Relationships between Culture and Masculine Identity Development in South Asian Canadian

Immigrants

by

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Abstract

This thesis used the combined analysis of traditional theory, empirical data, and lived experience to analyze the relationship between culture and masculine identity development in South Asian, Canadian first and second generation immigrants. Levinson's "Seasons of a Man's Life", Gender Schema theory, the Gender Role Strain Paradigm, and the theory of Hegemonic Masculinity were studied and cross-examined to assess how they addressed four masculinity dimensions: aggression and violence, body image, help-seeking stigma, and emotional restrictiveness. Findings for empirical data that showed the prevalence of masculinity studies in the past decade and research on immigration stressors in a Western context is presented. Amalgamations of lived experiences of South Asian male immigrants are then included. Analysis and synthesis of the literature was conducted by means of a data analysis spiral approach. The results showed a coherence in theories adopting a social constructionist framework and incorporation of the four masculinity dimensions in all four theories. Furthermore, themes of clash between cultures when negotiating a masculine identity was found to be prevalent in the lived experience data. Violation of cultural norms were found to lead to negative psycho-social outcomes as consistent with theory, lived experience, and empirical data. The desire for sense of belonging and acceptance is suggested as a potential cause of conforming and nonconforming to gender-based stereotypes by South Asian first and second generation immigrants. The development of a modified theory that accounts for different cultures, subcultures, and demographics is recommended for future directions for further research.

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Dedication

To all the men out there who have been told they aren't enough. You are enough.

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Chapter One: Introduction

When examining masculine or male identity development both nature and nurture are often considered as factors. The presence of the XY chromosome, significant amounts of testosterone, male anatomy, hair growth in certain areas of the body, and many other developmental, physiological phenomenon are very common indicators of how some people might identify as male (Moynihan, 1998). These endogenous factors do play a part in shaping one's gender identity (Hines, 2009). It wasn't until the early 1970s where a critique for a feminist narrative emerged to lay the foundation of the modern ideas behind gender identity development. Furthermore, this new movement of research sparked many theories behind masculinity that were guided by the principle that not just biology, but social context, culture, and environment also significantly contributed to gender identity development (Smiler, 2004).

Thus it is argued that an equally important piece to masculine identity development are the socially constructed and psychological components. In the context of development, it was Vygotsky (1978) who believed that social interaction played a fundamental role in cognition. He stated that "learning is a necessary and universal aspect of the process of developing culturally organized, specifically human psychological function" (1978, p. 90). The concept of social learning as a precursor to development can be applied to male identity development. The implication here is that the events we experience in our lifetime have a great impact how a male (or female) may personally come to create their own identity formation through learning.

Bem (1981), whose scholarly works include one of the earliest cognitive frameworks for gender identity development, posits that children develop a gender schema. This schema serves as their initial basis of gender identity. She stated that, "as children learn the contents of the society's gender schema, they learn which attributes are to be linked with their own sex and,

hence, with themselves" (Bem, 1981, p. 355). Furthermore, a child will apply these learned

dimensions or attributes from the culture that surrounds them, and then select which of these

applies to their sex. In this manner, they organized their own self-concept and identity (Bem,

1981; Starr & Zurbriggen, 2016).

A content analysis study found that a majority of studies linked to the psychological study

of men and masculinity most commonly associated with the Gender Role Strain Paradigm (Wong,

Steinfeldt, Speight, & Hickman, 2010). Pleck's (1995) theory on gender draws on the idea that

gender identity development is socially constructed. Both masculinity and femininity are created

in the relation to each other in the form of gender roles. It is for this reason that one may find that

males conform to certain traits and behaviors that have been reinforced by their culture. If a male

has ingrained the idea that it is masculine to be heterosexual, with a good complexion, and a

certain height and weight, he will feel inferior or unworthy if he fails to qualify as such (Pleck,

1995). People who adopt similar views will impose them on developing children, effectively

forming a stereotyped gender role (Phillips, 2006). Pleck (2005) also argues that males who

violate these gender norms face several negative psychological consequences and potential

condemnation from the culture.

Thompson and Pleck (1995) also introduced a construct of masculine identity that stems

from two parallel but unalike ideologies. The first ideology views masculinity as traits. This trait

approach is thought to differentiate masculinity and femininity by socially desirable traits that are

assessed by one's own self-concept. The other premise behind this ideology is that it people

differ in the degree in which they idealize masculinity and femininity. The second ideology is

known as a normative approach. This approach states that masculinities are a product of culture,

gender relations attitudes and beliefs. There is not a single standard of masculinity. It is not defined by an individual, but by times, places, and groups (Thompson and Pleck, 1995).

Masculinity and Culture

Both masculinity and culture in some sense are socially constructed. Therefore, it is important to highlight that different cultures hold different norms, which include varying norms for masculinities. An individual with a particular Eastern background may value a certain masculinity more so than a Western background. For instance, Swami (2016) found that drives for muscularity and body image significantly differed between Asian men and White men in the United Kingdom. The inherent cultural differences between the two ethnicities may dictate how they perceive their male identities. These cultural differences may become extremely apparent for immigrants who have left their homeland to settle in a foreign country. In other words, "migration means that the dialogue is put in a new social context, in which social identities— such as ethnicity, masculinity, and sexuality—are challenged and renegotiated (Khosravi, 2009, p.591).

South Asians in Canada

Canada has been known to be nation that welcomes a vast array of immigrant populations and allows them the express their culture and diversity as proud Canadians. Over four decades ago, the Canadian government announced a policy of multiculturalism (Berry, 2013). This policy advocated support for the development of cultural communities, the promotion of intercultural contact between communities, and the intent to reduce barriers to this contact (Berry, 2013). Naturally, it would seem that this policy may have sparked an initiative to invite different immigrant populations from of different ethnic origins to settle in the country. In recent decades passed, Canada has been particularly welcoming to immigrants of South Asian descent. Census

studies by the Canadian government have recorded a population of 1,963,330 individuals of

South Asian descent residing in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2016b). Furthermore, of these

individuals, three quarters identify within the East Indian or Punjabi subculture. Currently, the

total number of South Asians residing in Canada makes up for approximately 5.7% of the

country's population (Statistics Canada, 2016b). This makes them one of the largest visible

minorities (Statistics Canada, 2016). Future projections of population growth indicate that this

figure could rise to 9.2% by the year 2031. It is important to note that South Asians are

categorized as East Indian/Punjabi, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Tamil, Bangladeshi, Gujarati, and

many other ethnicities, as these different ethnicities share common some common cultural roots

and social conventions (Statistics Canada, 2016b).

Acculturation

Given the large population that of South Asians that is present, and ever-growing

immigrant population that is expected to arrive in the near future, there is a vital need to address

how this population will acculturate to the new society. One of the main stressors identified for

immigrants when settling in their new host country is the acculturation process (Beiser, 2005;

Titzmann & Lee, 2018). There could be a myriad of psycho-social-cultural factors that serve as

stressors for first and second generation immigrants. Some of these acculturation induced

difficulties include discrimination and prejudice, problems with other family members, trouble

with communicating in a new language, and experiencing conflict with members from other

cultural groups (Lay & Nguyen, 1998). The immigrant process becomes very troublesome as the

daily struggles of financial problems, future decisions, and school-related problems are added to

the already difficult process of acculturation (Lay & Nguyen, 1998).

Berry and Kalin (1995) conducted a survey that studied the multicultural and ethnic attitudes of Canadian towards different immigrant groups. This study found that attitudes towards South Asians, specifically those who identified as Sikhs, to be the least favorable, as they scored the lowest in comfort ratings. Discrimination against immigrant groups with darker skin colors (i.e. South Asians) in Canada has also been found to be the highest out of all other ethnic minorities (Dion, 2001). Evidence of the high presence of these stressors could implicate negative psychological health outcomes for these immigrant groups. Abouguendia and Noels (2001) found that both first and second generation South Asian immigrants experience a variety of different acculturative stressors in their day to day lives. These stressors served as predictors for both lower levels of self-esteem and greater levels of depression in both groups. Furthermore, it was determined that the nature of the stressors and the manner in which the impacted each group was unique (Abouguendia &Noels, 2001). This sheds light on the degree of complexity that exists in acculturative stressors for immigrants. The impact of these stressors on the masculinity development of a South Asian male could be just as complex and requires further investigation. The psychological distress and negative emotional symptoms that result from the acculturation process could play an integral role in shaping masculinity.

There are two important dimensions of potential stressors on the identity development process with respect to culture. Firstly, straying away from one's surrounding culture, and the stereotypes it has established could lead to cultural sanctioning from members of that cultural group. Secondly, immigrants who are subject to multiple different cultural expectations (native culture and the culture that surrounds them), could experience dissonance between cultures and their respective expectations from each other. In this sense, males could find themselves fully

adopting masculine ideals in one culture but not necessarily doing so in another culture. Different cultural values might not just simply differ, but rather contradict each other.

Purpose of Study

This study aims to explore the relationship between masculinity and male identity development and culture in South Asian males who are first and second generation immigrants. It is clear that complex processes play in development of masculinity, as a result of social learning and interaction with culture. Accordingly, first and second South Asian male immigrants who are placed in a new cultural environment may be exposed to many negative psychological stressors. This thesis will analyze traditional and current masculinity frameworks and investigate how cultural factors might influence a South Asian male immigrant's masculinity ideology. Furthermore, it will study the psycho-social-cultural consequences for these immigrants. Specifically, the dimensions of contrast and comparison will be developed in subsequent sections of this thesis.

Significance of Study

There are many different reasons as to why I believe this study will be significant and relevant for scholars and community and at large. Although studies of masculinity in general have a developed history, literature regarding masculinity in relation to the South Asian minority group, and particularly how this group responds to immigration stresses in Western culture, is sparse. Arguably, the field of applied psychology stands to gain in relevance and efficacy when an understanding of how masculinity operates within different races and ethnicities. Both of these concepts are social constructs to some degree, and therefore amenable to psychological intervention. Crucially, developing this multicultural competence helps us work with individuals who are subject to racism and oppression (Liu, 2005). Those racial ethnic minorities seeking

mental health services can be better served if the psychology behind these concepts are more researched (Liu & Pope-Davis, 2003). Furthermore, as Liu (2005) explains, "addressing context, culture, and socialization allows multiculturalism to focus, not only on minority group issues but also on dominant hegemonic concerns such as White-ness (i.e., white supremacy) and masculinity" (p. 686). Thus it is sensible to incorporate studies of men and masculinity into multiculturalism. This can also aid in helping clinicians increase their cultural sensitivity towards their clients, as well as their effectiveness in clinical practice.

Bedi, Young, Davari, Springer, and Kane (2016) recently conducted a content analysis that examined the gender differences in research participants in the Canadian Journal of Counseling and Psychotherapy from the years 2000 to 2013. Out of 293 articles Bedi and his colleagues reviewed, they found that female-specific topics outnumbered male specific topics threefold. Furthermore, when analyzing articles that were intentionally gender-specific, research studies for females outnumbered studies for males by a factor of fifteen. As Bedi et al (2016) concluded, "this leaves clinicians with a small Canadian research base from which to provide gender-sensitive and evidence-based interventions with boys/men" (p. 1). Evans (2013) suggests that despite the inherent economic and social advantages males receive through privilege, this group is in clear need of mental health services, and the attention of counseling professionals. While it is a matter of fact that men in Canada have demonstrated advantages in terms of social power and economic privilege (Collins & Callahan, 2012), men are also vulnerable to a wide variety of mental health and substance use issues (Statistics Canada, 2014; Canadian Mental Health Association, 2018) that include differential susceptibility to substance use, criminality, homelessness, among other mental health issues. An in-depth analysis such as this thesis could provide a great resource to a field in which research on male-specific topics are lacking. This in

turn could lead to more proficient tools and better awareness about the needs of male clients who seek mental health service.

Stigma associated with treatment for mental health issues in the South Asian community has been known to act as barrier for access to mental health resources (Kumar & Nevid, 2010). In fact, the impact is so great that cultural factors influence the recognition of mental illness in South Asians. This influence is also present when ethnic minority groups experience the process of acculturation (Kumar & Nevid, 2010). Research on South Asian cultural factors that contribute to this stigma, and even identity development within this population may allow for a further understanding behind this stigma. As this thesis will explore the links between mental health, substance use, stigma, psychological wellness, and the experience of masculine identity may prove to be a crucial link in improving psychological well-being for individuals and entire communities.

Definitions

South asians.

Since the focus of this study is on South Asian who have migrated to Canada, this term will be defined as persons from the South Asian region that identify as East Indian/Punjabi, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Tamil, Bangladeshi, Gujarati, or one of eight other ethnicities as per Statistics Canada (2016b). These particular ethnicities make up the entirety of the population that identifies from a South Asian origin in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2016b).

Masculinity.

For the purposes of this study, masculinity is understood as, "the pattern or configuration of social practices linked to the position of men in the gender order, and socially distinguished from practices linked to the position of women. Masculinity, understood as a configuration of

practice in everyday life, is substantially a social construction. Masculinity refers to male bodies

(sometimes symbolically and indirectly), but is not determined by male biology" (Barbieri-

Masini, 2009, p. 140).

Culture.

Culture refers to the values, beliefs, ideas, customs, traditions, and behaviours associated

with a particular group of people (Sullivan, 2009).

First generation immigrant.

A first generation immigrant will be defined as a foreign-born citizen who has

immigrated to country and is the first in his or her family lineage to do so (Statistics Canada,

2016a).

Second generation immigrant.

A second generation immigrant can be the offspring of either one parent that is a first

generation immigrant and the other parent that is a native-born citizen, or both parents that are

first generation immigrants. For the purposes of this study, persons who meet either of

definitions will be referred to as second generation immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2016a).

Acculturation.

Berry (2001, 2003) conceptualizes acculturation as a process of cultural transition in

which immigrants must make two related decisions regarding their heritage culture and that of

the host country.

Multiculturalism.

Berry (2008) states that, "at the psychological core of the meaning of multiculturalism

lies the notion of individuals having and sharing a collective identity as Canadians, and who also

have particular identities as members of various ethnocultural communities" (p. 664). This

definition fits the context of this study. It is important to recognize that such traits may also be present in those who do not identify as either gender.

Situating the Author

Being a child of first generation South Asian immigrants, it might come as no surprise that this topic is special for me. My passion has always taken the form of service to humankind as this is tied to my core beliefs as a practicing Sikh. I have always been particularly fond of emotionally tending to my fellow human primarily since masculinity shaming has been ever-present in my upbringing. During a course I was taking in university, our class was shown a film called, "The Mask You Live In." It focuses on young men in America who struggled to uphold their true identities while being bombarded with the social pressures of masculinity from society. I found that many emotional reactions were triggered while watching this documentary. I witnessed my memories of dealing with emotional repression, body image, physical ability, and other issues as they flashed before my eyes.

Entering my Masters in Counseling program revealed how much I've been ignoring these issues and how this has been holding me back from self-growth. This thought in itself instilled an act of courage to bring it up with some friends who I sensed may have also been struggling in the area of life. To my surprise, it opened the floodgates of emotion for some of them. After sharing experiences that we commonly shared, it occurred to me how hidden yet important these were to each person. All of these individuals were of South Asian descent, and they all seemed to bottle up these emotions and experiences because their cultural norms put them at risk for doing so. It further occurred to me that this extreme constraint, not just on the expression of emotion, but on the experience of feeling, was not the same for all members of the culture. It was especially constraining of men's human experience.

