of a man than the standard
definition. Also, more flexible ideas suggested that they are getting their ideas of gender from their mothers and other women in the household. So when Black men see poor models of masculinity, they do not necessarily have to reject it because gender ideas are more varied. The cultural expectation for Whites is more rigid, so when they see poor models of masculinity they could reject it. Kroy affirmed,

I really don’t see that there is a distinct definition of a man these days…in my eyes. I know that there are in other[s], but growing up the way I’ve grown up…seeing what I’ve seen…especially all the craziness in my family, I don’t see a distinct definition of what a man….should be or is.

This perspective of masculinity aligns with the postmodern perspective. The absence of absolute definitions and influence on fluidity suggest that many Whites reject rigid cultural expectations. This may help understand why White men view things from a perspective that society has changed. The rejection could be reactionary and the reason why they see traditional ideas as antiquated may also be connected to how they have seen men behave. Finding a new definition of masculinity, could mean moving beyond a deterministic manhood which they may see as an inevitable pattern that they have to repeat. A fragmented definition surely offers more options and maybe more hope.

Preference in Relationship

Black and White Men’s Preference Toward Balance and Egalitarianism in Relationships

One of the major undercurrents throughout the data was the concept of equality. The idea of equality appears to intersect with a number of other codes enabling us to better understand how men view relationships. These relationships were explored across the dimension of familial ties. What further analysis showed was both Black and
White men generally preferred egalitarianism in terms of relationships. Exploration of the data yielded three key areas or sub-categories: 1) household roles, 2) head of household, and 3) relationship between a woman and her last name. The men’s perspective on household roles is particularly telling about how they view relationships. Previous research suggests that a way to judge egalitarianism within relationships is to look at household work (Lindsey 2010). Most men preferred an equal division of labor within the household possibly suggesting, at the very least, a change in the ideal type relationship. It also supports the idea that post Civil Rights discourse that challenged the racial and gender hierarchy has made privileges more public and influenced ideas of gender (Farough 2003; Messner 1997; Wellman 1993).

Race appeared to only have a minor influence on the results of one of the sub-categories. The data revealed that there was no difference between Whites’ and Blacks’ views on head of household and household roles. However, there was a big difference between the groups when examining their ideas regarding women hyphenating or keeping their last name.

*Household Roles*

*White Men Believed that Contemporary Society Dictated Equal Division of Labor*

Most White men did not have rigid notions of gender roles within the household and showed a preference for role equality. Only 5 out of the 15 men believed that household roles should resemble the rigid traditional notion of the division of labor. These men’s views seemed to be rooted in traditional ideas on gender. These men saw themselves as being throwbacks to an earlier time period. Reginald called himself “old-
fashion.” He explained this further by saying, “I believe in chivalry and opening doors for
women and paying and, you know, being the one that they rely on to make ends meet.”
Fred, a 26-year-old White physical education teacher, views are aligned with traditional
notions.

The man’s role is to work...The man’s role is to do most of the outdoor
work, fixing, manual labor, working in gross motor, physical labor. The man
should at least attempt to be a part of it. I feel like the wife...depending on
the hours, the wife...if she’s home...cooking dinner. I’ve always been
brought up when my mom’s always cooked the dinner. The women always
do the dinner.

Reginald’s response and the other traditional responses were in direct opposition
to the idea that society has changed. The change in the economic structure that pushed
White women into working and the rhetoric that accompanied it has caused a very
practical understanding of the division of labor. Blair explained this dynamic by simply
saying, “both parents do have to work.” This realization made him open to non-rigid,
non-hierarchal role expectations. Continuing Blair added, “I really think it could go either
way with the male or female would be interchangeable in my mind.”

Most men saw a necessity for them to do more around the house and for them to
have a less rigid view of household work since women worked. This change in role
expectations could be seen in responses like Lamont who thought roles were
“situational.” Tarick recalled seeing his father do most of the cooking because his
mother worked. Tarrick’s parents also shared the major household cleaning. Based on
his childhood, he expects to have similar roles in his household.

Black Men Emphasized How Environment Influenced Role Expectations

Black men were about as likely to believe in equal household roles. Only 4 out of
15 Black men believed in traditional roles within the household. Of these four men, religion was the most used reason for them subscribing to traditional household roles. These men cited a strong belief in Christian values as a guiding force in their household. Cooper referred to himself as “God-fearing,” and Yusef said that his household will be “Christian like.” These men were in the minority though as most men expressed a desire for the equal responsibility within the household.

Not only did most Black men state that their ideal household consisted of equal distribution of household roles, they regularly reference the fact that they saw men doing stereotypical women’s roles in the home. This revealed an interesting connection between these men and their childhood environment. For example, as a child Cyrus, a 24-year-old unemployed Black man, saw the men in his household sharing the responsibility so he anticipated the same. He assumed since he and his mate both would be employed, sharing the responsibility is natural. Arlando, who also grew up in a house seeing his father cook, clean and do laundry, proclaimed, “I happen to love to do laundry. It just relaxes me, for whatever reason.” These results line up with previous research suggesting that Blacks tend to operate with a pragmatic equality and a willingness to suspend gender roles for the well-being of the family as a whole (Cowdery et al. 2009).

The responses between Black and White men also showed how differently they perceived the economic pasts of Black and White women. The responses of White men assume egalitarianism was necessary because women were now working outside of the home, whereas Black men understood that Black women have always worked, and this necessitated shared responsibility within the home. Burgess (1994) found that historical
roles of African Americans in this country have shaped them to be more liberal and less restrictive in their ideas about gender roles. Bryant and Beckett (1997) echoed this sentiment as well in their study of effects that resources have on the financial status and gender role ideology of African American couples. Both Zou and Tang (2000) and Zou (2004) found that egalitarian ideology among men in the home was connected to their earning status. The study showed that even though both men and women are moving toward egalitarianism, among men it was more prominent in men of a lower earning status than men of higher earning status. Since African American men are more likely to be lower class this seems to support the idea that they are likely to have egalitarian views. They stated that since the couples were African American, they were likely socialized in the egalitarian tradition of role-sharing between males and females within the household.

The gap in income and wealth between Black and Whites hints that Blacks will continue to economically depend on each other (McKernan et al. 2013). In fact, they view stay-at-home parenting as a luxury rather than a constraint (Kane 2000). This is due to African American women being brought to the United States primarily as workers. This role as worker is supported by African American men who are more likely than White men to be supportive of a working wife (Lyson 1986). According to King and Allen (2009), not only are African American men supportive of women working, but it is also actually a preference. The authors indicated that both African American men and women seek well-educated, financially stable, monogamous, and affluent partners who are spiritual, religious, self-confident, and reliable.
Head of Household

White Men had Slightly More Egalitarian Views on Head of Household

The idea that men preferred relationships that were egalitarian also could be seen when examining their ideas of head of household. Only 4 out of 15 men felt that the man should be the sole head of household. These men pointed to being old-fashioned and believing in the traditional ideas. Harry called himself “old-style Midwestern.” A more in-depth examination of the data revealed an internal struggle that men go through between what they want and what society says they should want. Fred showed this struggle when discussing his view of head of household. He starts off saying that history has shown men being the head of the household.

It’s not that I feel that women can’t be, because a lot of women are. Women are very strong, but I just feel that, you know, that’s how men should be. I think that’s how it’s been since like the beginning of time, and that’s the role that a man should play.

At this point Fred shifted and acknowledged that equal households are probably the most ideal. “I mean, if it’s balanced, then I think that’s even better. If it’s equal, I think that’s great. That’s, I guess, how it should be.” This statement revealed the contradiction the changing society has caused among some men who feel almost guilty for believing in what’s seen as old fashion ideas. It also speaks to the public discourse which surrounds them every day and creates hesitation and makes some defensive. Harry hesitantly claimed, “The woman…I mean…The woman should…you know…She can have a job. She can do whatever, but I mean, it should be the man running the household.”

Still most men believed that households in which parents share equal power are the most desirable. The responses followed the trend that White men felt like society
had advanced past many of the traditional values. Also understanding that both parents now work, heavily influenced their responses. Tashaun said the idea that there has to be a single head of household is an archaic ideal saying that it was better if two people share the responsibilities of the household, since both people share financial responsibilities. He saw the idea of only having a single head of household as "absurd."

Most Black Men Believed There Should be Equal Head of Household

The majority of Black men, just like White men, believed that men and women should share equal power within the household. They were about as likely as White men to believe in an equal head of household. Only 6 out of 15 believed in the traditional notion that a man should be the head of household. Three of the six men used the Bible or the belief in God to support their idea. This is not surprising considering how important religion is in constructing views of gender. These men took a traditional religious interpretation in their views by referencing religious stories and religious thought in their explanation. Grian used the Christian creation story as a reason why he believed it. “I believe God created us for all different types of reasons; and when he created, he started with the man…then came Eve.” Arlando was more specific in describing the relationship between men as the head of household and the Bible.

