PRECARIOUS MANHOOD IN TURKEY:
EARNED, LOST, AND THREATENED STATUS OF MANHOOD

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

_____

Prof. Dr. Tülin Gençöz
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

_____

Prof. Dr. H. Canan Sümer
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

_____

Prof. Dr. Nuray Sakallı Uğurlu
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Bengi Öner Özkan	(METU, PSY)	_____
Prof. Dr. Nuray Sakallı Uğurlu	(METU, PSY)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Derya Hasta	(Ankara Uni., PSİ)	_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Banu Cingöz Ulu	(METU, PSY)	_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Gülçin Akbaş Uslu	(Atılım Uni., PSY)	_____

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Name, Last name: Beril Türkoğlu

Signature :

ABSTRACT

PRECARIOUS MANHOOD IN TURKEY:
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Türkoğlu, Beril
Department of Psychology
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Nuray Sakallı Uğurlu

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This dissertation aims to examine *Precarious Manhood Thesis* (PMT) in the cultural context of Turkey as well as examining the role of masculinity ideology on precarious manhood. According to PMT manhood is a hardly acquired anxious social status,it can be lost, and its anxiety results in maladaptive thinking patterns and behaviors in the face of gender threat. To test these assumptions, this dissertation conducts five studies. Study 1 develops *traditional masculinity ideology scale* with 23 items and four factors (i.e., head of family, dominance, emotional restriction, and avoidance of femininity). Study 2 examines participants' agreement with the *hard-won status of manhood/womanhood*. Participants perceive manhood as more precarious (hard-won) compared to womanhood. In the same study, femininity avoidance component of masculinity ideology predict the perceptions of precarious manhood/womanhood. Study 3 tests the assumption that *manhood/womanhood can be lost* and show that participants attribute manhood loss more to social causes rather than physical/biological causes. However, they refer to social reasons equally for both manhood and womanhood loss in their open-ended interpretations. Study 4 tests the effect of gender threat on anxious thinking style but there was no significant effect of

threat on anxiety. Study 5 examines the effect of gender threat on aggressive thinking style. In gender threat condition, men react with more physically-aggressive cognitions compared to women. Overall, the results partially meet the assumptions of PMT in Turkey. The results are discussed in the light of recent literature on cross-cultural differences and the characteristics of the Turkish cultural context.

Keywords: Precarious manhood, masculinity ideology, threat, aggression, anxiety

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE KIRILGAN ERKEKLİK:
KAZANILAN, TEHDİT EDILEN VE KAYBEDİLEN BİR STATÜ OLARAK ERKEKLİK

Türkoğlu, Beril
Psikoloji Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Nuray Sakallı Uğurlu

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Bu tezin amacı *Kırılgan Erkeklik Tezi* (KET)'ni Türkiye'nin kültürel bağlamında incelemek ve KET'in erkeklik ideolojisi ile olan ilişkisini ortaya koymaktır. KET erkekliğin kaygılı, belirsiz ve tehdide yatkın yapısından dolayı kırılgan olduğunu öne sürer. KET'e göre erkeklik toplumsal performanslarla zor kazanılan, kolay kaybedilen ve kaygılı yapısı nedeniyle toplumsal cinsiyet tehditine uyumsuz ve olumsuz davranış/düşüncelerle tepki verir. Bu varsayımları test etmek ve kırılgan erkeklik/kadınlık inançlarının geleneksel erkeklik ideolojisi ile ilişkisini araştırmak için toplamda beş çalışma yapılmıştır. İlk çalışmada, 4-faktörlü (aile reisi, baskınlık, duygusal kısıtlama, and kadınsılıktan kaçınma) ve 23 maddeli *Erkeklik İdeolojisi Ölçeği* geliştirilmiştir. İkinci çalışmada, insanların *erkekliğin/kadınlığın kazanılan bir statü olup olmadığına dair algıları* araştırmacı tarafından yazılmış atasözleri aracılığıyla ölçülmüş ve bu algıların erkeklik ideolojisini benimseme ile olan ilişkisi araştırılmıştır. Buna göre katılımcılar erkekliği kadınlığa kıyasla daha zor kazanıldığını düşünmüşlerdir. Bu görüşler erkeklik ideolojisinin kadınsılıktan kaçınma unsurunu daha çok benimseyenlerde daha fazla görülmüştür. Üçüncü

çalışmada, *erkekliğin/kadınlığın kaybına* dair alıntılar okutulmuş ve bu kaybın sosyal ve fiziksel atıflarla olan ilişkisine bakılmıştır. Katılımcılar erkekliği, kadınlığa kıyasla sosyal/toplumsal nedenlere bağlı olarak daha kolay kaybedilebilir görmüşlerdir. Ancak açık uçlu cevaplarında her iki statünün kaybı da sosyal nedenlerle açıklanmıştır. Dördüncü ve beşinci çalışmalarda ise *tehdit karşısında erkekliğin kadınlığa kıyasla daha fazla kaygı ve öfke doğuracağı* varsayımı örtük ölçümlerle sınanmıştır. Buna göre verilen toplumsal cinsiyet tehdidi ne erkeklerde ne kadınlarda kaygıya sebep olmuş; ancak aynı tehdit erkeklerde kadınlara kıyasla (daha fazla fiziksel öfke açığa çıkarmıştır. Araştırma sonuçları Türkiye kültürü ve kültürler-arası farklılıklara ilişkin yakın dönemli çalışmalar bağlamında tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kırılgan erkeklik, erkeklik ideolojisi, tehdit, öfke, kaygı

to boys, who question the male hegemony

to girls, who never give up resisting

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Local representations of masculinity draw a picture of how men construct their masculine identities. For example, it is very usual to see aphorisms about masculinity in local taxis or dolmushes in Turkey such as “You need to be like glass if they break you, you should cut them” (in Turkish, “Cam gibi olacaksın bu hayatta, kırdılar mı keseceksin”). This aphorism cues precarity and vigilance of manhood in the faces of threats. Research shows that men are vigilant about their “maleness” or “manhood” in the eyes of others and they can be very reactive to insults and threats that jeopardize their congruence with masculine gender norms and stereotypes. A body of research defends the idea that vigilance to threats implies that the social status of masculinity is achieved rather than ascribed (Baugher & Gazmararian, 2015; Bosson & Vandello, 2013; Smiler, 2004; Thompson & Pleck, 1986) and this can be traced in different cultural performances. In some tribal cultures, for example, men have to confront and kill a big animal to prove that he is a real man (see Gilmore, 1990). In the modern times of Turkey, for example, the social proof of manhood can be seen on the rituals of a painful process of circumcision (Selek, 2008), and performing military service to be “a real man" (Sayılan, 2019).

Gilmore asks in his seminal work *Manhood in the Making* “why should only males to be permitted to be ‘real men’ and earn the glory of a risk successfully taken?” (Gilmore, 1990, p. 231). Vandello and colleagues (2008) extend this quest to modern societies and claim that there are also non-tribal ways of proving manliness in modern societies. Although the performances of masculinities have diverse representations through time, culture, and space, what is unchanged is the anxious structure of manhood. What makes manhood anxious is its proof-based social structure. It carries the threat of losing manhood status, and it is ready to provide manly proofs to regain

the (jeopardized) manhood status. Vandello and colleagues adapt these sociological and anthropological arguments to experimental social psychology in an American sample and coined the term *precarious manhood* with reference to the anxious status of manhood (Vandello & Bosson, 2013; Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, & Weaver, 2008).

Although Turkey is a masculine country where the society glorifies manhood over womanhood (Kandiyoti, 1995), there is no social psychological study aiming to uncover the anxious structure of manhood status in Turkey. Aiming to fill this gap, this dissertation examines the social structure of manhood in comparison to womanhood and explores the role of traditional masculinity ideology on people's perception of precarious manhood/womanhood.

Precarious manhood research has flourished in the USA (Vandello et al., 2008) and it has expanded with several studies conducted in the USA (e.g., Caswell, Bosson, Vandello, & Sellers, 2014; Michniewicz, Bosson, Lenes, & Chen, 2015; Weaver, Vandello, & Bosson, 2013) and European countries (e.g., Kosakowska-berezecka, Besta, Adamska, Jaśkiewicz, & Vandello, 2016). Considering the honor-culture in Turkey, precarious manhood research may add another dimension to the current manhood research. In that sense, honor-culture means a culture where one's reputation in the eyes of other people is very important. The loss of this reputation creates the sense of losing dignity and self-worth (see Sakallı-Uğurlu & Akbaş, 2013 for the extensive review). Cross-cultural research also reveals that Turkish people care about others' opinion about themselves to feel honorable and valuable compared to American people. They also refer to the approval of an audience for their self-worth, whereas, for Americans, one's behavior defines their self-worth (Uskul, Cross, Sunbay, Gercek-Swing, & Ataca, 2012). In that manner, presumptions of precarious manhood intersect with Turkish people's self-referrals and the concern for other's opinion that building manhood through social approval of others may be more salient in Turkish culture. Pointing to the absence of research on precarious manhood in the cultural context of Turkey, this dissertation aims to understand how other people

perceive the structure and practices of manhood in the cultural context of Turkey where patriarchal structure (see Kandiyoti, 1995) glorifies manhood and its achievement rituals (see Selek, 2008) compared to womanhood.

In short, the primary aim of this dissertation is to test the tenets of PMT in the cultural context of Turkey. It investigates (i) whether the tenets of PMT are valid in Turkey; (ii) whether people perceive manhood as a social status rather than a biological/physical status; and (iii) whether precarious manhood creates a ground for aggression. The secondary aim of this dissertation is to examine the role of masculinity ideology on people's precarious manhood/womanhood beliefs, which is expected to determine the way people see manhood and womanhood.

To this end, I report five studies. In Study 1, I presented a new tool measuring traditional masculinity ideology in Turkey and tested its relationship with precarious manhood further. In the rest of the studies, I aim to replicate the original findings of Vandello et al. (2008) in the Turkish cultural context. In Study 2, I tested the assumption that manhood is a hard-won status. Beyond the replication aim of Study 2, I also examined the role of endorsement of masculinity ideology on people's precarious manhood beliefs. In Study 3, I tested the assumption that manhood can be lost. In Study 4 and Study 5, I investigated whether manhood threat creates anxiety and aggression, respectively.

I have outlined the introduction chapter under six titles: (1) Masculinity studies, (2) masculinity research in social psychology, (3) precarious manhood thesis, (4) manhood threat and its outcomes, (5) the debates about precarious womanhood, and (6) the overview of the dissertation. Following this outline, I aspire to provide a basis with the history of masculinity studies and then move to research conducted in social psychology. Later, I elaborate the precarious manhood and the related outcomes, give reviews criticizing precarious manhood arguments by confronting manhood with the precarity of womanhood. Finally, I wrap up the introduction part by providing the content and research questions of each study.

1.1 Masculinity Studies

Although this dissertation makes a net around precarious manhood thesis (Vandello et al., 2008), it is vital to cover the history of masculinity studies and how it has found a voice in social psychology. Thus, I briefly cover the past of masculinity research under this title.

There is a growing body of literature addressing the importance of masculinity to understand the tension in gender relations and for transforming the nature of the patriarchal social system. Although the patriarchal system and gender roles have been questioned since the second wave of feminism (i.e., by the 1960s), feminist studies directed their attention to the problems women face, the ways overcoming these conflicts, and consciousness-raising practices about womanhood. However, they overlooked the role of masculinity as a gendered practice on the submission of women (Günay-Erkol, 2018). Masculinity research has benefitted from the flexible gender debates of second-wave feminism and flourished in the 1970s. The very first studies deconstructing masculinity into sub-structures were initiated by social psychologists who questioned the meaning of being a man (see Brannon, 1976; Pleck, 1981). The following studies expanded its content by criticizing acontextual, idealized, and stable characteristics that stereotypically defined masculinity. By doing so, they claimed that masculinity was a living structure defined by the given society, time, context, and (micro/macro) cultures (Connell, 1987, 1995; Kimmel, 1987). After transformative discussions, the current field of critical masculinity studies discusses masculinity as a socially constructed and transformative phenomenon oppressing men as well as women and sexual minorities (see Günay-Erkol, 2018).

Smiler (2004) clustered masculinity research conducted in different eras. Accordingly, before the 70s, masculinity had been defined based on the male sex role in the frame of sex role theory that assigns societal roles based on men's biological sex at birth (Eagly, 1987). In that sense, masculinity referred to the acquisition of the attributions (e.g., being strong, active, etc.) ascribed to birth-sex. Later, researchers criticized this

approach for being functionalist that locks men into sex role identities as well as defining masculinity as culture-free, stable, and acontextual (Bem, 1974; Pleck, 1987).

In the 70s, there were two movements: androgyny and ideology movement (Smiler, 2004). First, the androgyny movement showed that people could be masculine and feminine at the same time since these were social characteristics rather than being biological markers (Bem, 1974). Second, the ideology movement claimed that socio-cultural norms defined masculinity and based on societal and individual adherence to masculinity ideology (Brannon, 1976; Thompson & Pleck, 1986). In the 80s, the literature suggested that both conformity and non-conformity to dominant masculinity ideology resulted in negative psychological functioning by creating gender role strain (Pleck, 1981).

In the 90s, the research argued that masculinity was a single and acontextual ideology. This approach reduced the flexibility of behaviors and identities since "men are not similarly masculine in all settings" (Smiler, 2004, p. 20). Putting this in a different frame, Connell (1995) claimed that there are multiple ways of being masculine (i.e., masculinities). Afterwards, masculinity studies have recognized a critical perspective by suggesting the existence of multiple masculinities including different perceptions and enactment of masculinities from different races, ethnicities, and sexual orientations other than white heterosexual men (Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 1987). From the perspective of one's historical, geographical, economic, or societal position in a given culture, different experiences of masculinities exist.

These masculinities take a form around hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995). Hegemonic masculinity oppresses other men who want to achieve that hegemonic status by drawing a picture of an ideal man in a given culture. It also affects masculinity ideologies reflecting how men should look, behave, and become. With this flexible approach, it is quite possible to enact and endorse different types of masculinities in different contexts, and it allows the negotiation and transformation of masculinities contrasting the assumptions of sex role theory (Connell, 1995; Kimmell, 1987).

In the light of the literature summarized above, one can conclude that the term *masculinity* has been changing under the shadow of time, history, culture, and context that enable men to calibrate their masculinity practices in comparison with other masculinities. Although the trend mentioned above in masculinity research gives a general and discipline-free picture, it is necessary to focus specifically on social psychology to better understand precarious manhood studies.

1.2 Masculinity Research in Social Psychology

There is a variety of studies and theoretical explanations for personal and interpersonal effects of masculinity as a social construct. A current review of masculinity research from social psychological perspective (see Sakallı-Uğurlu & Türkoğlu, in press) shows that studies have covered masculinity/manhood under various topics such as gender stereotypes (e.g., Bem, 1974; Deaux & Lewis, 1984; Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Rudman, 2010); attitudes related to (traditional) masculinity ideology (e.g., Levant, 2011; Mahalik et al., 2003; Thompson & Pleck, 1986); gender role stress (e.g., Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Pleck, 1995) and conflict (e.g., O'Neil, 2008); discrimination-based outcomes of masculinity (e.g., Baugher & Gazmararian, 2015; Moore et al., 2010); and manhood threats (e.g., Vandello et al., 2008).

Psychological studies have conceptualized masculinity mostly as an endorsement of masculinity ideology (Thompson & Pleck, 1986; 1995). It is defined as "ideas and beliefs that serve to justify gender scripts and gender relations" in a given society (Thompson, Pleck, & Ferrera, 1992, p. 576). Accordingly, societal norms determine the prescriptions for men to be respected as real men in the society, and it has strong connections with patriarchal structures within societies. Social institutions, governmental practices and cultural foundations of male-dominant social system favor heterosexual men over women and LGBTQ+ individuals (Hunnicutt, 2009; Kandiyoti, 1995). Within patriarchal context, this ideology defines ideal men as tough, feminine-avoidant, status holder (Thompson & Pleck, 1986), homophobic, achievement-oriented, devoid of feelings (Davies, 2004), sexually active (Snell, Belk, & Hawkins,

1986), aggressive, violent, and self-confident (Brannon, 1976). This ideology contains almost all-powerful connotations to be respected in society and reflects expectations of the ideal (hegemonic) type of masculinity (Connell, 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Thompson and his colleagues (1992) claimed that the more men endorse this ideology, the more they oppress others.

Smiler (2004) highlights the determinative power of masculinity ideology on the construction of masculinity as it "organizes the traits, attributes, and characteristics that are considered masculine, and they [the norms] highlighted variations in this ideology over time." (p. 20). In this manner, patriarchal socialization catalyzes the expansion and internalization of this ideology by men (and by also women) as a part of their gendered identity (Bozok, 2011; Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 1987; Miedzian, 1991; Zakar et al., 2013).

Socialization includes everyday interaction with family, peers, media, and TV, as well as exposure to societal institutions (Onur & Koyuncu, 2004). Through parental reinforcements (rewards and punishments) (Carter, 2014; Miedzian, 1991), for example, boys learn to practice masculinity by gardening, shopping, or repairing while avoiding (stereotypically) female-chores. (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Surrounded by norms about being a man in a particular society or a context, even a boy is shaped by what is hegemonic for the given time and circumstances. To illustrate, an athletic and competitive boy can represent hegemonic masculinity status for a group of adolescent boys (McGuffey & Rich, 1999). Thus, masculinity ideology inoculates the available gendered ways of being to young boys. Different masculinities enact or refuse to enact those ways in terms of where they stand in the hierarchy of power (Connell, 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Through peer socialization process, they see the results of conforming (e.g., possibility of dominating other men and girls) and non-conforming to masculinity ideology (e.g., possibility of exclusion from territory) (McGuffey & Rich, 1999; Ryle, 2012).

Masculine socialization continues throughout life and shape masculinities in front of audiences to whom men should prove that they reach the societal milestones. In the

example of Turkey, nation-level hegemonic masculinity requires having the first sexual intercourse before enrollment, conducting military service, getting a job, getting married, providing for a family, or appearing physically tough (Onur & Koyuncu, 2004; Sancar, 2009). Socialization process helps to espouse masculine ideology. It has the potential to create a feeling of deservingness and makes men sensitive to gender threats in different contexts (Connell, 1995; Moradi, Velez, & Parent, 2013). In social psychological literature, Vandello and colleagues (2009) cover this process as *precarious manhood*, reflecting the insecure social status of manhood. In the next section, I present precarious manhood thesis, the experimental studies of manhood threat, and maladaptive responses to these threats.

1.2.1 Precarious Manhood Thesis

Vandello and colleagues (2013) emphasized that what remains stable over time and context is the anxious and insecure social structure of manhood. Because of this insecurity, it always needs to be achieved. Therefore, they introduced the uncertain, anxious, and threat-prone social status of masculinity as precarious manhood (PM).

Precarious manhood studies reformulated masculinity debates embedded in sociology and anthropology literature benefiting from the perspective and methodology of experimental social psychology (Vandello et al., 2008). Vandello and colleagues are especially interested in how people conceptualize manhood and regulate their behaviors accordingly (Bosson & Vandello, 2013).

The proof-based social structure of manhood is based on anthropological studies revealing the rituals of manhood (Gilmore, 1990). In these rituals, men are encouraged to kill animals and fight others to show how manly they are. Upon successful completion of such tasks, they are accepted as honorable members of their male territory. Similarly, Vandello and colleagues (2008) agree that "real men are made, not born" (p. 1326); but they claim that modern world offers different necessities to be *a real man* in the eyes of others. They especially underscore that manhood is not precarious (i.e., elusive and tenuous) by its nature compared to womanhood, but

people “define, perceive, and react to manhood as if this were so” (Vandello et al., 2008, p. 1326).

Vandello, Bosson, and colleagues (2008) tested three assumptions of PMT with different studies by comparing manhood to womanhood. Accordingly, manhood - compared to womanhood- (i) is a hard-won social status achieved through prescribed gender performances (Vandello et al., 2008); (ii) it evokes anxiety because it can be lost in the face of threat or uncertainty (Vandello et al., 2008); (iii) anxiety may result in maladaptive behaviors or cognitions (e.g., risk-taking, aggression, etc.) to reclaim manhood status (Vandello & Bosson, 2013).

In their experimental studies, they made people read fabricated proverbs, which denote the necessity of action to achieve manhood or womanhood, alternately (e.g., “It is a rocky road from boyhood [girlhood] to manhood [womanhood], p. 1328). The researchers also manipulated some social (e.g., social milestones) and physical/ biological qualities (e.g., hormonal changes) of manhood and womanhood in different conditions. Results indicates that participants attributed manhood more to social milestones while they attributed womanhood to physical changes.

In the same study (Vandello et al., 2008), they also examined whether people see manhood as an easily lost status. People wrote their opinions to the cover stories where a man (or a woman) lost his manhood (or her womanhood). Eventually, people wrote more social reasons for losing manhood such as “losing a job, disappointing a loved one, and failing to meet social expectations.” On the other hand, they wrote more physical reasons for losing womanhood such as “getting a sex-change operation, losing a breast to cancer, going through menopause, or growing weak with age” (Vandello et al., 2008, p. 1330). In a similar vein, *real manhood* status is described through more social actions compared to *real womanhood* status (Weaver et al., 2010). Related to the importance of performance and public proof, research also shows that men prefer to hit a boxing pad rather than doing a neutral puzzle task after playing with baby doll’s hair (i.e., manipulation of threat) in front of another person (Bosson, Vandello, Burnaford, Weaver, & Wasti, 2009). The researchers argue this situation in

the frame of how public eye motivates the reconstructive use of aggression and violence, and the importance of *manly* action for regaining manhood status in the face of gender threat. In the next title, I will extend the scope of social psychological research targeting manhood threat and precarity.

1.2.2 Manhood Threat and its Negative Outcomes

The precarity of manhood status makes men vigilant about challenges to their masculinity because it can destroy their hardly-achieved societal status (Vandello et al., 2008). Thus, they end up with some compensatory actions (Bosson et al., 2009; Ezzell, 2012). A plenty of studies show that men try to reconstruct their challenged status by using aggression and violence (Weaver et al., 2010), having negative attitudes towards gay men (Glick, Gangl, Gibb, Klumpner, & Weinberg, 2007), increasing perception of gender status loss (Michniewicz et al., 2015), taking more significant financial risks (Weaver, Vandello, & Bosson, 2013), showing sexual prejudice (Kroeper, Sanchez, & Himmelstein, 2014), showing increased cortisol (stress) level (Caswell et al., 2014), lowering levels of help-seeking behaviors (Michniewicz et al., 2015), and decreasing support for gender equality (Lick, Johnson, & Riskind, 2015). It is important to note that traditional masculinity ideology already encourages men to perform reconstructive behaviors and promise men a triumph.

When (precarious) manhood status is disturbed by threats, masculinity mostly represents itself with violence, aggression, and sexuality (Groes-Green, 2009). Displays of aggression serve the function of reducing gender role stress (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Jakupcak, Lisak, & Roemer, 2002) and reconstructing threatened status in the eyes of others (Bosson & Vandello, 2011) as it meets the norms of the patriarchal and honor-based societies (Bosson et al., 2009; Vandello, Cohen, & Ransom, 2008; Weaver et al., 2010). In the study of Thomas (2003), for example, men explain their anger as a tool for exerting control which they see as “desirable but difficult to achieve” (Thomas, 2003, p. 169). Men excessively think about aggression when their masculine identity is threatened by stereotypically feminine tasks in front

of an audience (Bosson et al., 2009; Weaver et al., 2010). Therefore, men who are given threats to their male prototypically (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001; Vandello et al., 2008), or who perceive a threat to their protector, decision-maker or breadwinner status do not hesitate to behave aggressively (Coughlin & Wade, 2012; Franchina, Eisler, & Moore, 2001).

Working is one of the central resources of manhood because it allows holding breadwinner and provider status in heteronormative societies. Having a manhood status requires being a successful breadwinner (Levant & Kopecky, 1995; Pleck, 1987). If men don't meet the gender norms, then they are always under the risk of being stereotyped and excluded by the society (Brescoll, Uhlmann, Moss-Racusin, & Sarnell, 2012; Levant & Kopecky, 1995). Working guarantees both household and public status, loss of which jeopardizes the dominant position (Ed, 1999; Ok, 2011; Türkoğlu, 2013a). An experimental study showed that men agreed that if a man loses his job, other people would see him less of a man. Additionally, men's meta-perceptions (i.e., what others will think) about their unemployment creates more severe threat and increased anxiety (Michniewicz, Vandello, & Bosson, 2014).

There can be several other sources of manhood threat. For example, subordination to women is regarded as a manhood threat because it opposes to gender role expectations (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). Netchaeva et al. (2015) manipulated subordination to women in their study by creating a digital job recruitment environment. Here, the participants negotiated with the woman (or man) managers to raise their suggested salary. They also took implicit measures of threat. Results reveal that men who were negotiating with woman managers implicitly perceived more threat compared to men negotiating with man managers. They also offered higher counter-offers when compared to both women and men with man managers. Their assertive behaviors in front of a woman manager were accepted as a response to the threat resulting from subordination to women. Moreover, implicit threat mediated the relationship between men's negotiating with the woman manager and their assertive counter offers (Netchaeva, Kouchaki, & Sheppard, 2015).

It is viewed entirely appropriate for a man to feel useless when he earns less than his wife (Coughlin & Wade, 2012). As the disparity between a man's and his wife's (higher) income increase, traditionally masculine men feel a lower marital quality and a higher marital conflict (Brennan, Barnett, & Gareis, 2001; Coughlin & Wade, 2012). Contrary to this, non-traditional men are happier than traditional ones despite such a disparity because they are flexible towards the norms of hegemonic masculinity (Coughlin & Wade, 2012). In addition to that, unemployment results in men's depression, anxiety, and low self-esteem (Levant & Kopecky, 1995) and creates a risk of increased family violence (Cunradi, Todd, Duke, & Ames, 2009; Melzer, 2002; Ok, 2011).

Economic problems, as in the examples of poverty and unemployment, create deprivation of power by destroying the hegemony of men (Jewkes, 2002). It creates a masculinity crisis, and this mostly results in intimate partner violence to show others that he still has control over his house by claiming his dignity back (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). To illustrate, unemployed men who use violence against their wives clearly stated that they do it to regain their respect in the household (Gross-Green, 2009). A study conducted in Turkey with unemployed men indicated that unemployed men feel a great amount of stress, anger, conflict, and they use violence more than unemployed women (Sümer, Solak, & Harma, 2013). Moreover, women who are subjected to intimate partner violence indicate that the amount of violence increase as their partners get unemployed (Arat & Altınay, 2007). Although representations of masculinities have been changing over time (Boratav, Fişek, & Ziya, 2014), breadwinning and provider role has been still at the core of hegemonic masculinity (Verel & Coughlin, 2012).

Anti-femininity mandate, as well as a paid job, dictates an ideology in which femininity is a prohibited zone for men (Thompson & Pleck, 1986). Men construct their identity as the opposite of what is feminine. In that sense, telling a man that he is not masculine enough (or that he is feminine) is a great challenge to their manhood status and it is widely used to manipulate manhood threat. Research showed that men

who are told that they got a feminine score on a personality test shows increased levels of negative affect towards a feminine (i.e., not masculine) gay man (Glick et al., 2007). Caswell and colleagues (2014) also showed that femininity threat increases men's cortisol levels. The same kind of femininity threat was evoked by giving men flower-scent hand lotion in a pink glass in front of others. Resultantly, men tend to take a greater financial risk and play larger bets when they are video-taped after this femininity manipulation (Weaver et al., 2013).

These body of research shows that men can perceive a threat from different sources of manhood and threatened manhood eventually results in adverse personal and interpersonal outcomes. All these studies are parallel to the tenets of PM thesis that people see manhood as a hard-won, easily lost status. However, it is important here to repeat Gilmore's question "why should only males to be permitted to be 'real men' and earn the glory of a risk successfully taken?" (Gilmore, 1990, p. 231). Can we also talk about the precarity of womanhood as a social status? The following title presents this debate in a nutshell.

1.2.3 The Debates about Precarious Womanhood

PM is criticized with an argument that womanhood is also won but not merely ascribed, and it can also be lost (Chrisler, 2013). Chrisler (2013) says that there are two ways where women *do* (i.e., perform) gender to indicate that they obtain womanhood status: the achievement of beauty and sexiness, and being a good mother, respectively. These sources of womanhood also require effort and continual performance to keep its desired status alive. Chrisler (2013, p.117) also argues, "those who are excluded of these activities are still female but not considered as real women."

Chrislers's contribution to this debate is two-fold: On the one hand, she accepts that precarious manhood status comes from its social nature, decked out with struggles and actions to prove to others (Vandello & Bosson, 2013). On the other hand, she also suggests that womanhood should be examined in depth. She discusses that it is not sufficient to give birth, being a *good* woman further requires being a good mother in

the eyes of the neighbors, and in her own eyes. Also, women spend a lot of time, money, and effort, and they lose their health for the sake of beauty (Chrisler, 2013). Compatible with this view, studies found that women who are afraid of being physically unattractive (Bekker & Boselie, 2002), and who have a general feminine gender role stress (Romero, 2008) tend to have some psychological health problems such as eating disorders.

Women also get stressed when they fail to meet gender role standards (Gillespie & Eisler, 1992) as men do (Caswell et al., 2014; Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). For example, women are afraid of conducting unemotional relationships, being unattractive, being victimized, behaving assertively, and not being nurturant (Gillespie & Eisler, 1992). Moreover, women's fears about failing to meet female gender roles increase their daily hassles (van Well, Kolk, & Arrindell, 2005), and depression levels (Gillespie & Eisler, 1992).

Researchers measure gender role stress based on the assumption that one gets stressed if s/he thinks that s/he is unable to cope with gender threats (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Gillespie & Eisler, 1992). Moreover, women tend to be more stressed than men in such situations (Kazmierczak, 2010). I argue that this may be related to social capital that society gives them. According to Chrisler (2013), one answer to why only manhood is considered precarious is that men are endowed with a higher status in society while women are deemed worthy of lower status. Therefore, "it may be more difficult to perceive a loss of status in people who had less of it before the loss" (Chrisler, 2013, p. 119). It is hard for women to regain lost womanhood because it is harder to repair it in the eyes of society, especially in honor cultures such as Turkey (see Sakallı-Uğurlu & Akbaş, 2013). Society gives other sources to reclaim manhood back so that men may have a higher chance of restoring their socially admired status.

Similar to Chrisler (2013), Winegard, Winegard, and Geary (2014) also visit the idea of precarious womanhood by discussing sexual modesty. As precarity of manhood comes from its culturally forced status, they claim that sexual modesty is a kind of gendered expectation from women, which brings socially desired status for a woman

in many cultures. They also argue that the precarious nature of manhood can be traced to ancient times where men have to attract women and show-off their manhood in the rituals by bravery (Winegard et al., 2014). They argue that this evolutionary account does not cancel out the social nature of status because the status is formed and maintained through culturally induced social means. It may also be valid for womanhood. Although Winegard et al. (2014) discuss precarious womanhood in concern with sexual modesty, they still see other sources of womanhood as physically ascribed. However, it is the gendered selves and identities that give men and women social statuses. These statuses are constructed, maintained, and protected by social and cultural means both by men and women (Addis & Schwab, 2013).

On the other hand, Baumeister (2010, p. 188) claims, "a woman is entitled to respect until and unless she does something to lose it. A man is not entitled to respect until and unless he does something to gain it". PMT and many of the manhood studies claim that womanhood status is only at risk when a woman loses biological markers of womanhood. But manhood status should always be polished to gain more respect. However, this may not be suitable for all cultures. Contrary to Baumeister, respect or disrespect of women may not be salient until they get married, protect their virginity, or give birth to a child in the frame of patriarchal and honor culture of Turkey. In that sense, womanhood threat (e.g., infertility, refusing to marry a man, or losing their virginity/purity) risks woman's status, and they may experience violence, exclusion, harassment, rumoring. in the face of these threats.

So far, I've presented the debates about why we should also talk about precarious womanhood as well as precarious manhood. On top of the expectation that Turkish people would see manhood precarious, I expect that people would see womanhood as precarious in the sense that it is also a losable status in the eyes of others. The following title presents the hypotheses and the contents for each of the five studies.

1.3 Overview of the Dissertation

In the light of research summarized so far, the central purpose of this dissertation is to examine the principles of precarious manhood thesis in the Turkish cultural context. The reason for conducting the current research is not merely to replicate the original precarious manhood studies. As previous research indicates, men endorsing high levels of traditional masculinity ideology are more lenient to feel conflict about gender-norm violations (i.e., threats) (Brennan et al., 2001; Coughlin & Wade, 2012). Thus, going beyond being a mere replication study, this study also aims to find the relationship between endorsement of different components of masculinity ideology and perception of precarious manhood compared to womanhood.

Related to the central purpose of this study, I conduct four experimental studies by adapting all the original experiment materials from English to Turkish. Thus, Study 2, 3, 4, and 5 are the replication studies of Vandello et al. (2008) in Turkish cultural context. Concerning the secondary purpose of the study, I present a new measurement tool reflecting the traditional Turkish masculinity ideologies and have examined its relationship with people's precarious manhood beliefs in Study 2 (a & b). For that reason, in Study 1, I present the scale construction study of Masculinity Ideology Scale. This scale aims to capture different components of hegemonic masculinity ideology in Turkish cultural context.

In Study 2, I test the first tenet of precarious manhood thesis in two sub-studies by using (a) proverbs and (b) direct statements to measure precarious manhood/womanhood beliefs. I expect that Turkish people would also see manhood as hard-won status compared to womanhood, since the means of achieving manhood is more observable in Turkey. In Study 3, I test the second tenet of precarious manhood thesis. Different than the American sample, I expect that the Turkish sample would see both manhood and womanhood equally losable via social means, since womanhood loss might be interwoven with honor in Turkey. In Study 4 and Study 5, I test the last tenet of precarious manhood thesis. In study 4, I measure people's anxious cognitions, whereas, in Study 5, I measure aggressive cognitions after giving

Table 1

The Content and Basic Research Questions of the Current Study

Study	Content	Research Questions
Study 1	The construction of Masculinity Ideology Scale (This scale is constructed to examine the relationship between masculinity ideology and precarious manhood/womanhood beliefs in Study 2)	**RQ 1:** What are the different components reflecting the masculinity ideology in Turkish culture?
Study 2	It tests a) The first assumption of PMT (i.e., it is a hard-won status achieved through gender performances whereas womanhood is ascribed through given physical/biological characteristics.) b) The role of endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology on how people see manhood and womanhood statuses?	**RQ 2:** Do people view manhood as more hard-won compared to womanhood? **RQ 3:** Does the perception of manhood and womanhood differ in terms of participant's gender? **RQ 4:** Do people attribute transition to manhood and womanhood to different (physical vs. social) changes? **RQ 5:** Do people's acceptance of precarious manhood/womanhood beliefs vary according to their masculinity ideology?
Study 3	It tests the second assumption of PMT (i.e., manhood can be lost more easily compared to womanhood).	**RQ 6:** Based on the view that manhood is impermanent and socially gained status, do people differ in their interpretations related to manhood and womanhood loss situations? **RQ 7:** Do people attribute manhood loss to more social reasons rather than physical ones (compared to womanhood) as PMT proposes?
Study 4	It tests the last assumption of PMT through anxiety word-completion task (i.e., anxious state after gender threat results in maladaptive behavior and thinking)	**RQ 7:** Does gender threat evoke more *anxiety* in manhood threat condition cmpared to womanhood threat condition?
Study 5	It tests the last assumption of PMT through aggression word-completion task (i.e., anxious state after gender threat results in maladaptive behavior and thinking)	**RQ 8:** Does gender threat remind more *physical aggression* in *manhood* threat condition compared to womanhood threat condition? **RQ 9:** Does gender threat remind more *relational aggression* in *womanhood* threat condition compared to manhood threat condition?

a gender threat (e.g., manhood or womanhood threat). For these studies, I expect that gender threat would result in higher anxious and aggressive cognitions on men compared to women. The assumptions of each study and their research questions can be seen in Table 1.

CHAPTER 2

STUDY 1: DEVELOPMENT OF THE MASCULINITY IDEOLOGY SCALE

Masculinity ideology reflect cultural beliefs about the (traditional) norms for being a man (Levant, Hall, Weigold, & McCurdy, 2016). Social psychological studies mostly measure these ideologies as endorsement of prescriptive/proscriptive social norms (Thompson & Bennett, 2015; Thompson & Pleck, 1995). Researchers have been focusing on masculinity ideologies since the 1950s (e.g., Hartley, 1959) in Western cultures, mainly with White and European American samples (see Gerdes, Alto, Jadaszewski, D'Auria, & Levant, 2017; Smiler, 2004). Related research also tried to understand masculinity ideologies in different nations or races such as African (Luyt, 2005) or Asian (Owamato, Liao, & Liu, 2010), but social psychologists have not paid sufficient attention to measurement of masculinity ideology in Turkish culture where honor issues, patriarchy, and sexism (Glick, Sakallı-Uğurlu, Akbaş, Metin-Orta, & Ceylan, 2015; Sakallı-Uğurlu & Akbaş, 2013) merge on masculinity ideology. Although Lease and colleagues (Lease, Çiftçi, Demir, & Boyraz, 2009) have adapted Male Role Norms Scale (MRNS: Thompson & Pleck, 1986) into Turkish, I further aimed to add current and cultural perspectives about Turkish masculinities by conducting this study in contemporary Turkey. Thus, in this study I developed a new scale measuring masculinity ideology.

There are several representations of masculinity ideology. The literature shows that traditional masculinity ideology (measured in the form of endorsement of masculine gender role norms) include dominance, avoiding femininity, admiration and respect, toughness, violence, status, hatred of homosexuality, emotional restriction, taking risks, self-reliance, or being a playboy (see Sakallı-Uğurlu & Türkoğlu, in press for a review). Although there are scales related to attitudes or beliefs about men, these scales target very different contents in Turkish culture. For example, Zeyneloğlu and

Terzioğlu (2011) captured conceptions about egalitarian and traditional gender roles, female and male gender roles, and gender roles in marriage. In their scale, they included endorsement of male gender roles as one of the subscales (see Gender Role Attitudes Scale: Zeyneloğlu & Terzioğlu, 2011). Sakallı-Uğurlu (2008), on the other hand, measured both hostile and benevolent attitudes towards men by adapting the original Ambivalence toward Men Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1999) into Turkish. As one of the mostly used masculinity ideology scales, Lease and colleagues (2009) adapted the original MRNS (Thompson & Pleck, 1986) into Turkish and validated the factor structure of MRNS in Turkey as a middle eastern country. Lease et al. (2009) found that masculinity ideology can be measured with three factors in Turkey, compatible with the original scale developed in American sample: status, anti-femininity, and toughness. They also claimed that four-factor structure represents better results in Turkish sample where they differentiated tough image and violent toughness as two factors. However, these scales do not distinguish contemporary norms and beliefs about being a man in Turkey as masculinity is flexible and in transformation through time.

I also benefitted from the Turkish adaptation of MRNS in my master's thesis (Türkoğlu, 2013b). The participants stated that they couldn't set a context for some of the items in the given Turkish cultural context. Based on this feedbacks I found necessary to develop a new scale measuring traditional masculinity ideology in Turkey.

2.1 Method

2.1.1 Participants and Procedure

593 (297 men and 294 women) students from different universities in Turkey participated in the study. Their age ranged between 17 and 38 (M = 26.6). After granting ethical approval from Middle East Technical University Human Subjects Ethics Committee (see Appendix A), data was collected from undergraduate students

majoring in different departments such as psychology, public relations and advertising, and psychological counseling and guidance who study at six different universities located at different regions of Turkey (e.g., Ankara, İstanbul, Van, Trabzon, and Zonguldak). Sample demographics are presented in Table 2.