This in turn sparked my own reflection about what role culture has played in the past and the present in shaping my own masculinity as a South Asian male. From personal experience, I can comfortably say that a wide majority of South Asian males in my community are exposed to cultural pressures that affect their own masculine image. This is true for both first and second generation immigrants in my community, who each have their own unique struggles with respect to acculturation to the dominant, Western culture and their own male identity. I feel that as a South Asian male who is aspiring to be a counselor, studying this field can give me great insight and knowledge that I can use in counseling practice. This is especially relevant for me as I reside in a region of Canada that has a dense South Asian male population. It is also important to note that I am aware that my cultural background fits into the very population I intend to research. Therefore, I also recognize that the preconceived biases I hold that may influence the narrative in which I present my analysis.

<p align="center">**Structure of Thesis**</p>

As previously mentioned, this thesis will focus on the effect of culture on first and second generation South Asian male immigrants in Canada. The second chapter will consist of the literature review. It will outline the existing research of current masculinity and male identity development models in a general, Western, and Eastern context. South Asian culture, and particularly the effects it has on males will also be explored. Furthermore, immigration stressors that first and generation immigrants experience in a Western society will be discussed. The third chapter will outline the methodology used in this thesis. It will elaborate on the style of literature review, and describe the method used in the fourth and fifth chapters. The fourth chapter will synthesize and analyze findings from the literature review. The results will study the intersectionality between culture and the impact on masculinity in first and second generation

South Asian male immigrants in Canada. Finally, the thesis will be concluded with a discussion

section. Implications of the findings in the results section and future outlooks will be discussed.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter will consist of an overview of relevant literature that addresses theories of masculinity and male identity development, four different but applicable masculinity dimensions, masculinity in the context of South Asian culture, and immigration stressors in a Western context. The first portion of the chapter will set a foundation of what is known about masculinity through exploration of existing, relevant theories that are non-specific and general in context. Furthermore, these theories will be cross-examined by narrowing down how they address aggression and violence, issues with body image, help seeking behavior and associated stigma, and lastly, emotional restrictiveness. The criteria behind selection and exclusion of theories and masculinity dimensions will also be discussed.

This will be followed by an examination of content and meta-analyses studies that address masculinity theories of development and any relation with the four dimensions mentioned above. This will provide the crucial element of empirical evidence and data to support the study.

In order for the synthesis and analysis of topic to be complete, an element of authentic, lived experience will be provided. Lived experiences provide valuable information from authentic sources. Given the scarcity of research on first or second immigrant, South Asian male identity development in the literature, I found to appropriate to include this piece of the study. This information maybe not yet accounted for in literature, but could have an important contribution towards advancing a field in research. I believe this approach produces valid data for producing heuristics which need to be investigated. I recognize that incorporating lived experiences in this study does have the limit of anecdote. I also wish to convey that while these experiences are real, they are completed de-identified for the sake of anonymity. While details

that lead to identification may have been changed, the core experience has been preserved. These experiences are of South Asian male(s) who are first or second generation immigrants. Each experience is shared in the form of case vignette. The vignettes are stories shared that all discuss important and impactful experiences that affected the male's masculine identity development in their upbringing. The connection between, theory, empirical data, and lived experience will be integral in fully analyzing the topic at hand.

Theories of Masculinity and Male Identity Development

When researching the massively complex subject of masculinity, a simple search on a "Psych Info" search database yields over 400,000 results. Seeing that studies have been compiled on this topic for nearly a century now, it makes sense to observe such a result. Given the large amount of information already researched on masculinity and development, it was deemed impractical to attempt to review all research that exists. Therefore, four theories were selected for the purposes of this thesis. The four theories that will be examined are Daniel Levinson's *Seasons of a Man's Life*, Sandra Bem's *Gender Schema theory*, Joseph Pleck's *Gender Role Strain Paradigm*, and finally Raewyn Connell's theory of *Hegemonic Masculinity*. An overview of each of these theories will be outlined. Additionally, the elements of theories that address (or do not address) the dimensions of aggression and violence, body image, help seeking stigma, and emotional restrictiveness will be highlighted for further examination.

Selection Criteria

Given the amount of research and theories that have been developed in regards to the topic of masculinity, there needed to be a criteria to filter out the theories most appropriate for this research study. It was found that this study required analysis of theories that were least fragmentary in nature. Theories that were inclusive of elements that generally address what is

known about masculinity development were preferred in the selection process. Thus a non-fragmentary and comprehensive theory was a part of the inclusion criteria. Many theories of masculinity development seemed to be embedded in other concerns. They were specific to a particular demographic that did not suit the desired criteria of a generalized study. Those theories that were specific to other concerns were excluded from selection. Overall, the four theories chosen, that were deemed relevant for the purposes of this study, were non-fragmentary, comprehensive, and were not embedded in other concerns.

Primary sources such as original research articles are most often the type of literature sourced in research studies such as this one. However, many research articles that addressed the four theories selected were found to be inappropriate for the purposes of this study. Such sources were far too dated and less articulate in explaining theoretical concepts that needed to be analyzed. They were also determined to be more disconnected from empirical data. Therefore, some secondary sources are incorporated in the literature review as there were found to be more relevant by nature. Classic theories used allowed for high-level and accessible interpretation which was needed for this study. Some original sources did meet the requirements for this level of interpretation.

Seasons of a Man's Life

The following pages will are summaries and paraphrases of Levinson's (1978) work on male identity development. Specific page numbers will be referenced throughout.

Overview

Daniel Levinson was an American Psychologist who primarily conducted his research at Yale University. His work mainly focused on developmental psychology and the adult life cycle. While pursuing his interest in the adult life cycle, he conducted research by interviewing 40 men

who were 35 to 45 years of age, in order to better understand stages of men's lives (Gersick &

Newton, 1996). Levinson documented his motives for studying such a subject matter as he states,

> The choice of topic reflected a personal concern: at 46, I wanted to study
> the transition into middle age in order to understand what I had been going
> through myself. Over the previous ten years of my life had changed in crucial
> ways; I had developed in a sense I could not articulate. The study would cast light
> on my own experience and, I hoped, contribute to an understanding of adult
> development in general. (p. x)

Overall, the goal for Levinson was to study the evolution of a man's character and

develop a blueprint for a man's development over many years. The structure that he created

consisted of several seasons and stages that were based on a man's years in age. The seasons

describe a time period of particular growth in a man's life span. Within these seasons, there are

two types of stages that are predictable patterns that indicate how a man may develop. Firstly,

there is the stable period which is a time frame in which there is consistency without much

change in life. Secondly, there is a transition period which marks the end of one period and the

beginning of the next. This period is a time in a man's life where much growth and change

occurs. The following table outlines the seasons and stages that take place in the adult life

span according to Levinson.

Table 1

Levinson's Life Seasons and Stages (Levinson, 1978, p. 57)

Season	Stage	Age Range
Childhood and Adolescence		0 - 17 years
Early Adulthood		17 - 40 years

	Early Adult Transition	17 - 22 years
	Entering the Adult World	22 - 28 years
	Age Thirty Transition	28 - 33 years
	Culmination of Early Adult Structure	33 - 40 years
Middle Adulthood		40 - 60 years
	Midlife Transition	40 - 45 years
	Entering Middle Adulthood	45 - 50 years
	Age Fifty Transition	50 - 55 years
	Culmination of Middle Adult Life Structure	55 - 60 years
Late Adulthood		60 + years
	Late Adult Transition	60 - 65 years

Early Adulthood

Levinson put little focus on the Childhood and Adolescent phase of life and directed much of his efforts in discovery of the Early Adulthood seasons onwards. Spanning from 17 to 40, this novice phase of adulthood consists of accomplishing certain development tasks that are particular to certain stages. These tasks are typically not fully completed by the end of the Early Adulthood season. Furthermore, they are not linear in their progression, but rather seem to be accomplished through bursts of success with setbacks along the way. Some important development tasks that take place during this period are forming a dream to incorporate into the life structure, developing a relationship with a mentor who can support with the actualization of the dream, forming a relationship with his partner and children, and establishing an occupation that is based on his interests and strengths.

Early adult transition.

Beginning at age 17, this stage in life is a time for a young adult to find his place in the world and question its very nature. A young man will make choices for adult living, often involving which relationships to keep or terminate (whether it be people or institutions) and how to consolidate an adult identity in his life.

Entering the adult world.

Once reaching the age of 22, a man must shift his focus to adult society, as he is no longer a child in his family and is now entering the adult world. A number of choices are initially made regarding lifestyle, peers, romance and relationships, and occupation. This stage in life also presents two tasks that are somewhat contrary in their nature. The first of these involves fulfilling the desire to be adventurous, and to explore the treasures that life has to offer. This risk-seeking behavior that may take place in this task may be going against the objective of the second task: creating a stable life structure. In this task, efforts are made to become more responsible, and to "make something" out of one's life.

Age thirty transition.

Levinson describes the next stage in a man's development as the Age Thirty Transition. This transition presents an opportunity for man to work on the flaws and limitations of the earliest stage of early adulthood. Structure in life is taken more seriously. A man beings to feel that he wants to change, include, or exclude things in his life; he must act now or it will be too late. Thus this stage may trigger a sense of crisis or disruption in life. In turn, this potential crisis leaves a man thinking that his current life structure is intolerable, and he is unable to create better circumstances for himself. This could lead to a loss of hope for the future.

Culmination of early adult structure.

The late thirties is primarily when a man realizes the goals and aspirations set in his youth. He also invests himself into the primary components that make up his life structure such as family, occupation, community, and other components that are most central to him. The two chief developmental tasks in this stage consist of establishing a niche in society to become a valued member in the world and striving to advance in order to build a better life for himself. A man is making the transition from a "novice" adult, to an fully-fledged adult within his own world. Near the end of this stage, there is a distinctive phase that is known as, "Becoming One's Own Man". Some key indicators of this phase are a man's accomplishments of settling down, becoming a senior member of society, speaking strongly with one's own voice, and acquiring a greater measure of authority.

Middle Adulthood

Midlife transition.

The midlife transition marks the beginning of the Middle Adulthood. A new set of developmental tasks are brought forth. As a result, a man's life structure is questioned and reorganized once more. Some men may pose questions to themselves such as, "what have I done with my life?", or "what am I giving to and getting from my family, friends, community, and others?". According to Levinson, "a man yearns for a life which his actual desires, values, talents, and aspirations can be expressed" (p. 60). The degree of questioning and life re-structuring varies with each man. Some may experience a very manageable transition in which they are not troubled by questioning, meaning, and value in their life. These men experience little to no crisis during this time. However, a majority of men do experience some sort of crisis that demands a new path to be formed in order to satisfy their questioning of their purpose in life. Therefore, there is a need for change that involves making certain choices

about the path of life they wish to take and setting different priorities to help them achieve

such a path. As Levinson states, "the neglected parts of the self more urgently seek expression

and stimulate the modification of the existing structure" (p. 61).

Entering middle adulthood.

Now that a man has devoted time to question, explore, test, and re-adjust for a new

meaning and direction in life, he begins to actually act on these choices to form the new life

structure. The process of change can be triggered by a crucial event in life such as a change in

occupation, a change in relationship status, a death of a loved one, or a change in living

environment. On the other hand, some men may perceive their life to still be the same as it

was in their late thirties. However, upon closer examination, we find that minor changes in the

past five or six years might have led to some impactful changes their lives. For instance, even

though they might have been married to the same partner, the familial relationship may have

evolved for better or worse. Additionally, the same job may have caused a man to become

more creative and satisfied or on the contrary, oppressed and humiliated. Consequently, some

men form a structure of life that is viable in the world but still lacks meaning and connection

to the self. Men who prioritize self-connection, satisfaction, and fulfillments in life find that

this season is the fullest and most creative in the life cycle. They enjoy the balance of deep

attachment towards other while remaining centered on the self.

Late Adulthood

Age fifty transition.

This transition draws some parallels with the Age Thirty Transition. It involves

modifications and improvements of the life structure established in the mid-forties. It may be a

time of crisis for those who implemented little change in the mid-life transition. It typically

takes places during the early-fifties.

Culmination of middle adult life structure.

The late fifties is a period in which a man works to complete his middle adulthood

structure. For men who are able to rejuvenate and enrich their lives, this can be a time of great

fulfillment.

Late adult transition.

This marks the end of the Middle Adulthood season and gives birth to the Late

Adulthood season. The main task in this stage is to conclude the work on life structure

executed in the previous midlife stages, and to prepare for development in this new phase of

the life cycle. Levinson notes that he did not study the stages of Late Adulthood in depth but

suggests that there is evidence to support that stable and transitional stages also exist in this

period of life.

The Masculine and Feminine Polarity

Levinson highlights the important differences when defining the terms male, female,

masculine, and feminine. According to him, the terms "male" and "female" are biological

genders that can be differentiated by physiological features of the body. The terms "masculine"

and "feminine" are meanings of gender that go beyond the biological and instead, describe

social and psychological differences between males and females.

Throughout the course of their development, males construct a gender identity that is a

product of their surrounding culture. Relationships formed with their mother, father, siblings,

friends, lovers, and other people that are significant in their lives help create an internal cast of

characters who represent characteristics of masculinity or femininity. Levinson goes on to

describe a man's gender identity as, "his sense of who he is as a man, who he wants to be, and who he is terrified of being" (p. 229).

As research progresses, it is becoming more clear that the splitting of masculine and feminine traits is a not an absolute, fixed concept, but rather a fluid one in which a man can exhibit many feminine traits and a woman can exhibit many masculine traits. In this sense, women are not categorically different than men.

Elements of Aggression and Violence

There are not many instances in Levinson's literature of the Seasons of a Man's Life that specifically address aggression or violence. However, this study with males showed that these males had a concern with their ability to prove themselves in combat. This involved trying to overcome their fears with being combative which was regarded as cowardly and shameful. Competitive, physical sports such as football, basketball, and boxing were found to be great interests of many of the men in the study.

Power seems to be the essence of masculinity for many men. This trait can be defined as exercising control over others, having a strong will (and be recognized as having one), and someone who is leader and can "get things done". The opposite of this (which is perceived to as feminine) is being weak, submissive, unassertive or labeled as a victim of others who have power. There could be an association between power and aggression or violence.

Elements of Body Image

Levinson's work does directly address the development of the perception of a man's body image as it does describe qualities that a man develops that are known as "bodily prowess and toughness". These qualities are defined to be, "the stamina to undertake long, grueling work and endure severe bodily stress without 'quitting'" (p. 231). This entails a body that is not frail, weak,

or vulnerable to attack (all traits which are more associated with femininity). Furthermore, the

masculine body is perceived as one that has the resources needed to sustain a constant effort

towards valued goals. Symbolic representations of this body type may be that of a wrestler or a

surgeon. One participant in the study conducted by Levinson found that a youthful and athletic

body that resembles a military officer or a young executive to be an example of a "true"

masculine body. Another participant envisioned a this masculine image as a body that was

capable of engaging in sports as hockey, skiing, and sailing.

Elements of Help Seeking Stigma

Levinson's study did not directly address help seeking stigma in men. However, he did

find that dependency was an undesirable trait for men as it was viewed as more feminine.

Moreover, it was found that a man will go to great lengths to deny the existence of weakness

since signs of weakness were viewed as intolerably feminine and potentially dangerous. There is

no room for allowing discovery or even awareness of potential weaknesses in one's self. A man's

focus is to become productive, responsible, independent, and authoritative. These findings could

allude to some reasons behind help seeking stigma in males.