The man should be the head... He is responsible for his wife and his children, and he is also responsible to God and accountable to God. ..Given a Biblical example, you have Abraham and Sarah. And Abraham was told by God, you know, 'I'm gonna take you take you to a place. You're gonna have to get up and move your whole family...all you own.' Now Abraham’s got to go back and tell his wife, 'We got to go
somewhere. I don’t know where I’m supposed to go.’ Sarah, as the wife, follows. It doesn’t mean that she didn’t have questions, or doubts, or concerns; and that’s okay too.

Despite what these men thought, the majority believed that there should be a head of household. Interestingly, an alternative meaning of head of household emerged among some of the Black men. The context of the responses exposed variations of the phrase. So while – 9 out of 15 men believed that men and women should have equal power, some considered themselves the head of household. Joe believed that power in the household should be split 50/50. He stated, “Although the father is still the head of the household, it’s equal.” Norris also commented that it should be equal power within the household with a similar sentiment. He thought that both the man and woman in the home should be called the head of household.

This has a major implication. The first is that among Black men the phrase “head of household” may have taken on a more complex definition. The term carries with it a message of gender dominance that plays out continuously as men seek to enact violence and control over women as their right as head of household.

Yet, the data, at the very least, suggest layers to the use of the term head of household. Previous research contended that Blacks have more liberal and less restrictions in their ideas about gender roles (Burgess 1994), so the fact the term could be used in a way that does not infer a traditional gender hierarchy within a household should not be surprising. The data suggest that among some of the Black interviewees the intentions of the phrase could just mean contributing adult, parent, guardian, or someone who makes household decisions. Understanding this may change how we interpret responses from Black men on head of household.
Another way to examine egalitarianism within relationships is to analyze how the men felt about a woman hyphenating or changing her name when she gets married. Forbes, Adams-Curtis, White, and Hamm (2002) found that women who hyphenated their names were seen as intelligent and independent. One can infer that supporting women hyphenating or keeping their name is one indicator of how women are viewed within relationships. Only 2 out of 15 White men thought that it was important for a woman to take their name when they get married. It should be noted that these two men also believed that men should be the sole head of household. This hints at the fact that these men and their ideas may be outliers from other White men in this subcategory. The men saw themselves as traditional, but not necessarily religious. Both men felt it was important for a woman to take their last name because they felt it was a sign that she accepted their family. Harry completely rejected the idea saying that he did not understand why a woman would hyphenate her last name. He mentions that his fiancée is from a broken family and eluded that by marrying him and taking his name; she’s gaining a normal family.

The changing nature of society was the major reason that many men abandoned old sentimentalities about a woman taking a man’s last name. They failed to see why anyone would take issue with a woman hyphenating or solely taking a man’s last name when she got married. Tashuan proclaimed that things have changed, so it is expected that cultural ideas change as well.

I think that would be completely up to her. We’re not living in the, you know, the early 1900s anymore. Things are changing. People’s ideals are changing. People’s roles are changing; especially with women. Clearly, they’ve changed a lot.
Change to the traditional idea is easily noticed in cultural outlets. Austin, 18-year-old White retail salesman, commented how he sees women on social media use their maiden names all the time. Because of this, he saw a woman keeping her name or hyphenating as a normal part of today’s society.

Some White men acknowledged that it is important for a woman to keep her familial tie. This also shows how society has changed. Since this is a patrilineal society, this represents a serious break from tradition. Chance, a 27-year-old White employed by the U.S Army, used his experience with his wife to explain why it was important for a woman to hyphenate or keep her name. He explained, “I understand that that’s been their name for however many years, and they are part of that family.” Kroy also felt that it was important for a woman to keep family bonds. “I believe hyphenation allows them to feel like their family lineage is being passed on along with yours.”

Black Men Yielded More Complex Results

The analysis of Black men’s view of women taking a man’s last name upon marriage yielded more complicated results than those from White men. Six out of 15 men stated that they want a woman to take their name. Most saw a woman taking their name not as dominance or a patriarchal mandate; rather it was more about unity of family and maintaining familial stability. Given the history of Black families in this country and how Black men have been isolated from the family, not surprising that some men see the family name as kinship. For example Dwight thought that it was important for everyone within the family to have the same last name. He felt it was important that his children have his last name, but he was more flexible in terms of his wife or partner. “It's
tradition. But we don’t really have to live by that.” Miguel also thought that even though he wants a woman to take his name, he is open to the fact of her keeping her own. “I would like her to take my name…yes. That would be the goal. But if she wants to hyphenate her name, I’m not mad.”

Nine other men did not take issue with women hyphenating or keeping their own name. One of the major reasons was out of respect for a woman’s accomplishments. Blaine, a 20-year-old Black security guard, contended that a woman who has established her whole life based on her maiden name, of course, would want to keep it. Cooper asserted that if you really love someone and supported them, you would not have a problem with them keeping their name. He points to the fact that some women have established a network for themselves and their name is part of that network.

Keith, a 29-year-old Black warehouse worker, thought that men who could not support women’s decisions were rooted in insecurity. He posited that the male ego prevented a lot of men from accepting the fact that a lot of women want to hyphenate or keep their names. “I think it’s more of a pride thing…like male ego.” Philip, a 21-year-old Black dock worker, proclaimed that if a man has knowledge of self and a good knowledge of the other person, then it should not be an issue. “You know who you are, and you know who they are.”

There was an interesting difference between the Black and White men that supported women hyphenating or keeping their name. While these men agreed on most of the reasons why they are in support of these decisions, there was a major difference. Whites thought it was important for a woman to keep their name to maintain family ties. This fits with the social discourse that was disseminated in society after the Women’s
Movement and Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s. This social discourse placed more emphasis on women’s identity as it connects to the last name.

Black men, on the other hand, thought it was important because the woman had already established her life and network. Buckley and Carter (2005) stated that African American girls’ models of womanhood and their cultural teachings have included displays of independence, self-confidence, and self-reliance – typical characteristics of masculinity. Also, Black women receive college degrees at two-to-one rate when compared to Black men (U.S Department on Education). In the end, it appeared that Black men expect women to have their own life. It is an acknowledgment of the independence and accomplishments they have come to expect.

Reasons for Victimization of Women

There was no difference between Black and White explanations of why women get victimized. Black and White men believed there were two reasons that women are victimized. The first reason was that too often women allowed access to their bodies. The second reason was male entitlement. These reasons were not mutually exclusive but were connected. White and Black men thought that women often made poor decisions or life style choices, and these decisions and choices led to their victimization. There was an assumption by the interviewees that there were certain men who feel entitled to women’s bodies, and everyone understands that. This access manifested itself in three different ways.

One of the ways that women allow access is through how they dress. Nearly all the men thought that the way women dressed sent messages to men that their bodies
were available. Miguel made it clear that the way a woman dresses, draws unwanted attention. “If you dress a certain way, it brings out a certain idea. If a female is dressed like a sex object, or eye candy, you’re gonna expect men to look at her as eye candy.” Austin also believed this, saying that dressing sexually put women in higher risk. “I feel that if you’re going to be showing off, you know, nine-tenths of your body, you are asking for sexual attention and unfortunately, asking for that will draw in predators along with the attention you wanted.” These comments assume that men cannot control themselves around women. They go back to a discussion that believes that the naked body promotes lust. They suggest that men are driven by natural instincts removing the agency they have in their actions.

The men pointed to pop culture as a big influence on why women dressed sexually provocatively. Kroy believed that women who mimic celebrity images try to promote an alluring image that some men may try to take advantage of. Cooper took it a step further saying some men see women in revealing clothes and temptation is unbearable. "It’s hard not to look even harder not to touch."

The second way that women provide access to their bodies is by placing themselves in unsafe situations. The men assumed that most women are victims of unknown anonymous assailants. Previous research rejects this notion. Shaw and Lee (2009) wrote that most women know their attackers in the majority domestic violence and rape cases. Despite this, the interviewees told stories of naïve women putting themselves in harm’s way. Phillip recalled hearing stories of women walking down the street alone after leaving bars late at night getting raped. He attributed their decision to being naïve. This naiveté led to victimization. Reginald rejected the idea that women are
 naïve; however he did think that they often put themselves in compromising positions.