The survey asked for participants' consent to participate in the study firstly and informed about the nature of the study. Then, participants answered Masculinity Ideology Scale (MIS), Ambivalence toward Men Inventory (AMI), Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI), and demographics in the given order. I purposefully included AMI and ASI to examine the construct and divergent validity of MIS.

2.1.2 Measures

2.1.2.1 Masculinity Ideology Scale (MIS)

To contribute to the existing measures of masculinity ideology in Turkish (e.g., MRNS, Lease et al., 2009), I followed three steps. Firstly, I benefited from the in-depth interviews about manhood that I conducted for my master's thesis (Türkoğlu, 2013b). These interviews included accounts of 21 men aged between 20 and 68 (M = 33.94) from different social and educational backgrounds. Some of the questions asked in the individual interviews were "What does masculinity mean for you?", "What are the expectations of Turkish society from you as a man?" "How do you think about the advantages and disadvantages of being a man in Turkey?" "Do you experience any tension about dominance between different groups of men and women? How?". The interview results displayed different dimensions of Turkish masculinities that represents a good source for item construction.

Secondly, I mapped the current masculinity measurements (see Thompson & Bennett, 2015, for a review) and their factors to list possible titles for item construction. Thirdly, I benefited from the existing sources examining Turkish masculinities to employ an emic perspective in Turkish culture in the creation of the item pool. Harmonizing these three processes, I followed the normative approach and wrote items capturing the

norms about being a man. The normative approach defines masculinity as a socially constructed ideology, including attitudes, gender relations, and beliefs about masculinities. Thus, it also contains prescriptive and proscriptive social norms about masculinity (Thompson & Bennett, 2015).

Table 2

The Demographic Characteristics of the Sample, Study 1

		N	***%***
Gender			
	Men	294	50.0
	Women	297	49.2
Ethnicity			
	Turkish	390	67.6
	Kurdish	131	22.2
	Other[a]	63	8.92
	Did not mention	9	1.28
Belief in a religion			
	Yes	482	81.28
	No	105	18.72
Ideology[b]			
	Left-oriented	272	45.9
	Central-oriented	131	22.1
	Right-oriented	167	28.1

Note. [a]Other ethnicities were indicated as Bulgarian Turks, Alevi-Turks, Cyprus Turks, Afghan, Cherkes, Greek. [b] Because of the missing cases in the ideology variable, the total percentage is 96.1.

After following these steps, I constructed an item pool mapping different dimensions of masculinity ideology that might be relevant for Turkish cultural context such as status and achievement, toughness, violence, risk-taking, avoiding femininity, restricted emotionality, self-reliance and self-respect, breadwinning and the importance of work, dominance over women, avoidance of homosexuality and homosexual lifestyle, military service and circumcision. First item pool included 79 items. To be confident about content adequacy, I also prepared subject matter expert forms, including the aim of scale, operational definitions of factors mentioned above, and explained how to evaluate the items. I sent the form to six experts (e.g., one professor, two assistant professors, one expert sociologist, and two Ph.D. students in social psychology) familiar to scale development and the gender issues to make sure content adequacy.

I asked the experts to rate items in terms of their understandability and applicability on a 1 to 4 scale. At the end of the form, they also wrote down the items having similar meanings and suggested new items. Upon their feedbacks, I excluded the similar items and added new items they suggested. The item pool included 101 items in total. In the next step, I discussed these 101 items with six Ph.D. students in social psychology in a round table and evaluated the content and similarity of factors as well as detecting the language of the scale. Finally, the number of items was reduced from 101 to 80 after evaluating and eliminating the irrelevant items and distributed with other scales.

The participants rated the final 80-item on a scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) without any neutral point. The higher the scores, the more traditional sense of masculinity one has. The factor structure and reliability coefficients are given in the result section (see Appendix B).

2.1.2.2 Ambivalence toward Men Inventory (AMI)

AMI has 20 items, and it is constructed by Glick and Fiske (1999). Turkish version of AMI was adapted to Turkish by Sakallı-Uğurlu (2008), and its factor structure is validated in a Turkish sample. It has two subscales: benevolence (e.g., "Even sensitive men want traditional relationships"; $\alpha = .83$) and hostile (e.g., "Every woman needs a male partner who cherishes her"; $\alpha = .82$) beliefs about men (see Appendix C). Higher scores indicate more sexist attitudes towards men. AMI is included in the questionnaire package to test the validity of MIS. In this study, the internal consistency of hostile and benevolent attitudes were .80 and .89, respectively.

2.1.2.3 Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI)

Turkish version (Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2002) of the 22-item scale (Glick & Fiske, 1996) was used to show construct validity of MIS. ASI has two subscales, each including 11-items, measuring benevolent (e.g., "No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has a love of a woman"; $\alpha = .78$) and hostile

sexism (e.g., “Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for ‘equality’”; $\alpha = .87$). Participants rated the items on 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) Likert type scale. The higher scores indicate more sexist attitudes towards women (see Appendix D). ASI is included in the questionnaire package to test the validity of MIS. For this study, the internal consistencies of hostile and benevolent attitudes were .92 and .90, respectively.

2.1.2.4 Demographics

Participants’ gender, age, ethnic identification, faith, and political orientation were asked as demographic variables (see Appendix N).

2.2 Results

2.2.1 Factor Analysis

I submitted 80 items to Principal Axis Factoring with Promax rotations. Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) suggest using oblique rotation if there is a relation between the possible factors and to examine the pattern matrix. Because the correlation between factors ranged from .43 to .70, I preferred to use Promax rotation and inspected the factor structure from the pattern matrix in a given output. I used .30 as a cut-off value. The first analysis indicated a 10-factor solution with many cross-loadings and values below the cut-off score. I determined the factor structures in terms of Eigenvalues greater than one (i.e., Kaiser Criteria) and Scree Plot. In addition to these, I repeated the same analysis four times by eliminating cross-loading items until it gives the coherent factor structure without any cross-loadings. Also, the items of possible factors retained by looking at their item-total correlations, inter-item correlations, mean scores, and Cronbach’s alpha scores if deleted.

The final analysis suggested a four-factor solution with 23 items and explained %57.82 of the variance (see Table 3). Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin value was .95 showing that the

sample is adequate for conducting factor analysis. Also, Bartlett's test of Sphericity (χ^2 (253) = 8,095.336, $p < .001$) indicated that the data is appropriate for factor analysis as well.

The first factor is *head of family* and consists of six items. It measures the norms and expectancies about men holding a family. The second factor is *dominance*, and it consists of six-items measuring the extent to which one accepts men's dominance in a given society. The third factor is *emotional restriction*, and it includes five items indicating one's tolerance for men's emotionality in front of others. The fourth factor is *femininity-avoidance,* and six-items give one's level of acceptance when a man seems to be feminine with their clothing, appearance or behaviors. All the items are in a positive direction except for one. (see Table 3 for factor loadings, explained variances, and internal consistency scores [i.e., Cronbach's Alpha]).

2.2.2 Reliability and Validity of MIS

All the factors were *internally consistent*. Reliability estimates were .90 for head of family; .89 for dominance; .82 for emotional restriction and .88 for femininity-avoidance. These factors were also significantly correlated with each other ranging from .43 to .70 (see Table 3).

To measure the *criterion-related validity* of the scale, Tabachnik and Fidel (2007) suggest using scales measuring similar constructs. Therefore, I examined the relationship between MIS, Attitudes towards Men Inventory (AMI), and Ambivalent Sexism scales (ASI).

To show *convergent validity*, I expected that four factors of MIS would positively correlate with the two subscales of ASI (i.e., hostile and benevolent sexism) because these scales measure sexist attitudes towards women which can be seen as a result of traditional masculinity ideology (Villemez & Touhey, 1977).

Table 3

The four-factor solution of Masculinity Ideology Scale

Factors	**Items**	**Factor loadings**
Factor 1: Head of Family *Explained variance* = 43.20 %; *Eigenvalue* = 10.32; α = .90; *M* = 4.41		
	A man must stand his own feet independent of others' help. (Bir erkek başkalarının yardımına bağlı olmadan kendi ayakları üzerinde durabilmelidir.)	.84
	A man must earn money sufficient for the maintanence of his family. (Bir erkek ailesini geçindirebilecek kadar para kazanabilmelidir.)	.80
	A man must look after his family and take his family under his wings. (Bir erkek ailesine sahip çıkıp, kol kanat germelidir.)	.80
	A man must hold his temper when he confronts a danger. (Bir erkek tehlikeyle karşılaştığında soğukkanlılığını korumalıdır.)	.75
	A man should behave mature. (Bir erkek olgun ve oturaklı davranmalıdır.)	.71
	It is unmanly to give up in the face of hardships. (Zorluklarla karşılaştığında pes etmek bir erkeğe yakışmaz.)	.70
Factor 2: Dominance *Explained variance* = 8.11 %; *Eigenvalue* = 2.29; α = .89; *M* = 2.30)		
	Men can rule a company better than women. (Erkekler bir şirketi kadınlardan daha iyi yönetebilir.)	.91
	Men can rule a country better than women. (Erkekler bir ülkeyi kadınlardan daha iyi yönetebilir.)	.83
	In society, men should be more dominant than women. (Toplumda, erkekler kadınlardan baskın olmalıdır.)	.78
	It should be man saying the last word in the home. (Evde son kararı erkek vermelidir.)	.65
	It's normal for a man to be respected by his family only because he is a man. (Bir erkeğin erkek olduğu için ailesinden saygı görmesi normaldir.)	.64
	Having a boy should make a man proud. (Erkek çocuk sahibi olmak bir erkeğe gurur vermelidir.)	.57
Factor 3: Emotional restriction *Explained variance* = 3.47 %; *Eigenvalue* = 1.24; α = .82; *M* = 2.02)		
	I find it embrassing for a man to cry in front of others. (Bir erkeğin herkesin önünde ağlamasını utanç verici bulurum.)	.79
	I find it unmanly if I see a man crying. (Ağlayan bir erkek görsem bunu erkekliğine yakıştıramam.)	.76

Table 3 (Continued)

I find it unmanly for a man to cry while watching a drama movie. (Hüzünlü bir film izlerken ağlamayı bir erkeğe yakıştıramam.)	.63
It is not a weakness for a man to express his emotions. (Reverse-coded) (Bir erkeğin duygularını kolayca ifade etmesi zayıflık değildir.)	-.52
A man should not express his emotions in a community. (Bir erkek toplum içinde duygularını belli etmemelidir.)	.51
Factor 4: Femininity avoidance *Explained variance* = 3.03 %; *Eigenvalue* = 1.11; α = .88; *M* = 3.34)	
It is not fine for a man to dance coquettishly. (Bir erkeğin kıvrak bir şekilde dans etmesi hoş değildir.)	.84
Men's behaviors that I find feminine bother me. (Bir erkeğin kadınsı bulduğum davranışları beni rahatsız eder.)	.78
I don't think good about a man walking coquettishly. (Kırıtarak yürüyen bir erkek hakkında iyi düşünmem.)	.77
Wearing short and tight pants do not fit men. (Paçası kısa ve dar pantolonlar giymek bir erkeğe yakışmaz.)	.59
I don't approve a man chewing a gum. (Bir erkeğin sakız çiğnemesini hoş karşılamam.)	.53
A man should live his sexualiy only with women. (Bir erkek cinselliği yalnızca kadınlarla yaşamalıdır.)	.50

In addition, I also expected high correlations with *benevolent attitudes toward men* (i.e., subscale of AMI) because the scale favors attitudes justifying men's dominance, one of the constructs that MIS measures. Table 4 shows correlations coefficients for these variables ranging from .44 to .71 ($p < .001$) and this shows that MIS has convergent validity.

As an indication of *divergent validity*, I inspected the relationship between four factors of MIS and *hostile attitudes towards men* (i.e., subscale of AMI) because masculinity ideology and these attitudes contradict and diverge from each other. Masculinity ideology glorifies the status of a man who normatively holds manhood while hostile attitudes in AMI degrade men who try to enjoy these glorifications. That's why they should be divergent from each other.

Table 4 shows the correlation coefficients between these scales. The correlations of four factors of MIS with hostility towards men were low and ranged from .07 to .29, two of them having non-significant *p*-value (see Table 4). The correlations and internal consistency scores show that MIS is a valid and reliable measure.

Table 4

Factor Correlations, Means, and Cronbach's Alpha Scores for MIS, AMI, and ASI

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Head of family	1							
2. Dominance	.51**	1						
3. Emotional restriction	.43**	.66**	1					
4. Femininity-avoidance	.70**	.64**	.57**	1				
5. AMI Hostility	.29**	.07	.07	.29**	1			
6. AMI Benevolence	.71**	.69**	.54**	.71**	.31**	1		
7. ASI Hostility	.63**	.59**	.45**	.58**	.23**	.74**	1	
8. ASI Benevolence	.71**	.53**	.44**	.65**	.44**	.80**	.64**	1
Mean	4.41	2.30	2.02	3.34	4.00	3.25	3.41	3.41
SD	1.17	1.19	.91	1.42	.85	1.10	1.11	1.13
Cronbach's α =	.90	.89	.82	.88	.80	.89	.92	.90

Note. MIS = Masculinity Ideology Scale; AMI = Ambivalence towards men inventory;
ASI = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory All the scales are rated on 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree).
** $p < .001$

2.3 Discussion

Exploratory factor analysis revealed that traditional masculinity ideology in Turkey can be measured with 23 items loading on four ideological components. The correlational analyses also demonstrated that MIS is a valid and reliable measure and can be used in a student sample. It measures traditional (i.e., hegemonic) concerns about masculinity in Turkish culture with four components: head of family, dominance, emotional restriction, and femininity avoidance.

The factor structure of MIS is in line with the Turkish-adapted male role norms scale, MRNS (Lease, Çiftçi, Demir, & Boyraz, 2009). Dominance, femininity avoidance, and emotional restriction factors of MIS support the existing three-factor structure of MRNS. They coincide with status, anti-femininity, and toughness of MRNS, respectively. However, items of MIS were written in Turkish taking Turkish culture and language into consideration. Besides, MIS also offers a new factor: head of family. Although it seems that *status* factor may cover the breadwinner role, men still describe manhood as a head of family in Turkey regardless of their socio-economic status or education level (Bolak-Boratav, Okman-Fişek, & Eslen-Ziya, 2014). Head of family component has explained the largest variance on the scale. This factor revolved around the idea that a man should protect their family, stay strong for them, and behave like an adult. Looking at the scale mean (see Table 3), one can see that participants highly agreed on this idea even if they scored lower on other components of masculinity. It seems to portray that although university educated people partly disagree with the mandates of femininity-avoidance, dominance, and emotional restriction, they still favor the role of breadwinner and want to see responsible adults in a family.

Femininity avoidance component, on the other hand, showed relatively high trend of scale mean. Although not high as head of family component, people also believed that a man should be away from feminine outlook. As many of masculinity scales underline (see Sakallı-Uğurlu & Türkoğlu, in press), anti-femininity is a kind of milestone for the social construction of traditional masculinity. During socialization of masculinity, boys first learn how *not to be like a girl* by experiencing social exclusion and victimization, and they build a masculine identity on this proscription (Ewing Lee & Troop-Gordon, 2011). On the other hand, relatively low scale means of dominance and emotional restriction may imply that young people want to see a change in the enactment of masculinities. They thought that men should be free to express their emotions and abandon the idea that a man should be dominant over women.

Its four-factor structure supports the existing masculinity scales (from a normative perspective). Widely used masculinity scales measuring adherence to traditional

masculinity norms also mostly revolve around status, femininity avoidance, aggressiveness, success, toughness, self-reliance, winning, emotional control, violence, homophobia (see Table 1 in Sakallı-Uğurlu & Türkoğlu, in press). MIS also adds a new perspective to the American-culture focused masculinity measurement by presenting more culture-congruent items which reveal both similarities and differences. For example, it contributes to the existing Turkish adaptation (Lease et al., 2009) of the Male Role Norms Scale (MRNS: Thompson & Pleck, 1986) by presenting a *head of family* component. In Turkish culture, people are lenient to describe married men in relation to their responsibility in the family as breadwinners. This stereotype automatically brings protection responsibility, being possessive, and ability to take care of his family (Sakallı-Uğurlu, Türkoğlu, Kuzlak, & Gupta, 2018b). With this contribution, MIS goes beyond the Turkish adaptation of other masculinity ideology scales (see Lease et al., 2009) by proposing new items reflecting insiders' perspective in Turkish culture.

On the other hand, MIS has a similar factor structure with Thompson and Pleck (1986)'s MRNS. MIS also reflects the *status* need of masculinity with *dominance* factor that emphasize men's privileged status in societies over women. Femininity avoidance factor of MIS reflects a similar construct with an anti-femininity factor of MRNS. Both focus on the idea that men should be away from feminine behaviors. However, the reflections of these kinds of behaviors may be different in Turkish culture and American culture. Thus, MIS especially preferred to use culture-specific examples of feminine behaviors such as chewing gum, wearing tights, or dancing like *a girl*. Reliability and validity scores of MIS also showed that using culture-specific items has worked for the Turkish student sample.

In addition to factor structure of MIS, there are some unexpected correlations. For example, the correlation between benovalence toward men and the entire MIS is higher than expected (r = .81). The reason may lie behind complementary attitudes targeted by benovalence toward men scale. In this scale, men are depicted as *deficient* without women guaranteeing that they are caregivers and lovers in men's lives. Thus, it is quite

reasonable to find high relationship between MIS and AMI-Benovelence, since benovalent attitudes prepare a ground for men's dominance and breadwinner role as MIS suggested.

After presenting that MIS is a reliable and valid measurement tool, I test its relationship between precarious manhood/womanhood (PM/W) beliefs in Study 2a and Study 2b. Examining the relationship between MIS and endorsement of precarious manhood/womanhood beliefs would unveil that those who value traditional masculinity more (measured via MIS) are tend to endorse that manhood but not womanhood is a hard-won status. Acknowledging the hardiness of achieving manhood, in that sense, may justify any action to get that lost manhood status back when it is risked.

The following chapter starts examining PMT (Vandello et al., 2008) in Turkish cultural context by conducting four studies directly replicating the original experiments. In their study, Vandello and colleagues (2009) conducted five experimental studies to test whether manhood is seen socially gained status; whether it is a losable status; and whether threat evokes anxiety and aggression to reclaim their status back. In all the experiments, they asked American students to indicate their perceptions about manhood in comparison to womanhood. In this study, I attempted to conduct a replication of four studies of them by using a Turkish student sample. However, this study should not be seen as a mere replication. Rather, it aims to feature cultural highlights peculiar to the Turkish culture by expecting that womanhood can also be seen the precarious social status in Turkey. It also goes beyond being a mere replication study by testing the role of endorsing traditional masculinity ideology in Turkey on precarious manhood and precarious womanhood beliefs (i.e., manhood is a hard-won social status but womanhood is a given/ascribed status).

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 2: PRECARIOUS MANHOOD AS A HARD-WON STATUS AND THE MODERATOR ROLE OF MASCULINITY IDEOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Study 2 aims to reexamine the first assumption of precarious manhood thesis in Turkish cultural context and to investigate the role of traditional masculinity ideology on people's precarious manhood and precarious womanhood beliefs. According to the first assumption, people see manhood as a hard-won, socially acquired status compared to womanhood, which is mostly perceived in terms of physical and biological markers (Vandello & Bosson, 2013; Vandello et al., 2008). In their original study, Vandello et al. (2008) tested this tenet by conducting two experimental studies, one querying precarious nature of manhood among with culturally-familiar proverbs and the other querying the same concern by asking more direct statements about their beliefs about *elusive* and *tenuous* nature of manhood and womanhood.

In their Study 1a, they randomly assigned participants either to manhood or womanhood conditions to read *fabricated proverbs* implying the hard-won status of manhood (or womanhood) depending on the experimental condition. Then, they asked to what extent they agree with these proverbs (i.e., endorsement of proverbs). Accordingly, people would agree more on proverbs related to manhood since they are more compatible with cultural understanding related to hard-won manhood status.

In their Study 1b, they also tested their assumptions by asking *direct statements* about the precariousness of manhood or womanhood in different conditions (i.e., Precarious Manhood/Womanhood Beliefs Scale). This way, they measured manhood/womanhood beliefs *directly* instead of using indirect proverbs. Also, they

asked whether the transition to manhood and womanhood are based on physical or social precursors. According to the researchers, "if people view men as made rather than born, then they should attribute the transition from boyhood to manhood more to social factors than to physical or biological factors" (Vandello et al., 2008, p. 1327).

Their results showed that people agree more on *Proverbs* (i.e., indirect measure) and *statements* (e.g., direct measure) signifying that manhood is hardly earned compared to womanhood. People also attributed transition from *boyhood to manhood* to more social (societal) causes rather than to physical causes, whereas they attributed *transition from girlhood to womanhood* to *both* physical and social causes.

After giving the design and the results of their study (see Study 1a and 1b, Vandello et al., 2008), it is important to reiterate the aim of this study. The primary aim of this study is to test whether people see manhood hard-won compared to womanhood in Turkish cultural context. This study went beyond being a single replication study; it also explored whether *endorsement of masculinity ideology* predicted people's beliefs about precarious manhood and womanhood. Following the same procedure with Vandello et al. (2008), I conducted two studies theoretically and methodologically replicating the original ones. One of them used proverbs (Study 2a), and the other used direct statements (Study 2b) to measure the precarious nature of manhood/womanhood.

It is vital to remind that it is not the milestones about manhood that the current study explores. It explores the *structure* of manhood and womanhood (i.e., whether it is socially constructed or physically/biologically ascribed) in the eyes of Turkish people. Capturing the difference in people's perception is critical since the way people see manhood and womanhood may shape their everyday attitudes and behaviors. To grasp Turkish participants' perceptions, I also used fabricated proverbs together with familiar Turkish proverbs by manipulating manhood and womanhood conditions. In addition to that, I used the Masculinity Ideology Scale (see Study 1 for scale development study) to see whether it changes people's perceptions about precarious manhood and womanhood.

In general, I expected that

(a) Turkish people would view manhood as hard-won social status compared to womanhood measured via both proverbs (Study 2a) and the direct statements (Study 2b),

(b) Turkish people would attribute more social reasons to transition from *boyhood to manhood* compared to the transition from *girlhood to womanhood* (Study 2b).

(c) Different levels of masculinity ideology would predict their perception of the precarious manhood/womanhood status (Study 2a & 2b).

3.2 Study 2A: Measuring Precarious Manhood and Womanhood Beliefs via Proverbs

This study benefited from *fabricated proverbs* to capture beliefs about the nature of manhood and womanhood in a nonobtrusive way. To give a clear picture about the study variables, participants' gender (men vs. women) and the version of the proverbs (manhood vs. womanhood) were included as independent variables; masculinity ideology was included as a moderator variable, and participants' agreement with these proverbs was included as the dependent variable of the study. In order to be loyal to original studies (Vandello et al., 2008), *understandability of proverbs* (i.e, to what extent the participants understand the sentences) was also included as a covariate. This way, Vandello et al. (2008) say, they could eliminate the effect of sociolinguistic familiarity of the proverbs.

I also investigate the role of masculinity ideology endorsement on precarious manhood and womanhood perceptions. Everyone in the society including men and women can internalize masculinity ideology. Masculinity ideology, as previously indicated, refers to ideas and beliefs about how to be a man in a given culture (Thompson & Pleck, 1986). It denotes both physical appearance (e.g., physical toughness or power) and social prescriptions (e.g., being a breadwinner, avoiding femininity). Therefore, the

perception of manhood as an achieved social status can be affected by participants' level of masculinity ideology endorsement but not solely from their assigned biological sex. Thus, I expect that *four components of masculinity ideology* (i.e., head of family, dominance, emotional restriction, femininity avoidance) would moderate the relationship between version (manhood vs. womanhood) and sex (men vs. women) with the endorsement of precarious manhood/womanhood proverbs and statements separately.

To sum up,

(a) I expect to find the main effect of the *version* that people would see manhood as more of an earned social status compared to womanhood.

(b) I expect that the *endorsement of masculinity ideology* would moderate the relationship between gender, version, and precarious manhood/womanhood.

3.2.1 Method

3.2.1.1 Participants

In exchange for bonus points, 149 (43 men, 106 women) students participated in the study. All the participants were undergraduate students taking elective courses from the Psychology Department of METU, and their age ranged from 18 to 41 (M = 21.72, SD = 2.78) (see Table 5 for demographics).

The participants were invited to the study through the SONA system that is used in the Psychology Department of METU. In SONA, students can easily reach questionnaire packages via external internet links and get bonus points in return. The study was announced with the title of "Proverb Study" without any deception. All of the study materials were translated from the original English materials to Turkish with special emphasis on cultural nuances in both languages.

3.2.1.2 Procedure and Design

After taking an ethical approval of METU Human Subjects Ethics Committee (see Appendix A), two independent researchers translated the materials from English to Turkish; then, I compared two versions of the materials in terms of accuracy. Here, it is important to note that there are critical differences between specific words in English and in Turkish. The most compelling part of translating the materials from English to Turkish was deciding how to use "a boy" and "a girl" in Turkish. "A girl", normally, refers to a female child who is not yet an adult. However, in Turkish, "a girl" is used to denote both a female child and a female who still keeps her virginity (i.e., kız). Protecting virginity, especially before getting married, is a female gender norm in Turkey and it's a requirement of being a pure and honorable woman in Turkish culture (Sakallı-Uğurlu & Glick, 2003).

The same dilemma has occurred with the translation of "a boy" (i.e., "oğlan"). A boy refers to a male child who has not been an adult. However, it also prompts the meaning of man whose characteristics are judged to be more feminine (e.g., oğlan). At the same time, the current feminist organizations promote using "oğlan" instead of referring both boys and men as "erkek" to overcome prejudice in the everyday language. As a researcher, it was quite compelling to decide using "oğlan" and "kız" instead of "erkek" and "kız" considering the dynamics of Turkish culture. Nevertheless, being loyal to the original wording, I ended up using "oğlan" "kız" in both studies.

This study utilized an experimental study design prepared in Qualtrics, which enables easy randomization. After the participants got the study link through SONA, they first read the informed consent, and then they were randomly assigned one of the conditions showing proverbs related to manhood or womanhood. They were thanked and informed about the study after responding to demographic questions.

Table 5

Demographic Characteristics of the Participants in Study 2A (N = 149)

Variables	Frequency	Percentage	M	SD	Range
Age			21.72	2.78	18-41
Participant's gender					
Women	106	71.1			
Men	43	28.9			
Place mostly lived in					
Metropolis	106	71.1			
City	22	14.8			
Province	19	12.8			
Town	1	.7			
Village	1	.7			
Mother's Education					
Illiterate	0	0			
Primary School	34	22.8			
Secondary school	11	7.4			
High school	44	29.5			
Two-year license	9	6.0			
University	44	29.5			
Master	6	4.0			
PhD	1	.7			
Father's Education					
Primary School	18	12.1			
Secondary school	14	9.4			
High school	30	20.1			
Two-year license	18	12.1			
University	54	36.2			
Master	11	7.4			
PhD	4	2.7			
Perceived Social Class					
Lower	4	2.7			
Lower-middle	23	15.4			
Middle	85	57.0			
Middle-upper	34	22.8			
Upper	2	2.0			
Religion					
Belief in a religion	82	55			
Not belonging to any religion	67	45			
Effect of Religion			3.75	3.00	1(None)-11(A lot)
Political orientation			3.72	3.00	1(Left)-11(Right)

3.3.1.3 Measures

3.3.1.3.1 Proverbs about Precarious Manhood/Womanhood.

The perception of manhood and womanhood were manipulated using proverbs. In the original study of Vandello et al. (2008), the researchers fabricated six proverbs, and participants rated them along with other 24 traditional proverbs familiar to American culture. These originally fabricated proverbs were translated from English to Turkish by four independent researchers (see Table 6). The rest 24 proverbs were chosen from mostly-used Turkish proverbs (see Appendix E). The participants rated their agreement on either manhood or womanhood version of the fabricated proverbs on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) Likert type scale. The higher the score, the more they perceive manhood/womanhood status precarious. In the data analyses, responses to two versions were combined and constructed a single variable named as an *endorsement of proverbs* (α = .94).

Participants were also asked to rate "how well they understood each proverb" to prevent a perception that can be aroused from the male-typed language used in the proverbs. They rated each proverb's understandability on a 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*) Likert type scale. Participants either rated understandability of manhood or womanhood version of the six fabricated proverbs. In the data analyses, participants' responses to these proverbs were combined into a single variable named as *understandability of proverbs* (α = .88), and it was used as a covariate to control for the sociolinguistic familiarity of the words.

3.3.1.3.2 Masculinity Ideology Scale (MIS)

MIS is developed in the scope of the current thesis. Study 1 (scale construction study) has demonstrated that MIS consists of 23 items and four factors: head of family, dominance, emotional restriction, and femininity avoidance (see Table 3 in Study 1). Principal axis factoring with the current data supported the original four-factor structure explaining 56.74 % of the variability on the items of masculinity ideology.

In the sample of this study, internal consistency of "*head of family* was .85 (6 items; "A man should earn enough money to maintain a family"); *dominance* was .88 (6 items; "Men can run a company better than women"); *femininity avoidance* was .87 (6 items; "A man behaving feminine make me uncomfortable"); and *emotional restriction* was .83 (5 items; "I would find it inappropriate if I see a man crying"). Participants rated the items on a 1 (*totally disagree*) to 6 (*totally agree*) Likert type scale. The higher the scores, the more people endorse traditional masculinity ideology in Turkey.

3.3.1.3.3 Demographics

Participants' gender, age, place of birth, the city they currently live in, the place they mostly lived in, marital status, ethnic identity, mother's and father's education levels, perceived social class, religiosity and its effect on their daily practices, and ideological orientations were asked at the end of the study (see Appendix N).

Table 6

The Original Fabricated Proverbs and their Turkish Translations

Fabricated Proverbs in English	**Fabricated Proverbs in Turkish**
Manhood (womanhood) is hard won and easily lost.	Erkeklik (kadınlık) para gibidir, zor kazanılır kolay harcanır.
As a gem cannot be polished without friction, a boy (girl) cannot become a man (woman) without struggles.	Taş ovalamadıkça parlamaz, oğlan (kız) mücadele etmedikçe erkek (kadın) olmaz.
All boys (girls) do not grow up to become real men (women).	Her buzağıdan dana her oğlandan (kızdan) erkek (kadın) olmaz.
A boy (girl) must earn his (her) right to be called a man (woman).	Oğlan (kız), erkek (kadın) olmayı hak etsin ki erkek (kadın) desinler.
It is a rocky road from a boy (girl) to a man (woman).	Oğlan (kız) düşe kalka erkek (kadın) olmayı öğrenir.
A man (woman) must continually prove his (her) honor.	Erkek (kadın), erkeklik (kadınlık) onurunu daima kanıtlamalıdır.

3.3.2 Results

I collected the data of Study 2a (i.e., Proverbs) and Study 2b (i.e., direct statements) from the same participant pool because of the time limit and accessibility to the participants. However, before the data analysis, the sample was randomly separated into two data sets. The power analysis, conducted with G*Power, suggested to include at least 125 participants for Study 2a and 128 participants for Study 2b to meet medium effect sizes (f = .25) and 80 % power.

3.3.2.1 The Correlational Analyses

Table 7 shows the bivariate correlations for manhood and womanhood conditions for understandability of proverbs, endorsement of proverbs, four different subscales of Masculinity Ideology Scale (i.e., head of the family, dominance, emotional restriction, and femininity avoidance) and masculinity ideology as an overall score. In general, the correlations between study variables were higher for those who are in the manhood condition than womanhood condition. Table 7 reveals higher correlations between components of masculinity ideology and endorsement of precarious manhood proverbs than the endorsement of womanhood proverbs. The significance of this difference is tested with ANOVA in the next steps.

Understandability of proverbs, a suggested covariate, did not correlate with any of the study variables. It is also important to note that the endorsement of *emotional restriction* component did not significantly correlate with the endorsement of proverbs for those who are in the womanhood condition while it was significant for manhood condition. It implies that as participants' beliefs that "men should restrict their emotion in front of others" increase, the tendency to view manhood (but not womanhood) as precarious also increase.

3.3.2.2 The Effect of Participant's Gender and Version on Endorsement of Precarious Manhood/Womanhood Proverbs

In order to examine the effect of participant gender and gender version on the endorsement of precarious manhood/ womanhood proverbs, 2 (gender: man vs. woman) x 2 (proverb version: manhood vs. womanhood) ANOVA was conducted (see Table 8 for mean scores and standart deviations in each condition). Although the fabricated proverbs were translated into Turkish as neutral and understandable as possible, there may be some words (e.g., prove, deserve, earn) denoting "male agency" inherited in masculinity ideology (Vandello et al., 2008, p. 1328). In order to eliminate the probability that participants may agree more on precarious manhood proverbs because of wording, *understandability of the proverbs* was taken as a significant covariate in the original study of Vandello et al. (2008), but the same covariate was not statistically significant (F (1, 144) = .07, p = .79). Thus, it wasn't included as a covariate in the current analyses.

The main effect of proverb condition (e.g., manhood vs. womanhood) was statistically significant supporting the first assumption of precarious manhood thesis, F (1, 145) = 14.82, d = .67, p < .001. The participants who read the manhood version of the proverbs (M = 3.26, SE = .19) scored higher than the participants who read the womanhood version of the proverbs (M = 2.25, SE = .18). In other words, people endorsed precarious manhood proverbs more than they do precarious womanhood proverbs. The main effect of participant's gender on endorsement of proverbs (F (1, 144) = 2.31, η_p^2 = .02, p = .13) and the interaction between version and gender, (F (1, 280) = .06, η_p^2 = .00, p = .80) were not statistically significant.

Table 7

Bivariate Correlation Coefficients in terms of Gender Versions (Manhood and Womanhood)

Manhood (*N* = 73)	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Understandability of proverbs	1					
2. Endorsement of proverbs	-.03	1				
3. Head of family	-.11	.55*	1			
4. Dominance	.03	.44*	.52**	1		
5. Emotional restriction	.05	.27*	.36**	.61**	1	
6. Femininity avoidance	-.00	.50**	.67**	.63**	.52**	1
Womanhood (*N* = 76)	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Understandability of proverbs	1					
2. Endorsement of proverbs	.06	1				
3. Head of family	.00	.43**	1			
4. Dominance	-.14	.43**	.38**	1		
5. Emotional restriction	-.11	**.22**	.30**	.59**	1	
6. Femininity avoidance	-19	.34**	.60**	.41**	.55**	1

Note. Total *N* = 149. The bolded correlation coefficients signify the only difference from manhood version. Masculinity Ideology = the mean of 23 items * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

3.3.2.3 The Role of Masculinity Ideology on Precarious Manhood/Womanhood Proverbs

To test the effect of masculinity ideology as a *moderator* between the relationship of version, gender, and endorsement of proverbs; four three-way interactions (moderated moderation) were conducted by using Model 3 in PROCESS with 5000 bootstrapped samples and 95 % bias-corrected confidence interval (Hayes, 2018). Model 3 enables to do *moderated moderation* in which the moderation on the relationship between X (e.g., version) and Y (e.g., endorsement of precarious manhood/womanhood) is itself moderated by the second moderator. Hayes (2018) suggests this model as an

alternative to three-way interaction in multiple regression analysis, reducing the labor invested in the analysis.

Table 8

Participant Number, Means, and Standard Deviations in terms of Gender Versions for Endorsement of Precarious Manhood/Womanhood Proverbs (Study 2A, N = 149)

		Version					
		Manhood (*N* = 73)			Womanhood (*N* = 76)		
		M	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*N*
Gender	Man (*N* = 43)	3.49	1.57	20	2.41	1.40	23
	Woman (*N* = 106)	3.03	1.60	53	2.08	1.29	53

The previous ANOVA has already shown that a version of the proverbs has a statistically significant effect on the endorsement of precarious manhood/ womanhood. On top of that, I had suggested that the level of masculinity ideology people endorse would differentiate the effect of version (manhood/womanhood) on their endorsement of precarious manhood/womanhood. Also, the effect of masculinity ideology would be different in terms of participants' gender because both men and women can endorse and show different levels of masculinity ideology (Lease, Çiftçi, Demir, & Boyraz, 2009; Thompson & Bennett, 2015; Thompson & Pleck, 1986) and both gender groups internalize this ideology in different socialization forms (Ewing-Lee & Troop-Gordon, 2011)

In the previous analysis, the relationship between version (X) and endorsement of precarious manhood/womanhood (Y) is constrained to be the same for all levels of masculinity ideology components and all men and women. However, some men would endorse masculinity more than women (or vice versa), and this would create a situation where they can see manhood more of achieved status. Thus, I suggest that the relationship between X and Y should not be independent of participants' gender and

their masculinity ideology. Moderated moderation analysis (Model 3) enables to test these interactive relationships together (see Figure 1 for the conceptual diagrams).

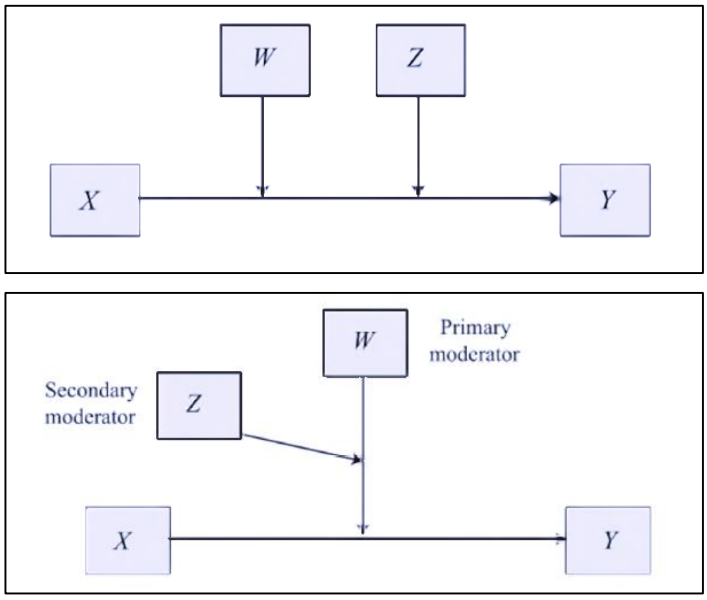

Figure 1. The conceptual diagrams of multiple moderation (Model 2) and moderated moderation (Model 3) suggested by Hayes (2018)

Here, it is *not* the multiple moderation analysis (where both masculinity ideology and gender has a role on the link between X→ Y, Model 2 in Figure 1). The relationship between X (version) and Y (endorsement) can be *independent* of participants' gender, and ANOVA results have already revealed this. Rather, the role masculinity ideology on the link between version and endorsement of precarious manhood/womanhood may be (participants') gender-dependent. Thus, *moderated moderation analysis* (Model 3 in Figure 1) was used instead of multiple moderation analysis (Model 2) (see Figure 1).

The interaction effect of four different components of Masculinity Ideology (i.e., head of family, dominance, emotional restriction, and femininity avoidance) with gender and version was tested in four separate analyses. By employing Model 3 in each of the analyses, proverb's version (manhood vs. womanhood) was the independent variable

(X); gender (Z) and four components of masculinity ideology (W) were moderators; and endorsement of proverbs was the dependent variable (Y) in each of the moderation analyses (see Figure 2).