Elements of Emotional Restrictiveness

The difference in thinking and feeling is often present in the masculine/feminine polarity.

Men are often assumed to think more than they feel, be more logical, and be more analytical. In

this sense they are more removed from their emotional and intuitive side. Making decisions

based on emotions and feelings are characterized as a feminine qualities which might steer a man

away from this type of behavior. Levinson believes that this thinking is correlated to the typical

framework of a man being a breadwinner and specialized in his occupation versus a woman

being a homemaker who cares for the emotional needs of her family. Levinson goes on to state a

potential reasoning for this as he writes,

>   To truly be masculine, he must devote himself to his occupation in a
>
>   highly impersonal way. He can allow himself a narrow range of "manly" feelings
>
>   relating to assertiveness, rivalry and task attainment. But he is not permitted
>
>   feelings that involve dependency, intimacy, grief, sensuality, vulnerability. Such
>
>   feelings are associated with childishness and femininity (p. 233).

Summary

Levinson's study gives an insight into the different seasons and stages of a man's life that

involve different motivations behind development. Furthermore, it shows factors that contribute

to a masculine-feminine polarity which relate to aggression, violence, body image perceptions,

help seeking stigma, and emotional restrictiveness. The pattern that was discovered with respect

to this polarity was that for men, there always seemed to be concerns relating to "doing, making

or having". Overall, he believes that no matter how much a man may want to go beyond the

traditional view of masculinity, the concept of manliness will always be important to him.

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Gender Schema theory

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Overview

Sandra Bem's *Gender Schema theory* has been the general theoretical framework for

hundreds of psychology-related journal articles in the past thirty years (Starr & Zurbriggen,

2016). The general premise of the theoretical framework is that masculine and feminine

behaviors are a product of societal concepts. This process is termed as sex-typing (Bem, 1981). A

individual who is sex-typed is one that is either highly masculine or feminine due to the

surrounding culture stereotypes that have defined what it is to be masculine or feminine (Larsen

& Seidman, 1986). Furthermore, it is known that these individuals process information based on gender-linked associations, whether the information is categorically gender-specific or not. There is a higher psychological importance on gender for sex-typed individuals than there is for androgynous or undifferentiated individuals. This ultimately causes them to be more adapted to stereotyped sex roles. This also may be a reason as to why we see men taking on the role of the breadwinner and woman taking on the role of the primary caregiver (Bem, 1981).

The manner in which a gender identity is formed is through what Bem (1981) coined a "gender schema". A gender schema is a cognitive framework or a network of associations that a person organizes information related to traits that are linked with masculinity or femininity. This schema is then integrated into one's self-concept and identity and thus serves a guide for one's perception. Personality features, morals, behaviors, values, emotions, and attitudes associated with males and females are all chosen by the individual and then categorized based on what society believes as appropriate. These schemas then become fixed into one's gender identity and carry on into adulthood (Amason, 2012).

Many early gender theorists failed to indicate why gender took precedence in identity development over such factors as race and religion. Bem was able to determine that the reason behind this had to do with gender playing a pervasive and predominant role in childhood development (Bem, 1981; Liben & Bigler, 2017). Bem (1981) found that many influences in childhood (such as toys that were played with and songs that were sung), encouraged gender labeling which were inevitably processed as learned behaviors by children. This phenomenon did not occur due to children taking interest in gender at early ages, but rather as a function of adults attention to gender (Liben & Bigler, 2017). Bem (1998) stated herself that society places a "ubiquitous insistence on the functional importance of the gender dichotomy" when asked about

the development of gender-role stereotypes (p. 362). Bem (1981) crucially points out that gender

identity development is not learned by evaluating whether a single trait is more masculine or

feminine. Instead, she goes on to state,

> This does not simply entail learning where each sex is supposed to stand on each
>
> dimension or attribute—that boys are to be strong and girls weak, for example—but involves
>
> the deeper lesson that the dimensions themselves are differentially applicable to the two sexes.
>
> Thus the strong weak dimension itself is absent from the schema that is to be applied to girls
>
> just as the dimension of nurturance is implicitly omitted from the schema that is to be applied
>
> to boys. Adults in the child's world rarely notice or remark upon how strong a little girl is
>
> becoming or how nurturant a little boy is becoming, despite their readiness to note precisely
>
> these attributes in the "appropriate" sex (p. 355).

One key notion of Gender Schema theory is that sex-typed individuals who do selectively

process information with respect to identity development, do not do so based on the content of

the classes they are partitioning information into (i.e. masculine or feminine), but rather that they

are partitioning the information based on a gender schematic to begin with. Therefore it makes

sense to see non-sex-typed individuals classify themselves as dominant or nurturant without the

inherent association that either one is masculinized or feminized (Bem, 1981).

Bem Sex Role Inventory

The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) was developed by Sandra Bem (1974) to challenge

the assumption of gender bipolarity and to empirically conceptualize masculinity and femininity

as distinct constructs. The scale consists of both masculine and feminine traits that are culturally

desirable. The aim of the BSRI was not only to simply define a particular individual as

masculine or feminine based on their scores, but rather to demonstrate that each individual has

varying degrees of both of these types of traits (Bem, 1974). In addition to this, the purpose of

the inventory was also to determine the extent to which the "culture's definitions of desirable

female and male attributes are reflected in an individual's self-description" (Bem, 1979, p. 1084).

Traits that are gender-neutral or androgynous (either male or female traits) were also included.

(Bem, 1974). The BSRI consists of 60 different personality characteristics or traits, that are

equally divided. There 20 different feminine, masculine, and gender-neutral characteristics. BSRI

scores indicate whether an individual is highly rated in masculinity, femininity, androgyny, or is

undifferentiated. A likert scale is used to rate each trait from 1 to 7, where 1 represents "never or

almost never true" and 7 represents "always or almost always true" (Hoffman & Borders, 2001).

Elements of Aggression and Violence

Bem's (1981) Gender Schema theory does not directly address the presence of aggression

and violence in masculine identity development. However, the BSRI has indicated "forceful",

"dominant", and "aggressive" as masculine traits which does touch upon these dimensions

(Hoffman & Borders, 2001).

Elements of Body Image

Bem's (1981) Gender Schema theory does not directly address the presence of body

image perceptions in masculine identity development.

Elements of Help Seeking Stigma

Bem's (1981) Gender Schema theory does not directly address the presence of help

seeking stigma in masculine identity development. However, the BSRI has indicated,

"individualistic", "independent", and "self-reliant" as masculine traits which could be linked to

this dimension (Hoffman & Borders, 2001).

Elements of Emotional Restrictiveness

Bem's (1981) Gender Schema theory does not directly address the presence of emotional restrictiveness in masculine identity development. However, the BSRI has indicated, "eager to soothe feelings" as a feminine trait (and not a masculine or gender-neutral one) which could be linked to this dimension (Hoffman & Borders, 2001).

Summary

The introduction of the BSRI and Gender Schema theory revolutionized the lens in which gender identity development was viewed. It was the first time femininity and masculinity were conceptualized in cultural contexts rather than differences in responses between different genders (Hoffman & Borders, 2001). Sandra Bem's finding of how childhood experience impacts gender identity development was an important discovery in this field of research.

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Gender Role Strain Paradigm

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Overview

The Gender Role Strain Paradigm (GRSP), also known as the sex role strain paradigm, grounds itself in social constructionism (Pleck, 1981). The basic assumption this paradigm takes is that gender roles are not biological based, but rather socially constructed that can breed advantages, disadvantages, and change (Pleck, 1995). Eagly and Wood (1999) supported this claim when they found origin in sex differences in human behavior to be more impacted by social structural theory than evolutionary psychology. Levant and Richmond (2016) summarized the ten main propositions that GRSP puts forth about gender roles being socially constructed (p. 24):

Table 2: *GRSP Propositions with respect to gender as a social construct*

1. Contemporary gender roles are operationally defined by gender role stereotypes and norms

2. Gender roles are contradictory and inconsistent

3. The proportion of people who violate gender roles is high

4. Violation of gender roles leads to social condemnation

5. Violation of gender roles leads to negative psychological consequences

6. Actual or imagined violation of gender roles leads people to overconform to them

7. Violating gender roles has more severe consequences for males than for females

8. Certain prescribed gender role traits (such as male aggression) are often dysfunctional

9. Each sex experiences gender role strain in its paid work and family roles

10. Historical change causes gender role strain

GRSP served as an alternative to the Gender Role Identity Paradigm (GRIP) which most heavily influenced research on masculinity from years 1930 to 1980 (Levant, 2011). This dated paradigm suggested that there is a psychological need for an individual to conform to the gender role that matches their biological sex. Such a need would then satisfy the achievement of an optimal personality, especially for those that adopted their traditional gender role to the fullest. A failure in adopting a traditional masculine identity role for a male was seen as the reason for a man being homosexual (Levant, 2011). Pleck argued that GRIP poorly accounted for data that was observed in many personality development studies. Furthermore, he posited that the desire to conform to traditional gender roles was not prominent in many individuals. This is to say that many gender role stereotypes are variable and contradictory to one's owns beliefs. In fact, the opposite was true where a large proportion of individuals would violate their supposed gender norms created by society. In turn, these violations would lead to negative psychological

consequences which were more severe for males than for females (Pleck, 1981; Pleck, 1995). In this sense, gender roles are seen to be as dysfunctional (Pleck, 1995), It is important to note that gender roles are different depending on the environment that an individual lives in and the influence of the family, peers, media, and other social factors has on that individual. This also goes to say that standards of masculinity vary across different races, ethnicities, social classes, generations, and sexual orientations (Pleck, 1995).

Types of gender role strain.

The strain of trying to conform to a gender role or suffering the negative consequences of failing to do so (and thereby being criticized by society) can manifest itself in different outcomes (Pleck, 1995). Pleck (1995) outlined three main types of gender role strain: the discrepancy strain, the dysfunction strain, and the trauma strain.

When a man internalizes standards that define what it is to be a man, and then subsequently fails to meet these standards he is thought to be undergoing a discrepancy strain. For example, a man who takes interest in art and is gentle in nature may not believe that he is masculine if his father raised him to believe that man is tough and that a man should take interest in sports and other physical activity. This may cause the man to feel emasculated, anxious, or depressed since his belief is that he did not meet the standards of masculinity that were set by his father or any other social influence (Pleck, 1995).

A strict belief in a traditional masculine role that causes harm to oneself or others is known as a dysfunction strain. It is in some sense the opposite of the discrepancy strain. A man fully embraces the male gender stereotypes set by his society and as a result is strained by others who need him to express other feminine or gender-neutral ideologies (Pleck, 1995). For instance, if a man's wife needs him to do duties such as child-care or household chores that traditionally

are thought to be feminine roles, he may be strained as it would go against his already adopted hyper-masculine ideology.

Trauma strain results in a difficulty in gender development throughout a man's life due to a traumatic experience or a series of persistent traumatic experiences. A man who experiences sexual, emotional, or physical abuse during his youth may undergo trauma strain . Parents who force their child to rigidly adhere to traditional gender norms may induce this strain on their child (Pleck, 1995).

Elements of Aggression and Violence

The GRSP does address development of aggression and adverse consequences of its presence in a male's identity in more than one way (Pleck, 1995). Aggression can be a incorporated into a gender identity from social constructs of society and upbringing. This traditional gender norm for males may come about from a dysfunctional gender strain. In turn, the dysfunction may cause psychological stress on a man (Levant, 2011).

Elements of Body Image

The GRSP alludes to the perception of a male body image being incorporated into masculine identity. The imposition of a traditional male body image on a man could cause gender role strain (Pleck, 1995). However, it does not specifically mention how the development of this perception might come about, or the consequences of doing so.

Elements of Help Seeking Stigma

Pleck's (1995) GRSP does not directly address the presence of help seeking stigma in masculine identity development. However, it is possible that help seeking stigma could be a result of a gender role strain.

Elements of Emotional Restrictiveness

Both dysfunctional and trauma strains are known to be sources of emotional restrictiveness. Males who adopt traditional masculine norms may be resistant or fearful of emotional expression. This could inflict a dysfunctional strain on them if they are required to express such an emotion in their life. Moreover, parents who discourage boys from being emotionally expressive may help form trauma strain which also leads to negative psychological consequences (Pleck, 1995; Levant 2011).

Summary

GRSP is another traditional theory of masculinity development that posits gender identity formation to be a product of social constructs. It advocates that individuals, especially males, are strained by social constructs and pressures while they attempt to develop an internal masculine identity. These strains can cause adverse psychological effects (Pleck, 1995).

Hegemonic Masculinity

Overview

R. W. Connell's theory of masculinity and specifically hegemonic masculinity has been one of the most influential theories in the past two decades (Wedgewood, 2009). The term "hegemonic" is derived from Gramsci's (1971) definition of the term that states it to be a culture dynamic in which a social class can assert power over other social classes and claim a position of dominance in a social hierarchy. Hegemonic masculinity has thereby been defined as subordination of women by men through dominance and control in social hierarchy (Connell, 2005). Flood (2002) maintains that there has been fluctuation in the meaning of the term where it has been interchangeably used as both cultural leadership to ensure rule over particular social group and the dominant expression of manhood by males. Hegemonic masculinity speaks to how control in maintained by when they assert this dominance. Much like many other prominent

theories of masculinity development, Connell's (2005) theory also holds that the ideals of hegemonic masculinity are socially constructed, and the identity of the each male who adopts this concept is measured against the hegemonic masculinity ideal that is set by society.

It is important to note that hegemonic masculine qualities vary from culture to culture and different time periods. A man can position himself with or against hegemonic masculinity provided it garners social capital (e.g. acceptance in society, job opportunities, other forms of privilege). Therefore, in this sense, hegemonic masculinity is seen as relational and contextual. It exists in relation to non-hegemonic and subordinated forms of masculinities. There are no fixed set of traits that definitively define this type of masculinity. In fact, the origin of the concept was largely in opposition to the traditional view that the male sex role was a singular, static concept (Connell, 2005).

Courtenay (2011) explains how the bulk of the idealized, masculine identity is represented by individuals who are predominantly heterosexual, educated, European-American men from middle to high class socioeconomic backgrounds. Kupers (2005) argues that the expression of hegemonic masculinity from these individuals comes in many forms: a pronounced expression of anger over all other emotions, resistance towards admitting a weakness, homophobia, devaluing women and feminine attributes, misogyny, greed, violence among others. Historically, this expression has been seen as "invisible" because of how normal its presence has been in patriarchal driven societies in the past centuries (Connell, 2005). Courtenay (2011) adds that the desire for physical and emotion control, and the high drive for sexual activity are also expressions of this type of masculinity. The toxicity of hegemonic masculinity also requires men to continually prove dominance through their behaviors and values. The need to constantly demonstrate their masculinity is so much so that some men believe they are only as masculine as

their last expression of masculinity. This belief may then internally perpetuate a set of strict, "acceptable" behaviors and values that must be exhibited in order to avoid the consequences of exclusion, criticism or complete alienation from other men. In order to upkeep these high standards set by society, risky behaviors that can even be life-threatening are exhibited by such men (Evans, Frank, Oliffe, & Gregory, 2011).

