

**BURDENS OF MASCULINITY AMONG
HETEROSEXUALS, GAYS AND BISEXUALS:
MORE MASCULINE, MORE CONFLICTED,
LESS SATISFIED**

BERAT KESKİN

İSTANBUL, 2021

BURDENS OF MASCULINITY AMONG HETEROSEXUALS, GAYS AND
BISEXUALS: MORE MASCULINE, MORE CONFLICTED, LESS SATISFIED

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES OF
BAHÇEŞEHİR UNIVERSITY

BY

BERAT KESKİN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ART
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY

JUNE 2021

“I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and ethical conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.”

Name Surname: Berat Keskin

Signature

ABSTRACT

BURDENS OF MASCULINITY AMONG HETEROSEXUALS, GAYS, AND BISEXUALS: MORE MASCULINE, MORE CONFLICTED, LESS SATISFIED

Keskin, Berat

M.A., Clinical Psychology

Supervisor: Doç. Dr. Ezgi Toplu Demirtaş

June 2021, 112 Pages

The present study aimed to explore the relationship between masculinity ideology and life satisfaction with the mediator role of gender role conflict and moderator role of sexual orientation. The data was collected online from 195 men (128 heterosexuals, 53 gays, 14 bisexuals) between the ages of 18 to 42 ($M = 25.39$, $SD = 3.53$) through the Life Satisfaction Scale, Masculinity Ideology Scale, Gender Role Conflict Scale, and a demographic form. A moderated-mediation analysis was conducted to test the proposed hypotheses. Results of the study revealed that masculinity ideology and life satisfaction was significantly associated via the mediator role of gender role conflict. Moreover, the findings were moderated by sexual orientation significantly. Both heterosexual and gay and bisexual men, who adhere more to masculine ideology, experienced more gender role conflict and thus felt less satisfaction with life. The results were discussed with related literature. In addition, possible limitations were discussed, and recommendations for further research and practices with a preventive approach were presented.

Keywords: Masculinity ideology, gender role conflict, sexual orientation, life satisfaction, moderated-mediation analysis



ÖZ

HETEROSEKSÜELLER, GEYLER VE BİSEKSÜELLERDE ERKEKLİĞİN YÜKLERİ: DAHA MASKÜLEN, DAHA ÇATIŞMALI, DAHA AZ MEMNUN

Berat Keskin

Yüksek Lisans, Klinik Psikoloji

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Ezgi Toplu Demirtaş

Haziran 2021, 112 Sayfa

Bu çalışma, erkeklik ideolojisi ile yaşam doyumu arasındaki ilişkiyi, cinsiyet rolü çatışmasının aracı rolü ve cinsel yönelimin düzenleyici rolü ile araştırmayı amaçlamıştır. Veriler 195 erkekten (128 heteroseksüel, 53 gey, 14 biseksüel) toplanmıştır ve yaşları 18 ile 42 arasındadır (Ort. = 25.39, SS = 3.53). Erkeklerden veri toplamak için “Yaşam Doyumu Ölçeği”, “Erkeklik İdeoloji Ölçeği” ve “Cinsiyet Rol Çatışması Ölçeği” verilmiştir. Bu çalışmanın hipotezlerini test etmek için düzenleyici aracılık analizi yapılmıştır. Araştırmanın sonuçları, erkeklik ideolojisi ile yaşam doyumunun doğrudan ve anlamlı bir şekilde ilişkili olmadığını göstermektedir. Ancak, erkeklik ideolojisi ve yaşam doyumu, cinsiyet rolü çatışmasının aracı rolü ile dolaylı ilişkilidir. Ayrıca, bu modelde cinsel yönelim düzenleyici bir rol oynamaktadır. Bu nedenle, mevcut çalışmanın ana hipotezi bu bulgular aracılığıyla doğrulanmıştır. Erkeklik ideolojisini daha fazla içselleştiren heteroseksüel, gay ve

biseksüel erkeklerin daha fazla cinsiyet rol çatışması yaşadığı ve buna bağlı olarak daha az yaşam doyumuna sahip olduğu bulunmuştur. Sonuçlar ilgili literatür bulguları ile tartışılmıştır. Ayrıca mevcut çalışmanın olası sınırlılıkları, ileri çalışmalar için araştırma ve özellikle önlemeye yönelik uygulamaya yönelik önerilerle paylaşılmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Erkeklik ideolojisi, cinsiyet rol çatışması, yaşam doyumunu, cinsel yönelim, düzenleyici-aracı analiz



To my mother & father...

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Ezgi Toplu-Demirtaş. With her knowledge and experience, she added a lot to me as I finished this thesis. She was also always supportive and motivating. I am very happy and lucky to have started and finished this thesis with her.

I would also like to thank my jury members Beril Türkoğlu and Sena Cüre Acer for accepting to be on my jury and for their valuable comments.

I would also like to thank Birkan Bayram, who has always been by my side for his support and belief, and Elif Hazal İnce, who is with me with her joy and friendship.

Finally, I would like to thank my beloved family for being with me throughout this process. Your support means a lot to me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZ.....	vi
DEDICATION.....	xiii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	x
LIST OF TABLES.....	xv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xvi
CHAPTER 1.....	1
1.INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Masculinity.....	1
1.1.1. Trait Perspectives.....	2
1.1.2. Normative Perspectives.....	3

1.1.3. Hegemonic Masculinity.....	5
1.1.4. Precarious Manhood.....	6
1.1.5. Masculinity Studies in Turkey.....	7
1.1.6. Masculinity and Homophobia.....	9
1.1.7. Psychoanalytic Perspective of Masculinity.....	12
1.1.8. Importance of Masculinity from Clinical Perspective.....	15
1.2. Gender Role Conflict.....	17
1.3. Life Satisfaction.....	22
1.4. The Present Study.....	25
1.5. The Importance of the Present Study.....	26
1.6. The Summary of Introduction.....	29
2. METHOD.....	30
2.1. Research Design.....	30
2.2. Participants.....	30
2.3. Data Collection Procedure.....	33

2.4. Instruments.....	34
2.4.1. Demographic Information Forms.....	34
2.4.2. Life Satisfaction Scale (LSS).....	34
2.4.3. Masculinity Ideology Scale (MIS).....	35
2.4.4. Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS).....	37
2.5. Description of Variables.....	38
2.6. Data Analysis.....	40
3. RESULTS.....	42
3.1. Preliminary Analyses.....	42
3.1.1. Assumption Checks.....	42
3.1.2. Data Screening.....	43
3.1.3. Sample Size.....	43
3.1.4. Missing Data.....	43
3.1.5. Influential Outliers.....	43
3.1.6. Normality.....	44

3.1.7. Linearity and Homoscedasticity.....	45
3.1.8. Multicollinearity.....	45
3.1.9. Correlation Analysis.....	46
3.2. Primary Analysis.....	47
3.2.1. Moderator Mediation Analysis.....	47
4. DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS.....	51
4.1. Discussion of Hypothesis.....	51
4.2. Implications for Theory and Clinical Psychology.....	57
4.3 Limitations.....	59
4.4. Recommendations for Further Research.....	60
5.REFERENCES.....	64
6.APPENDICES.....	83

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1. Demographic Characteristics of the Sample.....	32
Table 2.2. Operational Definitions of the Variables.....	40
Table 3.1. Minimum and Maximum Values and Number of Cases for Z-Scores.....	44
Table 3.2. Cronbach Alphas, Mean Values, and Standard Deviations and Correlations among Study Variables.....	47
Table 3.3. Model Summary for the Association between Masculinity Ideology and Life Satisfaction Through Gender Role Conflict by Sexual Orientation.....	49
Table 3.4. Conditional Indirect Effects of Masculinity Ideology on Life Satisfaction Through Gender Role Conflict with Sexual Orientation as Moderator.....	50

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1. Gender role conflict model.....	20
Figure 1.2. Gender role conflict mediating the relationship between masculinity ideology and life satisfaction.....	26



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Masculinity studies have started to become popular in previous years, and masculinity is an important notion for men's life. Masculinity restricts people's life since it contains gender role norms. In the following section, masculinity is explained from different perspectives. Like feminist movements, masculinity has also become a movement since, like gender role norms, masculinity limits all people without a gender difference. On the other hand, individuals' psychic world is not generalized. Gender role norms expect all different people to maintain all duties in the same way. However, people can not obey these gender norms precisely because of their uniqueness. As a result, any kind of conflict in our inner world is inevitable. Gender role conflict is particularly selected to be examined for this study. Moreover, this conflict is related to many problems in our life, and these problems are related to individuals' life satisfaction. Before discussing masculinity's relations with our problems, the introduction first aims to sum up masculinity's diversity, definition, and manners.

1.1. Masculinity

Masculinity is an extensive notion in the literature. Although masculinity has been studied in sociology, social psychology, or philosophy, Connel (1995) also

explained masculinity with Freud's psychoanalytic theory. This notion was tried to be explained by both social psychological and psychoanalytic perspectives in the current study, but the psychoanalytic perspective was presented later.

Masculinity studies began after the feminism movement because people who studied feminism also searched for women's subordinations by patriarchal codes in society. Joseph Pleck and Jack Sawyer (1974) contributed to "Men and Masculinities" work in the light of this trend. After this study, masculinity studies have been investigated through many approaches and generations.

Masculinity has various definitions. For example, masculinity was defined as a set of performances that alternate between acting or not acting out the expectations of the traditional masculinity ideology within the framework of social norms (Connell, 1985). It was challenging to define masculinity since masculinity comprises different parts like possessing masculine characteristics, masculine identity, and other masculine norms. These are crucial to be accepted as a man by society, so all these parts should be taken together (Bozok, 2011). Masculinity notion also has many branches which examine masculinity from different perspectives.

However, in a general way, there were two theoretical approaches to masculinity. They were trait perspectives and normative perspectives (Thompson, Pleck, & Ferrera, 1992).

1.1.1. Trait Perspectives

Trait perspectives are based on gender role theory, and according to this theory, cultures define some behaviors and personality traits as feminine or masculine

(Connel, 2005). While feminine traits are dedicated to women, masculine traits are ascribed to men (Spence & Helmreich, 1978). Men are defined with some characteristics like powerful, cool, strong, independent, active, and aggressive. Besides, women are identified as emotional, dependent, sensitive, passive, and compassionate (Ellis & Bentler, 1973). Men who have more masculine traits than feminine traits are indicated as 'masculine.' On the other hand, women with more feminine characteristics are defined as 'feminine.' (Spence & Helmreich, 1978). Until Bem's sex role inventory, masculinity and femininity attributes were seen as opposite notions, which means if a man were defined as 'masculine,' he could not have a 'feminine' trait.

However, in 1974, the androgyny notion was found (Bem, 1974). Androgyny refers that gender roles are not opposed to each other so that individuals can have feminine, masculine, or neutral characteristics. Bem (1974) specified 20 masculine, 20 feminine, and 20 neutral traits in the Sex-Role Inventory.

Many studies focused on sex roles and gender stereotypes among these years, and all these adjectives and characteristics created trait perspectives. According to this perspective, the amount of possessions of masculine traits a man has makes him more different from a woman. However, biological features and social aspects could not be evaluated separately, and researchers emphasized the role of social and ideological issues in masculinity, so normative perspectives became a topic (Ok, 2012).

1.1.2. Normative Perspectives

While trait perspectives define masculinity by biology or some traits, normative perspectives define masculinity as an ideology (Thompson, Pleck, & Ferrera, 1992). Normative perspectives indicate what *should* men do (or women). These necessities are constructed by society, so masculinity means a social situation defined as a set of performances of traditional masculinity ideology (Connel, 1995). Moreover, the masculinity ideology specifies the ideal man in society and determines how a man should be, act, or think (Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993). The level of internalization of masculinity ideology makes a man a 'traditional man'.

The distinction between trait perspective and normative perspective is that trait perspective reflects gender orientation and roles, but normative perspective comprises gender ideology (Brannon, 1976).

Later studies evaluated masculinity more holistically. That means masculinity was assessed by both traits and ideology since gender norms were identified by various social constructions like school, family, or interrelations (Connel, 2005). While these gender norms were identified by the society, researchers also tried to classify some necessities of 'being a man. To illustrate, Brandon and Juni (1984) defined four themes: what men should do and not do for men to be a man. Avoiding feminine behaviors was determined as a way of 'being a man. After that, status and competition came followingly. These themes were also examined by Thampson and Pleck (1987) as a way of accepted masculinity norms by society. That means being a man requires avoiding femininity, being competitive, and looking for status in society.

At this point, Connel (1995) found out hegemonic masculinity notion as a new concept to evaluate how do different men specify an ideal man.

1.1.3. Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity is a type of masculinity, and it refers to male authority over women in patriarchal relationships (Connell, 1985). This concept was discussed firstly in *Ockers and disco-maniacs* in 1982. Hegemonic masculinity represents the most honored and respected way of being a man, and it legitimizes subordinating both women and other men. To illustrate, men who can be defined as English-speaking, rational, and authoritative hold power through hegemonic masculinity in society (Kimmel, 2010). In Turkey, hegemonic masculinity indicates being heterosexual, having status to protect his wife and family, and internalizing traditions (Altunpolat, 2009). Men who have these needs of hegemonic masculinity made certain their dominance over other groups.

According to Connell (1998), hegemonic masculinity was constructed in the relation of dominance over subordinate men as well as women. Subordinate men were also defined as whose gender practices were odd with hegemonic understanding (Connell, 1995: 78-9). To illustrate, gay men's masculinities are also figured in subordinate masculinity, and Connell (1998) explained gender inequality in society through hegemonic masculinity. In addition, women and men whose sexual or social practices were odd with hegemonic understanding were forced to obey hegemonic men and their rules. As mentioned above, men who have some characteristics of hegemonic masculinity provide dominance over women and other men. However, subordinate men and hegemonic masculinity relationships will be explained in the 'the Masculinity and Homophobia' section more detailed.