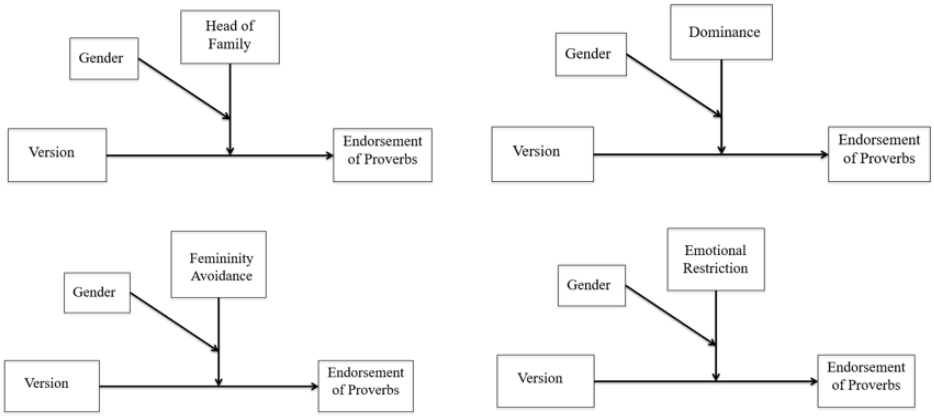

Figure 2. Moderated moderation effects of four components of masculinity ideology

Before conducting moderated moderation analysis on PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2018), I re-coded "proverb version" into different variables. Through all ANOVAs, version 1 indicated "manhood" while version 2 indicated "womanhood" condition. Because my predictor (X: version) and one of my moderator variables (Z: participant gender) are categorical variables, PROCESS needs to dummy-code them. By doing this, it attributes the first group (previously 1: manhood) as an indicator and compares the second group (previously 2: womanhood) to the first group. To ease the interpretation of the results, I re-coded *version 1 as womanhood*, and *version 2 as manhood* so that PROCESS gives the results of manhood condition compared to womanhood condition. For each of the analysis, PROCESS dummy-coded the categorical variables (i.e., participant's gender and proverb's versions), and mean-centered head of family, dominance, emotional restriction, and femininity avoidance mandates in each model.

Table 9

The Significance Test Results of Moderated Moderation for Head of Family conducted with PROCESS Macro (Model 3)

	b	*t*	*p*	*95 % CI*
Version[a] (Manhood > Womanhood)	.87	3.55	.00	.39, 1.38
Head of Family	.65	4.11	.00	.34, .96
Participants' Gender[b] (Men> Women)	.09	.40	.67	-.36, .54
Version X HoF	.16	.48	.63	-.50, .83
Version X Gender	-.27	-.56	.58	-1.25, .70
HoF X Gender	-.58	-1.63	.11	-1.28, .12
Version X HoF X Gender	.79	1.67	.10	-.14, 1.72

Note. CI: Confidence Interval; [a] As PROCESS dummy-coded the *version*, the significance tests reflects that manhood version (dummy-coded as 1) is significantly different compared to womanhood version (dummy- coded as 0 [as an indicator]). [B] Because PROCESS dummy-coded the *gender*, the significance tests reflect that men (dummy-coded as 1) are significantly higher compared to women (dummy-coded as 0 [as an indicator]). HoF = Head of Family

In the first model, I tested the moderator role of *head of family* component. For this mandate of masculinity, the model including all the variables explained 35 % of the variance on endorsement of proverbs, F (7, 141) = 10.71, R^2 = .35 p < .001. Head of family (b = .65, t (141) = 4.11, p < .001) and version of the proverbs (b = .89, t (141) = 3.55, p < .001) significantly predicted the endorsement of the proverbs. Accordingly, as their endorsement of the head of family mandate increase, their endorsement of precarious manhood and womanhood significantly increase. Also, the participants rated manhood as more precarious (hard-won) on proverbs compared to womanhood. However, the analysis did not reveal significant moderation effects (see Table 9).

In the second model, I tested the moderator role of dominance mandate. The model explained 30 % of the variance on the endorsement of proverbs, F (7, 141) = 8.75, R^2 =.30 p < .001. Dominance (b = 1.18, t (141) = 3.92, p < .001) and version of the proverbs (b = .99, t (141) = 3.53, p < .001) significantly predicted endorsement of precarious manhood/womanhood proverbs. People's adherence to dominance mandate of masculinity predicted higher levels of precarious manhood/womanhood

endorsements. Also, people who read the manhood version of the proverbs endorse higher levels of precarious manhood than those who read womanhood version. However, participant gender and dominance did not significantly moderate did the relationship between version and precarious manhood/womanhood (see Table 10).

Table 10

The Significance Test Results of Moderated Moderation for Dominance Conducted with PROCESS Macro (Model 3)

	b	*t*	*p*	*95 % CI*
Version[a] (Manhood > Womanhood)	.99	3.52	.00	.43, 1.55
Dominance	1.18	3.91	.00	.58, 1.77
Participants' Gender[b] (Men> Women)	-.06	-.18	.86	-.76, .64
Version X Dom	-.09	-.19	.84	-1, .82
Version X Gender	-.70	-1.22	.22	-1.83, .42
Dom X Gender	-.83	-1.83	.07	-1.72, .06
Version X Dom X Gender	.70	.64	.27	-.56, 1.96

Note. CI: Confidence Interval; [a] Because PROCESS dummy-coded the *version*, the significance tests reflects that manhood version (dummy-coded as 1) is significantly different compared to womanhood version (dummy- coded as 0 [as an indicator]). [b] Because PROCESS dummy-coded the *gender*, the significance tests reflect that men (dummy-coded as 1) are significantly higher compared to women (dummy-coded as 0 [as an indicator]). Dom = Dominance

The third model including *emotional restriction* as a primary moderator was also significant, F (7, 141) = 4.04, R^2 = .17 p < .001. In this model, the only significant predictor was version (b = .87, t (141) = 2.90, p < .01) while all other predictors and moderators were non-significant (see Table 11). Similar to the previous ANOVA and regression analysis, people viewed manhood as more precarious than womanhood.

Table 11

The Significance Test Results of Moderated Moderation for Emotional Restriction Conducted with PROCESS Macro (Model 3)

	b	*t*	*p*	*95 % CI*
Version[a] (Manhood > Womanhood)	.87	2.90	.00	.28, 1.46
Emotion Restriction	.78	.49	.12	-.19, 1.75
Participants' Gender[b] (Men> Women)	.12	.31	.75	-.63, .87
Version X ER	-.25	-.40	.69	-1.49, .99
Version X Gender	-.29	-.47	.64	-1.50, .92
ER X Gender	-.51	.98	.33	-.85, 2.53
Version X ER X Gender	.83	.97	.33	-.85, 2.53

Note. CI: Confidence Interval; [a] Because PROCESS dummy-coded the *version*, the significance tests reflects that manhood version (dummy-coded as 1) is significantly different compared to womanhood version (dummy- coded as 0 [as an indicator]). [b] Because PROCESS dummy-coded the *gender*, the significance tests reflect that men (dummy-coded as 1) are significantly higher compared to women (dummy-coded as 0 [as an indicator]). ER = Emotional restriction Ideology

Lastly, the model including *femininity avoidance* as the primary moderator significantly explained 30 % of the variance on the endorsement of precarious manhood/womanhood, F (7, 141) = 8.59, R^2 = .30, p < .001. Similar to previous models, people endorsed manhood as more precarious compared to womanhood, b = .92, t (141) = 23.59, p < .001.

As their beliefs in avoidance of femininity increases, their perception about precarious manhood/womanhood also significantly increases, b = .47, t (141) = 3.23, p < .01). Different than previous analysis, both *participant gender* and *femininity avoidance* significantly moderated the relationship between version and the endorsement of the proverbs, F (7, 141) = 4.55, R^2_{change} = .03, p < .05 (see Table 12).

Table 12

The Significance Test Results of Moderated Moderation for Femininity Avoidance Conducted with PROCESS Macro (Model 3)

	b	*t*	*p*	*95 % CI*
Version[a] (Manhood > Womanhood)	.92	3.59	.00	.41, 1.42
Femininity Avoidance	.47	3.23	.00	.18, .75
Participants' Gender[b] (Men> Women)	.25	.77	.44	-.39, .90
Version X FA	.07	.33	.74	-.36, .51
Version X Gender	-.60	-1.16	.25	-1.61, .42
FA X Gender	-.48	-1.55	.12	-1.09, .13
Version X FA X Gender	.92	2.13	.03*	.06, 1.76

Note. CI: Confidence Interval; [a] Because PROCESS dummy-coded the *version*, the significance tests reflects that manhood version (dummy-coded as 1) is significantly different compared to womanhood version (dummy- coded as 0 [as an indicator]).[b] Because PROCESS dummy-coded the *gender*, the significance tests reflect that men (dummy-coded as 1) are significantly higher compared to women (dummy-coded as 0 [as an indicator]). FAI = Femininity Avoidance Ideology

The conditional version X femininity avoidance interaction at values of gender (1: woman, 2: men) showed that this interaction is significant only for men, F (7, 141) = 7. 17, $p < .05$, not for women, F (7, 141) =.11 $p = .74$. This significant interaction was investigated at three levels of *femininity avoidance* depicted as one SD below, the mean, and one SD above the mean (see Table 13). Accordingly, men who endorse high levels of femininity avoidance mandate viewed manhood more precarious than they view womanhood. Version (manhood) significantly predicted endorsement of precarious manhood when *femininity avoidance* was one standard deviation above the mean ($p = .01$), but not when this mandate of masculinity is below the mean and at the mean ($p > .05$).

3.3 Study 2B: Measuring Precarious Manhood/Womanhood Beliefs via Direct Statements

This study measures endorsement of precarious manhood/womanhood beliefs with direct statements instead of using fabricated proverbs. Considering that some words

used in the proverbs study may be associated with male-typed language, Vandello et al. (2008) further measured the same content with participants' responses to direct statements created by their research group. In addition to that, they also measured whether people attribute transition to manhood (and womanhood) to social events rather than physical/biological events. Based on the results of Study 2A, one can expect that if a man should earn his manhood, then transition to manhood should be marked by social steps in comparison to transition into womanhood.

Table 13

Conditional Effects of Version on Endorsement of Precarious Manhood for Men

Moderator: Femininity Avoidance	***β***	***p***	**95% CI**	
One *SD* above mean	1.50	.01*	.43	2.57
At the mean	.32	.47	-.56	1.20
One *SD* below mean	-.85	.22	-2.24	.53

*$p \leq .05$

Similar to the original study, I expected that people would score higher on precarious manhood beliefs than precarious womanhood beliefs, meaning that manhood is hard-won while womanhood is given. Compatible with this, I also expected that people would view the transition to manhood to rely more on *social* accomplishments (i.e., effortful domains) while they view the transition to womanhood relying on more physical/biologically-given characteristics (e.g., breast growth).

In addition to replicating the original study, I also examined the moderator role of four mandates of masculinity ideology and participants' gender on the relation between scale version (manhood vs. womanhood) and precarious manhood/womanhood (PM/W) beliefs measured with direct statements. As it moderated this relationship in Study 2a, I similarly expected a significant role of *femininity avoidance* on the link between version and PM/W beliefs, too. Yet, it is important to note that these analyses

are exploratory aiming to identify which component of masculinity ideology would play more role in perceiving manhood (and womanhood) as elusive.

In short, I expect that

(a) people would have higher ratings on precarious manhood beliefs than precarious womanhood beliefs (main effect of version)

(b) As the endorsement of different components of masculinity ideology increase, people would see manhood more precarious than womanhood. In particular, men who endorse higher levels of masculinity components would perceive manhood more precious rather than womanhood.

3.3.1 Method

3.3.1.1 Participants and Procedure

135 (46 men, 89 women) college students participated in the study. Table 14 represents the demographics of the participants. The procedure for Study 2B was the same for the Study 2A (see title 3.2.1.2 for the procedure). Two independent researchers translated the original materials (Vandello et al., 2008) from English to Turkish. Then, one researcher controlled for their meanings and sentence structure in the Turkish language. After all the materials reached to final versions, I distributed online study links through SONA in return for extra course credit.

The participants were again randomly assigned to one of the conditions showing manhood or womanhood version of the direct statements, and then they rated two items about *physical* and *social* causes of the transition from childhood depending on their assigned condition. For example, those who read precarious manhood statements rated physical and social causes of the transition from *boyhood to manhood.* Then, they continued with the gender role attitude scale (i.e., the covariate for Study 2b) and

masculinity ideology scale (i.e., moderator variable for both Study 2a and 2b). Finally, they responded to the demographics and thanked for their participation in the study.

3.3.1.2 Measures

3.3.1.2.1 Precarious Manhood/ Womanhood Beliefs

It contains seven "straightforward opinion statements" (Vandello et al., 2008, p. 1327) related to the nature of manhood and womanhood. The example item is: "It is fairly easy for a man (woman) to lose his (her) status as a man (woman)" (see Appendix F). Manhood and womanhood versions of the statements were randomly given to the participants to create an experimental manipulation. The participants rated the *truthfulness* of these statements on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very true*). Similar to the endorsement of proverbs, responses given to both manhood and womanhood versions of the statements were combined into a single variable named *precarious manhood/womanhood beliefs* (α = .84).

3.3.1.2.2 Transition to Manhood/Womanhood

Two questions were asked to understand whether the participants attribute transition to manhood/womanhood to *physical* changes (e.g., "The transition from boyhood (or girlhood) to manhood (or womanhood) occurs because of something physical or biological, e.g., hormonal changes") or *social* causes (e.g., "The transition from boyhood (girlhood) to manhood (womanhood) occurs because of something social, e.g., passing certain milestones") depending on the experimental manipulation (Vandello et al., 2008). Participants rated these questions on a scale ranging from 1 (*extremely false*) to 7 (*extremely true*). Higher scores indicated higher acceptance of physical and social transitions (see Appendix F).

3.3.1.2.3 Gender Roles Attitude Scale (GRAS)

The 38-item scale is developed by Zeyneloğlu and Terzioğlu (2011) for the Turkish cultural context. It has five subscales: egalitarian gender roles, female gender roles, marriage gender roles, traditional gender roles, and male gender roles, respectively. However, GRAS (e.g., "I should be the man who decides the management of family income") was used as a single variable by taking the mean of 38 items (α = .94) and controlled as a covariate in order to see the effect of experimental manipulation. In the original study (Vandello et al., 2008), the researchers used Traditional Gender Role Scale as a covariate to measure the same construct (see Appendix G).

3.3.1.2.4 Masculinity Ideology Scale (MIS)

23-item MIS was used to measure the participant's endorsement of masculinity ideology. The details about the scale can be seen in the materials of Study 2A. The current sample confirmed the same four-factor structure of MIS and showed that head of family ($\alpha = .86$), dominance ($\alpha = .87$), emotional restriction ($\alpha = .88$), and femininity avoidance ($\alpha = .87$) factors were internally consistent and reliable.

3.3.1.2.5 Demographics

Participants' gender, age, the place of birth, the city they currently live, the place they mostly lived in, marital status, ethnic identity, mother's and father's education status, perceived social class, religiosity and its effect on their daily practices, and ideological orientations were asked at the end of the study (see Appendix N).

Table 14

Demographic Characteristics of the Participants in the Proverbs Study (N = 135, Study 2B)

Variables	Frequency	Percentage	M	SD	Range
Age			21.41	1.58	18-26
The place mostly lived in					
Metropolis	84	62.2			
City	27	20			
Province	21	15.6			
Town	2	1.5			
Village	1	0.7			
Mother's Education					
Illiterate	2	1.5			
Primary School	27	20			
Secondary school	15	11.1			
High school	43	31.9			
Two-year license	11	8.1			
University	33	24.4			
Master	1	0.7			
PhD	3	2.2			
Father's Education					
Illiterate	14	10.4			
Primary School	13	9.6			
Secondary school	34	25.2			
High school	13	9.6			
Two-year license	43	31.9			
University	11	8.1			
Master	6	4.4			
PhD	14	10.4			
Perceived Social Class					
Lower	2	1.5			
Lower-middle	26	19.4			
Middle	72	53.7			
Middle-upper	31	23.1			
Upper	3	2.2			
Religion					
Belief in a religion	84	62.7			
Not belonging to any religion	50	37.3			
Effect of Religion on Life Practices			4.41	3.14	1 (None)-11(A lot)
Political orientation			4.21	2.14	1 (Left)-11 (Right)
Feminist ideology			5.49	3.78	1(never)- 1(absolutely)

3.3.2 Results

3.3.2.1. The Correlational Analyses

Table 15 depicts the bivariate correlations for two scale versions separately for precarious manhood and precarious womanhood beliefs, and four subscales of masculinity ideology scale. For both versions, the correlations between four subscales of masculinity ideology scale show mediocre correlations with precarious manhood/ womanhood beliefs. The highest correlation was between precarious manhood beliefs and femininity avoidance ideology, while the highest correlation for precarious womanhood beliefs was with dominance ideology.

Table 15

Bivariate Correlation Coefficients in terms of Scale Versions (Manhood and Womanhood)

Manhood Version (*N* = 60)					
	1	2	3	4	5
1. Precarious M/W Beliefs	1				
2. Head of family	.40**	1			
3. Dominance	.43**	.51**	1		
4. Emotional restriction	.38**	.38**	.37**	1	
5. Femininty avoidance	.47**	.60**	.70**	.66**	1
Womanhood Version (*N* = 75)					
	1	2	3	4	5
1 Precarious M/W Beliefs	1				
2. Head of family	.39**	1			
3. Dominance	.49**	.50**	1		
4. Emotional restriction	.35**	.52**	.72**	1	
5. Femininty avoidance	.42**	.59**	.64**	.70**	1

Note. Total *N* = 135. Precarious M/W: Precarious Manhood/Womanhood; Masculinity Ideology = the mean of 23 items * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

3.3.2.2 The Effect of Participants' Gender and Scale Versions on Precarious Manhood/Womanhood Beliefs, Physical and Social Transitions

Participants' responses to precarious manhood/womanhood scale were submitted to 2 (participants'gender: man vs. woman) x 2 (scale version: manhood vs. womanhood) ANCOVA with the participants' gender role attitudes (GRA) as a covariate. In the original study, Vandello et al. (2008) used *traditional-egalitarian gender roles* as a covariate to prevent the effect of gender norm beliefs on their endorsement levels. In this study, I measured a similar construct by using *gender role attitudes scale* and itseffect was significant (F (1, 130) = 29.65, $p < .001$). After accounting for gender role attitudes, the main effect of scale *version* was statistically significant and supported the main hypothesis, F (1, 130) = 18, $p < .001$, $d = .95$. The participants who read the manhood version of the statements ($M = 3.1$, $SE = .16$) found these statements truer compared to those who read the womanhood statements ($M = 2.19$, $SE = .14$). In other words, they viewed manhood as more precarious than womanhood. The main effect of participant gender (F (1, 130) = .01, $p > .001$) and interaction effect of gender x version (F (1, 130) = .15, $p > .001$) were not statistically significant.

I also submitted the responses to physical and social transition questions to 2 (participant gender: men vs. women) x 2 (precarious m/w scale version: manhood vs. womanhood) x 2 (transition cause: physical vs. social) mixed-model ANCOVA, with repeated measures on the last factor. *Gender role attitudes* were included as a covariate.

The relationship between *gender role attitudes* (GRA) and physical transition was not significant, ($r = -.06$, $p > .05$) but its relationship with social transition score was significant, ($r = .26$, $p < .01$). Thus, GRA functioned as a significant covariate in the analyses, F (1, 130) = 7.47, $p < .05$. After adjusting for the effect of GRA, the analysis revealed statistically significant main effect of transition (physical vs. social), F (1, 130) = 7.67, Wilks' $\lambda = .94$, $p < .001$, $f = .24$. Contrary to the expectation of precarious manhood thesis and the previous results, Turkish participants attributed both transition

to manhood and transition to womanhood more to physical causes (M = 5.58, SE = .14) than social causes (M = 3.82, SE = .18). However, the interactions of version X cause, (F (1, 130) = .07, p = .79); cause x participants' gender (F (1, 130) = .73, p = .39); and participants' gender X version X cause (F (1, 130) = .54, p = .46) did not yield statistically significant results.

For the between-subjects results, the main effect of version was also statistically significant, (F (1, 130 = 7.47, p <. 05, η_p^2 = .05; with higher mean scores for manhood (M = 4.96, SE = .14) than womanhood version (M = 4.44, SE = .13). For other between-subject variables, participant gender (F (1, 130) = .002, p >.05), and gender x version (F (1, 130) = .05, p >.05) interactions were not statistically significant.

3.3.2.3 The Moderation Role of Masculinity Ideology and Participant's Gender on Precarious Manhood/Womanhood Beliefs

Similar to Study 2A, I conducted four moderation analyses to test the effect of four mandates of masculinity ideology (head of family, dominance, emotional restriction, and femininity avoidance) as moderators between the relationship of version, gender, and precarious manhood/womanhood beliefs. The same procedure (see Study 2A) was followed for the analyses of Study 2B data by using Model 3 in PROCESS with 5000 bootstrapped samples and 95 % bias-corrected confidence interval (Hayes, 2018).

I expected to find three-way interactions between scale version, masculinity ideology, and participants' gender among four different models. However, none of the analyses revealed statistically significant interaction effects for four components of masculinity ideology (ps > 1).

3.4 Discussion of Study 2A and 2B

Study 2 partially replicated the results of the original precarious manhood study. For both indirect (i.e., Study 2a, proverbs) and direct measures (i.e., Study 2b, statements)

of precarious manhood/womanhood beliefs, main effects of gender version (i.e., womanhood or manhood) were significant. These results replicated the findings of the original study. Similar to the American sample, Turkish sample also viewed manhood as a hard-won status compared to womanhood. The participants agreed that manhood is achieved, but womanhood is already given. The main effect of participants' gender and the interaction effect of gender X version were not significant as found in the original study (Vandello et al., 2008).

The findings for physical and social transitions to manhood (womanhood), however, did not replicate the original findings. Although the trends of mean scores showed the expected pattern for versions (i.e., higher scores for manhood in social transition; higher scores for womanhood in physical transition), Turkish people agreed that transition to both manhood and womanhood occurs because of more physical changes in the body, rather than passing through the social milestones in Turkish culture. It implies that Turkish people start to see a boy as a man as he experiences hormonal and bodily changes in his body, and they see a girl becoming a woman in a female body as she goes through hormonal and bodily changes. Thus, becoming a man or a woman is something related to physical growth in the eyes of Turkish people. In the American sample (Vandello et al., 2008), there was also an interaction of version and transition. Accordingly, the American sample agreed that transition to manhood is more social while the transition to womanhood is more physical. In that manner, these results did not replicate the original findings of the transition to manhood or womanhood.

In addition to the replication results, I also examined the moderator role of four components of masculinity ideology on version- precarious manhood/womanhood relationship in Study 2A and Study 2B, separately. For Study 2A, the only significant moderator was *femininity avoidance,* while the head of family, dominance, and emotional restriction were not significant moderators. For Study 2B, none of these components significantly moderated the relationship between version and precarious manhood/womanhood beliefs. Accordingly, men who endorsed high levels of femininity avoidance mandate rated higher manhood proverbs compared to

womanhood proverbs. Here, femininity avoidance mandate reflected the beliefs that a man should refrain from feminine outlook and behaviors. Thus, it can be concluded that men with a higher endorsement of femininity avoidance agreed that they should put more effort to be a man (i.e., precarious manhood). It may be resulting from painful male socialization where they are the victims of different punishments because of being feminine in the territory. Yet, these analyses are exploratory and they should be replicated in the future studies.

Women's scores on different levels of femininity avoidance (low, moderate, high), on the other hand, did not differentiate their beliefs about the precariousness of manhood or womanhood. The same mandate *did not* moderate the link between version and precarious manhood/womanhood statements (Study 2B). It might be because I used more direct in Study 2B.[1]

[1] I also conducted moderated moderation analysis with a total sample of Study 2A and Study 2B (N = 284) and by controlling religious beliefs, political orientation, and feminist ideology of the participants in additional analyses in Study 2A (N = 145) and Study 2B (N = 134). However, I did not observe any statistically significant *interaction* effect of any of the masculinity ideologies on precarious manhood/womanhood beliefs (both with proverbs and statements), ps < .05. All of the values were non-significant, except for that each masculinity ideology predicted precarious manhood/womanhood beliefs, which is not on the focus of this research.

CHAPTER 4

STUDY 3: PRECARIOUS MANHOOD AS AN EASILY LOST STATUS

Study 2 had partially replicated the results of the original study (Vandello et al., 2008) in a Turkish sample. Turkish people viewed manhood as a hardly-won status compared to womanhood regardless of their gender. However, they did not meet the expectation that people would see manhood as socially achieved while they would see womanhood as physically stable status. Contrary to the American people, the Turkish people viewed the transition from childhood into both manhood and womanhood as physical rather than social.

Extending the findings of the previous study, Study 3 aimed to test the second assumption of precarious manhood thesis: People see manhood as an easily lost status compared to womanhood. Although Turkish participants attributed transition into manhood and womanhood to physical changes, they also supported the idea that manhood is harder to earn in Study 2. Moving a step further, this study tested whether Turkish "people understand manhood as an impermanent state that, once achieved, can be lost with relative ease" (Vandello et al., 2008, p. 1329).

Findings of Vandello et al. (2008) revealed that the American sample attribute "status loss" to manhood more than womanhood. They also attribute more social reasons to manhood loss while they attribute more physical/biological reasons to womanhood loss. In the cultural context of Turkey, it is conceivable to argue that a woman's "pure" status has a concomitant relationship with female honor and dignity, which can be easily lost (Sakallı-Uğurlu & Akbaş, 2013). Thus, I expect that

> (a) Turkish participants would see both manhood and womanhood as easily lost status (in other words, there would be no gender condition effect on status-loss perceptions).

(b) They would attribute both manhood and womanhood status losses to social reasons (in both open-ended and multiple-choice responses) more than they would attribute to physical/biological attributions.

4.1 Method

4.1.1 Participants and Procedure

193 (116 women, 77 men) university students participated in the study, and their ages were between 17 and 27 (M = 20.65) (see Table 16 for demographics). They voluntarily filled in the paper-pencil questionnaires applied in the selective Turkish history course. The sample consisted of METU students taking a must course from the history department.

After taking the ethical approval of the study, I applied paper-pencil questionnaires to METU students before the history class starts and collected at the end of the class. The data collection process took three weeks. I selected the Turkish history course as a participant pool because of its' diverse student profile from different departments of METU.

The questionnaires were in two versions: manhood and womanhood. They were randomly distributed to the students. After reading informed consent, the participants read either manhood or womanhood version of an ambiguous self-statement that talked about the loss of manhood or womanhood. Then, they wrote their opinions about the loss situation; rated the difficulty of understanding the statements and filled manipulation checks; and rated two statements interpreting the loss situation based on *physical* (e.g., sex-change operation) and *social* (e.g., losing a wife or a job) causes. Because I used all the materials in accordance with the original ones, two independent researchers (one woman, one man) translated all the materials into Turkish and I controlled the appropirateness of the sentences for the Turkish language.

Table 16

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample (N = 193, Study 3)

Variables	Frequency	Percentage	M	SD	Range
Age			20.65	1.23	17-27
Participant gender					
Women	116	60.1			
Men	77	39.9			
The place mostly lived in					
Metropolis	111	57.5			
City	38	19.7			
Province	37	19.2			
Town	3	1.6			
Village	3	1.6			
Mother's Education					
Illiterate	1	.5			
Primary School	19	9.8			
Secondary school	17	8.8			
High school	65	33.7			
Two-year license	12	6.2			
University	63	32.6			
Master	6	3.1			
PhD	6	3.1			
Father's Education					
Illiterate	0	0			
Primary School	10	5.2			
Secondary school	13	6.7			
High school	44	22.8			
Two-year license	15	7.8			
University	91	47.2			
Master	13	6.7			
PhD	5	2.6			

Table 16 (Continued)

Perceived Social Class					
Lower	2	1.0			
Lower-middle	24	12.4			
Middle	109	56.5			
Middle-upper	47	24.4			
Upper	7	3.6			
Religion					
Belief in a religion	138	71.5			
Not belonging to any religion	50	25.9			
Effect of Religion on Life Practices			3.71	2.98	1 (None)-11 (A lot)
Political orientation			4.38	2.25	1 (Left)-11 (Right)

4.1.2 Measures

4.1.2.1 Informed Consent

First, I invited the participants to the study through SONA and asked for their consent at the very beginning of the study. The study used a partial deception by explaining that they would make interpretations related to other's self-descriptions. After they gave their consent for the voluntary participation they randomly completed either manhood or womanhood *loss* versions of the questionnaires.

4.1.2.2 Experimental Manipulation of Gender Status Loss

I followed the same procedure with Vandello et al. (2008) to manipulate gender versions of the status loss. All other details being the same, one version quoted a statement from a man implying *manhood* loss while the other version quoted a statement from a woman implying *womanhood* loss. Before the participants read the statements, they've read the instructions: "you will read a statement of *a man (woman)*

about his self-description below. Please read it carefully, and answer the questions related to it." Changing in terms of the experimental condition, the participants randomly read a bogus self-description of a man or a woman: "*My life isn't what I expected it would be. I used to be a man (woman). Now, I'm not a man (woman) anymore."* Then, they wrote their *open-ended interpretations* about what that person implies in his/her statement (e.g., "What could have happened to this man/woman? Please write your interpretations below") (see Appendix H). Then, two independent raters naïve to the study purpose rated the content of the participants' open-ended answers on two dimensions: *social* and *physical*. The procedure and the results of codings are given under the title of "Results" section.

4.1.2.3 Difficulty Index

Following the open-ended interpretations, the participants rated three questions related to their interpretations: (1) "How difficult was it to understand what the person meant?" (2) "How confident are you that your interpretation was what the speaker intended?" (Reverse coded) and (3) "How unusual of a statement was that for someone to say?" (Vandello et al., 2008, p. 1330). The participants rated these statements on a 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*) Likert-type scale (see Appendix H). These three items were averaged into one (α = .62). The higher the mean, the more they felt difficulty in understanding and interpreting the statements. According to Vandello et al. (2008), people would interpret manhood-loss statements easier than womanhood-loss statements because of the *tenuous* status of manhood.

4.1.2.4 Attention Check

The participants were also asked whether they read a man's or a woman's statements participants read and understand each of the statements (e.g., "The statement that I've read is said by a woman" or "The statement that I've read is said by a man"). Then, they rated these questions as 1 (*yes*) or 2 (*no*) (see Appendix H).

4.1.2.5 Endorsement Social and Physical Interpretations about the Loss

Following the attention check questions, the participants rated two different interpretations related to the reason for the gender status loss in the experimental manipulation. Each participant read two interpretations written by researchers. Thus, I included their scores as within-subject variables. The first one implied *social* reason for the loss (e.g., "She (he) probably means that she's (he's) lost something important to her (him), like she (he) lost her (his) job or husband (wife) or something. And now she (he) feels like a failure."). Other interpretation referred to *physical/ biological* reasons (e.g., "It sounds like she (he) maybe had a sex-change operation and now considers herself (himself) a man (woman)*"*. Participants rated their *agreement* on (e.g., "To what extent you agree with this statement?") and *truthfulness* of (e.g., "Do you think that this interpretation is true for the statement you've read?") these interpretations on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*) (see Appendix H). I averaged the ratings of *social cause index* (r = .83) and *physical cause index* (r = .90) as they are highly correlated with each other.

4.1.2.6 Demographics

Before they end the questionnaire, the participants responded to demographic questions related to their gender, age, place of birth, the city they currently live, the place they mostly lived in, marital status, ethnic identity, mother's and father's education status, perceived social class, religiosity and its effect on their daily practices, and ideological orientations (see Appendix N).

4.2 Results

Before conducting the main analyses, the data screening was conducted with 209 cases to see whether the sample meets the assumptions of linearity and multivariate normality. After constructing the study variables, assumptions of linearity and normality were controlled through histograms, boxplots, stem and leaf, normal Q-Q,

and detrended Q-Q plots as well as skewness and kurtosis statistics. None of the study variables exceeds 5% missing criteria and they were replaced by the mean of that variable. However, for the participants' gender, four missing cases and two *other-identified* participants were eliminated from the data as the original study of Vandello et al. (2008) compared the results of the participants who identify themselves as a man or a woman. Inspecting the correlations between the variables, I also controlled multicollinearity and singularity of the variables. I eliminated three cases after checking for multivariate outliers (χ^2 (10, n = 203) = 34.53, p < .001) by using Mahalanobis distance but there wasn't any univariate outlier threatening the linearity of the variables. In addition to that seven cases that failed to pass *attention check* were also eliminated from the data, leaving 193 cases for the rest of the analyses.

Table 17

Group Sizes, Means, and Standard Deviations of Conditions (Study 3, Gender Status Loss)

DV1: Difficulty index					
	Gender Status Loss				
	Manhood		Womanhood		*N*
Men	3.79 (1.11, *N* = 39)		3.99 (1.41, *N* = 38)		77
Women	3.95 (1.12, *N* = 56)		4.00 (1.20, *N* = 60)		116
N	95		98		
DV2: Content codings of open-ended interpretations					
	Physical		Social		
	Manhood	Womanhood	Manhood	Womanhood	*N*
Men	.03 (.17, *N* = 35)	.09 (.29, *N* = 33)	.80 (.41, *N* = 35)	.76 (.44, *N* = 33)	68
Women	.04 (20, *N* = 51)	.05 (.23, *N* = 56)	.84 (.37, *N* = 51)	.91 (.29, *N* = 56)	107
N	86	89	86	89	
DV3: Endorsement of social and physical interpretations of loss					
	Physical		Social		
	Manhood	Womanhood	Manhood	Womanhood	*N*
Men	2.10 (1.19, *N* = 39)	2.17 (1.40, *N* = 38)	4.13 (1.46, *N* = 39)	3.34 (1.49, *N* = 38)	77
Women	2.30 (1.35, *N* = 56)	2.34 (1.34, *N* = 60)	3.98 (1.62, *N* = 56)	3.44 (1.57, *N* = 60)	116
N	95	98	95	98	

Note. DV= Dependent Variable; for DV1, the higher the scores, the more difficult to understand the statement about manhood (womanhood) loss; for DV2, rater's coding is either 0 or 1, thus the means range between 0-1; for DV3, the means range between 1-7, the higher the mean the more they endorse physical/social reason of loss. Numbers in parenthesis are the standard deviations of the variables.

Vandello et al. (2008) examined the effects of participants' gender and gender-status-loss condition on (1) difficulty index, (2) codings of open-ended interpretations of the gender-status loss, and (3) endorsement of prewritten (social and physical) interpretations of loss. Thus, I conducted three separate 2 (participant's gender: man vs. woman) X 2 (version: manhood vs. womanhood loss) ANOVAs for each of the dependent variables (see Table 17 for the descriptive statistics for the conditions).

4.2.1 The Effect of Participants' Gender and Gender Status Loss Condition on Difficulty Index

First, participants were expected to find the statements easier to understand for manhood condition, since losing manhood is hardwired to culture. Thus, the original study showed that people understand the statement related to manhood loss easier relative to womanhood loss. However, the results did not reveal any statistically significant main and interaction effects in Turkish cultural context, Fs < 1, ps > .49 (see Table 18). These results showed that the statements are equally understandable for both manhood (M = 3.87, SD = .13) and womanhood (M = 3.99, SD = .13) when the statement implied gender-loss situation. Although the trend of the means promised expected direction with higher difficulty in understanding womanhood-loss situation, it was not statistically significant.

Table 18

Significance Statistics of 2 (Participant gender) x 2 (Version: manhood loss vs. womanhood loss) Between-Subjects ANOVA on Difficulty Index

DV: *Difficulty Index*	Mean dif.	*SE*	*F*	*df*	error *df*	*p*	n^2
Gender	.08	.18	.224	1	189	.636	.001
Version	.12	.18	.470	1	189	.494	.002
Gender X version			.170	1	189	.681	.001

Note. Gender 1 = Woman, Gender 2 = Men; Version 1 = Manhood, Version 2 = Womanhood. DV1 = Difficulty Index (i.e., whether it is difficult to understand the given statement; the higher the mean, the more they felt difficulty in understanding and interpreting the statements on a 1to7 scale)

4.2.2 The Effect of Participants' Gender and Gender Loss Condition on Codings of Open-ended Interpretations

Second, I analyzed the content of the open-ended responses (i.e., whether the participants made physical or social attributions for manhood/womanhood loss statements). Before conducting this analysis, two independent raters, naïve to the study purpose, coded the open-ended interpretations of the participants. They were given standard information about the coding process. Joseph Vandello sent me the instructions that they presented to the raters via e-mail. Following their original procedure (Vandello et al., 2008), I asked the raters to code the content of the open-ended interpretations in terms of two dimensions: physical and social. The independent raters coded the content as *physical* if

> statement implies some type of physical change that has either already happened or is going to happen (e.g., physical maturity, puberty, transsexuality, breasts, body hair, cervical or testicular cancer, having a child)". They coded the content as *social* if "statement implies passing (or failing to pass) some sort of social milestones, such as independence from others, getting a job, losing a job, losing a family, winning a fight, making decisions, taking action, proving oneself in front of others. Social statements will necessarily involve some reference (explicit or implicit) to other people and the speaker's relationships with others (e.g., having gender, losing virginity, proving oneself to others, gaining respect, a need to be validated by others, pleasing an authority figure, showing responsibility, having a stereotypical or non-stereotypical job. (taken from the original instruction personally sent by Joseph Vandello).

For *social* dimension, the raters coded the content as "1" if the content refers to *social reasons* for the gender status loss, and coded as "0" if it did not. Similarly, for *physical* dimension, they coded the content as "1" if it implies *physical reasons* for the loss and coded as "0" if it did not imply physical reasons. For example, one participants' interpretation could be coded both social (1) and physical (1) if it implies both reasons or could be coded both not social (0) and not physical (0) if it doesn't imply any of these. Following the instructions, the raters coded the contents of the interpretations and sent the researcher (me) independently. Inter-rater reliability analysis revealed a

high agreement between two raters on both dimensions (physical $\kappa = .85$, social $\kappa = .91$). The cases that they did not agree on resolved by contacting them in person.

After the coding process, I submitted raters' *codings of open-ended interpretations* about gender loss to a 2 (participant's gender: man vs. woman) X 2 (version: manhood vs. womanhood loss) X 2 (codings: physical vs. social) mixed design ANOVA with repeated measures on the last factor. The results revealed a statistically significant main effect of content codings that the independent raters did, F (1, 171) = 468.34, $p < .001$, $n^2 = .73$. Participants mentioned *social content* ($M = .83$, $SD = .37$) more in their open-ended interpretations compared to *physical content* ($M = .05$, $SD = .22$) for both manhood and womanhood loss conditions. All other main and interaction effects were statistically non-significant (see Table 19).

4.2.3 Open-Ended Interpretations of Gender Status Loss Conditions

Although it is not covered under the main purpose of this study nor included in the original study of Vandello et al. (2008), I also investigated the contents of how participants interpreted manhood and womanhood loss situations to see whether they refer to extraordinary situations in Turkey. Thus, I only presented exploratory interpretations of the contents under this title. Vandello et al. (2008) did not present the content of the open-ended responses; they just included the codings of the independent raters. Thus, I don't have any information to compare the content of Turkish participants' responses to American participants. Nevertheless, the content can give clues about social or physical causes of gender status loss with reference to the original study's codings.

In order to differentiate the contents, I analyzed open-ended responses simply by categorizing them under different titles by using Microsoft Excel Software. First, I divided the responses for manhood and womanhood loss conditions and then, I categorized those responses in different excel sheets in terms of their contents.

