MISMATCHED: A QUANTITATIVE EVALUATION OF THINKING VERSUS
DOING MASCULINITY IN CANADIAN SPORT

by

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Abstract

Increasing pressure and activism for social justice is challenging the primacy of heteronormative hegemonic masculinity. As a result, inclusive masculinities, signified by stereotypically feminine traits and those who embody them are argued to exemplify the current hegemonic norm. Considering these liberalizing trends, the intent of this research is to evaluate the current state of masculinity and the degree to which progressive social trends are suppressing the reproduction of patriarchy and oppressive gender norms, and how this phenomenon varies by race, age, class, region, educational attainment, sexual orientation, and sport participation. Using correspondence and regression analysis of original survey data, this research explores the dynamic interrelationship between social norms and oppressive masculine paradigms that structure contemporary gender relationships and hierarchies. By surveying Canadian male athletes – widely considered archetypes of normative maleness in Western societies – this research examines shifting conceptions and expressions of masculinity to determine whether traditional male gender norms are softening in a hypermasculine environment. The findings indicate that although progressive social developments are working to suppress discriminatory behaviours, the ideological foundations of oppressive masculinity remain intact. Progressive trends have not fundamentally altered the structuration of a gender hierarchy in which heteronormative masculinity prevails.

List of Abbreviations Used

Id.   Identity

Pr.   Practice

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Many argue that aggression, violence, and dominance are idealized male gender norms contributing to the subordination of women, racial minorities, LGBTQ people, and men who do not embody so-called heteronormative traits (Cheng, 1999; Connell, 2005a; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Messner, 1992, 2002). Such norms are argued to foster crime, gendered health inequality, sexism, unequal treatment of women, homophobia, racism, and other destructive social phenomena (Cheng, 1999; Courtenay, 2000; Donaldson, 1993; Messerschmidt, 1993; Prokos & Padavic, 2002).

North American masculinity has been defined by a narrow set of traits predicated on physical strength, toughness, competitiveness, rationality, and other exclusive and restrictive characteristics (Schwalbe, 2014). Several influential scholars including West & Zimmerman (1987) and Connell (2005a) maintain that contemporary Western masculinity is premised on and defined by gender inequality and a masculine hierarchy. These scholars suggest that men gain privileged status and benefits through the subordination of women, minorities and other groups, with pre-eminence reserved for a narrow group of white, middle-class, early-middle-aged, heterosexual men (Cheng, 1999; Connell, 2005a).

Previously stigmatized stereotypically 'feminine' traits are increasingly permissible, while men who embody them are argued to be accruing power, challenging previous definitions of masculinity and gender-based power relations (Anderson, 2009). While it was once commonplace for men to gain dominance through the marginalization of others, it is now largely unacceptable to explicitly and publicly discriminate based on race, gender, and/or sexual orientation (Kian, Anderson & Shipka, 2015; Roberts, 2012).

Furthermore, increasing pressure and activism for social justice is challenging the

primacy of heteronormativity (Buchbinder, 2013; Castells, 2000; Connell, 2005a, Faludi,

2000; Kimmel, 2012; Messner, 1993; Schwalbe, 2014). For instance, gay marriage is

now legal in every U.S. state and in all of Canada (Anderson, 2009; Kian et al., 2015;

McCormack, 2012). Researchers and scholars posit that mainstream culture is

experiencing a propagation of diverse masculinities resulting from shifting social norms,

many of which appear to counter traditional gender norms (Atkinson, 2011, Ricciardelli,

Clow & White, 2010).

Although some believe the emergence of diverse masculinities signifies a decline

of patriarchy and a rise of inclusivity (see Anderson, 2009; McCormack 2012), others

argue patriarchal norms continue to be concretized in subversive, subtler forms (see

Arxer, 2011; Schwalbe, 2014). Notwithstanding progressive efforts and real gains toward

gender equality and the movement away from a monolithically revered expression of

masculinity, significant injustice persists. Traditional, domineering, and prejudicial

masculinity characterized by oppressiveness is still glamorized on the internet, in the

military, sport, media and advertising, and across a variety of other diverse social,

economic and political venues and institutions. Therefore, while alternative expressions

of masculinity are emerging, harmful pathways to male privilege remain.

Sport is widely theorized as a primary site for the reproduction and normalization

of damaging culturally idealized heteronormativity (Connell, 2005a; Connell &

Messerschmidt, 2005; Kidd, 1987; Messner, 1992). This is especially poignant in

Canada, as scholars argue that Canadian identity is largely linked to and defined by

sports. Many posit that hockey's symbolic status in Canadian culture is central to the

foundation of Canadian identity as white, masculine, middle-class, heterosexual, and physical (Allain, 2015; Bridel & Clark, 2012). Sport influences many men in Canada, as nearly one third of men (32.88%) play at least one sport regularly (Brisson, 2015). Sport also reaches non-athletes through televised sporting events consumed by hundreds of millions of fans, permeating into numerous streams of popular culture including music, marketing, movies, and fashion.

Sport sociologists contend that sport encapsulates society in a microcosm. Through its study, we gain insight into wider social trends and develop a broader understanding of the complexities of society at large (Eitzen & Sage, 2009; Frey & Eitzen, 1991; Snyder & Spreitzer, 1975). They also argue that society is reflective of the interaction between sport and other sociocultural fields (Burstyn, 2000; Eitzen & Sage; 2009). For instance, mirroring progressive social transformations, prominent North American sports leagues such as the National Football League (NFL), National Hockey League (NHL), National Basketball Association (NBA), and Major League Baseball (MLB) are becoming more inclusive. The employment of women as referees and coaches, and the welcoming of gay men on teams, are examples of this. However, as in society at large, injustice and discrimination founded on traditional masculinity also persist (Cashman & Clemore, 2012). Alongside gestures of inclusivity in sport are recurring and revealing incidents of oppressiveness: sexism, racism, and homophobia perpetrated by players, fans, and team owners. Sport culture continues to valorize traditional, violent, heteronormative masculinity, while also promoting misogyny through the rampant objectification of women as cheerleaders, in sport advertising, and in broadcasting (Nylund, 2007; Messner, Dunbar & Hunt, 2000). Overall, there is a

'disconnect' between the apparent inclusivity in both sport and society, and real, substantive transformation.

 As a result, the purpose of this thesis is to assess the current state of masculinity in Canada and its role in the reproduction of patriarchy and oppressive gender norms through a case study of sport. To meet this objective, three sub questions are investigated: First, to what extent does contemporary masculinity incorporate (a) inclusive and (b) oppressive ideologies and behaviors? Second, do oppressive and inclusive ideologies align with oppressive and inclusive behaviors? Last, how do these ideologies and behaviours vary in diverse groups?

 These questions are engaged in Chapters 2-5. After this brief introduction, Chapter 2 provides an overview of literature on masculinity and sport. It begins with seminal texts on gender and masculinities to provide background on the central theories and concepts commonly referenced in men's studies and a discussion of sport and its relationship to masculinity and mainstream culture. Chapter 3 outlines the research methodology used to address the research questions and includes the operationalization of concepts. Chapter 4 presents the study results, beginning with an outline of the descriptive statistics and a review of the variable distributions. Following is a comprehensive examination of correspondence analysis results and regression outputs with a discussion of their implications. Last, Chapter 5 summarizes the findings and synthesizes their significance within the study of men and masculinities.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter provides an overview of the substantive literature pertaining to my research objectives, drawing upon the areas of men's studies and the sociology of sport. The goal is to provide definitions of foundational concepts; to contextualize discussion within contemporary debates; and to identify gaps in the literature that have propelled the pursuit of my research questions. Moreover, it situates the project within the discipline of sociology, thereby presenting its significance to a greater body of knowledge.

2.1 Hegemonic Masculinity

R.W. Connell developed the term *hegemonic masculinity* to describe the ongoing domination of women by men and how it is legitimized (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; McCormack, 2012). The term is based on Antonio Gramsci's theory of class inequality, which proposed that a dominant class maintains the subordination of the working class by garnering their consent to an inferior position they come to view as natural (Connell, 2005a; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Pellicani, 1989). Hegemony refers to "social ascendency achieved in a play of social forces that extends beyond contests of brute power into the organization of private life and cultural processes" (Connell, 1987, p. 185). R.W. Connell adapted this theory to explicate conceptualizations of masculinity and the structuration of a patriarchal gender order (Connell, 1987).

Connell asserts that in any society there are multiple modalities of hierarchically ordered masculinity (Connell, 1987; Connell, 2005a), with hegemonic masculinity holding the top position (Roberts, 2012). At the time of her research, Connell identified

hegemonic masculinity as personified by white, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied men; predicated on anti-femininity; and policed by sexist, homophobic, racist and other oppressive rhetoric, ideology, and norms (Anderson, 2009; Cheng, 1999; Connell, 2005a, Kimmel, 1993). It is underpinned by the ideological and behavioural obligation to demonstrate dominance over others (Schwalbe, 2014).[1]

Hegemonic masculinity is also defined by a set of gender norms and attitudes that secure and maintain male social, economic, and political privilege and entitlement, framed in such a way as to gain the support of those it subordinates (Connell, 2005a; Schwalbe, 2014). One of the key features of hegemonic masculinity, according to Connell, is the subjugation of alternative masculinities and femininity (Connell, 2005a; McCormack, 2012). Hegemonic masculinity is in direct conflict with 'femininity', or what Connell (1987) terms *emphasized femininity*, a form of femininity that complies with subordination to masculinity and is oriented toward accommodating the desires of men. It is demonstrated through sociability rather than technical competence, fragility, and the acceptance that marriage and childcare take precedence over career. Emphasized femininity is normalized through the same processes as hegemonic masculinity, albeit on a much larger and profound scale (Connell, 1987).

For this reason, according to Connell, men actively avoid behaving in any way that could be interpreted as feminine (Anderson, 2009; Connell, 2005a). She argues that homosexuality is equated with femininity; therefore, homophobia, sexism, and support for heteronormativity are inherently linked (ibid.). Moreover, Connell (2005a) contends

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[1]Traditional, oppressive, and/or orthodox hegemonic masculinity are used interchangeably throughout my thesis to refer to the version of hegemonic masculinity identified by Connell.

that anything associated with femininity is oppressed and suppressed under the umbrella of anti-femininity, while all aspects considered masculine are empowered. On the one hand, this leads to the undervaluation of traits that are deemed feminine, such as emotionality, sensitivity, passivity, gentleness, vulnerability, and decreased physicality. On the other hand, it contributes to the overvaluation of traits traditionally distanced from femininity, such as aggression, power, control, authoritarianism, physicality, and success in masculine arenas such as sport.

For over 30 years, hegemonic masculinity has remained a foundational component of male gender theory, guiding much of the contemporary sociological masculinities scholarship and discussion (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; McCormack, 2012). Since its formulation, hegemonic masculinity's explanatory power has evolved, producing a broad range of knowledge across diverse fields on the wide scope of its influence, damage, and tangible impacts (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). For example, hegemonic masculinity has been used to explain the gendered disparity of crime rates (Messerschmidt, 1993). It has been cited as a source of racism (Cheng, 1999), homophobia, (Donaldson, 1993), the unequal treatment of women in workplaces (Grubb & Billiot, 2010; Prokos & Padavic, 2002), and male emotional detachment such as withholding personal and intimate feelings (Bird, 1996). Courtenay (2000) argues that men use disregard for personal health to signify strength and power, with hegemonic values precipitating men's lower life expectancy, poorer health conditions, and increased risk-taking behaviours in comparison to women (Courtenay, 2000). The consequences are clear: on average, men die nearly seven years younger than women; men suffer 94% of

all fatal work-related injuries in the U.S.; and men have higher rates of severe chronic medical conditions (Courtenay, 2000).