1.1.4. Precarious Manhood

Precarious manhood is a theory developed by Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, and Weaver (2008). According to this theory, to make manhood stable, men should have some achieving lifetime. In the case of facing failures in necessities of manhood, men also face losing their status and masculinity. Moreover, the probability of losing manhood and the unstableness of maintaining this manhood creates anxiety among men, so precarious manhood was explained in this way (Vandello et al., 2008).

Precarious manhood (PM) evaluated manhood as proof-based, and society plays a critical role in assessing these proofs and specifying the necessities of manhood. Bosson and Vandello (2013) studied categorizing these behaviors and understanding this conceptualization of manhood. For example, in many tribes, men were circumcised, hunted an animal, and fought with other men to prove their manhood. On the contrary, womanhood was perceived more biologically, like menstruation or giving birth compared to manhood. Also, womanhood did not depend on achieving and passing these stages, and society did not expect these behavioral proofs from women (Gilmore, 1990). Manhood is seen as a more hard-won social status, and it creates anxiety because of its' necessities, uncertainty, lost threat (Vandello et al., 2008).

Vandello and colleagues (2008) conducted another study and found that men whose fake 'femininity' points were higher than others faced stronger anxiety and the threat of losing their manhood. In many developing and underdeveloped countries, the

necessities of being a man were dictated to men by society. For example, there are also some rituals of being a man in Turkey, like doing military service, being a father, or getting married (Sancar, 2009).

Moreover, according to literature, men who perceived a threat of losing their manhood show many negative outcomes. For example, men felt threatened by using a hand cream that smells more 'feminine, and these men played gambling in a riskier way (Weaver, Vandello, & Bosson, 2013).

In literature, behaving in a 'feminine' way is perceived as a threat by men because of society's standardized masculinity and manhood understandings. For example, men who read a fashion magazine or danced perceived more threat, and they were afraid of being perceived as gay by others (Bosson, Prewitt-Freilino, & Taylor, 2005). As mentioned above, being 'masculine' or maintaining precarious manhood requires avoiding femininity. However, Bem (1974) also indicated that masculinity and femininity were not opposite, and people may have 'masculine,' 'feminine,' or neutral features or characteristics. On the other hand, societies expect men not to behave in a 'feminine' way.

1.1.5. Masculinity Studies in Turkey

Masculinity notion is a relatively new topic in Turkey, but this notion is crucial for our country since 'manhood' and 'being masculine' are expected from men in society. First studies focused on some adjectives which are related to manhood and masculinity. To illustrate, Kandiyoti (1978) developed an inventory that indicates 22 adjectives.

In addition, Sakallı-Uğurlu, Türkoğlu, and Kuzlak (2018) studied the definition of masculinity and femininity notions in Turkey, and they found that masculinity defined through some adjectives like jealous, rude, selfish, and ambitious. In Turkey, masculinity role norms also include some adjectives which are similar to other countries' variables. For example, femininity avoidance and toughness are valid for men in Turkey to clarify masculinity role norms. Moreover, these norms created conflict in men's lives (Lease, Çiftçi, Demir, & Boyraz, 2009). In Turkey, being a man requires many duties like having sexual intercourse, doing military service, getting married, finding a job, and being circumcised (Sancar, 2009). All these duties create crises among men (Barutçu, 2013). Sancar (2009) also remarked that losing a job was perceived as losing manhood in Turkey. Similarly, Türkoğlu (2013b) stated that finding a job provides prestige among men in Turkey.

Another study focused on how men learn and live their manhood in Turkey, so researchers asked men, 'when did you feel that you are a man for the first time?'. Most of the answers were 'I always feel' (38.45%). Following these answers were given: 'When I am circumcised,' 'During military service,' and 'In first sexual intercourse' (Bolak-Boratav, Okman-Fişek, & Ziya-Eslen, 2014).

In Turkey, masculinity studies also focused on exploring masculinity's relationship with violence towards women. Türkoğlu (2013) revealed that masculinity ideology predicts perceiving threat among men, and as the threat increases, physical violence towards women also increases.

Lease (2013) examined a study that compares men's conformity to masculinity role norms among men who live in Turkey, America, and Norway. According to her

findings, men who live in Turkey internalized these norms above the average. It shows that masculinity is a crucial notion for our country as well.

In Turkish literature, conforming masculine gender role norms and marital satisfaction were studied together. For example, Kalkan and Odacı (2017) found a significant negative relationship between the internalization of masculinity and marital satisfaction. Nevertheless, men's life satisfaction was not studied from masculinity and gender role conflict perspectives.

Besides, masculinity studies in Turkey mostly involve heterosexual men. Sakallı and Türkoğlu (2019) also indicated the fewness of studies that contains LGBTI+ people. Anderson and Koc (2015) emphasize that there are hardly any positive attitudes toward gay men in Turkey, so these concepts are needed to be studied together to understand why people still have these attitudes. Similarly, another study indicated that the manhood notion does not include homosexuality in Turkey (Erol & Özbay, 2012). Moreover, men whose sexual orientations are different from heterosexuality were perceived as a threat to society's role norms (Sakallı, 2002). Besides, Türkoğlu and Sayılan (2021) revealed that people who internalize masculinity ideology also have negative emotions toward trans women with the mediator role of femmephobia in Turkey. That means internalization of masculinity ideology leads to femininity phobia, and as a result of that, more negative attitudes stroke up towards LGBTI+ people. In Turkish and international literature, studies of masculinity among LGBT+ people are significantly fewer compared to heterosexuals.

1.1.6. Masculinity and Homophobia

Although masculinity is a relatively new concept, why LGBT+ people were not be included in these studies is a mystery. In this section, this question will be tried to be answered.

In the Freudian model, for men, masculinity was constructed through identification with their father and counter-identification with their mother. As a result of this process, gender identity was shaped through sexual orientation. While boys were identifying with their fathers, they were also directed to understand sexuality was livable with only women. This stage provides boys to start being man and masculine (Lewes, 1988).

The secret of American masculinity was indicated as ‘Men were afraid of other men’ (Kimmel, 2013). However, this fear was based on perceived as ‘gay’ by other men. Men try to prove their manhood by escaping from ‘homosexuality’ and ‘femininity.’ According to Nelson (2009), homophobia means the fear of being or being perceived as homosexual. Necessities of being masculine require being heterosexual and homophobic according to traditional masculinity understanding, so men approve homophobic beliefs to be a man (1998). Homophobic attitudes also exist among homosexual men. To illustrate, a man whose sexual role is ‘aktif’ (the penetrator) asserts that he represents masculinity role norms while a man whose sexual role is ‘pasif’ (bottom) is seen as feminine. Consequently, the man, whose sexual role is bottom, faces homophobic and hostile attitudes (Murray, 2000).

In Turkey, being a man requires having a family and being the head of the family, as indicated above (Boratav, Fişek, & Ziya, 2014). On the other hand, these masculinity norms are also valid for homosexual men while they do not have a legal

right to have a family. Consequently, not conforming to masculinity norms also might cause exclusion from masculinity literature.

Leverenz (1984) indicated that men who want to humiliate other men would say ‘sissy, or molly.’ In Turkey, these words are also used by people as ‘hanım evladı.’ The fear of being perceived as ‘hanım evladı’ or ‘molly’ dominates cultural masculinity definitions, and this fear starts in the early stages of life. To illustrate, Rotundo (1993) wrote that boys were afraid of not being masculine among other boys. Kimmel (2013) mentioned an anecdote: Kimmel and his friend went to a children’s park and asked boys one question. After this question, boys started to fight, and this question was ‘who is the molly?’. Besides, a boy was chosen as ‘molly,’ and this boy started to fight with other boys to prove that he was not ‘molly.’ This case shows that avoiding femininity and fear of being perceived as not masculine starts in childhood.

Kimmel (2013) also emphasized that when he asked his students that ‘how can you understand that a man’s sexual orientation gay or not?’, his students began to list some stereotypic feminine behaviors like ‘they walk, speak, or behave in a certain way.’ Moreover, when he asked people ‘how you can understand that a man’s sexual orientation heterosexual?’, they started to answer as ‘never wear, speak, or walk in that way or never be emotional.’

In this context, homophobia is related to being perceived as gay, and men tried to internalize or obey traditional masculinity rules because of that fear. Moreover, their ‘do not walk, speak or wear like that’ answers are the definition of masculinity ideology.

Masculinity notion refers to being heterosexual and avoiding femininity in literature. That is why men who have different sexual orientations from heterosexuality were excluded from masculinity studies. On the contrary, this study focused on masculinity ideology and contained men who indicated their sexual orientation as heterosexual, gay, or bisexual.

1.1.7. Psychoanalytic Perspective of Masculinity

As mentioned above, masculinity has been defined and categorized in many ways. However, psychoanalytic perspective and masculinity are inseparable whole. To illustrate, while Connel (1998) created the hegemonic masculinity concept, he also indicated that he read Freud's contributions and writings. Moreover, Connel also emphasized the importance of psychology on masculinity notion when he was a teenager.

Besides, Freud and Piaget's studies also affected Connel's doctoral research, titled *The child's construction of politics* (1966-1969). Connel was interested in the repression notion because its' creation occurs by conforming to society and family environment (Connell 1983a, p. 9). That means society, traditions, or learning from family play a crucial role in our personality, so masculinity concepts should be discussed in psychology discipline, as well.

Freud's understandings help us to understand the inner process of the creation of masculinity. Moreover, he did not evaluate the inner world and society separately. Freud developed a unique opinion about the formation of the unconscious with a

gendered identity called Oedipal conflict (Minsky, 1998). When children were at 3-5 ages, boys fantasized about having their mother's love and eliminating their father, who was a rival for them. Concurrently, they realized the sexual difference, and this difference was making through having or not having a penis (Minsky, 1998). After the realization, boys feel guilt and anxiety about losing their penis to their father. The fear of losing the penis is called castration anxiety. Castration anxiety is a symbolic process since children start to identify with their father to get rid of their anxiety. Boys think that if they become like their father, their father does not harm them. In addition, they start to internalize culturally masculine representation of who their father is, so they commence repressing all phantasies and characteristics which are against masculinity norms.

On the contrary, the amount of castration anxiety also specifies identification direction for boys. To illustrate, when the castration anxiety was so much, a boy may create an identification with his mother to eliminate his anxiety (Lewes, 1988). Freud explained this situation as the creation of homosexual desires, but this opinion about homosexuality is supported hardly today. However, the most essential indications of Freud's theory are as follows:

1. Freud explains the internalization of traditional masculinity norms through identification with the father. This opinion is critical for the acceptance of masculinity ideology and its' necessities as an inner way.
2. He also comprises that femininity avoidance is a critical structural part of masculinity ideology. Femininity avoidance starts by internalizing counter-identification with the mother. While the boy tries to escape from anxiety

through identification with his father, he should also deny the femininity inside him to resemble his father more. As a result of that, boys' feminine side is exposed to repression.

Femininity avoidance became an important topic among other psychodynamic theorists. To illustrate, men's main problems were described as femininity complex among men by Boehm (1930). Moreover, denial of femininity (Horney, 1932) and efforts to repress femininity (Freud, 1937) were also seen as problematic issues in men's life. As a result, the role of the psyche is crucial to understand masculinity and femininity avoidance since most of these issues were internalized and repressed during early childhood. While these memories were repressed, the unconscious was formed in a gendered way. For example, the heterosexual relationship was normalized and internalized for children.

Besides, little Hans is known as the famous case of Freud. The case of Hans was not only examined from a psychoanalytic perspective but also from being a boy in the psychoanalytic concept. This means that a boy's unconscious is explored in this study and his fears as a boy in psychoanalytic theory. According to Corbett (2017), masculinity does not consist of only interior or only exterior processes. In addition to that, it does not depend on only inner phantasies or only society. That means society determines what makes a boy a boy, what a boy fears, what does that boy desires. On the contrary, the boy should not verbalize gender binary. Through these necessities, masculinity norms are introjected to the boy and reinforced by their parents. With internalization, masculinity formed psychic and intellectual reality, so it becomes identity (Corbett 2017).

With the explanation of these points, masculinity ideology refers to a more complex notion, and it contains both the social background of masculinity and the inner process of internalization of that ideology. Freud's Oedipal conflict explains how does masculinity ideology is internalized by men when they are only children. As Freud mentions, the internalization of masculinity started to root at 3 (Minsky, 1988).

As Corbett (2017) indicated, endorsing an ideology shapes people's psyche, characteristics, and identity. This notion was also worked in the clinical area of psychology.

1.1.8. Importance of Masculinity from Clinical Perspective

Masculinity has been explained from both social and psychodynamic perspectives in previous parts. How does masculinity restrict and affect men's life from a clinical perspective will be discussed in this section.

In literature, masculinity is found harmful for men's life. It threatens both the physical and psychological health of men. Firstly, it was emphasized that men adopted riskier and unhealthy lifestyles. They smoke, drink alcohol, drive fast more than women (Powell-Griner, Anderson, & Murphy, 1997). Traditional masculinity norms require some dangerous and unhealthy behaviors from men, and society reinforces these behaviors. Masculinity and these adverse health behaviors were found significantly correlated (O'Neil, 2012). Moreover, Martin (1995) indicated that men felt pressure from society to behave in a riskier way since men were defined as strong and independent. These adjectives are related to men's health, and men should also

prove their manhood through health-related behaviors. To illustrate, hegemonic masculinity, which shapes ideal men, also denies the vulnerability and weaknesses of being a man. Doing risky sports, not going to the doctor, or refusing to use sun cream represents masculinity. Courtenay (1998) indicated that men used sun cream less than women and their skin cancer rates were higher than women as twice. Getting ill or receiving treatment was perceived as reducing masculinity (Charmaz, 1995).

On the other hand, according to hegemonic masculinity, men in the subordinate group also try to show their masculinity and prove their manhood. For example, although a gay man played football for years to feel more manly, he explained that he hated it (Fellows, 1998). In addition, gay men refused to use condoms to obey dominant masculinity norms, and their rates of catching AIDS increased for years (Valocchi & Levine, 1999).

