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ABSTRACT

Designed for use in junior and senior high schools, this booklet focuses on the male role stereotype. Each of the eight sections contains activities, student objectives, and background information: (1) "What's Feminine and What's Masculine?" examines male and female sex role stereotypes; (2) "A Real Man" evaluates male role stereotypes; (3) "Men in the Media" examines how the media define and enhance the male role; (4) "Male Talk" focuses on sexism in language and male communication styles; (5) "The World of Work" deals with sex role stereotyping in career choice and work preference; (6) "Foul" explores the male role in competitive athletics; (7) "Fathers and Children" examines perceptions of fatherhood; and (8) "Emotions, Relationships, and Beyond" discusses intimate aspects of the male role. Activities involve students in completing sentences, filling out opinion roles about men, writing short essays, analyzing men's roles in movies, evaluating advertisements, reading and analyzing novels, and writing endings for situations. Included in the appendices are a bibliography of selected works on men and masculinity and reading selections on the male role stereotype. (RM)

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AS BOYS BECOME MEN: LEARNING NEW MALE ROLES

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I am deeply grateful to several individuals who have helped me understand and conceptualize the material in this booklet and who have helped in the editing and preparation of the booklet.

Although I had recognized the need for this type of booklet for several years, the actual work was precipitated by several conversations with Robin Gordon of the Project on Equal Education Rights (PEER), NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, Washington, D.C. Once I began work on the booklet, I found myself turning to Frank Campanella and Virginia Leslie for clarification of male role issues and suggestions for teaching about the male role. Frank and Virginia also provided editorial assistance at crucial stages.

My colleagues at the Institute for Equality in Education provided support and encouragement for the project. I am particularly indebted to Niki Ahmadi for her work in the preparation of the rough and final drafts of the manuscripts.

There are also many individuals to whom I owe thanks for their work in developing classroom exercises on sex role stereotyping. Unfortunately, I am not able to name these individuals. It is difficult to trace the original authors of many of the exercises now commonly used for exploring sex role stereotypes. I have taken the liberty, therefore, of assuming that these exercises are in the public domain. If an author has not received credit -- and should have -- I apologize. In any case, I have not simply taken an exercise from another source without substantially changing the wording and content to fit the needs of this booklet. The only exceptions to this are a game called "Score as Much as Possible" and an exercise on emotional expression. In the former case, I have not been able to locate the original source of the game although I believe that I have presented it here in essentially the same form as it originally appeared; in the latter case, I am grateful to David Sadker of the Mid-Atlantic Center for Sex Equity for his permission to use this activity.

* * * *

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* * * *

The Institute for Equality in Education is a Sex Desegregation Training Institute funded under a Title IV grant from the United States Department of Education. The purpose of the Institute is to provide training in sex equity to personnel in Colorado school districts. The ultimate goal is to insure equal educational opportunities for all students.

PREFACE

In our concerns over sex role stereotyping and sex equity in educational programs, we have focused almost exclusively on the female role. This emphasis has been a necessary and legitimate focus in our efforts to provide equal opportunity to girls, due to the fact that there has been substantial discrimination against females. This has been reflected in the exclusion of girls from particular educational activities, an absence of images of women and information about women in curriculum materials, and differential treatment from teachers, counselors, coaches, and administrators.

As a result of this emphasis on the female role, it has been too often assumed that sex equity is not a male issue. I believe that it is time to challenge this assumption and look carefully at the experience of the male student in today's society. While these boys need to understand and accept a more realistic view of the female role based on gender equality, they also need to be freed from the restrictions of the male role stereotype. This stereotype is alive and well in our schools. Adolescent boys and young men are confronted daily with a definition of manhood that is distorted, dysfunctional, and potentially destructive.

Sex equity is definitely a male issue. Boys are limited in their opportunities to fully explore their potential as human beings because of the pervasiveness of the male stereotype. By junior high (if not earlier) most boys have learned a crucial lesson about being male: under no circumstances can they display "feminine" behaviors such as crying, nurturing, or passivity in the midst of conflict. Junior high slang vocabulary reveals the sanction on those behaviors. Ask this age boy what the most humiliating put-down is and he will most likely tell you "Don't act like a girl" or "You woman!" The boy who can't fulfill the expectations of "being a man" according to the male stereotype, will be quickly labeled a sissy by his peers. Yet this stereotype is unrealistic for most, if not all, boys, and the costs of trying to maintain the image of "being a man" may be extraordinarily high.

As Boys Beome Men attempts to provide a structure for examining this stereotype. It is not an attempt to reduce the need for further examination of the female role stereotype. Both male and female students need to understand each of the stereotypes and the implications of trying to live their lives according to the dictates of the stereotypes.

Because of the history of sex equity and the emphasis on the female role, male students may initially be disinterested, confused, or even hostile in discussions of the male role. It has not been a public topic until relatively recently, so there is a good chance that boys will not have been exposed to this issue. Presented with sensitivity to this fact, these activities can be the impetus for many hours of exciting, introspective discussion in the classroom.

USING THESE MATERIALS

The activities in this booklet are designed primarily for use in junior and senior high schools, but there is substantial flexibility in their use. Although most of the activities focus on the male role stereotype, a sex-integrated classroom is an ideal environment for these activities. Both males and females can participate in all of these activities; in some cases, both sexes are necessary for the activity while in other cases the activity can be adapted so that boys and girls can complete the activity separately. Girls need to learn about the male role stereotype to increase their sensitivity to the male condition in exactly the same way that boys need to learn about the female role stereotype and its limitations. *

It is important to note also that the male role stereotype discussed in these materials is characteristic of white, middle class, mainstream America. Some aspects of this stereotype may coincide with male roles in other ethnic, racial, or socio-economic groups, but there are also differences across these groupings. Therefore it is important to be sensitive to the groups represented in your classroom, the norms of the community, and the fact that other stereotypes of the male role exist. Nonetheless, the male role stereotype discussed here will generally be applicable to most groups in this society because it is the stereotype of the dominant group and the norms of that group tend to be imposed on all other groups in the society.

Both male and female teachers can facilitate these exercises. Students need adult models who are personally willing to explore the stereotypes with them. And it is especially important, to provide male models for this exploration. Male teachers can play a dynamic role in these exercises. If you are a female teacher, it might be worthwhile to consider asking a male colleague to co-teach some or all of these activities. (I would suggest the same thing to male teachers who are using exercises which focus predominantly on the female role). At the very least, you may want to meet with a colleague to discuss these materials and the issues as they apply to your life experiences.

The Arrangement of These Activities

There are eight activity sections in this booklet and several exercises in each section. The activities and sections are generally sequenced according to the complexity and sophistication of the activity and the issue being discussed. It is suggested that you read through this entire booklet before beginning any of the activities. Many of the earlier exercises provide a foundation for more sophisticated activities later. But it is important that you arrange, select, and adapt these activities according to the needs and desires of yourself and your students.

The eight sections, and a brief description of each one, are as follows:

1. What's Feminine and What's Masculine?
 - a first examination of male and female sex role stereotypes
2. A Real Man
 - an attempt to define and evaluate the male role stereotype
3. Men in the Media
 - an examination of how the media defines and enhances the male role
4. Male Talk
 - an opportunity to examine sexism in language and male communication styles
5. The World of Work
 - an exploration of sex role stereotyping in career choice and work preference
6. Foul
 - an attempt to critically examine the male role in competitive athletics
7. Fathers and Children
 - an opportunity to explore perceptions of fatherhood
8. Emotions, Relationships, and Beyond
 - an examination of some intimate aspects of the male role

The Structure of Each Section

Each section includes student objectives and background information for the teacher. There are no suggestions concerning use for particular ages or grade levels, nor are there suggestions concerning the length of the activity. As the teacher, you are clearly in the best position to determine the age and grade level appropriateness or the need to adjust a particular exercise to the maturity of the students. Similarly, the length of each exercise will depend in large measure on the interest of the students and the collective desire to discuss the issues involved.

Some exercises include a worksheet or similar student response form. Feel free to copy these directly and adapt them as you deem necessary.

Hints for Effective Discussion

Discussion questions are provided with each exercise and you are encouraged to generate further discussion topics. The desire and willingness to discuss the issues raised in these exercises will depend in part on your ability to establish a trusting, supportive environment in the classroom. If students feel that they will be negatively judged by their peers for the expression of non-stereotypical responses or behaviors, they will be reticent to share themselves honestly. As the facilitator in these discussions, it is important to help students understand and accept the diversity which exists in their peer group and among individuals in the larger community.

One technique for encouraging honest, personal sharing of attitudes is the use of anonymity in written exercises completed by students. For example, if you ask students to write a short essay on their relationship with their father and then ask them to discuss their responses, they may be reluctant to engage in this discussion or they may only write about the superficial aspects of that relationship. If, on the other hand, the students are assured that all essays will remain anonymous, then you may be able to elicit more personal responses and select a few to read to the class for further discussion. This discussion would center on the general issues raised in the essay and other students' identification with those issues, but not an analysis of the individual author of the essay.

For More Background Information

Although each section includes background information on the issues being explored, you may want further information to prepare yourself for the use of the exercises. The Appendix includes a summary of the research on the costs of the male role stereotype ("Some Damaging Effects of Sex Role Stereotyping on Men and Boys"); a comprehensive description of the male role ("The Male Role Stereotype"); and an annotated bibliography of books on masculinity ("Some Selected Works on Men and Masculinity").

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What's Feminine and What's Masculine?

Purpose

To help students become more aware of the expectations they may have of male and female behaviors and to help them become more accepting of non-stereotypic behaviors.

Background

Boys and girls learn about stereotypes at very early ages. Some research suggests that boys begin restricting their behavior to what they believe is appropriately masculine by the time that they begin school. Girls may be less rigid in this regard. As you explore sex-role stereotypes with your students, you will probably find that all students stereotype behaviors to some degree. Students need to understand how these stereotypes may restrict their behavior, if those restrictions are functional, and if there are alternative behaviors which are more functional.

Some boys may have a difficult time expressing themselves in these activities due to peer pressure from other students. Since these activities may well be an introduction to more extensive exploration of the male stereotype, it's important for you as the teacher to begin establishing an environment which is accepting of non-stereotypical attitudes and behaviors.

There are certainly no right or wrong answers to the three activities which follow. The "Sentence Completions" are designed to help students identify some of the expectations that they have of males. Encourage the students to complete the sentences from a personal perspective, with as much honesty as possible, although it is likely that many of the responses will be similar.

In the "fantasy" concerning a sex role reversal, boys may be reluctant to consider what it would be like to be girls. Girls may find it substantially easier to see themselves as boys; it is likely that some of them have wanted to be boys at times because of the privileges that boys tend to have. The responses of both the boys and the girls will give you and them information about their personal perceptions and the social valuing of sex role stereotypes.

The statements in the "Opinions About Men" cover a wide range of sex role stereotypes, from the role of breadwinner to childcare activities. There is enough material here for several class discussions. Again, encourage personal responses which are free of peer pressure.

In addition to educating students, use these activities to gather information which you can use in later activities. In what areas are stereotypes particularly rigid, and where does there appear to be room for growth? What are possible alternatives to the stereotypical behaviors which the students have identified?

Sentence Completions

Ask the students to write completions for the following sentences. Discuss their responses, and in particular, look for similarities in the responses. In cases where boys' behavior is limited, try to help them understand why those limits exist. As peers, do they limit one another? How and where does this occur?

The best thing about being a boy is _____

A boy would never let a girl see him _____

Boys would reject another boy if _____

A boy would be praised by his parents if he _____

Boys can't _____

The parents of a boy let him _____

Teachers expect boys to treat girls like _____

Boys get embarrassed when they _____

Parents expect boys to _____

Boys are allowed to _____

A boy would get teased if he _____

Girls really want boys to _____

Boys don't like _____

A Sex Role Reversal Fantasy

Have the students participate in the following fantasy. After reading it to them, wait a few minutes so that they can feel what it would be like in this "new world". Then have them discuss their experience. You may want to begin by asking them about their appearance, clothing, friends, or activities at school and home. Help the students in their feelings about being the opposite sex. Boys may be very reluctant in this fantasy to see themselves as girls. They may see absolutely no benefit to being a girl and instead may describe all the reasons why they wouldn't want to be girls. Try to help them be more objective in describing what they would do and feel if they were girls. The girls may have an easier time fantasizing this situation. You might consider having boys and girls discuss this separately.

If the students have not previously experienced a guided fantasy such as this, you might do a "warm-up" which is less threatening. For example, take them on a journey to another country and ask them what they see and do, or ask them to describe a day in their life if they were a television celebrity of their choice. In any case, ask them to sit back and relax during the fantasy.