Hegemonic masculinity is also subject to a variety of critiques, the key one being that the original formulation of the theory may have oversimplified the social relationships that give rise to gender inequality. Connell's early work has also been accused of leading to the fixation of hegemonic masculinity as an archetype founded on specific traits rather than the masculinity that holds the most revered position in a society at a given time (Anderson, 2009). In response to these criticisms, Connell & Messerschmidt (2005) consider the multitude of forces constructing and constraining hegemonic masculinity, such as its linkage with the male body. Moreover, they emphasize the ongoing exchange between masculinity and social environment, locale, and even an individual's life course (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). They argue that hegemonic masculinity is not static but fluid, interacting with historical events and the current social climate to converge into the gender norms and relationships of a society (ibid.). The reigning masculine paradigm occupying the hegemonic position shifts over time in response to social forces (Anderson, 2005; Demetriou, 2001). The malleability of hegemonic masculinity is conceptually analogous to the arguments put forth by West & Zimmerman (1987), who posit that gender is continuously reworked as normative conceptions of men and women change over time.

Arguably, therefore, the fundamental attribute of hegemonic masculinity is power, secured through the control of sociocultural and political spheres. Its authority is constantly under threat by social change precipitated by an evolving culture and shifting gender relationships. When hegemonic masculinity as a normative conceptualization of

manhood is exposed as a tactic to maintain unequal power relations, subordinated groups are likely to gain ascendency or retaliate against its injustice (Atkinson, 2011). When threatened, the dominant group must adopt new strategies or risk losing its power and authority (Buchbinder, 2013).

2.2 Changing society

Important social change has transpired since Connell's writings on hegemonic masculinity. Support for feminism and gender equality, for example, have steadily increased over the past 25 years, leading to widespread awareness of gender inequality as a pressing and relevant issue (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004). Employment insurance for maternity, parental benefits, employment equity and Bill C-16, which added gender and gender identity to the list of prohibited grounds of discrimination in the Canadian Human Rights Act are all additional examples of change. This is not to mention the availability of birth control, rising college graduation rates for women, reductions in gender discrimination in employment, increased presence of women in political office, combined with the legalization of same-sex marriage and the push for LGBTQ rights as evidence of how far Western society has progressed (England, 2010).

Canadian women have advanced considerably in employment and educational sectors over the last three decades with statistics showing that women are outpacing men in overall educational success (Turcotte, 2011). In early schooling, girls receive better marks than boys, are less likely to drop out of high school, and earn postsecondary degrees and diplomas at higher rates (ibid.).

Public attitudes toward homosexuality have also changed significantly in recent years. Anderson (2009) uses the concept of homohysteria to describe the anxiety arising from the fear of being perceived as gay and a fear of gay men. Homohysteria depends on cultural homophobia and pressure men feel to distance themselves from homosexuality and align with heteronormativity (Anderson, 2009; McCormack, 2012). It reached its apex during the 1980's when HIV/AIDS was framed as a disease of gay men (McCormack & Anderson, 2014). Observers suggest that homophobia and homohysteria are both diminishing in Western societies, allowing masculinities that diverge from the prevailing hegemonic norm to proliferate without social stigma, "opening up the contemporary meanings of masculinity in ways that allow a more varied selection of performances to "count"" as masculine" (Anderson, 2009; Bridges & Pascoe, 2014, p. 248; McCormack, 2012).

Notwithstanding, women continue to earn less than men, with pay as low as 65 cents to every dollar. Moreover, women still overwhelmingly occupy traditionally 'feminine' occupations such as teaching, nursing, administration, and sales/service occupations (Ferrao, 2010; Turcotte, 2011). Men maintain control of most of the highest paid and prestigious positions in Canada, and women's work continues to be undervalued (Brooks, Bradley, & Blackburn, 2003). Women remain tasked with navigating a 'glass ceiling' that hinders their ability to rise to the most lucrative, influential positions of power (Williams, 1992).

An additional pitfall of noted gains is their predication on a gendered occupational hierarchy, where the success of women is measured by their ascent in male dominated spheres. In traditionally male dominated occupations, many women have risen to the

level of men, and are rewarded for it (England, 2010). The reverse is not the case. Men are still reluctant to hold 'feminine' jobs, perpetuating an imbalance whereby men and 'men's work' are conferred superiority to women, femininity, and 'women's work' (England, 2010). Men remain at the top of an economic and occupational hierarchy. Women only attain social and economic parity by entering male occupations and donning 'masculine' roles. England (2010) argues that women are applauded for entering male-dominated spheres and behaving in socially sanctioned masculine ways, while boys and men are still stigmatized for crossing gender boundaries.

Progressive ideals and practical gains for women and gays have also met strong opposition. In the 1970s, as a result of the women's liberation movement, men's rights activism and other forms of organized responses emerged (Messner, 1997). Men's rights activists predominantly consist of upper-class whites and are widely understood as backlash movements against feminism, contending that white males are marginalized through affirmative action, immigration, multicultural policies, and other social initiatives aimed at helping minority groups to their detriment (Brayton, 2007; Heath, 2003; Maddison, 1999; Messner, 1997). These groups frame white men as victims; and women, minorities and other groups as undeserving of special social benefits (Brayton, 2007). Infused with these ideologies is the notion that white masculinity personifies patriotism, traditional family values, and norms that are being forgotten amongst a changing cultural tide (Oh & Kutufam, 2014). This framework provides men's activists with an excuse of moral justification and righteousness that further rationalizes their objectives (ibid.).

Scholars use the term *masculinity crisis* to describe a mismatch between men's internal expectations and societal norms and behaviours (Reeser, 2010), which occurs

when previously held norms are superseded by new standards, particularly when change happens precipitously (Beynon, 2002). The masculinity crisis is delineated by five key elements: (1) the perceived loss of male power and status; (2) collective action against this loss; (3) an empirically observable transformation of 'masculine practices'; (4) confusion, doubt, and/or anxiety resulting from a changing culture; and (5) men who feel they are unjustly marginalized solely for being male in a sociocultural environment that has a general disliking for them (Atkinson, 2011).

Atkinson (2007) documents evidence of a masculinity crisis in his study of male nutritional supplement users. He found that participants often spoke about being "directly victimized as a middle-class, White male in the workplace" (Atkinson, 2007, p. 179). Threatened by women's presence in the workforce and in political and economic spheres, participants revealed feelings of inadequate moral and intellectual competency and worth (ibid.). Atkinson (2007) notes that weightlifting and supplementation were used as vehicles to compensate for feelings of inferiority and inadequacy; and "to regain, literally, a physical presence of distinction in the workplace" (p. 179). The wider significance of Atkinsons's (2007) study is that it is illustrative of a tension between men's conceptions of masculinity and contemporary gender norms.

Despite advances in gender equality, scholars posit that a masculinity crisis as postulated by Atkinson and others has precipitated renewed opposition against the perceived or real loss of male privilege and identity (Beynon, 2002; Kimmel, 2008; Messner, 1997; Phipps, 2016; Reeser, 2011). Others contend that liberalization is facilitating a genuine reconfiguration of gender and a restructuration of the gender hierarchy (Anderson, 2009; McCormack, 2012).

2.3 Developments in Masculinity Theory

With social change have come new perspectives on masculinity. At the forefront is *inclusive masculinity theory*. Formulated by Dr. Eric Anderson, inclusive masculinity theory suggests that in an environment of decreasing homophobia, men are freer to express manhood in ways that blur the lines between femininity and masculinity (Anderson, 2009). In his examination of masculinity amongst young, heterosexual, middle-class white men, Anderson finds that two archetypes of masculinities co-exist: inclusive and orthodox (Anderson, 2009; Bridges & Pascoe, 2014; McCormack, 2012). Orthodox masculinity is synonymous with traditional hegemonic norms such as homophobia, sexism, restrictive emotionality and other ideals identified by Connell. In contrast, inclusive masculinity is anti-homophobic, holds respectful attitudes towards women and is open to homosocial tactility (Anderson, 2009). Most importantly, both masculinities are on an equal footing, not hierarchal as professed by Connell. Neither group is oppressed by or inferior to the other group (ibid.). Anderson suggests that in a social environment of decreasing homohysteria, a singular masculinity is no longer hegemonic; instead, multiple equally esteemed masculine typologies coexist (Anderson, 2009; Cashmore & Cleland, 2012).

Inclusive masculinity theory offers an alternative to Connell's masculinity theorizing, and is supported by a growing body of work, especially in male youth cultures (McCormack, 2012; see also Adams & Anderson, 2012; Anderson, 2011; Anderson & McGuire, 2010; Kehler, 2009; Markula & Pringle, 2005; Renold, 2004; Swain, 2006). The uniqueness of inclusive masculinity theory is that it offers explanations for the gendered dynamics of a phenomenon that is gaining increasing momentum: the social

acceptance of homosexuality and the increasing parity of women in relation to men, thereby moving into terrain that Connell has yet to address (McCormack, 2012). Supporters of inclusive masculinity theory assert that as men feel less inclined to champion heteronormativity, esteemed oppressive male attributes, such as control and domination, are devalued, contributing to the disruption and dismantling of the entire system of gendered oppression (Anderson, 2009; Heasley, 2005; McCormack, 2012). Furthermore, as homosexuality is equated with femininity, the decline in homophobia is paralleled by a decline in anti-femininity, benefiting women through increased gender equality and a reduction of patriarchal attitudes and behaviours (Anderson, 2009).

Some, however, argue that the incorporation of once-stigmatized masculinities into mainstream male identities is a strategy for the preservation of patriarchy and sexism, rather than their amelioration (See Arxer, 2001; Bridges & Pascoe, 2014; Demetriou, 2001; Messner, 1993; Schwalbe, 2014). One way men appear inclusive in public while discreetly working to uphold gendered control and unequal power relationships is through a process that Demetriou (2001) terms *dialectal pragmatism.* It is the process by which hegemonic masculinities adopt and unite features of 'inferior' masculinities to recuperate existing power and ensure the reproduction of patriarchy against threats to its dominance (Demetriou, 2001, Bridges & Pascoe, 2014). *Metrosexuals* or heterosexual men who incorporate stereotypically and superficial 'feminine' characteristics into their own identity; and *emos*, who use non-traditional means founded on deviance against the norm (dyed-black hair, long bangs, and heavy eyeliner) to claim a sense of manhood, are examples of how masculinity transforms, incorporating previously stigmatized identities to secure and conceal dominance (Coad,

2008; Frank, 2014; Peters, 2010; Ryalls, 2013). Both groups conceal their assertion of dominance by disrupting the optics of traditional hegemonic masculinity in a progressive contemporary context that no longer tolerates overt discrimination and oppression. These critiques against progressive developments in gender relations are summarized by acknowledging that "some men accept change in principle but in practice still act in ways that sustain men's dominance..." (Connell, 2005b, p.1811).

These examples present evidence of a mismatch between ideologies and behaviours. There can be contradictions between what people think they believe, or feel they should believe, and what they actually believe, which is often only revealed in their actions. Thus, there is the need to examine both ideologies and behaviours for a comprehensive understanding of masculinity. Sport reflects the tension between attitudes and behaviors, as it historically fostered orthodox hegemonic ideals but is now seen to be more inclusive (Anderson, 2009; Messner, 1992).

2.4 Sport and Masculinity

Sport sociologists see sport as a powerful window into male culture and a representation of the state of masculinity (Eitzen & Sage, 2009; Frey & Eitzen, 2001). Sport is widely theorized as a primary arena for the legitimization of male dominance over women and other men (Anderson, 2009; Burstyn, 1999; Connell, 2005a; Kidd, 1987; Marjoribanks & Farquharson, 2012; Messner, 1992). It is one of the only pursuits in contemporary society where male dominance is hardly contested, and is even

purported to be the "leading definer of masculinity in mass culture" (Connell, 2005a, p. 54; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Lucyk, 2011; Marjoribanks & Farquharson, 2012).