Masculinity also affects individuals' mental health. Men tried to hide their symptoms and denied their illnesses because of masculinity norms in society (Oliffe & Phillips, 2008). Men faced emotion regulation problems because of the restrictive emotionality of masculinity ideology. Moreover, emotions and emotion regulation notions were linked with femininity and womanhood among men (Brody & Hall, 2010). For example, in Turkey, it is still said that 'erkekler ağlamaz' (Boys don't cry). Jakupcak, Salters, Gratz, & Roemer (2003) indicated that men feared feeling positive emotions, and they tried to suppress all these emotions. This suppression process predicted symptoms of depression in literature (Seidler, Dawes, Rice, Oliffe, & Dhillon, 2016). Masculinity was also significantly correlated with psychological inflexibility, which predicted anxiety disorders (Bylsma, Morris, & Rottenberg, 2008).

On the other hand, men who conform to masculinity norms showed less help-seeking attitudes (Seidler, Dawes, Rice, Oliffe, & Dhillon, 2016). Although they faced psychological problems, seeking help was perceived as inappropriate behavior (Heath, Seidman, Vogel, Cornish, & Wade, 2017). While men try to mask their symptoms and resist treatment, they also lost their chance to improve their well-being and quality of life.

From the therapists' perspective, masculinity ideology and traditional masculinity norms should also be considered. Male therapists were raised in gendered societies as well. Masculinity was also linked with homophobia and sexism, as indicated in past sections. The therapist needed to recognize his bias, stereotypic beliefs, and homophobia (Kimmel, 2000). Moreover, while male clients are seen as psychologically healthy, therapists should always keep in mind that they may suffer from anxiety, depression, or other psychological disorders (Courtenay, 2000).

As indicated above, masculinity is also essential from a clinical perspective. It is linked to men's psychological and physical health, psychopathologies, and help-seeking behaviors. Moreover, therapists should also be aware of the impacts of masculinity on men's lives.

Masculinity ideology was evaluated with gender role conflict for the current study since the internalization of masculinity ideology may create some conflicts among men's lives (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1993). In the following section, gender role conflict was explained from different points.

1.2. Gender Role Conflict

Gender role conflict topic was not in the literature until the late '70s. However, the consequences of maintaining gender roles and its' effects on men's psychological problems were studied later. Gender role conflict was defined as a psychological state caused by gender roles and negatively affected people. In addition, individuals may suffer from gender role conflict when they live in sexist societies, and societies' gender roles are rigid (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995).

Gender roles are directly related to the restrictiveness of men's life. To illustrate, men's psychological problems and their relations with gender roles were studied by Betz and Fitzgerald (1993). Gender role conflict (GRC) was also added in counseling psychology by them. Turkey is a country where gender roles are rigid and distinct, so GRC is an important topic for people who live in Turkey.

GRC theoretically was based on gender role strain theory and masculinity ideology. Gender role strain theory was developed by Pleck (1995). According to the literature, gender role strain has three main components: discrepancy strain, dysfunction strain, and trauma strain. Discrepancy strain remarks that gender roles are stereotypical, defined by society, and people try to conform at different levels. Besides, nonconformity to these norms causes negative results for individuals (Pleck, 1995). Trauma strain drew attention to men's traumas related to maintaining gender roles like not having a father or separation from mother during childhood (Levant, 1995). Dysfunction strain indicates when a man conforms to masculinity ideology but could not perform its' necessities properly. As a result, dysfunction strain induces some problems in men's lives (Pleck, 1995).

The internalization of masculinity ideology is also related to face with GRC, which damages men's life (Mahalik, 1999). To illustrate, breaking masculinity role norms may cause faces with GRC (Levant, Hirsch, Celentano, Cozza, Hill, & MacEachern, 1992). Sánchez, Westefeld, Liu, and Vilain (2010) revealed that gay men faced GRC since they were perceived as ruining masculinity norms and ideals. Another research shows that gay men are also faced with devaluation by other men because of their sexual orientation (O'Neil & Egan, 1992). These results indicated that men whose sexual orientation is different from heterosexuality also suffer from GRC. Their sexual orientations are perceived as a threat to traditional masculinity norms in society.

On the other hand, Eslen-Ziya and Koc (2016) emphasized that when a gay man internalized traditional masculinity norms, he also internalized a heteronormative approach, so he tried to hide his 'gayness.' Consequently, it is expected that his GRC might be more stressful than heterosexuals.

In addition, when a man makes an effort to meet the necessities of masculinity ideology, this man may also face GRC since he may fail to meet its' necessities (Garnets & Pleck, 1979). Society may devaluate these men because they failed in meeting masculinity norms, so the possibility of facing GRC also increases (O'Neil, 1981b). To sum up, masculinity ideology and GRC are found significantly related in literature.

To briefing GRC components, O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, and Wrightsman (1986) developed a GRC model. In this model, four main components of GRC were shown, which were the conflict between work and family, restrictive emotionality,

success, power and competition, and restrictive affectionate relationship between men (O’Neil et al., 1986). These components also become a pioneer in creating a gender role conflict scale used in the current study. Moreover, in the center of this model, masculinity ideology and avoiding femininity were located. The fear of femininity in masculinity ideology was discussed in the masculinity section, so femininity avoidance, masculinity ideology, and GRC are related to each other theoretically. Figure 1.1 shows that how GRC shapes and affects men’s lives through theoretical implications.

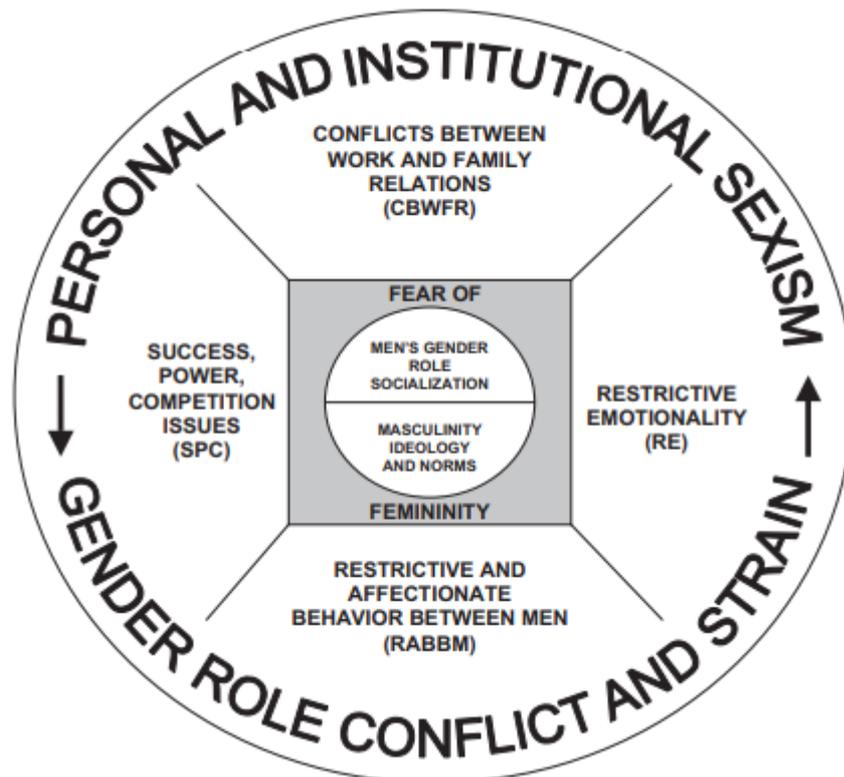


Figure 1.1: Gender role conflict model (O’Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995)

GRC causes many psychological outcomes like unconscious, behavioral or affective problems, and these problems were categorized to be more understandable. According to the unconscious domain, our gender role dynamics are not at the conscious level. When a conflict occurs, individuals are affected unconsciously in various ways (O'Neil et al., 1986).

GRC is also added therapeutic context in literature. To illustrate, Hayes and Mahalik (2000) found that GRC is significantly correlated with compulsiveness, paranoia, and psychological distress. Male clients whose restrictive emotionality scores high did not show help-seeking attitudes and did not create therapeutic bonds with their therapists (Cusack, Deane, Wilson, & Ciarrochi, 2006). From therapists' perspective, male therapists whose restrictive and affectionate behavior scores higher reported more negative feelings toward male clients (Hayes, 1985). In addition, it was revealed that men whose GRC scores higher use more immature defenses like denial or isolation (Mahalik, Cournoyer, DeFranc, Cherry, & Napolitano, 1998). Eventually, GRC was studied in the clinical psychology area as well.

Although GRC affects men's careers, family, and health directly (O'Neil, 1981a), there are also other variables that have a significant relationship with GRC in literature. These variables were exemplified as race, sexual orientation, or religion.

Firstly, GRC studies have been conducted at the international level since this conflict is not experienced only among American men. To illustrate, GRC was significantly correlated with lower self-esteem in young African American men (Lily, 1999) and higher depression among older African American men (Laurent, 1998).

Besides, higher-level machismo and restrictive emotionality among Latino men predicted lots of stress (Fragosa & Kashubeck, 2000).

GRC was also examined among gay men, but the studies are limited. GRC was significantly correlated with depression and anxiety among gay men (Simonsen, Blazina, & Watkins, 2000). In addition, GRC also predicted less relationship satisfaction (Wester, Pionke, & Vogel, 2005) and less psychological well-being in gay men (Ervin, 2003). Some studies found that heterosexual men show significantly more restrictive emotionality, success, power, and competition than gay men (Naranjo, 2001). In literature, it was also emphasized that gay men reported similar adverse outcomes as well as heterosexual men, but heterosexual men were exposed to GRC more than gay men (Van Hylte & Rabinowitz, 2001). In the light of these findings, sexual orientation was significantly related to GRC in literature. However, findings in the literature are not consistent with each other.

In addition, these results did not indicate a clear understanding of masculinity ideology, gender role conflict, and sexual orientation relationships. For example, it is not clear how men whose sexual orientation is not heterosexual internalize masculinity ideology when compared with heterosexual men. Besides, how does the internalization of masculinity ideology relate to GRC between different sexual orientations is still unanswered?

1.3. Life Satisfaction

Life satisfaction is defined as “a global evaluation by the person of his or her life” (Pavot, Diener, Colvin & Sandvik, 1991, p.150). Life satisfaction reflects a

cognitive assessment in an individuals' life, and this assessment is done through a set of standards (Pavot & Diener, 2009). These standards can be exemplified as gender, age, marital status, self-esteem, psychological or physical health. To illustrate, older people reported lower life satisfaction than younger people (Suh, Choi, Lee, Cha, & Jo, 2012). Another research emphasized that a higher level of income also predicted higher life satisfaction (Diener & Suh, 1998).

Both gender role norms and GRC are related to life satisfaction. As Sakallı and Türkoğlu (2019) indicated, gender role norms restricted persons' life in various ways. However, masculinity ideology and life satisfaction relationship has not extensively been examined in the literature. Instead, consequences of internalization masculinity role norms were studied with life satisfaction variables like well-being or self-esteem. For example, Griffiths, Murray, and Touyz (2015) found that with the increasing internalization of masculinity role norms, the prevalence of eating disorders also increased. Moreover, men whose machismo levels higher than others showed lower self-esteem (Neff, Prihoda & Hoppe, 1991). To sum up, the restricting and peremptory rules of society about gender roles predicted adverse outcomes among people like stress, anxiety, and psychological problems (Wester, Vogel, O'Neil & Danforth, 2012). Additively, it may be expected that while masculinity norms relate to life satisfaction variables, they may also relate to life satisfaction.

Besides, in literature, there are also contrary findings in the case of masculinity and life satisfaction. For example, Yim and Mahalingam (2006) indicated that a higher level of machismo was related to higher life satisfaction among Indian men. Contrarily, masculinity ideology was also significantly associated with poor mental health (Wong,

Ho, Wang, & Miller, 2017). Because of the contradictory findings in the literature, the current study aimed to utilize gender role conflict as a mediator of the relationship between masculinity ideology and life satisfaction.

There are many significant findings of negative outcomes of GRC on men's life and psychology. For example, Kim, Choi, Ha, and O'Neil (2006) and Magovcevic and Addis (2005) revealed a significant relationship between GRC and depression. Besides, Hayes and Mahalik (2000) and Kratzner (2003) indicated a significant positive correlation between men's GRC and anxiety and stress levels. As shown in the GRC section, GRC has some components like restrictive emotionality, restrictive and affectionate behavior between men, and conflicts between work and family relations. These components also were found related to poorer psychological well-being (Sharpe, & Heppener, 1991). O'Neil (2008) also indicated that men who have a higher level of GRC suffer from lower self-esteem, higher anxiety, and depression.

Besides, a higher level of gender role conflict ruined men's coping methods, and their functioning about coping spoiled (Strom, 2004). Pleck (1995) also emphasized that gender role conflict predicted lower marital satisfaction, higher marital conflict, homophobia, and violence toward women. In light of these findings, GRC and life satisfaction seem related in literature since GRC and many variables that affect life satisfaction are significantly correlated.

Although the studies mentioned earlier about GRC and masculinity ideology mostly focus on negative outcomes in people's lives, the current study examined masculinity ideology and GRC, with a more positive variable: life satisfaction. Life satisfaction contains poor well-being, psychological or physical problems, inner

conflicts, etc., in people's life. Therefore, it is an extensive notion. Understanding the relationship between these variables might be a useful first step for Turkish literature and give a chance to other researchers to study with variables that are subbranches of life satisfaction. The model created in this study is unique in the literature.

Moreover, masculinity and its' relations are explored mostly among heterosexual men, as indicated. On the other hand, how gay and bisexual men internalize masculinity ideology and how the internalization of masculinity ideology related to life satisfaction with the mediator effect of gender role conflict is unclear in the literature. As Sakallı and Türkoğlu (2019) emphasized, masculinity and GRC studies should increase, and these studies should also contain other men whose sexual orientation is different from heterosexual men, especially in Turkey.

1.4. The Present Study

With considering all the findings in the existing literature, the current study hypothesizes that

Hypothesis 1 (HP1): There will be a positive relationship between masculinity ideology and gender role conflict.