Having a girlfriend that has been raped once or twice, I can say this from experience, you know…that girls do not necessarily have to be naïve enough to let it happen… I’ve heard their stories; and in my opinion, the way they’ve described that to me… they kind of threw themselves in that situation for that situation to happen. Instead of refusing the situation and leaving or whatnot, you know, they’ve kind of put theirself [sic] out there to let them happen.

The third way that women allow access to their bodies is by promiscuity. Lee, a 23-year-old White HVAC worker, used his experience as a DJ and his participation in medieval reenactments to make his point. He questioned the mentality of people who do not believe how one behaves has nothing to do with them being victims. “I’m a DJ. I party. I see it all. And these girls…The ones that are more likely to get raped are the ones that are being more slutty.” He continued, “I guarantee you, if you were in a college setting, and you took statistics of which girls got raped, it’s the girls that are being a little bit more sexual.”

He also said he sees this during the medieval reenactments. During the week-long medieval campout, women who are belly dancers are targeted. While their function is not to be prostitutes, they represent a highly sexualized profession that many assume is sexually open. Lee states that every year at least one belly dancer gets raped during the reenactments. He compares the treatment of the belly dancers with that of women who are fighters during the same time period. “It’s always to a girl who’s a belly dancer. It’s never to a girl who’s a fighter.”

Chapter Summary

Black and White men differed on most of the themes that emerged from the data.
The amount of variation indicates that there is some difference in both how their gender role ideology is constructed and in their views. The data showed that the themes were elements of racial identity. White racial identity emphasizes individualism but also shows an overlap between two eras. White racial identity still has its root in modernity and thus adheres to the grand narrative, simultaneously it overlaps with postmodernist ideas of non-deterministic definitions. White men’s gender ideology was influenced by the changes in the culture. The step toward progressive ideas on gender and social living has moved White men toward egalitarianism.

Black men’s gender ideology was influenced Black racial identity. It stresses a communal and collaborative identity which can be seen by the reliance on religion and maintaining the family. The various ways of maintaining the structure of the family have pushed Black men toward egalitarianism. Black men’s gender attitudes have been and continue to be affected by socio-historical factors. Religion and family dynamics continue to be a major determinant for gender attitudes. They consistently used religious belief to support their ideas, and often recited traditional religious interpretation when asked various questions. This proved that the church continues to be a staple in the Black community. Their responses also displayed an economic insecurity and egalitarianism with the household that long has been attached to the history of Blacks in this country (Burgess 1994).

White men’s egalitarianism is ideological. Social discourse and ideas of progress are the major determinant. Progressive ideas could be seen as White men turned away from traditional religion and to secularization and the new religious trends. Their ideas show how masculinity is a cultural artifact because it is heavily affected by social
change. There is also a shift toward consumerism which has definitely affected the social ideas of what it means to be a man. Because of this, many rejected traditional notions, which could be seen in their responses. They were more likely to outright reject certain notions of gender because they thought these ideas were antiquated. For instance, some did not think there was a finite definition of masculinity. White men also thought that it was ridiculous that there was not wide-spread support of same-sex marriage. Both of these statements reflect an ideological and pragmatic view.

White men’s responses point to their history as well. Their place within the race and gender hierarchy gives them the ability not to stress over financial security and to rebel against traditional ideas with little social consequence. Their focus on sex work supports their place in the social hierarchy. Kimmel (2008) wrote that there is White supremacy within pornography and because Whites are much more likely to consume it than other racial groups. He also found that many themes utilized racial stereotypes. Some of the Black men interviewed actually saw pornography as racialized revenge and as a way for Whites to promote dominance.

In general, the data suggested that both groups of men are moving toward egalitarianism. This lines up with previous research. The data also suggested that White and Black racial identity caused the men to utilize two different perspectives to construct their gender role ideology. White man tended to use a pragmatic, individual perspective that emphasized individual behavior in a changing society. Black men tended to possess a social perspective that relied on collaboration and historical interdependence to help construct their gender role ideology.
CHAPTER 5
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The research questions for the study explored 1) how Black and White men differed in their gender role ideologies 2) how social institutions shape their gender role ideology 3) specific gender expectations for men 4) and whether race is a factor in gender role ideology.

The research findings show that both groups of men are moving toward egalitarianism on different paths. Racial identity determined the path and the perceptions of each theme. White men egalitarianism was facilitated White racial identity along with some ideas postmodern ideas. There is some of what of a contradiction between the two, because White racial identity has roots in the grand narrative of the country, while postmodernism emphasizes that there is not a grand narrative but mini-narratives (Feagin 2010; Ferris and Stein 2012). White racial identity is ideologically based; stemming from the progressive ideas generated from modernity and progressive social discourse of postmodernism. It is predicated on pragmatic, individual perspectives emphasizing individual behavior in a changing society. Individualism, disenchantment from organized traditional religion, and postmodern ideas were the key ideas in their responses.

Black men’s egalitarianism was facilitated Black racial identity. Black racial identity is collaborative, based on historical interdependence between of Black men and women, and the Black church. Blacks tended to view things from a social perspective that relied on social institutions, such as religion and historical treatment to help construct their gender role ideology. Historical treatment of Blacks has created a history
of racial and economic deprivation. This can have major effects on Blacks gender role ideology. A theoretical framework emerges that illustrating how Black and White men constructed their gender role ideology. It combines both pathways to egalitarian and illustrates how the traditional gender role ideology can be influenced by various social and historical factors.

A model depicting the current gender role ideology of Black and White men is constructed to examine the factors that led to the move away from traditional ideas of masculinity toward egalitarianism. Based on the data, 5 themes emerged. These themes serve as components in the construction of a theory. Each group responded each component differently and the theoretical framework is a combination of two smaller frameworks. The framework explores the gender role ideology of Black and White men while simultaneously studying potential race effects. It examines the intersections between race and ideology.

Previous Key Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework originated from this study expands the literature on the formation of male gender role ideology formation. In general, previous approaches of gender socialization incorporate biology, personality, social interaction, context, and social institutions in their explanations of how people develop their ideas on gender (Lindsey 2011). Previous literature showed that gender theories are divided into two main approaches that explain gender role ideology. Essentialism is an approach used mostly outside sociology, with the exception of sociobiology, to explain gender socialization. This approach emphasizes biology as the basis for gender ideology.
However, most sociologists take a constructionist approach, an approach that considers gender to be a socially constructed.

*Sociobiology Approach*

The only significant sociological approach of essentialism is sociobiology. It is a refinement of evolutionary theory applying biological principles to explain social activities of animals and humans (Giddens et al. 2009). This approach argues that genes dictate how males and females behave and the social roles they occupy within society. Sociobiologists often use examples from the animal world to help explain human behavior. Wilson (2000) explored human behaviors using the animal world as a base. He contends that in most species of animals, males are bigger and more aggressive. This suggests why in human society men tend to hold higher social positions than women. Goldberg (1974) wrote that the evidence of in-depth differences between men and women is undeniable. He viewed all societies from early times in history to modern as being dominated by men. He argues that this happened because men exhibited more dominant behavior.

While the sociobiological approach does acknowledge that culture plays a role in creating ideas about gender, it primarily focuses on genetics as the major component of male/female behavior. Many social scientists disagree with biological determinism. Epstein (1989) discussed the how social factors influence behavior. She noted that many early societies had more equality than sociobiologists acknowledge. She further referenced how social roles affect social arrangements with society. It primarily relies on studies of animal behavior to describe human behavior. There is little empirical evidence to support applying evolutionary theory to human behavior. Also, simplistic assumptions
about animals often lead to faulty assumptions about gender expectations of men. It also ignores other social factors that influence men. The narrow focus of this approach makes it suspect when trying to understand the gender role ideology of men, particularly if trying to compare two racially constructed groups.

**Social Learning Approach**

This approach focuses on gender socialization that begins before birth. Once the sex of the baby is determined in utero, families begin relating to the baby in gendered ways (Ferris and Stein 2012). The social learning approach focuses on socialization based on rewards and punishments. Boys are rewarded and encouraged for particularly masculine behavior and punished for inappropriate behavior (Lindsey 2011). Bandura and Walters (1963) wrote that this is also accomplished through observation and imitation. Men build their ideology through the different social institutions that are constantly teaching masculine and feminine behavior. Lynn (1969) wrote that this is often a difficult process for men because as boys they are more likely to lack proper masculine models. Instead they are given incomplete instructions like “boys don’t cry” or “Don’t be a sissy”, which encourages them to view masculinity from a stereotypical manner (Lynn 1969).