Connell and others contend that sport is an emblematic site for the reproduction of orthodox hegemonic masculinity (Burstyn, 1999; Connell, 2005a; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Messner, 1990a; 1992). They argue that sport cultivates oppressive and discriminatory beliefs and behaviours through a structure that reinforces a gendered division of labour and the celebration of violence, toughness, and physical power – epitomized and glorified by its athletes (Burstyn, 1999; Connell, 2005a; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Messner, 1992). Through the popularization of modern sports, men cultivate and maintain orthodox hegemonic masculine tenets, establishing 'proof' of their natural superiority over women by associating valued skills with maleness (Messner, 1990b).

A central tenet endemic to traditional sport culture is *hypermasculinity*. In homosocial environments predicated on compulsory heterosexuality and anti-femininity, men tend to overvalue orthodox hegemonic traits for fear of exclusion. This predisposition intensifies and crystallizes in an environment and personification of exaggerated and glorified aggression, sexism, violence, homophobia and patriarchal values – collectively termed 'hypermasculinity' (Burstyn, 1999; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007; Welch, 1997). Hypermasculinity can also resonate in appearance such as shaven heads and tattoos; through language and speech patterns; and demeanour and posturing (Beynon, 2002).

Sport is also structured to differentiate higher status men from lower status men, beginning in childhood (Messner, 1992). At around age nine or ten, less skilled, smaller,

and weaker boys are cut from sports teams, while those who succeed receive praise, recognition and elevated status (Messner, 1990a). Over time, this plays a significant role in normalizing a hierarchy of men, and this pattern continues at the professional level. Welch (1997) outlines how certain positions in American football garner more prestige and consequent status, multiplied by media exposure and endorsement deals. This ordering of men in youth and professional sports is another characteristic of orthodox hegemonic masculinity, spilling over to justify a ranking of men (and women) throughout society.

The centrality of sport in mainstream male culture helps concretize and embed hypermasculinity within greater society through marketing, advertising, and the media. In an analysis of television sports shows and their accompanying advertisements, Messner, Dunbar & Hunt (2000) assert that sports media indoctrinates anti-feminine and orthodox hegemonic masculine values. Through consistent displays of objectification and the subordination of women in sexist roles, sports media perpetuates the inferiority of women as subservient to men (Messner et al, 2000). Men who are strong, aggressive, successful and tough are portrayed as 'winners' and desirable; passive, gentle and sensitive men are featured as losers, exacerbating the insecurities for those who display feminine traits and pressuring conformance to orthodox masculine standards (ibid.).

The interconnection between sport, masculinity and society is evidenced by the idolization of athletes as masculine role models; and the immense popularity, viewership, and iconographical power of sport in mainstream culture (Burstyn, 1999; Messner, 1992). Through physical strength, aggression, and self-discipline, professional athletes epitomize and personify idealized hegemonic masculine traits (Heasley, 2005; Lucyk,

2011). The athlete as the modern hero – exemplifying power, virility, achievement, and the capability of the human body – highlights societal reverence for masculine physicality and orthodox hegemonic masculinity (Burstyn, 1999; Marjoribanks & Farquharson, 2012).

It is noteworthy that sport is also widely used as a recreational and/or leisurely activity for the promotion of health, wellness, and fitness. For instance, recreational sport leagues emphasize openness to all and are designed for individuals to play sports without pressure to perform at a high level (Anderson & Mowatt, 2013). The focus on personal enjoyment and accessibility fosters an environment less predicated on heterosexism, competitiveness, and marginalization based on poor performance (Dunn, 2015).

2.5 Sociodemographic Variability in Masculinity

The construction of gender and masculinity are complex processes that involve the interaction between many social agents, institutions, and forces (Connell, 1987). Numerous subordinate masculinities (in relation to hegemonic masculinity) are delineated by a variety of characteristics including class, sexual orientation, race and ethnicity (Katz, 2002; Park, 2015). Moreover, physical, intellectual, and other attributes are asserted to open and/or constrict opportunities for men to construct and maintain a masculine identity (Beynon, 2002; Chua & Fujino, 1999). Gender performances vary according to race, age, class, region, educational attainment, and sexual orientation.

2.5.1 Race

Within the masculine hierarchy, blacks are considered highly affiliated with masculinity and Asians with femininity (Kimmel & Messner, 2013; Park, 2014). Much scholarship is dedicated to how and why racial minority men use distinct strategies to gain a masculine persona in a culture and society that marginalizes them (Harris, 1995).

Some scholars argue that white masculinity is the benchmark against which all other minority groups are measured (Connell, 2005a; Majors & Billson, 1993). Far too often scholars omit analysis of 'whiteness' from discussions; in fact, the elusiveness and perceived naturalness of white masculinity is its primary mechanism for dominance (Katz, 2002; Robinson, 2000). Whites are neither hypersexual nor asexual, aggressive nor passive; they are normal, ideal, and neutral (Dean, 2013). It is this perception of normalcy that distinguishes white masculinity as the premier masculinity, at the top of the masculine and gender hierarchies.

A legacy of emasculation through racism, racial inequality and marginalization has facilitated the systemic denial of resources for many blacks to achieve Caucasian standards of hegemonic masculinity in Western society (Harris III, Palmer & Struve, 2011; Majors & Billson, 1993). Majors & Billson (1993) developed the term *cool pose* to describe how some African-American men – frustrated, alienated, and angry – posture to establish a sense of masculinity in a society that limits opportunities to mainstream avenues of success and power. At its core, cool pose is a presentation of self that garners an aura of empowerment, perceived as comparable to the stature accorded to white men with high wages, good jobs, and a university education (Majors & Billson, 1993). Cool pose is described by Majors & Billson (1993) as being a "bad nigga", and includes the

endorsement of violence, sexual promiscuity, toughness, and a disregard for health and safety; it is also demarcated by distinct patterns of speech, walk, and demeanor (Harris III et al., 2011; Majors & Billson, 1993, p. 33). Although Canada does not share the same history as the U.S., cool pose has applicability within a Canadian context because Canadians are consistently exposed to American cultural representations of blacks. Blacks encounter racial challenges in Canada., although to a much lesser degree than in the U.S.

Cool pose has ramifications for the acceptance of inclusive masculinity. In focus group discussions, De Vissier et al. (2009) found that black men in the UK were less tolerant of non-hegemonic behaviours in comparison to white men of higher socio-economic status. Moreover, blacks tended to endorse muscular physicality and aggressiveness, while white men of higher socio-economic status were more accepting of metrosexuality (ibid.). De Vissier et al. (2009) suggest that it is difficult for black men of low social capital to endorse non-hegemonic masculinities, as it undermines their ability to embody masculinity.

In contrast to racialized black men, who tend to compensate for a culturally deficient masculinity through a cool pose of physicality and violence, Chua & Fujino (1999) find that Asian men are less inclined toward dominant physicality and tend to rely on 'brain' rather than 'brawn' to achieve masculinity through economic power and occupational status. Dating back to the arrival of Asian labourers to North America during the mid-1800's, Asians experienced race-based discrimination and stereotyping as inferior, set against a backdrop of *yellow peril* or the idea that Asians were a threat to white society (Park, 2015). Systemic barriers such as anti-miscegenation laws, restrictive

immigration policies, the overemployment of Asian men in female gendered labour, combined with depictions of inferiority, served to delegitimize Asian men as masculine (Park, 2015).

This trend continues today, as Asian men are generally positioned as occupying a subordinate masculine position in comparison to white men in Western society. Asian men are typically stereotyped as undesirable nerds and geeks unable to embody proper masculinity (Espiritu, 2013; Louie, 2015; Huynh & Woo, 2014). These negative stereotypes hinder access to hegemonic scripts of toughness, body image, and heteronormative sexuality, thereby channelling Asian men into career and economic pathways 'characteristic' of Asian masculinity (Lu & Wong, 2013). In interviews with Chinese-American men, Chen (1999) examines the use of *hegemonic bargains* to undermine negative racial stereotypes in an attempt to meet the hegemonic ideal. Through hegemonic bargains Asian men benefit from advantages such as class and educational privileges to achieve manhood and escape feelings of physical inadequacy exacerbated by Asian cultural barriers, stereotypes, and other forms of racial marginalization (Chen, 1999).

2.5.2 Class

Middle and upper-class men define traditional hegemonic masculinity, whereas lower class men are naturally excluded and distanced from it (Messner, 1989; Pyke, 1996). Because masculinity is proved and established through a struggle in both public and political spheres, lower class men have limited opportunities and resources to compete in the political field, and often rely on physical and verbal force to distinguish

themselves and attain masculinity. Many suggest that lower-class men place greater emphasis on toughness, strength, and physicality because of unequal access to resources and opportunities (Harris, 1995; Pyke, 1996).

The marginalization of lower class men funnels many into harmful avenues to achieve manhood, such as violence and crime (Messerschmidt, 1993). Pyke (1996) examines how lower-class men engage in hypermasculine acts of violence and domination to gain control over others. In contrast, upper-class men accrue masculinity by using their advantaged position to gain financial and social capital to control and manipulate others (Messner, 1989; Pyke, 1996).

In addition to an association with violence and physicality, class is shown to influence receptiveness to homosexuality. In an ethnographic study on homophobia in high schools, McCormack (2014) finds that working class boys are less tolerant of homosexuality than those in the middle and upper classes. Drawing from Pierre Bourdieu, McCormack (2014) argues that because middle and upper class practices are regarded as the norm, showing deference to homosexuals is permitted, as they are already more hegemonic by virtue of their social position. Working class boys, because of their lower social position and association with 'inferior' masculinity, do not possess the social or cultural capital to engage in pro-gay rhetoric.

Despite studies linking class differences to typologies of masculinity, recent scholarship suggests that significant numbers of men from across class divides perceive developments such as increasing immigration, support for feminism, and the move away from manufacturing and labour-based economies as threats to their jobs, social position, identity, and power (Allain, 2015; Ashcraft & Flores, 2003; Buchbinder, 2013; Jackson,

2010; Francis, 1999; Reeser, 2011). These men often take refuge in discriminatory, hedonistic, and destructive behaviours to reaffirm their status and disparage acculturation of beneficial progressive ideals (Gough & Edwards, 1998). The popularization of deviant masculinity among upper-class men is a relatively new phenomenon that has gained significant attention from academics, in popular culture and the media.

2.5.3 Region

Regional culture, including economy, geography, religion, and lifestyle, has a profound impact on masculinity (Harris, 1995). Rural communities commonly prize cultural homogeneity, religiosity, and traditional values with ascribed role models that are strongly demarcated for men and women, and often unchallenged (Swank, Fahs & Frost, 2013). Moreover, a ubiquitous component of rural economy and life is farming. Farming places men in the fields, engaging in hard outdoor labor; thus, rural masculinity is often tied to physicality and control over the environment (Liepins, 2000).

Portrayals of rural masculinity glorify strength, toughness, ruggedness, resourcefulness, and individuals who remain stoic in the face of adversity (Alston & Kent, 2008). Women are typically less involved with heavy farming and more occupied with domestic tasks, exacerbating a gendered division of labour (Liepins, 2000). Due to this division, men tend to control most of the resources, with more power in public and political spheres (Alston & Kent, 2000). Moreover, men who are raised in rural communities tend to have lower levels of education and minimal exposure to diverse

cultures and expressions of masculinity, contributing to insularity and a reluctance to accept non-traditional inclusive masculinities (Harris, 1995).

The larger populations of cities and suburban metroplexes, coupled with greater cultural heterogeneity, leads to the mixture of diverse ethnicities and sometimes conflicting perspectives. Scholars suggest that individuals who live in cities learn to cope with cultural and social norms that are inconsistent with their own values. This exposure tends to lead to greater flexibility in ideologies and a propensity to accept practices that may be unwelcomed in isolated rural areas (Swank, et al. 2013). Swank et al. (2013) found that gay men in rural communities were more prone to experience homophobic victimization, discrimination, and stigma in comparison to more urbanized areas. Furthermore, the increased presence and visibility of educated men, minorities, and multiple masculinities in suburban and urban areas normalizes non-traditional gender norms and familial roles, acclimating their acceptance. For instance, the proliferation of metrosexuals is almost exclusively linked with urban city centres (Harris, 1995; Pompper, 2010).