"Tomorrow morning you're going to wake up as the opposite sex. If you're a boy now, tomorrow you're going to be a girl and vice-versa. This will only be a temporary change; by the following morning you will change back to your original sex and you'll be exactly as you are now. No one will know that you were temporarily a different person -- it will be as if you were a stranger for a day.

When you wake up in the morning your day may be very different from what it would normally be -- or your day may be very similar to what it is now. In either case, I want you to imagine what it's like to spend a day as the opposite sex: What will you do when you wake up? What will you wear? What activities will you participate in at school? What will you do after school? What types of relationships do you have with friends? And how do you feel at the end of the day?

Opinions About Men

Have the students individually complete "Opinions About Men" on the opposite page. Then hold a group discussion centered on their responses. You might begin the discussion of specific questions by first asking for a tally of the responses and then exploring the reasons why students agreed or disagreed with the statements. There may also be statements which elicited particularly strong responses. In this case, you might ask students to select those statements which they would like to discuss first. There is no need to discuss all of the statements; in fact, it is likely that a few statements will generate very lengthy and perhaps animated discussions. In some cases, you may want to compare the boys' and girls' responses.

OPINIONS ABOUT MEN

Instructions: Circle the number between 1 and 5 which best indicates whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. Circle "5" if you strongly agree, and use "2", "3", "4" for responses in between.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Men should be expected to make a living for their families.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Boys should compete in sports because "it will make men of them".	1	2	3	4	5
3. Boys should learn basic skills in taking care of themselves, such as cooking, sewing, repairing things.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Boys understand math better than girls.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Men are very emotional.	1	2	3	4	5
6. It's okay for a man to be a homemaker while his wife works at a job to support both of them.	1	2	3	4	5
7. It is more important for a boy to go to college than it is for a girl to go to college.	1	2	3	4	5
8. If there is a draft, it should only apply to men. Women should not be drafted.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Both girls and boys should have courses in school to help them learn to be good parents.	1	2	3	4	5
10. There are some jobs around the house which are more natural for men to do.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Boys shouldn't cry. They need to be strong instead.	1	2	3	4	5
12. It's important for a woman to stay home and take care of her husband and children.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Girls are stronger than boys.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Boys aren't very good babysitters.	1	2	3	4	5
15. When it comes to washing and ironing clothes, women do a better job than men.	1	2	3	4	5

A Real Man

Purpose

To help students explore their beliefs about the "ideal man" and develop a working definition of the male stereotype to help them assess their desire to reach this standard of manhood.

Background

The male stereotype has been described by many authors. It may include any or all of the following characteristics;

A man is supposed to be tough and unemotional

A man should choose a career with status and then strive to be the best in that field

A man's success is measured by his income

A man should "win" no matter what the cost

A man should never be dominated by a woman

A man should be knowledgeable about the business world, politics, and sports

A man should have personal and professional direction goals

A man should be physically in good shape and sexually attractive

Clearly, this is an impossible image to live up to, and yet males are taught this stereotype from a very early age.

Two authors have described the pervasiveness of the "Great American Male Stereotype" in this way:

"(It) exists in every aspect of American life - politics, religion; the arts; education; business; health; government; etc. It defines, for many men, the type of life to lead, the things to do, the places to go, and the people to be with. A white, middle-class stereotype, (encouraged) by the media (particularly television), our educational system, and other people in our lives, it has had an impact on all Americans, regardless of economic status, ethnic origin, or job function." 1.

Given the fact that the stereotype is unrealistic for most, if not all, males, and given the pervasiveness of the stereotype, boys need to learn a more balanced view of their masculinity. The activities in this section should help

students begin to describe and evaluate the male stereotype. Hopefully, it will be a description developed through the perceptions of you and the students and it will reflect the norms of the school and community. These activities are not simply attempts to label the stereotype as negative, but instead, to examine the components of the stereotype and the consequences of trying to live up to the stereotype. The goal is personal freedom in the choice of behaviors and attitudes regardless of the dictates of the stereotype and with an understanding of the implications of the stereotype.

Two appendix items will be particularly useful as you work through these activities. "The Male Role Stereotype" and "Some Damaging Effects of Sex Role Stereotyping" provide important background information. Depending on the ability of your students, one or both of these can be reproduced and used as hand-outs. The following definitions of sex role stereotype and sex role socialization may be useful as you help students develop descriptions of the male stereotype.

sex role stereotype: the assumption that all females or all males, because they share a common gender, also share common interests, abilities, values, and roles.

sex role socialization: the processes and experiences used to prepare males and females for the roles that society defines as being appropriate for their sex.

Some aspects of the male stereotype will be examined in more detail in later activities. This section provides the basis for a general understanding of the stereotype.

¹ Patrick Canavan and John Haskell "The Great American Male Stereotype," Exploring Contemporary Male/Female Roles, ed. Clarke G. Carney and Sarah Lynne McMahon (La Jolla, California: University Associates, 1977) p. 150.

Heros

Ask each student to write a short essay in response to this question: "If you could be anyone in the world who is now living, who would you most like to be?" Encourage each student to write about this person in as much detail as possible, indicating why they would like to be this person.

After collecting these essays, make a list of the boys' choices and a list of the girls' choices. In a group discussion, see if it's possible to make generalizations about the choices. Look for similarities in occupation, age, and personality. Why are these particular people chosen as "heros"? Do they represent what all boys strive for as they become men and what all girls strive for as they become women? Are there also some reasons why it would be very undesirable to be one of these "heros"?

Are there any "heros" which both boys and girls choose? Is this persons' gender a factor in the choice? Is gender generally a factor which the students consider in selecting a "hero"?

What Would You Say to a Man Who. . .

Ask the students to respond to a variety of situations involving men (see "situations" on page opposite this). These situations and their corresponding images of men could be communicated to the student through photographs, drawings, or simple verbal descriptions. The students could then respond in a variety of ways, including voting, creating a short story, and developing a character description of the man (men) involved.

Voting might involve a choice about the appropriateness of what the man is doing. Is it okay or not okay for men in general to do this activity or demonstrate this behavior? The creation of a short story would involve an elaboration of the situation. For example, what does the quarterback of the losing team do after he leaves the locker room? The character description would also be an elaboration of the situation, but it would be done in terms of other aspects of the man's personality. Thus, the students might be asked to describe what they assume about a man who lets his wife drive the car while he is a passenger.

When it seems appropriate (either during the activity or at its conclusion) discuss with the students their feeling of acceptance or non-acceptance of men engaged in these types of activities. Are there some behaviors which "prove" a man's masculinity while other behaviors lead the students to question a man's masculinity? What exactly is masculinity in this sense?

In conjunction with the previous activity on "heros", the students might now try to develop descriptions of "Real Men", those males who are able to "prove" their "masculinity". As a class, try to develop a detailed personality profile of just such a man. Is this the male stereotype? Are there both benefits and costs to the male stereotype, and if so, what are some of them? ("The Male Role Stereotype" in the Appendix could be a useful hand-out at this point).

(These situations can be communicated to students through photographs, drawings, or by simply reading them aloud.)

A man who is very muscular and wins a body building contest

A man who hugs his friend, another man, when they meet accidentally on a street corner

A man who lets a woman drive a car for him

A man who starts a fight in a bar because another man called him a sissy

Two men who are sitting on a couch, crying together

A man who is playing with children in a park

A man who refuses to join the army to fight in a war even though he has been drafted

A man shooting a gun at another man

A player on the losing football team who cries at the end of the game

A man who wears an apron in his kitchen

A strong, weathered man who rides a horse in a cigarette commercial

A man driving an expensive sports car

The Model Student

Without making specific references to boys in the school, ask the students to describe the type of boys who seem to get the most approval from teachers and other adults. Which behaviors and attitudes get rewarded the most? Which behaviors and attitudes are not acceptable? Based on the student's perceptions, try to speculate with them about what constitutes the "ideal boy" in the school. Does this description correlate with the male stereotype developed in the previous activity?

This activity can provide you with a sense of how sex role stereotypes are encouraged or discouraged in the school program. While the school is certainly not to be held totally responsible for the sex role socialization of the students, it can influence their socialization. ~~If used in several different classes, this activity could~~ ultimately be more valuable to you and your colleagues than to the students. The results could be discussed with colleagues with recommendations of techniques to reduce sex role stereotyping in the school program .

Men in the Media

Purpose

To help students recognize sex role stereotyping when it occurs in the media and to help them analyze information which they receive about the male role.

Background

It should come as no surprise to discover that males are stereotyped in the media. The durability and pervasiveness of this stereotype, however, might be surprising. In The Myth of American Manhood, Leonard Kriegel describes the strength of the male stereotype in literature:

"No ordinary man would have used a term such as 'role models' prior to the 1950's, but that should not prevent us from recognizing the importance of masculine role models in the literature of the United States from its very beginnings....The role model remains that of the 'individual standing alone, self-reliant and self-propelling'; the reality is a masculinity which no longer believes in itself." 2

And in film, the stereotype may be even more limiting and more powerful. Joan Mellen, author of Big Bad Wolves: Masculinity in the American Film, describes the stereotype in this way:

"Repeatedly through the decades, Hollywood has demanded that we admire and imitate males who dominate others, leaders whom the weak are expected to follow. The ideal man of our films is a violent one. To be sexual he has had to be not only tall and strong but, frequently brutal, promising to overwhelm a woman by physical force that was at once firm and tender. Male stars are people manufactured from the raw material of humanity to appear as supermen over-coming women and lesser men by sheer determination and will, involving competence, experience, rationality and charm.

Real men rarely exist who look strong and unflawed enough to portray such an ideal. As they could not be found, they were fabricated. Papier-mache human beings were created to conceal real-life vulnerabilities in the male." 3

In this section, students are given an opportunity to look more critically at the male role models which bombard them during all stages of their lives. The first activity explores the cinematic male role while the second activity examines the ways in which advertisements promote and exploit the male stereotype. The last activity adds an analysis of male roles in classic and contemporary literature. Unfortunately, examples

of non-stereotypical men are difficult to find. Much of the analysis of the male role will fall on criticizing the roles rather than supporting alternatives to them. Try to maintain a perspective which helps the students redefine the male role and where possible use those materials which encourage broader definitions of what it means to be a man.

² Leonard Kriegel, The Myth of American Manhood (New York: Dell, 1978) p. 11.

³ Joan Mellen, Big Bad Wolves: Masculinity in the American Cinema (New York: Pantheon, 1977) pp. 3-5.

Men in the Movies

An important source of information about the male role is the commercial cinema. Ask the students to evaluate male characters in several popular films, using questions like the following as the basis for a short essay and discussion about the types of roles men generally play in movies. Specifically, ask the students to select three films which they have recently seen and to choose one of the principal male characters in each film. Ask them to describe that character in terms of his occupation and other activities in which he is involved; his physical appearance; his treatment of other characters in the film; the emotions he expresses (or doesn't express); his status relative to the other characters (do they love him, despise him, admire him, etc.); and his attitudes towards life.

Using this information, try to determine if these characters fit a male stereotype. Are there certain types of characters who are consistently present on the screen while other types of men never seem to appear in film? If this is the case, does it mean that we only "value" men who fit certain characteristics while we consider unimportant -- or even worthless -- other men whose characteristics do not fit the cinematic male stereotype? Have there been any noticeable changes in this stereotype over the last few years?

For students who are avid movie goers, you might assign them a research project to investigate one of the actors in list below. They could begin by doing a biography of the actor and compiling a list of the films in which he starred and a description of the role he played. (Film encyclopedias are helpful resources) Then, if a film is playing locally or on television which stars one of the actors being studied, the students might view the film and answer the same questions which they used for the exercise above.

Some of the actors to investigate include:

Woody Allen
Humphrey Bogart
Marlon Brando
James Cagney
Bill Cosby
Henry Fonda
Clark Gable
Chief Dan George
Gene Hackman
Dustin Hoffman

Burt Lancaster
Bruce Lee
Paul Newman
Sidney Poitier
Robert Redford
Martin Sheen
Jimmy Stewart
Jon Voight
John Wayne
Paul Winfield

That Man in the Marlboro Ad

Have the students explore the images of men used to promote goods and services in contemporary advertising. Since these images are generally created to match the aspirations of the adult American male, they can provide insight into the male stereotype. Begin this exploration by asking students to analyze magazine advertisements. Working from a single magazine, have each student evaluate the advertisements using the "Men in Advertising Worksheet" on the page opposite this.

A small group of students might then tabulate all of the class worksheets and present the findings to the class. In a class discussion, you might ask the following questions:

What seem to be the most prevalent male characters?

Are there examples of advertisements which explicitly show men in non-stereotypical roles?