This approach provides some answers into the construction of gender ideology but gender construction is more complex. It assumes that children are completely passive in building their gender identity. However, this is not always the case because oftentimes boys may not model themselves after the same gender parent, peers, teachers, etc. Also, they often get rewarded for participation in traditionally feminine
activities, i.e. cooking. This approach assumes a very stereotypical view of household roles, meaning that every home has a man and woman who follow very rigid gender roles. Furthermore, it does not consider the different expectations that may exist due to race and the historical view of minority groups.

_Cognitive Development Approach_

This approach focuses on children learning gender socialization through interaction with the environment. It is a psychological approach based on Jean Piaget and aligns mostly with symbolic interaction tradition. This approach posits that the cognitive abilities are developed in stages through outgoing social interactions (Lindsey 2011). Children actively shape their gender ideas and by age 3 they are already identifying with a gender. By age 6, there is gender constancy. Boys know that they are boys and will remain boys. They will seek activities and choices that reinforce gender appropriate behavior. This behavior is reinforced as the boys and girls are rewarded for doing appropriate gendered tasks and they develop gender constancy (Lindsey 2011). Gender constancy continually encourages children to find social interactions that reinforce gender appropriate behavior (Lindsey 2011).

While this approach answers some questions, it places too much responsibility on children for their gender ideology. It assumes that all boys get uniform, consistent gender interaction. My findings do not support this assertion since, family structure and SES lead to some different messages about gender. Thus many external factors exerting influence on men’s ideas. It suggests that historical factors influence their ideology. Also this approach cannot explain the differences between White and Black
men.

Egalitarianism

The data suggested that the gender role ideology of both Black and White men is moving toward egalitarianism. It also showed that Black and White men took different pathways to egalitarianism. Racial identity was the key factor that themes passed through. The themes that emerge showed how each group’s racial identity affected how social and historical factors were interpreted. White and Black racial identity force each group down different paths of egalitarianism. White racial identity emphasized egalitarianism built on individualism, unchurched spirituality, identification with grand narrative, and postmodern ideas. Black racial identity emphasized egalitarianism built on historical interdependence of men and women, reaction to social oppression, the reliance on the Black church.

Progressive Egalitarianism

The path for Whites’ egalitarianism was more ideologically based than Blacks. Whites’ perspective – that many traditional ideas of gender are antiquated and outdated – continues a tradition rooted in the emergence of modernity. Starting in 17th century Europe during the Age of Enlightenment, modernity marked a period where many of the political, economic, and social changes of today were formed (Giddens 1990). Many scholars consider this period to mark the transition to the modern society (Adams, Clemens, and Orloff 2004). In conjunction with the disenchantment with many traditional institutions, modernity led to progressive ideas. These ideas help form the foundation of the United States’ grand narrative. Feagin (2010) believed Whites more than any other
group identified with the grand narrative. Furthermore, Feagin (2010) argues that this narrative is important to White racial identity since it is a part of their collective memory.

The theory is comprised of components that represent elements the theoretical framework. Each element elaborates the men gender attitudes in an area and each connects to a larger theory.

_Explanation of Progressive Egalitarianism_

The data showed that Whites shied away from using traditional religious beliefs to support their gender role ideology. Instead, they used secular and progressive ideas to explain their views. For instance, household division of labor ideology was not seen from a traditional religious view; instead it was based on the fact that men and women both have to work, which subsequently changes household responsibilities. This view is heavily influenced by secularization. Secularization emerged from modernity and has become a major tenant in the United States (Taylor 2011). Based on the idea of separation of church and state, recently it has been associated with the trend of some individuals who have moved away from traditional organized religion. The data showed that White men identified with a more spiritualist view of religion. This lines up with modern interpretations of spirituality which has led many people to reject traditional religions such as Christianity, Islam, etc. (Hamberg 2009). Unchurched movements are driven by the notion that organized religions continue to maintain outdated notions (Hamberg 2009; Ferris and Stein 2012). Subsequently, some people feel better because they have shaken organized religion and thrive for ideological self-understanding (Calhoun, Juergensmeyer, and VanAntwerpen 2011).

My White respondents also tended to view religion as a social control
mechanism. They believed that religion prevented people from being open minded. This followed previous scholarship that suggest that organized religion clashes with modernity and progress. Habermas (1980) contends that since traditional religion has limits in answering certain modern questions, the need for religion diminishes as we move toward a secular society. While he acknowledges that religion has an important role in current society, he essentially sees its days as numbered. Nothing illustrates this more that the line, “Religion is bound to lose its relevance in modern, differentiated society where the authority of the holy is gradually replaced by the authority of an achieved consensus” (p. 77).

Similarly, postmodern ideas could also be seen in their view of masculinity. The data showed that Whites had a nebulous definition of masculinity. This nebulous view and various social factors have created a humanistic perspective. It also illustrates a individualistic, post-modern perspective because it lacks a solid construction. Instead it presents a fluid definition (Giddens et al. 2009). Masculinity is not a solid, immovable construction, rather it changes from moment to moment as historical and cultural forces re-dictate, replace, and re-imagine its reconstructing (Watson and Shaw 2011; Bederman 1995). This view of masculinity illustrated that cultural values are less dependent on antiquated notions. In this perspective, masculinity is a social product of modernity and progress fueled by the social discourse and cultural expectations (Foucault 1990). The hegemonic bloc of masculinity and the ever changing ways to define it, may give Whites the idea that there is not a distinct definition.

The data revealed that unlike Blacks, Whites’ ideas pertaining to money focused on consumption of women’s bodies through sex work. Industrialism and capitalism were
also consequences of modernity (Weber 2002 and Giddens 1990). In modern society consumption is the engine that drives capitalism (Ritzer 2010). Ritzer (2010) describes consumption as the new religion and calls massive shopping institutions cathedrals of consumption. Definitions of masculinity have become more and more defined by consumption. Osgerby (2001) noted that the rise of the image of the playboy in the 1950s and 1960s as an American icon of vitality and modernity represented a significant shift in ideas of masculinity and the consumption of the female body. The author explained this shift to a young, masculine racy consumption is marked by the rise of *Playboy* magazine in 1953. Its success was predicated on the new shift in masculinity which also began to emphasize narcissism and leisure (Osgerby 2001). The magazine’s pornographic material offered an acceptable and secure place to explore the masculinity in reference to the consumption of women’s bodies (Osgerby 2001).

Recent decades have continued to connect masculinity and consumption. Buerkle (2011) stated that since the 1990’s, the culture has produced images of masculinity that emphasizes consumption and gratification. The consumption of women’s bodies through various mainstream media has been lucrative and has become a part of masculinity.

The data showed that White men had a preference for egalitarianism. This was largely based on the change in the economic structure which pushed White women into the workforce. As far as household division of labor, Whites may begin to travel similar path as Blacks, who ideas within the household are largely influenced by women working. The social discourses on gender after the Civil Rights have continued to change the social expectations of men and women in relationships (Farough 2003;
This change fits the path of modernity and represents social progress in gender ideas – shifts from old definitions to new ones. Previous research found that in regard to traditional gender roles, both men and women are moving toward egalitarianism (Lindsey 2010; Helgeson 2012; Zou and Tang 2000; Zou 2004; Beckett 1997). This preference by Whites is based on progressive attitudes that have seen many of the traditional expectations within relationships change.

Whites felt the primary reason women were victimized was because they allowed access to their bodies in a number of ways. The responses referenced the social discourse from the women’s movement which emphasized personal agency for women. It fits with their idea of gender egalitarianism, which emphasizes individualism and pragmatic way of thinking. The men accepted women’s agency, but ignored social and historical factors for women. They focused on the woman’s individual decisions that often put them in danger. They assumed that everyone knows that certain men are crazy and will attack women. Taken to the logical extreme, it essentially blames the victim, because if women had made better decisions they would not have been victimized.

The figure below gives a step-by-step account of the progressive egalitarianism theoretical framework.
The data revealed a different pathway to egalitarianism for Black men. Whites’ egalitarianism relied heavily on the progressive ideas stemming from modernity and the sense that social ideas constantly move forward. This is not to say the progressive ideas and progressive social discourses do not affect Black men, but the data suggested that Blacks may have traveled a different historical path to egalitarianism. Specifically, Blacks’ ideas concerning egalitarianism were rooted in two major points. The first is the economic necessity for both Black men and women to work. Due to sociohistorical factors Black men and women have always worked out of economic necessity (Blee and Tickamyer 1995). According to King and Allen (2009), not only are...
African American men supportive of women working, but it is also actually their preference. The authors indicated that both African American men and women seek well-educated, financially stable, monogamous, and affluent partners who are spiritual, religious, self-confident, and reliable. Bryant and Beckett (1997) echoed this sentiment as well in their study of effects that resources have on the financial status and gender role ideology of African American couples. They stated that since the couples were African American they likely were socialized in the egalitarian tradition of role sharing between males and females within the household.

