

GOOD OL' BOYS:  
MASCULINITY AND STRESS IN SOUTHERN MALES

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## ABSTRACT

Culture is not a haze that hangs about people as they go about their lives, nor is it a biological imperative that drives a person's thoughts and behaviors. The shared knowledge of a group forms schematic outlines or cultural models of how life should be lived and these models, if not followed or lived out, have been found to be associated with symptoms of psychosocial stress such as depression and high blood pressure.

The hypothesis in this research was that there are shared models of masculinity in the southern region of the United States and that men who live out these models will have fewer symptoms of stress than men who do not live out these models in their daily lives. In-depth interviews were conducted in order to identify and outline important elements of models of Southern masculinity. Methods from cognitive anthropology including freelisting, pile sorting, and ranking activities were utilized to enumerate and define important domains of life for men. Cultural consensus and cultural consonance analyses were used to determine if participants shared a model of masculinity and the degree to which each man was living out this shared model. Statistical analyses were used in conjunction with cultural consensus and cultural consonance analyses to determine if there was a relationship between cultural consensus and/or cultural consonance and symptoms of stress (depressive symptoms and high blood pressure levels). While no significant relationships were found between cultural consensus or cultural consonance and blood pressure levels, findings indicate that there is a significant inverse relationship between both consensus and consonance scores and the presence of depressive symptoms.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

<i>BMI</i>	Body mass index:
<i>CES-D</i>	Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale
<i>F</i>	Fisher's <i>F</i> ratio: A ration of two variances
<i>M</i>	Mean: the sum of a set of measurements divided by the number of measurements in the set
<i>p</i>	Probability associated with the occurrence under the null hypothesis of a value as extreme as or more extreme than the observed value
<i>r</i>	Pearson product-moment correlation
<i>SES</i>	Socioeconomic status
<i>t</i>	Computed value of <i>t</i> test
<	Less than
=	Equal to

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

None of us come into this world with the knowledge required to live a successful life. What to believe, what to think, what to wear, and what to eat are not biological imperatives. In the field of anthropology, the knowledge that we need to function successfully in society is called culture. Biocultural anthropology seeks to study and understand the relationships between a person's psychological or physical health and his or her culture.

Psychosocial stress, or distress resulting from problems and incongruities between the demands of life and a person's available resources, has been linked to negative health outcomes. In particular, researchers have identified a positive relationship between both stress and blood pressure and stress and depression (Dressler and Bindon, 2000). There are many sources of stress and people handle and tolerate stress in different ways. Based on work done in the subfield of cognitive anthropology, researchers have suggested that incongruity between what you know you should do or how you know you should act or believe in life and how you actually do live can lead to mental and physical stress (Dressler, 1991).

Identifying and understanding sources of stress are vital topics of research due to the harmful effects associated with exposure to prolonged stress. Blood pressure and stress have been found to have a positive relationship – as stress increases, blood pressure levels also tend to increase (Hammen, 2005). Hypertension and depression, both symptoms of stress, are associated with an increased risk of and mortality from coronary heart disease (Ferketich et al., 2007). The

Southern region of the United States has historically had higher rates of hypertension and heart disease has been identified as one of the top five killers in the country (Obisesan, Vargas, and Gillum, 2000; National Center for Health Statistics, 2009).

The aim of this study is to examine the relationship between cultural models of Southern masculinity and indicators of psychosocial stress in white Southern males. I use both qualitative and quantitative anthropological methods to outline and understand the cultural models and measure the degree to which informants know and live out the models in their daily lives. Traditional methods and surveys were used to assess blood pressure levels and depressive symptoms as proxies for psychosocial stress in informants. It was hypothesized that men who do not approximate the model of Southern manhood in their lives will experience more psychosocial stress as indicated by higher levels of depressive symptoms and higher blood pressure than men who do approximate the model.

Cultural consensus refers to the amount of knowledge informants have about cultural models and is used to determine the degree of sharing of a cultural model within a group (Bindon, 2007). Cultural consonance refers to the degree to which informants live out the expected cultural models (Dressler et al., 2005b). Cultural consensus and cultural consonance analyses were used in order to outline and define the models of Southern masculinity of the informants. In other words, the informant's own ideas and definitions of what it means to successfully be a Southern man were tested, rather than the researcher's ideas and opinions.