What do you think the "message" of the advertisement is? For example, if you buy a particular product, then you will be.....

Do these images match the definitions of the male stereotype developed in previous activities? What exactly is the male image in advertising?

In addition to examining magazine advertisements, you could ask the students to evaluate the roles of men in television commercials. A form similar to the "Men in Advertising Worksheet" could be used for this. A similar set of questions could also be used to stimulate discussion.

To create a more provocative exercise, ask a group of students to rewrite and then role play a television commercial with the traditional male and female roles reversed. For example, the students might create a commercial for a laundry detergent in which the woman scolds the man for not adequately cleaning the clothes which she needs for work. Repeated with several different commercials, this exercise could dramatically indicate how extensively commercials are sex role stereotyped and how conditioned we are to accept the stereotypes portrayed.

MEN IN ADVERTISING WORKSHEET

Instructions:

Indicate first the source of your information -- the title of the magazine which you examined. Then keep track of the total number of advertisements you evaluated. For each advertisement, place a check in the categories which apply to the man or men in the advertisement. When you have evaluated all of the advertisements which include men, count the total number of checks in each category and place that number in the column on the far right of the worksheet. If there are men in advertisements who don't seem to fit any of these categories, describe the advertisement on a separate sheet of paper and attach a copy of the advertisement if possible:

Your name: _____

Source of advertisements: _____

Total number of advertisements evaluated: _____

The man or men in the advertisement are:

(check all that apply-- then count the total number of checkmarks and place that number in the "total" column)

	Total
dressed in a suit (executives)	_____
dressed in "work clothes" (laborers)	_____
partially dressed (bathing suit or similar)	_____
dressed casually (recreation)	_____
physically attractive (use your judgement)	_____
physically unattractive (use your judgement)	_____
with a woman or women	_____
with a man or men	_____
with both men and women	_____
doing some type of household chore such as cooking or cleaning	_____
interacting with children	_____
demonstrating athletic ability or strength	_____
crying	_____
acting tough	_____
angry	_____
happy	_____
sad	_____

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Fictional Men

Literature is certainly a vehicle through which students learn about male roles. Yet popular male characters generally fit the male stereotype to some degree. There are few books for either adult or adolescent males which portray males in non-traditional roles. Some children's books now portray men in alternative roles and show boys expressing a wider range of behaviors. But aside from textbook changes (to include the roles of women) at the secondary level, there are few clear examples of materials which suggest a challenge to the male stereotype. There are many fictional and non-fictional books which explore the female stereotype -- and alternatives to it -- but these won't particularly help males explore their stereotype.

Despite all of this, there may be creative ways to use existing materials and stereotypes which they tend to portray. Some of the most accessible resources are popular magazines and newspapers. Ask students to look for articles or short stories which suggest alternative life styles, occupations, or activities for men; or ask them to examine an entire magazine to determine what general statements are being made about the "appropriate" roles of men in our society.

Classic and contemporary novels may contain a male character who is significantly different from the norm. Unfortunately, these characters may not be portrayed in a very positive manner. An effective teaching strategy would be to read and discuss novels from the perspective of the male role and how the character compares with the male stereotype. In the list below, there are some novels and plays which have either stereotypical men or non-stereotypical men, or, in some cases, examples of both. It is important to preview these books. Although many of the titles will appear on "approved lists", others may contain material which is objectionable to some individuals. Only those books which are relatively new or obscure are annotated.

Novels and Short Stories

A Morning Watch, Agee

A Separate Peace, Knowles

Catch 22, Heller

Catcher in the Rye, Salinger

The Great Gatsby, Fitzgerald

Go Tell It on the Mountain, Baldwin

Henderson The Rain King, Bellow

Left Hand of Darkness, Le Guin

A science fiction account of an androgynous society. On the planet Gethen, "there is no division of humanity into strong and weak halves, protected and protective. One is respected and judged only as a human being. You cannot cast a Gethenian in the role of man or woman while adopting towards 'him' a corresponding role dependent on your expectations of the interaction between persons of the same or opposite sex".

Moby Dick, Melville

My Name is Asher Lev, Potok

Poignant story of a Jewish boy who defies the expectations of his parents and his cultural heritage.

Of Mice and Men, Steinbeck

The Sun Also Rises, Hemingway

Woman on the Edge of Time, Piercy

A woman committed to a mental institution is contacted by people who live in a futuristic, yet simplistic, androgynous society. She is given a chance to live sporadically and temporarily in the future world. Her interactions with that society suggest what life in an androgynous society might be like.

The World According to Garp, Irving

Best seller about a man who has intimate connections with the feminist movement. Garp is a nurturing, if sometimes overly protective, father. In fact, he has the primary child care responsibilities while his wife works full-time. There are many elements of a role reversal here. Garp is not a typical male but he is presented in a positive role.

Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance, Piersig

Plays

All My Sons, Miller

Death of a Salesman, Miller

The Hairy Ape, O'Neil

A Streetcar Named Desire, Williams

Zoo Story, Albee

Another source of images of non-stereotypical men are biographies of strong, sensitive men. Biographies of individuals such as Albert Schweitzer, Martin Luther King, Mahatma Gandhi, or Albert Einstein could provide positive male role models. This group might also include biographies of Dan Rather, Cesar Chavez, Chief Black Elk, Dick Cavett, and Malcolm X. Any of these men could be studied with a focus on the male role models they present. They could also be compared with other political or social leaders.

Male Talk

Purpose

To help students become aware of language which may encourage sex role stereotyping; to help them explore the ways in which males and females may communicate differently and to help them reduce the limitation of stereotypical communication patterns.

Background

Much has already been accomplished in the area of reducing sex bias in language in educational materials. Yet most of us are still largely unaware of the nuances of expression and gesture that identify and stereotype sex. While teachers may be making a conscientious effort to change their patterns of communication with students, students aren't necessarily aware that their language is sex biased - or what that even means in the first place.

There is now substantial research which documents and describes the extent to which sex role stereotypes exist in communication patterns. Two articles in particular would be worthwhile for you as background information on the subject: "Womanspeak and Manspeak: Sex Differences in Communication, Verbal and Non-Verbal," by Nancy Henley and Barrie Thorne, and "Male-Female Interpersonal Styles in All Male, All Female, and Mixed Groups," by Elizabeth Aries, offer extensive reviews of the existing research. Both articles are included in Beyond Sex Roles, Alice G. Sargent, 1977, West Publishing Co., St. Paul.

In the classroom you might informally observe communication patterns in groups of students. There are several things which the males may tend to do and which are relatively easy to observe. These include dominance, problem-solving, self-listening, finding fault, and topic selection.

dominance: often the males as a group will have more air-time than women especially if the subject is considered serious and not personal

problem solving: males will tend to answer questions while females will ask questions; more specifically, males will tend to make demonstrative and declarative statements while females will offer qualifying and inquiring statements

self-listening: males will tend to interrupt each other (and females) more than women do, indicating that they are not really listening. They are instead listening to the first part of the other's statement and then beginning to formulate a response in preparation for competition in the conversation

finding

fault:

often males will find fault while females will "add a thought"

topic

selection:

most of the time, conversations will center on those topics where males feel secure or feel they are experts

The first two activities in this section focus on sex stereotyping in the words which students hear and use. One activity deals with the messages you give to students. The other deals with the messages they give to each other. The final activity asks students to analyze the communication patterns described above.

After completing these activities, you may want to observe your students' communication patterns over an extended period of time to see if there have been any significant changes. Hopefully, students will begin to reduce the sex role stereotyping in their language.

Gender and Grammer

The language which students use and hear at school may be filled with hidden assumptions about sex roles. You can help them analyze this through activities which intentionally distort the information they receive. For example, in assignments or lessons (which may have nothing to do with the topic of sex role stereotyping) use sentences such as the following:

"He is pretty".

"Uncle Henry had a baby".

"The surgeon put on her mask".

"The babysitter raised his voice".

While each sentence is gramatically correct, they may be confusing to some students because of the apparent disagreement of noun and pronoun. This is clearly an effect of sex role stereotyping. If the students point out the "mistakes" in the sentences, then discuss with them the difference between what is gramatically correct and how we assign gender to particular words.

At another time, read announcements or instructions using only feminine pronouns even though the information refers to both sexes. The boys may very likely feel excluded or at least assume that the information does not apply to them. Discuss this with them in the context of other information or announcements which use only the male pronoun to refer to both sexes. As a follow-up to this, ask the students to rewrite the information so that it doesn't use either male or female pronouns when it clearly refers to both males and females.

Hopefully, these exercises will help students see how they can be restricted by language which embodies sex role stereotypes, as well as the ways in which they may unintentionally restrict each others' behaviors.

Slang Words

Students use slang words continuously at school and home and these words may reveal and encourage stereotypes. Ask students to list all the words they use as "put-downs" of each other. Have them specify if they use that particular word for males, females, or both. Write these words on the chalk board or a flip chart as students call them out. (Students seldom consider the meaning or implication of these words so it's important for them to actually see the words)..

There are usually patterns which emerge and through these patterns students can realize the ways in which they criticize and value their peers. In particular, a hierarchy may appear in the use of put-downs; it will appear as male/female/animal, in which a boy who can't meet the criteria of the masculine stereotype will be labeled as feminine, and a girl who cannot meet the criteria for the feminine stereotype (predominantly based on attractiveness and sexuality) will be labeled as a pig, a dog, or similar animal.

It is important for students to understand the meaning of the words which they use. For example, do they use the word "queer" to indicate generally strange behavior or to indicate that someone is a homosexual? In the latter case, do they have any concrete information to make that judgement, or are they actually talking about behaviors they associate with homosexuality? (for further information on how to respond to this in the classroom, refer to "Homophobia" in the appendix).

It is important for students to understand the meaning of the words which they use as put-downs and the specific behaviors which are being criticized. Do these put-downs correlate with the male stereotype, and if so, are put-downs used (especially with boys) to give them messages about appropriate masculine behavior? What are these messages?

When Men Get Together

Maintaining a personal journal can be an excellent way to explore relationships with peers. If your students keep journals, ask them to document the content of their conversations when they are with other boys, when they are with a girl, and when they are in a mixed group. What topics are involved in the conversations? How do the conversations differ in the three settings? Are the boys reluctant to use certain words around girls and are they more willing to share certain parts of themselves with a girl rather than a boy?

In a general class discussion, ask the students if there are implicit social rules about conversations between boys and girls. Are there only certain things which should be discussed? Are girls and boys expected to act in certain ways in conversations? Is one sex expected to initiate conversations while the other sex is expected to primarily listen? When boys communicate exclusively with other boys, are there also rules about the content and style of the conversation?

To dramatize this issue, you might want to use a fishbowl technique in the classroom. Have the males sit in a circle and the females sit in a larger circle surrounding the males. Each female should be assigned a male to record the content of his conversation, as he and the other males discuss some or all of the following four topics:

What I like about being a male

What I don't like about being a male

What I like about females

What I don't like about females

The females are not to say anything while the males are talking. They should simply take notes which summarize the content of the conversations. At the end of a designated time period (at least ½ hour) or when the males are finished, reverse the situation so that the girls discuss the same questions (What I like about being female, etc.) and the boys observe and record.

During these initial discussions in the fishbowl style, it will be helpful if you record content as well

as style, e.g., listening, interruptions, dominance, so that you can give some feedback to the two groups after they discuss their general observations with each other.

When the girls are finished discussing these questions, the boys and girls should meet as two sex-segregated groups and try to draw some generalizations about the conversations of the opposite sex. As a guide, they should use the "Observation Summary" on the page opposite this.

When the two groups have adequately responded to the questions on the "Observation Summary" ask a spokesperson from each group to report to the other group. Are there areas of difference or disagreement between the conversation styles and patterns of each sex? Is it possible to make any generalizations about "male-talk" and "female-talk"? At this point, you might share with the students some of the information on communication patterns provided in the background to this section.

This activity can serve at least two important functions: it requires boys and girls to carefully observe the behavior of the opposite sex and it gives them information about how they communicate with their own sex group. If this has been a worthwhile activity, try it again (perhaps at a later time) with the initial discussion group composed equally of males and females or with one group clearly under-represented numerically. Use questions similar to those on the "Observation Summary."

3.4,

OBSERVATION SUMMARY

Think about the discussion that just occurred. Although you weren't asked to look for all of the following things, what do you think happened?

What specific topics were covered?

Did the members of the group interrupt each other during the discussion? Try to estimate the frequency of this.

Were there a few members of the group who dominated the discussion? If so, how did they dominate?

Did individuals generally talk about what "other people feel/do"? or did individuals generally talk about what "I feel/do"?