2.5.4 Age

Social norms evolve constantly, shaping and re-shaping acceptable gender identities and ideologies (Harris, 1995). Harris (1995) notes that men in their 40s, 50s, and 60s tend to emphasize the importance of the male role of breadwinner and other traditional roles, whereas younger men are more likely to rebel against the status quo. However, younger men are more inclined to express masculinity through risky

behaviours such as drinking, fighting, and sexual prowess, and use physicality and bodily strength to demonstrate power (Beynon, 2002).

Masculinity is precarious for older men. Due to their aging bodies and withdrawal from the workforce, older men are objectively distanced from aspects of traditional hegemonic masculinity including sexual prowess - in many cases, a pivotal facet of male identity (Calasanti & King, 2005). Because identity is so closely married to sexuality, hegemonic masculinity is complicated and increasingly difficult to maintain; many find themselves struggling against declining bodies, in constant need of reaffirmation (ibid.). Regardless of class or race-based privileges, most older men lack two key attributes of hegemonic masculinity: careers and physical strength (ibid.). Scholars believe that older men are seduced into buying new products including overpriced material commodities, vacations and recreational adventures, and endure pressure to treat bodily ailments such as erectile dysfunction to manage their aging bodies and diminishing virility (ibid.).

2.6 Summary

Many studies examine hegemonic masculinity, its vicissitudes amongst diverse social groups, and detail the damage it precipitates for men, women, and society. Considering the substantial research on hegemonic masculinity, Schrock & Schwalbe (2009) argue that there is still a need to locate and understand resistant social processes that further gender inequality. Moreover, there remains a critical gap in the literature with respect to the adaptation of traditional hegemonic masculinity to maintain power in the face of rapid, contemporary social change and incursions that threaten its dominance.

The purpose of this research is to address this gap through an examination of the diffusion and impact of modern inclusivity on traditional hegemonic masculinity while accounting for what the literature suggests are significant social and demographic characteristics. This study integrates hegemonic masculinity and inclusive masculinity theories, questioning both sides of the debate through a macro level investigation of a diverse population.

By studying sport and athletes, a group traditionally considered synonymous with orthodox hegemonic masculinity, my research will examine the current state of hegemonic masculinity in Canada. It will look at how men's ideology aligns with their behaviour to see whether inclusive or oppressive masculinities define male gender norms.

My research, as a result, tests Anderson's inclusive masculinity theory. It will assess whether the popularization of contemporary inclusive masculine ideologies is prompting a restructuration of the traditional patriarchal gender order. By assessing ideologies and behaviours amongst distinct groups of men, my research also seeks to illuminate how race, age, class, region, educational attainment, sexual orientation, and sport participation are aligned with oppressive versus inclusive ideologies and behaviours.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

Considering social pressures for inclusivity, my research examines conceptions and expressions of masculinity among diverse groups within the context of sport. To examine gender norms and the ideologies and behaviours that shape them, I surveyed Canadian male athletes through an online survey. This allowed me to reach large numbers of people in short time-frames across a large geographical region, making this instrument and methodology ideal for my research on male athletes (Babbie, 1973; Frippiat, Marquis & Wiles-Portier, 2015). Data collection began in October 2016 and ended in early December.

The target population of the survey was English-speaking Canadian male athletes over the age of 18. Participants were recruited via provincial sport organizations. Most provincial sport organizations are members of larger federated associations; for instance, Sport Nova Scotia and Sport Ontario. These larger associations provide online listings of their member organizations. The sampling frame for this study was all provincial and territorial sport organizations governed by larger federated associations. Quebec was the only exclusion because of the French language barrier. To recruit participants, an email (Appendix 1) was circulated to all provincial sport organizations listed on provincial sport federation websites to ask for their assistance in forwarding a recruitment message to their member athletes. I placed follow-up calls (Appendix 2) to organizations that did not respond to ensure that my recruitment email was received. Upon removing incomplete survey responses, the final sample consisted of 456 adult Canadian male athletes.

3.1 Survey Instrument and Operationalization of Variables

The survey (Appendix 3) was designed to capture the distribution of men who support inclusive masculinity as opposed to traditional oppressive hegemonic masculinity, in ideology and behaviour. Inclusiveness was operationalized according to Anderson's (2009) inclusive masculinity, which includes the disavowal of homophobia, freedom of emotionality, distancing oneself from tough, aggressive, heteronormative principles, and support for gender, racial and sexual equality. Oppressiveness was operationalized as ideologies[2] that align with Connell's (2005a) traditional hegemonic masculinity and correlate with its systems of power, inequality, and discrimination. Using Likert-scale questions, the first section of the survey asked respondents to rate their degree of support for a series of statements regarding the eight core components of masculinity (see Table 1). In the second section, a corresponding behavioral question was asked for each theme. Behavioural questions were operationalized in the same fashion as the first set of questions. However, instead of measuring the degree of support for ideologies, these questions were directed at *quantifying* respondents' behaviors that align with inclusive and oppressive hegemonic masculine ideologies. The intent was to assess whether one supports inclusiveness, oppressiveness, or falls somewhere in the middle; as well as the association between respondents' ideologies and behaviors.

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[2] Throughout my analysis, a variety of terms are used interchangeably. Perceptions, ideologies, and conceptualizations are used to describe a common system of beliefs regarding the constitution of appropriate masculinity. "Expressions" refers to the acting out of masculine ideology as it is embodied in social settings, and is used interchangeably with behaviours, practices, and acts. The terms contrast 'thinking' versus 'doing' masculinity.

Table 1: Masculine Behaviours and Ideologies Questions

Theme	Ideology Question	Behaviour Question
Competition	Good sportsmanship is more important than winning or losing	How often do you haze/trash talk other players?
Physical Toughness	When guys are in pain it is fine to show it	Do you play through injuries?
Restrictive Emotionality	Teammates should avoid sharing their personal feelings, fears, and problems	How often do you let others know you are having a hard time?
Gender Inequality	Men's and women's collegiate sports should receive equal funding	Do you watch and/or attend women's sporting events?
Racism	African Americans tend to play certain positions in sports based on their inherent physical capabilities	You can tell a player is going to be good because they are African American
Homophobia	The pressure to be politically correct on LGBTQ issues is over the top	How often can you tell if someone is gay?
Independence	If something needs to be done right, you should do it yourself	When you encounter challenges you deal with them by yourself
Sexism	Innocent remarks are too often considered sexist	How often is 'bitch' used joking among your friends?

Drawing on masculinities literature, I identified eight core components of masculinity: competition, physical toughness, restrictive emotionality, gender inequality, racism, homophobia, independence, and sexism. I used these to form a basis for the development of survey questions. These components aimed to represent aspects of hegemonic masculinity identified by Connell (2005). To assess gender inequality, a foundational component of orthodox hegemonic masculinity, the ideology question asked participants their degree of support for equal funding for collegiate athletes. The behavioral question asked if participants watch or attend women's sporting events. To assess conformity to stereotypical gender norms, toughness, restrictive emotionality, and independence were included as indicators of anti-femininity. These components were

measured by asking whether participants support these ideas through a representative statement and whether they adhere to them in their daily lives. Because orthodox hegemonic masculinity – epitomized by white heterosexual men – is seen to be upheld by racism, sexism, and homophobia, it was important to include these core exclusionary principles. Questions asked respondents about their level of support for a sexist, racist, and homophobic statement and whether or not they act according to these principles. Finally, Connell professed a hierarchy of men and masculinities whereby men must compete against each other to attain superiority. For this reason, the final component is competition, which was assessed by asking participants about the importance of winning versus sportsmanship and if they trash talk or haze other players. Table 1 provides an outline of the masculinity components and corresponding behavior and ideology questions.

The wording for each question incorporated in the survey was based on those used in other studies, such as the Male Attitude Norms Inventory (Luyt, 2005), the Male Role Norms Inventory (Levant, Hall, Rankin, 2013) and the Male Role Norms Scale (Thompson, Pleck & Ferrera, 1992). To be less intrusive, most questions were fused with an athletic dimension to facilitate a more natural and organic administration to the target population.

The survey also contained a series of sociodemographic questions. As discussed in the literature review, this was crucial, because sociodemographic factors account for fluctuations in hegemonic masculine behaviours and support for its values. Questions on sexual orientation, age, race, community of origin, income, and education were included. Because race, income and other private and/or personal characteristics can be sensitive,

the wording for the majority of demographic questions were taken from Statistics Canada General Social Surveys.

Furthermore, as it was noted that the level of sport participation and type of sport one plays, because of varying degrees of competition, inherent violence and physicality, may influence support for hegemonic masculinity, two questions were dedicated to discerning the sport typology (contact or non-contact) and level of competition (recreational or competitive).

Before analysing the data, five point Likert-scale responses were collapsed into three categories. Specifically, the first two and last two responses were grouped together, leaving the middle response category unaltered. The collapsed categories were then labeled *inclusive, mixed, and oppressive*, establishing a categorical variable for each of the eight ideological and behavioural components of masculinity. Using the recoded variables, I also created an index as an overall measure of masculine ideologies and behaviours. Each of the three possible responses were assigned a numeric value, with 1 indicating 'inclusive', 2 as 'mixed', and 3 as 'oppressive'. Respondents' numerical values were then added together to produce a single number as a measurement of ideologies and behaviours. The resulting variables have a range from 8 to 24, with lower index scores aligning with inclusivity, and higher index scores aligning with oppressiveness.

3.2 Data Analysis Procedure

To analyze the data, I first used tabular analysis to gauge the distribution of inclusive, mixed, and oppressive ideologies and behaviors. Tabular analysis is a

rudimentary method of statistical analysis permitting the cursory examination of the distribution and association between variables (Agresti, 2009; Bendixen, 1996).

Seeking a greater understanding of this association, correspondence analysis was also conducted. It is a more complex methodology used to determine relationships within sets of categorical variables through a graphical representation of contingency tables summarizing numeric information (Greenacre & Blasius, 1994; Veenstra, 2010). The origin of correspondence analysis can be traced to Hirschfield (1935). However, during the 1960s and 1970s, Jean-Paul Benzecri developed the contemporary methodology now widely used (Greenacre & Blasius, 2006). Correspondence analysis produces dimensions in Euclidean space to explain variance within contingency tables; these dimensions are then projected onto a 'map'. It is the task of the researcher to interpret the dimensions of the map as a visual representation of associations and phenomena (Veenstra, 2007).

The application of both methodologies permitted a thorough examination of the extent and nature of the alignment of oppressive and inclusive ideologies with oppressive and inclusive behaviours, and the gleaning of other patterns in the data.

In the final stage of analysis, linear regression was used to determine whether specific groups were more likely to ascribe to inclusive or oppressive masculine behaviours and ideologies. Regression analysis is a statistical technique that permits the analysis of the relationships between a dependent variable and independent variable(s). Using mathematical equations to describe these relationships, two or more variables can be used to estimate the value of a dependent variable (Johnson, 2000). In the regression models, the dependent variables of interest were (1) masculine ideologies index, and (2) masculine behaviours index. The independent variables consisted of all

sociodemographic variables and sporting characteristics in the survey: the type of sport respondents play, the type of athlete they are, sexual orientation, age, community, income, education, and race. It is noteworthy that individual race categories were collapsed into "racial minority" and "not minority" categories because of the scarcity of respondents across individual racial groups.