This study was carried out in three distinct phases in a mid-sized city in Alabama. In Phase I in-depth interviews were carried out among a small group of informants in order to better understand what were the important elements for being a Southern man. In Phase II a second group of informants were asked to freelist terms dealing with the areas emphasized by

participants in Phase I interviews. After the freelist items were analyzed, Phase II informants were asked to pile sort and rank selected items dealing with being a man. The third phase was carried out with a larger group of participants who were asked to take part in a cultural consensus interview and a cultural consonance interview, both of which utilized statements created from Phases I and II data. In Phase III, informants also were given a depression inventory and blood pressure measurements were taken. All participants were recruited through fliers and convenience and snowball sampling.

This study expected to find a positive statistical relationship between an individual's cultural consonance score and the presence of depressive symptoms and/or blood pressure levels. Variables that have also been shown to contribute to these indicators of stress such as age, body mass index (BMI), and socioeconomic status (SES) were controlled for. By examining the models of Southern masculinity through the community's ideas of what it means to be a man, this study attempts to identify factors that contribute to stress and health in white Southern men. This research also seeks to contribute further knowledge regarding risk factors associated with the development of hypertension and depression as well as the interaction of culture and individual health.

### **Thesis Outline**

In chapter 2 the history of the Southern United States, especially as regards ideals of Southern masculinity will be reviewed. The history and recent advances and applications of anthropological research of cultural models and health as well as previous research will be discussed. Chapter 3 will discuss the research setting and population demographics. The methods used in the study will also be explained.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 will review the results from the three phases of research included the results of consensus and consonance analysis, and the statistical analyses used to test the main hypothesis of this research. The final chapter will provide a discussion of the research findings as well as address limitations and possibilities for further study.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Health is not a solely physiologic function or condition. Factors such as socioeconomic status, social connections, and stress are related to the distribution of disease in groups. Stress can be defined as the individual's psychological or physiologic responses that occur when the demands of the environment surpass available resources (Chrousos and Gold, 1992; Dressler, 2004a). Stress can be manifested through, among other things, depressive symptoms and higher than normal blood pressure levels. The current research aims to identify important domains in models of Southern masculinity and assess if stress is experienced when individuals do not approximate these models in daily life using a cognitive theory of culture.

First the idea of masculine domination in Western groups will be examined. A brief history of the Southern United States, especially during and after the Civil War, with a focus on how this history has influenced the present ideals for Southern men will follow. The theories of cognitive anthropology will then be considered, especially as regards how the study of culture is defined. In this section the concepts of cultural models, cultural consensus, cultural competence, and cultural consonance as utilized in biocultural research are explored. The section ends with a consideration of the history and development of the stress model and stress research. Blood pressure levels and depression as indicators of stress in people will be discussed as well as how psychosocial stress is related to cultural models. Previously conducted research dealing with ideals of masculinity in Southern males will also be discussed.

## **Masculine Domination**

The subordination of women and domination of men is a well-documented and historical fact in the Western world. Although much progress has been made through the feminist movements of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, men still consistently make more money than women at all levels of education and patriarchic power structures are still prevalent in American businesses and society (Webster and Bishaw, 2006; Frank, 1987). The study of male roles and hegemonic masculinity as one of many masculinities that men could enact became a popular topic of study during the 1970s and 1980s (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Throughout this discussion of masculinity and gender, the reader should always remember that gender and expressions of gender differences such as masculine domination and the expression of masculinities, in general, are complex processes that are contextual and ever-changing to the individual and are not universal to all people in a group (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

This gender difference has been embedded in the western world's psyche and, often, male domination goes largely unnoticed. How one is to live as a man or a woman is not biologically engrained within the body – these behaviors and attitudes and expectations must be learned (Tarrant, 2009). In the west, the media portrays the rough and tough male who never backs down and social institutions support and perpetuate this “established order” with the man in control and, as a result, this stratification between male and female seems almost natural and expected (Tarrant, 2009; Bourdieu, 2001; 1; Frank, 1987). Part of this stratification involves the division of male and female areas, activities, and qualities. While women are expected to exist in the private and low areas of the world, men are expected to embody the public, the external, and the official arenas (Bourdieu, 2001). These differences between men and women, reinforced and emphasized by social processes and expectations, contributes to the sexes seeing themselves as

“different kinds of people” who are a part of a hierarchy with men at the top and women somewhere below them (Risman, 2004: 432; Bourdieu, 2001).