Did members of the discussion group generally compete with each other for attention or was there a substantial amount of time spent listening and asking questions of each other? Try to estimate the amount of time spent competing as opposed to listening.

The World of Work

Purpose

To help students explore sex role stereotyping in careers and to help them explore the responsibilities and status attached to particular jobs as well as the personal values they associate with working.

Background

The male stereotype is perhaps most poignantly defined in the world of work. Boys are prepared from very early ages to consider future careers as well as developing the attitudes and skills necessary for a life of work. They are encouraged to enter certain professions while discouraged from doing what is considered "women's work". Once employed, they may be expected to conform to a rigid stereotype of the male worker. While work is often a pleasurable experience, it can be equally destructive because of the male stereotype.

"Work is the institution that most defines the majority of adult males. Many of us look to work for our basic sense of worth. If we are lucky, we may find a position that is respected. Or we may simply take satisfaction at earning the money a job provides. On the other hand, we may, as many do, find the work not meaningful, the position not esteemed, and the wages not satisfying - and suffer accordingly.

As men, the desire to do good work, hold a respected position, or earn good money, follows from learning as boys that it is important to get ahead. The physical, social, and academic skills on which we assessed ourselves as boys translate into jobs that line us up in the adult hierarchy...." ⁴

Most of your students will work for the majority of their adult lives. Many of them will have a relatively limited range of work options, due to factors like race, educational level, socio-economic background, and the economy itself. However, there is some choice about the values they carry to the job and their perceptions of themselves as workers.

In the first activity, students are asked to look at a variety of jobs and determine why these jobs tend to be sex-stereotyped and limit the options they have as workers. In the second activity, students are exposed to males who have selected non-stereotypical jobs in the hope that these role models will chip away at the male stereotype. The last activity is also built upon the actual experiences of working adults using material in Studs Terkel, Working (New York: Avon, 1974). These interviews with working men and women are powerful and poignant - and often depressing, yet they provide valuable source material on the experiences and feelings of workers.

⁴ Joseph Pleck and Jack Sawyer, ed., Men and Masculinity (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1975) p. 94.

Men's Work and Women's Work

Using either the suggested list below or a list of jobs developed by students, ask them to determine which jobs are for men only, which jobs are for women only, and which jobs could be done by either a man or a woman with equal success. To help the students identify the gender that they attach to a certain job, simply ask them to visualize a person who they associate with that job and then indicate the gender of that person. This activity could be done either as a public vote (show of hands) or as a checklist given to each student individually and discussed as a group.

Ask the students to examine the skills needed for those careers which they generally describe as being appropriate for one sex only. Are those skills a "natural" attribute of that sex group or are there other reasons why boys (or girls) generally wouldn't choose a particular career?

Architect	Garbage Collector	Reporter
Astronaut	Gas Station Attendant	School Nurse
Ballet Dancer	Heavy Equipment Operator	Secretary/Receptionist
Chemist	High School Principal	Supermarket Cashier
Dress Maker	Lawyer	Tailor
Farmer	Librarian	Telephone Operator
Firefighter	Medical Doctor	Umpire
Florist	Plumber	Writer
Forest Ranger	Pre-school Teacher	Zoo Keeper

Ask the students to look more closely at six careers in particular: firefighter, medical doctor, nurse, pre-school teacher, high school principal, and receptionist/secretary. Initially, ask them to speculate about the benefits and costs of each of the careers, including such things as salary ranges, hours spent working, exciting and boring aspects, physical hazards, psychological stress, demands and rewards, and the training required to prepare for the career.

If the students do not have clear information about

these benefits and costs, have them do research on these six careers through interviews of individuals engaged in the work, statistics from the Department of Labor, or information from professional associations which represent each career area. Re-examine the benefits and costs, and, in particular, determine the percentage of men and women in each of the careers.

What conclusions might be drawn about "men's work" and "women's work"? Would the boys choose a career which is stereotyped as a women's career? Do the boys seriously consider the costs (hazards, physical stress, long hours) of some men's careers as well as the benefits (status, money, power)?

Men in Non-Traditional Careers

A. If there are men in the community who are engaged in non-traditional roles, ask them to speak to the students about the non-traditional aspects of their roles, the responses they get from other men, and their feelings about their roles. It is important that boys be personally exposed to men who don't fit the male stereotype; they will begin to realize that such men really do exist and that there is nothing "wrong" with them.

While there are probably many men in the community who engage in some type of non-traditional activity, you might try to find a man who is a

Nurse

Full-time homemaker

Pre-school teacher

Dancer

Secretary

Flight attendant

Model

The Values of Work

Help the students to determine their motivations for working. While it may seem self evident to you and the students, it's important for them to understand why they may perceive themselves as workers for the rest of their lives. Do they in fact see themselves as "bread-winners" in the conventional sense?

Do they want to work? What satisfaction and disappointment do they expect to experience as a result of working? Do they feel that they will have a choice of either working or not working for the rest of their lives? How do they measure success as a worker? How do adult males they know measure this success?

In addition to using class discussion to generate responses to these questions, you might ask the students to write a short story about a day in the life of a man who works at one of the following jobs:

- used car dealer
- truck driver
- steel worker
- farm worker
- janitor
- police officer
- cab driver
- barber
- mail carrier

Then have the students read the interviews with these people in Studs Terkel's Working to get a sense of how these people feel about their jobs. For example, a heavy equipment operator describes his day in this manner:

" There's no job in construction which you could call an easy job. I mean, if you're out there eating dust and dirt for eight, ten hours a day, even if you're not doing anything, it's work. Just being there is. . . ."

Foul

Purpose

To help students explore both the positive and negative aspects of competitive athletics, to help them clarify the value which they personally place on their participation in competitive events, and to help them explore alternatives to traditional competitive sports.

Background

"It's an unfortunate and tragic fact that kids in this country have more respect for an athlete than they have for their own parents."

- Dean Meminger, former professional basketball player -

"All athletes are heroes, people to be worshipped. They may be alcoholics, they may be drug addicts, adulterers - but they're heroes, assuming in many American homes the role of a substitute parent-figure."

- Howard Cosell, sports announcer -

Of the eight sections in this curriculum booklet, "Foul" is most likely to provoke controversy and disagreement among students - and possibly teachers. Competitive sports (particularly football, basketball, and baseball) often receive much more attention than any other student activity in school. This is in spite of the fact that athletics are technically an extra-curricular activity, outside of the explicit public goals of education. Few educators would deny the need for physical fitness, but not at the cost of academic, personal, or social growth. While virtually every coach or PE teacher has spoken to students (sometimes only male students) about the positive values of participation in competitive sports, seldom do teachers help students critically examine these values.

This is an especially crucial issue for males. Marc Fasteau suggests why in this passage from The Male Machine:

"Male preoccupation with sport, although pathetic, is more or less benign. But it has a darker side: the use of athletic competition as a model for behavior and problem-solving in other areas of life. Competition is the central dynamic of organized athletics. Its other benefits (and costs), unlike those of activities which produce a tangible product rather than abstract "victories," are personal to the athlete and sometimes hard to measure. So it has been easy to make athletic competition into a . . . unqualified pursuit of victory. And because the subtler, personal rewards and pleasures of sports are played down, in fact often destroyed by this approach, the pursuit becomes a never ending one;

one's sense of achievement depends entirely on winning. Absolute team loyalty, unquestioning obedience to authority, respectful fear and hatred of the opposition, disregard of individual injury and suffering - all justified in the name of victory - these are the axioms of the sports system." 5

Depending on one's point of view, there may be a decidedly negative tone to the activities in this section. Yet they are designed to compensate for the absence of information and values not generally discussed or supported in sports programs. It is important to be a balancing, encouraging figure in these activities. There are undoubtedly many students who do not want to engage in the "glamorous sports" such as football or who aren't physically active at all. These students should feel free to express their disappointments, frustrations, or angers over not receiving the recognition and status which athletes tend to get in the school and the community.

The ultimate goal is for all students to enjoy participating in their choice of physical activity without harm to themselves or others. One model for this type of physical activity is the concept of New Games, developed by the New Games Foundation, P.O. Box 7901, San Francisco, California, 94120. New Games is a style of play combining elements of traditional games with other types of human interaction. The approach can be used with any game and is adaptable to a wide variety of settings. Literature, equipment, and training is available from the Foundation. Many school systems have incorporated aspects of New Games into their sex-integrated physical education curriculum.

5. Marc Fasteau, The Male Machine (New York: Dell, 1975) p. 111.

The Head Cheerleader

Ask the students to write descriptions of the two people in the following excerpt from an article in a high school newspaper:

"Friday night, the head cheerleader at Central High went to the senior prom with the head athlete, a three letter winner."

In their descriptions of these two people, the students should include as much information as possible, including speculations about dress, physical appearance, personality, and relationships with peers and school personnel.

When the students have completed this exercise, ask that a few of the descriptions be read to the rest of the class. Are there similarities in the profiles of cheerleader and the athlete?

Then tell them that the head cheerleader is a boy and that the top athlete is a girl. Why did they assume the opposite? What does all of this say about the assumptions they make about athletes and cheerleaders?

Is there a male stereotype of the "jock" in your school? Do students agree on this stereotype? Is this stereotype changing with an increase in the number of girls participating in competitive athletic programs? And how do the students respond to the idea of a male cheerleader? Do boys and girls differ in their acceptance of males in that role?

If the school has an annual "Powderpuff" football game, you might ask students to look critically at this event. (A "Powderpuff" game is a touch football game involving the girls as players and the boys as cheerleaders. The girls usually play the game seriously, practicing extensively prior to the game, while the boys parody the cheerleaders and try to make a farce of the game).

Using interviews with both students and staff, ask your students to determine attitudes towards the game. Do the boys and girls participating in the game have a different perspective on the seriousness of the game? How does each group feel about the other group trying to "play" their traditionally sex-designated role? Do the students believe that this is a positive activity in light of sex role stereotyping? Does the powderpuff football game encourage or discourage sex role stereotypes?

The Superbowl

Ask the students to read Warren Farrell's account of the Superbowl in The Liberated Man. In this description, Farrell suggests that the Superbowl is the ultimate contemporary statement about sexism, patriotism, warfare, and masculinity. (A reprint of "The Superbowl" can be found in the Appendix).

Do the students feel that this is an accurate statement about the Superbowl? How do they feel when they watch the Superbowl? If this discussion occurs prior to the Superbowl, you may want to assign them the task of critically watching all aspects of the Superbowl production to which Farrell refers. This includes preparations for the game, the role of the announcers, interviews with and comments by the players, the pre-game and half-time shows, and advertisements. Develop short essay questions for students to share their perceptions with you and each other.

One aspect of the game which deserves more attention is the violence. Farrell quotes one player as saying, "I think about hurting the other person because every time you get kicked senseless, you can count on knocking two or three other people senseless. That's a pretty good feeling". Are students aware of this aspect of the game, and if so, what do they see as the positive and negative aspects of violence in football? Other issues, including racism, drug use, and physical abuse in general, deserve similar treatment. To help stimulate these discussions, you might use some of the following resources:

Sportsworld: An American Dreamland, Lipsyte

The Madness in Sports, Beisser

Death in an American Game, Underwood

Foul, Wolf

Ball Four, Bouton

George Allen's comments about being a football coach in Terkel's Working.

Winning, A film adapted from "60 Minutes" in which Mike Wallace examines a pee wee football program. Available from Time/Life films, Paramus, New Jersey.

The "Pros"

Many boys express a desire to have a career as a professional athlete. While it would be unfair to totally destroy a boy's fantasy of being a professional athlete, it is important that he be given realistic information about his chances of actually ever playing in the pros. The chances are slim. As a research project, therefore, ask a group of boys to determine the total number of athletes playing major league baseball, football, and basketball in any given year. Compare this information with the number of men playing college football; the students could research this data all the way down through junior high and high school athletic programs. (This data might be available through the state Athletic Association, the National Collegiate Athletic Association, or even local sports writers or announcers who generally have a wealth of information available.)

Collecting and analyzing this information may be a sobering experience for the boys. A visual display of data could reveal how harsh is the filtering and elimination process for acceptance into professional sports.

You might follow this exercise with a discussion of the alternatives to participation in professional sports. Are there ways that boys and men can play team, competitive sports without making it a career? What recreational opportunities are available for those who choose not to participate in competitive programs at all? Boys may feel that these options are inferior to being a "pro". Why is so much status attached to being a professional athlete? Why are these people so often the "heros" of our society? Review the previous discussions about the benefits and costs of participation in professional athletics. Then compare these with the benefits and costs of participation in non-competitive, recreational activities.