Development

Similar to other theories, this model also believes that children at a young age learn the what it means to be a boy or girl. This is primarily when they first begin to form their concept of gender (Martin, 2011). The distinction between the gender roles and the dominance of the male gender role may be brought about through social situations, gendered toys, or learning from the behaviors of authority figures (Levant, 1996). Teachers could play a role in enforcing gender role stereotypes by endorsing traits of hegemonic masculinity such as physicality, strength, and competitiveness (Bhana, 2009). Young boys begin to find their place in a social structure and do so by associating with boys who are similar in age. These boys may present a notion that is dominated by maleness (Liben, Bigler, Ruble, Martin & Powlishta, 2002). A hierarchy may then form within the group of boys, where the boys of "higher-status" decide acceptable values which often include ideals of hegemonic masculinity. It is found that ranking in the hierarchy is mostly determined by high athletic ability (McGuffey & Shawn, 1999). When children venture over to activities that are perceived to be only engaged in by the opposite gender they police themselves (Martin, 2011). Other children may tease, isolate, or exert physical aggression against those children who engage in behavior of the opposite gender. Boys who are victim of these acts may be socially isolated from groups in adolescence (McGuffey & Shawn, 1999). In adolescence,

boys may begin to develop notions that girls are inferior to them due to the positioning of hegemonic masculinity (Martin, 2011).

Elements of Aggression and Violence

Overall it is quite evident that both aggression and violence are results of hegemonic, masculine ideals. Connell (2005) views competitive sport as an instrument of hegemonic masculinity. The perception of the body can go as far as viewing it as a weapon in competitive sports that involve contact (e.g. football and wrestling) which leads to aggressive and violent acts. Hyper-competitive acts may cause over-aggression and risk of serious injury (English, 2017). Research in criminology shows that patterns of aggression were found to be linked with the pursuit of masculine hegemony, and not as a cause of trying to live to the standards of a hegemonic ideal (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Banjoko's (2011) study of young African-American males outlines the prevalence of aggression in school:

> The aggressive behavior or posturing is internalized by these young males
> as being a sign of masculinity. If you challenge or stand up to authority it is a sign
> that you are not weak. Being an assertive male reflects one of the hegemonic
> characteristics that inform masculine identity development of young boys within
> their school environment. Aggressive youth hold prominent positions in the social
> structure and are perceived by peers and teachers as being 'cool' or popular.
> Violence is also regarded as an accepted tool within the ideals hegemonic masculinity.

It may be used towards individuals who challenge the system of ideals (Connell, 2005).

Elements of Body Image

The ideals set for a man to be physical, tough, and have a strong body can also shaped in the environment of competitive sport (English, 2017). The physical differences between men and

women have been amplified in surrounding culture to exert an idea of male dominance. This is reflected in the body image of a man. Connell (2005) states that, "a rethinking may start by acknowledging that, in our culture at least, the physical sense of maleness and femaleness is central to the cultural interpretation of gender. Masculine gender is (among other things) a certain feel to the skin, certain muscular shapes and tensions, certain postures and ways of moving, certain possibilities in sex" (pp. 52-53). There is importance on how a male interprets his body image with respect to his own gender identity. Muscularity is seen as a masculine ideal, while physical frailty and weakness in an undesirable trait (Connell, 2005; English, 2017).

Elements of Help Seeking Stigma

Connell's (2005) theory does account for men feeling more vulnerable to seek help as it risks nonconformity with hegemonic masculine ideals. McKelley and Rochlen (2010) found that men who were more adherent to hegemonic ideologies were found to approach psychotherapy with a significant amount of stigma.

Elements of Emotional Restrictiveness

Stoicism or suppression of emotions are characteristics that can be found in one that adheres to hegemonic principles. It is seen as a highly feminine characteristic and therefore is viewed an unacceptable in "manhood" (Connell, 2005).

Summary

The theory behind hegemonic masculinity chiefly addresses the dominance that males assert over females through toxic behaviors and values that they adopt from society (Connell, 2005). It accounts for all four dimensions of aggression and violence, body image, help seeking stigma, and emotional restrictiveness.

A Review of Empirical Data on Masculinity Theory and Traits

Masculinity Research Content Analysis

A content analysis by Wong, Steinfelt, Speight, and Hickman (2010) aimed to explore the content of research on the psychological study of men and masculinities in the journal, *Psychology of Men & Masculinities*, from the years 2000-2008. This content analysis could provide in-depth insight on the current trends in literature of masculinity and the future directions that are implicated in the field of study.

One goal of the analysis was to examine the predominant gender theoretical orientations in the literature. The major two schools of thought in theories argue either gender formation as a product of biology and essentialism or as a product of social construction. Another goal was to quantify the presence of masculinity related topics such as violence, emotionality, and sex behavior. Thirdly, the study sought to examine whether a diverse array of participants in research were being utilized by the current literature. Differences in ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, age, culture and other demographics are all factors that require attention when studying masculinity. Therefore, the numbers of studies that focused on diverse groups were also examined (Wong et al., 2010).

Theoretical perspectives.

The Gender Role Strain Paradigm was found to be the most prominent theoretical orientation used in studies. Since this theory has a heavy emphasis on social constructionism, it was concluded that there is more need for biological and evolutionary theoretical perspectives in the literature to satisfy the needs of diversification. In addition to this, the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil et al. 1986) was found to be the most frequently used empirical measure in research on masculinity and men's psychology (Wong et al. 2010).

Topics relevant to masculinity.

Topics that were most addressed in the scholarship were mental health (45% of the articles), relationships (40% of the articles), and violence (38% of the articles). The focus of research in these areas are congruent with the needs mental health professions such as psychologists, counselors, and social workers as these three occupations most frequently deal with these three issues. In regards to the four dimensions examined in this study, the topic of body image was addressed in 16% of the articles, help-seeking was addressed in 14% of the articles, and emotionality was addressed in 29% of the articles. It is also noteworthy to add that racial and ethnic minority issues were addressed in 18% of the articles (Wong et al., 2010).

Diversity in participants.

The research found that an overwhelming majority of the studies used White American male college students between the ages of 18 to 54. It was evident that the amount of research on the developing masculinities of boys and older adults was lacking (Wong et al., 2010). The role of masculinity in middle-aged adults may not be able to be generalized to these other age groups (Whorley & Addis, 2006). There was a very low percentage of the articles that focused on racial and ethnic minorities. With respect to South Asians, only 4% of studies included Asian Americans as participants. It is important to note that since South Asians are a subgroup of Asians, the percentage for studies focusing on South Asians specifically is likely much lower than the percent given. For every ten articles, seven of them did not report the participant's sexual orientation. These gaps in the literature may speak to how the different ways masculinity is experienced across diverse groups is not being addressed (Wong et al., 2010).

Conformity to Masculine Norms and Mental Health

Wong, Ho, Yang, and Miller (2017) performed meta-analyses to measure the relationship between conformity to masculine norms and mental-health related outcomes. The study

examined 78 samples and over 19,000 participants from the existing literature that used the

measure of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory to produce results. This measure is

used to test for adherence to masculine norms such as emotional control (restrictiveness),

violence, risk-taking, power over women, and several others. Negative mental health outcomes

were defined to be depression, psychological distress/stress, substance use, body image problems,

and other psychological problems (Wong et al., 2017).

The study's results yield that a conformity to masculine norms was positively associated

with negative mental health outcomes. Moreover, there was an inverse relationship between

conformity to masculine norms, psychological help seeking, and positive mental health. It was

shown that there was a greater impact on individuals not seeking help. No significant differential

associations were found in the relationship of conformity and mental health outcomes as a

function of gender and race. Conformity to both violence and emotional control were significant

indicators of negative mental health and yielded less likelihood of psychological help seeking

(Wong et al., 2017).

BSRI and change in Masculinity and Femininity Scale Ratings

A meta-analysis study was conducted to test for changes in masculinity and femininity

ratings in American college students from 1974 to 2012 (Donnelly & Twenge, 2016). Data for

over 8,000 participants was analyzed. It was hypothesized that changes in masculinity and

femininity ratings amongst genders may indicate new norms in regards to social roles (Donnelly

& Twenge, 2016).

With the exception of the decline in women's femininity scores, all other scores on the

BSRI remained relatively unchanged. Donnelly and Twenge (2016) suggest that "women are less

likely to endorse traditionally feminine characteristics as a representation of themselves" (p. 560).

The results could also suggest that men's attitudes towards the adoption of masculine traits have also not changed. The study did not comment on any statistical differences between different races and ethnicities. Nor were there any specific references to analyses performed on aggression and violence, body image, help-seeking stigma, or emotional restrictiveness dimensions (Donnelly & Twenge, 2016).

Immigrant South Asian Male Culture and Identity

Dhillon and Ubhi (2003) give insight into the lives of South Asian, immigrant males who live a Western culture. Many of them are described as a "marginal" — an immigrant who is unable to affiliate their own culture with the host culture. These men are also unable to understand or cope in the world that they live in. In the study, all males identified struggles with culture identity, religious identity, family, friends, and caste. It difficult for them make sense of these while living in a Western society. It bred anger, confusion, loss. and shame. Instability in their cultural identity comes from negotiating their collective self and the private self (Dhillon & Ubhi, 2003). The collective self, a self-identity that is very prominent in South Asians, is when one acts to gain a favorable evaluation from a group to help achieve the group's goal. On the other hand the private self, a more Western oriented self-identity, is where one acts to favor their own positive, self-evaluation according to their internal standards (Yamaguchi et al, 1995).

A South Asian male's religious identity is also very important to them. Commitment to religion fosters a sense of community, morals, high self-esteem, and a stable ethnic identity (Dhillon & Ubhi, 2003). Furthermore, it may serve as an vital coping strategy in the face of racism. A weak religious identity may deny a social support system (Dosanjh & Ghuman. 1997). Venkatesh (1994) argues that one's religious identity is neither separate or antagonistic to one's personal life.

Family, with specific regard to paternalistic values, are central to South Asian culture. Boys are raised with exalted status and favoritism. Along with this come expectations of the protection of women in the household. This is exemplified through traditional, South Asian cultural celebrations such as *Lohri*, *Karvachauth*, and *Rakshabandan*. These celebrations promote the ideas of prestige of having a boy born in the family, the respect that it owed to a husband by his wife, and the sworn protection of women in the family by men. The introduction of less patriarchal Western ideology may cause tension in mapping their cultural identities and masculinity. This difficulty may breed violent acts towards family members from South Asian males who become frustrated (Dhillon & Ubhi, 2003).

Immigration Stressors in Western Context

It is known that Eastern migrant families experience great culture shock when relocated to a Western society. The collectivistic cultural norm from their homeland is re-evaluated as they must adapt to the new change of living in a society that adopts individualism and independence (Dow, 2011). Much time is required to re-establish social connections and networks that were present in the country of origin (Bernman et al., 2009). As a result, they are challenged by limited social support, disorganization, and disorientation in their lives (Bernman et al,. 2009). Furthermore, this lack of direction causes immigrants to encounter difficulties with making appropriate decisions, appraisals, and judgments. The reason for this being that the decision process for these groups is heavily based on a collectivistic process where other means of social support provide input in decision making. They are now faced with adversity in learning a new approach in independently doing what they used to collectively (Dow, 2011). The isolation and lack of social networks has been found to cause mental health issues and illnesses in South Asian

immigrant groups (Ahmad et al., 2004). Depression and anxiety can be experienced as a result of the frustration of being isolated (Dow, 2011).

Family Dynamics

Not only are immigrants able to rely on their extended family and other social networks after migration, but they also see a shift in leadership within the family (Dow, 2011). Factors such as being in unfamiliar territory, and not knowing the native language, forces elders in the families to rely on their children and grandchildren to assist in decision making and daily activities (Lai & Surood, 2008). Children have the ability to adapt to the new, dominant culture they live in much more quickly than a middle-aged adult immigrant. Therefore, since adults have trouble achieving social fluency, they must be reliant on the members in their family who have already done so (Bylund, 1992). Since the children have these newfound responsibilities, parents might feel threatened in their formerly high, "hierarchical" status in the family. Parents feel as they are being overtaken as the most competent and skilled members of the family which may lead to parent-child conflict (Dow, 2011). This conflict may also take place between spouses, if one spouse manages to acculturate faster than another. For example, unemployed men may feel threatened by their wives who are taking on roles that they might not have had back home (such as breadwinning). Immigrant men are notably known for engaging in physical violence as a consequence of this undesired change (Westermeyer, 1989). A child or adolescent may begin to question their ethnic identity which could also cause conflict between the parent and child (Casas & Pytluk, 1980).

Racism and Stereotyping

Racism and stereotyping can add to the negative psychological burden for immigrants who are acculturating (Dow, 2011). Westermeyer (1989) found that the amount higher amounts

of racism is present in communities that have low employment, are not racially and ethnically diverse, and are dominated politically or economically by one group. Racial discrimination and increased race-based traumatic stress was found to increase number of sexual partners, increase drug use, and increase physical altercation in immigrant groups (Flores et al., 2010). Crocker, Major, and Steele (1998) argue that certain religious apparel and accented speech can also be a trigger for racism. Some immigrant groups may express racist attitudes towards their own racial or ethnic group which leads to negative psychological consequences and physical illness (Westermeyer, 1989). Pumariega, Rothe, and Pumariega (2005) indicate that reasons for racism between groups of the same race may occur because the racial immigrants groups who arrived earlier may see the outsider immigrants as threats to their job security and access to resources and other opportunities. Children and adolescents may experience more amplified acts of racism from peers in their school settings, as compared to their adult counterparts (Pumariega, Rothe & Pumariega, 2005).

Acculturative Stress in South Asian Immigrants

There is a scarce amount of research conducted on acculturative stress in first and second generation South Asian immigrants. However, Murphy (1973) and Shergill (1992) have found that second generation South Asian immigrants tend to undergo a significantly higher amount of acculturative stress than first generation South Asian immigrants in Canada. It was suggested that first generation immigrants are more readily able to access cultural groups of the same ethnic origin for support during the process of acculturation. Furthermore, these social networks may decrease the expectation for first generation immigrants to have to adapt to the new cultural values imposed on them in society (Murphy, 1973). The first-generation immigrants adopt an

attitude to separate from the host culture's values and maintain their own heritage, religious beliefs, and cultural values (Aycan & Kanungo, 1998).

Shergill (1992) notes that close knit family ties that offer vital emotional and financial support in South Asian, Sikh families may begin to diminish as the second generation distances itself from these collectivistic values. Second generation South Asians may be torn between the traditional values taught to them by their first generation family members at home, and the Canadian value system presented to them by society (Shergill, 1992). Additionally, second generation South Asian immigrants may seek acceptance from their North American peers and may subsequently be more inclined to adopt North American ways (Aycan & Kanungo, 1998). This conflict between cultural values further causes stress and inhibits development of coping strategies (Shergill, 1992).

Sex-typing and acculturative attitudes.

Shergill's (1992) study found that there was no significant difference in acculturative stress between South Asian males and females contrary to the findings of Berry, Kim, Minde, and Mok (1987) who found that females generally experience more acculturative stress. There is some evidence to support that those South Asian immigrants who are sex-typed as females are subjected to acculturative stress just as they are submissive and conforming, thus limiting their alternatives during acculturation (Shergill. 1992). Whereas those who identify as androgynous do not feel the need to be constrained by culture and are more open to integrating into the host culture. Since sex-typed behavior may fluctuate across different cultures, those immigrants who settle in a society that is pluralistic in cultures may be prone to more stress due to cognitive dissonance (Shergill, 1992). An analysis was performed on the relationship between acculturation attitudes and sex types of first and second generation immigrants who were South

Asian, Sikhs, living in Canada (Shergill, 1992). The sex-type was determined by Bem's (1974) Sex Role Inventory and Berry, Kim, Power, Young, and Bujaki's (1989) model of acculturation attitudes which includes integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. Shergill (1992) asserts that masculine sex-typed individuals were inversely related to the acculturative attitude of marginalization (becoming alienated from both their traditional and host cultures) for second generation male, South Asian, Canadian immigrants. The same inverse relationship was present for first generation male, South Asian, Canadian immigrants, except it was for the acculturation attitude of assimilation (adapting to the host culture, while alienating their own culture). A significant and direct relationship existed between femininely sex-typed individuals and the separation acculturative attitude (a preference to interact with their own culture while becoming alienated toward host culture). This was true for both first and second generation immigrants (Shergill, 1992).

