Masculinity: An examination of machismo, feminist identity, sexism and attitudes toward lesbians and gay men.

Texas A&M University – Corpus Christi
Project of Excellence TAMU-CC Honors Program
Abstract
This research study examines the relationship between multiple identities, specifically machismo and feminist identity, and how these might correlate with sexism and men’s attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. For the purpose of this study, men who were 18 years of age or older at the time of the study were recruited through Texas A&M University- Corpus Christi system and Facebook to participate in the online survey. Most of the participants were White or Hispanic/Latino, and in their early 20’s. The attitudes toward lesbians and gay men scale, machismo measure, feminist perspective scale and the willingness to intervene in situations of everyday sexism measure were used to assess participants identity and their attitudes. Contrary to our hypothesis, the results showed that there was a positive correlation between caballerismo and negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, no correlation between caballerismo and feminist identity, or between caballerismo and a willingness to intervene in situations of everyday sexism. Consistent with previous research and our original hypothesis, there was a positive correlation between traditional machismo and negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, and no correlation between traditional machismo and feminist identity.

Keywords: machismo, caballerismo, feminist identity, attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, sexism
The present study contributes to the body of literature on gender identities, specifically masculine identity. Although, identity research has had a history of reproducing traditional gender stereotypes along various dichotomies such as “man of reason vs. the emotional woman”, or “dominant vs. submissive,” others have urged us to think beyond such dualisms, instead to think of gender as more nuanced (Fausto-Sterling, 2000). Furthermore, research suggests that people have become more accepting of differences from the out-group (Loftus, 2001). These changing attitudes are not simply generational, rather they are the result of changing beliefs toward individuals of the out-group. However, such a change in attitudes is not documented in the research on attitudes toward lesbians and gay men in particular (Loftus, 2001).

Literature continues to suggest that men are more likely to have negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men (Brown, Clarke, Gortmaker, Robinson-Keilig, 2004; Castillo, Muscarella, & Szuchman 2011; Cardenas, Barrientos, & Gomez, 2018; LaMar & Kite, 2010; Ratcliff, Lassiter, Markman, & Snyder 2006; Roper & Halloran, 2007; Hirai, 2017), however there is not much research that addresses the attitudes of men who identify as feminists or potential differences between men who endorse machismo vs. caballerismo identities. The purpose of this study is to address the gap in the literature about men’s identity and their attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, through the process of identifying the relationship between machismo, feminist identity and sexism. Previous research has found that feminist identity is positively correlated with positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men (Ferguson, 2007; Worthen, 2012) and that traditional machismo is negatively correlated with positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men or homosexuality in comparison to women (Brown et al., 2004; Castillo et al., 2011; Cardenas et al., 2018; LaMar & Kite, 2010; Ratcliff et al., 2006 & Hirai, 2017).
Men are viewed more negatively when not conforming to traditional masculine roles (LaMar & Kite, 2010; Hurtado & Sinha, 2008; Ratcliff et al., 2006; Hurtado & Sinha, 2016; Saez, Casado, & Wade, 2009 & Hirai, 2017). Machismo is associated with a lack of awareness and understanding of one’s emotions, being physically strong, active, independent and having a great deal of sexual experience, and is less associated with other-group orientation (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank & Tracey, 2008; Cardenas, Barrientos, Gomes & Frias-Navarro, 2012). Traditional gender role expectations, such as machismo, are more commonly associated with negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men and these expectations tend to push men away from identifying as feminist as this might undermine their dominant position as men (Cardenas et al., 2012; Hurtado & Sinha, 2008).

However, literature on male identity has recently suggested a more nuanced perspective on machismo (Estrada & Arciniega, 2014; Ferrai, 2015). A less traditional form of machismo, better known as caballerismo, which is often associated with a sense of belonging, emotional connectedness, problem-solving coping skills, nurturing, an increase in psychological well-being, and greater other-group orientation (Estrada & Arciniega, 2014; Arciniega, et al., 2008) along with being engaged, affectionate, compassionate and having a willingness to aid men and women in need (Ferrai, 2015). This prosocial form of masculinity seems to be similar to feminist identity in that they are both collectivistic in helping others and are tied to this sense of emotionality (Gilligan, 1982).