Table 19

Significance Statistics of 2 (Participant gender: women vs. men) x 2 (Version: manhood vs. womanhood) x 2 (Content codings: physical vs. social) Mixed Design ANOVA with Repeated Measure on the Last Factor

DV = Content Codings	Mean dif.	*SE*	*F*	*df*	error *df*	*p*	η_p^2
Participants' gender	.42	.03	1.93	1	171	.17	.01
Version	.03	.03	.70	1	171	.41	.00
Gender X Version			.26	1	171	.61	.00
Content Codings	.78	.04	468.34	1	171	.00	.73
Content Codings X Gender			2.42	1	171	.12	.01
Content Codings X Version			.13	1	171	.72	.00
Content Codings X Gender X Version			.11	1	171	.27	.01
DV = Endorsement of physical and social interpretations	Mean dif.	*SE*	*F*	*df*	error *df*	*p*	η_p^2
Participants' gender	.06	.17	.12	1	189	.73	.00
Version	.29	.17	2.95	1	189	.09	.02
Interpretation	-1.52	.13	132.28	1	189	.00	.41
Gender X Version			.04	1	189	.84	.00
Interpretation X Gender			.90	1	189	.34	.01
Interpretation X Version			6.58	1	189	.01	.03
Interpretation X Gender X Version			.12	1	189	.73	.00

Note. DV = Dependent Variable; Gender 1 = Woman, Gender 2 = Men; Version 1 = Manhood, Version 2 = Womanhood; Content Codings 1= Physical Content, 2 = Social Content.

For manhood status loss interpretations, similar responses of the participants concentrated under the same categories and 11 categories have emerged. The participants interpreted manhood loss statements by referring to falling short of masculine gender role expectations, vicarious shame, unethical behaviors, unable to protect beloved ones, being ashamed, losing dignity, being harassed, losing courage, being cheated, losing beloved ones, and confusion about sexual identity.

For womanhood loss interpretations, 10 themes have emerged. The participants attributed womanhood loss mostly to being subjected to violence, sexual harassment, and rape; being humiliated; being exhausted of difficulties; being tough; losing self-confidence; being cheated on; losing sexual femininity; losing beloved ones, and sex change. The categories and the example responses can be seen in Table 20 both for manhood and womanhood loss conditions.

As the responses revealed in Table 20, all the themes except for *sex change* refer to social and societal losses. As the previous ANOVA results with content codings showed, people viewed both manhood and womanhood loss based on social bases. For example, they thought that a man is not a man anymore because he falls short of societal expectations of being a real man or being unable to protect the beloved ones. On the other hand, they thought that a woman is not a woman anymore because she may have subjected to violence or sexual harassment or she may have felt into contempt by others (pointing men). In the eyes of the participants, the situations referred to the humiliation of women and derogation of their self-worth. Open-ended responses of Turkish participants heavily referred to social causes rather than physical causes for the loss. This result points to a critical cultural difference and this is covered under the discussion of this study.

4.2.4 The Effect of Participants' Gender and Gender Loss Condition on Pre-Written Interpretations

Third, participants' *endorsement of prewritten physical and social interpretations* were submitted to 2 (gender: man vs. woman) X 2 (version: manhood vs. womanhood) X 2 (interpretation: physical vs. social) mixed design ANOVA with a repeated measure on the last factor. The analysis revealed a statistically significant main effect of pre-written interpretations (i.e., social and physical), F (1, 189) = 132.28, $p < .05$, d = .46, while the effect of gender and version were not statistically significant (see Table 19).

Turkish participants endorsed social interpretation both for manhood and womanhood status loss (M = 3.74, SD = 1.57) more than physical interpretation (M = 2.24, SD = 1.32). This main effect was qualified by the interaction of Version X Interpretation, F (1, 189) = 6.58, $p < .05$, $f = .18$. According to the results of interaction, the participants scored higher on social interpretations for manhood loss (M = 4.04, SD = 1.55) compared to womanhood loss (M = 3.43, SD = 1.53), F (1, 189) = 7.51, $p = .01$, η_p^2 = .04. However, interpretations of manhood (M = 2.22, SD = 1.28) and womanhood loss (M = 2.27, SD = 1. 36) did not significantly differ for physical interpretation in womanhood condition, F (1, 189) = .08, $p = .78$ (see Figure 3).

4.3 Discussion

Study 3 partially replicated the results of the original studies of precarious manhood (Vandello et al., 2008). This study identically tested the effect of participant gender and version of gender status loss on (a) their difficulty, (b) content codings of participants' open-ended interpretations, and (c) endorsement of pre-written social and physical interpretations. Precarious manhood studies assumed that it would be easier to understand manhood loss statement compared to womanhood loss statement, since losing manhood (but not womanhood) is more akin to the American cultural understanding (Vandello et al., 2008). Contrary to this, I expected no differences in the perception of loss between manhood or womanhood, as both can be socially losable status in Turkey.

Table 20

Themes of Open-ended Interpretations related to Manhood and Womanhood Loss

Manhood Loss			Womanhood Loss		
Categories (frequencies)	**Example Response in Turkish**	**Example Response in English**	**Categories (frequencies)**	**Example Response in Turkish**	**Example Response in English**
Falling short of masculine gender role expectations (16)	Yakın bir kadın akraba ya da arkadaşının başına gelen bir şeyi engelleyememiş ya da onları hayal kırıklığına uğrattığını düşünüyor olabilir. Toplumun kendisinden bir "erkek" olarak beklediği bir takım "gereklilikleri" sağlayamadığını düşünüyor olabilir.	He might not have prevented something happened to a close woman relative/friend or might be thinking that he disappointed them. He might be thinking that as a man, he could not meet a group of societal expectations.	Violence, Sexual Harassment, Rape (32)	Fiziksel veya psikolojik tacize maruz kalmış olabilir.	She may have been subjected to physical or psychological harassment.
Vicarious shame (12)	İkamet ettiği semtte, birtakım kendisine erkek diyen insanların ailelerine ve eşlerine karşı uyguladığı şiddete ve ilkel davranışlara bire bir tanık olmuş olabilir.	He may have witnessed violent and primitive actions against their families and wives of people who call themselves men, in a neighborhood where they live.	Being Humiliated (16)	Hor görülmüş, değer görmemiş, önemsenmemiş, anımsanmamış	She may have been seen as unworthy, ignored, unrecognized by others.
Being unable to protect his beloved ones (9)	En sevdiği insanların belki sevgilisinin karısının başına kötü bir şey gelmiştir. O da onu veya onları koruyamamıştır.	Maybe something bad happened to his wife or his beloved one. He could not protect her or them.	Being Tough (7)	Hayatında zorluklarla mücadele etti, yaşadıklarını alt etmeyi başardı.	He struggled against the difficulties in his life and managed to overcome what he experienced.

Table 20 (Continued)

Being ashamed (8)	Erkekliği muhtemelen aklında erdemli bir şeyler yapabilmekle ilişkilendiriyordur ve utanç duyduğu bir şeyler yaptığı için kendini kötü hissediyordur.	He probably associates masculinity with the ability to do something virtuous in his mind, and he feels bad that he's doing something he is ashamed of.	Losing Self-Confidence (7)	Özgüvenini kıran olaylar yaşamış olabilir. Yüksek ihtimalle kendisini güçlü bir kadın olarak görüyordu, fakat sonra bir erkekten gururunu, kadınlığı inciten davranışlar gördü ve kötü olaylar yaşadı.	She might have experienced some events that broke her self-esteem. She probably saw herself as a strong woman, but then she saw a man's behavior that hurts his pride, femininity, and bad things.
Losing dignity (or honor) (7)	Toplumumuzda erkek kelimesi, önemli, şerefli algısı yaratır. Bu sebeple şerefsizce veya onursuzca bir hareket yapması anlamına geliyor.	The word “man” in our society evokes a perception that someone is important and honorable. Therefore, it means he dis something dishonest or dishonorable.	Being masculine (6)	Ailesinden ve çevresinden yaşadığı zorluklar sebebiyle kendisini koruyabilmek için erkeksi davranışlar sergilemesi	That she presents masculine behaviors to protect herself and her family because of the difficulties she’s gone through.
Being harassed by other men (7)	Tacize veya şiddete maruz kalmış olabileceğini düşünüyorum.	I think he may have been subjected to abuse or violence.	Being Cheated (5)	Eşinden, ya da çok sevdiği, güvendiği biri tarafından aldatılmış olabilir. Bu yüzden kadınlığı, kendine güveni, gücünü kaybetmiştir.	She may have been deceived by his wife, or someone she loves and trusts. That's why she lost her womanhood, self-confidence, and strength.

Table 20 (Continued)

Lack of courage (7)	Cesaret kırıcı şeyler yaşamış olmalı. Toplumumuzda "Erkek Be!" dendiğinde cesareti ve özgüveni vurgulanıyor genelde. Ya da benim tanı olduklarım bunlar. Belki sevdiği kıza açılamamıştır. Belki ailesine iyi bakamamıştır.	He must have experienced discouraging things. In our society when with the saying “that is the man”, his courage and self-confidence are often emphasized. Or this is what I witnessed. Maybe he couldn’t bare his heart to his girlfriend. Maybe he couldn't take care of his family.	Losing (sexual) femininity (5)	Kadınlığını unutmuş olmalı. Mesale bir etek, elbise giymek veya bir çocukla kesişmek bunlar bana kadın olduğumu hatırlatan ufak ama önemli şeyler. Bu kişi bunlardan vazgeçecek şeyler yaşamış olmalı.	She must have forgotten her womanhood. For example, wearing a skirt, a dress or ogling with a man, these are the small but important things that remind me that I'm a woman. This person must have had something to give up all these things.
Being Cheated by a Partner (5)	Kız arkadaşı tarafından aldatılmış normalde sert bir mizacı olan bir erkek olabilir.	He may have been a guy who has been deceived by his girlfriend and had a really bad temper.	sing loved ones	Bir kadın onu kadın gibi hissettiren unsurları kaybetmiş olabilir. Sevdiği adam veya çocukları gibi.	A woman might have lost the things that make her feel like a woman. Like the man or children, he loves.
Losing a beloved one (3)	Ailesinden birini erken yaşta kaybetmiştir	He might have lost one of his family at an early age	Sex change (2)	Cinsiyet değiştirmiş olabilir.	She may have changed her biological sex.
Confusion about sexual identity (2)	Cinsel kimlik sorunları yaşıyor olabilir.	He may be having some sexual identity problems.			

Note. There were 86 cases in manhood loss condition, and 90 cases in womanhood loss condition. The rest of the cases out of 194 participants did not respond to the open-ended question. There were also some items that are categorized under more than one theme because it refers to different themes in one case.

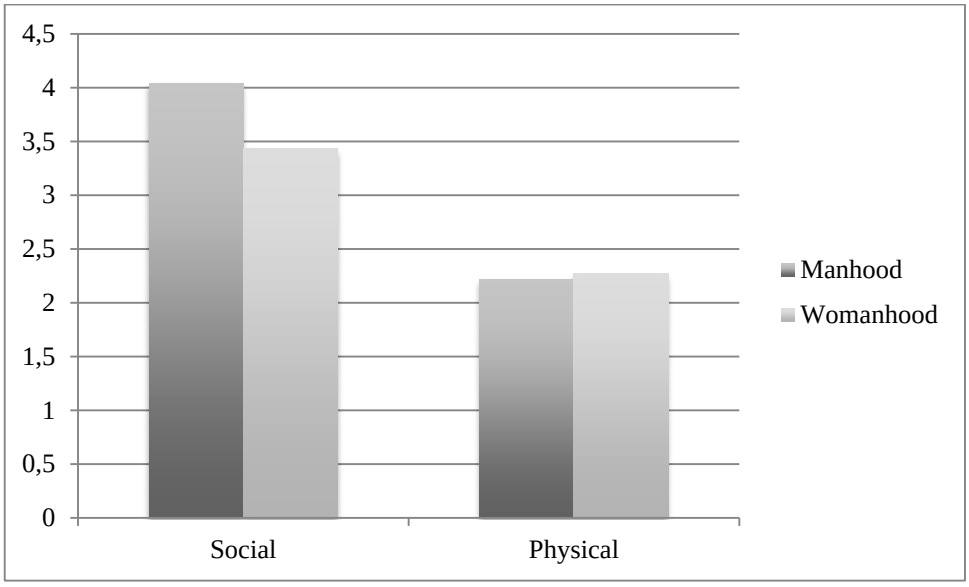

Figure 3. Interaction effect of version and type of interpretation on endorsement of statements

Supporting my expectations, Turkish participants found both statements equally understandable (did not replicate). Also, they referred to more social/societal reasons for both losing manhood and womanhood in their open-ended responses (did not replicate); but see manhood loss more dependent of social causes than physical causes when asked with a direct statement (replicated). These results indicated that if an ordinary person talks about losing his manhood or her womanhood, it would be familiar to everyday discourse since losing manhood or womanhood is somewhat akin to Turkish culture. This result supported the expectation that womanhood can also be perceived as something losable in the cultural context of Turkey.

The content analysis of the open-ended responses about gender status loss revealed different patterns for manhood and womanhood. For manhood, people generally thought that a man stating that he is not a man anymore have fallen short of masculine role norm expectations, have felt vicarious shame about other's men's actions, have engaged in unethical behaviors such as lying, have been unable to protect his beloved ones, have been ashamed, have been closed his dignity, have been sexually harassed

by other men etc. (see Table 20). For womanhood, people generally addressed having been subjected to physical violence, sexual harassment and rape, been fallen into contempt; been exhausted of the burdens of being a woman, etc. (see Table 20). The results are further evaluated in the general discussion part.

CHAPTER 5

STUDY 4: EMERGENCE OF ANXIETY IN RESPONSE TO GENDER THREAT

The results of Study 3 partially confirmed the prepositions of precarious manhood thesis that manhood (compared to womanhood) can be lost by means social but not physical changes. However, there appeared to be cultural difference in Turkey that people had a lot of social reasons for a woman to lose her womanhood. In that sense, Study 4 carries the discussion about the possibility of losing manhood and womanhood to a one step further. It tests the assumption that if the status is hard-won, then the people holding that status should be anxious about losing this status in the face of situations where his/her gender status is questioned. Thus, in line with the original study, I expected to find that when threatened by a prototypicality threat (i.e., that a man is prototypically feminine or a woman prototypically masculine), this situation would evoke more anxiety in men compared to women.

Research showed that threatening men by presenting that they seem to be feminine increase levels of stress (Caswell, Bosson, Vandello, & Sellers, 2014) and aggression (Dahl, Vescio, & Weaver, 2015) to regain hard-won manhood in the eyes of others. In their study, Vandello et al. (2008) tested this assumption by giving gender-threat feedback to the participants and then measuring their anxious cognitions with a word completion task. Accordingly, men who were given masculinity threat completed more anxiety-related words compared to women given femininity threat. With the aim of replicating Vandello et al. (2008), the current study also gave bogus feedback to create a gender threat and measured the level of anxiety indirectly through a word completion task.

Although Turkish people agreed more on social reasons, but not physical reasons, for manhood loss in Study 3, they also indicated that womanhood can also be lost depending on social situations in their open-ended responses. Accordingly, people mentioned more *others-related* social concerns for losing manhood such as falling short of gender role expectations, feeling vicarious shame about other men, or unable to protect beloved ones. For manhood loss, men mostly avoid "being a bad boy" in the eyes of others and this may arouse greater stress (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). However, people in Study 3 mentioned more *personal* reasons with reference to *others' bad behaviors against a woman* for womanhood loss. In that case, it is not directly the unfulfillment of female gender roles but rather it is the burden of being treated badly causing the loss of womanhood.

Thus, similar to the original research, I expect to find more anxious thoughts among threatened men but not among threatened women. In other words, I expected to find an interaction effect of participant gender (men vs. women) and threat (threat vs. no threat) condition on the emergence of anxious cognitions.

5.1 Method

5.1.1 Participants and Design

59 women and 65 men participated in the study ($N = 124$; $M_{age} = 21.97$, $SD_{age} = 1.57$). They were recruited from a sample of students who are registered at the SONA system of METU, an online participant pool where they can get extra credit for their courses. Therefore, the entire sample consists of METU students from different departments as well as Psychology (demographics can be seen in Table 21).

The participants' responses were submitted to 2 (participant gender: men vs. women) X 2 (gender threat: threat vs. no-threat) between-subject ANOVA. Power analysis conducted by G*Power had required 125 participants for four conditions with 80 % of power at 0.06 effect size. The current number of participants, therefore, is enough to conduct a powerful 2 x 2 between-subjects ANOVA design.

Table 21

Demographic variables of the Sample of Study 4 (N = 124)

Variables	Frequency	Percentage	*M*	*SD*	Range
Age			21.97	1.57	19-28
Participant's gender					
Woman	59	47.6			
Man	65	52.4			
The place mostly lived in					
Metropolis	93	75			
City	20	16.1			
Province	9	7.3			
Town	1	0.8			
Village	1	0.8			
Mother's Education					
Illiterate	4	3.2			
Primary School	21	16.9			
Secondary school	10	8.1			
High school	36	29			
Two-year license	5	4			
University	43	34.7			
Master	1	0.8			
PhD	4	3.2			
Father's Education					
Illiterate	2	1.6			
Primary School	9	7.3			
Secondary school	16	12.9			
High school	23	18.5			
Two-year license	10	8.1			
University	48	38.7			
Master	8	6.5			
PhD	8	6.5			
Perceived Social Class					
Lower	1	.8			
Lower-middle	23	18.5			
Middle	72	58.1			
Middle-upper	27	21.8			
Upper	1	0.8			
Religion					
Belief in a religion	67	54.0			
Not belonging to any religion	57	46.0			
Effect of Religion on Life Practices			3.71	2.67	1(None)-11(A lot)
Political orientation			4.33	2.09	1(Left)-11 (Right)

5.1.2 Materials and Procedure

5.1.2.1 Informed Consent

First, the participants were invited to the study through SONA and asked for their informed consent at the very beginning of the study. Here, I used a partial deception by concealing the main purpose of the study. They were told that we are collecting data for two different studies. The first one was to measure the gender identification of METU students and create a comprehensive scale about gender characteristics. The second one was to measure cognitive dynamism by using the word-completion task. After they gave their consent, I asked their gender, and Qualtrics randomly assigned those who identify themselves as a man or a woman to one of the gender threat conditions prepared for gender identification. Those who defined themselves as *gender-non-binary* were directed to the end of the study and thanked for their participation.

5.1.2.2 Gender Threat

It was manipulated in a similar way as Vandello et al. (2008) did in their Study 4. They manipulated gender threat by giving the participants *gender knowledge test* (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004) on which their participants rated the amount of their knowledge about *stereotypically* masculine (e.g., football) or feminine (e.g., household chores) tasks. This way, participants were led to believe that the researchers were trying to get their true knowledge about the tasks. Instead of using gender knowledge test, I used the BEM Sex Role Inventory (BSRI: Bem, 1981; Turkish adaptation: Özkan & Lajunen, 2005), after getting the consent of the corresponding author of the original study (Vandello et al., 2008).

BSRI was also used as a valid tool of manipulating gender threat in precarious manhood studies (Konopka, Rajchert, & Dominiak-Kochanek, 2017; O'Connor, Ford, & Banos, 2017)**.** Another reason to use BSRI instead of the original measure was that it is mostly relying on the habits of the American culture. Because neither the original

study nor the Turkish replication study used the true scores of these tests, I preferred to use BSRI.

BSRI is a 30-item scale measuring masculine (e.g., leader, dominant, ambitious), feminine (e.g., compassionate, gentle, affectionate), and neutral (e.g., unpredictable, reliable, jealous) characteristics of the participants (see Appendix I). Originally, there are four categories that a participant would reflect: masculine (high masculinity, low femininity), feminine (high femininity, low masculinity), androgynous (high femininity, high masculinity), and undifferentiated (low femininity, low masculinity). The real scores were not used for this study; instead, they were just the anchors to give the participants false feedback about their gender characteristics. After they answered how much those gender characteristics define themselves, they were asked to wait for 15 seconds with the clock counting down on the screen. During this time, they were expected to believe that the system is calculating their gender score and statistics showing their standing among other METU students.

For example, a man who was randomly assigned to gender threat condition was presented as he was representing a group of men who are in the 27th percentile among the whole male METU students (see Figure 4). This threat feedback was also qualified with a figure showing their standing on a linear continuum where the left end represents feminine characteristics and the right end represents masculine characteristics (see Figure 4). The 27th percentile was closer to feminine gender characteristics, as a way of saying "you are a feminine man" (left end of the continuum). In the no-threat condition, the participants saw a figure where gender characteristics were closer to their gender identity characteristics (e.g., 73rd percentile: masculine characteristics for men) (see Figure 4). In other words, their gender status (manhood) was affirmed by implying that "you are a representative of a group of masculine men". After getting their false gender feedback, they proceeded to the word-completion task.

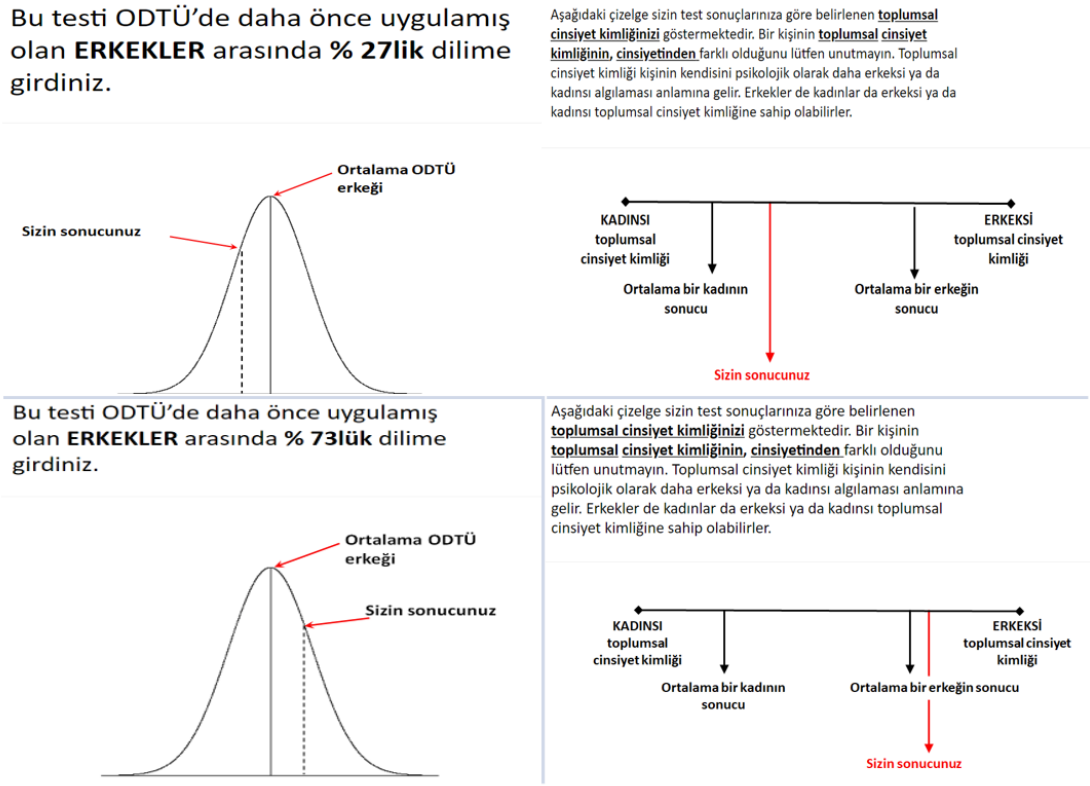

Figure 4. Manipulation of gender threat: The first raw represents gender threat condition; the second raw represents gender affirming (no-threat) condition for men

5.1.2.3 Anxiety Word Completion Task

The participants responded to a word completion task consisting of 24 words. Seven anxiety-related words used in the original study were hidden into the other neutral words taken from a dissertation about system justification theory and earthquakes in Turkish (Doğulu, 2017). Vandello et al. (2008) preferred to use this kind of indirect measure of anxiety over a self-report since reporting anxiety is contrary to masculinity norm of emotional restriction and toughness (Levant, Hall, & Rankin, 2013; Thompson & Pleck, 1987). The participants were expected to complete more anxiety-related words after taking gender threat, as their anxious cognitions would be available especially after taking a masculinity threat. These seven words (e.g., "TEH_ _ _ [tehdit or tehcir]; _ A_GI [kaygı or saygı]) could either be completed in an anxious or non-anxious way in Turkish (see Table 22).

All the anxiety-related words (together with aggressive words in Study 5) were translated from English to Turkish by two independent researchers and then compared whether their meanings are the same. After the translation process, I prepared a form for subject matter experts, which provides the anxiety-related words (as well as physical and relational aggression words for Study 5) in a word-completion format in the first column; and asked for the alternative ways to complete those words in Turkish. Seven experts, who are social psychologists in a university, completed the form in a meeting room simultaneously, and then we discussed on the other possible words that may denote anxiety (as well as aggression for Study 5) in Turkish. This expert pool included one professor, three doctoral students, and three masters' students of Social Psychology (5 women, 1 man). After taking their opinions on the tasks, I finalized the words as presented in Table 22 (also see Appendix J for full version). After all the participants completed the word completion task, they were asked a couple of questions about *how comfortable they feel* after taking their gender feedback and their future performance.

Table 22

Anxiety-related Words Used in Study 4 (N = 124).

Original	**Turkish**	**Word-Completion Format**
Threat	Tehdit (Tehcir)	Teh_ _ _
Stress	Kaygı (Saygı, sargı, kargı, salgı, yazgı, yargı)	_ a _gı
Upset	Üzgün (azgın)	_zg_n
Bother	Sıkıntı (Takıntı, askıntı, çıkıntı)	_ _ kıntı
Shame	Utanmak (Atanmak)	_ tanmak
Weak	Zayıf (Zarif)	Za_ _f
Loser	Ezik (Etik, eğik)	E _ ik

5.1.2.4 Comfort with Test Scores

In order to get whether they are flexible about letting others know their (false) test scores, I asked five additional questions (e.g., "Would you feel *uncomfortable* with your friends learning about your test score?") and participants rated their comfort level

on a 1 (definitely yes) to 7 (definitely no) Likert type scale (see Appendix J). The answers to these questions are kind of manipulation check since one would expect an uncomfortable emotional state if s/he feels threatened by something. And this would be more applicable to men as admitting others that the test says he is nor masculine but feminine could be quite disturbing for men.

However, different than Vandello et al. (2008), I preferred to ask, "would you feel *uncomfortable*…?" instead of "would you be *comfortable*…? [italics added]" since it sounds more familiar in the Turkish language. Thus, I re-coded the scores on a scale *1* (definitely no) to *7* (definitely yes) to follow the same meaning on the same scale and averaged them into one variable (Cronbach's α = .89). In the end, high scores represent *more comfort (less discomfort)* while low scores represent *less comfort (more discomfort)* with sharing their gender test scores (BEM Gender Role Inventory) with others. This would give an idea about whether men in the threat condition would feel discomfort about their test scores (saying that they have more feminine rather than masculine characteristics). This would also give an idea about our manipulation has worked in the Turkish context, too.

5.1.2.3 Future Performance

To get participants' motivations for the compensation of their low gender scores, I also asked two additional questions: (1) "If you took a similar test, do you think you would score *better* on this test than you did on the gender knowledge test that you already took?" and (2) "If you took a similar test, do you think you would score *worse* on this test than you did on the gender knowledge test that you already took?" (reverse coded) (Vandello et al., 2008, p. 1332). They rated these questions on a *1* (definitely yes) to *7* (definitely no) Likert type scale. After I reversed the second question, I averaged them into "future performance" score (Cronbach's α = .75). The participants completed two manipulation check questions and demographic information form before they leave the questionnaire, and they were debriefed and thanked for their participation in the study (see Appendix J).

5.2 Results

Before starting the main data analysis, data cleaning was conducted with 135 cases. I eliminated the outliers whose response time took longer and shorter than two standard deviations of the mean duration (in seconds) (M = 695.48, SD = 367.4) because the time was important to be sure that they got the threat feedback. I eliminated six cases above the mean. I also eliminated the cases that answered the manipulation check questions wrong. Manipulation check questions were "In which percentile was your test score compared to other people in METU?" (1 = 73 %; 2 = 37 %) and "Did your test score make you feel uncomfortable?" (1 = yes; 2 = no). From the ones in the threat condition, I eliminated five cases choosing 73 % instead of 27 %, implying that they did not pay close attention to the manipulation. The rest of the data with 124 cases showed normal distribution with no missing and outlier cases.

I conducted three separate 2 (participant gender: men vs. women) X 2 (gender threat: threat vs. no-threat) between-subjects ANOVA on the (1) percentage of anxiety words, (2) comfort with test results, and (3) future performance of the participants (see Table 23 for sample sizes and descriptives). I expected to find participant gender X gender threat interaction, as in the original study.

Accordingly, men in masculinity threat condition would (a) complete more anxiety-related words; (b) indicate less comfortable with their test scores, and (c) hope to get better scores in their future performances than women in the femininity threat condition

The results of three ANOVAs did not reveal any statistically significant results for the main effects of gender and gender threat, and their interaction for anxiety word-completion and comfort with results ($p > .05$: see Table 24). The only significant effect was the main effect of gender on future performances. Accordingly, men (M = 3.28, SD = 1.34) expected to get higher (so more masculine) scores in a similar test in the

future compared to women expecting to get higher feminine scores (*M* = 2.67, *SD* = 1.20) (see table 24).

Table 23

Group Sizes, Means, and Standard Deviations for Each Condition (Study 4, N = 124)

DV1: % of correctly defined anxiety words (mean [SD])			
	Gender Threat		
	Threat	No-threat	*N*
Men	49.52 (17.49)	47.35 (15.01)	65
Women	49.98 (16.23)	49.31 (18.38)	59
DV2: Comfort with sharing gender-test results (mean [SD])*			
	Gender Threat		
	Threat	No-threat	*N*
Men	4.52 (1.91)	4.75 (1.79)	65
Women	4.61 (1.40)	4.60 (1.82)	59
DV3: Expectations about future performances (mean [SD])			
	Gender Threat		
	Threat	No-threat	*N*
Men	3.12 (1.36)	3.43 (1.04)	65
Women	2.50 (1.35)	2.82 (1.34)	59
N	66	58	

Note. DV= Dependent Variable; numbers in parenthesis are the standard deviations. * the higher the scores, the more comfortable they feel (or the lower the scores the less comfortable they feel).

5.3 Discussion

The findings showed that none of the expected effects reached significance for the percentage of anxiety words, comfort with other's knowing the test scores, and the hope for higher future results. Although being statistically non-significant, the pattern of the mean scores did not match with the expectation of precarious manhood thesis. Contrary to the findings of Vandello et al. (2008), women in the Turkish sample completed a seemingly more anxiety-related word regardless of the gender threat condition. I had expected to see Turkish men having a significantly higher number of anxiety-related words after getting a gender (masculinity) threat because they are traditionally proscribed to show their anxiety and vulnerable feelings. Rather, *being*

non-significant, Turkish women's pattern shows that they are more inclined to remember anxiety words (see Figure 5).

Table 24

The Significance Values of 2 (Gender) X 2 (Gender Threat) on Anxiety Word Completion, Comfort with Test Results, and Future Performance (Study 4)

DV_1: *Anxiety Word-Completion*	Mean dif.	*SE*	*F*	*df*	error *df*	*p*	*n 2*
Gender	.71	3.02	.06	1	120	.81	.00
Gender Threat	.92	3.02	.09	1	120	.76	.00
Gender X Gender Threat			.17	1	120	.68	.00
DV_2: *Comfort with Test Results*	Mean dif.	*SE*	*F*	*df*	error *df*	*p*	*n 2*
Gender	-.03	.32	.01	1	120	.93	.00
Gender Threat	-.11		.12	1	120	.73	.00
Gender X Gender Threat			.14	1	120	.71	.00
DV_3: *Future Performance*	Mean dif.	*SE*	*F*	*df*	error *df*	*p*	*n 2*
Gender	-.61	.23	7.13	1	120	.01	.06*
Gender Threat	-.32	.23	1.92	1	120	.17	.02
Gender X Gender Threat			.00	1	120	.98	.00

Note. Gender 1 = woman, 2 = man; Gender threat: 1 = threat, 2 = no-threat (affirming); DV: dependent variable

Although it was not statistically significant, the trends of the interaction in Figure 5 give some ideas about future manipulations. Very close mean scores of women for threat and affirmation condition may indicate that threat manipulation did not work for women. The same can be said for men yet they used a little bit more anxiety words in gender threat condition compared to gender-affirming condition.

The reason why threat manipulation did not work can be explained by using different measurement tools to create a threat. Using *gender knowledge test* in Vandello et al. (2008) and *the Bem gender role inventory* in the current study may have prevented the

effect of the manipulation. Giving threat feedback among gender knowledge test creates a threat to their knowledge about masculine leisure such as football, fixing, etc.

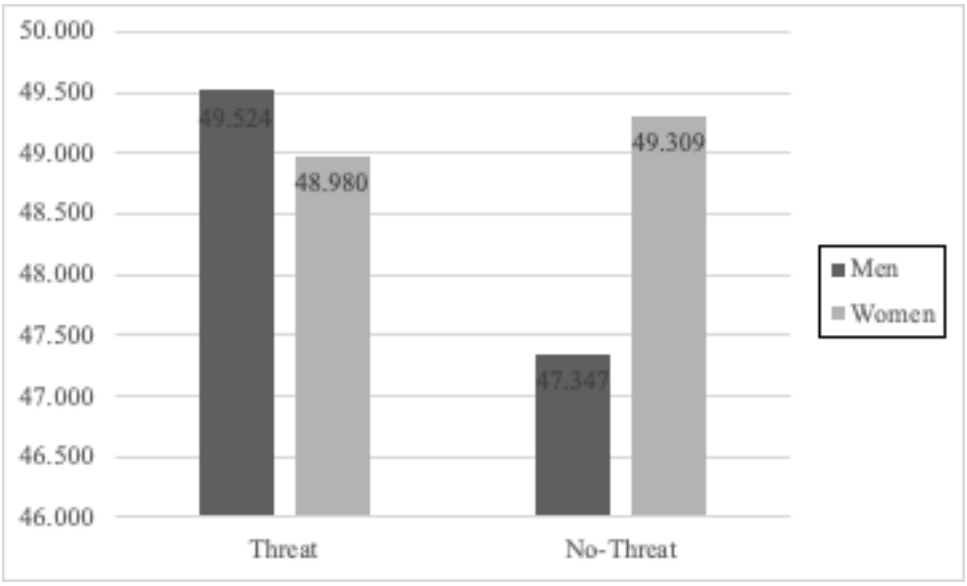

Figure 5. The percentages of correctly defined anxiety words in terms of threat condition and participant's gender, Study 4.

On the other hand, giving threat feedback of BEM sex role inventory creates a threat to their prototypicality (i.e., "you don't have masculine characteristics"). I did not use gender knowledge test for threat manipulation because its content extremely reflects stereotypical American cultural norms about men and women (e.g., baseball games; etc.). However, by using BSRI, Turkish participants may not have felt threatened since 1) the content of the mock test might not have evoked the same threat perception in these cultures, 2) taking the test feedbacks in an online environment may not have seemed realistic to Turkish participants, 3) being compared to other men in their campus may not have been very important for them as they may not be the reference groups for the participants. These drawbacks can be further eliminated in future studies.

CHAPTER 6

STUDY 5: EMERGENCE OF AGGRESSION IN RESPONSE TO GENDER THREAT

Study 4 did not reveal any significant results on anxiety-related words and thus did not replicate the findings of Vandello et al. (2008). Although Vandello et al. (2008) found more anxious thoughts among threatened men; they further investigated whether the same threat manipulation would evoke different types of aggression among men and women.

Lento- Zwolinski (2007) says that the same threat manipulation may not result in similar responses for men and women. Men mostly respond to threats with physical aggression in relation to psychological factors (e.g., psychological distress: hostility) while women respond with relational aggression in relation to social factors (e.g., exclusion) (Lento-Zwolinski, 2007). In line with this, a meta-analysis indicates that men from all age groups show more direct physical aggression and women show indirect/relational aggression (e.g., spreading the rumor, gossiping) all over the world (Archer, 2004a).

Compatible with the literature, Vandello et al. (2008) found that American men reacted with more physically aggressive thoughts, but the American women did not differ in their physical or relational aggression responses after getting a gender-threat. In Study 5, I aim to replicate the findings of Vandello et al. (2008) in Turkish cultural context by using the same measurement tools. In Turkey, the reflections of aggression types among men and women are quite similar to the American context: women show their aggression passive-aggressively while men show their aggression physically (Balkaya & Şahin, 2003; Bostancı, Çoban, Tekin, & Özen, 2007). Therefore, I expected to see

more physically aggressive thoughts among threatened men but not among threatened women.

Vandello et al. (2008) tested this assumption by using the same gender threat manipulation as they used in Study 4 (i.e., anxiety word completion). However, they measured aggressive thoughts/cognitions as dependent variables in two different ways: physical and relational aggression. According to the aggression models (Anderson & Bushman, 2002), negative situational feedbacks stimulate aggressive cognitions. If this negative feedback is gender threatening, then this can activate men's physically aggressive cognitions (such as scripts, etc.) as they are already prescribed by traditional masculinity norms. On the other hand, women would react to negative gender feedbacks differently with relationally aggressive cognitions and this would mostly be because of the threat to their close relationships rather than their gender identity. Thus, neither the originals study nor the current study hypothesized more relational aggression among women after receiving gender threat.

6.1 Method

6.1.1 Participants and Procedure

110 women and 95 men participated in the study. Their mean age was 22 (*SD* = 2.93). The demographics of the sample can be seen in Table 25. They were recruited from a sample of students who are registered at the SONA system of METU, an online participant pool where they can get extra credit for their courses. Therefore, the sample consisted of METU students from different departments as well as Psychology. They were randomly assigned to one of the conditions in 2 (participant gender: men vs. women) X 2 (gender threat: threat vs. no-threat) X 2 (aggression type: physical vs. relational) between subject design ANOVA.

Gender threat was manipulated in the same way as in Study 4, by using the BEM sex role inventory as a valid measure. The participants answered how much gender characteristics in this inventory define themselves; they were asked to wait for 15

seconds and were randomly given either gender-threatening or gender-affirming (no threat) feedbacks based on their self-reported gender (see Study 4, "Materials and Procedure" part for the detailed information).

Table 25

Demographic Variables of the Sample of Study 5 (N = 205)

Variables	Frequency	Percentage	*M*	*SD*	Range
Age			22.04	2.93	18-45
Participant's gender					
Woman	110	53.7			
Man	95	46.3			
The place mostly lived in					
Metropolis city	145	70.7			
City	31	15.1			
Province	27	13.2			
Town	1	0.5			
Village					
Mother's Education					
Illiterate	2	1.0			
Primary School	39	19.1			
Secondary school	23	11.3			
High school	48	23.5			
Two-year license	16	7.8			
University	65	31.9			
Master	4	2			
PhD	7	3.4			
Father's Education					
Illiterate	0	0			
Primary School	24	11.8			
Secondary school	13	6.4			
High school	47	23.			
Two-year license	16	7.8			
University	83	40.7			
Master	11	5.4			
PhD	10	4.9			
Perceived Social Class					
Lower	10	4.9			
Lower-middle	29	14.2			
Middle	114	55.9			
Middle-upper	50	24.5			
Upper	1	0.5			
Religion					
Belief in a religion	120	59.1			
Not belonging to any religion	83	40.9			
Effect of Religion on Life Practices			4.12	2.91	1(None)-11(A lot)
Political orientation			4.47	2.23	1(Left)-11(Right)

After getting their false gender feedback, participants were randomly assigned to either physical or relational aggression conditions. In the *physical* aggression condition, they completed a 32-item word completion task (see Appendix K). Eight of the words (e.g., "_AN [kan or can]; Sİ_AH [silah or siyah]) could be completed either in an aggressive or non-aggressive way while other words were completely neutral (e.g., Ç_ _ EK [çiçek, çilek]) (see Table 26). In the *relational* aggression condition (see Appendix L), they completed eight words implying relational aggression (e.g., K_ SM_K [küsmek vs. kusmak]) embedded within the other neutral words used in the physical aggression condition. The similar task has recently been used in another study (Konopka et al., 2017) as a valid way of measuring aggressive cognitions.