The second major point is the Black Church. The data revealed that the Black church was a significant factor in the development of egalitarianism among Black men. Not surprising considering that historically the church has been a central institution in the life of the African American community – caring for bodies, as well as souls, has been a critical aspect of its ministry (Samuels 2011; Littlefield 2005; Bent-Goodley, Vil and Hubbert 2012). The reliance on the Black church should not be surprising. The institution slavery also was the start of the created a pathology of Black culture, Black community, and Black church (Johnson and Staples 2005). This makes the church the semi-involuntary part of the culture because of its integration into the Black community.

It was much more important to Black respondents than White respondents. Wortham (2009) found that Blacks have a higher belief in orthodoxy, a higher frequency of prayer and higher involvement within the church. These patterns have been maintained due to the church’s ability to adapt. When examining data from the Factor 2000 Project, Barnes (2008) found that church membership was connected to the use of gospel rap music. There was a direct relationship between increases in new
The Black church continues to be important in the community. Krause (2011) found that secular social ties among African Americans can be attributed to social relationships they maintain in the church, but that is less true for Caucasian Americans. The church attempts to further be involved in the lives of its constituents through social programs. It has a long history of sponsoring programs in response to the economic and social needs of the community (Barnes 2011). Kvasny and Lee (2010) stated that the Black church’s position in the community make them logical choices for social and governmental programs, though they are limited by the communities and people they serve. Kvasny and Lee (2010) specifically examined the beneficiaries of the White House Office of Community and Faith-Based Initiatives (FBCI). What they found was that there was a paradox when it comes to the black churches that provide social programs to economically challenged citizens. They are often under resourced and lack the organizational capacity to secure FBCI resources.

When examining previous research, it is clear to see how egalitarianism could be developed within the church. Religion in Black Churches has generally included the politics of liberation as part of the worship experience (Littlefield 2005). Historically, the Black church developed in response to the racism in society and severed as an opportunity for African Americans to worship, congregate and organize. Often this organization during slavery became a place to assemble insurrections, disseminate anti-slavery information, educate the slaves and hide fugitive slaves (Littlefield 2005; Lincoln and Mamiya 1990). This illustrates that liberation was part of the history of the church and in many ways defined Black religion. Thus the development of the Black
church and its constant role in initiating change in the lives of African Americans represents the radical nature of religion and how this type of radicalism translates into self-help and social change (Littlefield 2005). Though this does not necessarily mean Black men will be more progressive as far as gender issues, it can be assumed that it encourages an alternative point of view, and this may influence Black men to become more socially aware. Barnes (2006) found that sermons often included Black Liberation and Womanist theology and even though they focused on general issues of racial justice, this exposure might also account for what the data found.

Components of Collaborative Egalitarianism

A large part of Black racial identity is collaboration and community involvement. The Black Church is an important part of Black racial identity. The Black respondents relied heavily on religion to support their ideas concerning gender. This is supported by previous research that the Black church continues to be an important part of Black life (Samuels 2011; Littlefield 2005; Bent-Goodley, Vil and Hubbert 2012). This also supported the semi-involuntary hypothesis. Black male respondents stated how important their religious beliefs were to their identity and discussed many different ways it impacted them. Unlike Whites they did not see religion as a social control mechanism. Instead many further explained that they had taken classes or attended a church that sought to develop men. This appears to suggest that Blacks place emphasis on community-based social institutions instead of the grand narrative of the country illustrates major racial differences.

Blacks focused on household financial stability. The responses yielded both
anxiety and seriousness as they discussed how being financially stable was important for their family. This is not at all surprising when one considers both social and historical Black realities. Through various social and structural factors, Black men are more likely to be removed from the household, struggle to find work and be a part of the underclass (Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson 1995). In her biography *Warriors Don’t Cry*, Beals (2007) described a scene in the mid-1950’s, where the White milkman would come and sexual harass her mother every day and her father who was 6’4” 300 lbs, would watch and not interfere. His fear of the White reprisal stopped him from being involved. It led to him feeling in adequate and eventually ran him away from home.

This focus on household financial stability has an effect on their gender ideas since both parents have to work. The desire for financial stability appears to have created more egalitarian households. This echoed previous research suggesting that Blacks have egalitarian households due to the fact that both men and women have always worked out of economic necessity. Because of this, Black men are more likely than White men to be supportive of a working wife (Lyson 1986; Blee and Tickamyer 1995). Two incomes make a household more financially stable and there is research to suggest that Black men seek financially stable women.

This collaboration between Black men and women assumes that Black men will be able meet some of the social expectations of a man. This may explain one of the reason that Black men saw masculinity as a rite of passage. Historically, the tenets of masculinity have been harder for them to achieve, which may account for the results. Because of these challenges, they may view the acknowledgement of manhood as central to their identity. Their responses can be interpreted as presenting an idea of
masculinity as not oppressive to women, but as a transition from childhood to adulthood. The milestones were marked by socially constructed ideas of masculinity, which does not mean that they were less oppressive than White masculinity. In general masculinity is oppressive within patriarchy (Lindsey 2011), but what emerges is that Black men view the embodiment of masculinity as the culmination of maturity. It is the completion of a journey that they began as a boy and completed as a man.

Like Whites, Black’s gender role ideology was moving toward egalitarianism within relationships. Communal and house sharing are big reasons. Blacks recalled growing up in households where all adults worked and had an equal household division of labor. Black men regularly referenced the fact that they saw men doing stereotypical women’s roles in the home. This led them to proclaim that their ideal household consisted of equal distribution of household roles. The majority of Black respondents, just like White respondents, believed that men and women should share equal power within the household. However, they were slightly less likely than White men to believe in an equal head of household.

The main intersection of White and Black racial identity was on the view that women allowed themselves to be victims. The postmodern shift away from rigid definitions and more toward women being creators of their destiny means women are more likely to be held accountable. Just like with White men the primary focus of women being victimized was women allowing access to their bodies. Black men have also been influenced by the social discourses on gender after the Civil Rights Movement have continued to change the social expectations of men and women in relationships (Farough 2003; Messner 1997; Wellman 1993). This change represents progress in
gender ideas – shifts from old definitions to new ones. Previous research found that in regard to traditional gender roles, both men and women are moving toward egalitarianism (Lindsey 2010; Helgeson 2012; Zou and Tang 2000; Zou 2004; Beckett 1997). However, its view could come from seeing women as strong, independent and fully capable of making great decisions.

The figure below gives a step by step account of the historical egalitarianism theoretical framework.

![Model Collaborative Egalitarianism](image)

**Figure 2. Model Collaborative Egalitarianism**

**Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework showed that each group's gender attitudes were
moving toward egalitarianism. Based on the data, race is an important factor. The intersection of race and gender along with the interaction between social and historical factors created different pathways. Understanding the pathways of getting to egalitarianism must occur within a given social and cultural context. For Whites, the progressive egalitarianism starts with modernity. To follow the path of this form of egalitarianism, a group identifies with a certain social context. Whites’ race has ensured their place atop the racial hierarchy and this has allowed them to identify with the grand narrative of the United States. This grand narrative is based in modernity and the age of enlightenment and it allows them to identify with progressive ideas because their emphasis is not on historical treatment. Culturally, they are allowed social freedoms and are not hampered by their history.

For Blacks, their historical egalitarianism starts with their treatment within this country. Their historical treatment made it necessary for the Black church to become the central institution in the Black community. This treatment also meant that Blacks had to band together to survive both socially and economically. Black households have always depended on each other and shared responsibility. Women have always worked which resulting in an equal division of labor within the household. Blacks’ place on the racial hierarchy continues to limit their access to goods and opportunities. Therefore what occurs is a replication of old historical factors and systems.

Essentially, there is definitely an intersection between race and pathways of egalitarianism. It shows that race is the access point to a particular path. Group placement on the racial hierarchy affects how one’s racial group has been treated, is currently treated and their access to resources. This placement creates a different set of
circumstances that leads one down a different pathway and illustrates that there are a number of factors related to the formation of gender ideology. Not only does this process show race as an important determinant, but there future studies may more fully understand this possible effects of the historical and social context of Blacks. The various social and historical factors have led to different interpretations of a single concept. For instance, a study showing Blacks wanting a woman to take their name after marriage may conclude that Black men maintain a very traditional idea about marriage. What this study found was that this desire was not motivated by traditional ideas of gender but rather it was connected to keeping the family together.

Contextualizing things help understand nuanced findings and encourages the researcher to make new connections within the current culture. It also encourages varied explanations which can create better solutions to problems.