Lived Experience

The following section will be a series of excerpts that give insight into the lives of South Asian males. These case vignettes will describe experiences from childhood to adulthood. It is important to remember that all of the vignettes have been completely de-identified, and are merely amalgams of the author's readings and personal experience. Each vignette is a stand-alone, separate, experience that should be interpreted as being narrated by a different author.

Gurpreet Navigates through Bullying and Harassment

Growing up and attending elementary school to the end of secondary school was one of the most rewarding and challenging times of my life. How I dressed, expressed, and carried myself was constantly scrutinized by my fellow classmates. It was no wonder that by the end of Grade 12, I was completely burnt out and had no motivation to attend classes anymore. No

matter what I did, it was never good enough at school. I was never good enough for the friends that I would have given my life for and the emptiness followed me from the never ending school hallways to the empty conversations on MSN Messenger.

Words like "fag, homo, and queer" were just the few that were always used to harass me. The perpetrators were more often than not those who did not understand me or those who weren't happy with their own lives. It came as no surprise to me that these guys were other South Asian males who thought it was appropriate to project their animosity onto me. Deep down I knew that there words had no physical effect on me but I couldn't help but feel that I was being torn down every day walking through those halls, by the same people, hearing the same insults. I could not understand what or how they wanted me to be. Was it because I wasn't physically strong as them? Or did they look down upon me because I didn't hide my sadness when I felt down? Should I have dropped out of Student's council, not have been so outgoing, or started beating up other people? What did they need me to do to finally be free of their insults? It didn't matter because to be free of this curse, I would have to completely tear myself down and become something I didn't want to be and I tried that so many times but it never worked. I could not appease them and mostly I could not look at myself in the mirror. It was affecting my negatively both physically and mentally.

I had to fight and stand up for myself even it meant being sent out of the classroom to the principal's office. But I could not let it go on any further. I would stand my ground and prove that being myself, being unique, and not like the mob of "brown gangsters," I could still be just as strong if not stronger. From pursuing after school clubs to being involved with administrative duties, I continued to push myself and excel in academics as well as extra-curricular activities

knowing full well in the end, I would be successful. But the shadow of doubt they casted on me for not fitting into their "macho-man" ideals still lives inside me to this day.

Sikander Deals with Social Pressure

I am a Hindu male, who was born and India, and eventually moved to Canada in my teenage years. My family consists of myself, my three brothers, my father, my uncle, and my mother. Besides my mother, we never grew up with a female. So I have never been able to recall my parents every distinguishing was the role of a man was as compared to a woman. It seemed like there was no need for them to do so as we were all boys. I do wonder about whether my parents would have designated household chores differently if there was a girl in the house. I do recall other families around me (that did have boys and girls) discouraged girls from doing certain things that boys could not. For example, girls weren't allowed to go out late because they weren't considered strong enough to fight for themselves in case anything happened to them. Boys on the other hand were free to roam around in the streets until late at night. Although there seemed to be an advantage to be a boy in an Indian family, it wasn't as nice as it appeared. I remember a friend approaching because he was frustrated that he was expected to all the labor jobs around the house since he was deemed more fit. Again, the teachings that were present in other households were not shared by mine as my brothers and I were raised to believe that all jobs were for everyone.

I am quite certain that my experiences at school are what shaped my masculinity perception the most. Not just the schools in India, where I grew up until the age of 16, but also the schools in Canada. Thinking back, I can recall that standards set in school for girls versus boys were different. In grade one, boys got hit for misbehaving whereas girls were not hit. Boys were made to wear pants whereas the girls were not. Boys were seen as normal when they yelled

because it was guy thing to do. Girls on the other hand, were thought to be mentally challenged if they behaved that way. This may have been because they were going against the norms that were established in the society around me. This was reinforced in every grade in every school I attended in India.

Even after coming to Canada I noticed a difference in expectations. For instance, boys were told to do more laps in my physical education class. And if girls were to do as many laps as boys, they were much more recognized and appreciated. Similarly if a boy performed a great piece of art, they were praised much more than girls, since there might have been an expectation for girls to be better at art. I don't have anything against being praised for your efforts, but the idea that boys and girls were treated different in this manner was slightly unsettling. I found myself becoming hesitant to do things that were considered "girly" in fear of being treated differently (especially by other boys). This idea kept being subtly reinforced throughout my school life (e.g. through history texts, through the influence of my Planning teacher, or by looking around to see how there weren't many girls in my Math class), and it eventually convinced me to think that I should behave differently from what a girl might do. My masculinity was defined by what I eventually understood; I should be different than girls because that is "normal".

Kuldeep Battles with his Insecurities

My idea of what a man should look like was shaped both by my Sikh background, the Western culture (particularly the media) that surrounded me, and my school. Having grown up Sikh, with many male Sikh role models around me, my idea was that a man should have long hair and keep a beard. Furthermore, I grew up with the idea that a man should be fearless, especially when it came to the protection of his family. This was mainly preached from my father.

If you weren't able to live up to this expectation, you simply weren't a man. Living with that expectation always over my head was very disheartening.

I watched a lot of wrestling on TV as a child and all the wrestlers were absolutely buff (muscular). As I grew older I started to idolize action movie stars like Arnold Schwarzenegger and Dwayne Johnson. There was even a phase in which I became very interested in body building for several years just because it would make me look strong, like a man should look. It wasn't until I actually reflected on this that I realized how warped my mentality was with respect to body image as a result of the societal pressures around me.

Growing up there were many instances that shaped how I would and should react as a man towards aggression and violence. I remember spending a lot of time play fighting and wrestling in elementary school when the teachers weren't looking. When I was a little older, in high school, there was one instance that particularly stood out to me. In grade 10 one of my best friends accused me of flirting with his girlfriend. The news travelled around the school very fast. Next thing you know, he wanted to fight me. When I heard about this I was shocked and scared. I was surprised that he could jump to such conclusions without actually talking to me first. I knew I didn't do anything wrong but I was certain that if I had fought him that I would gotten beat up really bad (he was a star athlete/jock, while I was quite skinny and weak in comparison). While it would be really embarrassing (and painful) to get beat up in front of the whole school for something I didn't do, it would probably be better than being called a "pussy" for the rest of the school year. So in this sense my ego took over and didn't allow me to walk away or get any other means of help to diffuse the situation. When the end of the school day came there was already a buzz around the fight. As I walked outside to where the fight was going to happen, there was already a large group of people awaiting to watch the fight. The best way to describe how I was

feeling in that moment was pure anxiety, but on steroids. It felt like I was walking to my funeral. Once I got to where everyone was waiting, one of our mutual friends (who was older) pulled us both aside and gave me a chance to clear the air. Lucky for me, my former best friend calmed down and we didn't end up fighting. However, we would never be close as friends again. That was a close call, but it really shaped my interactions with people over the next several years. I was afraid of being too friendly with a friend's girlfriend, in case anybody thought I was making advances towards her. I didn't want to in a situation again where I had to choose between fighting (which I hated) or being shamed for not fighting. So I also started working out religiously, and gained about 40 pounds of muscle just to prevent myself from getting into this kind of debacle again.

When it came to the outward expression of my own feelings, I was very unfortunate in that I never saw the men in my life cry during my youth. Until very recently, I always felt that as a man it wasn't okay to show my vulnerable side, and that I always had to come across as strong and impenetrable. In fact, it was only earlier this year that I said "I love you" to my dad, brother, and sister for the first time (and it felt awkward the first few times I said it). I'm still processing why it's so hard to express my feelings of sadness and grief (and why it's so much easier to express anger). I truly believe that the messages that I was taught when growing up had a large part in creating these behaviors.

Another insecurity I recognize I have with respect to my masculine identity stems from my desire and responsibility to cook, clean, or do laundry at home. My intentions for doing this are to make life easier for my wife and generally lending a helping hand. It became clear to me that I was venturing away from established gender norms in the Punjabi community. However, to my dismay, this came at a price. Generally, I tend to keep my duties and doings at home to

myself, and I rarely tell my friends or share this on social media. This is because whenever I do, I get the odd friend of mine saying "Ha, you bitch!" or something derogatory along those lines. While it doesn't bother me too much, it does keep me from being open about my lifestyle and responsibilities at home. This is nothing more than a societal construct of what men do, and what women do. I feel like I am definitely going against gender roles established by society. I feel like I shouldn't care, but the backlash, or perception of being inferior because I do these "womanly" jobs is closely tied to my outwardly portrayal of my masculinity.

Bikky's Troubling Experience in Elementary School

I am the second child of South Asian parents (the younger brother of an older sister). Being raised in British Columbia in the 90s as a visible minority was a challenge, especially since I went to public schools with a large Caucasian population that were not always open to people who looked different in appearance. I am from an orthodox Sikh family and so I was raised donning a turban from a young age and that made me stand out like a sore thumb from everyone else who had haircuts. Despite this, my family taught me about standing up for myself. They also preached the value of being brave in the face of adversity and standing up for what's right when people were doing the wrong thing (mainly through stories originating from Sikh history). However, as a child, it's fun to listen to stories of brave men and women fighting for what's right, but not so much when you're the one getting picked on with no one else there to stand by you and help. I feel I became a target for some people because of my non-confrontational approach to life. I was, and always have been, a shy and quiet kid who kept to himself. I opened up with people I felt close to, such as my family and a handful of friends. One event in my life, during grade 5, really stands out for me in shaping my masculinity. I remember standing outside my classroom door waiting for the bell to ring. In the meantime, kids were

playing and running around as they always did. Despite my shyness as a kid, I loved to play

sports as I felt it was one of the areas in school I excelled in. I was able to run faster than most

kids, I was often praised by my friends to be a great defenseman in soccer, and I could shoot

hoops pretty well too (at least for a fifth grader). So, as I'm waiting for the bell to ring, I look

over and see some of the "cool" kids playing basketball in the morning. I approached them and

asked if I could play too and immediately I was refused with an emphatic "No!". I didn't quite

understand the reason for the rudeness, so I asked why I couldn't play. In my head, I remember

observing that one of the teams could use one more player, so it would me joining would mean it

would be a complete game. I was once again met with a rude answer, but this time it was much

more than a simple denial. One of the boys who was the leader of the "cool" kids approached me

and said I couldn't play because I wasn't "cool" and I was a "pussy" and a "fag" because of my

innate nature to be empathetic. Apparently this quality of mine was too feminine. These words

really hurt me, so much so that I tears rolled down my face as a result. I could feel the

uncomfortable tingling feeling in my stomach, I felt my cheeks flush and become hot, and my

vision became blurry because of my tears. I immediately ran to my classroom door, knocked on

it repeatedly, and was reluctantly allowed in by my teacher. I ran to my desk, buried my head in

my hands and sobbed out loud. My teacher asked what happened, and I don't know how she

understood me through my heaving and broken words but she understood that some boys said

some mean things to me. Once the bell rang, the teacher talked to the boys who then revealed

what they had said. The leader of the cool kids apologized, and all was seemingly good. Except it

wasn't. Being an empathetic person, I just couldn't understand why people would be so mean

and even contemplated the idea that I needed to change myself so that I could become cool too. I

can't say that I have fully recovered from that event. After talking to my friends and family, I

decided that children being mean to me at that age was going to be a reality that wasn't going to change anytime soon. So rather than succumbing to the pressure of "knowing my place" on the social rung among my elementary school peers, I decided to try my best to just be me and not care about what others thought. It was tough doing this and I wasn't very successful at it. However, just knowing that I didn't have to be mean to be a guy, and that I didn't have to hurt someone and still be considered a man was good enough for me. I could be a man, be nice, and help others even if it meant being put down and shamed by those who were higher up on the social ladder in school. It took a toll on my confidence, but with a great support network at home and with my friends at school, I was able to make my time at school a little more bearable.

Rishi Endures Cultural and Family Pressures

My dad is a first generation immigrant. I would label his as a typical, traditional Punjabi dad. He really wanted at least one of his three sons to become a superstar sports athlete because he saw it as being prestigious for the family name. Another major reason for this ambition was that he's been pretty skinny for most of his life, and growing up he was bullied a lot about his weight. It may sound extreme but there aren't many things looked at worse than a skinny man in Punjabi culture. My dad didn't want his kids to suffer the same way he did, especially knowing how judgmental the Punjabi society can be. One day at a family get-together, someone suggested to my dad that he put my younger brothers in wrestling. My brothers were around 11 years old at the time. My dad then began to think that wrestling could be the perfect way for them to become big, strong, and potentially become national competitors in the sport. I think my dad figured I was too old to fit that Tiger Woods sports prodigy story so he kept his attention focused on my younger brothers. Wrestling could be a road to both prestige and physical strength, arguably the two most important factors in the assessment of the worth of a Punjabi man. It's still bizarre to

think about how such a toughness and aggression factors into this worth. It doesn't seem very logical.

After my brothers started wrestling, their training quickly became very rigorous and intense. My dad kept increasing the days and hours they would spend at practice. This was problematic considering my brothers didn't actually like wrestling. They were much passionate about computers and video gaming. Growing up I had also preferred hobbies like reading, playing video games, trying new computer software, and tinkering with computer hardware. Consequently, throughout the entirety of my brothers' time in wrestling, I was constantly blamed by my parents (mostly my dad), other family members, friends, and members of my brothers' wrestling club for my brothers' hatred for wrestling. This got especially bad during family functions. Occasionally if there was a wrestling tournament near our house we would throw a party after the tournament and invite everyone from the wrestling club. During these parties the other kids and even some adults from the wrestling club would directly blame me for my brothers' desire to quit wrestling. They used to say my brothers want to imitate me and if I was setting a better example (i.e., if I myself was doing wrestling), my brothers would be much better off. I was essentially seen as this weak nerd, who wasn't doing anything of value in life. It was so upsetting to see that I was be blamed for something that simply wasn't true. And it was even more upsetting to see that my brothers weren't able to disclose their true feelings because they were at risked of being shamed themselves.

So wrestling was literally destroying my brothers' lives and here I was, being told that they would love it if I was doing it. Hence I was effectively being told that I was destroying my brothers' lives. This made me feel extremely guilty. I started wondering how things would be different if I was doing wrestling. I started wondering how things would be different if I was

even just physically stronger (since I've been skinny my entire life). A lot of my hobbies and qualities as a person felt undermined. This was very difficult to deal with at times.

During this time my dad had his hands full with my brothers, so I was almost entirely raised by my mom which protected me from the bulk of the damage in regards to the environment my brothers were being placed in. She enrolled me in basketball and swimming because she didn't want me sitting at home all day. She took me to all my basketball games and swimming lessons. There are two big differences between this and my brothers' wrestling situation. The first is that I actually liked basketball and swimming and secondly, perhaps even more importantly, my mom never put any sort of pressure on me to win any gold medals or become some sort of prodigy. With my brothers, my dad was following what he believed was the "Joe Jackson" approach to fatherhood: tough love in childhood and your children will be better off in adulthood. And hopefully they'll be thankful for what you did for them.