Two independent researchers translated the words from English to Turkish, and then I compared on whether their meanings are the same (see Procedure title under Study 4). Relying on this, some of the words were not included in the Turkish word-completion task as they carry the same meaning with others, and some of them were translated incompatible with everyday-use of the Turkish language. For example, the meaning of the words "exclude" and "reject" have quite the same meaning in Turkish, thus I just included the Turkish version of "exclude". I also deliberately preferred to use "kırılmak" instead of a direct translation of the word "ignore" as "görmezden gelmek". It is the common relationally aggressive response implying rejecting to interact with a partner, as s/he is offended.

Although Vandello et al. (2008) did not include in their aggressive word-completion study, I also asked participants whether they feel *comfortable* about their gender test scores and *future expectancy* (as asked in Study 4) to use them as manipulation check questions. In addition to that, I also asked two additional manipulation check questions (e.g., "Did you feel any discomfort about your test score" and "What was your percentile compared to other men/women?"). After the manipulation check questions, they also completed PANAS as a filler task and demographics (see Appendix M). After they completed the whole questionnaire package, they read the *debriefing form* revealing the actual purpose of the study.

6.2 Results

Before conducting the main analyses, I cleaned the data to meet the normality and linearity requirements. After I started the data cleaning with 301 participants, I checked for missing cases and eliminated the cases which took shorter than five minutes (as it totally takes 25-30 minutes to complete) and longer than 3 SD above the mean. Totally, I eliminated 44 cases from the data set in the first step.

Table 26

Physical and Relational Aggressive Words used in the Word Completion Task

Physical Aggression Words			**Relational Aggression Words**		
Original	**Turkish**		**Original**	**Turkish**	
Gun	Silah	Si_a_	Lie	Yalan	Y_lan
Kill	Ölmek	Ö_mek	Rumor[a]	Söylenmek	_ _ ylenmek
Fight	Kavga	Ka_ga	Exclude	Dışlamak	_ _şlamak
Blood	Kan	_an	Reject[s]		
Battle	Savaş	Sa_a_	Tease	Sataşmak	_at_ şmak
Murder	Cinayet	_i_ayet	Gossip	Gıybet	_ıy_ et
Punch	Yumruk	_ _ mr_ k	Ignore[c]	Kırılmak	_ _rılmak
Stab	Saplamak	_ _plamak	Slander	İftira	İ_ti_r
			Taunt	Alay	_l_y

Note. [a] "söylenmek" was used instead of direct translation of rumor (söylenti) as it is more compatible with daily use; [b] "reject" was not included as it carries similar meaning with "exclude" in Turkish; [c] "kırılmak" was used instead of "ignore" (görmezden gelmek) as it is a common behavior given in the case of relational conflict.

Then, I checked the false answers given to the manipulation check question (e.g., "What was your percentile compared to other men/women?"). They were expected to rate % 73 if they were in the affirmation condition, and rate % 27 if they were in the threat condition. There were seven misfitting cases for the threat condition and four cases for the no-threat condition. Totally, I eliminated 11 cases out of 216 and started the main analyses with 205 participants.

Before computing composite variables, I re-coded all the words in the word-completion task as "1" if they imply physical or relational aggression, and re-coded as "0" if they imply non-aggressive meaning. Then, I summed up all the re-coded variables and took a percentage of the total number of aggressive words. The percentages, in the end, reflected the total amount of aggressively completed words.

Power analysis conducted with G*Power suggested using at least 126 cases at 80 % statistical power and .06 effect size for 2 x 2 x 2 between subject ANOVA design. The current sample size already meets (N = 205) the standards of statistically powerful research for a given effect size.

Compatible with the original study (Vandello et al., 2008), the percentage of the aggressively-completed words were taken as the dependent variable while participants' gender (i.e., men vs. women), gender threat condition (i.e., threat vs. no threat), and aggression-type (i.e., physical, relational) were taken as repeated independent variables. As I mentioned in the procedure, I also tested the effects of participants' gender and gender threat on *comfort with sharing gender-test results* as the separate dependent variable.

First, I expected that three-way interaction on a 2 (participants' gender: man vs. woman) X 2 (gender threat: threat vs. no-threat) x 2 (aggression type: physical vs. relational) between-subjects ANOVA design would be significant (see Table 27 for group means and sizes). Accordingly, men were expected to show more physical (but not relational) aggression in gender threat condition while women were expected to be unaffected by the gender threat condition.

Second, I also included *participants' comfort with their results*, as explained in Study 4 (anxiety-words). Originally, these measures were not included in Vandello et al. (2009) Study 5, yet it reflected whether our manipulation in the threat condition worked or not. I expected a three-way interaction effect of 2 (participants' gender: man vs. woman) X 2 (gender threat: threat vs. no-threat) x 2 (aggression type: physical vs. relational) on both comfort scores. Accordingly, men who took a gender threat would feel less comfortable with sharing their (feminine) test results with others.

When I use direct manipulation-check items as a covariate (e.g., "Did you feel threatened when you learned your score?" 1: no, 2: yes) on % of aggressively completed words, the three-way interaction is still significant. But when I look at cross-tabulation of the results, only 30 participants (out of 116) in threat condition

confirms that they felt discomfort. This may have resulted from people's social desirability tendencies that they may have been shy about admitting the threat they perceived. On the other hand, taking "comfort with results" as an indirect measure of the effectiveness of threat manipulation, the three-way interaction was still significant and made more sense as people may feel easiness about telling their discomfort concerning others' opinion. Thus, the "comfort with results" was also treated as a manipulation check.

Table 27

Group Sizes, Means, and Standard Deviations for Each Condition (Study 5)

DV1: % of correctly defined aggressive words					
	Physical Aggression		Relational Aggression		
	No-threat	Threat	No-threat	Threat	*N*
Men	45.45 (16.61)	50 (17.68) [a]	49.04 (17.29)	43.5(15.36)	95
Women	43.93 (15.66)	36 (16.27) [b]	49.07 (15.08)	52.5 (12.5)	110
DV2: Comfort with sharing gender-test results					
	Physical Aggression		Relational Aggression		
	No-threat	Threat	No-threat	Threat	*N*
Men	4.80 (1.71)	3.41 (1.46)	4.33 (1.73)	4.40 (1.88)	95
Women	4.49 (1.65)	4.88 (1.75)	4.94 (1.55)	4.26 (2.10)	110
N	55	47	53	50	205

Note. DV= Dependent Variable; numbers in parenthesis are the standard deviations; cells that do not share the same subscript are significantly different from each other at $p < .05$. The higher scores for physical an relational aggression indicate more words filled in an aggressive way. The lower scores for "comfort" indicate feeling less comfortable about revealing their gender score.

6.2.1 Testing the Effect of Participant Gender and Gender threat on Aggressive Word Completion

The results of the 2 (participants' gender: man vs. woman) X 2 (gender threat: threat vs. no-threat) x 2 (aggression type: physical vs. relational) between-subjects ANOVA revealed that the main effect of *aggression type* was statistically significant, F (1, 197)

= 4.39, p = .04, d = .30. Accordingly, the participants completed more relationally aggressive words (M = 48.54, SD = 15.39) than physically aggressive words (M = 43.62, SD = 16.94). All other main effects were non-significant (p > .05). The three-way interaction of gender, gender threat, and aggression-type were statistically significant on the total percentage of aggression words, F (1, 197) = 5.76, p = .02, f =.17 After controlling for negative affect with PANAS, all the significant results remained significant (see Table 28).

Table 28

The Significance Values of 2 (Gender) X 2 (Gender Threat) X 2 (Aggression type) on Aggressively Completed Words.

IVs	Mean dif.	*SE*	*F*	*df*	error *df*	*p*	*n 2*
Gender	1.62	2.23	.53	1	197	.47	.00
Gender Threat	1.38	2.23	.38	1	197	.54	.00
Aggression Type	4.68	2.23	4.39	1	197	.04*	.02
Gender X Gender Threat			.16	1	197	.69	.00
Gender X Aggression Type			7.55	1	197	.01*	.04
Gender Threat X Aggression Type			.02	1	197	.89	.00
Gender X Gender Threat X Aggression Type			5.76	1	197	.02*	.03
After controlling PANAS	Mean dif.	*SE*	*F*	*df*	error *df*	*p*	*n 2*
PANAS Negative			3.51	1	196	.06	.02
Gender	2.276	2.247	1.03	1	196	.31	.01
Gender Threat	1.585	2.223	.51	1	196	.48	.00
Aggression Type	4.587	2.221	4.27	1	196	.04*	.02
Gender X Gender Threat			.00	1	196	.95	.00
Gender X Aggression Type			7.87	1	196	.01*	.04
Gender Threat X Aggression Type			.02	1	196	.90	.00
Gender X Gender Threat X Aggression Type			5.97	1	196	.02*	.03

Note. IVs: Gender: men (1), women (2); gender threat: threat (1), no-threat (2); aggression type: physical (1), relational (2); DV: mean percentage of the correctly defined aggressive words.

In order to explain three-way interaction effect clearly among both physical and relational aggression words, I splitted the data by "aggression type" and conducted 2 (gender: men vs. women) X 2 (gender threat: threat vs. no-threat) between-subjects ANOVAs for each condition. Among those who were in physical aggression condition, 2 (gender) X 2 (gender threat) interaction was marginally significant [F (1, 98) = 3.57, p = .06, η_p^2 = .04, f = .20] while there was no significant two-way interaction for those in relational aggression condition [F (1, 99) = 2.21, p > .10]. As expected, in physical aggression condition, gender-threatened men (M = 50, SD = *17.68*) completed more physically aggressive words compared to threatened-women (M = 36, SD = 16.26) in the same condition, F (1, 197) = 4.34, p = .04, d = *.41* (see Figure 6). However, the interaction effect of gender and gender threat was not significant for no-threat (affirmation) condition in both physical and relational aggression condition, as well as threat condition in relational aggression [F (1, 98) = .11, p > .10].

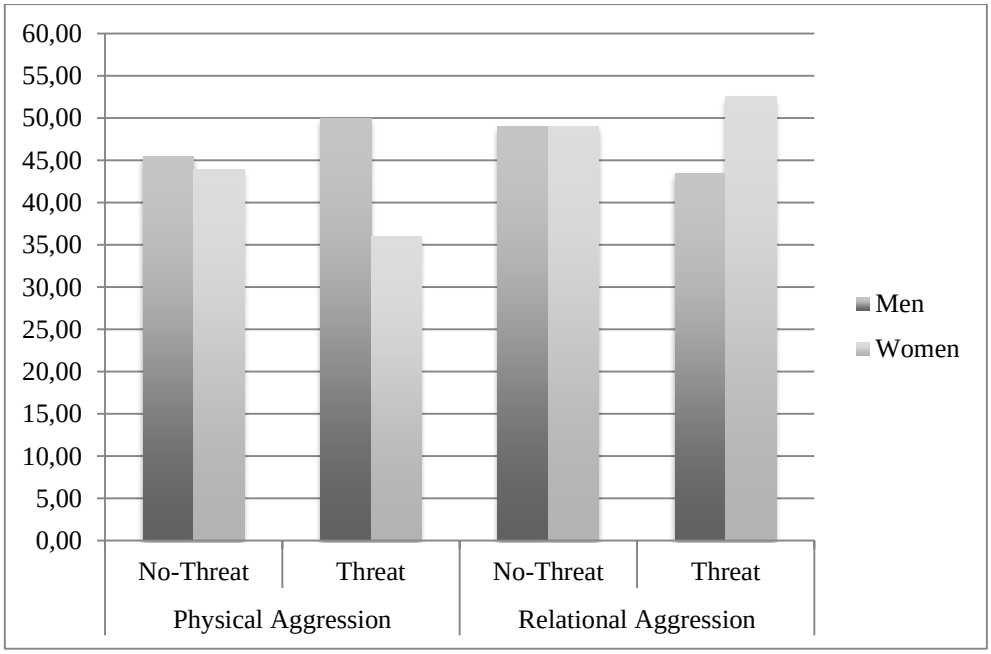

Figure 6. The percentages of correctly defined aggressive words in terms of threat condition and participant's gender, Study 5. The interaction effect is marginally significant at p = .06

6.2.2 Testing the Effect of Participant Gender and Gender threat on Comfort with Results

To see whether participants are comfortable about letting others know about their (false) gender test results, 2 (participants' gender: man vs. woman) X 2 (gender threat: threat vs. no-threat) x 2 (aggression type: physical vs. relational) between subjects ANOVA was conducted. In the comfort measure, the participants were asked questions such as "would you be comfortable with your friends learning about your test score and feedback?" (see "materials" in Study 4). The higher the score, the more comfortable they felt. I expected that threatened men would be less comfortable about sharing their (feminine) test scores in physical aggression condition. This would justify my predictions that men are more lenient to show physical aggression after they receive gender threat. According to the results, three-way interaction of 2 (gender) X 2 (gender threat) X 2 (aggression type) had significant effect on participants' comfort ratings, F (1, 197) = 6.65, p = .01, f = .18. However, there were no significant main or interaction effects for the ones in the relational aggression condition (F< 1.63, p > .10). Among those who completed physical aggression words, gender X gender threat interaction was significant, F (1, 197) = 8.38, p = .00, η_p^2 = .04, f = .20. Accordingly, threatened men indicated lower levels of comfort about sharing their scores (M = 3.04, SD = 1.45, SE = .37) compared to threatened women (M = 4.88, SD =1.75, SE = .35) (see Figure 7).

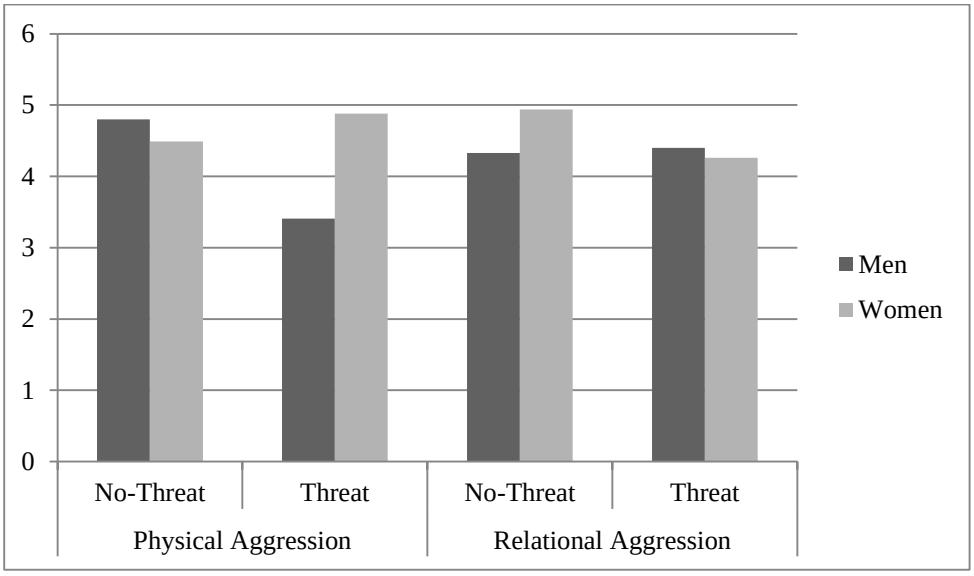

Figure 7. The mean scores of comfort with gender test results as a function of threat condition and participant's gender, Study 5.

6.3 Discussion

The current study replicated the findings of original precarious manhood study with aggressive word completion task. The original study (Vandello et al., 2008) had shown a three-way interaction between participant gender, gender threat and aggression-type, so did the current study. Accordingly, men reacted to gender threat with rehearsing more physically aggressive cognitions than relationally aggressive cognitions. Women's aggressive cognitions, on the other hand, were not influenced by taking gender threat or not, they showed similar amounts of physical and relational aggressive cognitions.

By replicating the results, this study answered the question that whether facing a gender threat would create an aggressive cognitions among men and women and whether they differ in aggression types that gender-threat evoke? Accordingly, in both American and Turkish cultures physically aggressive thoughts are more available for men after facing negative feedback related to their gender but not for women. The findings are further discussed under general discussion titles.

CHAPTER 7

GENERAL DISCUSSION

7.1 Overview of the Findings

This dissertation aims to see whether the precarious manhood theory replicates in the cultural context of Turkey. On top of that, it also aimed to see whether masculinity ideology predicts people's beliefs about precarious manhood/womanhood. Masculinity has been discussed as dominating, privileged and context-dependent performances since the 1970s in the social science literature. Researchers have observed the proof-motivated actions of men in tribal societies as well as modern societies we live in today. Precarious manhood thesis (Vandello et al., 2008) has inspected the existential structure of manhood (in comparison to womanhood status) which is achieved through proof-motivated behaviors of men in these modern societies.

A huge amount of research revealed consistent findings admitting precarious nature of manhood predominantly among different American samples (Bosson, Vandello, Burnaford, Weaver, & Arzu Wasti, 2009; Michniewicz, Bosson, Lenes, & Chen, 2015; O'Connor, Ford, & Banos, 2017b; Weaver, Vandello, & Bosson, 2013), but whether precarious manhood is admissible and reign over womanhood in different cultures still remain unclear. Comparing different perceptions of manhood (and womanhood) in different cultures would facilitate further research aiming to identify blind spots that mainstream psychological research may have overlooked. Addressing this gap, this study aims to conceptually and methodologically replicate the original studies of precarious manhood thesis in the cultural context of Turkey, as well as showing the role of masculinity ideology on people's precarious manhood and womanhood beliefs.

To that end, the current study presented the findings of five studies. Study 1 presented a new measure of masculinity ideology based on the current cultural beliefs in Turkey. It revealed that masculinity ideology could be measured among four components named as head of family, dominance, femininity avoidance, and emotional restriction. On top of that, Study 2 additionally tested the predictive role of each component on precarious manhood/womanhood beliefs. Study 2-5 were conceptually and methodologically replications of precarious manhood theory (Vandello et al., 2008). These four studies tested the assumptions that compared to womanhood, manhood is (a) seen as a status that should be earned (Study 2a & 2b); (b) as status that can be lost based on social rather than physical changes (Study 3); (c) as status that can be easily threatened and so result in anxiety (Study 4) and aggression (Study 5).

The findings confirmed that Turkish people view manhood as precarious in the sense that it is *achieved* and *lost* through social endeavors that are vital for fulfilling societal expectations (Study 2). On the other hand, Turkish people *did not* see womanhood as an attainable social status as much as manhood. But at the same time, they attributed the transition from childhood to both manhood and womanhood to *physical* more than social causes (Study 2). Because of the precarious status of manhood, men in the Turkish sample are easily threatened and responded to gender threats by engaging in more physically rather than relationally aggressive thinking (Study 5).

Although Turkish people conceptualized womanhood more like a stable physical/biological possession, findings of Study 3 indicated that womanhood can also be lost in the eyes of others as much as manhood. This emerged to be the most outstanding cultural difference between Turkey and the USA. This finding supports the existing argument about the precariousness of womanhood that it can be lost via failure to be a good mother and beautiful woman (Chrisler, 2013) or failure to protect sexual modesty (Winegard, Winegard, & Geary, 2014).

7.2 Manhood is Hard-Won, and Womanhood is Ascribed Statuses

Study 2a and 2b revealed that Turkish sample viewed manhood as more of an attainable status compared to how they perceived womanhood in Turkey. In other words, being a man requires behavioral effort and other's approval in Turkey. But the same is not true for womanhood. These findings *replicated* the original precarious manhood studies using fabricated proverbs and direct statements (Vandello et al., 2008). People's perceptions about the precarious nature of manhood (but not womanhood) in Turkey are also in line with previous research searching for structural explanations of manhood and womanhood. Accordingly, men are watchful of other's existence and this makes manhood status tenuous to be rewarded by other's attention (Bosson et al., 2009).

This finding also supports the fact that Turkish proverbs and idioms clearly differentiate a man and a woman from each other. In traditional Turkish proverbs, men are depicted as active agencies. (e.g., "Ağaç yeşert meyve getirsin, oğlan büyüt ekmek getirsin" [Raise the tree to grow fruit, raise a boy to bring bread]) while women are defined as ones maintaining a household (e.g., "Erkek getirmeyi, kadın yetirmeyi bilmeli" [Men should know how to provide, women should know how to sustain]) (Özkan & Gündoğdu, 2011). Although this research also unveils the sexist and patriarchal nature of Turkish proverbs, this may also give an idea about why Turkish participants agreed more on the proverbs referring to the action-based, attainable nature of manhood. On the other hand, the content of Turkish proverbs still don't refer to women's physical/biological nature but they mostly refer their preparation for future marriages (Özkan & Gündoğdu, 2011). This can be considered as an expected way of being a real woman in Turkey.

The current findings also supported the idea that manhood is more related to transient *actions* (doings) rather than perdurable *adjectives* (havings). Being *a real man* (but not a real woman) in the American society is related to social gaining and it is more so for men who carry a concern for others' validation (Weaver et al., 2010). Turkish college

students currently define men with more agentic gender stereotypes such as being strong, ambitious, angry, hardworking, brave, protective, etc. (Sakalli-Ugurlu et al., 2018a). Supporting the beliefs about precarious manhood, stereotypes about being a man in Turkey rely more on action-based adjectives especially when a single man walks into a marriage. Single men in Turkey are defined excessively with personality traits yet married men are excessively defined with gender role behaviors such as being a breadwinner, taking care of his family, fathering, etc. (Sakallı-Uğurlu et al., 2018b). Thus, seeing manhood as a status attained by going through the effortful social and behavioral process is quite in line with contemporary stereotypes and different components of masculinity ideology that Study 1 found in Turkey.

Although the agreement with fabricated proverbs and direct statements about precariousness indicated that people see manhood status more attainable compared to womanhood in Turkey, this finding is not compatible with gender stereotypes about women. The same action-based pattern manifests itself for women, too. Accordingly, single women are also defined with more personality traits the pattern of which turn into *doing*s if a woman gets married. For example, people picture a woman according to gender roles such as nurturing, doing housework, being tired of housework, engaging in self-sacrificing behaviors, etc., all of which denotes *actions* rather than *havings* (i.e., traits) (Sakallı-Uğurlu et al., 2018). Accordingly, the social development of womanhood eventually continues with social doings. However, it may not be as salient as men's doings in the society because of the absence of an audience who *glorify* these actions. That's why the Turkish sample may have seen manhood more of a *rocky road* to go through (Vandello et al., 2008, p. 1328).

7.3 The Moderator Role of Masculinity Ideology on Precarious Manhood/Womanhood Beliefs

Do people's acceptance of precarious manhood/womanhood beliefs change in terms of the level of their masculinity ideology? To answer this question, Study 1 aimed to develop a new measure of masculinity ideology that reflects current gendered values

of Turkish society, and Study 2 further investigated the role of this ideology on precarious manhood and womanhood beliefs.

Results indicated that, traditionally idealized masculinity in Turkey emerge to necessitates being head of the family, dominance, femininity avoidance, and emotional restriction. Among these mandates, *femininity avoidance* predicted precarious manhood beliefs among men (but not women) via fabricated proverbs. This finding highlighted the importance of anti-feminine identity construction for men. It makes sense when the essence of precarious manhood theory is considered. If a man is made rather than born, then this finding reveals that a man can only be *a real man* by avoiding feminine behaviors and roles. This also confirms the logic behind why men are easily threatened by femininity threat (Caswell et al., 2014; Glick, Gangl, Gibb, Klumpner, & Weinberg, 2007; Weaver et al., 2013).

Another reason for the finding that femininity-avoidant men are more likely to view manhood more precarious than womanhood could lie behind men's socialization. Starting from boyhood, men internalize norms of masculinity ideology by active re-enactment. Boys refrain from appearing feminine to others since peers exclude them from social environment (Ewing Lee & Troop-Gordon, 2011). In this way, boys learn to *present* themselves in line with prevailing masculinity ideology, and this reinforces the loop of the proof-based structure of manhood status. In other words, the belief that men should never seem feminine motivates men to see manhood as something you should strive for an ideal way of being masculine. This points out that manhood status is constructed through social practices to make itself acceptable.

Surprisingly, none of these components predicted precarious manhood/womanhood beliefs via direct statements but predicted them only through' endorsement of proverbs. This may have resulted from cultural meanings Turkish people attributed to the proverbs. Proverbs may have implicitly reminded people conventional values and paved the way for justifying the existing gender ideology, which already necessitates certain performances to be a man. Existing research supports the idea that Turkish

proverbs emphasize men and manhood focusing on social abilities such as having courage, breadwinning, etc. while they emphasize women and womanhood focusing on more protective and proscriptive domains (Özkan & Gündoğdu, 2011).

Showing that masculinity ideology predicts especially men's precarious manhood beliefs may not be surprising. Existing research has already shown the relationship between endorsement of masculinity ideology and gender traits (e.g., masculinity and femininity) (see Smiler, 2006a, 2006b). However, these studies do not exactly focus on how masculinity ideology shapes people's *perceptions* about the *structure* of manhood and womanhood. Rather, they've revealed the importance of conformity to different types of masculinity ideology on people's perceptions about their own congruence with masculine or feminine traits (Smiler, 2006b). Differently, this study seeks to shift the attention from one's self-endorsement of stereotypically masculine or feminine traits to precarious nature of gender status. Thus, it is important to differentiate the *personal* endorsement of gender stereotypes and the endorsement of beliefs about the *structures* of gender statuses that these stereotypes serve.

The finding that it is not solely the participant gender, but the endorsement of masculinity ideology that leads people's precarious manhood beliefs may also prevent researchers from reducing the difference between men and women to gender categories. The importance of this is twofold. First, one's endorsement of masculinity ideology determines how they see gendered issues and thus eliminates essentialist interpretations. In that sense, saying that "men view manhood more precarious because they are simply men" and "men view manhood more precarious because they socialized into a world where they are expected to prove themselves to be a real man" do not carry the same meaning. Second, taking different representations of masculinity ideology into account may give an opportunity for change in the current ideological norms (Sapiro, 2003). Gender norms are defined in terms of cultural values, time, and context (Connell, 1995). Thus, it is always possible to change restraining norms by questioning the ideological sanctions and the how it shapes the structure of genders.

7.4 Transition into Manhood and Womanhood

Study 2b also investigated whether people attribute transition from boyhood to manhood (or girlhood to womanhood) to physical or social reasons. The findings showed that Turkish people view the process of transition from childhood to both manhood and womanhood on the basis of physical milestones such as hormonal changes. Surprisingly, this finding failed to replicate the original findings of Vandello et al. (2008). American people support the idea that transition into manhood is more related to social changes while the transition into womanhood was equally related to physical and social changes. Although Turkish results are different from the original findings, it is consistent with the research indicating that there exist higher essentialist beliefs about masculinity than femininity in an American sample (Smiler & Gelman, 2008). For example, Smiler and Gelman (2008) have asked their participants to rate whether "Being a man/a woman is a fixed property of an individual that doesn't really change from childhood (a) through adolescence (b) from adolescence through early adulthood, (c) from early adulthood through old age." (Smiler & Gelman, 2008, p. 866). Accordingly, men have believed that masculinity has more biological essence that is given and cannot be improved through social acts, and men who defined themselves *a real man* with scoring high on masculinity ideology seem to be more rigid with this idea. Thus, it can be concluded that people may see the manhood status as attainable (thus precarious), but it doesn't cancel out the physical and bodily transition into manhood and womanhood.

Attributing something to physical/biological traits such as breast or mustache development do not signify any effort to be called a man or a woman. This way, it seems that entering manhood or womanhood is not in the control of a man or a woman contradicting the definition of *precarious*. Merriam Webster dictionary defines *precarious* as "(a) dependent on chance circumstances, unknown conditions, or uncertain developments; (b) characterized by a lack of security or stability that threatens with danger". Thus, the current finding that transition into both manhood and

womanhood is more physical than social is somewhat unexpected and contradictory with the finding that people believe that manhood is more precarious in Turkey.

There could be two potential reasons for this inconsistency. First, the participants may have reminded of bodily changes such as circumcision. Men's circumcision is the first step of the construction of manhood in Turkey. Although it seems to be a completely private physical intervention to one's body, circumcision has symbolic in the eyes of others as it represents a gate opening to manhood (Barutçu, 2013; Kırımlı, 2010). Second, the choice of wording may have prompted the participants to lean on physical causes. Different than the original wording Vandello et al. (2008) used (e.g., boyhood/girlhood), I used [transition from] *childhood* with the aim of preventing prejudiced wording in the Turkish language. Using *boyhood* (i.e., oğlanlık) could be interpreted as being "gay" as it has been historically used for a gay man in Turkey. On the other hand, using *girlhood* (i.e., kızlık) could have underlined virginity in the head of people, since the transition into womanhood traditionally necessitates losing virginity Turkey (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). In that sense, using *childhood* instead of the direct translation of the words may have triggered the perception of growing and changing physically.

7.5 Precarious Manhood as an Easily Lost Status

Building on the findings that people viewed manhood more precarious compared to womanhood, Study 3 investigated whether this precarious status can be lost in the eyes of people. The results of pre-written interpretation of statements, Turkish people admitted that manhood is lost because of losing something is related to social rather than physical reasons. However, their open ended responses revealed a similar social reasons for womanhood as well. Although it was contrary to my expectation, this finding replicated the finding of Vandello et al. (2008) and supported the idea that manhood can be lost by means of social and societal failures, mostly referring to other's audience. Vandello et al. (2008) originally expected to see this effect, since they claim that losing manhood is more inherent to American culture. On the other

hand, I wasn't expecting the same effect as I argued that "losing womanhood" may be akin to the cultural understanding of Turkey, and thus familiar to people just like losing manhood. Supporting my argument, especially the content of open-ended responses in Study 3 did not indicate any reference to physical or biological situations causing womanhood loss. Accordingly, Turkish participants mostly taught that a woman losing her womanhood could have been subjected to violence or sexual harassment, cheated by a man or lost her "female honor" while they did not refer to physical/biological reasons such as losing her fertility, not being able to give birth. Although Turkish people are prejudiced against childless women (Husnu, 2016), we still don't know whether it is because of physical or social defects in the eyes of others.

The most highlighting explanation of why Turkish people differ in understanding and interpretation of manhood and womanhood loss statements could be insecure structure of womanhood in Turkey. This study conceptualized and expected womanhood in Turkey as a status interwoven with *purity* (Sakallı-Uğurlu, Türkoğlu, Kuzlak, & Gupta, 2018) or *female honor* (Sakallı-Uğurlu & Akbaş, 2013; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001) of a woman. One can interpret a sentence like "I am not a woman anymore" in the way that she has been sexually humiliated in front of others or she is not a *pure* and *honorable* woman anymore. Research confirming this reveals that women feel bad about themselves if they do something threatening their sexual modesty (Ceylan, 2016; Rodriguez Mosquera, 2016), decency, and sexual purity (Rodriguez Mosquera, 2016). It also is crystal clear that the situations that threaten female honor jeopardize womanhood status in honor cultures such as negative evaluations of non-virgin women in Turkey (Eşsizoğlu, Yasan, Yildirim, Gergen, & Ozkan, 2011; Sakallı-Uğurlu & Glick, 2003). Thus, it is obvious from the Turkish results that people see manhood and womanhood equally losable. The only difference can be they may equate *womanhood* and *female honor* in their cultural understanding, and this should be further investigated in future studies.

7.6 The Emergence of Anxiety and Aggression in Response to Gender Threat

Study 4 and Study 5 has examined whether manhood threat would create anxiety and aggression compared to womanhood threat among women? If manhood is seen attained but not possessed contrary to womanhood in both Turkey and the USA, then one can expect that risking men's status with femininity threat should create status anxiety and defensive aggression.

However, the findings of Study 4 revealed that men and women did not differ in their anxious cognitions; their comfort levels if others' know (fake) test results; and hope for better scores if they take the test again. This way, it did not replicate the original findings. Vandello et al. (2008) found that gender threat created more anxiety, less comfort, and more hope for taking better results among men but not among women. Although the results were not significant in the Turkish sample, their scores surprisingly indicated a reverse fashion. Accordingly, women who took gender-affirmation (no-threat) manipulation (i.e., "you are feminine enough") indicated slightly more anxiety than those who took gender threat. However, the anxiety scores of men showed an expected trend where gender-threatened men scored higher on anxiety words than gender-affirmed men, even if these scores were not statistically significant.

The reverse fashion in women's score can be explained by higher anxiety and stress level of women compared to men. A recent meta-analysis supported this argument and showed that particularly women experience more anxiety than men (Remes, Brayne, van der Linde, & Lafortune, 2016). Another study conducted with young women in Turkey showed that women feel greater gender role stress as they endorse high levels of traditional gender ideology (especially beliefs about premarital gender) (Bayar, Haskan-Avci, & Koc, 2018). In that manner, Turkish women may already be lenient to remember anxious cognitions as they are socialized into stress-induced gender environment, which may result in an anxious thinking style. On the other hand, Turkish men may have revealed less anxious cognitions as they are socialized into aggression-based manhood (Weaver et al., 2010), which represents itself clearer in

aggressive words rather than anxious words. Also, considering the limitations in the expressions of anxiety and emotions for men (see Thompson & Bennett, 2015), anxiety words may not be so familiar to men as they to women.

Thus, Study 5 tested the effect of gender threat on aggression in addition to anxiety. Replicating the original study (Vandello et al., 2008), men in the Turkish sample were threatened easier than women and manhood threat triggered a more physically aggressive pattern compared to no threat condition. This finding supports the previous research that men completed more physical aggression words when they get gender threat (Konopka et al., 2017). This admits that prototypicality threat (e.g., saying a woman that she is masculine) does not evoke aggression on women. Thus, as the research suggests (Archer, 2004b), it would be better to create a womanhood threat with reference to others to see whether they respond with relational aggression.

Surprisingly, the participants rehearsed more relational aggressive words (i.e., the main effect of aggression type) independent from participant gender and gender threat manipulation. This contradicts the findings of Vandello et al. (2008) and the significant results of the interaction effect in the current Turkish sample that Turkish men rehearsed more aggressive words after gender threat. Such an effect may reveal that both men and women in the Turkish sample are more familiar with relational aggression words in their daily life.

Different than Vandello et al. (2008), Study 5 additionally examined the effect of gender threat on comfort feelings of the Turkish participants. Similar to its effect on aggression words, gender threat made men felt less comfortable about sharing their (feminine) test scores with others compared to threatened women. It supports the idea that men are more vigilant and reactive in the existence of others as it ruins the manly respect in the eyes of others (Weaver et al., 2010).

Current results indicated that the threat manipulation worked for men but not for women. Women, in general, felt more comfortable about sharing their (masculine) gender test scores with other people they know. This may be resulting from the nature

of the threat manipulation. In the threat condition, women were said that they seem to have more masculine characteristics rather than having feminine ones. The reverse can be a real threat for men as avoidance from femininity is the basis for traditional masculine identity. However, women in patriarchal societies may feel more positive about themselves because having masculine characteristic pave the way for dominance in different fields. Existing research confirms that masculine women feel a greater sense of self-efficacy and personal competence in their social environment (Lipińska-Grobelny, 2011).

There are contradictory findings related to agentic or masculine women in the literature. One line of research revealed that people have more hostile attitudes towards gender-atypical women such as masculine women and career women (Glick, Wilkerson, & Cuffe, 2015) and agentic women mostly experience a backlash from others disliking them (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004; Rudman & Glick, 2001; Rudman & Phelan, 2008). On the other hand, more recent research showed that carrying masculine characteristics are increasingly prompted by women. For example, people favor agentic women applying for stereotypically masculine job fields (e.g., engineering) more than agentic men, reflecting the instrumental function of carrying stereotypically masculine characteristics (Wessel, Hagiwara, Ryan, & Kermond, 2015). It seems to deserve more attention to deeply investigate the personal experience of women showing stereotypically masculine traits and performances, the attitudes towards these women, and the tension between instrumentality of being masculine and degrading being feminine while discussing womanhood status.

7.7 Contributions and Implications

These five studies extend our knowledge about precarious manhood and womanhood in social psychological research in Turkey in several ways. First, it has nourished a new perspective that puts the socially constructed structure of manhood rather than exploring people's ideas about what it means to be a real man, to be masculine, or what is masculinity in Turkey. There are a number of studies that have unpackaged

masculinities in Turkey with different meanings, contexts, and practices (Barutçu, 2013; Bolak-Boratav, Okman-Fişek, & Eslen-Ziya, 2014; Bolak-Boratav, Okman-Fişek, & Eslen-Ziya, 2017; Sancar, 2009; Selek, 2008). However, to my knowledge, there is no study experimentally investigating the structure of manhood as a status that masculine traits and masculinity practices serve for.

Learning how people conceptualize manhood status in Turkey may widen the horizon of gender research trying to unfold the precursors of male violence, prejudice, and discrimination. So far, studies have revealed that men falling short of masculine norms and stereotypes degrade feminine men (Glick et al., 2007), apply for violence (Baugher & Gazmararian, 2015) and get stressed (Caswell et al., 2014) because of excessive masculine gender role. We can compare manhood to a car that everybody wants to have. To illustrate, if we see manhood as a stylish car that brings respect and status in the society, it is important to understand how a car engine works to resolve why the car is overheating in the middle of the road. That's why it is vital to see how does manhood structure is build in the society and why it creates tention among men in order to intervent maladaptive outcomes of masculinity.

Second, this study has uncovered that the way Turkish people conceptualized womanhood is not the same with American people. Accordingly, achieving womanhood status is not so valid in Turkey since people did not think it is as hard as manhood to be socially attained. However, their perception turned surprisingly opposite when it comes to losing womanhood and turns out that womanhood is seen as losable as manhood in Turkey. This supports the argument of Baumeister (2010) that woman is respected until she loses it. Accordingly, people mostly linked womanhood loss to being subjected to violence and sexual harassment, through which they lose their worth to others and themselves. Existing research has covered this in the frame of honor cultures (Mclean, Crowder, & Kemmelmeier, 2018; Swing, 2012), yet they did not explain honor concerns in relation to achieving or losing a womanhood status. Thus, this study brings a new question about the possibility of precarious womanhood in Turkey.

Third, this study introduced a new tool to measure the norms of traditionally idealized men in Turkey (i.e., masculinity ideology scale). Most of the research measuring masculinity use scales that have been developed in Western cultures. Turkey has its own cultural values that don't equate with Western gender ideology. The existing measures of masculinity ideology diversely cover dominance, risk-taking, status, antifemininity, homophobia, etc. as idealized masculinity standards (Smiler, 2006a; Thompson & Bennett, 2015). However, Masculinity Ideology Scale has shown that the most dominant ideology in Turkey is still being *head of a family* ideology and this mandate carries beliefs that a breadwinner man should be total of courage, self-sustained, protective and risk-taking person. On top of that, it also extended our knowledge that although masculinity ideology can be endorsed both men and woman, it preponderantly motivates men to see their transition from childhood to manhood as a *hard-to-go-through* process, and this may be leading them to degrade women's experiences during their own transitions into womanhood.

The results of this research could be highlighting for intervention studies aiming to re-define masculinity. For example, research evokes the hope that men having lower levels of precarious manhood beliefs are alert to other's sexually prejudiced behaviors more. Also, those men with lower levels of masculinity ideology evaluate other men showing sexual prejudice more negatively than their high endorser counterparts (Kroeper, Sanchez, & Himmelstein, 2014). Acknowledging the results that men get easily threatened and aggressed, just because they socialize into the competitive masculine world, new intervention programs can be developed especially for boys to change their way of thinking about manhood and to encourage them to criticize the sanctions of masculine norms.