A research strategy utilizing combined methodologies facilitated a detailed exploration of the association between ideology and behavior. Specifically, the methodology evidenced the degree to which ideological support for progressiveness is mirrored by a restructuration and reduction of oppressive practices contingent on hegemonic masculine norms. It permitted a quantitative evaluation of inclusive masculinity theory within a large population by determining whether there is a reduction in oppressive masculine behaviors with an increased acceptance of diversity. Regression analysis of masculine ideologies and behaviours by age, race, sexual orientation and other characteristics adds a valuable perspective to the narrative, discerning whether specific groups have a greater propensity for inclusiveness or oppressiveness. Furthermore, the sociodemographic information obtained from participants will provide necessary data to determine whether the findings from small-scale studies that demonstrate evidence of inclusive masculinity theory are generalizable to a large and diverse population.

Chapter 4: Results

Masculinity has traditionally been defined by several restrictive and exclusionary traits, policed by sexist, racist, homophobic and other discriminatory rhetoric. While some scholars suggest that changes in society have led to the emergence of inclusive masculinity, others believe that masculinity is still oppressive. To critically examine the state of masculinity, this research evaluates the concordance of ideology and behaviour, the two interdependent dimensions of social and gender norms.

This Chapter begins with an overview of the descriptive statistics of the control variables used in the regression analysis. Next, I conduct tabular analysis of the ideology and behavioural variables as a preliminary investigation of their association. In order to further assess the relationship between behaviours and ideologies, I then use correspondence analysis to explore patterns and trends in the data. In the last section, using regression analysis, I determine whether specific groups are more inclined to support and enact oppressive versus inclusive ideologies and behaviours

Literature shows that conceptions and expressions of masculinity vary according to a variety of factors. For this reason, it is important to outline the characteristics of the sample, reported in Table 2. The sample consisted of 456 Canadian male athletes. An overwhelming majority of respondents were white and heterosexual, comprising 91.01% and 94.73%, respectively. Only 8.77% identified as racial minorities, with 1 person who did not specify their race. 4.61% of respondents did not identify as heterosexual and four people did not disclose their sexual orientation. Many respondents fell into the first three age cohorts, as 29.82% were between the ages of 18-25, 42.76% were between 26-44,

Table 2: Sample Characteristics

Variable	Variable Categories	%
Sexual Orientation	*Not Heterosexual*	4.61
	Heterosexual	94.52
	Not Specified	0.88
Type of Sport	*Non-Contact*	38.82
	Contact	59.65
	Not Specified	1.54
Type of Athlete	*Recreational*	28.95
	Competitive	71.05
Age	*18-25*	29.82
	26-44	42.76
	45-64	22.81
	65+	4.61
Race	*White*	91.01
	Non-White	8.77
	Not Specified	0.22
Community	*Rural*	15.57
	Small Town	23.90
	Suburban/Urban	60.53
Income	*No Income*	4.82
	Under $34,999	25.00
	$35,000 to $74,999	33.33
	More than $75,000	36.84
Education	*High School/Equivalent or Less*	10.75
	College	22.81
	University	66.45

n=456

and 22.81% between the ages of 45-64. Seniors were the least represented, with only 4.61% of respondents aged 65 or older.

For sporting practices, 59.65% of the sample played contact sports, 38.82% played non-contact sports, and 1.54% did not specify. A majority – 71.05% – played at a competitive level, whereas 28.95% played recreationally. Most, 60.53%,were from suburban or urban areas, 23.9% from small towns, and 15.57% from rural areas. In terms of education, 10.75% held a high school degree or equivalent, or did not finish high school. 22.81% graduated from college, and 60.45% held a university degree. Income was distributed as follows: 4.82% earned no income, 25% earned under $34,999, 33.33% between $35,000 to $74,999, and 36.84% earned above $75,000.

Overall, the sample reflects the biological and social characteristics of men representative of traditional hegemonic masculinity as theorized by Connell (2005). This is important to consider, because able-bodied, white, heterosexual, university educated men from suburban/urban areas may be more likely to favor inclusive ideologies and behaviours because of their privileged position.

To explore the overall distribution of participant's masculine behaviours and ideologies, I first looked at the univariate distributions of the two indices. A visual depiction of the distribution for the Masculine Behaviors Index is presented in Figure 1 and Masculine Ideologies Index in Figure 2. Upon an examination, it appears that both variables are distributed approximately normal, with a minor skew to the right. For a detailed overview of the summary statistics see Appendix 4. Although the univariate distribution for the masculine ideologies and behaviours are similar, I wanted to examine

the distribution for each of the eight masculine components and the degree to which each behavioural and ideological component were also aligned.

To begin exploration of each ideology and practice variable, I first examined the distributions presented in Table 3. Table 3 reports the relative proportion of respondents holding and acting on inclusive, mixed, and oppressive ideologies and behaviours for each of the eight core masculine components under study. Unlike the Masculine Behaviours and Ideologies Indices, this table reports the proportional distribution for each masculine component under study. An examination of the Table shows a difference between ideologies and practices, signifying a misalignment of conceptualizations and behaviours for nearly every masculine component. Some components have a larger disparity between ideologies and practices than others. For example, for the toughness variable 82.9% of men in the sample hold inclusive ideologies, 10.1% are mixed and 7% are oppressive, whereas for toughness practices, 5.9% are inclusive, 36.8% are mixed and 57.2% are oppressive. In contrast, the distribution for the competition variables are more similarly aligned. The ideology of competition is distributed 82.2%, 12.3% and 5.5%; while the behaviour component is 63.4%, 20.4% and 16.2%. While Table 3 summarizes the distribution of responses, the number of variables makes it difficult to discern overall patterns and trends in the data. Thus, to explore the trends in Table 3 further, I also conduct correspondence analysis to explore the disparity and similarity in ideologies and behaviours for each masculine component under study. Specifically, I did this to identify themes or recurring patterns in masculinity in my sample.

Figure 1 provides a two-dimensional map of the eight core components (ideological variables are abbreviated with the "Id." prefix and practice variables are
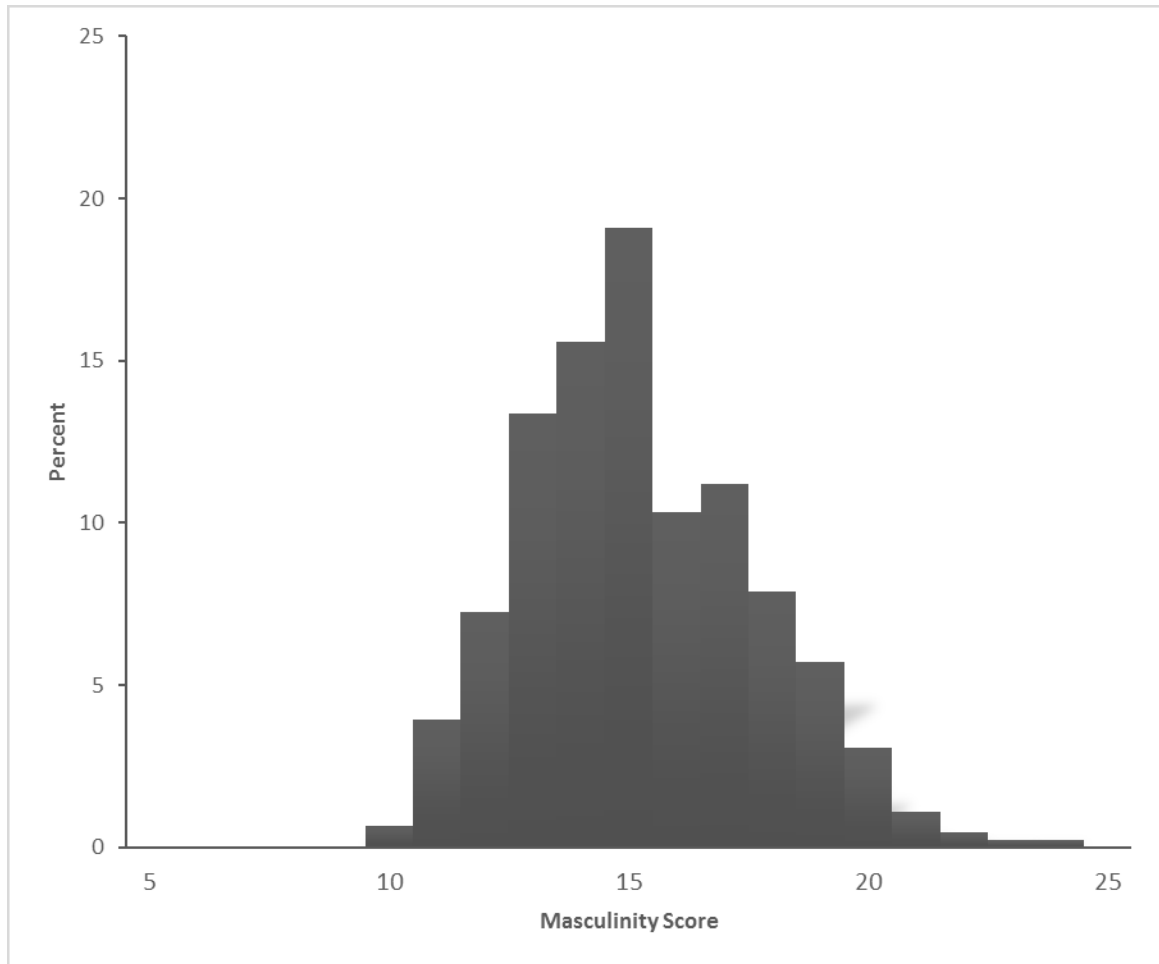
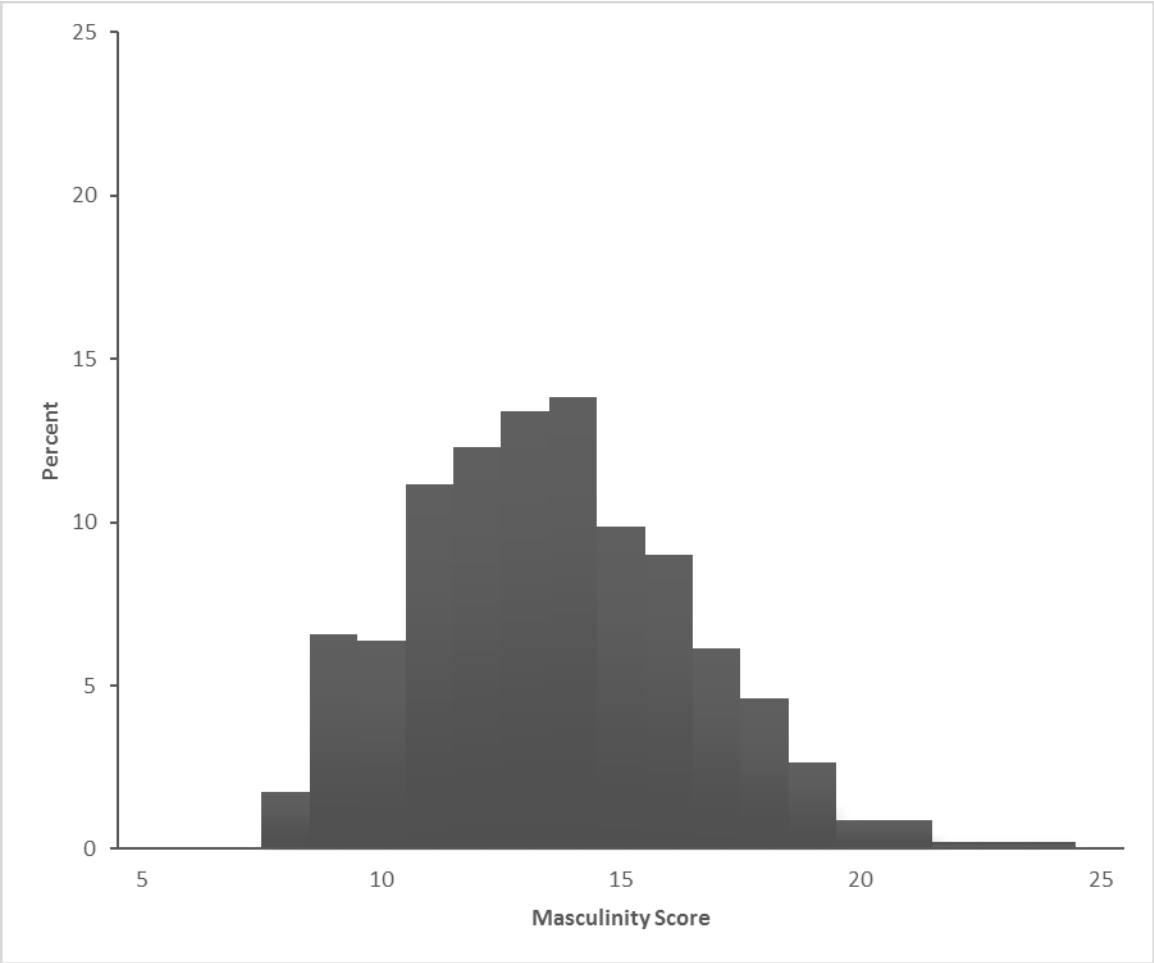**Figure 1: Masculine Behaviours Index**