The figure below gives a step-by-step account of the theoretical framework
Figure 3. Overall Model of Egalitarianism
CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION
Discussion

The findings showed that the gender role ideology for both Black and White men had similarities and differences. Both groups of men were familiar with the traditional societal expectations of men and both groups deviated from some aspects of those expectations. Blacks, however, held more traditional gender ideas than Whites which can be attributed to their traditional perspective on religion and desire to be seen as men by larger society. The study showed that racial identity is important in how one interprets and is affected by social and historical factors. Racial identity is important in the construction of their ideology and understanding. The themes that emerge can be seen as different aspects of their larger racial identity. While both Black and White men have developed ideas of gender egalitarianism, their racial identity determines the pathways to egalitarianism.

Most of the themes illuminated variation between the Black and White men. One variation noticed in how religion was interpreted by each group. Religion proves to be the divide between White individualism and post-modern enlightenment and Black collaboration and communal legitimation. Religion has been and continues to be an important social institution for Blacks. The data found that religion continues to be an important staple in the Black community. This is not surprising given how important historical religion has been in the Black community (Samuels 2011; Littlefield 2005; Bent-Goodley et al. 2012). It was surprising that these urban Black respondents’ involvement and dependence on religion seemed to support the semi-involuntary
hypothesis Black men used religion to support their gender ideas. It is often a symbol of hope and outlet for frustration against a racialized society that continues to make Blacks the underclass. Giddens et al. (2009) found that a general belief in Christianity as well as church attendance was connected to race and class. The authors found that minorities, particularly Blacks and lower SES individuals had a higher religiosity. Since Whites as a group are more likely to be economically stable, one can extrapolate that they have a lower religiosity or are less likely to need to rely on traditional religious beliefs. In his study on religiosity, Wortham (2009) found that Blacks had higher scores than Whites in belief orthodoxy, frequency of prayer and church involvement. Whites are more likely to explore secular religions and non-religion (Ferris and Stein 2012). Through their responses, religious ideas were used to support their views.

Conversely, Whites in general took a more secularized view of religion. This view is an extension of Age of Reason and modernity and the disestablishment (Giddens 1990). While most Black men primarily professed to be Christians with one professing a belief in Islam, only 3 Whites professed a belief in Christianity. Most Whites did not directly mention being affiliated with any organized religious traditions and of those who did, one professed to be a pagan and the others discussed being spiritual. This secularized view seemed to be the root of why Whites referred to religion as a social control mechanism for gender ideas. They believed that it was an antiquated way of viewing things that prevented progressive thinking. They stated that traditional religious views limited people and often referred to their families as rigid people who were trapped by religious thought.

These differences between the groups point to historical and social factors that
influence both groups. My data shows that Whites ideology to be heavily influenced by modernity and progressive social discourses so that religion is a barrier to overall social progress. It also points to religious beliefs and economic dynamics are important in creating a racialized context for gender attitudes.

These social and historical factors could also be seen in how both groups discussed economics in terms of gender. In this study, Blacks focused on the household when discussing money. They were concerned with having financial stability to lessen stress within the household. Many Black respondents referenced growing up poor and how poverty created household problems as their parents struggled for financial security. They discussed how bad it was for them to watch their parents suffering. Thus, they saw financial stability in the household as important to lower some of the household stress. Blacks still felt it was a point of emphasis to show that there is a comfort when it comes to women being employed. Historically, society has created barriers ranging from racism to being targeted for imprisonment, which makes Blacks unsure with their ability to financially support a family. This economic depravity has made supporting women working and sharing household division of labor important. They continue to recall lives limited by financial instability, to the point that this was a major theme in their discussions.

These historical barriers have had a paradoxical effect Blacks self-esteem and self-efficacy. Despite structural oppression Black self-esteem is high. Hughes and Demo (1989) noted that even that Black self-esteem was high, there personal efficacy was not. Buchanan and Selmon (2008) found that African American families have remained strong and self-reliant, however, there is an insecurity to provide for their families did not
mean that they doubted their abilities to earn. Unlike Hughes and Demo (1989), the authors found African American men with egalitarian gender attitudes have high self-efficacy. They attributed the insecurity is due to lack of resources and opportunities. Ellis and Ryan (2003) examined the test taking self-efficacy of Blacks and Whites and found that even if Blacks performed worse on tests than Whites, they reported a higher level of test taking self-efficacy than Whites. The discrepancy was likely due to ineffective strategies and test preparation (Ellis and Ryan 2003). Simply put, Blacks may have high racial self-esteem but they lack of proper resources which creates serious doubts in their ability to control their own lives.

With the establishment of the history of the United States, Whites have been the socially and economically dominant group. While all the White respondents thought it was important to financially support their families, none of them showed any insecurity about not being able to do this. Instead their discussion on economics focused on the sex work industry. They centered this discussion on the economic status of the industry or the fact that sex work, particular pornography, was used by people to make money. This fits their idea of social progress because first it rejects traditional notions that put limitations on how, how much, and the ways women could earn money. It, then, incorporates the new economy around sex work. Secondly, it puts an emphasis on individual agency. They see the global presence of sex work as being a move towards freedom of choice and expression and away from rigid ideas of sex. The fact that people are paid good money reinforces this fact. It also gives the impression of a victimless profession because people are perceived to be well compensated and to have made a choice. Kimmel (2008) contended that White men were attracted to
pornography because of White supremacy within it. He wrote that White men were more likely to consume it than other racial groups. This could be due to many of the themes within pornography which utilized racial stereotypes. According to Kimmel (2008), some of the Black men interviewed in his study actually saw pornography as racialized revenge and as a way for Whites to promote dominance.

Whites' views on money follow the trend that has seen masculinity in the 1950's and 1960s. In his discussion of the rise of the playboy image in the 1950s, Osgerby (2001) noted a shift in ideas of masculinity and the consumption of the female body. The author explained this shift to a young, masculine, racy consumption as marked by the rise of *Playboy* magazine in 1953. Its pornographic material offered an acceptable and secure place to explore the masculinity in reference to the consumption of women’s bodies (Osgerby 2001). The shift continued 1980s ideal where men used personal restraint and invested resources into productive ends. In the 1990s images of masculinity begin to emphasize consumption and gratification as their own rewards (Ervin 2011; Buerkle 2011). The consumption of women's bodies through various mainstream media has been lucrative and has become a part of masculinity. This implies a greater emphasis on Whites' ideology as being constructed by present day living and pop culture. Their gender ideas seem to be less reliant on history than Blacks. This could also represent a social change in expectations of White men.

Postmodern and progressive ideas continue to change how masculinity is defined for White men. Postmodern ideas have led Whites to have more rebellious to the traditional definition of masculinity and more likely not to have a distinct definition of it. With their focus on progressive ideas and moving away from old antiquated notions,
fluidity is key to understanding masculinity and not rigid construction. What was surprising is that these were the reasons for not having a distinct definition. Based on the data, the primary reason appeared to be environments of origin with conflicted views of men. They described negative situations or an inability to relate to the male in the household and because of this their home situations were not always harmonious. This may explain the shift in their ideas to postmodern ideas, because it demonstrate an attempt to escape what they may seem as their future.

The rejection of the father-figure seemed linked to the rejection of a definition of masculinity. It also opens up further examination of why White men view so many notions as outdated. To understand this, one just has to examine why Black men from similar backgrounds do not have the same issues. The difference could be the household gender ideology of Black men. Blacks are more liberal, have nontraditional roles, and are less restrictive in their ideas about gender roles than Whites (Cowdery, et al 2009). This may create a flexibility and wider range of expectations of a man than the standard definition. Also, more flexible ideas suggested that they are getting their ideas of gender from their mothers and other women in the household. So when Black men see poor models of masculinity, they do not necessarily have to reject them because their gender ideas are more varied. The cultural expectation for Whites is more rigid, so when they see poor models of masculinity they could reject them.

This also could be because Black men were more traditional in their ideas of gender in comparison to Whites. A more traditional would result in challenges to traditional ideas of masculinity. The historical plea of acknowledge that has been communicated since W.E.B. DuBois, means attaining the male gender role is also about
attaining legitimacy. This helps understand why Black men rooted their definition of masculinity not in the gender hierarchy, but in the idea that masculinity represents a transition from childhood into adulthood. They saw this transition as a rite of passage from which one emerges capable of meeting expectations. Though they did not subscribe to all the expectations they did identify with some of the expectations of traditional roles associated with being a man, i.e. provider, taking care of children, and meeting responsibilities. The transition from childhood to adulthood meant that you able to meet these expectations and this process was one in which a person goes from doing childish things to being mature.