7.8 Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Along with noting the contributions of this study, there are some limitations as well. Firstly, one criticism to the current dissertation would be related to its methodology. Acknowledging that the current study is a theoretical and methodological replication,

conducting online experiments may be the reason behind failing to replicate the results of some of the studies. Vandello et al. (2008) conducted all the studies in a lab environment and this eliminates the probability of multitasking, crowd, or attention disturbances. Although I eliminated the participants who completed the scales in longer and shorter time than the expected duration of the manipulation, the participants might have engaged in other activities simultaneously and get distracted.

Secondly, another limitation would be creating a threat condition for women by implying that she is masculine in Study 4 and Study 5. Women might not have been threatened by having masculine traits as these traits are increasingly desirable in different fields (Wessel et al., 2015). Thus, it would be more effective to use gender norm-specific threat feedback such as presenting feedbacks among dimensions that are proved to be stressful for women (e.g., being excluded by others, not giving appropriate care, lack of beauty, see Gillespie & Eisler, 1992). Thus, future studies should consider the in-group dynamics in female socialization and adjustment with feminine norms, rather than simply giving prototypicality threat. It is also better to concentrate on more culture-specific manipulation of threat. For example, creating a manhood threat targeting men's protector role or women's caring performances in Turkey may provide more plausible results.

Thirdly, another challenge would be generalizability of this study as it is conducted on student samples. Because this study aims to replicate the findings of original precarious manhood studies conducted in the USA (Vandello et al., 2008), it has used the same type of student sample in Turkey. The same sample characteristics can be seen other precarious manhood studies, as well (see Cheryan, Cameron, Katagiri, & Monin, 2015; Heesacker & Snowden, 2013). Thus, it is better to make generalizations only among student samples. Additionally, future studies should test precarious manhood thesis among non-student samples, among different age groups, and among non-heterosexual-identified men in Turkey. Eslen-Ziya and Koc (2016) showed that although they suffer from sanctions of hegemonic masculinity, gay men in Turkey also

idealize the hegemonic way of being a man. Thus, it is quite expectable to see that different masculinities can also be threatened by giving femininity threat.

Finally, one can ask whether honor values make womanhood precarious in the sense that it is lost. In response to that womanhood may not be precarious in the way that how it is achieved but it may be precarious in the way that how it is lost. However, embracing an honor perspective was beyond the purpose of this study. Thus, it would be fruitful if future studies investigate the relationship between honor and womanhood loss in the eyes of others in society.

7.9 Concluding Remarks

The current dissertation has tested the validity of precarious manhood thesis in Turkey with four studies and introduced a new tool measuring traditional masculinity ideology sensitive to the cultural understanding of Turkey. If I should re-write the story of the current findings, I can say that people see manhood more precarious compared to womanhood in the sense that it *deserves* more glorification because it is harder to go through the rocky road of manhood in Turkey. Being so valuable in the eyes of society, it is more terrifying to lose manhood status in the face of gender-norm/stereotype-violations. This precarity manifests itself in the easily evoked aggressive thoughts among men but not among women.

On the other hand, although womanhood is not something that a woman should achieve for Turkish people, it's losable in the face of other's intervention such as violence, harassment or rape. This finding evokes the question that whether we can talk about precarious womanhood in Turkey. Findings allow us to infer a story that womanhood in Turkish culture is not considered a social status that can be won, but it is rather a status that should be protected not to lose. At a minimum, the current findings deserve attention for thinking the concept of womanhood together with manhood. It is crystal clear that womanhood in Turkey is conceived in a very peculiar and inclusive way.

After putting all the findings in a clear frame, one can ask why it is important to show manhood is precarious but womanhood is not. What are the reflections to the everyday life of laypeople? Previous research has already well established that men end up with destructive behaviors such as violence against women, against their peers, sexist attitudes, justifying gender inequality in the system, and show hatred towards especially gay men when they feel insecure about their assumingly guaranteed dominant status in society. These kinds of reactions help men to rebuild their reputation as a real man since all these behaviors are already prescribed and encouraged in masculine gender role norms. Thus, the findings of this study are important to conduct further studies putting manhood at the center the construction of which renders violence, aggression, prejudice or negative health outcomes possible.

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APPENDIX A: Human Subjects Ethics Committee Approval

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

DUMLUPINAR BULVARI 06800
T: +90 312 210 22 91
F: +90 312 210 79 59
uearm@metu.edu.tr

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

Sayı: 28620816/ [illegible]

10 KASIM 2016

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderilen: Prof. Dr. Nuray SAKALLI UĞURLU,

Psikoloji Anabilim Dalı,

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın, Prof. Dr. Nuray SAKALLI UĞURLU;

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız doktora öğrencisi Beril TÜRKOĞLU' nun "Kırılgan Erkeklik: Türkiye'den Yansımalar" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay **2016-SOS-159** protokol numarası **17.11.2016-31.08.2017** tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Canan SÜMER

İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başkanı

Prof. Dr. Mehmet UTKU
İAEK Üyesi

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR
İAEK Üyesi

Yrd .Doç .Dr. Pınar KAYGAN
İAEK Üyesi

Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL
İAEK Üyesi

Doç.Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI
İAEK Üyesi

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK
İAEK Üyesi

APPENDIX B: Masculinity Ideology Scale

Aşağıda erkekler ile ilgili farklı durumları ve görüşleri yansıtan birtakım maddelere yer verilmiştir. Lütfen bu maddeleri dikkatlice okuyunuz ve maddelerde ifade edilen fikre ne ölçüde katıldığınızı veya katılmadığınızı maddelerin yanındaki seçeneklerden birini işaretleyerek belirtiniz.

İşaretlemeyi yaparken <u>toplumun değil, sizin aklınızdaki ideal erkeğe/erkekliğe</u> göre bir cevap veriniz.	Hiç Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Biraz Katılmıyorum	Biraz Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Tamamen Katılıyorum
1. Bir erkeğin ev işleri yapmaktan hoşlanması normaldir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Bir erkek ailesindeki kadınları koruyup kollamalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Sürekli kendi kaygılarından ve korkularından bahsetmek bir erkeğe yakışmaz.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Bir erkek, arkadaşının eşcinsel olduğunu öğrenirse onunla arkadaşlığını bitirmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Bir erkek için soyunun devamını sağlamak hayatındaki en önemli şeylerden biri olmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Sünnet olmamak erkek için utanç vericidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Parası olan erkeğin fiziksel olarak güçlü olmasının önemi yoktur.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Bir erkek sert görünmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. Bir erkek kendine güvenmediğinde bunu etrafındakilere belli etmemelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. Ağlayan bir erkek görsem bunu erkekliğine yakıştıramam.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. Bir erkek girdiği ortamlarda kendini belli edebilmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. Evli bir erkeğin eşinden daha az para kazanmasında bir sorun yoktur.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. Bir erkek fiziksel güç gerektiren işlerde çalışabilmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. Bir erkek herhangi bir durumda başarma ihtimali çok düşük olsa bile, özgüvenli görünmeye devam etmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. Sevdiği kadına sözünü dinletemeyen bir erkeğe saygı duymam.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. Bir erkeğin erkek olduğu için ailesinden saygı görmesi normaldir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. Saçını uzatıp küpe takan bir erkek hakkında iyi şeyler düşünmem.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. Askere gitmek erkek olmak için atılan önemli bir adımdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6

19.	Bir erkek her durumda dik durabilmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20.	Araba kullanan bir erkek, arabası bozulduğunda onu nasıl tamir edeceğini bilmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21.	Kadın arkadaşlarıyla yemeğe gittiğinde siparişi erkeğin vermesi daha uygundur.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22.	Tehlike anında korkup kaçmak bir erkeğe yakışmaz.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23.	Erkeğin kadından daha az para kazanmasında bir sakınca yoktur.	1	2	3	4	5	6
24.	Bir erkek girdiği her ortamda saygı uyandırmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
25.	Erkekler bir ülkeyi kadınlardan daha iyi yönetebilir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
26.	Bir erkek kafasına koyduğu şeyden vazgeçmemelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
27.	Sünnet olmayan erkek, erkek olmuş sayılmaz.	1	2	3	4	5	6
28.	Paçası kısa ve dar pantolonlar giymek bir erkeğe yakışmaz.	1	2	3	4	5	6
29.	Bir erkek maddi problemlerini kendi başına çözebilmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
30.	Toplum içerisinde kahkaha atmak bir erkeğe yakışmaz.	1	2	3	4	5	6
31.	Bir erkeğin kendini kanıtlayabilmesi için para kazanması şarttır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
32.	Hüzünlü bir film izlerken ağlamayı bir erkeğe yakıştıramam.	1	2	3	4	5	6
33.	Bir erkeğin kadın gibi davranmasını hoş karşılamam.	1	2	3	4	5	6
34.	Bir erkek ailesini geçindirebilecek kadar para kazanabilmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
35.	Erkekler bir şirketi kadınlardan daha iyi yönetebilir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
36.	Bir erkek duruşuyla karşısındakinde saygı uyandırabilmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
37.	Bir erkek, arkadaşının eşcinsel olduğunu öğrenirse ondan uzak durmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
38.	Erkek çocuk sahibi olmak bir erkeğe gurur vermelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
39.	Bir erkeğin kıvrak bir şekilde dans etmesi hoş değildir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
40.	Toplumda, erkekler kadınlardan baskın olmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
41.	Bir erkek sert görünmeyi bilmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
42.	Kasaplık gibi işleri yalnızca erkekler yapmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
43.	Bir erkek cinselliği yalnızca kadınlarla yaşamalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
44.	Bir erkek başkalarının yardımına bağlı olmadan kendi ayakları üzerinde durabilmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
45.	Bir erkek olgun ve oturaklı davranmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
46.	Eşcinsel bir erkek tam anlamıyla erkek sayılmaz.	1	2	3	4	5	6
47.	Bir erkek verdiği sözün arkasında durmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6

48.	Bir erkeğin çalışmayıp evde çocuğuna bakmasında sakınca görmem.	1	2	3	4	5	6
49.	Evde son kararı erkek vermelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
50.	Bir erkeğin herkesin önünde ağlamasını utanç verici bulurum.	1	2	3	4	5	6
51.	Bir erkeğin kaşlarını almasında sakınca görmem.	1	2	3	4	5	6
52.	Bir erkek toplum içinde duygularını belli etmemelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
53.	Her erkek tamirat işinden az çok anlamalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
54.	Bir erkeğin kadınsı bulduğum davranışları beni rahatsız eder.	1	2	3	4	5	6
55.	Erkeklerin daha çok kadınların çalıştığı iş alanlarında çalışmaları utanç vericidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
56.	Bir erkek ailesi söz konusu olduğunda kendini ortaya atmaktan çekinmemelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
57.	Bir erkek ailesine sahip çıkıp, kol kanat germelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
58.	Bir erkeğin başka erkeklerden hoşlanması kabul edilebilir bir şeydir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
59.	Kırıtarak yürüyen bir erkek hakkında iyi düşünmem.	1	2	3	4	5	6
60.	Bir erkek başkalarına sözünü dinletebilmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
61.	Bir erkek ne kadar risk alırsa, başkalarının gözündeki değeri o kadar artar.	1	2	3	4	5	6
62.	Bir erkeğin sünnet olmaması onun erkekliğinden bir şey götürmez.	1	2	3	4	5	6
63.	Askere gitmemiş bir erkek tam anlamıyla erkek olmuş sayılmaz.	1	2	3	4	5	6
64.	Bir erkek kavga etmekten kaçınmamalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
65.	Bir erkek tehlikeyle karşılaştığında soğukkanlılığını korumalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
66.	Masada erkek varken hesabı kadının ödemesi doğru olmaz.	1	2	3	4	5	6
67.	Askerliğin erkek olmakla alakası yoktur.	1	2	3	4	5	6
68.	Bir erkek cesur olmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
69.	Bir erkek tehlike anında kendini ortaya atabilmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
70.	Risk alabilmek bir erkeğin saygı görmesi için önemli bir kriter değildir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
71.	Bir erkek ailesinin maddi yükünü taşımak zorunda değildir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
72.	Ailesinin geçimini sağlayamayan bir erkeğe kolay kolay saygı göstermem.	1	2	3	4	5	6
73.	Bir erkeğin sakız çiğnemesini hoş karşılamam.	1	2	3	4	5	6
74.	Genç bir erkek, iri yapılı olmasa bile fiziksel olarak güçlü görünmeye çalışmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
75.	Erkeklerin hemşirelik gibi meslekleri seçmesinde sakınca görmem.	1	2	3	4	5	6
76.	Bir erkek risk aldığı sürece başarılı olur.	1	2	3	4	5	6
77.	Zorluklarla karşılaştığında pes etmek bir erkeğe yakışmaz.	1	2	3	4	5	6
78.	Bir erkeğin duygularını kolayca ifade etmesi zayıflık değildir.	1	2	3	4	5	6

79.	Eşcinsel bir erkeğin erkekliğinden şüphe duyarım.	1	2	3	4	5	6
80.	Ev işlerini erkeğin yapmasında sakınca görmem.	1	2	3	4	5	6

APPENDIX C: Ambivalence toward Men Inventory

Lütfen aşağıdaki ifadeleri dikkatlice okuyunuz ve her bir ifadeye ne ölçüde katıldığınızı belirtiniz.

		Hiç Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Biraz Katılmıyorum	Biraz Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Tamamen Katılıyorum
1.	Çiftlerden ikisi de çalısıyor olsa bile, kadın evde erkeğine bakma konusunda daha fazla sorumluluk üstlenmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	Bir erkek cinsel açıdan çekici bulduğu kadını yatağa atmak için ne gerekiyorsa yapmak konusunda tipik olarak hiç bir ahlaki değere sahip değildir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	Acil durumlarda erkekler kadınlara göre daha düşük olasılıkla kendilerini kaybedeceklerdir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4.	Erkekler kadınlara "yardım ediyor" gibi gözükürken, çoğunlukla kendilerinin kadınlardan daha iyi olduklarını kanıtlamaya çalışırlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	Her kadının kendisini el üstünde tutacak bir erkeğe ihtiyacı vardır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	Eğer kendilerine yol gösterecek kadınlar olmasaydı erkekler dünyada kaybolurlardı.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7.	Eğer kadının bir erkekle uzun süreli, bağlılık içeren bir ilişkisi yoksa bu hayatta gerçek anlamda kendini tamamlamış sayılmaz.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8.	Erkekler hasta olduklarında bebekler gibi davranırlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9.	Erkekler toplumda kadınlardan daha fazla kontrole sahip olmak için her zaman çabalarlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10.	Erkekler temelde kadınlara maddi güvence sağlamak açısından yararlıdırlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11.	Her kadının hayran olduğu bir erkeği olmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12.	Erkekler başkalarını korumak için kendilerini tehlikeye atmaya daha gönüllüdürler.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13.	Erkekler kadınlarla konuşurken genellikle baskın olmaya çalışırlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14.	Çoğu erkek kadınlar için eşitliği sözde savunur ama bir kadını kendilerine eşit olarak görmeyi kaldıramazlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15.	Kadınlar erkeksiz eksiktirler.	1	2	3	4	5	6

16.	Özüne bakıldığında, çoğu erkek gerçekten çocuk gibidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17.	Erkekler kadınlara oranla risk almaya daha gönüllüdürler.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18.	Çoğu erkek, kadınlar üzerinde güç sahibi oldukları bir pozisyonda bulundukları anda, üstü kapalı yolla bile olsa kadınları cinsel açıdan taciz ederler.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19.	Kadınlar evde erkeklerine bakmalıdırlar çünkü eğer erkekler kendi kendilerine bakmak zorunda kalırlarsa bunu beceremezler.	1	2	3	4	5	6

APPENDIX D: Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

Aşağıda size uyan ya da uymayan pek çok ifade yer almaktadır. Bu ifadelerden her birinin sizin için ne kadar uygun olduğunu ilgili rakamı işaretleyerek belirtiniz.

		Hiç Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Biraz Katılmıyorum	Biraz Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Tamamen Katılıyorum
1.	Ne kadar başarılı olursa olsun bir kadının sevgisine sahip olmadıkça bir erkek gerçek anlamda bütün bir insan olamaz.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	Gerçekte birçok kadın "eşitlik" arıyoruz maskesi altında işe alınmalarda kendilerinin kayırılması gibi özel muameleler arıyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	Bir felaket durumunda kadınlar erkeklerden önce kurtarılmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4.	Birçok kadın, masum söz veya davranışları cinsel ayrımcılık olarak yorumlamaktadır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	Kadınlar çok çabuk alınırlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	Karşı cinsten biri ile romantik ilişki olmaksızın insanlar hayatta gerçekten mutlu olamazlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7.	Feministler gerçekte kadınların erkeklerden daha fazla güce sahip olmalarını istemektedirler.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8.	Birçok kadın çok az erkekte olan bir saflığa sahiptir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9.	Kadınlar erkekler tarafından el üstünde tutulmalı ve korunmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10.	Birçok kadın erkeklerin kendileri için yaptıklarına tamamen minnettar olmamaktadırlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11.	Kadınlar erkekler üzerinde kontrolü sağlayarak güç kazanmak hevesindeler.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12.	Her erkeğin hayatında hayran olduğu bir kadın olmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13.	Erkekler kadınsız eksiktirler.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14.	Kadınlar işyerlerindeki problemleri abartmaktadırlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15.	Bir kadın bir erkeğin bağlılığını kazandıktan sonra genellikle o erkeğe sıkı bir yular takmaya çalışır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16.	Adaletli bir yarışmada kadınlar erkeklere karşı kaybettikleri zaman tipik olarak kendilerinin ayrımcılığa maruz kaldıklarından yakınırlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17.	İyi bir kadın erkeği tarafından yüceltilmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18.	Erkeklere cinsel yönden yaklaşılabilir olduklarını gösterircesine şakalar yapıp daha sonra erkeklerin tekliflerini reddetmekten zevk alan birçok kadın vardır.	1	2	3	4	5	6

19.	Kadınlar erkeklerden daha yüksek ahlaki duyarlılığa sahip olma eğilimindedirler.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20.	Erkekler hayatlarındaki kadın için mali yardım sağlamak için kendi rahatlarını gönüllü olarak feda etmelidirler.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21.	Feministler erkeklere makul olmayan istekler sunmaktadırlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22.	Kadınlar erkeklerden daha ince bir kültür anlayışına ve zevkine sahiptirler.	1	2	3	4	5	6

APPENDIX E: Precarious Manhood/Womanhood Proverbs

Lütfen aşağıda sizlere verilen atasözlerini dikkatlice okuyunuz. Bu atasözleriyle ne derecede hemfikir olduğunuzu atasözlerinin yanındaki birinci boşluğa 1 (*hiç katılmıyorum*)'den 7 (*çok katılıyorum*)'ye kadar bir rakam vererek belirtiniz.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Hiç Katılmıyorum Çok Katılıyorum

Atasözleri	Katılım	Anlama
Damlaya damlaya göl olur.		
Ayağını yorganına göre uzat.		
Sakla samani gelir zamanı.		
Her işte bir hayır vardır.		
Erkeklik (Kadınlık) para gibidir, zor kazanılır kolay harcanır.		
Ağaç yaş iken eğilir.		
Yalancının mumu yatsıya kadar yanar.		
Komşu komşunun külüne muhtaçtır.		
Üzüm üzüme baka baka kararır.		
Taş ovalamadıkça parlamaz, oğlan (kız) mücadele etmedikçe erkek (kadın) olmaz.		
Demir tavında dövülür.		
Eğilen baş kesilmez.		
Bir koltukta iki karpuz taşınmaz.		
Dere geçerken at değiştirilmez.		
Her buzağıdan dana her oğlandan (kızdan) erkek (kadın) olmaz.		
Akıl yaşta değil baştadır.		
Doğru söyleyen dokuz köyden kovulur.		
Dama çıkan keçinin çama çıkan oğlağı olur.		
Lafla peynir gemisi yürümez.		
Oğlan (kız), erkek (kadın) olmayı hak etsin ki erkek (kadın) desinler		
Minareyi çalan kılıfını hazırlar.		
Üzüm üzüme baka baka kararır.		
İyilik yap denize at, balık bilmezse Halik bilir.		
Kaz gelecek yerden tavuk esirgenmez.		
Tatlı söz yılanı deliğinden çıkarır.		
Oğlan (kız) düşe kalka erkek (kadın) olmayı öğrenir.		
Lafın çoğu yalandan paranın çoğu haramdandır		
İmam ne yaparsa yapsın cemaat bildiğini okur.		
Okumak cehaleti alır, eşeklik baki kalır.		
Erkek (kadın) erkeklik (kadınlık) onurunu daima kanıtlamalıdır.		

Atasözlerini yeniden okuyup her bir atasözünü ne kadar iyi anladığınızı ikinci boşluğa 1 (*hiç anlamadım*)'den 7 (*çok iyi anladım*)'ye kadar bir rakam yazarak belirtiniz.

APPENDIX F: Precarious Manhood & Womanhood Beliefs

Lütfen, aşağıda verilen ifadeleri dikkatlice okuyunuz ve bu ifadeleri ne kadar doğru bulduğunuzu yanlarındaki boşluklara 1 (hiç katılmıyorum)'den 7 (çok katılıyorum)'ye kadar bir rakam yazarak belirtiniz.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Hiç doğru değil **Çok doğru**

1. Bir erkeğin erkeklik itibarını kaybetmesi çok kolaydır	
2. Bir erkeğin ne kadar erkek olduğu bazen diğerlerinin onu nasıl gördüğüne bağlıdır.	
3. Bazıları ne kadar büyürse büyüsün tam anlamıyla erkek olamaz.	
4. Bir erkeğin erkek olup olmadığı çoğunlukla başkaları tarafından sorgulanır.	
5. Erkeklik her an elden gidebilir bir şeydir.	
6. Erkekliğin garantisi yoktur, korunmazsa kaybedilir.	
7. Erkeklik daimi değildir, çünkü bir erkek kendini çocuksu gösterecek şeyler yapabilir	

Transition to Manhood (Womanhood)

Lütfen, aşağıda verilen ifadeleri dikkatlice okuyunuz ve bu ifadeleri ne kadar doğru bulduğunuzu yanlarındaki boşluklara 1 (hiç katılmıyorum)'den 7 (çok katılıyorum)'ye kadar bir rakam yazarak belirtiniz.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Hiç doğru değil **Çok doğru**

1. Çocukluktan erkekliğe geçiş fiziksel veya biyolojiktir (Örneğin hormonal değişimler)	_____
2. Çocukluktan erkekliğe geçiş toplumsal bir şeydir (Örneğin bazı toplumsal dönüm noktalarından başarıyla geçmek)	_____

Not: Aynı ölçekte erkek ve erkeklik kelimeleri değiştirilerek "kadınlık" koşulunda verilmiştir.

APPENDIX G: Gender Role Attitudes Scale

Aşağıdaki ifadelere ne ölçüde katıldığınızı 1 (*kesinlikle katılmıyorum*)'den 5 (*kesinlikle katılıyorum*) 'e kadar bir rakam vererek yanlarındaki boşlukta belirtiniz.

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum			**Kesinlikle Katılıyorum**	

1.	Kızlar, ekonomik bağımsızlıklarını kazandıklarında ailelerinden ayrı yaşayabilmelidir.
2.	Erkeğin evde her dediği yapılmalıdır.
3.	Kadının yapacağı meslekler ile erkeğin yapacağı meslekler ayrı olmalıdır.
4.	Evlilikte çocuk sahibi olma kararını eşler birlikte vermelidir.
5.	Bir genç kızın evleneceği kızı seçmesinde son sözü baba söylemelidir.
6.	Kadının erkek çocuk doğurması onun değerini artırır.
7.	Kadınının doğurganlık özelliği nedeniyle iş başvurularında erkekler tercih edilmelidir.
8.	Ailede ev işleri eşler arasında eşit paylaşılmalıdır.
9.	Kadının yaşamıyla ilgili kararları kocası vermelidir.
10.	Kadınlar kocalarıyla anlaşamadıkları konularda tartışmak yerine susmayı tercih etmelidir.
11.	Bir genç kız evlenene kadar babasının sözünü dinlemelidir.
12.	Ailenin maddi olanaklarından kız ve erkek çocukları eşit şekilde yararlanmalıdır.
13.	Çalışma yaşamında kadınlara ve erkeklere eşit ücret ödenmelidir.
14.	Bir erkeğin karısını aldatması normal karşılanmalıdır.
15.	Kadının çocuğu olmuyorsa erkek tekrar evlenmelidir.
16.	Kadının temel görevi anneliktir.
17.	Evin reisi erkektir.
18.	Dul kadın da dul erkek gibi yalnız başına yaşayabilmelidir.
19.	Bir genç kızın flört etmesine ailesi izin vermemelidir.
20.	Ailede kararları eşler birlikte almalıdır.
21.	Bir kadın akşamları tek başına sokağa çıkabilmelidir.
22.	Eşler boşandığında mallar eşit paylaşılmalıdır.
23.	Kız bebeğe pembe, erkek bebeğe mavi renkli giysiler giydirilmelidir.
24.	Erkeğin en önemli görevi evini geçindirmektir.
25.	Erkeğin maddi gücü yeterliyse kadın çalışmamalıdır.
26.	Evlilikte kadın istemediği zaman cinsel ilişkiyi reddetmelidir.
27.	Mesleki gelişme fırsatlarında kadınlara ve erkeklere eşit haklar tanınmalıdır.
28.	Evlilikte erkeğin öğrenim düzeyi kadından yüksek olmalıdır.
29.	Bir kadın cinsel ilişkiyi evlendikten sonra yaşamalıdır.
30.	Ailede erkek çocuğun öğrenim görmesine öncelik tanınmalıdır.
31.	Erkeğin evleneceği kadın bakire olmalıdır.
32.	Alışveriş yapma, fatura ödeme gibi ev dışı işlerle erkek uğraşmalıdır.
33.	Erkekler statüsü yüksek olan mesleklerde çalışmalıdır.
34.	Ailede kazancın nasıl kullanılacağına erkek karar vermelidir.
35.	Bir erkek gerektiğinde karısını dövmelidir.
36.	Evlilikte gebelikten korunmak sadece kadının sorunudur.
37.	Bir kadın hastaneye gittiğinde kadın doktora muayene olmalıdır.
38.	Evlilikte erkeğin yaşı kadından büyük olmalıdır.

APPENDIX H: Manhood and Womanhood Loss Measurements

Aşağıda **erkek (kadin) bir katılımcıyla** daha önce yapılmış bir sohbetten kısa bir alıntı okuyacaksınız. Alıntıyı dikkatlice okuduktan sonra lütfen altındaki boşluğa, bahsi geçen kişinin ne yaşamış olabileceğine/ başından neler geçmiş olabileceğine dair tahminlerinizi yazınız.

Alıntı:
"…Hayatımda öyle şeyler yaşadım ki... Eskiden kendime erkek (kadin) derdim, artık diyemiyorum…"
Lütfen cümleyi söyleyen kişinin ne yaşamış olduğuna dair fikirlerinizi aşağıdaki boşluğa yazarak belirtiniz: _____

Difficulty Index:
Lütfen, yukarıda okuduğunuz alıntının anlaşılırlığına dair sorulan sorulara, yanlarındaki boşluklara 1 (hiç)'den 7 (çok fazla)'ye kadar bir rakam yazarak cevap veriniz.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç						Çok Fazla

Yukarıdaki ifadede anlatılmak isteneni anlamak ne kadar zor?	____
Yukarıdaki ifadenin ne anlama geldiği ile ilgili tahmininizden ne kadar eminsiniz?	____
Sizce yukarıdaki ifade birisinin kullanması için ne kadar sıra dışı bir söylem?	____

Manipulation Check Items:
1. Az önce okuduğum alıntı bir erkeğe aittir. 1) doğru 2) yanlış
2. Az önce okuduğum alıntı bir kadına aittir. 1) doğru 2) yanlış

Aşağıda daha önceden okuduğunuz ifadeyle ilgili nedensel açıklamalar yapılmıştır. Bu açıklamalarla ne kadar hem fikir olduğunuzu yanlarındaki boşluklara 1 (hiç)'den 7 (çok fazla)'ye kadar bir rakam yazarak belirtiniz.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç						Çok

"Muhtemelen eşi veya işi gibi kendisi için önemli bir şeyi kaybettiğini kastediyor. Ve ondan sonra da ne kadar zayıf ve eksik hissettiğinden bahsediyor" (Social)

Bu yoruma ne ölçüde katılırsınız?	_____
Sizce bu ifade daha önce okuduğunuz alıntı için doğru bir yorum mudur?	_____

"Kulağa bir cinsiyet değiştirme operasyonu geçirmiş gibi geliyor ve bu yüzden de artık kendisini erkek gibi görüyor." (Physical)

Bu yoruma ne ölçüde katılırsınız?	_____
Sizce bu ifade daha önce okuduğunuz alıntı için doğru bir yorum mudur?	_____

APPENDIX I: BEM Sex Role Inventory

Lütfen aşağıdaki ifadelerin, sizin için ne oranda doğru ya da yanlış olduğunu ve sizi ne oranda tanımladığını göz önüne alıp ilgili rakamı daire içine alarak belirtiniz.

		Tamamen yanlış	Çoğunlukla yanlış	Biraz yanlış	Ne doğru ne yanlış	Biraz doğru	Çoğunlukla doğru	Tamamen doğru
1.	Düşünce ve inançlarını savunan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	Duygusal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	Vicdan sahibi / Bilinçli	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	Bağımsız / Dilediğini yapan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	Sempatik	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	Ne yapacağı belli olmayan /. Başına buyruk / Sağı solu belli olmayan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	İddialı / Tuttuğunu koparan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	Diğer insanların duygularını önemseyen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	Güvenilir / İtimat edilir	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	Sağlam karakterli / Güçlü kişilikli	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	Anlayışlı	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	Kıskanç	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	İşe yarar ve becerikli	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	Şefkatli / Merhametli	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	İçten / Samimi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	Lider / Liderlik özelliklerine sahip	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.	Duygularına hakim olabilen / Teskin edici	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18.	Sır saklayabilen / tutabilen / Ketum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19.	Risk alabilen / Risk almayı seven	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.	Sıcak kanlı	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21.	Uyumlu	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22.	Baskın / Üstün / Hakim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23.	Sevecen / Sevgi dolu	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24.	Kendini beğenmiş / Kibirli	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25.	Muhalif / Muhalefet eden	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26.	Çocukları seven	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27.	Kaba / Patavatsız / Nezaketsiz	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28.	Saldırgan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29.	Kibar / Nazik	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30.	Toplumsal kurallara uyan / Geleneklerine bağlı	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX J: Anxiety-related Word Fragments and Comfort Scale

Yönerge: Aşağıda bazı harfleri boş bırakılmış kelimeler göreceksiniz. Lütfen boşlukları tamamlayarak aklınıza ilk gelen kelimeyi yanda belirtilen kutucuğa yazınız. Bırakılan her boşluk (_) bir harfi temsil etmektedir.

Örnek: "_RM_K" kelimesinde 2 tane boş bırakılmış harf bulunmaktadır ve IRMAK şeklinde tamamlanabilir.

	Kelime tamamlama
1)	_ ABLO
2)	P_RKE
3)	_ _ NDIK
4)	TEH_ _ _
5)	_ ATEN
6)	_ ASA
7)	M_ND_ _
8)	_A_GI
9)	_ AVU_
10)	H_YK_ _
11)	K_ARIN_A
12)	_ZG_N
13)	K_Y_SI
14)	_OR_
15)	_ _ KINTI
16)	B_C_K
17)	B_LK_N
18)	TAH_ _
19)	_TANMAK
20)	AN_E_
21)	K_MY_N
22)	K_LEB_K
23)	ZA_ _ F
24)	_API
25)	TAK_ _
26)	MEKT_ _
27)	E_İK
28)	G_ZET_
29)	_ ALTO
30)	FİN_AN

"Lütfen yukarıda doldurduğunuz ve sonuçlarını gördüğünüz testi dikkate alarak aşağıdaki soruları belirtilen rakam aralığında bir rakam vererek cevaplayınız"

1(kesinlikle hayır)----------7 (Kesinlikle evet)

1.	Arkadaşlarınızın test sonucunuzu öğrenmesini ister miydiniz?
2.	Aile üyelerinizin test sonucunuzu öğrenmesini ister miydiniz?
3.	Araştırmacıların sizin test sonucunuzu herkese açık bir web sitesinde "toplumsal cinsiyet aidiyet testi sonucu" olarak adınız ve test puanınızla ister miydiniz?
4.	Araştırmacıların bir üniversite gazetesi olan "ODTÜ haftalık bülten" de test sonucunuzu tam adınız ve test puanınızla göstermesini ister miydiniz?
5.	Benzer bir teste tekrar girseniz, bu testte daha önce aldığınız puandan daha iyi bir puan alacağınızı düşünür müsünüz?
6.	Benzer bir teste tekrar girseniz, bu testte daha önce aldığınız puandan daha kötü bir puan alacağınızı düşünür müsünüz?

APPENDIX K: Physical Aggression Word Fragments

Yönerge: Aşağıda bazı harfleri boş bırakılmış kelimeler göreceksiniz. Lütfen boşlukları tamamlayarak aklınıza ilk gelen kelimeyi yanda belirtilen kutucuğa yazınız. Bırakılan her boşluk (_) bir harfi temsil etmektedir.

Örnek: "_RM_K" kelimesinde 2 tane boş bırakılmış harf bulunmaktadır ve IRMAK şeklinde tamamlanabilir.

1. Sİ_A_
2. K _ L _ U K
3. _ E _ C E R _
4. _ İ Ş _
5. Ö_MEK
6. Ç _ _ E K
7. B _ _ A
8. KA_GA
9. A J _ _ D A
10. K E _ _
11. _ A S _ I K
12. _AN
13. O _ U _
14. P _ A _ T İ K
15. _ A Ş _ K
16. SA_A_ or S_V_Ş ?
17. M A _ _ S
18. Y _ _ E K
19. _İ_AYET
20. _ _ V Ş _ N
21. _ L A _ Y E
22. O T _ _ Ü S
23. _ _MR_K
24. D E _ T _ R
25. K _ H _ E
26. _L_M
27. **_ _ldırmak**
28. **_ _RMAK**
29. **_ _PLAMAK**
30. **_ _VMEK**

1, 5,8, 12,16,19, ve 23 fiziksel öfke belirten kelimeler

APPENDIX L: Relational Aggression Word Fragments

Yönerge: Aşağıda bazı harfleri boş bırakılmış kelimeler göreceksiniz. Lütfen boşlukları tamamlayarak aklınıza ilk gelen kelimeyi yanda belirtilen kutucuğa yazınız. Bırakılan her boşluk (_) bir harfi temsil etmektedir.
Örnek: "_RM_K" kelimesinde 2 tane boş bırakılmış harf bulunmaktadır ve IRMAK şeklinde tamamlanabilir.

1.	Y_LAN
2.	K _ L _ U K
3.	_ E _ C E R _
4.	_ İ Ş _
5.	_ _YLENMEK
6.	Ç _ _ E K
7.	B _ _ A
8.	_ _ŞLAMAK
9.	A J _ _ D A
10.	K E _ _
11.	_ A S _ I K
12.	_AT_ŞMAK
13.	O _ U _
14.	P _ A _ T İ K
15.	_ A Ş _ K
16.	İ_Tİ_A
17.	M A _ _ S
18.	Y _ _ E K
19.	_L_Y
20.	_ _ V Ş _ N
21.	_ L A _ Y E
22.	O T _ _ Ü S
23.	_ _RILMAK
24.	D E _ T _ R
25.	K _ H _ E
26.	K_ _ÜMSEMEK
27.	_ IY_ET
28.	S_ _LAMAK
29.	BA_I_MAK
30.	HA_A_ET
31.	K_SM_K

APPENDIX M: Positive Negative Affect Scale (PANAS)

Aşağıda bir takım duygu ifadeleri bulunmaktadır. Lütfen bahsi geçen her bir duyguyu genel olarak yaşama sıklığınızı, uygun rakamı işaretleyerek belirtiniz.

	Asla/hiç	Ara sıra	Bazen	Çoğulukla	Daima
1. İlgili	1	2	3	4	5
2. Sıkıntılı	1	2	3	4	5
3. Heyecanlı	1	2	3	4	5
4. Mutsuz	1	2	3	4	5
5. Güçlü	1	2	3	4	5
6. Suçlu	1	2	3	4	5
7. Ürkmüş	1	2	3	4	5
8. Düşmanca	1	2	3	4	5
9. Hevesli	1	2	3	4	5
10. Gururlu	1	2	3	4	5
11. Asabi	1	2	3	4	5
12. Uyanık	1	2	3	4	5
13. Utanmış	1	2	3	4	5
14. İlhamlı/yaratıcı	1	2	3	4	5
15. Sinirli	1	2	3	4	5
16. Kararlı	1	2	3	4	5
17. Dikkatli	1	2	3	4	5
18. Tedirgin	1	2	3	4	5
19. Aktif	1	2	3	4	5
20. Korkmuş	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX N: Demographic Information Form

1.Cinsiyetiniz:

☐Kadın ☐Erkek ☐Diğer _____

2.Yaşınız: _____

3.Doğum yeriniz: _____

4.Şu an yaşadığınız il: _____

5.Yaşamınızın büyük bölümünü geçirdiğiniz yer:

☐Büyükşehir ☐ İl ☐ İlçe ☐ Semt ☐Köy

6.Eğitim durumunuz (Son mezun olduğunuz program):

☐İlkokul

☐Ortaokul

☐Lise

☐Yüksek okul (2 yıllık)

☐Üniversite (lisans)

☐Yüksek lisans

☐Doktora

7.Medeni haliniz:

☐Bekar ☐Evli ☐Boşanmış ☐Dul

8.Çocuğunuz var mı?

☐Evet ☐Hayır

9.(Evli iseniz) Eşiniz çalışıyor mu?

☐Evet ☐Hayır

10.Çalışma durumunuz:

☐Öğrenciyim

☐Ücretli bir işte çalışıyorum

☐Öğrenci değilim ve ücretli bir işte çalışmıyorum

11.Eğer öğrenci iseniz, hangi okulda okuyorsunuz? _____

12.Bu anketi bonus (ekstra) puan alma karşılığında dolduruyorsanız, lütfen öğrenci numaranızı yazınız: _____

13.Eğer ücretli bir işte çalışıyorsanız, mesleğiniz nedir? _____

14.Etnik kökeniniz: _____ (Örn: Türk, Kürt, Çerkez, Laz vb.)

15.Annenizin eğitim durumu:

☐Okuma yazma bilmiyor

☐İlkokul

☐Ortaokul

☐Lise

☐Yüksek okul (2 yıllık)

☐Üniversite (lisans)

☐Yüksek lisans

☐Doktora

16.Babanızın eğitim durumu:

☐Okuma yazma bilmiyor

☐İlkokul

☐Ortaokul

☐Lise

☐Yüksek okul (2 yıllık)

☐Üniversite (lisans)

☐Yüksek lisans

☐Doktora

17.Hanenize giren ortalama aylık gelir ne kadardır? _____TL

18.Herhangi bir dine mensup musunuz?

☐Evet ☐Hayır

19.Size göre dini inancınız gündelik yaşantınızı ne kadar etkiliyor?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Hiç										Oldukça fazla

20.

20.Lütfen politik olarak yakın durduğunuz yeri aşağıda belirtilen aralıkta bir sayıyı işaretleyerek belirtiniz.