By grade 11, my school curriculum had become rigorous enough that it created a sort of separation from family due to the sheer intensity of my schedule. In retrospect, this could have been seen as a psychological shield from the toxicity of my father's teachings. I was in my own little bubble now and it made me safe. I truly do wish it all didn't happen this way, but I'm doing my best to repair the damage that has already been done.

Surinderpal Struggles with Religious and Culture image

When considering how my masculinity has been shaped by my experience as a Punjabi, Sikh male, many instances come to mind. My earliest memory of not being accepted as a man came very early – on my first day of the first grade.

Being a practicing Sikh with unshorn hair, my hair was done in a "joorha" top knot turban on the top my head. On my first day of school, our school teacher was taking us around the school to show us things we might need to know – the office location, the library location, where the custodians can be found, etc. When we arrived at the bathrooms the teacher showed us the both girls and boys bathrooms and encouraged us all to use this time to go to the bathroom before heading back to class. Naturally, the boys entered the boys' bathroom, and the girls entered girls' bathroom. I was at the end of the line of boys in my class. When I entered the bathroom, many of the boys immediately starting yelling at me things like "Ew!" and "Gross!" and demanded that I leave the bathroom. In confusion, I ran out and a few other boys ran out behind me. They ran up to the teacher in the hallway and started pointing at me and saying that this "girl" had entered their bathroom. I was not able to explain myself and was very overwhelmed. I immediately burst into tears and the teacher had to explain to the boys that my hair was a part of my faith and that I was indeed a boy, even though I didn't look like what they understood a boy to look like. These incidences happened a few times and got to the point where I wouldn't go to the bathroom at school anymore. I remember trying desperately not to pee my pants at school, but it happened a few times. My teacher called my parents and told them of my "accidents" and I told them why I wouldn't go to the bathroom. It was extremely embarrassing and have a negative effect on my mental health.

This newly developed insecurity in my masculinity never fully went away. I am always nervous going to change-rooms at public places, such as pools, because I would think the men inside thought I was a girl. I never had the courage to dry my hair at the pool change room until two months ago, at the age of 33. And even then I saw a couple of guys walk in and see someone with long hair using the hair dryer near the entrance, and hesitate, thinking they walked into the

women's change-room. Until they saw my beard, that is. I guess my beard is my new tool to prove my masculinity.

After that unsettling experience in elementary, I was always on my guard every day at school to make sure nobody thought that I was a girl. Some of the go-to insults that I was called included, being "gay," a "bitch," or a "janaani" (a Punjabi word for woman). Body image shaming was a normal occurrence throughout my adolescence. I was regularly called names by cousins and friends, to tease me about my size (since I've always been on the thin side). In the fourth grade, racist remarks were included in the body image shaming. The sad part about this was that kids at my school who were both Punjabi and Non-Punjabi used this against me. I also found that many individuals in my school would associate having smaller physical size with having a small penis. It was a clear attack on one's masculinity.

Being the youngest in my extended family, I often felt that my older cousins went to great lengths to influence my personality. When I was a pre-teen, all of my older male cousins who were in their mid-to-late teens spent an entire afternoon teaching me how to walk so I looked "pimp". To give you some imagery, if involved having your chest out, chin up, and with a subtle strut, all so you could look bigger than you actually were. Furthermore, they had always insisted that I ride in the car with my girl cousins so they could talk openly and listen to whichever music they wanted, but this seemed to be some sort of rite of passage to make me "one of the guys," so to speak. I remember feeling so proud at the moment they told me that I had nailed it, that I had achieved something great when I got their seal of approval. Reflecting on it now, I had to "earn" my place among the men of the family.

Most of my friends have been Punjabi throughout my life, and with that came a specific type of hyper-masculinity that I've always been surrounded by. Until late university, sharing

emotions was always discouraged. So much so that I was even force to censor my own hobbies when talking to friends. For example, I loved watching all types of films and reading all sorts of books, but this is something I would never bring up with my peers as I didn't want to be seen as "weak" or be called a "fag." I would only ever talk about the films we all mutually enjoyed which were usually high-throttle action films, or raunchy comedies.

Things changed in late university as a consequence of my own exploration into my faith: Sikhi. Other practicing Sikhs in my life, whose spiritual journey resonates with mine, have been much more open to sharing and processing feelings than others who I have been friends (whether man or woman). I've noticed as there are heavy emotional components to Sikh scripture in the context of relationship between the Guru and the disciple. As a result, I found that people who have a stronger familiarity with Sikh texts are more receptive to sharing their own feelings. This has been a very big help for me to establish an emotional support system amongst my friends in these circles. On a personal level, Sikh text is what I am most inspired by and gives me the most peace of mind, comfort, and encourages me to practice self-love and self-care.

That is not to say that this community does not perpetuate similar ideas of masculinity as others. In these circles I've still found a heavy emphasis on strength being a manly characteristic, particularly among young Sikh men in their 20s. Many of them still view sharing feelings and experiencing emotions like sadness as a sign of weakness, and they tend to use examples of Sikh warriors from history as justification to repress the sharing of emotion.

For about the last ten years, I have been dealing with mental health issues. Because of my experiences, I still find it difficult to open up to others around me about my issues, including the ones closest to me. Even though I accept that there is nothing wrong with sharing emotions, and

it is healthy for an individual to do so, I still find it very difficult to not just "man up" and deal with it.

Bagga Experiences a Clash of Cultures

There are many things that help shape the person you become as a young male adult. Unfortunately, not all of these experiences are very constructive in an individual's growth and development.

There was a time in high school where it was not "cool" to be the one person that looked different. Looking different and following your beliefs meant you were an outsider. Growing up as one of a few baptized Sikhs had a huge impact on my character and self-esteem. I can recall many instances where I felt less of a man because of the situations I would find myself in. The number of friends I had compared to the other "alpha males" was a huge factor in making me feel like less of a man. Just because of my unpopularity, I felt like I wasn't "popular" or wasn't a "man". Furthermore, I felt that my religion, which I loved, painted a target on my back and put forth the perception that I was undesirable to talk to or spend time with. Having a turban and a bit of awkward facial hair pattern on my cheeks did not help build my self esteem either, as many of my peers used that to pick on me. This really affected the way I perceived myself and also factored into my inability to speak to females. Seeing all the magazines and media representing a "good-looking" man as a Caucasian male with a stylish haircut and chiseled body, made me feel like I was completely the opposite of what society deemed to be the ideal man. I was a brown kid, who tied a turban, and was slightly on the heavier side. My lack of self esteem majorly contributed to the self-conceived notion that I wasn't "man" enough (or vice versa). Clearly, a guy that can't even talk to a girl is a "pussy". Not being able to speak to a girl automatically stigmatized you as being a "fag" or being "gay" among other homophobic slurs. God forbid I

reach out to an adult to ask for help against the bullies who teased me. This would only affirm

their views that I was indeed a "pussy", because I can't fend for myself. It was as if I was in a

Catch 22: whichever direction I took led to misery no matter how I tried to become a better man.

Although having gone through a traumatic teenage-hood, I feel that my strength came

from my religious ties. Having core Sikh beliefs in the teachings of my Gurus helped me cope

with everything and allowed me to persevere and be resilient in my most difficult times. These

teachings along with my family and fellow Sikh peers kept me humble and grounded with reality

which allowed me to ultimately filter past the worldly perceptions of being a man and focus on

being the best human being possible.

Akashroop Reconciles Lessons Learned in Childhood

As a second generation South Asian male, one aspect of the traditional Punjabi culture

that affected my views was my views towards sex. I was brought up in a conservative family and

culture that often disregarded sex completely. I had to learn what I know from school and the

internet. That led me to have certain inaccurate beliefs about what sex is and what a healthy

sexual relationship might look like. My family never really imposed any gender stereotypes on

me but I was expected not to cry or talk about my feelings. Often when I am feeling down or

depressed I tend to bottle my emotions inside instead of dealing with them at the time. I believe

this to be an unhealthy coping mechanism and something that I strive to improve on every day of

my life.

My father would make sure to let my family know that, "the woman belongs under the

man's foot". He truly believed that men and women were not equal. According to him, a man

was higher on the social hierarchy. Household chores such as cleaning, washing dishes,

preparing food, and childcare duties were strictly reserved for my mother as they were menial

tasks. Going to work and earning income for the family, which was primarily my father's responsibility, was much more prestigious in nature. Sometimes I would be infuriated by the remarks that my father would make about gender roles. But I couldn't say anything as it would cause too much tension at home. I was also afraid of sharing my feelings, as that would be culturally unacceptable for a Punjabi boy to do, and would lead to violent behavior from my father. These times in my youth were dark chapters in my life that I do not like to mentally revisit. I considered seeking counseling as a means to heal from traumatic these childhood experiences, but each time try to take action, I am held back by the shame and guilt associated with sharing my feelings.

The unfortunate reality of my upbringing taught me that there was only one way to act as a man and that women were not something to be understood but something to be viewed from afar. Women could be looked at but not touched. This has affected my relationships with the opposite sex greatly. I have only recently begun to shed these ideals that I was brought up with, and am now more easily able to create and maintain relationships with women. I believe that I am not the only member of the Punjabi culture that was brought up this way. I do not blame the Punjabi parents for teaching their children this way though. I understand that it cannot be easy for a set of parents that were born in a conservative country to assimilate easily into a relatively liberal culture like the one found in major Canadian cities (which I find best suits my style). My reflections from experiences in childhood have also ensured that when I have children I will be sure to teach them in a way that does not hide a major facet of society from them, but rather teaches them that both men and women are socially equal and both deserving of the same rights and treatment.

Conclusion

This literature review included a review of traditional masculinity development models, a empirical review of data addressing masculine identity theories, an insight into South Asian culture and immigrants in a Western context, and several case vignettes from first and second South Asian immigrants that describe their upon lived experience with regards to masculinity development. The next chapter will describe how literature review was conducted and how this information will be synthesized and analyzed.

Chapter Three: Methodology

As previously mentioned, the intent of this study was to analyze the relationship between South Asian cultural factors and masculinity development for first and second generation immigrants in Canada. This chapter provides information on how the search for the literature review was conducted. Insight into the logic model being used is also shared. Furthermore, the relationship between the design of the study, research question, and outcomes are explored.

The general method in this thesis is analysis and synthesis. The developmental psychology of masculinity has been documented in the chapters above, as has the cultural context of South Asian masculine development. This chapter will use Creswell's (2014) spiral approach to qualitative data to abstract themes from both the developmental and cultural material, analyze these themes, and then move on to a comparison and synthesis. To show how this process applies to lived experience, these themes of interacting developmental and cultural components will be illustrated using case vignettes.

Literature Review

A literature review was conducted in which the key elements were based on the model that identified, evaluated, and integrated research that is relevant to the research question presented. Bem (1995) states certain principles that form a literature review that I sought to incorporate. Such principles include establishing the extent to which the literature outlines the problem and formulating conceptualizations of past and current theory that addresses the topic. Seeing as this study is qualitative in nature, the focus of the literature review was to organize the current, relevant research into related topics, and then to summarize the literature by pointing out the central issues (Creswell, 2014).

An overview of applicable theories of masculinity and male identity development were summarized. It was crucial to share the history and development of these theories as it gives context to an inherent bias towards an intended demographic of any given theory. It might have been apparent that recent theories of gender development are more oriented towards a feminist approach: a school of thought that is new and is growing in recent times. Next, South Asian culture was explored. Specifically, research that addressed cultural factors that could be a factor in shaping male identity was presented. Literature pertaining to immigration stressors for first and second generation immigrants was also included.

The primary database used for searching literature was the online library search engine for both the University of British Columbia and City University of Seattle. The following is a list of keywords used when searching for literature: "South Asian", "East Indian", "Indo-Canadian", "Punjabi", "Sikh", "Hindu", "Muslim", "culture", "ethnic", "race", "collectivism", "gender role", "ideology", "sex", "masculinity", "hyper-masculinity", "hegemonic", "anti-femininity", "male", "men", "emotion", "emotional behavior", "emotional repression", "crying", "anger", "mental health", "immigrant", "immigration", "stressor", "stigma", "shame", "counseling", "therapy", "violence", "identity", "abuse", "anxiety", "depression", "psychology", "acculturation", "immigration", "immigration stressors", and "social pressure".

The inclusion criteria used was narrowed to journal articles, book, and encyclopedias that were peer reviewed. There was no restriction on the dates of these resources. The search was conducted for resources that were primarily under the disciplines of psychology, anthropology, sociology, education, history, nursing, social sciences, women's studies, religion, and philosophy.

Logic Model and Method

A large part of this study will use the literature review as the primary resource for analysis. The specific analysis used in this study was based on a developmental logic model. Utilizing both Vygotsky's (1978) philosophy of social interaction playing a role in development of self-concept as a whole, and the idea of cultural factors serving as stressors for immigrants (Beiser, 2005), I have attempted to model how the endogenous and exogenous interacts with one another. A cross-examination of traditional theories of masculinity development and psycho-social-cultural consequences for immigrants who are exposed to both Eastern and Western cultural interfaces is the basis of the methodology. In essence, themes in the overlap of development and cultural experience in first and second generation South Asian immigrants in Canada is the engine that produces the results. The following chapter will heavily focus on this model. The theoretical lens I have adopted in this qualitative research is a critical theory approach. The critical theory perspective is an approach that is concerned with empowering people to rise above the constraints that society has placed on them. This usually pertains to race, class, and gender. The analysis will also borrow from a data spiral analysis which will implement a critical analysis followed by clinical synthesis. The data spiral analysis will involve managing and organizing the data, memoing emergent ideas, classifying the data into themes, developing and assessing interpretations by relating the themes to analytic framework in the literature, and reporting the data (Creswell, 1998). I will draw from themes abstracted from the literature review to come up with areas of cognitive and dissonance between the literature, empirical data, and lived experience.

The final chapter of this thesis, discusses the clinical and societal implications of the results. These findings are mainly interpretative and theoretical. I have then given some proposals for the future directions in this field of research. The application of this study to males

who identify with other cultural groups is also explored. The potential of a case-based study that

is grounded from the current study is also considered. Overall, the discussion section revisits the

introduction and the conceptual framework upon which the study was built on in order to provide

some answers the research question.

Chapter Four: Results

The procedure of this results section will involve drawing from themes in the literature review in the second chapter. The analysis and synthesis of themes will examine the relationships that show both coherence and dissonance between the theory, data, and lived experience pieces. The results will show where patterns lie between these three, and where gaps are present. This will help in the critique of the current literature. Furthermore, it will give a better idea of what needs to be addressed when developing a modified theory that appropriately represents findings in the data and lived experience. It will also give way to the development of new research questions to further discover the field of masculinity and culture.

The method used for analysis and synthesis in this chapter will be Creswell's (1998) data spiral approach. This qualitative research design approach involves organizing the data from the literature review, highlighting emergent ideas, using these ideas to draw themes, and reporting these themes through categorical assessment (Creswell, 1998). The process allows for the examination of all of the data, which is divided by cases and then subsequently divided by themes, ultimately leading to the formulation of high level conclusions.

Analysis of Theory

Coherence between Theories

Development.

It is evident that Levinson's (1978) work focuses on men's psychological development after youth. His model of the masculine and feminine polarity is congruent with Bem's Gender Schema theory, Pleck's GRSP, and Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity in that gender concepts are socially constructed, and are a product of learning from those individuals in one's immediate surroundings. In particular, Levinson's belief that masculine or feminine traits are

shared in both male or female genders is shared with Bem's (1981) work as shown in the BSRI.