In the west, masculine domination has been embodied through an androcentric view of the world. A male-centered view of the world is cast as neutral in society, so that this perspective is effortless and requires no explanation (Bourdieu, 2001; Frank, 1987). Historically, the ideal human body was based upon the heterosexual gentleman, who was, of course, of European descent (Urla and Terry, 1995). Even when female forms of the body were accepted as normal, the males were still viewed as more human or normal than females (Okruhlik, 1994). Any changes from this normal, human form, including menstruation, pregnancy, and childbirth, were viewed as deviance or disease (Okruhlik, 1994). Only in recent history have these male-biased assertions come to be more recognized (Okruhlik, 1994). The male anatomy and body, especially a strong, muscular body, have become associated with power and aggression and the heterosexual male (Frank, 1987; Mills and D’Alfonso, 2007). This power has translated into social institutions and regulations pertaining to family, social life, schools, and the media (Frank, 1987).

In addition to a male-centered view of the world, the expectations of the dominant male reinforce these supporting practices and institutions. A man’s reputation, or his honor, is “inscribed in the body” through his thoughts, practices, and physique (Bourdieu, 2001; Mills and D’Alfonso, 2007). A man must be vigilant and assert his honor and manliness at all times (Bourdieu, 2001). This domination can be symbolic through his understanding of the world or, literally, through his ability to fight and defend his honor and reputation (Bourdieu, 2001; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). In classic anthropology, “man the hunter” has been an iconic image of the evolution of humans, emphasizing the violence and strength of the male (Okruhlik,

1994). Man is the fighter; man is the public figure of the family; male is the normal form. These assertions are supported by invisible, yet firm, social structures, institutions, and traditions that are, even today, perpetuated throughout history by the family, the church, the educational system, and the state (Bourdieu, 2001; Frank, 1987).

### **The Southern Male**

Southern masculinities emerge in the midst of this tradition of the dominant male. Ideas of Southern masculinity include images of the ‘good old boy’ and the “mountain man” (Bronner, 2005). Even before the war for independence from Great Britain, there were already noted differences between the northern and southern colonies of the United States (Cooper and Terrill, 1996). The South never became a hub of immigration and the white Europeans who initially settled the area remained relatively homogenous compared with areas near northern ports such as Boston and New York City (Killian, 1970). Additionally, the claiming of the best farming lands by existing plantation owners and the competition with slaves for paid labor discouraged newcomers from settling in the South (Killian, 1970). This lack of constant exposure to new immigrants progressively created a feeling of “Old America” in the Southern region for white Americans (Killian, 1970). This identity was used to separate the South from the rest of the country during the Civil War as traditional rights and values were defended against the control of the north.

After the Civil War, the Southern states were left beaten and impoverished. Major cities in the South were left in ruins as were most of the Southern shipping and railway systems (Cooper and Terrill, 1996). These conditions set the stage for one of the worst depressions in the history of the United States for this region. Additionally, resentment quickly blossomed between confederate Southerners and northerners (carpet-baggers) and Southern unionists (scalawags)

(Cooper and Terrill, 1996). These conditions served to cut the South off from the rest of the country physically, technologically, and economically. This separation may have also perpetuated these feelings of separateness or uniqueness of Southern people that persists to this day.

The honor of the Southern rebels had been injured almost beyond repair and after their defeat, white Southerners were forced to face a redefinition of their roles in a post-war region and many chose to obsess over the “Lost Cause” and both the real and imagined glories of a lost way of life (Cooper and Terrill, 1996; Friend and Glover, 2004). In terms of the ideal man, also, the South fixated on the pre-Civil War gentleman who was “aloof, fixated on honor, prone to violence, and generous to a fault” (Mayfield, 2004:114). The resentment and resistance to change after the war, by some, has led to the stereotypes of Southerners as backward and slow (Cooper and Terrill, 1996). During the 1930s the South was considered the “No. 1 economic problem” of the nation by the government and the people were generally viewed as poor, uneducated and undesirable (Cooper and Terrill, 1996; Killian, 1970).