5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5
Sol					Merkez					Sağ

APPENDIX O : Curriculum Vitae

BERİL TÜRKOĞLU DEMİREL

CONTACT INFORMATION

E-mail : turkoglu.beril@gmail.com

EDUCATION

2013 – 2019	***PhD*** *in Social Psychology* Middle East Technical University (METU), Ankara, Turkey Department of Psychology CGPA: 4.00/4.00
2010 – 2013	***MSc*** *in Social Psychology* Middle East Technical University (METU), Ankara, Turkey Department of Psychology CGPA: 3.88/4.00
2006 – 2010	***BSc*** *in Psychology* Middle East Technical University (METU), Ankara, Turkey Department of Psychology CGPA: 3.56/4.00
2005 – 2006	Preparatory School, Department of Basic English Middle East Technical University (METU), Ankara, Turkey Grade: S (Satisfactory)

AWARDS

November, 2017	Young Social Scientists Award, The Best Master's Thesis Turkish Social Science Foundation [Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği], Ankara, Turkey
December, 2012	Sabancı University Dicle Koğacıoğlu Article Award, Ranked 1st with the article: *"Manhood on the fault line: Examining manhood under the frame of working and unemployment."* İstanbul, Turkey,

HONORS and SCHOLARSHIPS

Feb' – Aug'2018	International Research Fellowship, the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK) ($10,800.00) in University of South Florida, Gender and Interpersonal Dynamic Lab, Tampa, Florida, USA
2010-2019	National Graduate Scholarships, The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK)
2010–2016	High Honor student, Middle East Technical University (METU) for 8 semesters between the academic years
2006–2010	High Honor student in Middle East Technical University (METU) for 4 semesters between the academic years

LANGUAGES

Native Turkish
Advanced English (YÖKDİL: 100/100)

WORK EXPERIENCE

Feb' 2014- July 2019	**Teaching Assistant** Middle East Technical University (METU) Department of Psychology
Feb'- Aug' 2018	**Visiting Research Scholar (6 months)** Funded by TUBİTAK 2214 Scholarship, University South Florida, Tampa, Florida, USA Department of Psychology, Gender and Interpersonal Dynamics Lab
Feb'2013-Feb'2014	**Teaching Assistant (ÖYP)** Kırıkkale University, Kırıkkale, Turkey Department of Philosophy
April-May 2012	**Intern** United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) Turkey Office, Ankara, Turkey
Jan'2010-2013	**Research Assistant** The collaboration of Middle East Technical University (METU) & Johns Hopkins University & World Health

	Organization (WHO), Project: Traffic SafetyProject Coordinator: Prof. Dr. Türker Özkan
June-July 2010	**Intern** Social Assistance and Solidarity General Directorate Ankara-İzmir, Turkey
August 2010	**Research Assistant** Project: Measurement and Development of Festival of Peace, Democracy and Environment Project Coordinator: Prof. Dr. Nilay Çabuk Kaya Municipality of Dikili, İzmir
March - May 2010	**Research Assistant** Project: Post Traumatic Events in Adult Life Project Coordinator: Prof. Dr. Nuray Karancı The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK) & Middle East Technical University (METU)
April - May 2008	**Intern** Human Rights Agenda Association Ankara, Turkey

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Gender-based violence and prejudice, precarious manhood, sexual prejudice, intergroup relations, gender studies, ambivalent sexism, honor culture; intergroup threat, political ideologies; quantitative and qualitative research.

PUBLICATIONS

In International Journals Covered By ISI (SSCI, SCI, ASCI)

Sayılan, G., **Türkoğlu**, B., & Cingöz-Ulu, B. (under review, December 2019). The ultimate others: Social psychological precursors of transprejudice in Turkey. *Psychology & Sexuality* (SSCI)

Sakallı-Uğurlu, N., **Türkoğlu**, B., Kuzlak, A., & Gupta, A. (2018). Stereotypes of single and married women and men in Turkish culture. *Current Psychology*, online first, doi: 10.1007/s12144-018-9920-9 (SSCI).

In International Refereed Journals

Türkoğlu, B. & Cingöz-Ulu, B. (2019). Masculinity ideology and perceived threat to manhood predict violence against women in Turkey. *Dokuz Eylul University Journal of Humanities.*

Türkoğlu, B. (2017). Hovarda alemi: Taşrada eğlence ve erkeklik (*Night life and masculinity in Rural*, Book Review). *Masculinities: A Journal of Identity and Culture, 7*, pp. 123-129. (SOBİAD Index)

Türkoğlu, B., Sayılan, G., & Haywood, C. (2015). The 1st International Symposium in Turkey on Men and Masculinities: 'Identities, Cultures, Societies' (Symposium Review). *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies*, 10(2), 179–184. doi:10.1080/18902138.2015.1050866 (SCOPUS Index)

In National Refereed Journals

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PRESENTATIONS

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Sayılan, G., **Türkoğlu**, B**.,** & Cingöz-Ulu, B. (2018, June). *The Ultimate Others: Social Psychological Precursors of Transprejudice in Turkey*. Oral Presentation. International Congress of Applied Psychology (ICAP), Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

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Sayılan, G., **Türkoğlu**, B., & Cingöz-Ulu, B. (2017, July). *The mediatory role of moral foundations in predicting ideology from RWA and SDO*. Poster Presentation, Annual Meeting of International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP), Edinburgh, Scotland.

Türkoğlu, B. & Sayılan, G. (2016, July). *The individual and sociocultural models of prejudice against transgender individuals.* Poster Presentation, Annual Meeting of International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP), Warsaw, Poland.

Türkoğlu, B. (2014, July). *Ambivalence of masculinity: I enjoy the authority but I don't want to feel burdened.* Oral Presentation. Annual Meeting of International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP), Rome, Italy.

Türkoğlu, B. & Cingöz-Ulu, B. (2013, May). *Perceiving threat to manhood and endorsing male role norms predict favorable attitudes towards violence.* Oral Presentation, European Association of Social Psychology (EASP), Small Group Meeting about Intergroup Threat, Berlin, Germany.

In National Congresses

Türkoğlu, B., Bolak-Boratav, H., Okman-Fişek, G., & Sayılan, G. (2018, November). *Yapısal, İlişkisel ve İdeolojik Halleriyle Türkiye'de Erkeklikler [Structural, Relational, and Ideological Presentations of Masculinities in Turkey]*. Panel Discussion, 20th National Psychology Congress, TED University, Ankara, Turkey.

Sakallı-Uğurlu, N. & **Türkoğlu**, B. (2016, November). *Günümüz Türkiye'sinde cinsiyet kalıpyargıları: Kadın kimdir? Erkek kimdir ?[Gender stereotypes in the contemporary Turkey: Who is a woman? Who is a man]*. Oral Presentation, 1st Social Psychology Congress, Başkent University, Ankara, Turkey.

Türkoğlu, B. (2016, September). *Sansürün sosyal temsilleri [Social representations of censorship).* Oral Presentation, 19th National Psychology Congress, İzmir, Turkey.

Türkoğlu, B. (2016, April). Panel Discussant in "*Bir namus kültürü olarak Türkiye ve kadına yönelik şiddet [Turkey as an honor culture and the violence against women]* by Akbaş, Ceylan & Doğulu. Yıldırım Beyazıt University 1st National Psychology Congress, Ankara, Turkey.

Sayılan, G. & **Türkoğlu**, B. (2016, April). *Sosyal bilimlerde nitel araştırma teknikleri [Qualitative research in social sciences]*. Workshop, Yıldırım Beyazıt University 1st National Psychology Congress, Ankara, Turkey.

Sayılan, G. & **Türkoğlu**, B. (2015, October). *Politik tutumlar ve ideoloji: hangisi tavuk hangisi yumurta? [Political attitudes and ideology: Chicken or egg?]*. Oral Presentation, 14th Turkish Social Sciences Congress, Ankara, Turkey

Türkoğlu, B. (2014). *Fay hattında erkeklikler: Çalışma ve işsizlik ekseninde erkekliğe bakış [Manhood on the fault line: Examining manhood under the frame of working and unemployment]*. Oral Presentation, 17th National Psychology Congress, Bursa, Turkey

Sayılan, G. & **Türkoğlu**, B. (2010). *Şiddet içerikli olaylarda mağdurun cinsiyetinin mağdura yönelik tutumlar üzerindeki etkisi [The effect of victim's gender on the attitudes towards victim in the violence acts]*. Oral Presentation, XVI. National Psychology Congress, Mersin, Turkey.

Invited Presentations

Türkoğlu, B. (2019, May). *The past, today and the future of masculinity studies in psychology*. Turkish Psychological Association, Ankara, Turkey.

Türkoğlu, B. (2016, March). *Kitapsız okul erkeklik [Masculinity as a book-free school]*. Başkent University 42' seminars, Ankara, Turkey

Türkoglu, B. (2016, March). *Billy Elliot filmini namus ve erkeklik perspektifinden incelemek [Inspecting Billy Elliot from the Perspectives of Honor and Masculinity]*. Oral Presentation. Alternative Mothers Film Critics, Ankara, Turkey

Türkoğlu, B. (2014, April). *Fay hattında erkeklikler [Manhood on the fault line]*. Oral Presentation, 4th workshop organized by Initiative of Critical Studies of Men and Masculinity (ICSM), Ankara, Turkey.

SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES (ORGANIZED)

Masculinity Research in Turkey: Troubles and Possibilities
Workshop organized with the collaboration of Özyeğin University, Initiative for Critical Studies of Men and Masculinities, Research Worldwide İstanbul and Raoul Wallenberg Institute, Member of Organizing Committee
10-11 May 2019, İstanbul, Turkey

Discourse on Masculinity, Trauma and Violence
Workshop organized by Initiative for Critical Studies of Men and Masculinities
Member of Organizing Committee, October 2016, İstanbul, Turkey.

1st International Conference on Men and Masculinities "Identities, Cultures, Societies
Symposium organized by Initiative for Critical Studies of Men and Masculinities
Member of Organizing Committee, September 2014, Izmir, Turkey.

Serious Masculinity Seriousness of Masculinity
Workshop organized by Initiative of Critical Studies for Men and Masculinities, Member of Organizing Committee, April 2014, KASAUM, Ankara, Turkey.

Masculinity as a Political Category
Workshop organized by Initiative of Critical Studies for Men and Masculinities, Member of Organizing Committee, November, 2013, Trabzon, Turkey.

Masculinity Studies in Turkey
Workshop organized by Initiative of Critical Studies for Men and Masculinities, Member of Organizing Committee, August 2013, İzmir, Turkey

EDITORSHIP

The Review Editor of "Masculinities: A Journal of Identity and Culture"
August 2014- *Present*

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Turkish Psychological Association, Gender and Women Studies Division (TPD 2018-ongoing)

Association for Psychological Science (ASP 2018- ongoing)

International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP 2017- ongoing)

TRAININGS and WORKSHOPS

Training Workshop: "JMP: A Statistical Software"
(Given by Ruth Hummel, A JMP Facilitator)
March, 2018
University of South Florida, Tampa, USA

Training Workshop: "In-depth Interview and Focus group Interview Techniques"
(Given by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Eminegül Karababa)
February 2015, Atılım University, SAEL, Ankara, Turkey

Training Workshop: MAXQDA Qualitative Data Analysis Software
(Given by Assoc. Prof. Elif Kuş Saillard) METU Department of Psychology January 21-22, 2013 METU Cultural and Convention Center, Ankara, Turkey

Workshop "Introduction to Qualitative Analysis Methods in Psychology" (Given by Assit. Prof. Bahar Tanyaş) 17th National Congress of Psychology April 25-28, 2012, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey

COMPUTER SKILLS

Advanced	SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences)
Advanced	*LISREL (A package Program for Structural Equation Modeling)*
Advanced	*EQS (A package Program for Structural Equation Modeling)*
Advanced	Qualtrics
Advanced	MAXQDA (Qualitative Data Analysis Software)
Advanced	MS Office (Word, PowerPoint, Excel, Office Publisher)
Beginner	JMP (Statistical Software)

APPENDIX P: Turkish Summary / Türkçe Özet

Dünyanın çeşitli yerlerinde, özellikle kabile kültürlerinde, erkekler kabiledekilerin kendilerini "gerçek bir erkek" gibi görmesi için kendilerini kanıtlamaya çalışırlar. Çocukluktan erkekliğe geçiş ritüelleri o kadar önemlidir ki, toplumun talep ettiği şeyleri yapamayan bir erkek gözden düşebilir (Gilmore, 1990). Topluluk kültürünün hâkim olduğu toplumlarda bu gibi ritüeller herkesin tanık olabileceği cesaret, güç ve efor gerektiren davranışlar üzerinden sergilenirken (örn., bir boğa öldürmek), günümüz Türkiye'si gibi modern toplumlarda bu gibi erkekliği-ispatlama davranışları toplumsal ve siyasal sisteme fazlaca içkin olduğundan bu kadar fark edilebilir olmayabilir (örn., sünnet olmak (Barutçu, 2013), askere gitmek (Sayılan, 2019)). Ülkeler, toplumlar ve farklı zaman dilimlerine göre erkeklerden beklenen performanslar değişse de bu süreç içerisinde değişmeyen tek şey erkekliğin performansa dayalı kaygılı bir sosyal yapısı olmasıdır. Erkekliğin bu yapısını "Kırılgan Erkeklik" olarak ele alan Vandello ve arkadaşları (2008), insanların erkekliği kadınlığa kıyasla çabayla edinilen bir statü olarak gördüğünü ve bu algıları nedeniyle de erkekliği kadınlıktan daha üstün gördüklerini söylemektedir.

Kırılgan erkeklik tezinin (KET) üç temel varsayımı bulunmaktadır. Erkeklik (kadınlığa kıyasla) (i) zor kazanılan bir statüdür, (ii) kazanıldığı gibi kaybedilmeye de yatkındır ve sürekli kendini korumak durumundadır, (iii) başkalarının takdirini kazanmak için ispatlanması beklenen bir statüdür. Erkekliği odağına alan pek çok çalışma erkeklerin toplumsal tehditlere karşı tutarlı bir hassasiyetinin olduğunu göstermekte, bu da kaybetmekten korkulan zor kazanılmış bir toplumsal statü olarak algılandığına işaret etmektedir (Baugher & Gazmararian, 2015; Bosson & Vandello, 2013; Smiler, 2004; Thompson & Pleck, 1986).

Vandello, Bosson ve arkadaşları (2008), insanların erkekliği kadınlığa kıyasla nasıl konumlandırdıklarını anlamak için KET'in üç farklı varsayımını farklı deneysel çalışmalarla sınamışlardır. Bu kapsamda katılımcıları seçkisiz olarak atadıkları

deneysel koşullarda katılımcıların bir kısmına erkekliğin, diğer kısmına ise kadınlığın kırılganlığını yansıtan bazı (araştırmacılarca hazırlanmış) atasözleri okutup bunlara ne ölçüde katıldıklarını sormuşlardır. Ayrıca erkekliğe ve kadınlığa geçişte sosyal (örn., toplumsal dönüm noktaları) veya fiziksel / biyolojik (örn., hormonal değişiklikler) değişimlerden hangisinin daha baskın olduğunu sorgulamışlardır. Sonuçlar, katılımcıların erkeklik statüsünü sosyal dönüm noktalarına bağlı olarak daha kırılgan, kadınlığı ise fiziksel durumlara bağlı olarak daha sabit (değişmez) algıladıklarını göstermektedir.

Araştırmacılar aynı çalışmada erkekliğin başkalarının gözünde kaybedilebilir bir statü olup olmadığını da anlamaya çalışmışlardır. KET'in varsayımlarına göre bir statü toplumsal olarak kazanılabilir ise kaybedilmesi de pekâlâ mümkündür. Bunu anlamak için katılımcılara bir erkeğin veya bir kadının ağzından artık kendini erkek (veya kadın) hissetmediğine dair muğlak bir alıntı verip o cümleyi söyleyen kişinin ne yaşamış olabileceğini sorulmuştur. Amerikalı katılımcılar kendine artık erkek diyemeyen biri hakkında daha fazla sosyal/toplumsal başarısızlık veya kayıplara odaklanan yorumlar yazmışlardır (örn., işini kaybetmek, sevilen birini hayal kırıklığına uğratmak ve sosyal beklentileri yerine getirmemek). Öte yandan, kendine artık kadın diyemeyen biri için ise fiziksel kayıplara işaret eden yorumlar yapmışlardır (örn., cinsiyet değiştirme operasyonu, kanser nedeniyle memesini kaybetmek, menopoza girmek veya yaşlanmak) (Vandello ve ark., 2008, s. 1330).

Benzer şekilde, erkeklik durumu, kadınlık durumuna göre daha sosyal eylemlerle tanımlanmaktadır (Weaver ve ark. 2010). Bosson ve arkadaşları (2010) erkeklere yönelttikleri tehdidin onların başkalarının gözündeki imajını zedeleyeceğini ve bu nedenle erkeklik normlarına uygun performanslarla kaybettikleri imajı yeniden inşa edeceklerini öne sürmüşlerdir. Bu çalışmada erkekler tanımadıkları insanların önünde bir oyuncak bebeğin saçlarını örerek kadınsılık tehdidine maruz bırakılmışlardır. Sonrasında bu tehdide maruz kalan erkekler, kadınsılıkla zedelendiğini düşündükleri imajlarını bir kum torbasına vurarak şiddet ile dengelemeye çalışmışlardır. Bu sonuçlara bakarak toplumsal performanslarla kazanılan erkekliğin cinsiyet tehdidi

karşısında ne kadar kırılgan olduğunu ve kırılan imajlarını toparlamanın yolu olarak şiddet ve öfke dışavurumunu tercih ettikleri söylenebilir.

Yapılan pek çok araştırma erkekliğe yönelik tehdidin toplumsal olarak olumsuz ve yıkıcı davranışlarla sonuçlandığını göstermiştir. Bu araştırmalara göre, tehdit algılayan (heteroseksüel) erkekler gey erkeklere yönelik daha olumsuz tutumlar sergilemişler (Glick, Gangl, Gibb, Klumpner ve Weinberg, 2007); toplumsal cinsiyet statülerinin zedelendiğini hissetmişler (Michniewicz ve ark., 2015); kendisini ve etrafındakileri olumsuz etkileyecek daha riskli kararlar vermişler (Weaver, Vandello ve Bosson, 2013); daha fazla cinsel önyargı göstermişler (Kroeper, Sanchez ve Himmelstein, 2014); hissettikleri fizyolojik stress artmış (Caswell ve ark., 2014); başkalarına yardım etme davranışları azalmış (Michniewicz ve ark., 2015); ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğine olan destekleri azalmıştır (Lick, Johnson ve Riskind, 2015). Bu noktada, tüm bu olumsuz çıktıların geleneksek erkeklik normlarıyla örtüştüğünü görmek oldukça önemlidir. Daha çok risk alabilmek, duygu ifadelerinden kaçınmak (örn., streslerini belli etmek), eşcinselliği hor görmek ve eşcinselleri dışlamak gibi performanslar bir bütün olarak erkeklik ideolojisi tarafından teşvik edilen ve erkeksi görülen davranışlardır (Thompson ve Bennet, 2015)

Bu noktada bazı araştırmacılar neden sadece erkekliğin bir emek süreci sonucunda kazanılabilir kazanılmasına izin verildiğini; fakat kadınlığın verili ve değişmez bir statü olarak ele alındığını sorgulamışlardır. Örneğin Chrisler (2013), KET'i kadınlığın da zorlu bir süreçle kazanılan ve kolayca kaybedilen bir durum olduğuna dikkat çekerek eleştirmektedir. Chrisler (2013)'e göre kadınlığın icra edildiği ve (toplumsal olarak) onaylandığı iki önemli nokta vardır: güzel olmak/ kadınsı çekiciliği kazanmak ve iyi bir anne olabilmek. Eğer erkekler toplumsal gereksinimleri yerine getirmediği zaman bir imaj kaybına uğruyorlarsa, bu kadınlardan beklenen toplumsal gereksinimlerin karşılanmadığı zaman da mümkündür. Bu açıdan bakıldığında Chrisler (2013) kadınların güzel kadın ve iyi anne imajını canlı tutabilmek adına çok çaba gösterdiğini ve "istenen" kadınlık statüsünü bu şekilde "kazanmaya" mecbur bırakıldıklarını söylemektedir. Bu alanlarda kendini ispatlayamayan kadınlar biyolojik

kadınlıklarından bir şey kaybetmeseler de toplumda çeşitli alanlarda dışlanmakta ve küçük düşürülmektedir.

Bundan farklı olarak Baumeister (2010) bir kadına kadınlığını sorgulatacak bir davranış sergileyene dek saygı duyulduğunu, ancak bir erkeğin önce bu saygıyı kazanması ve sonra da sürdürmek için elinden geleni yapması gerektiğini belirtmektedir. Bu toplumsal saygı ve statü "iffetli" (sexually modest) olma normuyla kadınları baskılayarak verilmekte, bu da kadınlığın kırılgan bir durum olup olmadığı sorusunu gündeme getirmektedir (Winegard ve ark., 2014). Kadınlığın bu gibi sosyal koşullara bağlı olarak değer kazanmasının kadınlığın kırılganlığını mümkün kıldığını, erkekliğin kırılgan olmasının kadınlık statüsünün de kırılgan olduğunu engellemediğini söylemektedirler. Benzer bir durum Türkiye'deki "namus kültürü" üzerinden tartışılabilir. Türkiye'de kadınlar evlenene kadar bekaretlerini koruduklarını, bir çocuk doğurabildikleri ölçüde saygı görmekte ve kadınlık statüsünü "hak" (!) etmektedir (Sakallı-Uğurlu ve Akbaş, 2013).

Türkiye her ne kadar erkekliğin kadınlığa göre daha fazla takdir gördüğü ve mükâfatlandırıldığı bir ülke olsa da (Kandiyoti, 1995), Türkiye sosyal psikoloji yazınında bu mükafatı hak etmek adına performanslar üreten erkekliğin kaygılı yapısını anlamaya çalışan bir çalışmaya rastlanmamıştır. Bu çalışma erkekliğin sosyal yapısının kadınlığa kıyasla nasıl algılandığını ve Türkiye'deki geleneksel erkeklik ideolojisinin insanların kırılgan erkeklik algılarını ne ölçüde belirlediğini araştırarak yazındaki bu boşluğu doldurmayı amaçlamaktadır. Kısacası, bu tezin temel amacı, KET'in varsayımlarını Türkiye'nin kültürel bağlamında sınamaktır. Bu amaçla (i) KET varsayımlarının Türkiye'de geçerli olup olmadığı; (ii) insanların erkekliği daha biyolojik/fiziksel olarak verili algıladıkları kadınlığa kıyasla sosyal bir durum olarak algılayıp algılamadıkları ve (iii) erkekliğin kırılgan yapısının saldırganlık ve öfke için bir zemin oluşturup oluşturmadığı araştırılmaktadır. Bu tezin ikincil amacı ise, erkeklik ideolojisinin, erkekliğin ve kadınlığın kırılganlığını ne ölçüde belirlediğini ölçmektir.

Bu amaçla, biri ilişkisel ve dördü deneysel araştırma desenleriyle gerçekleştirilen toplamda beş çalışma sunulmuştur. Çalışma 1'de, Türkiye'deki geleneksel erkeklik ideolojisini ölçen yeni bir ölçüm aracı geliştirilmiştir ve bu ölçek Çalışma 2'de kullanılmıştır. Çalışmaların geri kalanında ise (Çalışma 2-5), Vandello ve arkadaşlarının "kırılgan erkeklik" önermesini yaptıkları 2008 tarihli makaledeki çalışmaları yöntemsel ve kuramsal olarak tekrarlanarak (replike edilerek) Türkiye kültürü bağlamında test edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda Çalışma 2'de erkekliğin zor kazanılmış bir statü olduğu varsayımı sınanmıştır. Buna ek olarak Çalışma 2'de aynı zamanda, erkeklik ideolojisinin onaylanmasının insanların kırılgan erkeklik/kadınlık inançları üzerindeki rolünü de incelenmiştir. Çalışma 3'te, erkekliğin kadınlığa kıyasla daha kaybedilebilir görüleceği varsayımı sınanmıştır. Çalışma 4 ve Çalışma 5'te ise, erkeklik tehdidinin sırasıyla kaygı ve saldırganlık yaratıp yaratmadığı araştırılmıştır.

Çalışma 1: Erkeklik İdeolojisi Ölçeği'nin Geliştirilmesi

Erkeklik ideolojisi, bir toplumda geleneksel olarak benimsenen erkek rolü normlarına dair kültürel inançları yansıtır (Levant, Hall, Weigold ve McCurdy, 2016). Sosyal psikoloji yazınında erkeklik ideolojisi genellikle bu inançların bireyler tarafından ne ölçüde benimsendiğine bakılarak ölçülmektedir (Thompson ve Pleck, 1995; Thompson ve Bennett, 2015). Erkeklik ideolojisi 1950'lerden bu yana baskınlık, kadınsılıktan kaçınma, hayranlık ve saygı görme, sertlik, şiddet, statü, eşcinsellikten nefret etme, duygusal kısıtlama, risk alma, kendine güvenme veya çapkınlık bağlamında temsil edilmiş ve bu temsilleri dikte eden normların kabulü üzerinden ölçülmüştür (inceleme yazısı için bakınız Sakallı-Uğurlu ve Türkoğlu, baskıda). Ancak erkeklik ideolojisini ölçmeye dair yapılan çalışmalar genellikle batı kültürlerine odaklanmış ve batı örneklemleri üzerinde ölçülmüştür. Her ne kadar "Erkek Rol Normları Ölçeği" (Thompson ve Pleck, 1986) Türkçe'ye adapte edilmiş olsa da (Lease ve ark., 2009), bu ölçek çoğunlukla batı-kültürüne dair erkeklik normlarını yansıtmakta ve ölçek maddeleri gündelik konuşma diline tamamen oturmamaktadır. Bu eleştiriler aynı ölçeğin Türkiye'de bir öğrenci örnekleminde kullanılmasından sonra katılımcılardan gelen geri-bildirimlere ve faktör analizi sonuçlarına

dayanmaktadır (bakınız Türkoğlu, 2013). Erkeklik normlarının ve performanslarının kültürlere, zamana ve ortama göre değiştiğini ve esnediğini de göz önünde bulundurulursa (Connell, 2005), Türkiye kültürünü daha iyi yansıtan ve gündelik temsil gücü daha yüksek maddelerden oluşan yeni bir ölçek geliştirmek, alana önemli bir katkıda bulunacaktır. Bu nedenle bu çalışma, erkekliğe dair yazında çalışılan normları, Türkiye sosyal bilimler yazınında erkekliğe dair yapılan çalışmaların temalarını ve daha önce yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında yapmış olduğum erkeklik hakkındaki yüz yüze görüşmeleri harmanlayarak yeni bir madde havuzu oluşturmuş ve bu maddeleri kapsamlı bir öğrenci örnekleminde test etmeyi amaçlamıştır.

Yöntem

Çalışmaya Türkiye'nin farklı üniversitelerinden 593 (297 erkek ve 294 kadın) öğrenci katılmıştır. Katılımcıların yaşları 17 ve 38 arasında değişmektedir (*ORT*. = 26.6). Öğrencilere verilen anket bataryasında bulunan ölçekler aşağıda sunulmuştur:

1. Erkeklik İdeolojisi Ölçeği (EİÖ): İlk aşamada 79 madde içeren madde havuzu özellikle yazındaki erkeklik temalarına paralel şekilde hazırlanmıştır. Bu maddeler daha sonra alandaki 6 uzmana gönderilmiş ve uzmanlardan belirtilen temalara uymayan, Türkçe konuşma dilinde anlaşılması güç maddeleri belirtmeleri ve varsa yeni madde önerileri istenmiştir. Uzmanlardan gelen yanıtlar doğrultusunda yeniden gözden geçirilen 101 maddelik yeni form, 6 kişilik bir odak grup görüşmesinde ODTÜ sosyal psikoloji doktora öğrencileri ile içeriği ve anlaşılırlığı açısından yeniden tartışılmış ve 80 maddeye indirilmiştir. 80 maddelik son form çeşitli illerdeki üniversite öğrencilerine uygulanmıştır. Öğrenciler maddeleri 1 (kesinlikle katılmıyorum)'den – 6 (kesinlikle katılıyorum)'ya kadar olan bir aralıkta değerlendirmişlerdir.

2. Erkeklere İlişkin Çelişik Duygular Ölçeği (EİÇDÖ): 20 maddelik bu ölçek Glick ve Fiske (1999) tarafından geliştirilmiş ve Türkçe'ye Sakallı-uğurlu (2008) tarafından uyarlanmıştır. İki alt ölçeği vardır: erkekler hakkında *korumacı tutumlar* ($\alpha =$ .83) ve

düşmanca tutumlar ($\alpha =$ .82) (bkz. Ek C). Yüksek puanlar erkeklere yönelik daha fazla cinsiyetçi tutum olduğunu göstermektedir. EİÇDÖ, EİÖ'nün geçerliliğini test etmek için anket paketine dâhil edilmiştir. Bu çalışmada, düşmanca ve korumacı tutumların iç tutarlılık katsayısı sırasıyla. 80 ve. 89 olarak bulunmuştur.

3. Çelişik Duygulu Cinsiyetçilik Ölçeği (ÇDCÖ): EİÖ'nün yapı geçerliliğini göstermek için, 22 maddeden oluşan ölçeğin (Glick ve Fiske, 1996) Türkçe versiyonu (Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2002) kullanılmıştır. Bu ölçeğin her biri 11 madde olmak üzere iki alt faktörü vardır: *korumacı cinsiyetçilik* ($\alpha = .78$) ve *düşmanca cinsiyetçilik* ($\alpha = .87$). Katılımcılar maddeleri 1 (kesinlikle katılmıyorum)'den 6 (kesinlikle katılıyorum)'ya kadar olan Likert tipi bir ölçek üzerinde değerlendirmişlerdir. Yüksek puanlar kadınlara yönelik daha fazla cinsiyetçi tutum olduğunu göstermektedir (bkz. Ek D). Bu çalışma için, düşmanca ve yardımsever tutumların iç tutarlılık katsayıları sırasıyla. 92 ve. 90'dır.

4. Sosyo-demografik Bilgiler: Katılımcılara cinsiyet, yaş, etnik kimlik, inanç ve politik yönelimleri sorulmuştur (bkz. Ek N).

Bulgular

Promax döndürme yöntemiyle yapılan Ana Bileşenler Analizi ilk aşamada 10 faktörlü bir ölçek yapısı önermiştir. Sonrasında çizgi grafiği, paralel analiz ve .30 kesme katsayısı da göz önünde bulundurularak çakışan maddeler tespit edilmiş; sonrasında madde-toplam analizlerine ve maddeler arası korelasyonlara bakılarak bu maddeler çıkarılmıştır. 23 maddeye inen ölçeğin son formu dört faktörlü bir yapı göstermiş ve bu yapıyla % 57.82 varyans açıklamıştır.

İlk faktör olan "aile reisliği" altı maddeden oluşmaktadır ve aile sahibi erkeklerle ilgili norm ve beklentileri ölçmektedir. İkinci faktör olan ve altı maddeden oluşan "baskınlık" belirli bir toplumda kişilerin erkeklerin baskınlığını ne ölçüde kabul ettiğini ölçmektedir. Üçüncü faktör olan ve beş maddeden oluşan "duygusal

kısıtlama", kişilerin bir erkeğin başkaları yanında duygularını ifade etmesine ne ölçüde tolerans gösterdiğini ölçmektedir. Dördüncü ve son faktör ise "kadınsılıktan kaçınma" dır. Bu faktör altı maddeden oluşur ve kişilerin kadınsı görünen veya davranan erkeklerle ilgili görüşlerini anlamaya çalışır (bkz. Tablo 3).

Dört faktörlü EİÖ'nün *ölçüte dayalı geçerliliğini* ölçmek için, Tabachnik ve Fidel (2007) benzer yapıları ölçen ölçeklerin kullanılmasını önermektedir. Bu nedenle, EİÖ, EİÇDÖ ve ÇDCÖ arasındaki ilişkiyi korelasyon katsayıları aracılığıyla incelenmiştir. Buna göre, EİÖ'nün tüm alt faktörlerinin benzer içeriği ölçen korumacı ve düşmanca cinsiyetçilik ve erkeklere yönelik korumacı tutumlar ile anlamlı derecede ilişkili olduğu görülmekte ve bu EİÖ'nün yakınsak geçerliğinin olduğunu göstermektedir. Uzaksak geçerliği test etmek adına EİÖ'nin aynı konu öznesine ilişkin tamamen farklı bir içeriği ölçen erkeklere yönelik *düşmanca* tutumlarla olan ilişkisinin anlamlı olarak düşük olduğu görülmüştür. Bu anlamda EİÖ hem yakınsak hem uzaksak geçerliğe sahip bir ölçektir (ilişkisel katsayılar için bkz. Tablo 4).

Tartışma

Açımlayıcı faktör analizi, Türkiye'deki geleneksel erkeklik ideolojisinin dört ideolojik bileşen içeren 23 maddeyle ölçülebileceğini ortaya koymuştur. Korelasyonel analizler EİÖ'in geçerli ve güvenilir bir ölçek olduğunu, öğrenci örneklemlerinde rahatlıkla kullanılabileceğini göstermiştir. Sonuç olarak EİÖ, Türkiye'nin kültürel ortamında erkeklik hakkındaki geleneksel beklentileri dört bileşenle altında sınıflandırmıştır: aile reisliği, baskınlık, duygusal kısıtlama ve kadınsılıktan kaçınma.

Dört faktörlü yapısı normatif bir bakış açısıyla hazırlanan diğer erkeklik ideolojisi ölçekleriyle de örtüşmektedir. Geleneksel erkeklik normlarına uyumu ölçen bu ölçekler de erkekliği çoğunlukla statü, kadınsılıktan kaçınma, saldırganlık, başarı, sertlik, kendine güvenme, kazanma, duygusal kontrol, şiddet ve homofobi kapsamında ele almaktadır (bkz. Sakallı-Uğurlu ve Türkoğlu, baskıda). EİÖ ayrıca hem benzerlikleri hem de farklılıkları ortaya çıkaran Türkiye gibi erkek-egemen ve

muhafazakâr toplumlarla uyumlu öğeler sunarak Amerikan kültürüne odaklı erkeklik ölçümüne yeni bir bakış açısı katmaktadır.

Örneğin, bu yeni ölçek Amerika kültürünü temel alarak geliştirilen ve Türkçe 'ye de bu şekilde uyarlanan Erkek Rol Normları Ölçeği 'ne (Thompson ve Pleck, 1986), Türkiye'de daha baskın bir norm olan "aile reisliği" faktörünü ön plana çıkararak özgün bir katkıda bulunmaktadır. Türkiye'deki güncel çalışmaların da gösterdiği üzere, aile kuran bir erkek otomatik olarak aile fertlerini koruma, sorumluluk alma, başkasına muhtaç olmamama gibi özellikler üzerinden tanımlanmakta ve bunların tamamı EİÖ'de "aile reisliği" faktöründe bir araya gelmektedir (Sakallı-Uğurlu, Türkoğlu, Kuzlak ve Gupta, 2018b).

EİÖ'in güvenilir ve geçerli bir ölçüm aracı olduğunu gösterdikten sonra, bir sonraki çalışma (Çalışma 2a ve Çalışma 2b) Türkiye'deki erkeklik ideolojisini benimsemenin kırılgan erkeklik/kadınlık algıları ile olan ilişkisini de incelemektedir. Bu şekilde erkeklik ideolojisini daha fazla benimseyenlerin erkekliği kadınlıktan daha kırılgan görecekleri beklenmektedir. Erkeklik ideolojisinin desteklediği erkekliği çaba ile kazanma ve koruma durumu, bu ideoloji fazlaca benimsendiği takdirde erkeklik itibarının zedelendiği durumlarda ortaya çıkan olumsuz sonuçları meşrulaştırmaya da neden olacaktır. Bu nedenle sunulacak olan ilişki insanların davranışlarını nasıl yönlendirdiğini anlamak açısından oldukça önemlidir.

Çalışma 2: Zor Kazanılan Bir Statü Olarak Erkeklik ve Erkeklik İdeolojisinin Aracı Rolü

Çalışma 2, kırılgan erkeklik tezinin (KET) ilk varsayımını Türkiye'nin kültürel bağlamında yeniden incelemeyi ve geleneksel erkeklik ideolojisinin insanların kırılgan erkeklik/kadınlık inançları üzerindeki rolünü araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. KET'in ilk varsayımına göre, insanlar erkekliği, çoğunlukla fiziksel ve biyolojik özellikler üzerinden algılanan kadınlığa kıyasla sosyal olarak kazanılmış bir statü olarak görmektedir (Vandello ve Bosson, 2013; Vandello ve ark., 2008). Vandello ve ark.

(2008) erkeklik ve kadınlığın kırılganlığına dair inançları iki farklı deneysel çalışma ile sınamıştır. İlk çalışmalarında insanların bu inançlarını ölçmek için kültürel olarak daha aşina olacakları bazı atasözleri üretmişler ve katılımcılara bunlara ne ölçüde katıldıklarını sorarak dolaylı bir ölçüm yapmışlardır. Diğer çalışmada ise aynı inançları daha sade ve anlaşılır ölçek maddeleri aracılığıyla dolaysız olarak ölçmüşlerdir. Sonuçlara göre Amerika örneklemindeki katılımcılar, erkekliği kadınlığa kıyasla daha sosyal ve kazanması zor bir durum olarak algılamışlardır. Orijinal çalışmanın deseninden ve varsayımından yola çıkaran bu çalışmada

(a) Türkiye örneklemindeki katılımcıların, hem atasözü (Çalışma 2A) hem de doğrudan ifadeler (Çalışma 2B) ile ölçüldüğünde erkekliğin kadınlığa kıyasla daha zor kazanılan bir sosyal statü olarak göreceği,

(b) Katılımcıların, bir oğlan çocuğun erkekliğe geçişini daha sosyal değişimlere atfederken, bir kız çocuğun kadınlığa geçişini daha fiziksel değişimlere atfedeceği (Çalışma 2B),

(c) Erkeklik ideolojisinin farklı bileşenlerinin, insanların kırılgan erkeklik / kadınlık statüsüne nasıl baktığını belirleyeceği (Çalışma 2A ve 2B) beklenmektedir.

Çalışma 2A: Kırılgan Erkeklik ve Kadınlık İnançlarının Atasözleri aracılığıyla Ölçülmesi

Bu çalışma, erkeklik ve kadınlığa dair inançları dolaylı bir biçimde ölçmek için atasözlerinden faydalanmıştır. Katılımcıların toplumsal cinsiyeti (erkek ve kadın) ve atasözlerinin versiyonu (erkeklik ve kadınlık) bağımsız değişkenler; *erkeklik ideolojisi* aracı değişken olarak kullanılmıştır. Katılımcıların atasözlerini ne ölçüde haklı buldukları da bağımlı değişken olarak, bu atasözlerinin anlaşılırlığı ise eş-değişken olarak incelenmiştir. Bu araştırmada (a) atasözleri versiyonunun temel etkisinin olacağı (erkeklik > kadınlık); (b) katılımcı cinsiyetinin temel etkisi olmayacağı, aksine

insanların erkeklik ve kadınlığa dair görüşlerinin erkeklik ideolojisi tarafından belirleneceği; (c) bu nedenle, erkeklik ideolojisinin ne ölçüde benimsendiğinin cinsiyet, versiyon ve kırılgan erkeklik / kadınlık arasındaki ilişkide düzenleyici rol oynayacağı beklenmektedir.

Yöntem

149 (43 erkek, 106 kadın) öğrenci ekstra puan karşılığında, çalışmaya katılmıştır. Örneklem ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümünden seçmeli ders alan lisans öğrencilerinden oluşmakta ve yaşları 18 ile 41 arasında değişmektedir (*ORT.* = 21.72, *SS* = 2.78) (sosyo-demografik bilgiler için Tablo 5'e bakınız).