Research has shown that traditional machismo is negatively correlated with positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men (Brown et al., 2004; Castillo et al., 2011; Cardenas et al., 2018; LaMar & Kite, 2010; Ratcliff et al., 2006; Roper & Halloran, 2007; Hirai, 2017) and that men typically try to stay away from identifying as feminist as it might undermine their position.
as men (Cardenas et al., 2012; Hurtado & Sinha, 2008. Additionally, caballerismo seems to be a more prosocial form of machismo (Estrada & Arciniega, 2014; Ferrai, 2015) that has similar features as feminist identity (Estrada & Arciniega, 2014; Arciniega et al., 2015; Ferrai, 2015) including a willingness to help both men and women in need (Ferrai, 2015). Given these findings, we hypothesized that:

1) Machismo would be negatively correlated with feminism and positively correlated with negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men.

2) Caballerismo would be positively correlated with feminism and negatively correlated with negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men.

3) Men identifying as feminist would be more willing to intervene in everyday sexist events, both hostile and benevolent.

Methodology

Participants

Participants (N=79) in this study are self-identifying males who were at least 18 years of age or older at the time of the study (ages range from 18-57 years). No limitations were placed on individuals who were biologically female but self-identified as a man, the question simply asked if the participant identified as a man, if so, they were eligible to continue the survey. Students from Texas A&M University - Corpus Christi (TAMUCC) were recruited in three ways: 1) physical flyers with a scannable QR code were posted on bulletin boards across campus; 2) faculty members who agreed to help recruit their students from the psychology, sociology and social work programs shared the research study information via Blackboard and by in-person class announcements; 3) upon approval from the TAMUCC Honors program coordinator, the digital materials, specifically a digital flyer and information sheet were shared
on the student/faculty listserv. To recruit non-students, a digital flyer and a brief script containing necessary information regarding participation in the study were posted on university approved Facebook pages.

Measures

Demographic questionnaire. The demographic questionnaire contains questions about the participants age, enrollment at TAMUCC, highest level of education (at the time of the study), involvement in extracurricular activities, political affiliation, religious preference, ethnicity and sexual orientation. (See Appendix A).

Along with a brief demographic questionnaire, four questionnaires were administered to all participants: 1) The Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men scale (ATLG), 2) Machismo Measure, 3) The Feminist Perspective scale, and 4) The Willingness to Intervene in Situations of Everyday Sexism Measure. Following the four questionnaires, four open-ended questions were presented. The open-ended questions concerned the participants contact with lesbians and/or gay men, opinions on same-sex marriage, a definition of masculinity and a final question providing an opportunity for the participant to offer any additional comments they had regarding the study.

Attitudes toward lesbian and gay men scale. The ATLG scale contains ten questions divided into two subsections, five statements related to lesbians and five statements related to gay men (Herek, 1984). Participants were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement or disagreement to the statements on a 7-point Likert scale (1= strongly disagree, 7= strongly agree), (see Appendix B). Higher scores on either subsection meant that the respondent has negative attitudes toward individuals of that sexual orientation.

Machismo measure. The machismo measure contains twenty statements. Ten statements were related to machismo and the other ten statements were related to caballerismo. Participants
were asked to respond to each statement by indicating the extent of their agreement or disagreement, using a 7-point Likert scale (1= strongly disagree, 7= strongly agree), (see Appendix C). The machismo measure was developed by Arciniega and colleagues (2008) to assess the behavioral or cognitive aspects of machismo. This measure generates responses that may represent both the caballerismo side of machismo and the traditional version of machismo. Caballerismo is viewed as the less traditional side of machismo and is often associated with emotional connectedness, a sense of belonging, being nurturing, an improved psychological well-being and problem-solving coping skills (Arciniega et al., 2008). Traditional machismo is often associated with individual power, hypermasculinity, and sex-dominance (Arciniega et al., 2008). They tend to be more physically strong, active, independent and have a great deal of sexual experience (Cardenas et al., 2012).