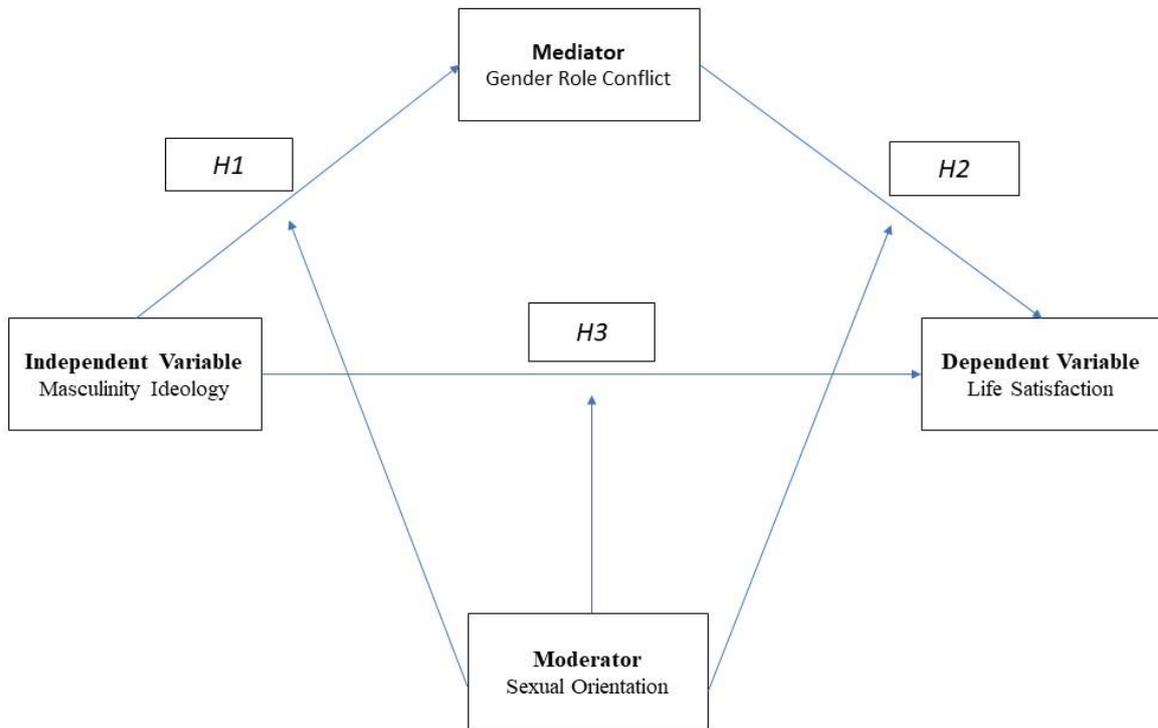
Hypothesis 2 (HP2): There will be a negative relationship between gender role conflict and life satisfaction.

Hypothesis 3 (HP3): There will be a negative relationship between masculinity ideology and life satisfaction.

Hypothesis 4 (HP4): Higher masculinity ideology will be related to lower life satisfaction indirectly through higher gender role conflict.

Hypothesis 5 (HP5): Sexual orientation will moderate the indirect relationship between masculinity ideology and life satisfaction with the mediator role of gender role conflict. Figure 1.2 shows a diagram that explains these hypotheses.

Figure 1.2. Gender role conflict mediating the relationship between masculinity ideology and life satisfaction.



1.5. The Importance of the Present Study

The present study will become a pioneer study in Turkey to understand masculinity ideology and life satisfaction relationships among men. As indicated

above, traditional masculinity norms and masculinity ideology restrict men's life in different areas. To illustrate, masculinity is significantly related to men's physical and psychological health in the literature (O'Neil, 2012). However, there are also opposite findings in the literature. For example, a higher level of machismo predicted higher life satisfaction among Indian men (Yim & Mahalingam, 2006). Masculinity and its' relations with men's lives depend on culture, so this relationship should be examined in Turkey as well. However, the relationship between masculinity ideology and life satisfaction has not been studied in Turkey yet. For this reason, the study's findings are thought to be a significant attempt to understand men's life satisfaction level in the case of internalization of masculinity ideology.

Moreover, this study uses gender role conflict as a mediator in this relationship. As Sakallı and Türkoğlu (2019) indicated, masculinity ideology should be studied with gender role conflict in Turkey since there are many possibilities when men internalize masculinity ideology. Although a man internalized masculinity ideology, he may not suffer from this internalization. There are several possibilities that predict this situation. Firstly, a man may admit characteristics of masculinity norms in society. Secondly, his sexual orientation may not odd with heterosexuality which is normalized in society. Finally, he may not fail to meet the necessities of masculinity ideology. As a result, the internalization of masculinity ideology may not be problematic for him and his life satisfaction. However, there may be other men whose sexual orientation is different from heterosexuality, who have failed to meet the necessities of masculinity ideology and do not want to conform to traditional masculinity norms. In this case, it is expected that internalization or not internalization of masculinity ideology may be

problematic for these men because of gender role conflict. That's why masculinity ideology and life satisfaction relationship will be examined through the mediator role of gender role conflict.

On the other hand, there are also some studies about the relationship of men whose sexual orientation is different from heterosexuality and their approaches to masculinity. To illustrate, while some gay men internalized masculinity ideology and tried to conform to these norms, others did not (Fellows, 1996). Besides, how does gender role conflict play a role in masculine ideology and life satisfaction is not clear. If a gay man internalizes masculinity ideology in Turkey, how does he face gender role conflict? Moreover, how does their gender role conflict relate to their life satisfaction? To give these answers, sexual orientation is chosen as the moderator variable for this study. Therefore, including gays and bisexuals, along with heterosexuals, is crucial for both masculinity literature and Turkish literature.

Finally, this study also provides a comparison between heterosexual, gay, and bisexual men. This comparison will also show how much gays and bisexuals internalize the ideology of masculinity compared to heterosexual men, how much they are exposed to gender role conflict compared to heterosexual men, and how their life satisfaction relates to this model.

When considered together, unraveling the relationship between these variables and life satisfaction is critical since life satisfaction is crucial for clinical psychology. Although life satisfaction was studied as an outcome in many studies, it also predicts serious health problems (Pavot & Diener, 2008). Life satisfaction is evaluated as a cornerstone of psychological construct, and lower life satisfaction indicates lower

well-being in youths and adults (Bear & Minke, 2006). As a result, the findings of this study may supply insights in promoting the wellbeing and preventing psychological symptoms of men.

1.6. Summary of Introduction

Masculinity ideology is a comprehensive notion in literature because it both contains men's social background and internalization process. Therefore, masculinity ideology is selected as the independent variable for this study. Gender role conflict depends on masculinity ideology theoretically. Additively, masculinity ideology predicts gender role conflict among men. The conflict which men face also affects men's lives in a various way as explained above. These variables are related to life satisfaction in literature. As a result of that, life satisfaction is selected as the dependent variable for the present study. It is also expected that gender role conflict will mediate this relationship between masculinity ideology and life satisfaction. Finally, sexual orientation is chosen as the moderator variable since the studies about masculinity, gender role conflict, and life satisfaction does not include men adequately whose sexual orientation is different. Therefore, the current study intends to fill this gap by adding moderation of sexual orientation into the mediation model.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

In the method chapter, methodological procedures were presented. This chapter started with research design. After that, the current study sample was introduced, and the psychometric properties of the measures were examined. Following, the data collection procedure was explained, and data analysis of the study was discussed. Finally, variables were operationalized, and the limitations of the study were discussed.

2.1. Research Design

The aim of the current study was to research the relationships between masculinity ideology and life satisfaction with the gender role conflict as a mediator and sexual orientation as a moderator. According to the purpose of the study, correlational research was designed. Correlational research analyzes the associations between variables, and in these studies, researchers do not attempt to manipulate variables (Fraenkel, Wallen, & Huyn, 2012). In the current study, a moderated mediation was employed as the primary analysis.

2.2. Participants

Data were collected from 245 participants (202 men, 27 women, 16 queers, and three others) by a package of questionnaires via an online survey. However, the target of this study was men, so data of women, queers, and others were eliminated. Three of the male participants' age was under 18 years old, and four of the male participants' sexual orientation was defined as 'other,' so these participants were also eliminated. In final, the study comprised of 195 men, and the main analysis included men's data only. Considering the participants' sexual orientation, 53 men are gay, 14 men are bisexual, 128 men are heterosexual, and four men define their sexual orientation as 'others.' For this study, people who defined their sexual orientation as gay and bisexual will be treated as one group and people who defined their sexual orientation as heterosexual will be treated as the other group because sexual orientation is the moderator of the analysis. Participants' age ranged from 18 to 42, with a mean of 25.39 ($SD = 3.53$). Moreover, most of the participants are from metropolis like İstanbul ($n = 76, 32\%$) and Ankara ($n = 52, 25\%$).

According to participants' education level, most participants graduated from university ($n = 108, 55.4\%$). This is followed by high school ($n = 52, 26.7\%$), and postgraduate ($n = 29, 14.9\%$). A huge majority of participants ($n = 108$) answered that 'I was in a relationship before, but now it is not' (55.4%). Moreover, participants ($n = 62$) answered that 'I have a monogamous relationship' (31.8%), others answered that 'I have a polygamous relationship' ($n = 14, 7.2\%$) and 'I've never had a relationship until now' ($n = 11, 5.6\%$). Marital status as 'single' was reported by 188 participants (96.4%), while four participants reported that they were 'married' (2.1%). Three of them reported their marital status as 'others' (1.5%). Concerning the working status of

participants, it seems that 74 of participants choose that they do not work (37.9%). Among the employees, some of participants' salary is above 6.000 Turkish liras ($n = 51$, 26.2%), others' salary is among 3.000-6.000 TL ($n = 45$, 23.1%), and below 3.000 TL ($n = 25$, 12.8%).

Table 2.1. Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Variables	Frequency <i>n</i>	Percentage %	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range
Age			25.39	3.53	18-42
Participants' sexual orientation					
Heterosexual	128	65.6			
Gay	53	27.1			
Bisexual	14	7.2			
Others	4	2.05			
Grade level					
University	114	58.5			
High school	52	26.7			
Post-graduate	29	14.9			
Relationship status					
I was in a relationship before, but now it is not.	108	55.4			
I have a monogamous relationship.	62	31.8			
I have a polygamous relationship.	14	7.2			
I've never had a relationship until now	11	5.6			
Marital status					
Single	188	96.4			
Married	4	2.1			
Others	3	1.5			
Salary range					
0	74	37.9			
0-3.000	25	12.8			
3.000-6.000	45	23.1			
6.000+	51	26.2			

2.3. Data Collection Procedure

First of all, the approval of the Clinical Research Ethics Committee in Bahçeşehir University (BAU) was granted. The survey was created through Google Forms, and all participants took the test online by the link that <https://forms.gle/5ZeNt6L1Ustnh4bh9>. The link of the survey was delivered through Facebook, Instagram, and e-mails. These social media tools like Instagram provided the potential participants to reach and join the survey. Moreover, this survey was also disseminated among some Facebook groups. Participants were informed about the purpose of the study by informed consent. Moreover, there were questions right after informed consent, which query participants' voluntary attendance and assigned sex. Participants' gender identity was asked participants before they took the survey. If they choose apart from the men option, the survey was ended before it started to save participants' time. Participants who define themselves as the man joined the study, and from this point, I call them 'man' because of their declarations of gender identity. After they accepted to participate study voluntarily and reported their gender identity as man, they took three scales and a demographic form, which are given below in order. Finally, the participant took a debriefing form which explained the detailed aim of the study. After participants finished the survey, their answers were sent to the data folder. This folder was kept in Google Drive to preserve confidentiality and anonymity and to prevent data loss. I also asked for their suggestions and comments and provided my communication addresses for their concerns and questions.

2.4. Instruments

After they reported that their gender identity was a man and accepted that they voluntarily participate in this study, three different scales were given to participants. These scales were given in the order of the Life Satisfaction Scale (LSS) (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985), Masculinity Ideology Scale (MIS) (Türkoğlu, 2019), and Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS) (O'Neil et al., 1986). The LSS has many translation variations in Turkish, but for this study, Bekmezci and Mert's (2018) version was used since values of Cronbach alpha were higher than other Turkish versions. The MIS was developed by Türkoğlu (2019) originally in Turkish. The GRCS translated into Turkish by Lease, Çiftçi, Demir, and Boyraz (2009).

2.4.1. Demographic Information Form

To collect participants' demographic characteristics, a demographic information form was constituted. It included some questions like participants' age, assigned sex, sexual orientation, grade level, relationship status, marital status, and cities where they lived.

2.4.2. Life Satisfaction Scale (LSS)

The LSS was used to determine participants' satisfaction with their life. This scale was developed by Diener, Emmons, Larsen, and Griffin (1985) and translated into Turkish by Bekmezci and Mert (2018). This scale consists of one factor and five

questions. The LSS is a 7-point Likert scale (1= I don't agree at all, 7= I totally agree). The total score was calculated by taking the sum of the items and dividing the sum by the number of items. Higher scores reflected more life satisfaction.

Confirmatory factor analysis was conducted for the LSS, and results showed that the LSS has construct validity for the Turkish version as well. Comparative fit index (CFI) was .978. Incremental fit index (IFI) was found .978 and Normed fit index (NFI) as .972.

The internal consistencies of the English version of this scale ranged between .66 and .87, while the scale's Turkish version internal consistency was found .87. It was indicated that internal consistency values of the life satisfaction scale are adequate to use. (Meydan & Şeşen, 2011). The coefficient alpha was found in this study as .84

2.4.3. Masculinity Ideology Scale (MIS)

To assess participants' masculinity ideology, the MIS was used for this study. This scale was developed by Türkoğlu originally in Turkish in her thesis (2019). This scale has 23 items and four factors: the Head of the Family, Dominance, Emotional Restriction, and Femininity Avoidance. The Head of the Family factor (6 items) measures the idea that men's duties about the protection of their families, staying strong for them, and behaving like an adult (e.g., "A man should earn enough money to maintain a family"). If a participant gets higher points from this factor, it shows that the participants' idea is to support the necessity of being head of the family. The Dominance factor (6 items) emphasizes that men are granted status and their

dominance over women in society (e.g., “Men can run a company better than women”). Higher scores from this factor mean support dominance over women. The Emotional Restriction factor (5 items) measures men’s unfreedom to express their emotions (e.g., “I would find it inappropriate if I see a man crying”). Participants’ higher scores from this factor show that their restricted expression of emotionality. Finally, the Femininity Avoidance (6 items) factor is about how men should get away from femininity, feminine look, and feminine behaviors (e.g., “A man behaving feminine make me uncomfortable”). Higher points from this factor support the idea that men should not be feminine. The MIS is a 6-point Likert scale, and items were rated from 1 (totally disagree) to 6 (totally agree).