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Score As Much As Possible

The game "Score as Much as Possible" can be used to clarify students' values about competition and cooperation. Divide students into an even number of teams of 3 or 4 members each. Then pair up the teams. Each team, therefore, will be playing with just one other team. Then read the following instructions to the class after giving each team a copy of the "Scoring Form." (see page 42)

"We're going to play a game called Score as Much as Possible and the rules are simple. There will be ten rounds, and in each round, your team will select either X or Y. Depending on what the other team selects, you will either win or lose points. Although there are other teams in the room, you need to be concerned only with your own team and the team with which you are paired.

In the first three rounds you must make your selection of X or Y without any conversation with the other team. I will simply give you 30 seconds to make your decision as a team and then you must write either X or Y in the space provided on the scoring form I've given you. In rounds 4, 7, and 10, I'll give you 3 minutes for your decision and selection of X or Y and during that time you may talk with the other team about the game. Rounds 5, 6, 8, and 9 will be the same as 1, 2, and 3.

After each round, I will ask each team to indicate whether it chose X or Y. At that time, determine the points that your team received, write that number in the column on the right side of the scoring form, and we'll go on to the next round.

The system for scoring points is given in the table at the top of the scoring form. I'll let you look this over for a few minutes and then we'll begin to play."

Do not add any instructions to the above; if students have questions about how to play the game, be sure to only repeat information already in the instructions above.

The students will eventually realize that there are at least two ways to play the game, and that there are incentives in the game to cooperate with the other team or compete with the other team depending on how they choose to play. When the game is over (you may want to

play it more than once) discuss the results. What happens if both teams play the same way or if one team chooses to cooperate while the other team chooses to compete? Why does a team choose to cooperate or compete? What values do the individual team members place on cooperation and competition? Did the males and females have different values about this and in general did they try to play the game differently? Use these questions as a stimulus for a more general discussion on competition and cooperation.

Incidentally, the title of the game is intentionally vague. It doesn't specify if each team is to maximize its score or if the teams should collectively maximize their scores!

SCORING FORM

Point system:

If <u>your</u> team chooses	And the <u>other</u> team chooses	Then <u>your</u> team
X	X	loses 1 point
X	Y	wins 3 points
Y	Y	wins 1 point
Y	X	loses 3 points

<u>Round</u>	time allowed for selection	your team's selection (X or Y)	points won or lost
1	30 sec		
2	30 sec		
3	30 sec		
4	3 min (communicate with other team if you wish)		
5	30 sec		
6	30 sec		
7	3 min (communicate with other team if you wish)		
8	30 sec		
9	30 sec		
10	3 min (communicate with other team if you wish)		

Total points _____

Fathers and Children

Purpose

To help students explore the role of fathers in this society and, in particular, to help boys examine their attitudes towards children and being fathers.

Background

In the turmoil over the alleged breakdown of the American Family, a basic fact has been ignored: fathers spend an insignificant amount of time with their children, with estimates running as low as 20 minutes per day. Yet, mothers are generally getting blamed for the breakdown due to their movement into the labor force and their assertions of an independent status equal to that of men. There is no conclusive evidence that this change in status has affected the development of the child. In fact, there is some evidence which suggests that children of working women are more independent and responsible for themselves than children of non-working mothers. On the other hand, it seems clear that boys may suffer from the lack of close, meaningful adult role models in cases where the father is generally absent from the home. Boys are consequently left confused about what it means to be a man and look to other sources for information about the male role.

"Where, then, we might ask, do boys find meaningful, positive guides for the specifics of their behavior as males? The answer seems to point largely to their peer groups and somewhat older youths. Unfortunately, both the information and the practice he gets are distorted. Since his peers have no better sources of information than he has, all they can do is to pool the impressions and anxieties they derived from their early training. Thus, the picture they draw is at once oversimplified and overemphasized. It is a picture drawn in black and white, with little or no modulation, and it is incomplete including only a few of the many elements that go to make up the role of the mature male. Thus, we find overemphasis on physical strength and athletic skills, with almost a complete omission of tender feelings or acceptance of responsibility toward those who are weaker. Unfortunately, it is almost all that many boys have to go by and its power to induce anxiety is amply attested." 6

Clearly, the role of the father needs to be enhanced and encouraged as a positive force in the life of children. These activities offer students a chance to discuss fathering, to fantasize about their future role as a father, and to experience closer relationships with younger children.

⁶Ruth Hartley, "Sex Role Pressures in the Socialization of the Male Child," Men and Masculinity, pp. 8-9.

Future Fathers

Boys seldom think about their future roles as fathers even though there is a high probability that many of them will be fathers some day. Rather than asking the question "Do you plan to have children?" and then discuss the responses, it might be more effective to ask the boys to complete the sentence "If I become a father I will..." This could even be developed into an essay on "Being a Father." It's important to encourage boys to speculate about being a father and the impact that may have on their lives. If there are boys who believe that they will never be fathers, then ask them to complete the sentence "I do not want to become a father because..."

The students might also discuss fathers they see on TV as well as fathers they personally know. Are there similarities between their images of themselves and the fathers they know? Is there a stereotype about fathers? If so, how would the students describe the stereotypical father? Is there also an "ideal" father or qualities that they feel fathers ought to have?

Images of Fathers

Ask students to write endings for the following situations. Encourage them to be as descriptive and creative as possible, providing background information as well as projecting the story into the future. Depending on the students and their willingness to share their stories, you might ask them to read the stories to the rest of the class. Otherwise, you could select some to read anonymously. Each of the stories could potentially lead to discussion on any of the following topics: single parenting; the time that fathers set aside for their children; child abuse; father-son "talks"; discipline; fathers playing with their children or other ways that fathers treat children. The students will undoubtedly come up with a wide range of responses, much of it based on their personal experience. It is important to provide an opportunity to discuss these sensitive issues while at the same time respecting the feelings of the children.

Since he had finished the laundry and cleaned the kitchen, he decided to go visit his son. It was close to noon time, so he packed a picnic lunch, drove across town, and picked up Tyrone. They were glad to see each other. It seemed like it had been a long time since they were last together. As they had the rest of the afternoon together, they decided to

Bill knew that he was in trouble with his father, but he didn't know how his father would respond. It wasn't the first time that Bill had stayed out past the time when he was expected home. His father had been very irritable lately and had had several fights with mom; his younger sister had been punished earlier in the week for lying. Bill was feeling really nervous about seeing his father that night.

When his father came home

It had been a depressing day for Anthony. Some friends had teased him about trying out for a part in the school play and he had a fight with them as a result. It felt to him like he had lost the support of his friends just when he most needed it; he wasn't sure if he was good enough to get the part. So he called his Dad at work and

Playing and Working with Children

In most school districts, there are many opportunities for boys to interact with younger children. A peer tutoring program or a teacher's aid program are two ways to encourage this interaction. If a program such as this does not already exist in your district, encourage the development of one. With your own students, you might ask if they are interested in working with younger children as a class project. If they respond positively, approach an elementary school teacher about the possibility of an experimental tutor or aide program. This type of program can give both male and female students the chance to interact with children in a meaningful and socially acceptable manner. It can also be of great benefit to the school community. (for more information and examples of model programs, contact the National Commission on Resources for Youth, 36 W. 44th Street, New York, NY, 10036)

Emotions, Relationships, and Beyond

Purpose

To help students explore some of the more complex issues of masculinity, including the degree to which males are "allowed" to express emotions and the types and qualities of relationships with both men and women, and to give students some tools to further explore what it means to be a man.

Background

The first seven sections of this booklet cover some of the more obvious and accessible aspects of the male role. Two additional areas - emotions and intimate relationships - are the focus of this last section. These are subjects not usually addressed directly in secondary school curriculum and some educators might add that it is not appropriate to do so. But an in-depth examination of the male role forces these two issues to the surface.

The male stereotype has severely restricted the expression of certain emotions. You may have explored this to some extent in the exercise on images of men in advertising. It would be worthwhile here to focus directly on emotional expression, realizing that some boys are barely able to identify emotions, let alone feel those emotions. Boys have simply not been taught about emotions or given the opportunity to express them. The costs and benefits associated with emotional expression are summarized in "The Male Role Stereotype" (see Appendix).

Similarly, intimate relationships with other men have not been encouraged in our society. While there is an impression that bonds between men are strong, there is actually a lack of intimacy. As Marc Fasteau expresses in The Male Machine,

"There is a long-standing myth in our society that the greatest friendships are between men. Forged through shared experience, male friendship is portrayed as the most unselfish, if not the highest form, of human relationship. The more traditionally masculine the shared experience from which it springs, the stronger and more profound the friendship is supposed to be. Going to war, weathering crises together at school or work, playing on the same athletic team, are some of the classic experiences out of which friendships between men are believed to grow.

By and large, men do prefer the company of other men, not only in their structured time but in the time they fill with optional, nonobligatory activity. They prefer to play games, drink, and talk, as well as work and fight together. Yet something is missing. Despite the time men spend together, their contact rarely goes beyond the external, a limitation which tends to make their friendships shallow and unsatisfying." 7

The inability to express emotions and the fear of intimacy with other men go

hand-in-hand. Men are afraid to express their true feelings to other men yet they cannot develop stronger bonds with other men unless they risk the sharing of emotions. With most men, emotional expression is limited to the company of women, if at all. The result may be stereotyped male/male and male/female relationships which don't adequately meet the needs of either sex.

These activities will help students begin an exploration of these issues. It will require a sensitive teacher and a relatively sophisticated group of students. You may want to segregate males and females during some of the discussion in these exercises simply to encourage males to talk more openly with each other. One of the factors which can inhibit these discussions is homophobia - the fear of being perceived as homosexual. In fact, homophobia effectively discourages most boys from honestly discussing their relationships with other males and females (they may feel that they need to prove their heterosexuality in addition to strongly denying any possible homosexuality). If you would like more information on homophobia, you might read "Homophobia Among Men", Gregory K. Lehne, in The Forty-Nine Percent Majority, edited by Deborah S. David and Robert Brannon (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1976).

The final exercise in this section is simply another starting point. If you and your students (or a small group of them) want to discuss masculinity further, then you might look to these resources.

Relationships

Ask each of the students to make a list of those activities they do with males that they wouldn't do with females and a list of those activities they do with females that they wouldn't do with males. As a class, compile the responses and look for similarities and differences in the two lists. Why are there differences? Why is one sex preferred for certain activities? Does this mean that the opposite sex is not capable of doing certain things? Refer the students to male and female stereotypes they have previously discussed. Are relationships dependent on these stereotypes?

Ask students to watch popular movies and television shows to see how men relate with other men and with women. In these relationships, look for some of the following:

What activities do they do together ?

What emotions do they express with each other ?

Do they compete with each other - if so, when ?

Do they seem to love each other - if so, how do they express that care ?

Does one of them dominate the other ?

What occupations/jobs do they each have ?

Ask the boys what type of relationship they would like to have with another male if any relationship were possible. One way to elicit this would be to have them write a description of this relationship, with these questions as a beginning: "Imagine that you are 30 years old and that you're going to spend the weekend with your best male friend. What will you do together and talk about? How do you feel about this other man? Are there ways in which you need him or he needs you? Are there things that you probably won't do together?"

Men's Emotions

Ask students to find pictures of men which show various facial expressions. Ask them to speculate about each man's personality and what he may be feeling at the time the photograph or drawing was made. What emotions seem to be most often expressed by men?

(If students are having difficulty naming the emotions they see, then you might ask them to make a list of feeling words such as angry, sad, happy, or fearful. Generate this list by asking them to complete the short sentence "I feel _____" with as many words as possible.)

In general, what are the emotions which men frequently express and which emotions are those infrequently expressed? What might be the male stereotype in terms of emotions?

Why is it that men sometimes feel restricted from expressing all of their emotions? How do males encourage or discourage each other from expressing emotions? Are there motivations for not expressing these as well as good reasons to be more fully expressive? Are "costs" involved in either case? (See appendix on "The Male Role Stereotype" and "Some Damaging Effects of Sex Role Stereotyping on Men and Boys").

Consider emotional expression in situational terms: is emotional expression dependent on place, time, and other people? Is a man more likely to be expressive in certain situations? Which ones?

Ask the students how they might respond to men in each of the following situations. Would they approve or disapprove of his actions? What assumptions would they make about the rest of his personality? If they were his close friend, how would they respond to him at that moment?

A man is crying during a sad movie.

A man is kicking his car because it won't start

A man is reluctant to climb a ladder to fix his roof because he is afraid of heights

A man is crying because he just got fired from his job

A man has just put his fist through a window because he is angry with his lover

A man is weeping from the happiness he feels watching his son graduate from high school.

A man asks you to go get drunk with him because he is depressed about his mother's death.

A man tells you that he beat up his son because his son stole a few dollars from his wallet.