**Feminist perspective scale.** The feminist perspective scale was designed to assess the attitudes toward women using six theoretically derived perspectives; conservative, liberal, radical, socialist, cultural and women of color (Henley, O’Brien, McCarthy, & Sockloskie, 1998). The scale contains a total of seventy statements. Ten of the statements were developed to assess the attitudes toward feminism and the women’s movement, while the other sixty statements were categorized under the 6 feminist perspectives (Henley, et al., 1998). Participants were asked to respond to each statement by indicating the extent of their agreement or disagreement, using a Likert scale (1=Strongly Disagree, 7=Strongly Agree), (see Appendix D). The conservative perspective is considered to be non-feminist as it is often associated with traditional gender arrangements and refers to biology and religion to identify sexuality (Henley et al., 1998). The five other perspectives are more feminist. The radical feminist perspective is one in which men are the original oppressors of women rather than socioeconomic or biological
reasonings (Henley et al., 1998). The socialist feminist perspective has roots in radical feminism, but reflects the belief that sexism, racism and class oppression cannot be separated from one another, instead they should be considered all at once to adequately understand their significance (Henley et al., 1998). The cultural feminist perspective takes into consideration the masculine values that are held by both men and women and urges a transformation to a female-valued society rather than a male dominated one (Henley et al., 1998). The women of color feminist perspective argue that White women have excluded the voices of women of color and their concerns about women’s issues (Henley et al., 1998). The liberal feminist perspective emphasizes liberty and equality for all (Henley et al., 1998).

**Feminist identity.** Men often fail to self-identify as feminist as this may negatively influence not only their position in the feminist movement as being individuals of power due to the cultural gendered roles, but also their position in society (Silver, Chadwick, van Anders, 2018). Silver and colleagues identified a potential relationship between men’s willingness to self-identify as feminist and their masculinity norms (2018). Society has placed men in a certain position in the women’s movement where it can be relatively challenging to self-identify as feminist while also trying to minimize the stigmatization associated with being less powerful or not abiding to the traditional norms of men, (Silver et al., 2018). Silver and colleagues identified a unique ideological position that falls in between a feminist and non-feminist identity, the “uncertain” identity (2018). It is interesting to note the impact the label of an identity could make towards someone’s societal status. Men face the consequences of being labeled with an identity that is associated with the opposite gender. However, Silver and colleagues suggest that men who assume a feminist identity experience less gender role stress and less stress to conform to the norms set in place for men’s status/position in society (2018).
Willingness to intervene in situations of everyday sexism measure. The willingness to intervene in situations of everyday sexism (WILL) was designed to assess the relationship between self-identification of feminist identity and willingness to intervene when encountering an everyday sexist event (Weis, Redford, Zucker & Ratliff, 2018). The WILL contains six items exemplifying hostile or benevolent sexist situations (Weis et al., 2018). Participants were asked to respond to each question by indicating the extent of their agreement or disagreement, using a Likert scale (1=Strongly Disagree, 7=Strongly Agree), (see Appendix E). Weis and colleagues conducted the study only on women and suggested that this measure be used with men (2018). Weis and colleagues suggested that a woman’s willingness to intervene may be influenced directly by her sense of vulnerability rather than indirectly through her self-proclaimed feminist identity (2018).