After taking the average of the factors, the MIS scores of the individuals were obtained as a result of summing these scores. Higher scores reflected more adherence to masculinity ideology.

Confirmatory factor analysis was conducted for the MIS, and results showed that it had satisfactory construct validity. The Head of Family, Dominance, Emotional Restriction, and Femininity Avoidance subfactors explained 43.20%, 8.11%, 3.47%, and 3.3% of the variances, respectively. Moreover, criterion-related validity values of factors were also enough. The correlations among the subfactors varied between .51 and .66 ($p < .001$).

Türkoğlu (2019) indicated that the masculinity ideology scale internally consistent, and the reliability of factors were as follows; the Head of the Family .90, Emotional Restriction .82, Femininity Avoidance .88, Dominance.89 (Türkoğlu, 2019). The coefficient alpha in this study was .92 for the whole scale.

2.4.4. Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS)

For this study, participants' conflict about their gender roles was assessed by the Gender Role Conflict Scale. The GRCS was developed by O'Neil et al. (1986) and translated into Turkish by Lease, Çiftçi, Demir, and Boyraz (2009). The GRCS consist of 37 items and four factors which are the Success, Power, and Competition (13 items, e.g., I like to feel that I am superior to other people); Restrictive Emotionality (10 items, e.g., I don't like to show people my feelings); Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men (8 items, e.g., Being too friendly with other men bothers me); and Conflicts between Work and Family Relations (6 items, e.g., The need to devote time to my work or lessons keeps me from family or entertainment more than I want). The Success, Power, and Competition factor measures men's competition with other men to gain success and status. Higher scores from this factor indicate men's comparison themselves with others. The Restrictive Emotionality is about men's limitation about showing and sharing their feeling with other people. This restriction may be imposed by both societies and by themselves. Higher scores from this factor show higher restriction from the point of showing emotions. The Restrictive affectionate behavior between men factor is about relationships between men. For some reason, men may not have affectionate behaviors like hugging or having intimate relationships with other men. This factor measures the discomfort in these relationships, and higher scores indicate more discomfort in man-to-man friendships. Finally, the conflict between work and family relationship factor emphasizes the difficulties about finding

time to spend with men's family and consuming too much time for their works, so higher scores from this factor show more conflict between their family and careers.

The GRCS is a 6-point Likert scale, and participants were rated questions from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). After taking the average of the factors, the MIS scores of the individuals were obtained as a result of summing these scores. Higher scores from the GRCS reflect higher gender role conflict.

Confirmatory factor analysis was conducted for the GRCS, and results indicate that it has construct validity in for Turkish version as well. The non normed fit index (NNFI) was ranged between .93 and .95 for GRCS. The comparative fit index (CFI) was ranged between .94 and .96. The goodness-of-fit index was ranged between .86 and .95. Finally, the adjusted goodness-of-fit index (AGFT) was ranged between .82 and .93 for GRCS. These values indicated that the Turkish version of GRCS has construct validity.

The test-retest reliability of this scale ranged from .72 to .86 in the English version. In the Turkish version, for the Status, Power, and Competition, the values ranged from .72 to .80; for the Restrictive Emotionality from .58 to .76; for the Restrictive Affectionate behavior between men .61 to .75, and for the Conflict between Work and Family Relationship factor from .65 to .75. The coefficient alpha in this study was .91.

2.5. Description of the Variables

The variables of the study were defined and operationalized in this section. The current research explores the relationship between masculinity ideology and life satisfaction with gender role conflict as a mediator of the relationship and sexual orientation as a moderator of the mediation. Variables were examined under four categories; dependent variable (life satisfaction), moderator variable (sexual orientation), mediator variable (gender role conflict), and independent variable (masculinity ideology).

Masculinity ideology was defined as ‘‘How boys and men should or should not act, think, or feel, as expressed in the commonly heard exhortation ‘‘Boys don’t cry.’’ (Levant & McCurdy, 2017, p.1114). Masculinity ideology was measured by the 23-item Masculinity Ideology Scale. Table 2.2. shows operational definitions of the variable.

Gender role conflict was defined as ‘‘a psychological state in which socialized gender roles have negative consequences on the person or others’’ (O’Neil, 2015, p.53). Gender role conflict was measured by the 37-items Gender Role Conflict Scale.

Life satisfaction was defined as ‘‘a global evaluation by the person of his or her life’’ (Pavot, Diener, Colvin & Sandvik, 1991, p.150). Life satisfaction was measured by the five-item Life Satisfaction Scale.

The sexual orientation variable was defined as the moderator variable. *The sexual orientation* of participants was measured by a single question which is ‘What is your sexual orientation?’ The answers as heterosexual and gay and bisexual were coded as 1 for heterosexual and 2 for gay and bisexuals.

Table 2.2. Operational Definitions of the Variables

Variable	Scale	Description	Range
Independent Variable Masculinity Ideology	Masculinity Ideology Scale	23 items; 6 points	Continuous; min-max = 0-24
Mediator Variable Gender Role Conflict	Gender Role Conflict Scale	37 items; 7 points	Continuous; min-max = 0-26
Dependent Variable Life Satisfaction	Life Satisfaction Scale	5 items; 7 points	Continuous; min-max = 0-35
Moderator Variable Sexual Orientation	Sexual Orientation		Nominal; 1 = heterosexual 2 = gay & bisexual

2.6. Data Analysis

The study aimed to investigate the relationship between masculinity ideology and life satisfaction. In the study, gender role conflict was defined as a mediator and sexual orientation as a moderator. For this purpose, a moderated mediation was used to test the proposed model. I used PROCESS v3.5 by Andrew F. Hayes (model 59) to test the proposed model. Up to that point, the required preliminary analyses, including assumption checks, were carried out, which started with data screening. After the data screening, sample size, outliers, missing data, normality, linearity, homoscedasticity, and multicollinearity were checked using SPSS. Normality assumptions were tested as univariate (rather than multivariate) since the PROCESS assumes multivariate

normality via bootstrapping set as 5.000. I checked the univariate normality assumption for the correlation analysis as preliminary to moderated mediation. Before that, descriptive statistics via SPSS were run to identify the demographic information of participants. Finally, findings from these procedures were evaluated.



CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Results of the study were presented as preliminary and primary in this chapter. The preliminary analyses include assumption checking such as data screening, missing data, sample size, outliers, normality, linearity and homoscedasticity, and multicollinearity, and correlation analyses. Following this, a moderated mediation analysis was demonstrated.

3.1. Preliminary Analyses

In this part, analyses for assumption checking and correlations were conducted, and the results were given below.

3.1.1. Assumption Checks

Assumption checking is vital both in pre-analysis, such as correlational analysis and primary statistical analyses. The assumption checking was started with data screening.

3.1.2. Data Screening

The researcher first evaluated data accuracy by inspecting maximum and minimum values for data accuracy, despite the fact that the data screened were downloaded from Google forms rather than manually entered. There were no errors found. Negatively worded items were then reversed as part of the data screening process, and the data was prepared for the assumption checks.

3.1.3. Sample Size

The sample size was determined via statistical analysis. The G*Power software tool (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) was utilized based on the number of predictors on the research model. In Hayes model 59, the number of predictors is four; one dependent, independent, mediator, and moderator. Required sample size calculated by Cohen's (1988) small effect size level ($d = 0.15$), a moderate significance level ($\alpha = 0.05$), and power requirement of 0.80. The sample size of this study (195) was adequate according to mentioned criterion.

3.1.4. Missing Data

For this study, missing data was not an issue because there is no incomplete data.

3.1.5. Influential Outliers

Influential outliers, which are defined as an extreme value on one variable or a bizarre combination of scores, were assessed by SPSS.23. The standardized z scores, which exceed the range between +3.29 and -3.29 ($p < .001$, two-tailed test) (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007), were used to detect outliers. An outlier was found for the gender role conflict variable. Table 3.1. shows the outlier's minimum and maximum values of z scores. Because of the small sample size, the outlier was not deleted.

Table 3.1. *Minimum and Maximum Values and Number of Cases for Z-Scores (N=195)*

Z score	Min	Max	# of cases
Zscore(Gender Role Conflict)	-2.35	3.65	1
Zscore(Masculinity Ideology)	-1.65	2.99	-
Zscore(Life Satisfaction)	-2.35	2.14	-

3.1.6. Normality

The indexes of skewness (symmetry of the distribution) and kurtosis (peakedness of the distribution) were examined for univariate normality via SPSS.23. The indexes were -.136 for skewness and -.534 for kurtosis for life satisfaction. The indexes were .778 for skewness and -.067 for kurtosis for masculinity ideology. Finally, the indexes were .604 for skewness and .694 for kurtosis for gender role conflict.

According to skewness and kurtosis values given above of variables, the following inferences can be made; life satisfaction appeared to be distributed normally, but both masculinity ideology and gender role conflict seemed positively skewed, so their distribution mildly deviated from normality.

3.1.7. Linearity and Homoscedasticity

Scatterplots assessed the linearity assumption and homoscedasticity assumption. According to graphical evaluation, pairs of scatterplots are homogeneously distributed among variables. Moreover, they ended in linear associations. These graphs show that both linearity and homoscedasticity assumptions were met.

3.1.8. Multicollinearity

Univariate multicollinearity assumptions were checked by SPSS.23. For univariate multicollinearity, some factors were explored, such as the variance inflation factors (VIF), tolerance values, condition index (CI), and variance proportion (VP). In the case of exceeding the cutoff value of .80 (Stevens, 2002) or .90 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007), multicollinearity can be mentioned.

The highest value for VIF was 1.799. This score is below the standard cutoff value of 5. According to values of tolerance, the highest value is .72, and the lowest value is .55. In literature, values close to zero are problematic. However, there is no problematic tolerance value at this point. According to these values, no

multicollinearity was found. Furthermore, the inspection of the correlation table (please see Table 4.2) indicated no correlation values higher than .480. Therefore, all the evidence implies that multicollinearity is not present in the current dataset.

3.1.9. Correlation Analysis

Table 3.2. shows the correlations among variables that were used in the moderated mediation analysis. Association from masculinity ideology to life satisfaction was not significant $r = .08, p > .05$. However, there are many significant associations. Firstly, gender role conflict is significantly and negatively related to life satisfaction ($r = -.17, p < .05$); that is, men who face more gender role conflict have lower life satisfaction. Moreover, gender role conflict is also positively related to masculinity ideology ($r = .42, p < .01$), which means men with stronger masculinity ideology experience higher gender role conflict. Finally, sexual orientation was significantly and negatively related to masculinity ideology ($r = -.48, p < .01$), which indicates that men who report their sexual orientation as gay or bisexual interiorize masculinity ideology less than men who defined their sexual orientation as heterosexual.

Table 3.2. *Cronbach Alphas, Mean Values, and Standard Deviations and Correlations among Study Variables.*

Variables	1.	2.	3.	4.	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>α</i>
1. Life satisfaction	1.00	.081	-.178*	-.095	21.08	5.55	.84
2. Masculinity ideology		1.00	.424**	-.487**	9.66	3.43	.92
3. Gender role conflict			1.00	-.027	12.30	3.09	.91
4. Sexual orientation				1.00	1.34	.47	-

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed).

3.2. Primary Analysis

Moderated mediation analysis was conducted to assess the hypotheses in this section.

3.2.1. Moderator Mediation Analysis

The moderated-mediation analysis tested contained two models. In the first model, the outcome variable is gender role conflict, and in the second model, the outcome variable is life satisfaction. In the first model, gender role conflict was regressed on masculinity ideology, sexual orientation, and their interactions. The second model includes regression of life satisfaction on masculinity ideology, gender role conflict, and sexual orientation and the interactions such as masculinity ideology*sexual orientation and gender role conflict*sexual orientation. To sum up, the conditional effect of sexual orientation (1 = heterosexual men and 2 = gay and bisexual men) was tested on each path in the model.

For gender role conflict as the outcome, the first model was significant $F(3, 195) = 24.768, p = .000$. Masculine ideology, sexual orientation, and masculine ideology and sexual orientation interaction explained 28% of the variance in gender role conflict. Masculinity ideology did not predict gender role conflict, $\beta = -.3154, t(195) = -1.4806, 95\%$ confidence interval (CI) = $[-.7356, .1048]$. Sexual orientation predicted gender role conflict, $\beta = -3.958, t(195) = -2.6964, 95\%$ confidence interval (CI) = $[-6.854, -1.062]$. Moreover, masculinity ideology*sexual orientation was also significant in estimating gender role conflict, $\beta = .6950, t(195) = 3.9316, 95\%$ confidence interval (CI) = $[.3463, 1.0438]$. When we look at the conditional effect, moderation of sexual orientation on masculinity ideology was significant for both heterosexual men and gay and bisexual men. Moreover, in the model, the effect of moderation is greater for gay and bisexual men ($\beta = 1.074, 95\%$ CI = $[.753, 1.396]$) than heterosexual men ($\beta = .379, 95\%$ confidence interval (CI) = $[-.244, .515]$).

For life satisfaction as the outcome, the second model was significant $F(5, 195) = 2.610, p = .026$, which means this model predicted life satisfaction significantly. Masculinity ideology could not estimate life satisfaction significantly, $\beta = -.043, t(195) = -.0801, 95\%$ confidence interval (CI) = $[-1.107, 1.021]$, gender role conflict also could not forecast life satisfaction significantly, $\beta = -.152, t(195) = -.3416, 95\%$ confidence interval (CI) = $[-1.034, .729]$. In model, life satisfaction could not be predicted by sexual orientation as well, $\beta = .444, t(195) = .125, 95\%$ confidence interval (CI) = $[-6.564, 7.452]$. Moreover, masculinity ideology and sexual orientation interaction were not significant. Gender role conflict and sexual orientation interactions were not also significant.