After the students have responded to these situations involving other people, ask them to explore their own use of emotional expression. Use the exercise on the next page to help them do this. Depending on levels of trust, students might be willing to share their responses in small groups.

Instructions: Here are some questions that ask you to remember how you felt and how you behaved in various situations. Think back and try to remember each situation as vividly and as clearly as possible. Think about how you felt in the situation and how you acted. When you describe what you did about your feelings, try to be as specific as you can.

1. The last time I cried was when _____

This is what I did about my feelings: _____

2. The last time I was scared was when _____

This what I did with my fear: _____

3. The last time I was really proud of something I did was when _____

This is what I did with my pride: _____

4. The last time I felt very sad was when _____

This is what I did with my sadness: _____

5. The last time I was worried about my ability to accomplish a job was when _____

This is what I did about my worry: _____

6. The last time I talked about my feelings with someone was when _____

The feelings I shared were: _____

(The exercise above is adapted from "Being a Man" by David Sadker. It was developed under contract between the Resource Center on Sex Equity and the Women's Educational Equity Act Program, U.S. Department of Education.)

Dating Role Reversal

Some students enjoy doing role plays and are not inhibited about participating in them. If there are volunteers, try role playing dating situations between males and females with males playing traditionally female roles and vice-versa. Depending on the ability of the students, the role play might be totally spontaneous or it may need to be carefully planned. In the latter case, have the students first describe a traditional dating situation with clearly delineated male and female roles. Consider the dynamics of the conversation (see previous activities under the section Male-Talk) as well as issues such as dominance and emotional expression (see previous activities in this section). You may even want to assign this role-play to a few students so that they can script it, rehearse it, and then perform it in front of the class.

It is preferable to do this as a spontaneous role play, but regardless of how the situation is presented to the class, help the boys and girls explore their reactions to being in a role which will probably seem foreign to them. What parts of the situation are uncomfortable or frightening? Which role would they rather be in - the stereotypic male role or the stereotypic female role? Are there alternatives to the stereotypical roles which feel more comfortable to both sexes or which might allow both sexes more freedom to respond to each other?

Beyond. . .

Although the books which have been written about masculinity are generally written for an adult audience, some of them are adaptable for use with high school students. In particular, you might look at The Hazards of Being Male, The Male Machine, and The Liberated Man (see bibliography in appendix). Each book has material which could be used as stimuli for class discussion.

If available, the film Men's Lives can also be an effective stimulus for discussion. It is one of the few films (perhaps the only film) which focuses exclusively on the male role, and in so doing, questions traditional notions of masculinity. It traces the male growing-up process from boy scout to factory worker using interviews with a variety of boys and men. Men's Lives is available from New Day Films, Franklin Lakes, New Jersey.

SOME SELECTED WORKS ON MEN AND MASCULINITY

This bibliography includes many of the contemporary works on men and masculinity. It is a composite of materials written in the last 10 years as the issue of masculinity has achieved some degree of recognition. Some of these materials are repetitious and there certainly is not an overabundance of materials. Nonetheless, they represent some extremely timely and valuable work.

Bookstores typically stock a few of the more popular items, such as The Liberated Man, The Hazards of Being Male, and The Male Machine, but some of these books are either difficult to find or probably only available in a large public library.

Brannon, Robert, and Deborah David, ed. The Forty-Nine Percent Majority: The Male Sex Role. Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1976.

A collection of articles by various authors on the male sex role with a discussion of the conceptual model of the male role, how men in America learn the role, changes that are occurring in the role, and possible directions for future change. A good resource which effectively addresses the question of how women's changing role is affecting the role of men.

Chafetz, Janet Saltsman. Masculine/Feminine or Human? An Overview of the Sociology of Sex Roles; Illinois: F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1974.

Presents a sociological perspective on sex roles and includes discussions of the difference between gender and sex role stereotypes, the influence of schools, the media, language, economics on the role development of males and females, and personal relationships and sex role playing.

Chesler, Phyllis. About Men; New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978.

Chesler, the author of a now classic book about women, Women and Madness, has created a truly unique statement about men. It is very eclectic in its approach, drawing from the world of art, science, and literature. Chesler states: "The book you are about to read deals with the psycho-sexual bases of male personality from four different points of view: A mythopoetic point of view, a visual point of view, an autobiographical point of view, and a more traditional psychological or psychoanalytic point of view."

Cooke, Chris, ed. Men's Survival Resource Book: On Being a Man in Today's World: Minneapolis, Minnesota: MSEB Press, 1978. As the title suggests, this book is a broad-ranging resource book for men. The 45 articles and literary sources cover topics such as career and play, health, birth control, sexuality, fatherhood, parenting, men and violence, and personal growth. This collection has substantially different material from that found in earlier collections. Although eclectic, it is a refreshing collection.

Diagram Group. Man's Body: An Owner's Manual; New York: Bantam Books, 1976.

In an encyclopedic style, it covers topics such as conception, alcohol use, fitness, nutrition, sleep, cancer, and puberty. In addition to diagrams and technical explanations of body functions, Man's Body offers practical guidance, international statistics, and the insights of specialists.

DuBrin, Andrew J.; The New Husbands and How to Become One; Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1976.

An informal, anecdotal approach to the issue of new roles for men. It considers only the experiences of white, middle-class men.

Farrell, Warren; The Liberated Man; New York: Bantam Books, 1974.

"Is being a success object really better than being a sex object?" Farrell raises this question and many others in this popular, often quoted book. It is a mix of research and opinion with historical materials as well as practical tools for men to begin to explore their masculinity. Farrell includes a test for the reader to help examine himself on issues of being a man; there is a "human" vocabulary suggested to replace our male gender-centered vocabulary; and there is a famous chapter on the relationships between the Superbowl, masculinity, and nationalism.

Fasteau, Marc Feigen; The Male Machine; New York: Dell, 1975.

The premise is that man is like a machine: "he is programmed to attack problems and overcome difficulties; he is functional, designed mainly for work; he dominates and outperforms fellow machines; and his circuits are never scrambled or overrun by irrelevant, personal signals -- in fact, the internal circuitry is something of a mystery to him and is maintained primarily by humans of the opposite sex." Fasteau covers topics such as marriage, family, sports, work, sexuality, violence, and even foreign policy. The final chapter, Androgyny, suggests a world in which men and women freely accept their full potential as human beings who possess the capacity for both masculine and feminine traits, but without losing their sexual identity.

Firestone, Ross; A Book of Men: Visions of the Male Experience; New York; Stonehill Publishing, 1975.

A very atypical book about the male experience, this is actually a collection of personal writings of men in the 20th century. The writings include autobiographies, journals, letters, and diaries. There is no attempt to analyze the writings, but only to present them, classified by sections: sons, lovers, husbands, and fathers. The selections are truly diverse in style and content; authors range from Herman Hesse to Joe Namath and from Groucho Marx to Huey Newton.

Goldberg, Herb; Hazards of Being Male; New York: New American Library, 1976.

Goldberg feels that men have paid a heavy price for 'masculine privilege and power'; this self-denial and self-destruction occurs daily through men's dependence on women; an inability to express a full range of emotions; an inability to be free and impulsive; the destruction of his body through stress and reluctance to admit weakness; and a belief that total success is really possible. While Goldberg's book apparently emphasizes the negative aspects of masculinity, it indirectly affirms the need for men to explore new options. While basically informal and occasionally harsh, it brings psychological theory, research, and personal insights together to create a valuable book for awareness.

Kriegel, Leonard, ed.; Myth of American Manhood; New York: Dell, 1978.

This collection of 21 stories and essays traces the development of the masculine identity from Daniel Boone to men who are currently questioning their roles. Includes works by Twain, Hemingway, Baldwin, and Mailer. Although the collection provides an historical approach by presenting what has been written over the last century, it really provides no new literary models for men.

Levine, Jay; Who Will Raise the Children? New York: Lippincott, 1978.

This book describes a multitude of situations in which single men adopt children, and married men share household responsibilities, work responsibilities, or actually become full-time househusbands. All the examples are drawn from recent experiences of men in the United States. The information is not analyzed, but simply offered as evidence of change with suggestions of alternative male roles.

McGrady, Mike; The Kitchen Sink Papers: My Life as a Househusband; New York: New American Library, 1976.

A successful businessman trades places with his spouse for an experimental year. A totally honest account of what it's like for a man to take over the daily responsibility of a home and children, and to accept -- no, depend on -- money from his spouse.

Mellen, Joan; Big Bad Wolves: Masculinity in the American Film; New York; Pantheon Books, 1977.

An historical, in-depth examination of the role of men in American movies. The Big Bad Wolves are "those male stars who have consciously and stridently demonstrated on screen what it means to be a man." A thoughtful and provocative study which suggests there have been virtually no cinematic attempt at providing positive images of men in non-traditional roles.

Pleck, Joseph, and Jack Sawyer, eds.; Men and Masculinity; Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1975.

"Seek achievement and suppress emotion," the masculine role tells men. Men and Masculinity describes how this role is learned, how it limits men, and how men today are freeing themselves from it. Basically a collection of articles written by others, it covers these topics: male socialization; men's relationships with other men and other women; men as fathers; men in work and professional settings; and men in the military, athletics, and politics.

Sadker, David; Being a Man: A Unit of Instructional Activities on Male Sex Role Stereotyping; Washington, D.C.: Resource Center on Sex Equity, 1976.

A curriculum guide for junior high school students. Available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Snodgrass, Jon et al.; For Men Against Sexism; Albion, California: Times Change Press, 1977.

"This anthology reflects the developing consciousness of men profoundly influenced by the women's liberation movement. While acknowledging the pervasiveness of sexism, these men seek to transform themselves and to revolutionize patriarchal society. The authors explore male sexuality and socialization -- the process by which men acquire their "masculinity" and the need to subjugate women. Patriarchy, the system of male power and privilege, is analyzed and attacked. Examples of men's recent opposition to sexism are discussed in articles on anti-Playboy demonstrations, consciousness-raising groups, and organizing for childcare and against rape. Separate sections are devoted to articles by Third World, working class, and gay men on their special experiences of opposition."

"The Ties That Bind: The Price of Pursuing the Male Mystique"; PEER Report, Project on Equal Education Rights (PEER), NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, Washington, D.C.: 1980.

"Ties That Bind" is a four page report which discusses the fact that men, too, pay a price for restrictive sex role stereotyping. It is an excellent resource for introducing men and women to the issue of male role stereotyping. Available for \$1.00 from PEER, 1112 13th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20005.

SOME DAMAGING EFFECTS OF SEX STEREOTYPING ON BOYS AND MEN

(Reproduced from Project Awareness, a training program developed by Feminists Northwest, 1977. Originally adapted from Nancy Frazier and Myra Sadker, Sexism in School and Society; New York; Harper and Row, 1973).

A. LOSS OF PERSONALITY AND WORK OPTIONS

1. The damage of stereotyping is even more irreparable for the boy than for the girl. When boys learn stereotyped male behavior there is a 20 percent better chance that it will stay with them for life than when girls learn stereotyped behavior. (P.H. Mussen, "Some Antecedents and Consequents of Masculine Sex-Typing in Adolescent Boys," Psychological Monographs, vol. 75, no. 2 (1961); and P.H. Mussen, "Long-term Consequents of Masculinity on Interests in Adolescence," Journal of Consulting Psychology, vol. 26 (1962), 435-440)
2. Demands that boys conform to social notions of what is manly come much earlier and are reinforced with much more vigor than similar attitudes with respect to girls. Several research studies, using preschool children as their subjects, indicate that boys are aware of what is expected of them because they are boys and restrict their interests and activities to what is suitably "masculine" in kindergarten, while girls amble gradually in the direction of "feminine" patterns for five more years. (Ruth Hartley, "Sex-Role Pressures and the Socialization of the Male Child," in Judith Stacey et al. (eds.), And Jill Came Tumbling After: Sexism in American Education, New York: Dell, 1974, 185-198)
3. Most boys build expectations that are higher than their achievements. ... Boys who score high on sex-appropriate behavior (possessing masculine outlook and behavior) also score highest in anxiety.... Striving to maintain a masculine role is for the boy stressful enough to be associated with manifest anxiety. (Susan W. Gray, "Masculinity-Femininity in Relation to Anxiety and Social Acceptance," Child Development, vol. 28, no. 2 (June 1957), 203-214)
4. Because of the relative absence of fathers from boys' experience ... the elementary aged boy looks to his peers to fill in the gaps in his information about his role as a male. Since his peers have no better sources of information than he has, all they can do is to pool the impressions and anxieties they derive from the media and their early training. Thus we find over-emphasis on physical strength and athletic skills with almost complete omission of tender feelings or acceptance of responsibility toward those that are weaker. (adapted from Ruth Hartley, op.cit.)
5. Six volumes of studies document that violence in American society is taught, learned and acted upon. Boys are actually encouraged to be aggressive by parents while girls are not. Almost all TV models encourage aggression in men. Childhood aggression predictably results in continued undisguised aggression when boys become men. (Warren Farrell, The Liberated Man, N.Y.: Bantam Books, 1974, p. 43; and Robert Liebert, "Television and Social Learning: Some Relationships between Viewing Violence and Behaving Aggressively" (Overview) in Television and Social Behavior: A Report To

the Surgeon General from the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, vols. 1-5, Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Mental Health, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1972)

6. Basically the male stereotype discourages males from speaking openly with one another about their fears, anxieties, and weaknesses. It fosters intellectualizing, bravado, and competitiveness among males, all of which are directly antithetical to more intimate personal exchanges. (Janet Saltzman Chafetz, Masculine/Feminine or Human? Itasca, Ill: F.E. Peacock Publisher, Inc., 1974, p. 165)
7. Most boys recognize they cannot prove themselves on all levels.... But they must still choose between two basic images of what a man is and can be-- images which are apparent from both children's books and numerous other sources. One image is the "physical striving man" and the other, the "job striving" man. (Warren Farrell, op.cit. pp. 37-38)
8. There are some further costs of the masculine role. It is well known that males have a life expectancy that is shorter by several years than that of females, and that there is a much higher mortality rate for males between the specific ages of 18 and 65 than for females. Some of the reasons for this are probably related to sex role phenomena. First, males suffer more accidental deaths in sports, on dangerous vehicles like motorcycles, and through violence. Part of the definition of masculinity is personal bravery and adventuresomeness.