Results

Analysis of the demographic questionnaire indicate that a large portion of the participants were 19 years old (32.47%), followed by the 20-22-year-old group (29.87%), 18 years old (12.99%), 23-25 years old (7.79%), 30-39 years old (6.49%), 40+ years old (6.49%) and 26-29 years old (3.90%). The age ranged from 18 to 57 years of age, at the time of the study. The student to non-student ratio was quite dramatic with students being the largest portion of participants to the research study at nearly 94%, and non-students being 6%. The responses from students were mainly from first-year students (37.48%), followed by sophomores (32.43%), juniors (14.86%), seniors (12.16%), graduates (1.35%) and others (1.35%). The political affiliations of the respondents ranged from republican and democrat both at 31.65% each, respectively, followed by libertarian (7.59%), independent (18.99%), green (1.27%) and other (8.86%). Ethnicity ranged from mainly White (44.87%) and Hispanic/Latino (37.18%), followed
by respondents who identified as being Black/African American (8.97%), Asian/Pacific Islander (5.13%), Native American (1.28%) and other (2.56%). Most of the participants classified their sexual orientation as being heterosexual (82.05%), followed by participants who identified as being gay (8.97%), bi-sexual (5.13%), other (2.56%) and one participant who preferred not to answer (1.28%). Most of the participants identified their religious preference as being Christian (41.11%), Roman Catholic (23.68%), Muslim (2.63%), Protestant (1.32%) and a large portion of the participants selected other (30.26%) and mainly identified as either Buddhist or Atheist. Most of the participants were 19 years old, first year college students, democrat or republican, mainly White or Hispanic/Latino, heterosexual, and mainly Christian (see tables 1-7 for percentages of each of the demographics). Although most were TAMUCC students, a few who were not students responded to our Facebook post.

A bivariate correlation using a Pearson correlation coefficient was used to analyze the data obtained from our five scales. Results showed that there were no correlations between traditional machismo and caballerismo with feminist identity. Traditional machismo was positively correlated with negative attitudes toward lesbians (r=.383) and gay men (r=.448). Traditional machismo was negatively correlated with hostile sexism (r= -.264), and positively correlated with the conservative perspective (r= .544). Caballerismo was negatively correlated with radical feminism (-.312) and with negative attitudes toward lesbians (r=.231) and gay men (r=.239).

Benevolent (BEV) and hostile (HOST) sexism were positively correlated with all 5 feminist perspectives and the Femscore (average of five feminist perspectives), excluding the conservative perspective; social feminism (BEV, r= .370; HOST, r= .392), cultural feminism
(BEV r=.397; HOST r=.359), radical feminism (BEV r=.381; HOST r=.401) women of color feminism (BEV r=.272; HOST r=.540), liberal feminism (BEV r=.395; HOST, r=.448).

Negative attitudes toward lesbians (r=.540) and gay men (r=.587) were positively correlated with the conservative perspective. Negative attitudes toward lesbians was negatively correlated with liberal feminism (r=-.345), and benevolent sexism (r=-.285). Negative attitudes toward lesbians (r=-.226) and gay men (r=-.295) was negatively correlated with the Femscore. Negative attitudes toward gay men were negatively correlated with social feminism (r=-.235). The Femscore was positively correlated with benevolent sexism (r=.422) and hostile sexism (r=.507), (see Table 8).

Discussion

Consistent with what previous research has shown and with our first hypothesis, traditional machismo was strongly positively correlated with negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, contrary to our hypothesis, however, we found that caballerismo was also positively correlated with negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. This could be that caballerismo is still associated with its culturally grounded gendered roles, and women and men who go against traditional gendered roles are in violation of those roles. Gender role violations are generally viewed more negatively than gender conforming roles, but the persistent dominance of the male gender may lead to a more prejudiced view toward male gender nonconformity. We initially thought that those who identify with caballerismo would be more supportive of lesbians and gay men because of the overlap with feminist identity.

The absence of a correlation between caballerismo and feminist identity was somewhat surprising. We initially believed that this more nuanced version of traditional machismo would be associated with feminist identity since descriptions of caballerismo (e.g. affectionate,
nurturing, compassionate, and having a willingness to aid men and women in need) seem to have some overlap with feminist identity descriptive (e.g. collective with others, and a sense of emotionality). Unfortunately, our results indicated a lack of variance in our sample that included very few feminists. The highest score on the feminist perspective scale on average was about a 5 out of a 7-point Likert scale, this means that not many men agreed with the statements regarding feminist identity. A possibility is that men remain culturally grounded with their masculine identities and refrain from identifying or conforming to non-traditional gendered identities like a feminist identity as it might undermine their positions as men. Another possibility could be the fact that the missing responses might have skewed the results from the feminist perspective scale, especially. We could have in fact had many men who might have identified as feminist if they were to have completed the survey in its entirety, or simply had a population of men who were not feminists at all.