Table 3.3. *Model Summary for the Association between Masculinity Ideology and Life Satisfaction Through Gender Role Conflict by Sexual Orientation.*

Variables	β	SE	Boot LLCI	Boot ULCI
Dependent Life satisfaction				
Model 1: Outcome = Gender Role Conflict				
Masculinity Ideology	-.3154	.2130	-.7356	.1048
Sexual Orientation***	-3.958	1.468	-6.854	-1.062
MIS*Sexual Orientation***	.6950	.1768	.3463	1.043
$R^2 = .280, F(3, 195) = 24.768, p = .000$				
Model 2: Outcome = Life Satisfaction				
Masculinity Ideology	-.043	.539	-1.107	1.021
Gender Role Conflict	-.152	.447	-1.034	.729
Sexual Orientation	.444	3.553	-6.564	7.452
MIS*Sexual Orientation	.301	.465	-.6174	1.220
GRC*Sexual Orientation	-.240	.0319	-.869	.389
$R^2 = .064, F(5, 195) = 2.610, p = .026$				

Note. LLCI = lower limit confidence interval; ULCI = upper limit confidence interval. * $p < .05$. $p^{**} < .01$. $p^{***} = .000$. MIS = masculinity ideology; GRC: gender role conflict.

The direct effect of masculinity ideology on life satisfaction were not significant for both heterosexual ($\beta = .258, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-.051, .568]$) and gay and bisexual men ($\beta = .560, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-.305, 1.425]$). On the other hand, the indirect effect was found significant for both heterosexual ($\beta = -.149, 95\% \text{ confidence interval (CI)}$

= [-.295, -.022]) and gay and bisexual men ($\beta = -.680$, 95% confidence interval (CI) = [-1.363, -.037]). That means men who held stronger masculinity ideology experienced greater gender role conflict and thus tended to be less satisfied with life. This significance was valid for heterosexual and gay and bisexual men but higher on behalf of gays and bisexuals. As the direct effect from masculine ideology to life satisfaction was significant, the indirect effect was also significant.

Table 3.4. *Conditional Indirect Effects of Masculinity Ideology on Life Satisfaction Through Gender Role Conflict with Sexual Orientation as Moderator.*

Indirect Paths	β	Boot SE	Boot LLCI	Boot ULCI
Masculinity ideology → gender role conflict → life satisfaction				
Heterosexual men	-.149	.069	-.2951	-.022
Gay and bisexual men	-.680	.340	-1.363	-.037

Note. Reported BC intervals are the bias-corrected 95% CI of estimates resulting from bootstrap analysis; 5,000 bootstrapped samples. LLCI = lower limit confidence interval; ULCI = upper limit confidence interval; CI = confidence interval.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

The fourth chapter contains three parts. In the first part, the hypotheses of the present study are discussed, and contributions to the literature are identified. In the second part, the current study's implications for clinical psychology are considered. In the last section, further study recommendations are presented.

4.1. Discussion of Hypothesis

The current study expected that there would be a positive relationship between masculinity ideology and gender role conflict (HP1). Results showed that masculinity ideology did not correlate with gender role conflict in the model of the present study.

This finding is not coherent with the literature. To illustrate, in literature, Mahalik (1999) indicated that masculinity ideology and GRC significantly correlated. Moreover, Garnets and Pleck (1979) mentioned that men who internalized masculinity ideology tried to meet the necessities' of masculinity ideology, so their GRC increased. These studies show that the current study's finding of an insignificant relationship between masculinity ideology and GRC did not parallel the literature. Moreover, although the interaction of masculinity ideology and sexual orientation is significant

in the present study, there are different findings in the literature about GRC and sexual orientation. To illustrate, a study emphasized that heterosexual men were exposed to GRC more than gay men (Van Hyfte & Rabinowitz, 2001). Moreover, Naranjo (2001) found that heterosexuals suffered from success, power, and competition, which is a component of GRC as compared with gay men. However, other studies indicated that men whose sexual orientations are different from heterosexuality experienced GRC more. For example, Ervin (2003) revealed that GRC predicted less psychological well-being in gay men than heterosexual men. However, the present study did not disclose a significant difference between men whose sexual orientations are different, which may be explained as cultural nuances. Turkey might be a sexist country for both heterosexual and gay and bisexual men.

In addition, culture could be another explanation of insignificance between masculinity ideology and gender role conflict. While literature indicated that masculinity ideology predicted gender role conflict, it may not be valid for gendered societies because men could use masculinity according to their profits and social acceptance. As society nourishes masculinity and its' counterfeits, men may be motivated and enjoyed masculinity's necessities. As a result, they may not face gender role conflict.

The present study also expected that there would be a negative relationship between GRC and life satisfaction (HP2). However, results show that there was no significant relationship between GRC and life satisfaction.

In literature, GRC was not be studied with life satisfaction directly. Only one study examined this relationship with the moderator role of perceived racism among

Latino men (Arellano-Morales, Liang, Ruiz, & Rios-Oropeza, 2016). According to their findings, GRC and life satisfaction have a significant relationship with the moderator role of perceived racism. On the other hand, previous studies focused on the relationship between GRC and variables of life satisfaction. To illustrate, GRC found significantly related to poor psychological health (Sharpe & Heppener, 1991). One study emphasized that GRC significantly was correlated with depression (Magovcevic & Addis, 2005). Kratzner (2003) indicated that GRC predicted the stress and anxiety levels of men. While these variables are crucial for predicting life satisfaction, GRC was not significantly correlated with life satisfaction. In addition, the direct relationship between GRC and life satisfaction was not also significant with the moderator role of sexual orientation. In other words, this insignificant finding was evident for both heterosexual and gay and bisexual men.

The reason could be that this study contains men whose sexual orientations are different, who are from different cities, and who have different ages. Because of these factors, the internalization of masculinity ideology may differ for all men. As indicated, as masculinity ideology increases, GRC increases as well because of their significant positive correlation. Therefore, men whose internalization of masculinity ideology level is low may not also suffer from GRC, so their life satisfaction was not related significantly to these variables. In other words, gender conflict might be related to life satisfaction only when GRC is associated with masculinity ideology. Indeed, as explained below, we found evidence supporting this claim.

The current study also expected that masculinity ideology and life satisfaction would be negatively correlated (HP3). However, results showed that there was no

significant correlation between masculinity ideology and life satisfaction. The finding was not in line with the literature. To illustrate, while Gregg (2005) found a significant positive correlation between masculinity and life satisfaction. Similarly, Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, and Tracey (2008) found that masculine chivalry significantly negatively correlated with life satisfaction. However, this study did not find a negative or positive significant relationship between masculinity ideology and life satisfaction. There may be plenty of reasons for this result.

Firstly, masculinity ideology may not be problematic for all men. As indicated in the importance of the current study section, some men may not suffer from the internalization of masculinity ideology since they may have necessities of traditional masculinity norms and meet requirements of masculinity ideology successfully. Moreover, being heterosexual could be a factor of not suffering from internalizing masculinity ideology. In literature, there are also contradictory findings of masculinity and life satisfaction. A study emphasized that a higher level of machismo predicted a higher level of life satisfaction (Yim & Mahalingam, 2006). In addition, Gregg (2005) indicated that masculinity was related to increasing life satisfaction for men.

On the contrary, there are also various studies about traditional masculinity norms and its' negative relationship with life satisfaction and its' variables. For example, Ojeda, Piña-Watson, and Gonzalez (2016) revealed that Mexican American men who internalized traditional gender role norms more reported less well-being. Similarly, Arciniega et al. (2008) demonstrated that masculine chivalry was significantly related to lower life satisfaction. These results indicated that different men from different cultures experienced masculinity differently. For some cultures,

masculinity norms are perceived as beneficial for men, for others are not. It shows that traditional masculinity norms are represented and internalized divergently by the different cultures, and Turkish literature did not provide adequate information about these topics.

Secondly, life satisfaction is an extensive notion in literature. It depends on many variables like age, marital status, self-esteem, psychological or physical health (Suh et al., 2012). Therefore, life satisfaction might not be predicted through a single variable.

Finally, although different notions about masculinity were studied with life satisfaction in literature, masculinity ideology has not been studied with life satisfaction in Turkey before. There are many related variables about masculinity like machismo, hegemonic masculinity, etc., and all these variables may affect different relationship levels and directions with life satisfaction. As a result that, masculinity ideology might not be significantly related to life satisfaction in Turkey.

Considering contradictory findings in the literature and the extensiveness of life satisfaction, not finding a relationship between masculinity ideology and life satisfaction is not surprising. Furthermore, in our culture, the association between masculine ideology and life satisfaction may be mediated or mediated by some other factors. That is why gender role conflict was selected as the mediator variable for the current study.

The present study expected that masculinity ideology will indirectly relate to lower life satisfaction through GRC (HP4). The results of the current study confirmed the fourth hypothesis of this study. That means men who had higher masculinity

ideology also had lower life satisfaction because of their experience of more GRC. As indicated above, masculinity ideology was not significantly related to life satisfaction directly. However, when GRC was added as a mediator, this relationship became significantly related through the mediator effect. Furthermore, GRC was not directly correlated to life satisfaction. However, when operated with masculinity ideology, the direct association appeared as significant for both heterosexual and gay and bisexual men.

By confirming HP4, the model created for the current study became meaningful. Moreover, a possible answer was given to discordant findings of masculinity and life satisfaction relationship in literature. This relationship is mediated by GRC significantly. As Mahalik, Locke, Ludlow, Diemer, Scott, Gottfried (2003) indicated, masculinity ideology and GRC might be two variables operating together in their relationship with life satisfaction.

The current model was studied for the first time. It was hypothesized that sexual orientation would moderate the indirect relationship between masculinity ideology and life satisfaction with the mediator role of gender role conflict (HP5). The results revealed that sexual orientation only moderated the direct relationship between masculine ideology and GRC. Moreover, sexual orientation significantly moderated the indirect effect (HP4) in the model. That means all men might face GRC when they internalized masculinity ideology, so their life satisfaction might decrease as a consequence. This model is valid without making a difference from the point of sexual orientation. In literature, it was emphasized that although men have different sexual orientations, they may internalize masculinity ideology at different levels (Fellows,

1996). That means the internalization of masculinity ideology did not discriminate in favor of sexual orientation. Moreover, Taywaditep (2001) mentioned that gay men also showed sexist or homophobic attitudes because they internalized traditional masculinity ideology. Because of these attitudes of gay men, it was also expected that all men might experience GRC for different reasons. As a result of these, our findings were parallel with the literature.

4.2. Implications for Theory and Clinical Psychology

Many theories about masculinity ideology like precarious manhood or hegemonic masculinity indicate that they restrict men's lives. The present study unraveled that higher masculinity ideology contributed to lower life satisfaction via greater GRC, which was evident in straights, gays, and bisexuals. Theoretical approaches have approved the role of masculinity on men's lives negatively through the current study's findings. Besides, the relationship between masculinity ideology and GRC was also revealed for men who live in Turkey by the present study. As Sakallı and Türkoğlu (2019) indicated, understanding this relationship is meaningful and important for men's lives. Therefore, filling this gap in the Turkish literature is an important implication for masculinity theories.

In addition, this study also indicated the significance of sexual orientation in masculinity theories. When gay and bisexual men internalize masculine ideology, their conflict increases, and thus life satisfaction decreases as their heterosexual

counterparts. This finding extended the theories of masculinity ideology like precarious manhood or hegemonic masculinity to men other than heterosexuals.

These findings are very crucial for the clinical area as well. Firstly, it was revealed that men who internalized masculinity ideology and experienced GRC also had lower life satisfaction. Life satisfaction is an important notion for clinical psychology since it predicts many psychological health problems (Pavot & Diener, 2008) and well-being among men's life (Huebner et al., 2006). To increase men's life satisfaction, masculinity studies might be enlarged, and masculinity may be worked through workshops or group works with a preventive approach. For example, through masculinity workshops, men's awareness about the burdens of masculinity may be raised. While most of them perceive masculinity as a beneficial notion for their lives, these workshops give them a chance to face the real struggles of internalizing masculinity ideology. With increasing awareness of masculinity's burdens, their GRC might decrease, and their life satisfaction might increase. As indicated above, increasing life satisfaction of men also prevents serious problems like poor mental health or psychopathologies in their lives because many important variables like psychological problems or deteriorated well-being were significantly linked to life satisfaction in literature. Therefore, increasing life satisfaction means, in a way, preventing these serious issues before they happen. As a result, this study contributes important implications to clinical psychology by showing the relationships of masculinity ideology, GRC, and life satisfaction among men.

From the clinical perspective, this study also offers an explanation of sexual orientation's association with masculinity ideology. Current findings may be helpful

for nongovernmental organizations in Turkey. Most of those organizations provide psychotherapy, counseling, and/or psychosocial support for LGBTI+ people by volunteering psychologists and counselors. Volunteering psychologists may also give seminars in these organizations to increase awareness about the relationship between masculinity ideology and LGBTI+ people. They may also underlie how these ideologies shape people's inner conflicts regarding gender roles through these seminars. Finally, considering these possible conflicts of internalization of masculinity ideology of people may be beneficial for psychologists to conceptualize how to increase their life satisfaction.

4.3. Limitations

The current study surely had some limitations, and the findings should be evaluated accordingly.

Firstly, the data were collected from heterosexual ($n = 128$, %65.6), gay ($n = 53$, %27,1) and bisexual men ($n = 14$). That means, in this study, the number of heterosexual men was higher than gay and bisexual men. Besides, other men who reported that their sexual orientation different from these were not added to the main sample. Besides, not considering gay and bisexual men separately as a moderator may be perceived as a limitation, along with not including “the others,” due to the small sample size.

Secondly, people who reported their gender identity as a man joined the current study. Females and people who declared their gender identity as others (queer,

intersex, etc.) were not allowed to enter the survey. However, we did not measure if the men were cis or gendered, which may be another limitation of the current study.