Figure 2: Masculine Ideologies Index

Table 3: Crosstabulation of Masculine Ideologies and Behaviours

		Inclusive	Mixed	Oppressive
Competition	*Ideology*	82.2%	12.3%	5.5%
	Practice	63.4%	20.4%	16.2%
Equality	*Ideology*	77.6%	12.5%	9.9%
	Practice	34.0%	46.7%	19.3%
Racism	*Ideology*	26.8%	37.5%	35.7%
	Practice	77.2%	13.6%	9.2%
Emotionality	*Ideology*	82.5%	13.4%	4.2%
	Practice	40.1%	47.4%	12.5%
Independence	*Ideology*	29.2%	35.3%	35.5%
	Practice	5.3%	32.2%	62.5%
Toughness	*Ideology*	82.9%	10.1%	7.0%
	Practice	5.9%	36.8%	57.2%
Homophobia	*Ideology*	34.0%	22.6%	43.4%
	Practice	34.0%	47.6%	18.4%
Sexism	*Ideology*	23.0%	25.2%	51.8%
	Practice	43.9%	23.0%	33.1%

n=456

Figure 3: Masculine Ideologies and Behaviours
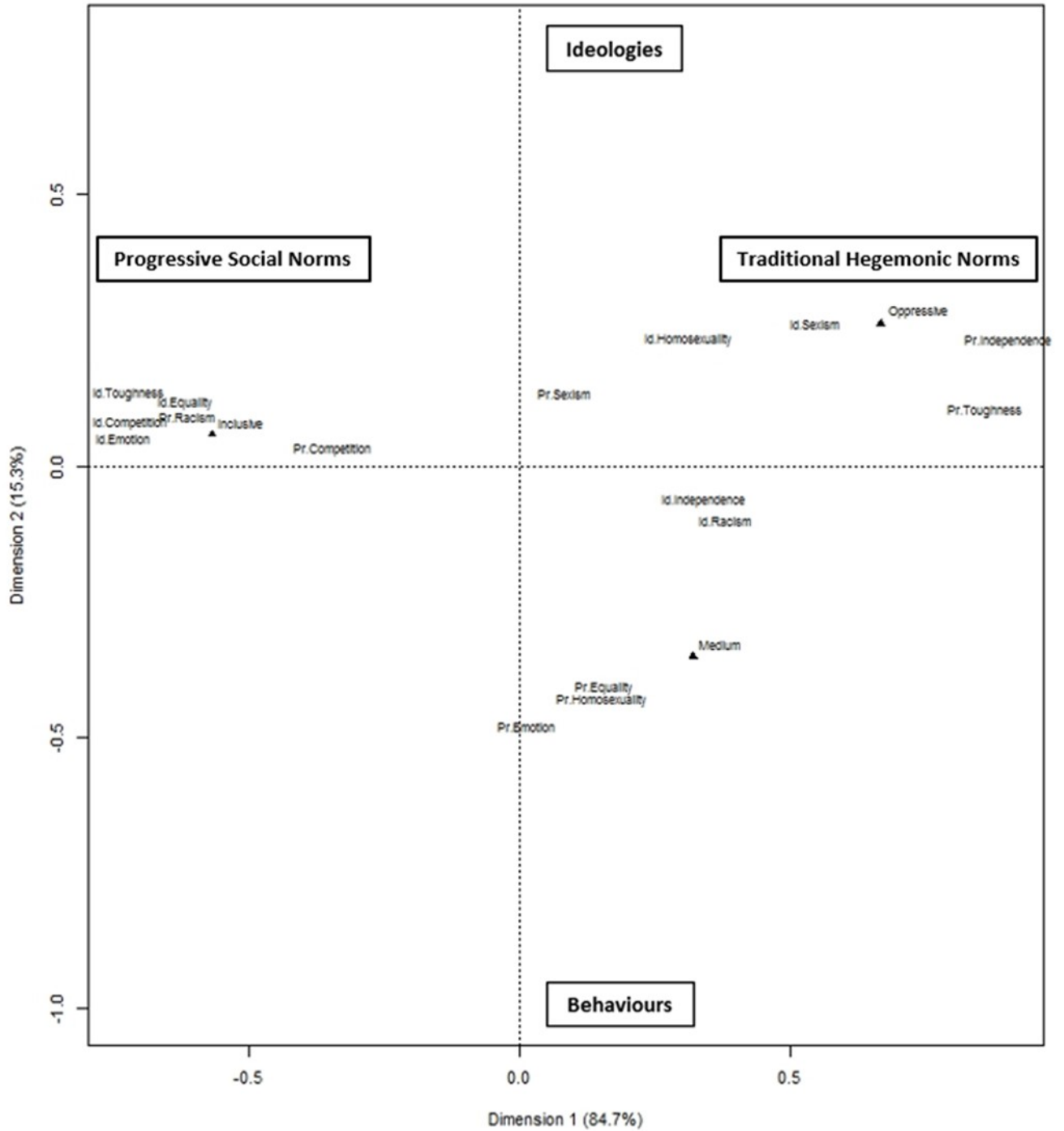
abbreviated with the "Pr." prefix). In correspondence analysis, only the first two dimensions are generally reported, although additional dimensions can be included when of benefit (Greenacre, 2007). In this model, these two dimensions account for almost all the variance in the model.

The first dimension, displayed on the horizontal axis, is interpreted as a depiction of social norms, with progressive social norms on the left and traditional hegemonic norms on the right. It accounts for 84.7% of the variance. It captures the differences between inclusive and oppressive masculinity with mixed in the middle. This interpretation is supported by the literature which argues that traditional hegemonic masculinity coincides with oppressiveness, and is juxtaposed against inclusivity, defined as the rejection of heteronormativity and openness to progressive social norms.

The second dimension is interpreted as behaviours/ideologies, running along the vertical axis. It captures differences between thinking and doing and accounts for 15.3% of variance, substantially less than the first dimension. Analysis of Figure 3 shows that numerous ideology variables populate the top of the figure with behavioural variables at the bottom.

In Figure 3, we can easily establish that inclusive, mixed, and oppressive vertices occupy unique 'spaces' on the map, in clearly defined 'clusters'. The profiles positioned near vertices signify a close association with an inclusive, mixed, or oppressive response category; the profiles located at the centre of the map and distant from the three vertices are the most contested, with a more equally distributed set of response proportions. We can visualize the correspondence analysis map as a depiction of the relative gravitational pull between response categories (vertices) and variables (profiles).

The profiles clustered around the inclusive vertex are predominantly ideological variables. Inclusive space is strongly defined by ideologies of toughness, competition, emotionality, and equality, in addition to the practice of racism, and to a lesser extent, the practice of competition. Analysis of the inclusive cluster does not lend unequivocal support to inclusive masculinity theory. The finding that the inclusive cluster is primarily defined by ideological rather than practice profiles implies that ideological support for progressive social norms is strong, and is shaping conceptualizations of masculinity. However, despite the presence of four ideologies in the inclusive cluster, the absence of homosexual ideologies indicates that there is a high level of homohysteria. Furthermore, with one exception, the dearth of practice variables in the inclusive space is evidence that progressive beliefs are not paralleled by, or paired with, inclusive actions.

The one caveat, racist behaviors, squarely located in the inclusive cluster can be interpreted in two ways. Considering the visibility of minority athletes and coaches, it could signify that sports environments are overwhelmingly and genuinely becoming devoid of racist practices. This is feasible considering that sport is a symbolic arena for social change, as athletes have historically been trailblazers for a "variety of human rights causes such as racial, gender, and sexual equality, unionization and worker rights, peace and social justice, freedom from political persecution, ability rights, religious freedom, and free speech, among others" (Kaufman & Wolff, 2010, p.158).

An alternative, less optimistic interpretation is that racist behaviours are suppressed. Due to the racial diversity of sport, there is an imperative that athletes not express prejudicial attitudes toward minorities, whereas overt sexism is more readily tolerated. Those caught or accused of making racist comments, or perceived to be

harboring racist sentiments, are scrutinized and disciplined, sometimes severely. For instance, Donald Sterling, former owner of the Los Angeles Clippers, was forced to sell his team and received a lifetime ban from the NBA for making racist remarks (NBA.com, 2014). Riley Cooper, an NFL player, was heavily criticized, alienated from his team and threatened for uttering racial slurs (Corbett, 2013). A consequence is that athletes may actively restrain racist behavior while holding prejudicial ideologies - a contention supported by the location of the racism ideology profile, as noted below. While these are American cases, these leagues represent the highest level of play for football and basketball and are prominent in Canadian popular culture.

The 'mixed' response cluster is largely defined by practices. Specifically, emotionality, equality, and homophobia are closely clustered around, and associated with, the 'mixed' vertex. The finding that the practices of equality and homophobia are situated in mixed space is telling of their contentious relationship to contemporary masculinity.

In recent years, there has been a general shift in public perceptions toward homophobia and gender equality, with numerous social and legislative initiatives to promote gay marriage and LGBTQ rights. At the same time, homophobia and heterosexism are considered the bedrock of traditional hegemonic masculinity. The positioning of homophobia in mixed rather than inclusive or oppressive space reflects its controversial nature. Figure 3 shows that many men in the sample engage in homophobic behaviors that are synonymous with traditional hegemonic masculinity and inconsistent with liberal social norms.

 Likewise, the positioning of the gender equality practice variable in the lower right quadrant and gender equality ideology variable in the upper left quadrant reflects a

parallel conflict and logic. Evident in gendered wage disparities (Blau & Kahn, 2007), occupational segregation (Brooks et al., 2003), and the undervaluation of women's work (Cohen & Huffman, 2003), gender inequality is a fixture of contemporary and historical Canadian society. The wage gap has somewhat decreased and women are beginning to enter male dominated fields, even within sport, as some professional sports teams have employed female coaches. Moreover, social activism has helped to bring feminism into the public spotlight. Scholars document the growing mainstream appeal of so-called 'feminine' traits in men, and that it is now in-vogue to profess support for femininity (Anderson, 2009; Atkinson, 2011; Messner, 2007). Despite these gains, this data describes a scenario in which many men still adhere to traditional hegemonic norms and are reluctant to act on newly held, liberalized social conventions.

The positioning of emotionality in 'mixed' space is another meaningful finding. According to Brannon (1976) and Connell (2005a), men are not 'supposed' to show emotion for its association with femininity. Bird (1996) argues that homosocial interactions are largely predicated on emotional detachment, as men who reveal vulnerabilities are signified as weak, lacking the capacity to control others, and are at risk of being ostracized. For Bird (1996), orthodox hegemonic norms prevail in social settings, especially in all-male domains. However, her research was conducted over two decades ago when there was less public support for inclusiveness. The findings in the present study, with openness to emotionality in 'mixed' rather than oppressive space, is informative of the degree to which progressive social norms are impacting hegemonic customs. It appears that the expression of emotionality is more frequent and accepted, although still seated toward the hegemonic side of the data spectrum.