We initially thought that there would be a correlation between caballerismo and WILL because descriptives of caballerismo such as being family-oriented and having a willingness to help women and men in need, could develop an assumption of the correlation. However, the results showed that there was no correlation between caballerismo and WILL, this could be that even though the descriptives seem reasonably similar to how one might respond in a sexist situation, men who identify with the masculine identity, caballerismo might be more likely to aid family members rather than random strangers, which is what is implied in the sexism scenarios (see Appendix E for examples of the scenarios).

For future research, recruiting more than just students could provide a better representation of men, rather than obtaining responses from mainly a student population. Using more social media sites could aid in the recruitment of non-student. For the purpose of this research project, we
used Facebook to recruit our non-student population. Using other social media sites such as Snapchat, Twitter or Instagram could aid in the recruitment process, along with providing an incentive for those men who do not want to complete the survey in its entirety. A suggestion to fix the presentation of the survey could be adding a reminder screen where participants who skipped a certain question could be reminded to return back to it. A limitation to this research study includes the length of the survey. The time to take the survey was about 25 minutes but contained over 90 statements to respond to. The length of the survey could have influenced the lack of completed responses Although we acquired a lot of relevant information about men’s identity, our confidence in the results decreases due to the amount of missing data. For future research, a shorter survey could be constructed to acquire information on men’s identity and their attitudes.

The incorporation of a scale used specifically to measure participants’ feminist identity was not as helpful as we had expected. As aforementioned, the lack of feminist men could be that men remain culturally grounded in their traditional gendered roles or refrain from identifying as feminist as it might undermine their positions as men, thus, asking participants if they themselves identify as feminist could provide more knowledge on men’s identity rather than simply the scores on a measure. Participants may score high on a measure, like the feminist perspective scale, and may verbally say that they do not identify as feminist which would be quite the contradiction. It would be interesting for future research to ask participants this particular question to identify the relationship between individuals’ self-identification and the score received on a scale measuring the extent to which you might agree with certain descriptive of the identity. Which brings me to the conclusion in saying that it would probably be best to refrain
from judging a group or individuals based off their responses on these types of measures as they do not accurately reflect a person’s actual behavior.
References


10.1080/19361653.2012.649613
FREQUENCY TABLES

Table 1

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<th>Age</th>
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<td>19 Years</td>
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<td>40+ Years</td>
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Table 2

Student to Non-Student Ratio

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Student Classifications

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Political Affiliation

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Table 6

**Sexual Orientation**

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Table 7

**Religious Preference**

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<td>Muslim</td>
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Table 8

Means, standard deviations, and correlations of model variables

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<tr>
<td>9. Hostile Sexism</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>-.015</td>
<td>-.24*</td>
<td>.40**</td>
<td>.50**</td>
<td>-.26*</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.42**</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Notes: *p<.05, **p<.01
## LIST OF APPENDICES

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Appendix A: Demographic Questionnaire

1. Do you identify as male? Yes/No
2. What is your age?
3. Are you currently enrolled as students at Texas A&M University - Corpus Christi?
4. What is your highest level of education?
5. What is your classification?
6. Are you involved in any extracurricular activities, clubs or programs at TAMU-CC?
7. What is your major?
8. Generally speaking, please select the political affiliation you best identify with.
9. What is your religious preference?
10. What ethnicity do you most identify with?
11. Generally speaking, please select a sexual orientation you identify as.
Appendix B: Attitudes Toward Lesbian and Gay Men Scale (Herek, 1988)

1. Lesbians just can’t fit into our society.
2. Homosexual behavior between two women is just plain wrong.
3. Female homosexuality is a sin.
4. Female homosexuality in itself is no problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem.*
5. Lesbians are sick.
6. Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men.*
7. Homosexual behavior between two men is just plain wrong.
8. Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of sexual orientation that should not be condemned.*
9. I think male homosexuals are disgusting.
10. Male homosexuality is a perversion.