The difference here being that Bem (1981) has empirically conceptualized this concept through a

tested measure. Hegemonic masculinity asserts that since masculine qualities differ over time

and culture, a male can adopt traits that are perceived as masculine or feminine (Connell, 2005).

A male characterized as hegemonic will carry masculine traits provided that it garners social

capital, thus making hegemony as contextual construct. This idea also refutes the traditional

school of thought that male gender identities are static, and rather can possess different types of

traits across a spectrum. This theme of male and female traits being fluid across genders is a

large area of coherence between these theories.

Both the Gender Schema theory and theory of hegemonic masculinity argue that the

concept of gender is formed at a very early age during childhood (Bem, 1981; Connell, 2005).

Connell (2005) remarks that children become gendered through learning from social situations in

early life, playing with gendered toys, and learning from authority figures. These learned

behaviors during childhood are also found to be heavily correlated with gender identity

formation according to Gender Schema theory (Bem, 1981). Both agree that attention to gender

by authority figures such as adults, lead to children making decisions about their own gender

identity.

Aggression and violence.

Levinson, GRSP, and Hegemonic Masculinity theory all agree that violation of gender

roles leads to negative psychological consequences (Levinson 1978; Pleck, 1995; Connell 2005).

When discussing elements of aggression and violence, these theories come to the consensus that

concern for these elements are crucial for the construction of male's gender identity. Levinson

(1978) finds that men's engagement in physical combat and sport are necessary in order to not

appear submissive or weak (which is perceived as feminine). Similarly, a hegemonic ideal for

males also involves being physically competitive in sport which leads to aggressive and violent

acts (Connell, 2005). These acts are generally accepted as signs of masculinity. GRSP accounts

for aggression being incorporated into a male's gender construct and that it may be bred from a

dysfunctional gender strain (Pleck. 1995). Overall, it appears that these aggressive behaviors lead

to negative psychological outcomes as per each of these theories.

Body image.

Coherence also lies in the importance of body image in masculine identity. Levinson

(1978) find that males highly value a body that looks tough and able to do physically demanding

tasks. A body that appears weak or frail is associated with a undesirable, feminine image.

Connell's (2005) theory also finds that a physical profound, tough body is an seem as an ideal for

men as it shows dominance. On the other hand, the lack of muscularity is seen as a weakness,

also associated with femininity.

Help seeking stigma.

The prominence of the trait, independence, in a traditional masculine identity was found

in both Levinson's work and Gender Schema theory. Levinson found that this sense of

independence guarded from the risk of a man feeling weak or feminine. This could allude to

stigma behind seeking help. Connell (2005) also found that the lack of independent risks

nonconforming to masculine ideals and therefore making a hegemonic male vulnerable.

Although Pleck's GRSP did not directly address help seeking stigma, it suggests that a gender

role strain might induce some type of stigma against help seeking.

Emotional Restrictiveness.

All four theories at hand include the dimension of emotional restrictiveness. Levinson (1978) believes that men who get in touch with their emotional side more than their logical side might perceive themselves as more childlike or feminine. The BSRI outlines the trait of "eager to soothe feelings" as a feminine trait as opposed to a masculine one (Bem, 1974) . Moreover, GRSP adopts the idea that male gender role norms have no space for expression of emotion, and such a behavior causes strain on a man (Pleck, 2005). Finally, Hegemonic Masculinity theory states that suppression of emotions is generally accepted as a male, hegemonic ideal, and is therefore encouraged (Connell, 2005). This dimension shows strong coherence among all of these theories.

Dissonance between Theories

It was found that childhood was the main developmental period of time in Gender Schema theory and Hegemonic Masculinity theory. On the other hand, Levinson's (1978) indicates that significant developmental change for males begins in early adulthood. Such ideals of masculinity appear to be formed through decision making from the age of seventeen onwards. For example, it seems as if risk-seeking behaviors, establishment of stability in life, the making of important life decisions, times of crisis, and other developmental tasks primarily occur in early to late adulthood. Thus Levinson's timeline of development does differ from the other aforementioned theories.

Another area of dissonance found with Levinson's work is the experience of development in men. The frame of reference in which Levinson takes with respect to development is an internal experience and reflection which men undergo. For instance, take how Levinson intricately describes the self-questioning that occurs during a man's midlife crisis. This questioning of the purpose of life, marriage, career, and family all contribute to their identity

formation. This can be contrasted to Gender Schema theory, where it is believed that young

males process the incoming information in their environment, and sort it into a schema (Bem,

1981). The difference seen here is that Levinson's theory addresses a male's questioning and

critical thinking of previously acquired information as a means of development, whereas the

Gender Schema theory takes a more procedural approach to sorting information as it comes to

establish identity. These approaches can be also contrasted to the GRSP. This paradigm explains

how the development of male identity is molded by clash of gender role ideals against the pre-

existing gender-based ideals in a man (Pleck. 1995). The different types of strain that are

experienced by a man as a result of this contributes to his identity formation (usually with

negative consequence). This process differs from both Levinson's and Bem's theories. Finally,

Connell's (2005) Hegemonic Masculinity theory yet again differs from the other theories in that

it asserts male dominance over females being a potential avenue of gender identity development

for males. The need for the demonstration of dominance and leadership over women leads to a

strict set of behaviors and values that men exhibit. Such values are internalized to make up their

gender identities. The literature suggests that each of these theories are unique in their respective

approaches on identity formation.

Summary

A main point of theoretical consensus is that all four theories agree that gender identity is

developed on the basis of social construction. The Gender Schema theory and hegemonic theory

of masculinity both share the viewpoint that this construction primarily occurs in early childhood.

GRSP, Levinson's theory, and hegemonic masculinity principles all assert that aggression and

violence play a role in the development of male identity and this could be a product of violations

of gender norms. Connell (2005) and Levinson (1978) both find that a weak or frail body image

is seen as undesirable by males. All four theories suggest that there is coherence between masculine identity, a tendency to have a help seeking stigma, and to be emotionally restrictive. The primary form of dissonance among these theories is the frame in which development is seen to take place. Each theory posits a different manner in which males sort pertinent information from life experiences to establish their gender-based identities. Levinson's theory is the only one that does not put emphasis on development occurring in earlier stages of life. Both dimensions of coherence and dissonance will be discussed in the following sections.

Analysis of Data

The study by Wong et al (2010) showed that majority of studies conducted in *Psychology of Men & Masculinities* were of young white male adults. Levinson's (1978) work was anchored on research conducted with a white male population who were older adults. Although the work of Bem (1981) and Connell (2005) primarily states development occurring in childhood, the theories have little to say about race and ethnicity. Pleck's (1995) work also finds itself unspecified to any particular race and ethnicity. Therefore, the results show dissonance between theory and data in areas of applicability to South Asian ethnicity males. However perspectives on identity formation theories were shown to be largely based on social constructionism (Wong et al., 2010). This is congruent with all four theories who adopt the same theoretical perspective.

The meta-analysis conducted by Wong et al (2017) was found to be most congruent with the GRSP as both indicate emotion restrictiveness (or emotional control) as predictors for negative mental health outcomes. GRSP suggests dysfunctional strain to be the cause of the negative outcomes, and the meta-analysis provides empirical evidence to back this finding (Pleck, 1995). The study also validates the finding that exerting dominance or power over women leads

to negative mental health outcomes for men. Connell's (2005) theory also states that this concept of dominance of men could lead to such outcomes.

Data from Donnelly and Twenge's (2016) meta-analysis study shows that masculinity norm scores BSRI (with respect to social roles) did not significantly differ from 1974 to 2012. This finding could suggest that the four theories being examined still hold true with respect to their definitions of gender role norms and how identity is developed based on these norms. A review study by Twenge (2001) indicates that women's measures of assertiveness and dominance showed significant change in the twentieth century. These changes were shown to be correlated with changes in societal norms. Studies that show a cause and effect between problems with masculinity and the relationship between social psychology and intrapersonal behavior has yet to be shown in the current literature.

Analysis of Lived Experience

Gurpreet Navigates through Bullying and Harassment

Gurpreet describes his experience with fellow South Asian peers at school, and how he has been subjected to harassment. He also expressed that he was under scrutiny from these peers regarding his appearance and how he carried himself. Later, he mentions that this caused him to get into altercations with these peers after his efforts to assimilate with the group failed. This route of action is congruent with the decision making process that occurs in early adulthood (1978). The choice to keep or abandon these relationships in order to consolidate adult, gender identity might be the process Gurpreet was going through at this phase in his life. Furthermore, Gurpreet's determination to be "stronger and stronger" might suggest reasons behind efforts to fight (an act of aggression of violence), as stated in Levinson's (1978) theory.

We also see elements of gender role strain the GSRP that could be in play. For instance, his questioning of not being able to physically match the strength of his peers, or feeling judged for being able to express his motion, may be describing a dysfunctional or trauma strain (Pleck, 1995). The violation of a gender role is observed here. By choosing to not be emotionally restrictive, Gurpreet becomes subject to a negative psychological outcome or perhaps even social condemnation. In this sense, his thought and actions are congruent with what is asserted by GRSP. This also agrees with the data from Wong et al (2017) in that Gurpreet's attempts to adhere to masculine norms were met with negative mental health outcomes.

The fact that Gurpreet's fellow South Asian peers were both bullying and showing a racist attitude towards him are consistent with Westermeyer's (1989) findings that some ethnic groups tend to be racist towards members of their own ethnicity. However, there does not seem to be a clear reason as to why this is the case in Gurpreet's situation.

Sikander Deals with Social Pressure

At an early age, Sikander seems to express the social pressures around him from other families that set the standard of the roles of males and females in his society. In this sense, he may have been sex-typed at an early age through these experience as per the Gender Schema theory (Bem, 1981). It is possible that Sikander was learning to sort information that he processed into judgments about whether behaviors were supposed to be masculine or feminine. The authority figures around him (i.e. his parents or parents of other children) seem to have set rules about what boys should be doing and what girls should be doing. Rules such as, "girls weren't allowed to go out late because they weren't considered strong enough to fight", or boys being expected to do most labor jobs as they were deemed to be fit, are examples that illustrate how the intake of this information may have caused sex-typing. Sikander states that, "my

masculinity was defined by what he understood: I should be different than girls because that is 'normal'." This could imply that the things he was taught was inherently masculinized or feminized before he could make that judgment on his own. This would reinforce the ideas presented in the Gender Schema theory.

The effects of Sikander's sex-typing could suggest that he was afraid of violating gender norms as he expresses that he was hesitant to engage in activities he perceived as feminine. Furthermore, he goes on to say that this convinces him to continue to make efforts to act masculine and avoid anything that might seem feminine. There is a consistency here with one principle of the GRSP which states that those who imagine violating gender roles may over-conform to them (Pleck, 1995).

Being a first generation immigrant, Sikander's feeling of unsettlement due to experiencing gender stereotyping reinforcement in school could have caused acculturative stress as suggested by Murphy (1973). However, there could be a disconnect with the literature here as values and beliefs that Sikander is taught in his homeland are in fact shared with the new culture that surrounds him. The literature presented does not account for the effects or presence of acculturative stress in this particular scenario. Dhillon and Ubhi's (2003) research about South Asian cultural ideals favoring boys and giving them roles as protectors are also present in Sikander's experience.

Kuldeep Battles with his Insecurities

Kuldeep's views of how a man should look and behave seems to be shaped early on in his life by authority figures who greatly influenced him. Such figures included his father, entertainers on television, and other Sikh male role models. His experience suggests that these

figures fueled or even pressured him to adopt a body image and mentality that was hyper-masculine. It is possible that the distinction Kuldeep makes between gender roles is learned from these authority figures as per Levant's (1996) findings. These learned behaviors and dominant actions such as fighting with his friends at an early age are also consistent with Connell's (2005) philosophy of hegemonic masculinity development. Connell (2005) states that such acts of aggression and violence such as fighting with other males can stem from a male's perception that the body is a weapon. His desire for a muscular body image is also congruent with ideals within the principles of hegemonic masculinity.

Additionally, Kuldeep reports stopping himself from disengaging in a risky behavior (i.e. fighting with a friend) and seeking any sort of help because he fears that he will pay the price of being embarrassed. It appears that he avoids seeking help out of fear of violating a gender norm. This could be explained by Connell's (2005) theory that men feel more vulnerable to seek help as it risks nonconformity with hegemonic masculine ideals. In order to prevent himself from getting into such an undesirable situation again, he makes an effort to gain more muscle. This could allude to the over-conforming of a gender role norm out of fear of violation as explained by the GRSP (Pleck. 1995). This also reinforces English's (2017) finding that muscularity is seen as a masculine ideal and physical frailty is seen as undesirable.

Kuldeep finds himself emotionally restrictive at one point in life as he admits to not feeling good about expressing his vulnerabilities due to the nature of his upbringing. Levinson (1978) advocates that to truly be "manly", some men are not permitted to express their feelings around grief, intimacy, and vulnerability (especially because it is regarded as too feminine or childish). This is consistent with Kuldeep's experience. Furthermore, Kupers' (2005) research

shows that anger is an emotion that is predominant over all other emotions for males with hegemonic ideals. This aligns with Kuldeep's experience that expresses similar sentiments.

Bikky's Troubling Experience in Elementary School

Bikky's experience is unique in that rather than commenting about his gender identity development from the influence of authority figures, it speaks to how it was affected by other young boys in elementary school. His story might be suggesting that some of his peers were displaying aggressive, hegemonic masculinity ideals. Bikky describes being victimized by "cool" kids in his grade, which is in line with the idea that aggressive youth hold high positions in social hierarchies similar to being "cool" or popular at school (Connell, 2005). In addition to this, Bikky narrates how his innate, empathetic nature is the reason behind why he was bullied. McGuffey and Shawn (1999) explain that some children who are perceived to be at a high status on the social hierarchy may tease, isolate, or exert physical aggression against those children who engage in behavior of the opposite gender. There seems to be coherence between this finding and Bikky's experience. His reaction to being shamed may have caused a gender role strain as he reports a loss of confidence as a result of the traumatic events. While his violation of a gender norm might have led to social condemnation as per GRSP (Pleck, 1995), the choice of ignoring conformation to masculine gender norms is not specifically explained by any theory presented here.

Rishi Endures Cultural and Family Pressures

Rishi has outlined how his father's teachings and behaviors served as a potential means of sex-typing for him at an early age. His father's apparent inclination towards having his sons not being skinny, but rather muscular in size, is a South Asian ideal that he carried onwards from

his homeland. The tendency for first generation immigrants to retain their cultural beliefs and values after immigrating is evident in the literature (Aycan & Kanungo, 1998). The standards of masculine body image that Rishi's brothers were expected to meet were set by an authority figure, which is congruent with Gender Schema theory and Hegemonic Masculinity theory (Bem 1981; Connell, 2005). Moreover, his father's masculine ideals agree with Levinson's (1978) philosophy of a man seeking "bodily prowess of toughness". This image may be representative of the body of a wrestler (which coincidentally aligns with Rishi's father's wishes for his sons) and shows no signs of weakness or frailty.