Bu çalışma online uygulama ortamında (Qualtrics) sunulan deneysel desen ile hazırlanmıştır. Katılımcılar araştırmaya katılım bağlantısına ODTÜ Psikoloji bölümünde aktif kullanılan SONA isimli katılımcı portalı üzerinden ulaşmışlardır. Bağlantıyı açtıklarında ilk olarak araştırmanın amacı hakkında bilgilendirilmişler, sonrasında da seçkisiz olarak ya erkeklik ya da kadınlık koşullarına atanmışlardır. Anketi tamamladıktan sonra katılımcılara teşekkür edilmiş ve sayfa kapatılmıştır. Anket kapsamında katılımcılar önce bu çalışma için üretilmiş ve gerçek atasözleri arasına yedirilmiş sahte atasözlerini, sonrasında Çalışma 1 de geliştirilen 24 maddelik erkeklik ideolojisi ölçeğini ve sosyo-demografik bilgi formunu (bkz. Ek N) doldurmuşlardır.

Erkekliğin/ kadınlığın kırılganlığı hakkındaki görüşleri ölçebilmek adına Vandello ve arkadaşlarının (2008) kullandığı 6 atasözü Türkçe'nin gündelik kullanımına uygun olarak Türkçe'ye çevrilmiş ve yaygınca kullanılan 24 başka atasözü arasına yerleştirilerek katılımcılara sunulmuştur (atasözleri için Tablo 6'ya bakınız).

Bulgular ve Tartışma

Katılımcıların cinsiyeti (erkek ve kadın) ve okudukları atasözleri versiyonunun (koşul: erkeklik ve kadınlık) erkekliğin ve kadınlığın kırılganlığına dair fikirleri üzerindeki etkisini sınamak adına 2 (katılımcı cinsiyeti) X 2 (deneysel koşul) bağımsız gruplar için çoklu varyans analizi uygulanmıştır. Sonuçlara göre yalnızca deneysel koşulun, yani katılımcının atasözlerinde erkeklikle veya kadınlıkla ilgili versiyonu okumasının, temel etkisi istatistiki olarak anlamlı bulunmuştur, F (1, 145) = 14.82, d = .67, p < .001. Katılımcı cinsiyeti ve koşul ile etkileşimi anlamlı bir sonuç vermemiştir. Atasözlerine verdikleri yanıtlara bakılınca katılımcıların erkekliğin zor kazanıldığını ima eden atasözleriyle (kadınlığın zor kazanıldığını ima edenlere kıyasla) daha çok hem fikir oldukları görülmüştür.

Türkiye'deki geleneksel erkeklik ideolojisinin (atasözleri ile ölçülen) erkeklik/kadınlığın kırılganlığına dair düşüncelerine olan etkisini görmek amacıyla Hayes (2013) tarafından önerilen "moderated moderation" analizi yapılmıştır. Bu modele göre erkeklik ideolojisi, deneysel koşul, katılımcı cinsiyeti ve kırılgan erkeklik/kadınlık algısı arasındaki ilişkide düzenleyici (moderatör) rol üstlenmektedir. Yani, bir kişinin benimsediği erkeklik ideolojisinin seviyesi o kişinin kırılganlık algısı üzerinde belirleyici olacaktır. Bunun için PROCESS makronun Model 3'ü % 95 güven aralığında ve 5000 önyükleme örneklemiyle uygulanmıştır. Bu analizde deneysel koşul (erkeklik ve kadınlık) bağımsız değişken, erkeklik ideolojisinin 4 bileşeni (birincil) ve katılımcı cinsiyeti (ikincil) düzenleyici değişkenler, kırılgan erkeklik/kadınlık algısı (atasözlerine verilen yanıtlar) ise bağımlı değişken olarak sınanmıştır. Erkeklik ideolojisinin her bir bileşeni için ayrı model test edilmiş, toplamda 4 model testi uygulanmıştır (bkz. Şekil 2). Her model testinde beklenen, üçlü etkileşim etkisinin (katılımcı cinsiyeti x koşul x erkeklik ideolojisi) istatistiki olarak anlamlı çıkmasıdır. Bu anlamlılığın ise özellikle erkeklik ideolojisini benimseme seviyesi yüksek olan erkek katılımcılarda erkekliğin daha kırılgan algılanması yönünde olacağı beklenmektedir (erkek X erkeklik X yüksek erkeklik ideolojisi).

Erkeklik ideolojisinin dört bileşeni arasında (aile reisliği, baskınlık, duygusallığın kısıtlanması ve kadınsılıktan kaçınma) yalnızca "kadınsılıktan kaçınma" bileşeninin düzenleyici etkisinin görüldüğü üçlü etkileşim etkisi istatistiki olarak anlamlı bulunmuştur, F (7, 141) = 4.55, R^2_{change} = .03, p < .05 (bkz. Tablo12). Bu üçlü etkileşimin katılımcı cinsiyetine göre nasıl farklılaştığını görmek adına durumsal etkileşim istatistiklerine bakılmış ve katılımcı cinsiyeti x kadınsılıktan kaçınma etkileşiminin yalnızca erkekler için anlamlı olduğu görülmüştür, F (7, 141) = 7. 17, p < .05. Kadınsılıktan kaçınma bileşeninin farklı seviyelerine bakıldığında (bkz. Tablo 13), kadınsılıktan kaçınma değerleri yüksek olan erkek katılımcıların erkekliği daha kırılgan algıladığı görülmüştür (bkz. Figür 3).

Sonuçlar bir bütün olarak incelendiğinde, ilk aşamada katılımcıların cinsiyeti fark etmeksizin erkeklik statüsünün kadınlık statüsüne kıyasla daha zor kazanılan bir toplumsal statü olduğu algısı daha çok kabul görmüştür. Bu sonuç araştırmanın varsayımını karşılamaktadır. Öte yandan, salt katılımcı cinsiyetinin bu statülerle ilgili algıları yönlendirmeyeceği, bu algıyı cinsiyet ile beraber erkeklik ideolojisini benimseme seviyesinin etkileyeceği yönündeki hipotez de düzenleyici değişken analizi ile desteklenmiştir. Bulguların da gösterdiği gibi bir erkeğin kadınsılıktan ne pahasına olursa olsun uzak durması gerektiğini düşünen erkekler, erkekliği elde etme sürecini daha zorlu ve sancılı (kırılgan) olarak değerlendirmişlerdir. Bu bulgu, erkeklerin çocukluktan itibaren erkek olmayı öğrendiği sosyalleşme sürecini göz önünde bulundurunca, "kız gibi" olmaktan uzak durmak üzerine bir toplumsal cinsiyet performansı geliştirdiklerini ve bunun için zorlu süreçlerden geçtiklerini doğrulamaktadır (Ewing-Lee ve Troop-Gordon, 2011).

Çalışma 2B: Kırılgan Erkeklik ve Kadınlık İnançlarının Doğrudan İfadelerle Ölçülmesi

Bu çalışma, bir önceki çalışmayı bağımlı değişkeni atasözleri yerine doğrudan ifadelerle ölçerek atasözlerinin yaratabileceği geleneksele uygun cevap verme eğilimini ortadan kaldırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Buna ek olarak, çocukluk döneminden

erkeklik ve kadınlığa geçmenin özellikle hangi süreçlerden (fiziksel veya sosyal) geçtiğini araştırmaktadır. Vandello ve arkadaşları (2008) bu özellikle bir oğlan çocuğunun erkekliğe geçişinin daha sosyal-toplumsal performanslar aracılığıyla; bir kız çocuğunun kadınlığa geçişinin ise daha çok fiziksel değişim ile mümkün olacağı algısının ortaya çıkacağını savunmuşlardır. Orijinal çalışmaya ek olarak bu çalışma aynı zamanda erkeklik ideolojisinin bu beklenen ilişki üzerindeki düzenleyici etkisini araştırmaktadır. Kısacası Çalışma 2A'da olduğu gibi bu çalışmada da (a) katılımcıların erkekliğim kırılganlığını ölçen doğrudan ifadelere kadınlık ifadelerinden daha fazla katılacağını (koşul temel etkisi), (b) erkeklik ideolojisinin (4 bileşenini) ne ölçüde benimsendiğinin cinsiyet, versiyon ve kırılgan erkeklik/kadınlık arasındaki ilişkide düzenleyici rol oynayacağı beklenmektedir.

Yöntem

Araştırmaya 135 (46 erkek, 89 kadın) üniversite öğrencisi katılmıştır. Katılımcıların yaşları 18 ile 26 arasında değişmektedir (*Ort.* = 21.41, *SS* = 1.58). Çalışma online çalışma bağlantısı aracılığıyla SONA'da duyurulmuştur. Katılımcılar gönüllü katılım formunu imzaladıktan sonra seçkisiz bir şekilde ifadelerin ya erkeklik ya da kadınlık koşullarını okumuşlar ve 1 (hiç katılmıyorum)'den 7 (kesinlikle katılıyorum)'ye bir ölçek üzerinde yanıtlarını vermişlerdir (*Kırılgan Erkeklik/ Kadınlık İnançları Ölçeği*, bkz. Ek F). Bu ölçeğin iç tutarlık katsayısı .84 olarak bulunmuştur. Sonrasında, *çocukluktan erkekliğe veya kadınlığa geçiş* ile ilgili, okudukları koşulla uyumlu olan, iki ifadeyi yanıtlamışlardır. İlk ifadede bu geçişin *fiziksel özelliklerin* değişimiyle gerçekleştiğine ("*Çocukluktan erkekliğe geçiş fiziksel veya biyolojiktir*"), ikinci ifadede ise bu geçişin *sosyal kazançlarla* ("*Çocukluktan erkekliğe geçiş toplumsal bir şeydir*") gerçekleştiğine dair yorumlar verilmiş ve katılımcılardan bunlara ne ölçüde katıldıkları sorulmuştur (bkz. Ek F). Devamında ise 38 maddelik *toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri ölçeğini* (Zeyneloğlu ve Terzioğlu, 2011) doldurmuş ve eş-değişken olarak analizde kontrol edilmiştir (bkz., Ek G; α = .94). Katılımcılar son olarak 23 maddelik *erkeklik ideolojisi ölçeğini doldurmuş* ve sosyo-demografik bilgiler formunu doldurduktan sonra da araştırmayı tamamlamışlardır.

Bulgular ve Tartışma

2 (katılımcı cinsiyeti: erkek ve kadın) X 2 (koşul: erkeklik ve kadınlık) eş-değişkenli bağımsız gruplar için çoklu varyans analizi, katılımcıların erkeklik ve kadınlığın kırılganlığını ölçen doğrudan ifadelere verdiği yanıtlar üzerinden yalnızca *koşulun* istatistiksel olarak anlamlı etkisi olduğunu göstermiştir, F (1, 130) = 18, $p < .001$, d = .95. Buna göre katılımcılar erkekliği kadınlığa göre daha zor kazanılan kırılgan bir statü olarak görmüşlerdir ve bu bulgu bir önceki çalışmanın bulgularını tekrarlamıştır.

Buna ek olarak çocukluktan erkekliğe (veya kadınlığa) geçişe dair 2 ifadeye verilen cevaplar 2 (katılımcı cinsiyeti: erkek ve kadın) X 2 (koşul: erkeklik ve kadınlık) X 2 (geçiş: fiziksel ve sosyal) son faktörde tekrarlı çok faktörlü eş-değişkenli varyans analizi ile analiz edilmiştir. Burada eş değişken ilk analizdeki gibi *toplumsal cinsiyet rolü tutumları*dır. Eş-değişkenin açıkladığı varyans çıkarıldıktan sonra, erkekliğe (veya kadınlığa) geçiş temel etkisinin istatistiki olarak anlamlı olduğu bulunmuştur, F (1, 130) = 7.67, Wilks' λ = .94, $p < .001$, f = .24. Ancak orijinal çalışmanın ve beklentinin aksine katılımcılar erkeklik veya kadınlığa geçiş fark etmeksizin, bu geçişin fiziksel değişikliklere bağlı olarak gerçekleştiğine daha çok katılmışlardır. Bunun dışında beklenen koşul ve geçiş etkileşimi anlamlı çıkmamıştır.

Çalışma 2A da olduğu gibi, bu çalışmada da erkeklik ideolojisinin dört ayrı bileşeninin doğrudan ifadelere katılımları üzerinde düzenleyici etkisi olup olmadığı PROCESS makro Model 3 (Hayes, 2018) ile dört farklı modelde test edilmiştir. İlk çalışmanın aksine bu çalışmadaki doğrudan ölçümler üzerinde hiçbir erkeklik ideolojisi bileşeni için düzenleyici etki görülmemiştir.

Çalışmanın sonuçları bir bütün olarak değerlendirildiğinde Türkiye örneklemindeki katılımcıların erkekliği doğrudan ifade ölçümlerinde de daha kırılgan gördüğü görülmektedir. Bu bulgu Vandello ve arkadaşlarının (2008) bulgularını tekrarlamaktadır. Öte yandan, orijinal çalışmanın ve beklenenin aksine bu çalışmanın katılımcıları hem erkekliğe hem de kadınlığa geçişi daha fiziksel değişimlere

atfetmişlerdir (örn., vücut hatlarının değişmesi, tüylenme vb.). Bu bulgu orijinal bulguları tekrarlamamıştır.

Erkeklik ideolojisinin kadınsılıktan kaçınma bileşeni her ne kadar Çalışma 2A'da düzenleyici rol oynasa da bu çalışmada bir etkisi görülmemiştir. Bunun nedeni kadınsılıktan kaçınma bileşeni altındaki ölçek maddelerinin atasözleri ile daha uyumlu algılanması olabilir.

Çalışma 3: Kolay Kaybedilen Bir Statü Olarak Erkeklik

Bir önceki çalışmanın bulgularını genişleten Çalışma 3, kırılgan erkeklik tezinin ikinci varsayımını test etmeyi amaçlamaktadır: İnsanlar erkekliği kadınlığa kıyasla kolayca kaybedilen bir durum olarak görürler. Çalışma 2'nin katılımcıları her ne kadar erkeklik ve kadınlığa geçişi fiziksel değişimlerle tanımlasalar da, erkekliği kazanmanın daha zor olduğuna katılmışlardır.

Vandello ve arkadaşları (2008), katılımcılarının kadınlıktan çok erkekliğin kaybını bir "statü kaybı" olarak gördüğünü ortaya koymuştur. Vandello ve arkadaşları (2008) eğer bir statü zor kazanılıyorsa her zaman kaybetme riskiyle karşı karşıya olduğunu söyler. Buna göre beklentileri, "zor kazanılan" erkekliğin fiziksel ve fizyolojik olarak daha sabit ve değişmez görülen kadınlığa göre daha kolay yitirilebileceği yönündedir. Buna paralel olarak, Amerikalı katılımcılar erkekliğin kaybını daha sosyal (işini kaybetme vb.), kadınlığın kaybını ise daha fiziksel (cinsiyet değiştirme vb.) nedenlerle yorumlamışlardır.

Ancak Türkiye'nin kültürel ortamı ve değerleri gereği kadınlığı da erkeklik gibi kaybedilebilir bir statü olarak görmeye müsaittir. Kadınların özellikle "namus" u koruması üzerinden yargılandığını göz önünde bulundurursak, Türkiyeli katılımcılar kadınlığın da bu verili değerler üzerinden kaybedilebilir algılanacağına imkân tanımaktadır. Bu nedenle Vandello ve arkadaşlarının (2008) argümanının aksine, bu

çalışmanın beklentisi katılımcıların erkekliği de kadınlığı da sosyal değerler ve icralar üzerinden kaybedilebilir olacağı yönündedir.

Yöntem

Çalışmaya 193 (116 kadın, 77 erkek) üniversite öğrencisi katılmıştır. Katılımcıların yaşları 17- 27 arasında değişmektedir (*Ort* = 20.65, *SS* = 1.23). Tablo 16 katılımcı bilgilerini ayrıntılı olarak göstermektedir.

Katılımcılar araştırmaya gönüllü katılım formlarını imzaladıktan sonra kendilerine muğlak bir cümle okutulmuştur: "*Hayatımda öyle öyle şeyler yaşadım ki... eskiden kendime erkek (veya kadın) derdim, artık diyemiyorum.*" Katılımcılar bu alıntıyı seçkisiz atandıkları koşula göre ya bir erkeğin ağzından ya da bir kadının ağzından söylenmiş gibi okumuşlardır. Sonrasında katılımcılara bunu söyleyen kişinin ne yaşamış olabileceği açık uçlu bir şekilde sorulmuştur. Buna verilen açık uçlu yanıtların içeriği daha sonra iki bağımsız araştırmacı tarafından fiziksel ("*Kulağa bir cinsiyet değiştirme operasyonu geçirmiş gibi geliyor ve bu yüzden de artık kendisini erkek gibi görüyor*") veya sosyal ("*Muhtemelen eşi veya işi gibi kendisi için önemli bir şeyi kaybettiğini kastediyor. Ve ondan sonra da ne kadar zayıf ve eksik hissettiğinden bahsediyor"*) içeriklere göre kodlanmışlardır. Açık uçlu yanıtları verdikten sonra ise araştırmacıların durumu bir *fiziksel* nedenlere bir de *sosyal* nedenlere bağlı olarak açıkladığı 2 ifade verilmiş ve katılımcılara bu ifadelere ne ölçüde katıldıkları sorulmuştur (bkz. Ek H). Katılımcılar en sonda sosyo-demografik bilgi formunu doldurarak araştırmayı tamamlamışlardır.

Bulgular ve Tartışma

İlk olarak, erkekliğin ve kadınlığın yitirilen bir statü olarak algılanıp algılanmadığını sınamak için bağımsız değerlendiricilerin açık uçlu yanıtları fiziksel-sosyal olarak kodladıkları kategoriler 2 (katılımcı cinsiyeti: erkek ve kadın) X 2 (koşul: erkeklik ve kadınlık) X 2 (içerik kodlaması: fiziksel ve sosyal) son faktörde tekrarlı bağımsız

gruplar için çok faktörlü varyans analizi yapılmıştır. Bulgulara göre yalnızca içerik kodlamasının temel etkisi istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bulunmuştur, F (1, 171) = 468.34, $p < .001$, $n^2 = .73$. Buna göre katılımcıların açık uçlu yanıtları hem erkeklik hem de kadınlık kaybı durumları için fiziksel nedenlerden (*Ort*. = .05, *SS*= .22) çok sosyal nedenler (*Ort*. = .83, *SS* = .37) içermektedir.

İkinci olarak, orijinal çalışma açık uçlu yanıtları ayrıntılı bir şekilde incelememiş olsa da bu çalışmada verilen yanıtlar içerik analizi aracılığıyla incelenmiştir. Bulgulara göre katılımcılar "artık kendime erkek demiyorum" diyen birinin öncelikle toplumsal beklentileri (koruma kollama, para kazanma vb.) karşılayamadığı, hemcinslerinin uyguladığı şiddetten dolaylı olarak utanmış olabilecekleri, sevdiklerini koruyamadıkları için öyle demiş olabileceğini düşünmektedir (diğer kategoriler için bkz. Tablo 20). "Artık kendime kadın demiyorum" diyen bir kadın için ise ağırlıklı olarak fiziksel şiddete, tacize veya tecavüze uğradıkları ihtimali ön plana çıkmıştır. Bunun yanında başkaları tarafından hor görülmüş olabileceği ve hayatta pek çok şeyi zorluklarla başarmak zorunda olmaktan yorulmuş olabileceğine yer verilmiştir (bkz. Tablo 20). Görüldüğü üzere hem erkeklik hem de kadınlık kaybı için *sosyal* anlam taşıyan sebepler daha fazla dile getirilmiştir. Bu bulgular Vandello ve arkadaşlarının bulduğu sonuçları tekrarlamasa da Türkiye'de kadınlığın da başkalarının gözünde özellikle başkalarının dahil olduğu sosyal durumlar aracılığıyla yitirilebileceğini göstermektedir. Bu önemli bir kültürlerarası farklılıktır.

Üçüncü olarak, katılımcıların kaybın nedenlerine dair önceden yazılmış maddelere verdikleri yanıtlar 2 (katılımcı cinsiyeti: erkek ve kadın) X 2 (koşul: erkeklik ve kadınlık) X 2 (kayba yönelik yorum: fiziksel ve sosyal) son faktörde tekrarlı bağımsız gruplar için çok faktörlü varyans analiziyle sınanmıştır. Bulgular göre kayba yönelik yorumların temel etkisi istatistiki olarak anlamlı bulunurken, F (1, 189) = 132.28, $p < .05$, d = .46, cinsiyet ve versiyonun temel etkisi istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bulunmamıştır (bkz. Tablo 19). Buna göre, katılımcılar erkeklik veya kadınlık koşulu fark etmeksizin okudukları kayıp durumunu fiziksel nedenlere (*ORT*. = 2.24, *SS* = 1.32) kıyasla daha sosyal nedenlere (*ORT*. = 3.74, *SS* = 1.57) atfeden maddeleri daha

çok onaylamışlardır. Bu temel etki, anlamlı Koşul X Yorum etkileşimi ile daha da güçlenmiştir, F (1, 189) = 6.58, p <.05, f =.18. Şekil 4'te de görüleceği üzere, katılımcılar erkekliğin kaybını (*ORT.* = 4.04, *SS* = 1.55) kadınlığın kaybına (*ORT.* = 3.43, *SS* = 1.53) kıyasla işini veya eşini kaybetmiş olmak gibi daha sosyal nedenlerle açıklayan yorumları daha çok benimsemişlerdir, F (1, 189) = 7.51, p = .01, η_p^2 = .04. Öte yandan kayba yönelik fiziksel yorumlarda erkeklik ve kadınlık kaybı koşulları arasında anlamlı bir farklılık görülmemiştir.

Tüm sonuçlar beraber yorumlandığında Amerika örnekleminin aksine Türkiye örneklemindeki katılımcılar kadınlığın da erkeklik kadar kaybedilebilir bir statü olduğunu göstermişler ve açık uçlu yanıtlarında kadınlık kaybının daha çok başkalarının kadınlar üzerindeki müdahalelerine bağlı olarak oluşan bir itibar yitirme durumu gibi algılandığı; erkeklik kaybının da daha çok erkeklerin bir özne olarak kendi yapıp-yapamadıkları üzerinden yitirilebileceği görülmüştür. Ancak araştırma kapsamında hazır olarak verilen fiziksel ve sosyal yorumlara verilen yanıtlar katılımcıların (kadınlığın kaybından ziyade) erkeklik kaybını daha sosyal ve toplumsal olaylar üzerinden yaşadıklarında hem fikir olmuşlardır.

Çalışma 4: Toplumsal Cinsiyet Tehdidine karşılık Kaygının Artması

Bu çalışma KET'in üçüncü varsayımını sınamaktadır. Bu varsayıma göre eğer bir toplumsal statü zor kazanılıyorsa, bu statüyü elde edenler toplumsal tehditler karşısında bu statüyü kaybetme konusunda endişeli olması beklenir. Bu nedenle, orijinal çalışmaya paralel olarak, erkeklere ve kadınlara kendi toplumsal cinsiyetlerine yönelik tehdit geri bildirimleri verilmiş ve sonrasında da bilişsel olarak bir kaygı yaşayıp yaşamadıklarını bakılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, erkeklik tehdidi karşısında erkeklerin kadınlık tehdidi karşısında kadınların duyacağı kaygıdan daha fazla kaygılanacağı beklenmektedir.

Yöntem

Çalışmaya 124 öğrenci (59 kadın, 65 erkek) katılmıştır. Katılımcıların yaşları 19-28 arasında değişmektedir (*Ort* = 21.97, *SS* = 1.57). Diğer çalışmalarda olduğu gibi bu çalışmada da katılımcılar SONA sistemi üzerinden çalışmaya dahil olmuşlardır (demografik bilgiler için bkz. Tablo 21).

Katılımcılar çalışmaya online çalışma bağlantısı ile ulaşmışlardır. Çalışmaya girdikten sonra ilk olarak gönüllü katılıma dair rızalarını belirtmişler, ait hissettikleri toplumsal cinsiyet kategorisi (kadın veya erkek) sorulduktan sonra seçimlerine uygun olarak rasgele ya toplumsal cinsiyet tehdidi aldıkları ya da tehdit almadıkları koşullardan birine atanmışlardır.

Toplumsal cinsiyet tehdidini yaratmak adına önce BEM cinsiyet rolleri envanterini (Bem, 1974) doldurmuşlardır. Bu envanterde tipik olarak erkeksi veya kadınsı olarak sınıflandırılan 30 adet kişilik özelliği verilip, katılımcılara bu özelliklerin kendilerini ne ölçüde yansıttığı sorulmuştur (bkz. Ek I). Katılımcılar her ne kadar kendilerini yansıtan doğru yanıtları verseler de bu yanıtlar araştırmada yalnızca "sahte" geri bildirim (tehdit) koşulunun daha inandırıcı olmasına yardımcı olmuştur. Sonrasında katılımcılara, verdiği yanıtlara göre toplumsal cinsiyet skorlarının hesaplandığı ve 30 saniye bekleyecekleri söylenmiştir. Bunu takiben, tehdit koşulundaki katılımcılar belirttikleri cinsiyete yönelik "sahte" bir geribildirim almışlardır. Örneğin, tehdit koşulundaki bir erkek katılımcıya "Bu testi daha önce ODTÜ'de uygulamış olan erkekler arasında %27'lik dilime girdiniz" geribildirimi verilerek, skorlarının genel dağılımda kadınlarınkine yakın olduğunu gösteren bir grafik sunulmuştur. Bu şekilde erkek katılımcı "kadınsı" olduğuna dair "sahte" bir geri bildirim almıştır (bkz. Şekil 5).

Tehdit olmayan koşulda ise ifade ettikleri toplumsal cinsiyetin özelliklerini taşıdıkları geribildirimi verilmiştir. Geribildirimi aldıktan sonra katılımcılara kaygılı bilişsel yapıyı ölçmeyi amaçlayan bir kelime tamamlama aktivitesi sunulmuştur (bkz. Tablo

22). Tehdit koşulundaki erkeklerin buradaki kelimelere daha kaygı anlamı taşıyan kelimelerle doldurması beklenmektedir. Kelimeleri tamamladıktan sonra başkalarının toplumsal cinsiyet testi sonuçlarını öğrenmesi konusunda ne ölçüde rahat hissedecekleri (*rahatlık ölçeği*) ve bu testi bir daha alsalar performanslarının değişip değişmeyeceğine (*gelecekteki test performans*ı) dair sorular sorulmuştur (bkz. Ek J). Son olarak katılımcılara araştırmanın asıl amacını anlatan kısa bir bilgi verilmiş ve teşekkür edilmiştir.

Bulgular

Katılımcıların (a) kelimeleri kaygı-anlamlı şekilde tamamlama yüzdeleri, (b) rahatlık ölçeği yanıtları, (c) gelecek performans beklentileri 2 (katılımcı cinsiyeti: erkek ve kadın) X 2 (toplumsal cinsiyet tehdidi: var ve yok) bağımsız gruplar için çok faktörlü varyans analizi aracılığıyla 3 farklı testle sınanmıştır. Analiz sonuçları beklenen temel ve etkileşim etkilerinin istatistiki olarak anlamlı *olmadığını* göstermiştir (bkz. Tablo 24).

Vandello ve arkadaşları (2008) Amerikan örnekleminde uyguladıkları aynı çalışmada erkeklerin erkeklik tehdidi aldıktan sonra daha fazla kaygı sözcüğü tamamladığını, kadınlarda böyle bir etki görülmediğini bulmuşlardır. Bu anlamda Türkiye örneklemiyle yapılan bu çalışma orijinal çalışmanın sonuçlarını tekrarlamamıştır. Bu analizde hiçbir anlamlı etki bulunamamış olması farklı etkenlerden kaynaklanıyor olabilir. Örneğin, BEM toplumsal cinsiyet envanteri baz alınarak verilen tehdit katılımcılara inandırıcı gelmemiş olabilir veya karşılaştırma yapılan aynı kampüsteki hemcinsleri kendileri için bir iç-grup temsil etmiyor olabilir. Ayrıca, Türkiye'nin kültürel yapısı gereği başkalarının yargısı söz konusu olduğunda kaygının artması ve kaygı sözcükleri hatırlamak hem erkekler hem kadınlar için eşit derecede mümkün olabilir.

Çalışma 5: Toplumsal Cinsiyet Tehdidine karşılık Öfkenin Artması

Çalışma 4'te yaratılan tehdit sonrası katılımcılar kaygı açısından birbirlerinden farklılaşmadığından bu çalışmada farklı cinsiyet gruplarının tehdide farklı karşılık vereceği varsayımı sınanmıştır. Lento-Zwolinski (2007), aynı tehdit manipülasyonunun erkekler ve kadınlar için benzer tepkilerle sonuçlanmayabileceğini söylemektedir. Erkekler toplumsal cinsiyet tehdidine karşılık çoğunlukla fiziksel öfke/saldırganlık gösterirken kadınlar ise ilişkisel öfke (örneğin, söylentiyi yaymak, dedikodu yapmak) göstermektedir (Lento-Zwolinski, 2007). Vandello ve arkadaşları (2008) bu varsayımla yaptıkları çalışmada tehdit alan erkeklerde daha fazla fiziksel öfke uyanırken tehdit alan kadınlarda fiziksel veya ilişkisel öfke açısından herhangi bir farklılık oluşmadığını göstermişlerdir. Türkiye'de de erkek ve kadınların öfke ifade biçimleri yazındaki çalışmalara paralel olduğundan (Balkaya ve Şahin, 2003; Bostancı, Çoban, Tekin ve Özen, 2007), bu çalışma kapsamında da tehdit karşısında erkeklerin daha çok fiziksel kadınların ise daha çok ilişkisel öfke göstereceği beklenmektedir.

Yöntem

Çalışmaya 205 (110 kadın 95 erkek) öğrenci katılmıştır (demografik bilgiler için bkz. Tablo 26). Katılımcıların yaşları 18-45 arasında değişmektedir (*Ort* = 22, *SS* = 2.93). Çalışmaya katılım süreci, tehdit koşulları ve uygulanan materyaller sırasıyla Çalışma 4'teki materyaller ve prosedür ile tamamen aynıdır. Yalnızca, bağımlı değişken olarak kaygı kelimeleri yerine *fiziksel* ve *ilişkisel* öfke kelimelerin tamamlanması istenmiştir (bkz. Tablo 26). Devamında orijinal çalışmada yer almasa da bu çalışmada rahatlık ölçümü ve gelecekteki test performansı beklentileri de ölçülmüştür.

Bulgular ve Tartışma

Fiziksel ve ilişkisel öfke kelimelerini doğru tamamlama yüzdeleri, rahatlık ve gelecek performansı ölçümüne verilen yanıtlar bağımlı değişkenler olarak 2 (katılımcı

cinsiyeti: erkek ve kadın) X 2 (toplumsal cinsiyet tehdidi: var ve yok) X 2 (öfke: fiziksel ve ilişkisel) bağımsız gruplar için çok faktörlü eş değişkenli varyans analizi aracılığıyla 3 farklı testle sınanmıştır. Eş değişken olarak *PANAS olumsuz duygular* analize katılmıştır. Bu şekilde, ortaya çıkacak öfke durumunun kişinin kendi olumsuz duygularından kaynaklanma ihtimali de ihtimal dışı bırakılmıştır.

İlk varyans analizinin bulguları öfke tipinin temel etkisinin istatistiki olarak anlamlı olduğunu göstermektedir, F (1, 197) = 4.39, p = .04, d =.30. Katılımcılar ilişkisel öfke (M = 48.54, SD = 15.39) ile ilgili kelimeleri fiziksel öfke kelimelerine (M = 43.62, SD = 16.94) kıyasla tehdit koşulundan bağımsız olarak daha doğru tamamlamışlardır. Toplumsal cinsiyet X tehdit koşulu X öfke türü üçlü etkileşimi de istatistiki olarak anlamlı bulunmuştur, F (1, 197) = 5.76, p = .02, f =.17. Eş-değişken etkisi kontrol edildikten sonra da tüm anlamlı sonuçlar aynı kalmıştır (bkz. Tablo 28). Üçlü etkileşimin sonuçlarına bakıldığında, bu etkileşimin yalnızca fiziksel öfke koşulunda marjinal olarak anlamlı çıktığı görülmüştür [F (1, 98) = 3.57, p = .06, η_p^2 = .04, f = .20]. Beklendiği gibi, tehdit alan erkekler (*Ort* = 50, *SS = 17.68)* tehdit alan kadınlara (*Ort* = 36, *SS* = 16.26) göre daha fazla fiziksel öfke göstermişlerdir, F (1, 197) = 4.34, p = .04, d = *.41* (bkz. Şekil 7). Ancak, ilişkisel öfke koşulunda toplumsal cinsiyete ve tehdit koşuluna göre anlamlı bir farklılık gözlenmemiştir.

İkinci varyans analizinde, toplumsal cinsiyet x tehdit koşulu x öfke türü üçlü etkileşiminin test sonuçlarının başkalarıyla paylaşılması durumunda hissedilecek rahatlık üzerinde istatistiki olarak anlamlı bulunmuştur, F (1, 197) = 6.65, p = .01, f =.18. Buna göre, fiziksel öfke kelimelerini tamamlayanlar arasında tehdit alan erkekler (*Ort* = 3.04, *SS* = 1.45) tehdit alan kadınlara (*Ort* = 4.88, *SS* =1.75) kıyasla başkalarının test sonuçlarını öğrenmesinden daha fazla rahatsızlık duyacaklarını belirtmişlerdir, F (1, 197) = 8.38, p = .00, η_p^2 = .04, f = .20 (bkz. Şekil 8).

Bu çalışma, orijinal kırılgan erkeklik çalışmasının bulgularını tekrarlamıştır. Orijinal çalışma da (Vandello ve ark., 2008), katılımcı cinsiyet, cinsiyet tehdidi ve saldırganlık türü arasında üç yönlü bir etkileşim olduğunu göstermiştir. Buna göre hem Amerika

hem Türkiye örnekleminde erkeklerde cinsiyet tehdidi karşısında kadınlardan daha fazla fiziksel öfke uyanmakta ancak kadınların ilişkisel öfke seviyelerinde tehdide bağlı bir farklılık görülmemektedir.

Genel Tartışma

Bu çalışma Vandello ve arkadaşlarının (2008) ortaya atmış olduğu Kırılgan Erkeklik Tezi (KET)'ni Türkiye'nin kültürel ortamında tekrarlamayı ve aynı zamanda kırılgan erkeklik ve kadınlığa dair düşüncelerin insanların benimsediği erkeklik ideolojisi ile olan ilişkisini araştırmıştır. Bu amaçla toplamda beş çalışma gerçekleştirilmiştir. İlk çalışmada, Türkiye'de erkeklik ideolojisini ölçmeyi amaçlayan yeni bir ölçek geliştirilmiştir. Bulgulara göre Türkiye'de geleneksel erkeklik aile reisliği, baskınlık, duygusal kısıtlama ve kadınsılıktan kaçınma olarak dört faktör altında ölçülmektedir.

KET'in varsayımlarını test eden diğer dört çalışmanın bulguları ise Türkiye'de insanların erkekliği kadınlığa nazaran daha zor kazanılan bir statü olarak gördüğü (Çalışma 2A) ve bu algının *kadınsılıktan kaçınmanın* erkeklik için olmazsa olmaz olduğunu benimseyen erkeklerce daha fazla benimsendiğini göstermiştir. Bu anlamda zorlu eylemlerle elde edilen erkekliğin özellikle işini -eşini kaybetmek gibi toplumsal ve sosyal nedenlere bağlı olarak kaybedilme tehlikesi taşıyan bir statü olduğu ortaya konmuştur (Çalışma 3). Ancak, katılımcıların yaptıkları açık uçlu yorumlarda kadınlığın da özellikle şiddete, tacize ve tecavüze uğrama sonucunda kaybedilebilecek bir statü olarak algılandığı bulunmuştur. Buna göre Türkiye'de hem erkeklik hem kadınlık kaybedilme riski taşıyan sosyal statüler olarak algılanmaktadır. Bunları farklılaştıran nokta ise erkeklik kaybının toplumsal beklentileri gerçekleştirememek üzerinden bireysel çabaya bağlı olarak algılanması, kadınlık kaybının ise daha çok başkalarının kadına uyguladığı şiddet-taciz-tecavüze bağlı olarak algılanmasıdır. Bu durumda yitirilen itibarı yeniden kazanmak kadınlar açısından pek mümkün görünmemektedir. Bunlara ek olarak Çalışma 4 ve 5 kazanılan bir statünün her zaman kaygan bir zeminde ayakta durmaya çabalayacağını ve bu nedenle de herhangi bir tehdit karşısında kaygı ve öfke hissedip hissetmediğini sorgulamıştır. Ancak bulgular

yalnızca tehdit algılayan erkeklerin zihinlerinde daha fazla fiziksel öfke düşüncesi belirdiğini göstermiştir.

Tüm çalışmaları bütüncül bir şekilde yorumlayacak olursak, Türkiye'de erkeklik çabayla elde edilen, kaybedilebilen ama bu özelliğiyle kadınlıktan farklılaşmayan, tehdit algılamaya daha açık ve tehdit algılayınca fiziksel öfke düşünceleri kolayca uyanan kırılgan bir statüye sahiptir. Kadınlığa gelince, tüm çalışmalarda erkekliğin karşısında konumlandırılan kadınlık, erkeklikle kıyaslanınca zor kazanılan bir statü olarak görülmemekte daha ziyade verili bir biyolojik durum gibi algılanmaktadır. Ancak kadınlığın kaybı söz konusu olduğunda insanlar kadınlığın da başkalarının gözünde yitirilebilen bir durum olduğunu ve bunun da özellikle kadına yöneltilen şiddet-taciz-tecavüz gibi kadının kontrolünde olmayan dış müdahaleler aracılığıyla olabileceğini düşünmüşlerdir. Her ne kadar yitirilebilen bir durumun her an yitirme korkusuyla tetikte ve kaygılı olması, toplumsal cinsiyetine yönelik tehditler karşısında bir tepki olarak öfke gösterebileceği varsayılsa da kadınlığın yitirilmesi bağlamında böyle bir kaygı ya da öfke durumu ortaya çıkmamıştır.

Bu şekliyle çalışmalar Vandello ve arkadaşlarının (2008) erkekliğin daha zor kazanılan bir statü olarak algılandığı; tehdidin erkeklerde daha fazla fiziksel öfke yarattığı ve erkeklik kaybının daha toplumsal ve sosyal nedenlere bağlandığı bulgularını tekrarlamaktadır. Ancak, kayba yönelik verilen yorumlara katılımlarıyla erkekliğin kadınlığa kıyasla daha "kaybedilebilir" bir statü olduğu ve erkeklerin tehdit karşısında daha fazla kaygı yaşayacakları bulgusunu tekrarlamaktadır. Bu durumda Türkiye'de kadınların genellikle cinsel saflık-temizlik ve kadın namusu üzerinden baskı gördüğü bir namus kültürünün olması (Sakallı-Uğurlu & Akbaş, 2013), kadınlığın geri kazanma ihtimali olmadan bir itibar ve namus kaybı olarak görüldüğüne işaret etmektedir. Ancak namusun kadınlığın kaybını erkekliğin kaybından farklılaştırıp farklılaştırmadığını bu konuyu odağına alan yeni çalışmalarda test etmek gerekmektedir.

APPENDIX R: Tez İzin Formu/ Thesis Permission Form

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YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : Türkoğlu
Adı / Name : Beril
Bölümü / Department : Psikoloji / Psychology

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English) : Precarious Manhood in Turkey: Earned, Lost, and Threatened Status of Manhood

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: **Yüksek Lisans** / Master ☐ **Doktora** / PhD ☐

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