Though they differed on views of masculinity, there were similarities in views on why women are victimized. Both Black and White men believed there were two reasons that women are victimized. The first reason was that too often women allowed access to their bodies. The second reason was male entitlement. These reasons were not mutually exclusive, but were connected. There was an assumption by the interviewees that there were certain men who feel entitled to women’s bodies and everyone understands that. While they did not exclusively blame women for being victims, they did point to the idea that women have some agency in their victimization. This shows how both groups of men are influenced by modernity and the social progressive discourses. It also speaks to the notion of a masculine superstructure, which suggests that both groups have a number of similarities in terms of how women are viewed. This implies that there is some universality in masculinity whereby all men receive a certain amount of masculine traits. Demetriou (2001), supported this by stating that masculinity is a hybrid bloc that includes many forms of masculinity. This also seems to suggest
some convergence of masculinity in terms of race.

This hegemonic bloc and masculine superstructure helps explain the seemingly contradiction of abuse and divorce. The data represents an ideal type that may not fully or regularly be applied to their lives at all times. The culture applies tremendous pressure to conform. A good example happened after the interview with one of the White interviewees. After the interview was finished his wife looked at me and said, “He does not believe any of that.” This seems to indicate that social expectations make it easy to fall into traditional roles, even if ideologically one wants to escape those gender roles.

Nevertheless, both groups of men had a fluid gender role ideology. It could be argued that since White racial identity is overlaps with some postmodern ideas that there was more fluid. Though Black men had a more traditional idea of male gender role than Whites, it should be noted that expanded models of gender in the household means that the definition may be broader initially and thus less likely to be challenged. Nevertheless, neither was rigid and there were similarities between their gender role ideologies. Looking at the structure of intimate relationships, they both had a preference for egalitarianism. Most men preferred an equal division of labor within the household possibly suggesting, at the very least, a change in the ideal type relationship. Previous research found that in regard to traditional gender roles, both men and women are moving toward egalitarianism (Lindsey 2010; Helgeson 2012; Zou and Tang 2000; Zou 2004; Beckett 1997).

When the gender ideas are examined in totality the data showed both Black and White men as moving toward egalitarianism. Each group racial identity dictates the path
that is taken. White racial identity is connected to the grand narrative of the country that promotes individualism. These elements modernity meet the somewhat contradictory postmodern ideas and create an ideological, progressive egalitarianism that was influenced by the changes in the culture and progressive social discourses. The step toward progressive ideas on gender and social living has moved White men toward egalitarianism. Black racial identity promotes collaboration and communal definitions. It is built on the Black Church, financial constraints, and maintaining the family. The various ways of maintaining the structure of the family, reacting to structural oppression, dependence on Black church, and pleas for acknowledgement as men have pushed Black men toward egalitarianism.

Limitations

There are limitations to this study – some are methodological in nature and others concern the scope of the study. Because this was qualitative study that used nonprobability sampling, the results are not generalizable to the population. The small sample could be the exception and may not reflect the gender role ideology of Black and White men.

The results could be region specific. The limited geography could affect the outcome causing an anomaly in the data that yields results that are particular to this sample. Maryland and the East Coast in general may different cultural ideas due to integration of diverse population and number of racial and ethnic enclaves. There are some noticeable cultural differences around ideas of courtesy and language. There also appears to be some differences in cultural expression of gender partly because of more
diverse religious expressions. Not to over generalize, but in the South Christianity is the
dominant religious expression, Maryland has diverse religious expression. The research
does suggest that this affects ones ideas on gender. There is also very little research on
the regional differences in gender ideology among Blacks, only Powers, Suitor, Guerra,
Shackelford, Mecom, and Gusman (2003) examined the possible regional differences.
According to Powers, et al. (2003), region was a prominent factor affecting their gender-
role attitudes of Black women in the 1980s, but by the 1990s its effect had diminished
considerably. They also found that regional differences in gender-role attitudes persisted
into the 1990s for White men and women, with southern Whites holding more traditional
attitudes than those held by Whites in other parts of the country. For White men and
women and for Black men, the effect of region changed little between the 1980s and
1990s.

Also, there is a chance the results illustrate a religious differences. Most Whites
interviewed by the study did not follow tradition religion, while the Blacks did. The
differences found could have been a religious difference.

Implications of Future Research

Four of the Black men mentioned taking manhood training classes and although
this number was not significant in this study, it does suggest that this may be something
that needs to be explored. Frequency of programs suggests that social programs and
institutions are acting as surrogate masculine figures. I think its reasonable to study
what ideas of gender are young black men receiving from these programs. Baltimore
there are a lot of different community and university-based programs geared toward
mentoring and teaching young Black males to be men. This is partly based on the notion that there is not a man in the household to mentor and teach them. It’s a very patriarchal view of the problems of young Black youths. Examining the number of programs within an area or region and interviewing some men that went through these programs can shed light of Black men’s gender ideology. Future research could explore the ideology of these men to those who have not participated in a program and compare their gender ideology. Quantitative studies of men who went through these may give some insight between the program goals and desired effects. Qualitative studies could then be used further explore their gender role ideology compared to men who have not been through the program.

There is a need for additional research pertaining to the markers of masculinity. Previous research has indicated that there is a hegemonic bloc of masculinity that shifts and changes with the culture. This study found that many of the old markers may not apply. Both groups supported women hyphenating or keeping their maiden names after marriage, equal division of labor, and working outside the home. These traditional markers may not be valid, so exploring the nuances of masculinity may indicate that it possibly needs to be redefined. Studying how men and women feel about the last name could continue to explore how these markers have shifted.

There is also a need for more comparison between racialized groups. There is a tendency to generalize ideas. This study found that there are differences in how these two groups of men interpret messages relating to gender. Social and historical factors continue to shape the social interaction and social outcomes for different groups. Fully understanding the experiences of men means more research also needs to be
conducted on other racialized groups. Only then can a picture begin to be drawn of how different racial experiences affect gender role ideology.

In addition, the study does not explore ethnicity within the Black or White community. Some of the Black respondents referred to themselves as a particular ethnicity in addition to being Black. In Maryland it is not uncommon to meet Blacks that have both a racial and ethnic identity. In my classes, unique cultural understanding about men and women often come out through discussions. Phrases like “Nigerian women are not like that” or “Jamaican men don’t do that,” are common in my classes. There is most likely a hegemonic gender role ideology in Black and White communities because of various origins of Blacks in the United States. The same can be said about Whites. Without dealing with ethnicity, the ideology comes across as monolithic and homogenous. Storr (2007) theorized that ethnicity differs among Blacks and this affected their cultural interpretation. There is in fact a plurality of historically specific cultures. The author examined five themes individuals used to make sense of their culture; they are (a) cultural affirmations, (b) cultural negations, (c) enhance relations, (d) cultural divisiveness, and (e) reconciliation. What Storr’s research proves is that there is an entire body of research on Black gender role ideology being neglected. This can also be said about Whites.

Finally, there has to be more research on how the pornography and stripping has affected masculinity. Sex work industry presence in the mainstream of modern society is ubiquitous creating a multi-billion dollar industry. Men are learning lessons not only about masculinity but about gender relations as well. Research is just starting to explore the impact, and more will be needed as masculinity is again being redefined. A
qualitative studies that explore how men feel when they visit strip clubs or watch pornography, when they consume and why, could provide insight to the effects its having on men. The qualitative data could be compared to some quantitative findings to support or disprove the findings. Adding quantitative data would to make the findings generalizable and expand the scope of the research.
APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE
Instructions

INTERVIEWER: “Hello, how are you? Thank you for letting me interview you for my dissertation. As I told you when we were setting up this appointment, I am doing research uses the experiences of men to explore their ideas on gender roles.”

“Before we start the interview, I would like to inform you of your rights during the interview and fully explain the purpose, risks, and possible benefits of the study. Afterwards, I would like for you to read and sign a consent agreement in which I keep, but you will receive a copy as well.”

I give them a copy of the informed consent form as I read the information that is on it.
“Before agreeing to participate in this research study, it is important that you read and understand the following explanation of the purpose, benefits and risks of the study and how it will be conducted. The title of study is Comparison of Gender Role Ideology between Black and White Men between the ages of 18-30.”

“The principal investigator is Myron Strong, a doctoral student in sociology at the University of North Texas. The study is being conducted to complete his dissertation and there may be a book or academic articles published on the results.”

“The purpose of this study is to explore men's experiences in this society and their understanding of gender roles. There is no right or wrong answers, this study values everyone's experience and insight. If you agree to the interview, you will be asked several questions which should last 30 minutes to an hour.”