The blame put on Rishi for not modeling a masculine stereotype for his brothers could possibly be an indirect form of gender norm violation that might have caused a gender role strain. Shergill (1992) notes that intergenerational conflict can be caused by a second generation member choosing to adopt Canadian values over the traditional, homeland values that the first generation members have adopted. This could partly explain the conflict between Rishi and his father, but it does not provide an explanation for conflict caused by Rishi's avoidance of adhering to masculine ideals (which may be similar in both Canadian and South Asian cultures). Furthermore, avoidance occurs as a result of the strain endured by Rishi by not adhering to these norms. This is not directly stated in the GRSP as a behavioral reaction to not conforming to masculine ideals.

Surinderpal Struggles with Religious and Culture Image

Surinderpal's struggles seem to stem from issues of his body image and how the difference between Canadian ideals and South Asian ideals cause him discomfort. The contrast between keeping unshorn hair as a Sikh and the belief that keeping unshorn hair is feminine in a Western context leads to Surinderpal experiencing distress. Although he may be conforming to a

gender norm in the South Asian culture, he is violating a gender norm in Canadian culture which appears to be the likely cause of a gender role (trauma) strain (Pleck, 1995). The mention of his insecurity about his body image, and the fact that it is still present at the age of 33, may allude to behaviors that stem from Levinson's (1978) "Age thirty transition". This period of a man's life involves some crisis as one's desires change due to dissatisfaction with life structure.

Later on, Surinderpal describes being a victim of racism due to body image by both members of different ethnicities and his own ethnicity. Westermeyer (1989) indicates that such actions may lead to negative mental and physical health consequences which is consistent with Surinderpal's experience. Pumariega, Rothe, and Pumariega (2005) report that such inter-ethnicity based racism stems from job security and access to resources being threatened. However, the findings do not comment on negative attitudes towards individuals on the basis of masculinity identity or image.

It is evident that the troubles he experiences with being unable to express his emotions and interests come from the fact that they might be perceived as feminine. The risk of being teased by his peers might also elicit trauma strain which could then lead to negative psychological consequences (Levant, 2011). Studies by both Connell (2005) and Levinson (1978) have shown that traditional masculine ideals include an element of being emotionally restrictive which parallels Surinderpal's experience. The coping strategy he states that helped him overcome the mental distress involve a commitment to his religious practice.

Bagga Experiences a Clash of Cultures

The struggle between conforming to Western values over South Asian values is a large theme in Bagga's experience. He mentions that his choice to be a baptized Sikh caused him

stress as it was an undesirable body image to keep in a Western society. It looks as if Bagga's

social support was limited as an immigrant who was unable to adapt to the norms set by his

surrounding culture due to his religious affiliation. Dosanjh and Ghuman (1997) report that a

weak religious identity denies one's social support. The contrary is found here as a religiously

committed Bagga finds himself unable to access support from the Western society around him.

The body image he possesses (dark-skinned with a turban with facial hair) goes against

the Canadian cultural norms of being perceived as an attractive male (white-skinned

with trimmed hair). While the image he had adopted may have been viewed as "manly" in the

South Asian cultural, it appears that the opposite image is viewed as "manly" in the culture that

surrounds him. This could show a potential means of acculturative stress (Murphy, 1973).

Additionally, the "target on his back" due to his religious apparel may be hinting to the fear of

being a victim of racism (Crocker et al., 1998).

The masculine ideal of being able to speak to girls causes Bagga to be bullied. He also

expresses that he would feel ashamed or be seen as weak if he had to make an effort to seek help

from an adult. This is aligned with Connell's (2005) thoughts of avoiding help-seeking attitudes

as it risks not conforming with hegemonic masculine ideals. He notes that a reliance on religious

faiths helps him in his healing process from the distress he has experienced with toxic

masculinity.

Akashroop Reconciles Lessons Learned in Childhood

The dominance of women and hegemonic masculinity comes to mind when thinking of

Akashroop's upbringing. His father's perception of a woman "belonging under a man's foot"

presents the idea of dominance, similar to Connell's (2005) theory. The fact that these lessons

were taught to Akashroop as a young boy reinforces the development process as being that of learned, hegemonic ideals. It also speaks to how he might have created a gender schema that had him associate certain feminine duties or traits as inferior to that of a man's roles and traits (Bem, 1981). The fear of emotional expression and seeking professional help in the form of counseling speaks to both trauma strain (in violating gender norms) and help-seeking stigma that may have developed in his youth (Pleck, 1995).

The conservatism about sex shown by Akashroop's parents illustrates the stark difference between cultural values from a traditional South Asian background and the Canadian, Western values. He seems to choose the route of assimilation as an acculturative attitude when he implies that assimilating into Canadian culture suits his style better (Berry et al., 1989). If we were to assume he was sex-typed as masculine, given his experiences with his father at an early age, Shergill's (1992) finding would expect him to adopt an acculturative attitude of marginalization. This is inconsistent with the attitude of assimilate that he appears to have adopted.

Chapter Five: Discussion

The aim of this thesis has been to explore the relationship between culture and the development of masculinity. Specifically, it investigated how first and second generation South Asian, Canadian immigrant's masculine identity is shaped and developed when influenced by both Canadian and South Asian cultures. Moreover, this thesis sought insight about specific time periods of development, the process of change and identity formation, the immigration stressors that occur in the process of migration, and the negative psycho-social outcomes that may arise during these transitions and phases of development.

It was found that the social context and culture contributes to the construction of gender-based identity (Smiler, 2004). Therefore, four gender-based identity development theories that ground themselves in social constructionism were analyzed: Levinson's (1978) "Seasons of a Man's Life", Gender Schema theory (Bem, 1981), GRSP (Pleck, 1995), and the concept of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995). Each theory was analyzed under the scope of four dimensions: aggression and violence, body image, help-seeking stigma, and emotional restrictiveness. Several different content analyses and meta-review studies provided empirical data about men's masculinity development, masculine traits, and negative psycho-social outcomes of masculine behaviors. Furthermore, research on South Asian culture, stereotypes, and family dynamics were presented. The need for this information was highlighted due to the significant, rising immigrant South Asian population residing in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2016b). Immigration stressors in Western context relating to the struggles of acculturation was also reviewed. In particular, the manners in which immigrants experience acculturative stress and how this affects their identity formation was explored. Finally, an amalgam of lived experience of South Asian first and second generation immigrants were shared. Using a data analysis spiral

approach, the theories, empirical data, and lived experienced were studied in a effort to discover

relevant themes. The major findings of this analysis will be further discussed in the following

section.

Key Findings

Stages of Development in Life

One theme among all four theories that occurred was the basis of social interaction and

experience as a means to sort, organize, and mold gender identity. This finding could suggest

that social factors and one's surrounding environment require close attention when studying

culture-based gender identity development. The analysis also showed support for the fact that

major developmental changes occur for individuals in different time frames of their life. This

was illustrated by the finding that Gender Schema theory and hegemonic masculine ideals were

shown to implement changes in gender identities in childhood and youth, while Levinson's

theory found changes to occur in early adulthood and onwards. This dissonance between theories

might imply that the relationship one has between their family, peers at school, co-worker,

figures of authority, and others that are significantly involved in one's life have an impact on

their gender identity at separate stages of life. Therefore, in order to better understand cultural

dynamics, deeper insight may be achieved through the examination of close relationships

through all periods of life. This could also mean that a particular time frame in a male's life

should not be neglected if a true understanding of their masculine identity development is desired.

Furthermore, this could be extrapolated to suggest that identity development does not become

fixed at a certain point in one's life. Some important or traumatic experiences in life could

heavily shape the way a male might perceive their own gender identity, but it might be malleable

as result of later experiences in life. This idea would need to be more researched in order to conclusively determine whether identity formation is as fluid as suggested here.

Aggression and Violence

The dimension of aggression and violence was a prominent theme discovered in all theories, the empirical data, and lived experience. This commonality lends support to the idea that acts of aggression and violence can be developed through socials contexts and incorporated into a male's identity. This in turn may result in negative psycho-social outcomes which can affect a male's mental health. Take Gurpreet, Kuldeep, or Bikky's experiences of hardship in their upbringings. Each of these males were either victims of aggressive and violent acts or pressured into being perpetrators of such acts. The result of each implied shaping of the masculinity that yielded some form of negative psycho-social outcome. Since males might be thinking that they are frail or weak by not engaging in physical competitiveness and combat, this might encourage negative behaviors that are a detriment to their health and others around them. Is this cultural expectation (that is set by both South Asian culture and Western culture) leading to a perpetual cycle of aggression and violence among males? If such an expectation is set as a standard for young boys, it is possible that boys either continue to carry a poor image of themselves for not meeting the expectation, or they persist to exhibit toxic behaviors throughout their lives making them a threat to other males and members of society at large. It also begs the question of whether young boys can be taught that disengaging from aggressive and violent behaviors can be perceived as strength and not a weakness.

Help Seeking Stigma and Emotional Restrictiveness.

Coherence of help-seeking stigma and emotional restrictiveness was also observed in all four theories. These elements were also found to be present in the lived experience portion. The

empirical data shows evidence for emotional restrictiveness being a determinant for negative health outcomes. One suggestion as to why both of these dimensions may be present during male identity development is the shame or fear of not meeting a culture expectation. Connell (2005) notes that social condemnation is a potential outcome of not conforming to gender stereotypes set by surrounding cultures. The fear of being a social outcast could contribute to a young male's reluctance towards asking help, as the act of asking might also imply that there was an inability to overcome a perceived weakness. This in turn could lead to further shaming. This could similarly suggest reasons behind the presence of emotional restrictiveness. If revealing emotions (especially emotions that make one vulnerable such as sadness) leads to being disliked by peers or others who have set this gender stereotype, this could further discourage a male to display such emotions again. These two dimensions may also be interconnected in the sense that an emotion expressing a negative feeling may need to be articulated as a reason to seek help. Therefore, if one is not permitted to express such an emotion to begin with due to social pressures, it will put a halt to the process of help seeking. However, this hypothesis would need further research to establish validity.

Ethnicity and Race as Factors for Identity Development

The analysis performed found dissonance between theory, data, and lived experienced with respect to ethnicity and race considerations. All four theories seem to focus on developmental frameworks that embed themselves in Western contexts. The content analysis of Wong et al (2010) also show that majority of studies pertinent to men and masculinities predominantly use white males as participants. The lived experience section of this thesis exclusively gives examples of situations experienced by South Asian males. The disparity here between race and ethnicity may explain the lack of extensive research that focuses on South

Asian masculinity development in the current literature. Such a finding implores the need for diverse research that can aid in identifying differences across Western and South Asian culture. This dissonance also does not help explain why certain South Asian cultural values and beliefs might contribute to or discourage gender stereotypes that influence masculine identity development.

Clash of Cultural Values and Identity Development

A recurrent theme in the lived experience of the South Asian males was how the upbringing of South Asian beliefs and values clashed with the Western culture that surrounded them. This phenomenon was namely present in Surinderpal's and Bagga's experience. The stressors of adopting both cultural values at home (with the family) and outside with the rest of the world seemed to disrupt the process of identity formation. This becomes apparent especially when dealing with body image. Surinderpal struggles with having to balance what is considered a masculine image of keeping long hair and a beard in a South Asian culture context, with Western, masculine image ideal that is near the opposite. While doing so, he endures negative psychological consequences that rupture the process of masculine identity development. Bagga also shares this experience as he fears racism when choosing to stick by his South Asian masculine ideals.

The findings in this study show evidence to support that some hardship is endured when trying to balance two different culture experiences at the same time. This acculturative stress may speak to a larger theme when studying the processes behind masculinity development for South Asian immigrants, which is the sense of belonging and acceptance. Many of the stories in the lived experience section involve either conforming or not conforming to gender stereotypes that lead to a potential cost of not being accepted by the people around you. That cost could be

being accepted by the people around you. Making certain choices when developing masculine

identity could be driven by fear of not belonging to a group. This especially aligns with the

collectivist attitudes that South Asians embody. If the norm for a South Asian male is to belong

to a certain group, and not adapting to masculine ideals is hindrance to this belonging, this might

be a plausible reason as to why South Asian males choose this route. When South Asian male

immigrants are introduced to a novel, Western environment, the struggle to fit in with people in

the new environment may arise. At the same time, the struggle to maintain the original ties to

their family and other who accept traditional South Asian masculine norms is also present. This

dichotomy may cause a pull in opposite direction for South Asian males who end up leaning

towards one side of the spectrum and suffering the social costs of not choosing the other end of

the spectrum. This theory is congruent with Dhillon and Ubhi (2003), who assert that a

negotiation of culture identity breeds confusion, anger, and loss. Could the same be applicable

for negotiation of masculine identity ideals? This key finding warrants further study on the

relationship between clashes with culture and male identity development.

Future Directions

This thesis scratches the surface in exploring the relationship between South Asian

culture and the development of masculinity in males The analysis and findings suggest that there

are opportunities for more research to further expand on the outcomes found in this study. It has

been established that the methods in this study are cross-sectional, and that masculine identity is

a developmental process that interacts strongly with culture. Furthermore, it has been

acknowledged that there is a scarcity in research that addresses South Asian cultures, values,

beliefs, and particularly with the South Asian male demographic. A direction that future studies

could undertake are focused case studies on South Asian males to better understand their

experiences throughout gender-based identity development. The amalgams presented in this thesis are merely insights to general experiences the author has compiled over time. They do not fully represent the whole South Asian, immigrant male demographic. An extensive analysis on the life experiences of this population can help narrow down the struggles endured through acculturation. This also allows for more research to be conducted on South Asian masculine gender norms. It also permits the development of a modified theory that accounts pieces which may be lacking in traditional theories of masculinity, such as the experience of immigrants and other of different ethnicities.

The clinical implications of the findings of this thesis and the possible findings of future, related studies could shed light on stigma and barriers to accessing counseling services for this demographic. An insight to the challenges that South Asian immigrant males face when trying to seek social assistance can greatly aid in their struggles with developmental processes, harmful coping strategies (such as substance use), and other mental health issues. Additionally, research in this area could provide useful, cultural information to all counselors, making them more culturally competent in their practice.

Historically, culture has been a relatively stable ingredient in that individuals would typically identify with one two cultural groups. Currently, given the advancement in cultural studies and awareness, individuals have begun to identify with more subcultures, which go beyond identification belonging to only ethnicity and location. We see subcultures such as sexual orientation, gender, age, socioeconomic status, and even hobbies that many believe is a part of their core identity. These nuanced identities have expanded the limits of the definition of the term, "multiculturalism" which was commonly only referred to as cultures based on ethnicity and geographical places of origin. Given the variety of cultures one might identify with

in the day and age, and the cultural clash one might experience from different types of cultures, generations are more likely to run into incompatible narratives. Thus, multiple in-depth, case-based studies could be a solution to addressing the needs for those who might experience an incapability when negotiating their cultural identity. An analysis that uses traditional models that have already been firmly established in literature, empirical data, and lived experience can be used to come up with a modified theory that accounts for the missing links of demographics that have yet to be examined.

Concluding Remarks

My personal interest and attachment to my native community of South Asian first and second generation immigrants fueled the passion for conducting this study. In the process of researching, I discovered how little this demographic has been researched and the need for more studies to include diverse populations. The traditional models of masculinity that were dissected in this study were found to contain valuable information about how one goes about developing their gender identity throughout the span of their life. However, I do feel that there is much more opportunity going forward for research to include factors that are not currently addressed by these models, such as cultural factors that might also equally contribute to identity development. The lived experience gathered in this thesis speaks to high volume of negative psychological consequences that South Asian males experience in their lives. I firmly believe that a push for social justice and awareness of these issues will help inform academic scholars and professionals about the help that can be given not only to this specific population, but all culturally diverse communities around the world.

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