Thirdly, men participated the study from mostly big cities like İstanbul ($n = 76$, %32) or Ankara ($n = 52$, %25). Collecting the data mostly from big cities was a limitation for this study for sure.

Fourthly, variables which affect life satisfaction are very extensive in literature. In the current study, masculinity ideology was investigated to gender role conflict as a mediator and sexual orientation as a moderator, which may be regarded as a limitation.

The study's design was correlational, and the data were cross-sectional; therefore, one can not assume causal relationships.

Finally, the data were collected conveniently, and participants' age range was between 18-42, with a mean age of 25.39. This implies that participants in the present study were mainly from the young adult population. Therefore, the findings should only be generalized to the younger people with caution.

4.4. Recommendations for Further Research

In this section, several further research suggestions are presented since masculinity still is a flourishing topic in clinical psychology literature in Turkey.

Firstly, this study contained 128 heterosexual men, 53 gay men, and 14 bisexual men. The number of gay and bisexual men might be increased in the following studies. Moreover, further studies may include men whose sexual

orientations different from these three orientations, such as pansexual, asexual, and aromantic, which is highly recommended.

The second recommendation for further research is that this model may be evaluated among people who indicate their gender are not men, such as queer or intersex men. Queer or intersex men also live in Turkey, and masculinity ideology and traditional masculinity norms have been dictated to these people. Moreover, the gender identities of the men were not asked, so we don't know if the men in this research are cis-gendered or trans-gendered. How their (queer, intersex, cis, or trans men) internalization of masculinity ideology and its' relations with their life satisfaction still is a mystery in Turkey.

The third recommendation is that data may be collected from different cities and areas. The current study's data were collected from people mostly in big cities, but masculinity ideology and masculinity norms are more visible in rural areas and small cities in Turkey. Therefore, collecting data from these areas also provides important contributions to masculinity literature in Turkey.

The fourth recommendation is that masculinity ideology may be examined with different variables from life satisfaction as the dependent variable. After the findings of the present study, it was revealed that men who internalized masculinity ideology experienced GRC, and their life satisfaction decreased. Therefore, it can be predicted that some psychological disorders or negative well-being would be related to masculinity ideology in Turkey, as well. Thus, masculinity ideology may be added clinical area more through these further studies.

The fifth recommendation is that although this study created two different groups through participants' sexual orientation (1 = heterosexuals, 2 = gays, and bisexuals), further studies may examine these relationships among three or more different groups created by participants' sexual orientations.

The sixth recommendation is that the design of the current study was correlational, so it does not predict a causal relationship. However, masculinity ideology could also be studied with designs except for the correlational one. For example, Türkoğlu (2019) created an experimental manipulation about losing gender status among men. As she did, masculinity studies may also be examined through experimental design to understand the cause-effect relationship. Furthermore, to establish a causal relationship, a longitudinal design is highly recommended among the current variables of this study.

The seventh recommendation is that data were collected from mostly younger participants with a mean age of 25.39. However, GRC may increase as people get older since society's expectations from men like getting married, finding a job, having a child, etc. Therefore, it will be better to consider the age factor for further studies.

The eighth recommendation is that masculinity ideology may be studied with different mediators like gender role stress or gender role strain for Turkish literature. Problems of internalization of masculinity ideology may operate differently with other mediators.

The final recommendation for further research is that masculinity ideology may be examined in a therapeutic context. This notion may also be searched among male therapists or clients since homophobia, sexism, and disregard of masculinity ideology

are common among men who live in Turkey. Understanding the internalization of masculinity ideology and its' effects on the therapy process could be beneficial for clinical psychology literature in Turkey. On the other hand, masculinity ideology and its' impact on men's life provides an extensive understanding of men's lives. Therefore, examining this notion in a therapeutic context may supply crucial information and insights.



REFERENCES

- Addis, M. E., & Cohane, G. H. (2005). Social scientific paradigms of masculinity and their implications for research and practice in men's mental health. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 61*(6), 633–647. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jclp.20099>
- Altunpolat R (2009). Türkiye’de Hegemonik Erkekliğin Azameti ve Sefaleti Üzerine, KAOSGL, 4 Temmuz. Son erişim tarihi, 30/09/2013
- Anderson, J., & Koc, Y. (2015). Exploring patterns of explicit and implicit anti-gay attitudes in Muslims and Atheists. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 45*(6), 687–701. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2126>
- Arciniega, G. M., Anderson, T. C., Tovar-Blank, Z. G., & Tracey, T. J. G. (2008). Toward a fuller conception of Machismo: Development of a traditional Machismo and Caballerismo Scale. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 55*(1), 19–33. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.55.1.19>
- Arellano-Morales, L., Liang, C. T. H., Ruiz, L., & Rios-Oropeza, E. (2016). Perceived racism, gender role conflict, and life satisfaction among Latino day laborers. *Journal of Latina/O Psychology, 4*(1), 32–42. <https://doi.org/10.1037/lat0000049>
- Balsam, R. (2016). Thirteen ways of looking at a man: Psychoanalysis and masculinity. *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 97*(5), 1439–1444. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-8315.12462>

Barutçu, A. (2013), *Türkiye'de Erkeklik İnşasının Bedensel ve Toplumsal Aşamaları*, (Yayınlanmamış yüksek lisans tezi). Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara.

Bekmezci, M., ve Mert, İ . (2018). Yaşam tatmini ölçeğinin Türkçe geçerlilik ve güvenilirlik çalışması. *Toros Üniversitesi İİSBF Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 5(8), 166–177.

Bem, S. L. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 42(2), 155–162.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/h0036215>

Berke, D. S., Reidy, D., & Zeichner, A. (2018). Masculinity, emotion regulation, and psychopathology: A critical review and integrated model. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 66, 106–116.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2018.01.004>

Betz, N. E., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (1993). Individuality and Diversity: Theory and Research in Counseling Psychology. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 44(1), 343–381. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ps.44.020193.002015>

Boehm, F. (1930). The femininity-complex in men. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 11, 444-469. Retrieved from <http://web.a.ebscohost.com/naomi.fuller.edu:2048/ehost/detail/detail?vid=5&sid=0d2b5171-b6c0-43c2-be0d-12e08a715dfc%40sessionmgr4002&hid=4206&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWwhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=pph&AN=IJP.011.0444>

A

- Boratav, H. B., Fişek, G. O., & Ziya, H. E. (2014). Unpacking masculinities in the context of social change. *Men and Masculinities*, 17(3), 299–324. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184x14539511>
- Bosson, J. K., Prewitt-Freilino, J. L., & Taylor, J. N. (2005). Role rigidity: A problem of identity misclassification? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89(4), 552–565. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.89.4.552>
- Bosson, J. K., Vandello, J. A., Burnaford, R. M., Weaver, J. R., & Arzu Wasti, S. (2009). Precarious manhood and displays of physical aggression. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 35(5), 623–634. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167208331161>
- Bozok, M. (2011). Soru ve Cevaplarla Erkeklikler. İstanbul: Altan Basım.
- Brannon, R. (1976). The male sex role: Our culture's blueprint for manhood and what it's done for us lately. In D. David & R. Brannon (Eds), *The forty-nine percent majority: The male sex role*, (1-49). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Brannon, R., & Juni, S. (1984). A scale for measuring attitudes about masculinity. *Psychological Documents*, 14, 6-7.
- Brody, L. R., & Hall, J. A. (2010). Gender, emotion, and socialization. *Handbook of gender research in psychology* (pp. 429–454). New York: Springer.

- Bylsma, L. M., Morris, B. H., & Rottenberg, J. (2008). A meta-analysis of emotional reactivity in major depressive disorder. *Clinical Psychology Review, 28*(4), 676–691. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2007.10.001>
- Charmaz, K. (1994). Identity Dilemmas of Chronically Ill Men. *The Sociological Quarterly, 35*(2), 269–288. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.1994.tb00410.x>
- Clawson, M. A., & Rotundo, E. A. (1994). American manhood: transformations in masculinity from the revolution to the modern era. *The Journal of American History, 81*(1), 255. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2081043>
- Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences* (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, N.J.: L. Erlbaum Associates.
- Connell, J. H. (1983). On the prevalence and relative importance of interspecific competition: Evidence from field experiments. *The American Naturalist, 122*(5), 661–696. <https://doi.org/10.1086/284165>
- Connell, R. W. (1995, 2005). *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Connell, R. W. (1998). Masculinities and globalization. *Men and Masculinities, 1*(1), 3-23. doi:10.1177/1097184x98001001001
- Connell, R. W. (2005). Globalization, imperialism, and masculinities. *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities, 71-89*. doi:10.4135/9781452233833.n5

- Corbett, K. (2009). Little Hans: Masculinity foretold. *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 78(3), 733-764. doi:10.1002/j.2167-4086.2009.tb00411.x
- Courtenay, W.H. (1998). Better to die than cry: A longitudinal and constructionist study of masculinity and the health risk behaviour of young American men. (University of California at Berkeley). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 59(08A), (Publication number 9902042).
- Courtenay, W. H. (2000). Constructions of masculinity and their influence on men's well-being: a theory of gender and health. *Social Science & Medicine*, 50(10), 1385–1401. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s0277-9536\(99\)00390-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0277-9536(99)00390-1)
- Cusack, J., Deane, F. P., Wilson, C. J., & Ciarrochi, J. (2006). Emotional expression, perceptions of therapy, and help-seeking intentions in men attending therapy services. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 7(2), 69–82. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1524-9220.7.2.69>
- Diener, E., Emmons, R.A., Larsen, R.J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The Satisfaction with Life Scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 49, 71-75.
- Diener, E., & Suh, M. E. (1998). Subjective well-being and age: An international analysis. *Annual Review of Gerontology & Geriatrics*, 17, 304–324.
- E Anthony Rotundo. (2001). *American manhood transformations in masculinity from the Revolution to the modern era*. New York, NY: Basicbooks.

- Edley, N. (2006). Never the Twain Shall meet: A critical appraisal of the combination of discourse and psychoanalytic theory in studies of men and masculinity. *Sex Roles*, 55(9-10), 601–608. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-006-9116-x>
- Ellis, L. J., & Bentler, P. M. (1973). Traditional sex-determined role standards and sex stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 25(1), 28–34. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0034262>
- Erol, M. & Özbay, C. (2012). “I haven’t died yet: Navigating masculinity, aging, and andropause in Turkey.” In aging men: Masculinities and modern medicine, edited by A. Kampf, B. Marshall and A. Petersen, 45–68. London: Routledge.
- Ervin, A. M. (2003). Male gender role conflict and internalized homonegativity: The impact of gay men’s psychological well-being (Doctoral dissertation, University of Memphis, 2003). Dissertation Abstracts International, 65, 3704.
- Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Lang, A.-G., & Buchner, A. (2007). G*Power 3: A flexible statistical power analysis program for the social, behavioral, and biomedical sciences. *Behavior Research Methods*, 39, 175-191.
- Fellows, W. (1998). *Farm boys: Lives of gay men from the rural Midwest*. Madison, Wisc: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Fraenkel, J., Wallen, N., & Hyun, H. (8th ed). (2012). *How to design and evaluate research in education*. New York: McGraw-Hill

- Fragoso, J. M., & Kashubeck, S. (2000). Machismo, gender role conflict, and mental health in Mexican American men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 1(2), 87–97. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1524-9220.1.2.87>
- Freud, S. (1971). On transformations of instinct as exemplified in anal EROTISM (1917). *PsycEXTRA Dataset*. doi:10.1037/e417472005-405
- Garnets, L., & Pleck, J. H. (1979). Sex role identity, androgyny, and sex role transcendence: A sex role strain analysis. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 3(3), 270–283. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1979.tb00545.x>
- Gilmore, D. D. (1990). *Manhood in the making: Cultural concepts of masculinity*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press.
- Griffiths, S., Murray, S. B., & Touyz, S. (2015). Extending the masculinity hypothesis: An investigation of gender role conformity, body dissatisfaction, and disordered eating in young heterosexual men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 16(1), 108–114. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035958>
- Hayes, M. M. (1985). Counselor sex-role values and effects on attitudes toward and treatment of non-traditional male clients (Doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1985). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 45, 3072.
- Hayes, J. A., & Mahalik, J. R. (2000). Gender role conflict and psychological distress in male counseling center clients. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 1(2), 116–125. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1524-9220.1.2.116>

- Heath, P. J., Seidman, A. J., Vogel, D. L., Cornish, M. A., & Wade, N. G. (2017). Help-seeking stigma among men in the military: The interaction of restrictive emotionality and distress. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 18*(3), 193–197. <https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000111>
- Nelson, T.D. (2009). (Ed.). *Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Horney, K. (1926). The flight from womanhood. En N. Burke (Ed). *Gender and Envy* (pp 27-37). New York, USA: Routledge.
- Bear, G. G., & Minke, K. M. (2006). *Children's needs III: Development, prevention, and intervention*. Bethesda, MD: National Association of School Psychologists.
- Hunt, C. J., Fasoli, F., Carnaghi, A., & Cadinu, M. (2016). Masculine self-presentation and distancing from femininity in gay men: An experimental examination of the role of masculinity threat. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 17*(1), 108–112. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039545>
- Jakupcak, M., Salters, K., Gratz, K. L., & Roemer, L. (2003). Masculinity and emotionality: An investigation of men's primary and secondary emotional responding. *Sex Roles, 49*, 111–120.
- Jefferson, T. (2002). Subordinating hegemonic masculinity. *Theoretical Criminology, 6*(1), 63–88. <https://doi.org/10.1177/136248060200600103>