Over and above accidental deaths are deaths from diseases that probably reflect, in part, the masculine emphasis on competition, success, and productivity. The pressure on males to "succeed" in a highly competitive world of work create tremendous stress; in the final analysis, few males can ever sit back and say "I've arrived; I am a success; now I can relax."

Among the large numbers of males doing less competitive but more repetitious labor, the pressure to persist day in, day out, year after year, in highly alienating work results from the sex role requirement that they provide for their families the best they possibly can in material terms. Heart attacks, strokes, high blood pressure, and other circulatory illnesses probably result in part from such pressures. They undoubtedly also contribute to the much higher rates of alcohol and drug abuse among males, which in turn hasten death, and they are reflected in the higher male suicide rate. The proscription on expressing emotions entailed in the masculine role definition probably exacerbates the stresses inherent in the obligation to support a family---financially and emotionally --and to succeed in an often highly competitive "rat race." (Janet Saltzman Chafetz, op.cit., pp. 64-65)

9. In my survey of male employees I frequently found that when I asked the employee if he would ever consider taking a year off to care for children, he would consistently reply something like: "Personally I would like to do it, but I could really endanger myself here at work-- imagine telling my boss I'm going to be a mother for a year!" If I agreed that might be impractical and asked, "Would you actively support a child-care center here in your company?" a not atypical reaction was, "If I keep pushing for things like that, I'll end up Vice President in Charge of Girls (laughter)." Over and over the employees seemed scared, even to the point of sweating, to be a part of anything out of the ordinary, particularly if it associated them with something "weaker," like women, or showed what our society considers "weakness" like self-examination. (Warren Farrell, op.cit., p. 48)

B. LOSS OF ACADEMIC POTENTIAL

1. At age six when a boy enters first grade, he may be twelve months behind his female counterpart in development age, and by nine this discrepancy has increased to eighteen months. Thus he is working side by side with a female who may not only be bigger than he, but who seems better prepared to handle school more competently and more comfortably. (Frances Bentzen, "Sex Ratios in Learning and Behavior Disorders," National Elementary School Principal, 46, no. 2 (Nov. 1966, 13-17; as quoted in Nancy Frazier and Myra Sadker, Sexism in School and Society, New York: Harper & Row, 1973, p. 87)
2. Among boys and girls of comparable IQ, girls are more likely to receive higher grades than boys. Also boys, who do equally well as girls on achievement tests get lower grades in school. In fact, throughout elementary school, two-thirds of all grade repeaters are boys. (Gary Peltier, "Sex Differences in the School: Problem and Proposed Solution," Phi Delta Kappan, 50, no. 3 (Nov. 1968), 182-85; as quoted in Frazier, Ibid., p. 92)
3. Boys receive 8 to 10 times as many prohibitory control messages (warnings like: "That's enough talking Bill. Put that comic away, Joe") as their female classmates. Moreover, when teachers criticize boys, they are more likely to use harsh or angry tones than when talking with girls about an equivalent misdemeanor. (Phil Jackson and Henriette Lahaderne, "Inequalities of Teacher-Pupil Contacts," in Melvin Silberman (ed.), The Experience of Schooling, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971, pp. 123-134; as quoted in Frazier, Ibid., p. 89)
4. Studies of educational underachievement in the gifted have revealed that underachievement occurs twice as frequently among boys as among girls. (Ruth Hartley, op.cit. p. 185)

5. Boys are the maladjusted, the low achievers, the truants, the delinquents, the inattentive, the rebellious. National delinquency rates are five times higher among boys than girls; in New York City, 63% of all drop-outs are boys. (Patricia Cayo Sexton, "Schools are Emasculating Our Boys," in Judith Stacey, op.cit. 138-141)
6. Some researchers have found three times more boys than girls have trouble with reading. (Frazier, op.cit., p. 92)
7. The "physical striver" considers it masculine not to care about what his teachers think. "How much you can get away with," is far more masculine than an enthusiastic "Look how much I learned!" The reading difficulty itself is perpetuated by the fear of studying, and the insecurity by the fear of appearing like a girl. (Warren Farrell, op. cit., pp. 34, 38)
8. The poorly educated physically striving male makes absolute statements often bordering on the authoritarian. In this way he feels no one dare challenge him. The more educated student striver learns to articulate and hedge his statements so carefully as to never be vulnerable. Both are concerned with proving themselves right, rather than discovering what's right. (Warren Farrell, op.cit., pp. 39-40)

C. LOSS OF NURTURANT AND SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL QUALITIES

1. ...our sex role stereotypes have left virtually the entire realm of emotional expression and human caring to femininity. It is difficult to imagine a genuine loving relationship involving the stoical, unemotional, instrumentally oriented, dominating, aggressive, and competitive nature of the masculine stereotype. Moreover, both males and females view a husband's primary function as that of provider; there is no socially defined and sanctioned expectation that he confide, comfort, or share, and without these there is scarcely "love." (Chafetz, op.cit., p. 166)
2. Almost nothing in the prefatherhood learning of most males is oriented in any way to training them for parenting. They are actively discouraged as children from play activities involving baby surrogates and except in rare instances of large families with few or no older sisters, they are not usually required to help much in the daily care of younger siblings. (Chafetz, op.cit., p. 178)
3. By and large, most fathers, especially white middle class, probably relate very little to their children during infancy and early childhood, perceiving them as more or less of a nuisance. Fathers do not actively partake of the petty daily problems and needs of their offspring and they remain tangential to the intimate lives of their children, involved only in the "special" moments of excitement or disaster. In most cases fathers refuse even to engage in physical contact with their sons past infancy, preferring the handshake to the kiss. (Chafetz, op.cit., p. 180)

4. In addition to the relative absence of fathers from boys' experience, we have evidence that the relations between boys and their fathers tend to be less good than those between girls and their mothers or fathers. (Hartley, op.cit., p. 188)

5. Given the relative absence of male figures during his waking hours, the male toddler is hard pressed to find out what he is supposed to do. When the father is present he usually surpasses the mother in punishing the boy for being too "feminine" perhaps because of his own sex role insecurities. The boy finds out that "boys don't cry," "boys don't cling," and so on, but often on the basis of negative sanctions from parents and peers. (Chafetz, op. cit., pp. 73-74; and David Lynn, Parental and Sex Role Identification: A Theoretical Formulation, Berkeley, CA: McCutchan Publishing, 1969, pp.57-64)

6. In the long run, however, it is in men's relationships with each other that the proscription against having "feminine" feelings is most costly, because it precludes having a deep intimate involvement with someone who might share similar problems. In our society, where sex and affection are closely intertwined, if one gets too close to other men there is a fear that this affection will be seen as sexual, and homosexuality is the antithesis of masculinity. Furthermore, it would be difficult indeed to be supportive toward those persons with whom one is competing. This ban on emotionality does not necessarily apply to other cultures where men are allowed more latitude in expressiveness; in many European cultures men are allowed to embrace each other without compromising their masculinity. (Deborah David and Robert Brannon (eds.) The Forty-Nine Percent Majority: The Male Sex Role, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1976, p. 50.)

The Male Role Stereotype *

When you first consider that many men now feel that they are victims of sex role stereotyping, your natural response might be: "Are you kidding? Why should men feel discriminated against? Men have the best jobs; they are the corporation presidents and the political leaders. Everyone says, 'It's a man's world.' What do men have to be concerned about? What are their problems?"

It is obvious that men hold most of the influential and important positions in society, and it does seem that many men "have it made." The problem is that men pay a high cost for the ways they have been stereotyped and for the roles that they play.

To understand why many men and women are concerned, we need to take a look at the male role stereotype. Here is what men who conform to the stereotype must do.

Code of Conduct: The Male Role Stereotype

1. Act "Tough"

Acting tough is a key element of the male role stereotype. Many boys and men feel that they have to show that they are strong and tough, that they can "take it" and "dish it out" as well. You've probably run into some boys and men who like to push people around, use their strength, and act tough: In a conflict, these males would never consider giving in, even when surrender or compromise would be the smartest or most compassionate course of action.

2. Hide Emotions

This aspect of the male role stereotype teaches males to suppress their emotions and to hide feelings of fear or sorrow or tenderness. Even as small children, they are warned not to be "crybabies." As grown men they show that they have learned this lesson well, and they become very efficient at holding back tears and keeping a "stiff upper lip."

3. Earn "Big Bucks"

Men are trained to be the primary source of income for the family. So men try to choose occupations that pay well, and then they stick with those jobs, even when they might prefer to try something else. Boys and men are taught that earning a good living is important. In fact, men are often evaluated not on how kind or compassionate or thoughtful they are, but rather on how much money they make.

* Adapted from "Being a Man" by David Sadker, developed under contract between the Resource Center on Sex Equity and the Women's Educational Equity Act Program, U.S. Department of Education.

4. Get the "Right" Kind of job

If a boy decides to become a pilot, he will receive society's stamp of approval, for that is the right kind of a job for a man. But if a boy decides to become an airline steward, many people would think that quite strange. Boys can decide to be doctors, mechanics, or business executives, but if a boy wants to become a nurse, secretary, librarian, ballet dancer, or kindergarten teacher, he will have a tough time. His friends and relatives will probably try to talk him out of his decision, because it's just not part of the male role stereotype.

5. Compete--Intensely

Another aspect of the male role stereotype is to be super-competitive. This competitive drive is seen not only on athletic fields, but in school and later at work. This commitment to competition leads to still another part of the male stereotype: getting ahead of other people to become a winner.

6. Win--At Almost Any Cost

From the Little League baseball field to getting jobs that pay the most money, boys and men are taught to win at whatever they may try to do. They must work and strive and compete so that they can get ahead of other people, no matter how many personal, and even moral, sacrifices are made along the way to the winner's circle.

Those are some of the major features of the male stereotype. And certainly, some of them may not appear to be harmful. Yet when we look more closely, we find that many males who do "buy" the message of the male role stereotype end up paying a very high price for their conformity.

The Cost of the Code: What Men Give Up

1. Men who become highly involved in competition and winning can lose their perspective and good judgment. Competition by itself is not necessarily bad, and we've all enjoyed some competitive activities. But when a man tries to fulfill the male stereotype, and compete and win at any cost, he runs into problems. You've probably seen sore losers (and even sore winners)--sure signs of overcommitment to competition. Real competitors have trouble making friends because they're always trying to go "one-up" on their friends. And when cooperation is needed, true-blue competitors have a difficult time cooperating.

2. The next time you see hockey players hitting each other with their hockey sticks or politicians or businessmen willing to do almost anything for a Senate seat or a big deal, you know that you are seeing some of the problems of the male sex role stereotype: an overcommitment to competition and the need to win at any cost.

2. Hiding emotions can hurt. For one thing, hiding emotions confuses people as to what someone's real feelings are. Men who hide their emotions can be misunderstood by others who might see them as uncaring and insensitive. And men who are always suppressing their feelings may put themselves under heavy psychological stress. This pressure can be physically unhealthy as well.
3. The heavy emphasis that the male stereotype puts on earning big money also creates problems. Some men choose careers they really do not like, just because the job pays well. Others choose a job which at first they like, only later to find out that they would rather do something else. But they stay with their jobs anyway, because they can't afford to earn less money.