Regardless of a proliferation of masculine components in 'mixed' space, it is necessary to clarify this interpretation by noting the location of the 'mixed' vertex in relation to the other vertices in the map. The mixed response vertex with its closely clustered profiles (emotionality, equality, and homophobia) is situated to the right of vertical axis in the lower right quadrant. Thus, the mixed vertex sits closer to the oppressive vertex and its cluster of profiles and is more distant from the inclusive vertex. Therefore, the entire mixed cluster is trending hegemonic, as the mixed and oppressive vertices fall close together, distanced from inclusivity. This signifies that mixed space – and thereby acceptance of emotionality, equality and homophobia - is more closely affiliated with oppressive masculinity than with inclusiveness. Not only does this help clarify the magnitude of the findings drawn from the examination of the 'mixed' cluster; it also serves to weight the entire map and the majority of profiles and vertices toward the hegemonic side.

The continued assertion of traditional hegemonic practices, professed by scholars and witnessed empirically, is underscored by the spatial dispersion of factors on the progressive social norms/traditional hegemonic norms dimension and the ideologies/behaviours dimension. Further, while inclusive ideologies are gaining strength, traditional hegemonic masculinity dominates behaviors. These findings show that oppressive masculine norms are tenacious, holding firm alongside the simultaneous advance of progressive social norms. It is clear that many components of traditional hegemonic masculinity have traction, remaining strongly endorsed by those in the sample despite many gains.

In comparison to 'inclusive' and 'mixed' space, located in the upper left and the bottom right quadrants, respectively, the oppressive cluster in the upper right quadrant uniquely blends conceptualizations and practice variables. The 'oppressive' quadrant is characterized by ideologies of sexism, racism, homophobia, and independence; and by practices of sexism, independence, and toughness.

The finding that the practices of toughness and independence are pushed to the far right of the figure indicates that they are tied to traditional hegemonic norms, distanced from progressive social norms, and firmly held amongst participants. Moreover, sexist and homophobic ideologies are also strongly held. Taken together, the variables in the oppressive space underscore that many of the foundational, discriminatory, and exclusionary components of hegemonic masculinity remain stalwart. Ideologies of sexuality, pertaining to both the individual as well as others, are deeply ensconced within male identity alongside the highly endorsed expectations of toughness and independence.

The finding that the practice of toughness is firmly positioned in oppressive space is of particular interest. Messner (2007) argues that feminism, antiwar movements, health advocacy and modern business human relations management have worked to delegitimize many facets of traditional hegemonic masculinity. According to Messner (2007), men have responded to feminist and other critiques with the ascendance of a masculinity that is caring yet tough. He asserts that because of scrutiny lobbied against hypermasculine identities, men are integrating compassion, affection, and empathy with hard-nosed, tough masculinity to showcase that they care for others while maintaining the capacity, muscularity, and power to be resilient, protective, and aggressive (Messner, 2007). These data seem to support his contentions. Although Figure 3 shows that many

respondents support openness to a variety of nontraditional hegemonic norms, the fact that they frequently act tough is striking. Many of the ideologies align with 'softer' inclusive masculinity, but the frequency to which men engage in acts of toughness signifies their maintenance of traditional hegemonic masculinity.

It appears that masculinity has transformed since Connell's original conception. But, as the critics of inclusive masculinity theory suggest, it is necessary to question the implications of inclusive gestures and whether they do, in fact, contribute to the perseverance of the traditional oppressive gender order. In support of these critics, Figure 3 shows that the uptake of inclusive ideologies does not necessarily mitigate oppressive behaviors.

An intriguing theme of oppressive space is its strong connection with ideologies of homophobia, racism, and sexism. It can be asserted that the positioning of these three components supports the continued perpetration of traditional hegemonic masculinity. Orthodox hegemonic masculine dominance is predicated on the normalized, privileged position of men, whiteness, and heterosexuality. As noted by Kimmel (1993), hegemonic masculinity is predicated on three essential ingredients: sexism, racism, and homophobia, remaining intact through the subordination of women, minorities, and gays. The finding that sexist, racist, and homophobic ideologies are strong is evidence that the core exclusionary principles upon which traditional hegemonic masculinity is founded are still endemic. While inclusivity has proliferated, the ideological foundation of hegemonic masculinity is sound. Per Kimmel (1993), masculinity cannot be inclusive without a rupturing of these three core components, because these are the key mechanisms through which control, domination, authority, and power are secured and maintained.

To explore these findings further, I also examined the pairs of corresponding ideology and behaviour variables for each of the eight masculine components. Analysis of the upper left quadrant shows that ideologies of toughness, competition, restrictive emotionality, and equality are inclusive. On the other side of the figure, ideological variables of sexism, racism, and homophobia are oppressive. When both inclusive and oppressive ideological profiles are compared to their behavioral counterparts, there are no instances in which ideological and behavioral components are adjacent, except for the anomaly of competition. Particularly noteworthy is the direction in which they diverge. Behavioral profiles that are positioned to the right of their ideologies indicate that they are more oppressive, relative to their ideological correlate. Conversely, on the other side of the map, each behavioral profile that is to the left of its paired oppressive ideology, signifies a more inclusive leaning relative to the ideology.

Table 4: Paired Analysis of Masculine Ideologies and Behaviours

More Inclusive	More Oppressive
Ideologies	*Ideologies*
Toughness	Racism
Equality	Sexism
Competition	Homophobia
Emotion	*Behaviours*
Independence	
Behaviours	Toughness
	Equality
Racism	Competition
Sexism	Emotion
Homophobia	Independence

As outlined in Table 4, each pair of variables assumes a discordant relationship. Ideologically inclusive masculine components are more oppressive behaviourally, and vice versa. This finding indicates that ideologies and behaviors are unsynchronized. Most importantly, ideologies are not fully acted upon. In both cases, behaviors are suppressed or restrained, distanced from and opposed to their ideological underpinnings.

There is a critical distinction that differentiates these two groups of associations. As noted, homophobia, sexism, and racism are the three components identified by Kimmel (1993) as indispensable to orthodox hegemonic masculinity; discriminatory in nature, they are not socially permissible to express. In contrast, behaviors that showcase toughness, competition, restrictive emotionality, and the disapproval of gender equality, while still problematic, are relatively much more socially acceptable.

This analysis reveals that for those in the sample, many pillars of traditional masculinity are ideologically softening. Toughness, competition, restrictive emotionality, and openness to equality are all in the inclusive space of the correspondence analysis. But, the analysis shows that these inclusive ideologies are not practiced, indicating that men in the sample reflect orthodox masculine practice: men 'talk the talk' but don't 'walk the walk'. Men in the sample appear to feel the need to demonstrate a traditionally hegemonic masculine persona, suppressing any tendency to act on inclusive thoughts and/or beliefs.

Conversely, firmly held oppressive ideologies of sexism, racism, and homophobia are not strongly practiced, evidenced by the more inclusive positioning of behaviour profiles in comparison to their corresponding ideological counterparts. Oppressive ideologies remain hidden behind a veil of more inclusive-leaning behaviors.

Mainstream society, trending toward liberalization, is argued to be suppressing racist, sexist, and homophobic behaviors because of the reigning social imperative to not overtly discriminate based on sex, race, and sexual orientation. In short, oppressive tendencies among men in the sample are constrained because of the social stigma attached to prejudicial actions. Oppressive ideology is thereby tempered because progressive social norms are constraining harmful hegemonic practices.

Amid shifting gender expectations and an evolving social environment, this examination of paired profiles is one of the most significant findings of my research. Both cases provide evidence of a conflict between social and masculine practices and norms. In one case, oppressive hegemonic norms are suppressing inclusive ideologies; in the other, progressive social norms are constraining oppressive behaviours. Evidenced is a vivid conflict between thought and action – thinking and doing – signified by the distance between paired sets of ideologies and behaviors on the map. Figure 3 portrays a battle for the essence of manhood, pressured by progressive social norms and what is socially acceptable in 2017 on the one hand; and deeply held, seemingly intractable traditional hegemonic norms on the other. In short, participants appear to be split and uncertain about how to navigate their identity, evidence of a masculinity crisis outlined in the literature.

To understand how ideologies and practices vary by group, sociodemographic and sport participation variables were regressed on the two indices in Table 5. The objective was to ascertain whether certain groups hold more oppressive ideologies and/or have a greater propensity to engage in oppressively hegemonic behaviours.

When one examines Model 1, which looks at practices, type of sport has a statistically significant positive association with the hegemonic behaviours index. Men who play contact sports engage more frequently in orthodox hegemonic practices (coef. = 0.83) than those who play non-contact sports. This finding is consistent with the literature, as respondents who play contact sports generally have greater exposure to hypermasculine sport environments that valorize and legitimize traditional hegemonic masculinity (Adams, 2011; Messner, 1992; Park, 2014). Thus, it should follow that men who play contact sports would exhibit a tendency toward oppressive behaviours. Contrary to recent studies (particularly Anderson's and his colleagues') suggesting that athletes have the privilege to transcend traditional gender boundaries, this finding reinforces the notion that contact sports are a gendered institution reflective of traditional oppressive masculinity (Messner, 1990).

Model 1 also shows that men holding college degrees engage in oppressive behaviours (coef. = 1.21) more frequently when measured against men with a high school diploma, equivalency, or less. This finding deviates from those who argue that higher levels of education lead to more constructive opportunities to express masculinity, and is thus insightful (Harris, 1995; Pyke, 1996; Majors & Billson, 1993; Messner, 1989).

Turning to the region variable, using men from suburban/urban areas as a reference group, being from a rural area decreased the score on the hegemonic behaviours index by -0.61. Similarly, men from small towns had a decrease of -0.69. These findings are contrary to the literature, suggesting that men from rural areas and small towns, because of their lack of exposure to alternative typologies of masculinities, will model their behaviours on traditional hegemonic norms (Alston & Kent, 2000; Liepins, 2000;

Swank et al, 2013). The data signals that there is a misconception that men in rural communities and small towns consistently act in hypermasculine ways.

Respondents aged 45 to 64, and 65 or older scored lower on hegemonic behaviours index when measured against 18 to 25-year-olds, with respective coefficients of -1.58 and -1.39. This finding is consistent with the literature suggesting that younger men experience greater pressure to exude a masculine persona, and may not have access to alternative and/or constructive masculine roles that open when entering fatherhood or becoming the breadwinner (Beynon, 2002). Moreover, younger men are likely to be insecure in their masculinity and still searching for identity, leading to more extreme manhood acts as a coping strategy (ibid.).

The impact of the same independent variables, but on the hegemonic ideologies index, is examined in Model 2. Only two relationships were statically significant. The 'Type of Athlete' had a positive association with the hegemonic ideologies index. The coefficient for competitive athletes is 0.87, using recreational athletes as the reference group. As discussed in the literature review, recreational sports are largely played for leisure or fitness and are not known to foster the hypermasculine environment renowned in competitive sports (Anderson & Mowatt, 2013; Dunn, 2015). Therefore, it is logical that competitive athletes hold stronger hegemonic ideologies. Respondents from small towns are slightly more open to inclusive ideologies when measured against men from suburban/urban areas, as demonstrated by a -0.75 coefficient. The finding that men from small towns are more inclusive in both behavior and ideology deviates from the literature, and implies a need to further investigate the reasons for this disparity.