- Kalkan, M., & Odacı, H. (2016). Endorsement of traditional male role norms and marital adjustment among Turkish men. *Men and Masculinities*, 20(2), 135–153. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184x15625312>
- Kandiyoti, D. (1978). *Kadınlarda psiko-sosyal deęişim boyutları: Cinsiyet ve kuşaklar arası bir karşılaştırma* (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis). Boğaziçi University.
- Keskin, B. (2021). *Burdens of masculinity among heterosexuals, gays, and bisexuals: More masculine, more conflicted, less satisfied* [Unpublished master's thesis]. Bahçeşehir University, Istanbul.
- Kim, J., Choi, H., Ha, C., & O'Neil, J. M. (2006). Self-Esteem, instrumentality, and gender Role conflict in Korean college students. *PsycEXTRA Dataset*. doi:10.1037/e517312007-001
- Kimmel, M. S. (2000). *Gendered Society*. Oxford University Press.
- KIMMEL, S., & Michael, M. (2013). Homofobi olarak erkeklik: toplumsal cinsiyet kimliğinin inşasında korku, utanç ve sessizlik. *Fe Dergi Feminist Ele*, 5(2), 92–107. https://doi.org/10.1501/fe0001_0000000102
- Kratzner, R. E. (2003). *Gender role conflict, instrumentality-expressiveness, personality, and psychological distress in college males*. (Unpublished master's thesis). St. Louis University, Missouri.
- Laurent, M. G. (1998). Gender role conflict, cultural identity, and self-esteem among African-American men (Doctoral dissertation, University of

- Southern California, 1998). Dissertation Abstracts International, 59, 1473.
- Lease, S. H., Çiftçi, A., Demir, A., & Boyraz, G. (2009). Structural validity of Turkish versions of the Gender Role Conflict Scale and Male Role Norms Scale. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 10*(4), 273–287. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0017044>
- Lease, S. H., Montes, S. H., Baggett, L. R., Sawyer, R. J., Fleming-Norwood, K. M., Hampton, A. B., ... Boyraz, G. (2012). A Cross-Cultural Exploration of Masculinity and Relationships in Men From Turkey, Norway, and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 44*(1), 84–105. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022111432293>
- Kimmel, M., & Messner, M. (1998). Men's lives. In *Men's lives* (pp. 416-429). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Levant, R. F. (1995). Toward the reconstruction of masculinity. In R. F. Levant & W. S. Pollack (Eds.), *The new psychology of men* (pp. 229-251). New York: Basic Books.
- Levant, R. F., Hirsch, L., Celentano, E., Cozza, T., Hill, S., MacEachern, M., et al. (1992). The male role: An investigation of contemporary norms. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling, 14*, 325–337
- Levant, R. F., & McCurdy, E. R. (2017). Toward diversifying research participants: Measurement invariance of the Male Role Norms Inventory-Short Form (MRNI-SF) across recruitment method.

- Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 19(4), 531–539.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000138>
- Leverenz, D. (1986). Manhood, humiliation and public life: Some stories. *Southwest Review*, 71, Fall.
- Lewes, K. (1988). *Psychoanalysis and Male Homosexuality*. Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson.
- Lily, R. L. (1999). Gender role conflict among Black/African American college men: Individual differences and psychological outcomes (Doctoral dissertation, University of Missouri–Columbia, 1999). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 61, 1088.
- Liu, W. M. (2005). The study of men and masculinity as an important multicultural competency consideration. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 61(6), 685–697. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jclp.20103>
- Magovcevic, M., & Addis, M. E. (2005). Linking gender-role conflict to nonnormative and self-stigmatizing perceptions of alcohol abuse and depression. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 6(2), 127–136.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/1524-9220.6.2.127>
- Mahalik, J. R. (1999). Incorporating a gender role strain perspective in assessing and treating men's cognitive distortions. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 30(4), 333–340.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0735-7028.30.4.333>
- Mahalik, J. R., Cournoyer, R. J., DeFranc, W., Cherry, M., & Napolitano, J. M. (1998). Men's gender role conflict and use of psychological defenses.

Journal of Counseling Psychology, 45(3), 247–255.

<https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.45.3.247>

Mahalik, J. R., Locke, B. D., Ludlow, L. H., Diemer, M. A., Ryan P. J. Scott, Gottfried, M., & Freitas, G. (2003). Development of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 4(1), 3–25. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1524-9220.4.1.3>

Martin, C. L. (1995). Stereotypes about children with traditional and nontraditional gender roles. *Sex Roles*, 33(11-12), 727–751. <https://doi.org/10.1007/bf01544776>

Meydan, C. H., Şeşen, H., & Basım, H. N. (2011). Adalet algısı ve tükenmişliğin örgütsel vatandaşlık davranışları üzerindeki öncüllük rolü. “İş, Güç” *Endüstri İlişkileri ve İnsan Kaynakları Dergisi*, 13(2), 41-62

Minsky, R. (1999). *Psychoanalysis and culture: Contemporary states of mind*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

Murray, S. O. (2002). *Homosexualities*. Chicago, Ill.; London: University Of Chicago Press.

Nadal, K. L. (2017). *The SAGE encyclopedia of psychology and gender 3 J-R*. Los Angeles London New Delhi Singapore Washington Dc Melbourne Sage Reference.

Naranjo, S. (2001). The self-destructive man: A study of gender role conflict (Doctoral dissertation, Central Michigan University, 2001). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 62, 1592.

- Neff, J. A., Prihoda, T. J., & Hoppe, S. K. (1991). "Machismo," self-esteem, education, and high maximum drinking among anglo, black, and Mexican-American male drinkers. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 52(5), 458–463. <https://doi.org/10.15288/jsa.1991.52.458>
- O'Neil, J. M. (1981). Male sex role conflicts, sexism, and masculinity: Psychological implications for men, women, and the counseling psychologist. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 9(2), 61–80. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001100008100900213>
- O'Neil, J. M. (2008). Summarizing 25 years of research on men's gender role conflict using the gender role conflict scale. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 36(3), 358–445. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000008317057>
- O'Neil, J. M. (2012). The psychology of men. In E. M. Altmaier, J. C. Hansen, E. M. Altmaier, & J. C. Hansen (Eds.). *The Oxford handbook of counseling psychology* (pp. 375–408). New York, NY, US: Oxford University Press.
- O'Neil, J. M. (2015). *Men's gender role conflict: Psychological costs, consequences, and an agenda for change*. Washington, District of Columbia: American Psychological Association.
- O'Neil, J. M., & Egan, J. (1992b). Men's gender role transitions over the life span: Transformations and fears of femininity. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling*, 14, 305-324.

- O'Neil, J. M., Good, G. E., & Holmes, S. (1995). Fifteen years of theory and research on men's gender role conflict: New paradigms for empirical research. In R. Levant & W. Pollack (Eds.), *The new psychology of men* (pp. 164-206). New York: Basic Books.
- O'Neil, J. M., Helms, B. J., Gable, R. K., David, L., & Wrightsman, L. S. (1986). Gender-Role Conflict Scale: College men's fear of femininity. *Sex Roles*, 14, 335–350.
- Ojeda, L., Piña-Watson, B., & Gonzalez, G. (2016). The role of social class, ethnocultural adaptation, and masculinity ideology on Mexican American college men's well-being. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 17(4), 373–379. <https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000023>
- Ok, S. (2011). Erkeklik krizi ve işsizlik. (Unpublished Master Thesis), Ankara University, Ankara-Turkey.
- Oliffe, J. L., & Phillips, M. J. (2008). Men, depression, and masculinities: A review and recommendations. *Journal of Men's Health*, 5(3), 194–202. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jomh.2008.03.016>
- Paradies, Y. (2006). A systematic review of empirical research on self-reported racism and health. *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 35(4), 888–901. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ije/dy1056>
- Pavot, W., & Diener, E. (2008). The Satisfaction With Life Scale and the emerging construct of life satisfaction. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 3(2), 137–152. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760701756946>

- Pavot, W. E. Diener, C. R. Colvin & E. Sandvik. (1991). Further validation of the Satisfaction with Life Scale: Evidence for the cross-method convergence of well-being measures, *Journal of Personality Assessment* 49, pp. 71-75.
- Pleck, J. H. (1981). *The myth of masculinity*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Pleck, J. H. (1995). The gender role strain paradigm: An update. In R. F. Levant & W. S. Pollack (Eds.), *A new psychology of men* (pp. 11-32). New York: Basic Books.
- Pleck, J. H., Sonenstein, F. L., & Ku, L. C. (1993). Masculinity Ideology: Its Impact on adolescent Males' heterosexual relationships. *Journal of Social Issues*, 49(3), 11–29. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1993.tb01166.x>
- Powell-Griner, E., J.E. Anderson, & W. Murphy. (1997). State- and sex-specific prevalence of selected characteristics: Behavioral risk factor surveillance system, 1994 and 1995. *MMWR* 46(SS- 3): 1-31.
- Sakalli, N. (2002). The relationship between sexism and attitudes toward homosexuality in a sample of Turkish college students. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 42(3), 53-64. doi:10.1300/j082v42n03_04
- Sakalli Ugurlu, N., Turkoglu, B., & Kuzlak, A. (2018). How are women and men perceived? structure of gender stereotypes in contemporary turkey. *Nesne Psikoloji Dergisi*, 6(13). <https://doi.org/10.7816/nesne-06-13-04>
- Sakallı-Uğurlu, N., & Türkoğlu, B. (2019). “Erkek” olmak ya da olmamak: Sosyal psikolojik açıdan erkeksilik/erkeklik çalışmaları. *Türk Psikoloji*

Yazıları,

22(44).

<https://doi.org/10.31828/tpy1301996120190516m000014>

Sancar, S. (2016). *Erkeklik: Imkânsız iktidar: Ailede, piyasada ve sokakta erkekler*. İstanbul: Metis.

Sánchez, F. J., Westefeld, J. S., Liu, W. M., & Vilain, E. (2010). Masculine gender role conflict and negative feelings about being gay. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 41(2), 104–111. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015805>

Seidler, Z. E., Dawes, A. J., Rice, S. M., Oliffe, J. L., & Dhillon, H. M. (2016). The role of masculinity in men's help-seeking for depression: A systematic review. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 49, 106–118. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2016.09.002>

Sharpe, M. J., & Heppner, P. P. (1991). Gender role, gender-role conflict, and psychological well-being in men. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 38(3), 323–330. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.38.3.323>

Simonsen, G., Blazina, C., & Watkins, C. E. (2000). Gender role conflict and psychological well-being among gay men. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 47(1), 85–89. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.47.1.85>

Spence, J. T., and R. L. Helmreich. (1978). *Masculinity and femininity: Their psychological dimensions, correlates, and antecedents*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Strom, T. (2004, July). Gender role conflict and dispositional coping styles in college-age men. In J. M. O'Neil & G. E. Good (Chairs), *Gender role*

conflict research: Four empirical studies and new research paradigm.

Symposium conducted at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Honolulu, HI.

Suh, S., Choi, H., Lee, C., Cha, M., & Jo, I. (2012). Association between knowledge and attitude about aging and life satisfaction among older Koreans. *Asian Nursing Research*, 6(3), 96–101. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.anr.2012.07.002>

Tabachnick, B. G., & Fidell, L. S. (2007). *Using multivariate statistics* (5th ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Taywaditep, K. J. (2001). Marginalization among the marginalized. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 42, 1–28. doi:10.1300/J082v42n01

Thompson, E. H., Pleck, J. H., & Ferrera, D. L. (1992). Men and masculinities: Scales for masculinity ideology and masculinity-related constructs. *Sex Roles*, 27(11-12), 573–607. <https://doi.org/10.1007/bf02651094>

Türkoğlu, B. (2013). *Violence as a way of reconstructing manhood: The role of threatened manhood and masculine ideology on violence against women*. Middle East Technical University, Ankara.

Türkoğlu, B. (2013). Fay hattında erkeklikler: Çalışma ve işsizlik ekseninde erkeklığe bakış [Manhood on the fault line: Examining manhood under the frame of working and unemployment]. *Mülkiye Dergisi*, 37(4), 33–61.

- Türkoğlu, B. (2019). *Precarious Manhood In Turkey: Earned, Lost, And Threatened Status Of Manhood*. Middle East Technical University, Ankara.
- Türkoğlu, B., & Sayılan, G. (2021). How is masculinity ideology related to trans prejudice in Turkey: the mediatory effect of femmephobia. *Psychology & Sexuality*, 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19419899.2020.1870541>
- Valocchi, S., & Levine, M. P. (1999). Gay macho: The life and death of the homosexual clone. *Social Forces*, 77(4), 1688. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3005925>
- Vandello, J. A., & Bosson, J. K. (2013). Hard-won and easily lost: A review and synthesis of theory and research on precarious manhood. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 14(2), 101–113. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029826>
- Vandello, J. A., Bosson, J. K., Cohen, D., Burnaford, R. M., & Weaver, J. R. (2008). Precarious manhood. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95(6), 1325–1339. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0012453>
- Van Hyfte, G. J., & Rabinowitz, F. E. (2001, August). *Men's group affiliation and same-sex intimacy*. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco.
- Weaver, J. R., Vandello, J. A., & Bosson, J. K. (2013). Intrepid, imprudent, or impetuous? The effects of gender threats on men's financial decisions.

- Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 14(2), 184–191.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/a0027087>
- Wedgwood, N. (2009). Connell's theory of masculinity – its origins and influences on the study of gender1. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 18(4), 329–339. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09589230903260001>
- Wester, S. R., Pionke, D. R., & Vogel, D. L. (2005). Male gender role conflict, gay men, and same-sex romantic relationships. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 6(3), 195–208. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1524-9220.6.3.195>
- Wester, S. R., Vogel, D. L., Wei, M., & McLain, R. (2006). African american men, gender role conflict, and psychological distress: The role of racial identity. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 84(4), 419–429. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6678.2006.tb00426.x>
- Wetherell, M., & Edley, N. (1999). Negotiating hegemonic masculinity: Imaginary positions and psycho-discursive practices. *Feminism & Psychology*, 9(3), 335–356.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353599009003012>
- Wong, Y. J., Ho, M.-H. R., Wang, S.-Y., & Miller, I. S. K. (2017). Meta-analyses of the relationship between conformity to masculine norms and mental health-related outcomes. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 64(1), 80–93. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000176>
- Yim, J. Y., & Mahalingam, R. (2006). Culture, masculinity, and psychological well-being in Punjab, India. *Sex Roles*, 55(9-10), 715–724.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-006-9126-8>