Note: * Indicates an item that is reverse scored.
Appendix C: Machismo Measure (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, Tracey, 2008)

1. Men are superior to women.
2. In a family, a father’s wish is law.
3. The birth of a male child is more important than a female child.
4. It is important not to be the weakest man in a group.
5. Real men never let down their guard
6. It would be shameful for a man to cry in front of his children
7. A man should be in control of his wife
8. It is necessary to fight when challenged
9. It is important for women to be beautiful.
10. The bills (electric, phone, etc.) should be in the man’s name.
11. Men must display good manners in public.
12. Men should be affectionate with their children.
13. Men should respect their elders
14. A woman is expected to be loyal to her husband
15. Men must exhibit fairness in all situations
16. Men should be willing to fight to defend their family
17. The family is more important than the individual
18. Men hold their mothers in high regard.
19. A real man does not brag about sex
20. Men want their children to have better lives than themselves.
Appendix D: Feminist Perspective Scale (Henley et al, 1998)

Conservative Items

1. Given the way men are, women have a responsibility not to arouse them by their dress and actions.
4. Women should not be direct participants in government because they are too emotional.
13. A man’s first responsibility is to obtain economic success, while his wife should care for the family’s needs.
17. Homosexuals need to be rehabilitated into normal members of society.
23. The breakdown of the traditional family structure is responsible for the evils in our society.
36. It is a man’s right and duty to maintain order in his family by whatever means necessary.
38. The world is a more attractive place because women smile and pay attention to their appearance.
47. Women should not be assertive like men because men are the natural leaders on earth.
53. Using “he” for “he or she” is convenient and harmless to men and women.
59. Heterosexuality is the only natural sexual preference.

Radical Feminist Items

2. Pornography exploits female sexuality and degrades all women.
8. Racism and sexism make double the oppression for women of color in the work environment.
15. Using “man” to mean both men and women is one of the many ways sexist language destroys women’s existence.
16. Sex role stereotypes are only one symptom of the larger system of patriarchal power, which is the true source of women’s subordination.
18. The workplace is organized around men’s physical, economic, and sexual oppression of women.
19. Men’s control over women forces women to be the primary caretakers of children.
29. Men use abortion law and reproductive technology to control women’s lives.

34. Men prevent women from becoming political leaders through their control of economic and political institutions.

46. Marriage is a perfect example of men’s physical, economic and sexual oppression of women. 48. Romantic love brainwashes women and forms the basis for their subordination.

55. Rape is ultimately a powerful tool that keeps women in their place, subservient to and terrorized by men.

3. In education and legislation to stop rape, ethnicity and race must be treated sensitively to ensure that women of color are protected equally.

12. Women of color have less legal and social service protection from being battered than white women have.

21. Women of color are oppressed by White standards of beauty.

26. Being put on a pedestal, which White women have protested, is a luxury that women of color have not had.

40. Anti-gay and racist prejudice act together to make it more difficult for gay male and lesbian people of color to maintain relationships.

43. In rape programs and workshops, not enough attention has been given to the special needs of women of color.

49. Discrimination in the workplace is worse for women of color than for all men and White women.

51. Much of the talk about power for women overlooks the need to empower people of all races and colors first.
57. The tradition of African-American women who are strong family leaders has strengthened the African-American community as a whole.

5. Whether one chooses a traditional or alternative family form should be a matter of personal choice.

6. People should define their marriage and family roles in ways that make them feel most comfortable.

7. The government is responsible for making sure that all women receive an equal chance at education and employment.

22. The availability of adequate childcare is central to a woman’s right to work outside the home. 24. Homosexuality is not a moral issue, but rather a question of liberty and freedom of expression.