Table 5: Regression of Masculine Behaviours and Ideologies Indices on Sport and Sociodemographic Variables

Variable	Category	Model 1: Behaviours			Model 2: Ideologies		
		Coef.	Std. Err.	P Value	Coef.	Std. Err.	P Value
Sexual Orientation	*Heterosexual (Ref)*						
	Not Heterosexual	0.48	0.53	0.36	-1.21	0.64	0.06
	Not Specified	-0.25	1.18	0.83	-1.24	1.44	0.39
Type of Sport	*Non-Contact (Ref)*						
	Contact	0.83	0.24	0.00	0.43	0.29	0.14
	Not Specified	0.44	0.91	0.63	0.45	1.11	0.69
Type of Athlete	*Recreational (Ref)*						
	Competitive	0.22	0.26	0.83	0.87	0.32	0.01
Age	*18-25(Ref)*						
	26-44	-0.50	0.36	0.17	-0.81	0.44	0.06
	45-64	-1.58	0.43	0.00	-0.87	0.52	0.10
	65+	-1.39	0.61	0.02	-1.06	0.74	0.15
Race	*Not Minority (Ref)*						
	Not Answered	-2.26	2.32	0.33	-1.56	2.84	0.58
	Racial Minority	0.54	0.39	0.16	-0.48	0.47	0.32
Community	*Suburban/Urban (Ref)*						
	Rural	-0.61	0.31	0.05	-0.22	0.38	0.58
	Small Town	-0.69	0.27	0.01	-0.75	0.33	0.02
Income	*No Income (Ref)*						
	Under 35k	0.50	0.56	0.37	1.00	0.68	0.14
	35k-74k	0.55	0.59	0.36	0.91	0.72	0.21
	75k+	0.63	0.61	0.31	1.10	0.75	0.14
Education	*High School (Ref)*						
	College	1.21	0.43	0.01	0.70	0.53	0.19
	University	0.30	0.39	0.44	-0.62	0.47	0.19
Constant		14.41	0.64	0.00	12.88	0.78	0.00
n=456							
Adjusted R2		0.11			0.06		

These results contribute to an understanding of the conceptions and expressions of masculinity for the athletes in my sample. An examination of the correspondence analysis suggests tension between traditional masculinity and social norms, shaping, supporting, and constraining each other. Sociocultural expectations are inhibiting masculine expression in both positive (limiting homophobia, sexism, and racism) and negative (restricting feelings that are considered feminine) ways. With regard to inclusive masculinity theory, the data shows that homophobic ideology continues to dominate. The regression analysis indicates that men in the sample generally have firmly held beliefs about what is considered masculine. There is however, greater variation in masculine practices, as behaviours are much more conflicted and fluctuate by group. This finding expands on the results of the correspondence analysis by supporting the contention that men are torn about their embodiments of masculinity.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The promotion of gay rights, women's rights, affirmative action, pay equalization, anti-discrimination policies and many other social justice advocacy campaigns are redefining social norms. As many of these initiatives denounce traditionally masculine behaviours and beliefs, they are encouraging a rethinking of masculinity, including what is and is not manly, and what is just unacceptable behavior.

Considering liberalizing trends, the aim of my research was to evaluate the current state of masculinity among male athletes. Through an analysis of the congruence between men's ideologies and behaviours, the wider objective was to assess the extent to which current norms continue to perpetuate patriarchal and oppressive gender norms. To do this, I designed a survey that quantified both conceptualizations and behaviors. Specifically, I examined ideologies of athletes – archetypes of normative maleness in Western societies – with respect to homophobia, toughness, emotionality and other core components of masculinity, and then analyzed whether they behaved according to their beliefs. Using a combination of tabular, correspondence and regression analysis, I was able to gather unique data on the state of masculinity.

Overall, ideologies and behaviors are misaligned among men in my sample. They appear to be torn between how they feel and how they behave, or how they think they should behave. P*rogressive social norms* may be constraining how men act, pushing them away from homophobic, sexist, and racist instincts toward more politically correct and socially acceptable behaviors. Concurrently, *traditional hegemonic norms* may be suppressing good intentions, as men in the sample may be pressured to enact masculinity in ways that are contrary to their true beliefs.

When sociodemographic characteristics that influence behaviours and ideologies were examined, I found that behaviors are more likely to be influenced by sociodemographic characteristics compared to ideologies.

This research contributes to the study of men and masculinities while illuminating pragmatic social issues. Its significance stems from its provision of empirical data that deciphers the state of masculinity, as well as theoretical insight into the intricate, contentious, and shifting perceptions and expressions of masculinity. By sampling Canadian male athletes, this research explicitly addresses a gap in the literature identified by Anderson (2009, 2015) that most research examining inclusive masculinities is based on small-scale, qualitative studies that are unable to make large-scale generalizations and do not consider the impact of diverse sociodemographic characteristics.

Through an examination of the disparity between ideologies and practices, this study further addresses a debate in the literature concerning the legacy of traditional hegemonic masculinity. According to Connell and her supporters, hegemonic masculinity transforms to fit current social norms to produce an accepted form of masculinity that solidifies the superiority of some men and the subordination of women and other men (Connel, 2005a; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). While some argue that the proliferation of inclusivity and progressiveness are inciting a restructuration of the gender order and genuinely distancing men from traditional hegemonic norms, the results suggest that despite progress, discrimination founded on core oppressive hegemonic principles remain. The data indicates that progressive trends have not fundamentally altered the structuration of a gender hierarchy in which oppressive norms prevail among

the men in my sample. We are still far from relinquishing orthodox hegemonic masculinity.

Overall, my research enhances our understanding of the social production of gender and the reproduction of gender inequality. The finding that hegemonic masculinity operates through the resistance and cooperation between progressive social norms and traditional hegemonic norms offers a new lens to understand the construction of masculinity and emerging social phenomena. Amidst a shifting culture that no longer publicly approves nor venerates traditional hegemonic masculinity, men in my sample appear to be struggling to locate a socially acceptable gender identity that is also construed as masculine. The need to prove masculinity endures, but the socially sanctioned ways to do so are changing. This elicits the need for research to elucidate the tangible social impacts of conflicted masculinity.

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Appendix 1: Recruitment Email

Dear [LOCAL ATHLETIC ORGANIZATION],

My name is Max Stick, and I am a graduate student researcher at Dalhousie University. I am conducting research funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council that explores the social values and behaviours of Canadian male athletes and I am emailing you to ask for your assistance with this research. If you can, please post or circulate this message to members of your athletic organization in order to help me to recruit participants for an online survey. The survey should only take about 10 minutes to complete. The survey is anonymous – there is no way of linking answers to participants' identity. If you have any questions, please contact me at max.stick@dal.ca

Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

Max Stick

Message:

Dear Sir,

Max Stick, a graduate student researcher at Dalhousie University in Canada, is looking for male athletes to participate in an anonymous online survey on their social values and behaviours. This research is funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and has been reviewed by the Dalhousie University Social Sciences Research Ethics Board. If you choose to participate in the survey you are not obligated to answer any question that you do not wish to, and you are also able to stop the survey at any time if you do not wish to complete it.

If you have any questions, please contact Max Stick at max.stick@dal.ca
You can access the survey at: [hyperlink]

Thank you,

Sincerely,

Max Stick

Appendix 2: Script for Follow-up Phone Call

Hello, my name is Max Stick I am graduate student researcher at Dalhousie University. I recently sent an email to your association regarding a request to circulate a survey to male athletes. I am calling to inquire as to whether you have received the email, have given it any consideration, or if there is anything I can do to further facilitate the request.

Appendix 3: Survey

Are you a male athlete (play organized sports)?

    a. No
    b. Yes

If the respondent selects "Yes" the survey becomes available

Please enter the sport of your current primary involvement

    a. [Type in sport]

At what skill level do you play? (Please check all that apply)

    a. Recreational
    b. Competitive

In this section, please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements

Good sportsmanship is more important than winning or losing

    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly Disagree

Men's and women's collegiate sports should receive equal funding

    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly Disagree

African Americans tend play certain positions in sports based on their inherent physical capabilities

    a. Strongly Agree
    b. Agree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly Disagree

Teammates should avoid sharing their personal feelings, fears, and problems

a. Strongly Agree
b. Agree
c. Neither agree nor disagree
d. Disagree
e. Strongly Disagree

If something needs to be done right, you should do it yourself

a. Strongly Agree
b. Agree
c. Neither agree nor disagree
d. Disagree
e. Strongly Disagree

When guys are in pain it is fine to show it

a. Strongly Agree
b. Agree
c. Neither agree nor disagree
d. Disagree
e. Strongly Disagree

Guys should try to have as many sexual experiences as possible

a. Strongly Agree
b. Agree
c. Neither agree nor disagree
d. Disagree
e. Strongly Disagree

The pressure to be politically correct on LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) issues is over the top

a. Strongly Agree
b. Agree
c. Neither agree nor disagree
d. Disagree
e. Strongly Disagree

Innocent remarks are too often considered sexist

a. Strongly Agree
b. Agree
c. Neither agree nor disagree
d. Disagree
e. Strongly Disagree

In this section, please select the option that best reflects your experiences and practices

Do you play through injuries?

    a. All the time
    b. Often
    c. Sometimes
    d. Rarely
    e. Never

How often do you haze/trash talk other players?

    a. All the time
    b. Often
    c. Sometimes
    d. Rarely
    e. Never

Do you watch and/or attend women's supporting events?

    a. All the time
    b. Often
    c. Sometimes
    d. Rarely
    e. Never

You can tell if a player is going to be good because they are African American
    a. All the time
    b. Often
    c. Sometimes
    d. Rarely
    e. Never

How often do you let others know you are having a hard time?

    a. All the time
    b. Often
    c. Sometimes
    d. Rarely
    e. Never

When you encounter challenges you deal with them by yourself

    a. All the time
    b. Often
    c. Sometimes
    d. Rarely
    e. Never

How often is 'bitch' used jokingly among you and your friends?

    a. All the time
    b. Often
    c. Sometimes
    d. Rarely
    e. Never

How often can you tell if someone is gay?

    a. All the time
    b. Often
    c. Sometimes
    d. Rarely
    e. Never

Are you currently in an intimate relationship?

    a. No
    b. Yes

If the respondent selects "No" the following question becomes available

Do you tend to look for long-term intimate relationships?

    a. All the time
    b. Often
    c. Sometimes
    d. Rarely
    e. Never

In this section, please answer the following demographic questions

What is the highest level of education you have completed?
    a. Less than high school
    b. High school diploma or equivalent
    c. Some college, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma
    d. College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma
    e. Some University
    f. University Degree and/or above

What is the highest level of education that your father has completed?
    a. Less than high school
    b. High school diploma or equivalent
    c. College, CGEP or other non-university certificate

   d. University degree and/or above
   e. Not Applicable

What is the highest level of education that your mother has completed?
   a. Less than high school
   b. High school diploma or equivalent
   c. College, CGEP or other non-university certificate
   d. University degree and/or above
   e. Not Applicable

What is your total personal income including benefits?
   a. No income
   b. Under $20,000
   c. $20,000 to $34,999
   d. $35,000 to $49,999
   e. $50,000 to $74,999
   f. $75,000 to $99,999
   g. More than $100,000

Please indicate the type of community you have lived the longest in:
   a. Rural Area
   b. Small town
   c. Suburban Area
   d. Urban Area

How old are you?
   a. [type in age]

In terms of your sexual orientation, you are:
   a. Heterosexual (sexual relations with people of the opposite sex)
   b. Homosexual, that is lesbian or gay (sexual relations with people of the same sex)
   c. Bisexual (sexual relations with people of both sexes)?
   d. Other

Are you a visible minority?

   a. No
   b. Yes

If the respondent selects "Yes" the following question becomes available

In terms of your ethnic or racial origin, you identify as:
   a. White
   b. Chinese
   c. South Asian (e.g. East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.)

d. Black
e. Filipino
f. Latin American
g. Southeast Asian (e.g. Vietnamese, Cambodian, Malaysian, Laotian, etc.)
h. Arab
i. West Asian (e.g. Iranian, Afghan, etc.)
j. Korean
k. Japanese
l. North American Indian
m. Other – Specify

Appendix 4: Summary Statistics for Indices

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Masculine Behaviours Index	15.25	2.44	10	24
Masculine Ideologies Index	13.55	2.90	8	24
n=456				