“The potential risks in this study are that you may feel emotional distress when discussing experiences that are uncomfortable for you to remember. To minimize this, you have the option to skip a question or stop answering questions all together and leave at any time before or during the interview, if they. The potential benefit from this study is that you have a chance to share your experiences, and these experiences will contribute to field racial and gender theory. It contributes because the more we understand about men's experiences and how their ideology is form, the closer we come to achieving social equality.”

“The confidentiality of your individual information will be maintained in any publications or presentations regarding this study. The researcher will not reveal their identities under any circumstance. The participants will sign an informed consent form. The form will be locked in a secure file cabinet only accessible to the researcher. During the interview, no names or addresses of the participants will be recorded. Only the researcher will have access to the interviews. I will place every digital interview in a separate file on the researcher's computer. The digital file will be labeled and placed in a secured folder only accessible to the researcher. The confidentiality of your individual information will be maintained in any publications or presentations regarding this study.”
“If you have any questions about the study, you may contact Myron Strong at ********** or his faculty advisor, Dr. George Yancey at **********

“This research study has been reviewed and approved by the UNT Institutional Review Board (IRB). The UNT IRB can be contacted at (940) 565-3940 with any questions regarding the rights of research subjects.”

**Research Participants’ Rights:**

“Your signature below indicates that you have read or have had read to you all of the above and that you confirm all of the following:

- **Myron Strong** has explained the study to you and answered all of your questions. You have been told the possible benefits and the potential risks and/or discomforts of the study.
- You understand that you do not have to take part in this study, and your refusal to participate or your decision to withdraw will involve no penalty or loss of rights or benefits. The study personnel may choose to stop your participation at any time.
- You understand why the study is being conducted and how it will be performed.
- You understand your rights as a research participant and you voluntarily consent to participate in this study.
- You have been told you will receive a copy of this form.”

“Do you have any questions?”

If there are no questions please sign and date the informed consent form.”

Or If I have answered your questions, please sign and date the informed consent form.”

I sign the form and give them a copy

---

**The interview begins**

"I would like to start by asking you some demographic and background questions"

**Demographic questionnaire**

What sex are you?

Typically, what race do people think you are?

**follow up:** How do you identify yourself?

What age are you?

What is your marital status?

What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?

What is your occupation?

What economic class do you see yourself?

Do you have children?

Where did you grow up?

Who were the members in your household?

**probe questions** Tell some of the benefits from your father/mother being / not being there?

**probe questions** Tell some of the challenges from your father/mother being / not being...
there?
**probe questions** What were the occupations of mother and/or father and/or guardians? How often did someone discuss racial or social injustice with you?

**Open ended questions**
1. If I followed you through a typical day, what would I see you doing?
2. Talk to me about how you relieve stress...

**probe questions** How do you feel this helps you relieve stress?

What are the two most popular topics discussed by you and your friend? **Possible Probe** Why do you think it is

(***the following questions center on definitions of manhood***)
3. Tell me your thoughts about the definition of a man...
   **possible probe** Where did you learn this
4. Talk to me about the responsibilities of a man...
   **possible probe** Where did you learn this
5. Do you feel you have the same opportunities as other men
   **possible probe**: Talk about how you see opportunities for other men

**transition question** We have been talking about definitions of a man, Now would like to ask some questions about family. Tell me your definition of an ideal woman

(***the following questions center on home domain***)
Tell me your thoughts about the ideal family
**Probe** Talk to me about the household roles for each member...
**probe** Do you feel like these roles are typical in most families?
**Probe** Who should be the head of household?
**Probe** Talk to me about why do you feel this way...

(*If they mention children*) Tell me about the activities that you do with your children

7. Tell me the advice that you would give a single 21 year old who was looking for a spouse? (I left out whether the 21 yr old is a man or woman because I wanted to see who they would assume would be looking for a spouse. But if I need to assign a sex, I will say that I am talking a man)
**Probe** Who do you think has more pressure to get marriage?

*Now I would like to ask some questions about your work environment. Tell me the last*
joke you heard at work
(the following questions center on work domain)
Probe Did anyone get upset?
Probe please explain

8. Tell me some of the topics of conversations that can be heard at work...
Probe Which topic stands out?
Probe Talk to me about what made it particularly memorable ....
Probe Did anyone get upset when discussing the topic?
Probe please explain

9. If, I am new at your job, what advice would you give in order to advance?
Probe Would you give different advice for a woman or a man?
10. Tell me your thoughts about the definition or sexual harassment?

Probe Does the definition to changed?

11. From your experience, who has been the victim most of the time?

probe Talk to me about why you think this...

transitional question We have been talking about your ideas on family and work. Now I want ask you some general questions. Ben Roethlesberger was recently accused of rape, but was acquitted. He was then suspended by the league for six games . Tell me the advice that you would give him to stay out of trouble?

General Questions
12. Do you think that certain types of women are more likely to be raped?

probe Talk to me about why this may be...

13. The mayor of Baltimore Shelia Dixon, resign in February 2010 as part a plea deal for a conviction of embezzlement. Do you feel like there were other reasons that she resigned? (I know dichotomous, but this was a big case in Baltimore and there were a lot varying opinions. She is a Black women, so I am wondering if anyone will bring up race and/or gender as possible reasons for her being put on trial).

probe Please explain more...

The following questions center on sexual domain

transition question We have been talking about your ideas on family. Now I would like to ask you some questions about sex. Talk to me about your ideas of sex, not the act or
**specific tastes, what you like to do or that sort of thing**

**possible probe** Is it important to be that it happen inside a relationship  
**possible probe** Why/why not

8. Talk to me about why people have sex

“Now I want to ask you some general question related to pop culture phenomenon that people associate with sex. Pornography is really prevalent, talk about ideas concerning pornography.

**Probe** Please explain more

*There is a recent rise in popularity of pole dancing by women who are not strippers. What are your ideas on why it is so popular?*

**Probe** Please explain more

**Closing question**
We have talk about a lot of subjects during to interview. To close I would like you to tell me your advice you would give a person about being a man.

"That is all the questions I have, I want to thank you for agreeing to be interviewed and sharing your experience and ideas."
APPENDIX B

IRB CONSENT FORM
Title of Study: Racial Perceptions of Male Privilege and its Effect on Sensitivity to Issues of Gender

The project facilitator is Myron Strong, a doctoral student in sociology at the University of North Texas. The study is being conducted to complete his dissertation and there may be a book or academic articles published on the results.

This study explores men's experiences in this society and their understanding of the experiences of women. There is no right or wrong answers, this study values everyone's experience and insight. If you agree to the interview, you will asked several questions which should last 30 minutes to an hour.

The potential risks in this study is that you may feel emotional distress when discussing experiences that are uncomfortable for you to remember. To minimize this, you have the option to skip a question or stop answering questions all together and leave at any time before or during the interview, if they. The potential benefit from this study is that you have a chance to share your experiences, and these experiences will contribute to field racial and gender theory. It contributes because the more we understand about each other experiences, the closer we come to achieving social equality.

The confidentiality of your individual information will be maintained in any publications or presentations regarding this study. The researcher will not reveal their identities under any circumstance. The participants will sign an informed consent form. The forms will be locked in a secure file cabinet only accessible to the researcher. During the interview, no names or addresses of the participants will be recorded. Only the researcher will have access to the interviews. I will place every digital interview in a separate file on the researcher's computer. The cassette will be labeled and placed in a secured container only accessible to the researcher. The confidentiality of your individual information will be maintained in any publications or presentations regarding this study.

If you have any questions about the study, you may contact Myron Strong or his faculty advisor/principle investigator, Dr. George Yancey.

This research study has been reviewed and approved by the UNT Institutional Review Board (IRB). The UNT IRB can be contacted at (940) 565-3940 with any questions regarding the rights of research subjects.
Research Participants’ Rights:

Your signature below indicates that you have read or have had read to you all of the above and that you confirm all of the following:

- **Myron Strong** has explained the study to you and answered all of your questions. You have been told the possible benefits and the potential risks and/or discomforts of the study.
- You understand that you do not have to take part in this study, and your refusal to participate or your decision to withdraw will involve no penalty or loss of rights or benefits. The study personnel may choose to stop your participation at any time.
- You understand why the study is being conducted and how it will be performed.
- You understand your rights as a research participant and you voluntarily consent to participate in this study.
- You have been told you will receive a copy of this form.

________________________________                Printed Name of Participant

______________________________       ____________   Signature of Participant           Date

I certify that I have reviewed the contents of this form with the subject signing above. I have explained the possible benefits and the potential risks and/or discomforts of the study. It is my opinion that the participant understood the explanation.

__________________________    __________
Signature of Principal Investigator     Date
REFERENCES


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