In trying to earn as much as possible, many men work long hours and weekends. Some even take second jobs. When men do this, they begin to lead one-track lives--the track that leads to the office or business door. They drop outside interests and hobbies. They have less and less time to spend with their families. That's one reason why some fathers never really get to know their own children, even though they may love them very much.

4. Many men who are absorbed by competition, winning, and earning big bucks pay a terrible price in terms of their physical health. With the continual pressure to compete, be tough, earn money, with little time left for recreation and other interests, men find themselves much more likely than women to fall victim to serious disease. In fact, on the average, men die 8 years sooner than women. Loss of life is a high cost to pay for following the code of the male role stereotype.
5. Those boys and men who do not follow the male code of conduct may also find their lives more difficult because of this stereotype. For example, some boys choose to become nurses rather than doctors, kindergarten teachers rather than lawyers, artists rather than electricians. Social pressure can make it terribly difficult for males who enter these nonstereotyped careers. Other boys and men feel very uncomfortable with the continual pressure to compete and win.

And some boys do not want to hide their feelings in order to project an image of being strong and tough. These males may be gentle, compassionate, sensitive human beings who are puzzled with and troubled by the male role stereotype. When society stereotypes any group--by race, religion, or sex--it becomes difficult for individuals to break out of the stereotype and be themselves:

SUPER BOWL: SEXISM, PATRIOTISM,
RELIGION, GANGS AND WARFARE *

There is nothing wrong with watching a football game. There is something suspect when a man gives lip service to "I wish I could spend more time with my wife and children" and then watches three football games in a weekend. There might be something suspect in football being held in such priority that sixty-five million people can arrange their day to allow a three-hour bloc of time for one event - the annual Super Bowl. Sixty-five million persons is between one third and one quarter of the American population, the very great majority of whom are men - doubtless more than half the men and boys who are old enough to watch TV in the United States.

Sixty-five million (as opposed to, say, one million) American (as opposed to non-American) males (as opposed to females) have chosen one activity above thousands of alternatives. This alone makes the phenomenon worthy of analysis. What are all these millions attracted to? When one adds to this the fact that this may involve persuading their attachés or living friends to rearrange schedules to allow the men to do this and then serve them beer and chips during the game, some attention might profitably be paid to the needs served and both the conscious and unconscious ways in which football makes its appeal to American men. A systematic analysis of every part of the Super Bowl (the pregame and half-time activities, the game, and the commercials) provides some fascinating answers.

The Super Bowl's first appeal to the viewers is patriotism and power. If we follow almost any Super Bowl from beginning to end we can see it first in the pregame activities. In the 1972 Super Bowl alone, for example, patriotism is represented in the pregame activities by the U.S. Air Force, which uniformly and with precision discipline marches onto the field. They are immediately followed by four flights of Phantom jets - the Tactical Fighter Wing of the U.S. Air Force - which thunder overhead, again with precision and discipline. Power and patriotism are linked. Speed and display of force are inseparable from patriotism. The Phantom jets are just leaving the viewer's field of vision when the male announcer invokes in a deep voice (with background noise fading to silence) a plea to "remember our veterans in you prayers." Religion is now linked to power - but American power. There is no question that a God exists and that this God approves of power only as displayed by brave Americans.

The announcer's invocation needs a visual focus now that the jets are gone. The camera zooms in on the American flag. Patriotism is reinforced by music. The U.S. Air Force band plays "The Star-Spangled Banner." Feeling is running high - our jets, our Air Force, our flag, our anthem, and finally, our boys. The unquestioned power of our country is associated with the discipline and uniformity of every Air Force jet and Air Force marching-band member. No deviance is tolerated in this display. Freedom of choice seems to be every man choosing short hair since there was no man in the pregame activities without it. The power of "The Star-Spangled Banner" reached enormous heights, but it is followed by a final call to patriotism - the U.S. Marine Corps's silent drill team marching in quiet but precise step. This is the silence following the climax. Now the American male may watch the game.

* From THE LIBERATED MAN, by Warren Farrell. Copyright © 1974 by Warren Farrell. Reprinted by permission of Random House, Inc.

Football, like war, is a scientific and brutal game; even the vocabulary of football is similar to that of war. A "bomb" is something thrown which destroys the opposite side. To bomb effectively is to "score." There is always an us and a them. There are commands to take the offensive and to prepare one's defenses. Both football and war feature spying and scouting, and special units for extra degrees of violence. (When the vocabulary is not interchangeable with that of war, it is with that of sex: "getting into the hole," "thrusting," and the announcer's admiration for each man successful at "deep penetration.")

The special team employed during every kickoff or punt is called the suicide squad. The comparison to war is made by Rich Saul, a lineman for the Los Angeles Rams who is notorious for his play on suicide squads. "If you compare football to war, then the special teams are the marines or the infantry. We're the first ones to get into the game, we initiate the hitting, we determine where the battle is going to be fought and on whose grounds." Saul, who says he enjoys his job, "slams into ball carriers with such intensity that he mangled five steel face masks on the front of his helmet." John Bramlett, a thirty-year old veteran, says, "I just think about hurting the other person because every time you get kicked senseless, you can count on knocking two or three other people senseless. That's a pretty good feeling." Fans made a legend out of Gil Mains of Detroit almost ten years ago. His fame was based on his willingness to launch himself feet first at the heart of an offensive wedge (a group of about four especially tough and quick men who block for the ball carrier). His attacking position is commonly called a "head hunter" (his primary aim is to get the ball-carrier's head). On the special teams the injury rate is eight times greater than for any other position.

The dependence on approval is so great that players continue to play with injuries no matter how painful they are. The men entering the suicide squads are tough men who use their strength as a way of compensating for their insecurity about making it on the club in any other way. These men are "mostly tough rookies and second year men" who "realize that their survival on the club and the road to a starting job - is directly related to their ferocity and fearlessness."

On the field a series of rituals are taking place which are designed to reinforce and provoke the utmost aggressiveness of which each man is capable. The pep talk is one ritual. The boy is manipulated by a number of reinforcing loyalties - the loyalty to his school, the coach, his team and team pride, and his own personal pride. In the game itself the loyalty to family and neighbors is added. Prior to the game the team captain yells, "Okay, let's go get them!" and the team screams, "Yeah!" repeatedly. A third ritual, described by Dave Meggyesy, formerly of the St. Louis Cardinals, as part of his high school team's preparation, is a special church service by a minister (a former college athlete), who gives an inspirational talk. Almost every type of tactic is permitted when the boys go all out for victory. The side with which one identifies is seen as all good and the other as all bad.

If the effect of professional football is not clear by the end of the first half of the game, it becomes clear at half time. The first event is the introduction of young male children who will competitively vie with each other for honors such as the best passer. Seven-year-old boys test their strength before sixty-five million people, and the young boy at home sees already that he is not quite the man some of his peers are. Furthermore, the other person with whom he identifies is sitting an arm's length away, glued to the TV set. Both the football game and the presence of his father increase the boy's sense of identity with both, but somehow he often feels he is not yet worthy of being a part of what is on the field or deserving of the full attention of his father. If the father is a rabid football fan and the boy a fair-to-middling athlete, the father's presence reinforces the son's need to identify without enabling him to get the feedback to fulfill that need.

There is no consistent transmittal of that warm feeling which tells the son he is accepted. Such a boy will either try to prove himself on various playing fields or will live vacariously through men who can.

No sooner do the boys clear off the field than women (called "girls") come onto the field. They are scantily clad, swinging their hips in unison, with outfits cut to reveal their buttocks and bosoms. As the cameras zero in on the former their legs slowly withdraw in a coy but obvious "see if you can get me."

The "girls" are not only selling the importance of slim, sexually coy bodies. They are selling the importance of white bodies (not a brown or black face was among the hundreds onto which the camera focused). But the sexism of selling bodies and the racism of uniform whiteness was not enough. These women were used to sell American patriotism. The scanty outfits were red, white, and blue "Aunt Sam" outfits, and in case the point was missed, each girl had a plastic American flag molded into an umbrella. As the distorted flag umbrellas were opened and closed the announcer explained the theme - "remembering the birth of America."

While sex is selling patriotism on the ground, power is used to sell it from the air. U.S. Air Force jets fly overhead, dropping dozens of American flags amid a cloud of smoke and a huge burst of firecrackers. The flags are distorted so as to fit into a parachute. The camera now returns us to the ground and the girls, where we witness hundreds of plastic flags laid on the ground and being danced around by "the girls."

The next group of ladies appears in frilly red tights cut similarly to those of the last group. These women sing "Hello Dolly" and literally lay around in a circle on the field and spread their legs, lift them up and spread them again. Carol Channing also sings "Hello Dolly" but in front of a fifteen-foot football. The U.S. Air Force Academy Choir replies to Ms. Channing by singing "Hello Dolly." Suddenly dozens of dollies appear - it's the women in the red tights who now promenade off the field by passing the men. The camera zooms in to pick up the eye contact between the men and the women, the essence of the half-time game. The proper distance is always maintained. The men have made their eyes while maintaining their still all-male ensemble, and the women have made their appeal without physically being "had." The half-time ends. The women who are on the field because of their bodies leave the field to make way for the men who will come on the field because of their bodies.

The viewer has now come through half a game and the half time. On the conscious level the man's power has been supported by his identification with the football players and his fantasizing an "I'd like to get her" relationship with one of "the girls" the camera brought into his living room. In fact, during the Cornell at Dartmouth game the ABC cameras picked out individual women in the stands and rated them. The evaluation (by males) were literally placed on the TV screen as "not to bad," "terrific," and other more condescending phrases. An ABC-TV spokesman indicated in a telephone interview that this was used on four broadcasts. It was not an isolated incident and the pressure brought to bear on the network was obviously not great enough to make them discontinue its use (the spokesman said he "did not remember any reactions to this").

The armchair viewers of the Super Bowl meanwhile have been treated to a spectacle which the crowd at the stadium has missed - the commercials: The theme of all but two of the commercials was muscle, strength, power and speed (no different from the football game). The first of the two exceptions featured five women in sexy outfits attempting to gain the favor of one man by being chosen to serve him a Dutch Masters cigar. The man, literally on a throne, acts unaffected and coolly discriminating as the five women move their lies caressingly toward him in repeated attempts to be recognized. The

smoke from the cigars creates a fantasy atmosphere of clouds as the commercial ends, along with the fantasy of millions of men.

The second exception is the only advertisement which deals even remotely with emotions or with a father's relationship with his children. Four-fifths of the commercial is an incredibly good portrait of a close and warm father-child relationship. Then the father is told he might die. It is implied that if he loves his children he will buy insurance. His love has been exploited and twisted into fear for the purpose of selling him insurance. Now the father has a way of showing his love for his children: He can spend money. He alone is responsible for their support, if he's living or if he's dead.

A beer advertisement first prepares us for the introduction of the beer. We see a rowing team of all men. The camera focuses on their muscles - the strength and power of the men become clear, but they all take directions perfectly from their leader. The importance of strict obedience is coupled with victory, and victory coupled with being a man. The beer is introduced as the well-earned reward, with the concluding comment, "It's sort of good to be with men who won't settle for second best."

The razor-blade ad follows a similar pattern. The blades are tungsten, but they are not introduced until they are associated with a powerful steel-worker drilling through tough tungsten steel. His shirt sleeve is cut short (and ragged) to reveal his muscles. Sparks bounce off his helmet. He balances himself above the city drilling the steel that makes the city (a far cry from "softer hands with Dove"). Now the tungsten blades can be introduced. They are blades "as tough as steel, for men with tough beards."

The marketing researchers know where it's at. Most of the ads were car ads - cars with "wide-grip tires" (not "pretty white walls"), with tremendous speed, and generally from the sports-car lines of whatever company is advertising. Men want adventure, freedom, a feeling of power, strength and status. They think that they are untouchable and unemotional, and are unaware that they are totally psychologically dependent on an authority figure.

The game draws to a close. The winning coach is Tom Landry, "the man they say is unemotional." The winning team is the Dallas Cowboys, "the team they say is unemotional." But the victory is tremendous, a clear-cut triumph: 24 to 3. The cameras pick the victorious coach out of the crowd. He barely cracks a smile. The time for emotions is certainly here, and a few of the football players do express happiness, but the game ends on a note of patriotism, not emotionalism. The National Football League champions are repeatedly referred to as the world champions. There are no boundaries to male power and no limits to male fantasies - except emotional limits.