27. Social change for sexual equality will best come about by acting through federal, state, and local government.

33. Legislation is the best means to ensure a woman’s choice of whether or not to have an abortion.

42. Women should try to influence legislation in order to gain the right to make their own decisions and choices.

52. Women should have the freedom to sell their sexual services.

60. Men need to be liberated from oppressive sex role stereotypes as much as women do.

9. Prostitution grows out of the male culture of violence and male values of social control.

11. Replacing the word “God” with “Goddess” will remind people that the deity is not male.

14. Men should follow women’s lead in religious matters, because women have a higher regard for love and peace than men do.
28. Putting women in positions of political power would bring about new systems of
government that promote peace.

30. Traditional notions of romantic love should be replaced with ideas based on feminine values of
kindness and concern for all people.

32. By not using sexist and violent language, we can encourage peaceful social change.

35. Beauty is feeling one’s womanhood through peace, caring, and nonviolence.

37. Women’s experience in life’s realities of cleaning, feeding people, caring for babies, etc.,
makes their vision of reality clearer than men’s.

44. Rape is best stopped by replacing the current male-oriented culture of violence with
an alternative culture based on more gentle, womanly qualities.

50. Bringing more women into male-dominated professions would make the professional
less cutthroat and competitive.

10. Capitalism and sexism are primarily responsible for the increased divorce rate and
general breakdown of families.

20. Making women economically dependent on men is capitalism’s subtle way of
encouraging heterosexual relationships.

25. A socialist restructuring of businesses and institutions is necessary for women and people
of color to assume equal leadership with White men.

31. Romantic love supports capitalism by influencing women to place men’s emotional
and economic needs first.

39. The way to eliminate prostitution is to make women economically equal to men.
41. Capitalism hinders a poor woman’s chance to obtain adequate prenatal medical care or an abortion.

45. It is the capitalist system that forces women to be responsible for childcare.

54. All religion is like a drug to people and is used to pacify women and other oppressed groups.

56. Capitalism forces most women to wear feminine clothes to keep a job.

58. The personalities and behaviors of “women” and “men” in our society have developed to fit the needs of advanced capitalism.

*Attitudes Towards Feminism and the Women’s Movement (Fassinger, 1994)*

1. The leaders of the women’s movement may be extreme, but they have the right idea

2. There are better ways for women to fight for equality than through the women’s movement

3. More people would favor the women’s movement if they knew more about it

4. The women’s movement has positively influenced relationships between men and women

5. The women’s movement is too radical and extreme in its views

6. The women’s movement has made important gains in equal rights and political power for women

7. Feminists are too visionary for a practical world

8. Feminist principles should be adopted everywhere

9. Feminists are a menace to this nation and the world

10. I am overjoyed that women’s liberation is finally happening in this country
Appendix E: Willingness to Intervene in Situations of Everyday Sexism Measure (Weis, 2018)

1. Imagine that you’re at a party and someone tells a joke that is degrading to women.
   How willing would you be to speak out against this? (Type of sexism: Hostile)

2. Imagine that you are helping a friend move into her new apartment. You offer to help carry furniture but instead she said, “No, we’ll let the men do the heavy lifting; come and help me unpack the dishes.” How willing would you be to speak out against this? (Benevolent)

3. Imagine that you learn that you make less money than a male co-worker for doing the same labor. How willing would you be to speak out against this? (Hostile)

4. Imagine that you are at a job interview and your potential boss asks you if you plan to have children because he “doesn’t want to hire someone who will be quitting soon to be a stay-at-home mom.” How willing would you be to speak out against this? (Hostile)

5. Imagine that you are at a restaurant and when you ask the waiter for the bill, he gives it directly to your male date instead of to you. How willing would you be to speak out against this? (Benevolent)

6. Imagine that you are on a date with a male partner and he insists on opening the car and restaurant doors for you. How willing would be to speak out against this? (Benevolent)