One reason for this may be due to the fact that the South held on for many years to the older, agrarian lifestyle instead of immediately adhering to the new market-economy that became popular in the north (Friend and Glover, 2004; Creech, 2009). In the early 1950s, surveys were given to residents in Detroit Michigan asking participants about their city. One of the questions asked participants what groups of people were “not good to have in the city” (Killian, 1970). The second most common answer (below “Criminal, gangsters” at 26%) were “Poor Southern whites, hillbillies,” with 21% of the respondents identifying this group as undesirable residents (Killian, 1970). This clearly displays discrimination of northerners against Southerners and this stereotype persists, at least in the minds of white Southern males, even today.

## **Traditional Ideals of Southern Masculinity**

Humans partly define themselves through a differentiation between “us” and the “other” (Laver, 2004). One way that Southern men sought to distinguish themselves from the “other,” sometimes through a definition of what he was not (Laver, 2004). Honor and mastery are two ideals that emerged pre-Civil War and have been defended into the present as part of the Southern identity (Friend and Glover, 2004). After the Civil war, honor became associated with the idea of defending the South, both from physical and verbal assaults (Friend and Glover, 2004). Failure to defend one’s honor was seen as giving up a way of life or giving up an identity.

Mastery was achieved through the nature of the relationships between a man and his wife, family, and any workers under his direction (Friend and Glover 2004). Having a family and a household of his own, then, were essential for one to really be a man (Friend and Glover, 2004). Men needed to have families to be the head of a household both for mastery and also so as not to appear dependent as women, children, and slaves were (Laver, 2004).

Religion has also been a vital part of life in the South for centuries. The white South has predominantly identified with protestant Christianity since colonial days (Killian, 1970). Before the Civil War, the Bible was used as a defense of slavery as a divinely inspired practice (Cooper and Terrill, 1996). During the 19<sup>th</sup> century manhood and religious piety were intimately connected and men were considered the divinely-appointed leaders and protectors of their property, families and any other dependents that might require protecting (Creech, 2009). This protection often entailed violence, thereby linking God, religion, morality, and manhood with violence (Creech, 2009).

Violence is a theme that is important both in Bourdieu’s theories of masculine domination as well as in traditions of Southern manliness. In Bourdieu’s (2001) theories,

violence helps men maintain their domination over women. For white Southerners, violence came to embody values such as honor and mastery and general manliness. The general Nathan Bedford Forrest is an almost mythological representation of Civil War masculinity because of his supposed strength, heroism, honor, integrity, and valiant defense of both the South and his home (Carney, 2008; Killian, 1970). Although early representations of Forrest were more realistic and described him as a good general in the Confederate army, in the years following, Forrest's reputation has inflated from that of an ordinary man into a bold and brawny hero who stood for all that is good and pure about the Old South – although his proponents conveniently overlook his racist tendencies (Carney, 2008). Violence and mastery became important for Southerners as the real and exaggerated deeds of Forrest and other Civil War celebrities were commended (Carney, 2008; Friend, 2009). Guns and weapons, which are often the tools of violence, were and still are considered the arena of men. Before the Civil War, models of masculinity often centered on restraint and genteel behavior, but after, a model of primitive, rugged manliness emerged that emphasized physical fitness and participation in manly activities such as hunting, fishing, and sports (Creech, 2009). For Southern men to be men, violence and strength were imperatives.

These themes are not an exhaustive inventory of what elements are important for Southern masculinities. Additionally, there are many interpretations of what it means to be a Southern man and these interpretations change and evolve even within an individual. The contemporary Southern male as well as the ideals of Southern masculinity has been shaped by many forces of history, economics, and politics of a country that was divided and yet forced into union. Ideals of the contemporary Southern man originate in the pre-Civil war emphasis on gentility and also in the rugged manliness that emerged after the defeat of the South. Leadership, family, and the pursuit of honor served to distinguish the Southern male from the “others” that

surround him. This study investigated whether these themes of honor, mastery, religion, family and violence were still important to the ideal Southern male.

### **Cultural Models and Cognitive Anthropology**

How do we take these ideas and expectations of the Southern male and form a concept that will be methodologically useful in a study of culture and stress? The theories and methodologies of cognitive anthropology provide one way to approach the study of these cultural ideals. During the 1950s the idea that behavior was the result of a simple stimulus-response interaction was being discounted through research including tests with lab animals, the development of the computer, and progress in the language and grammar field (D'andrade, 1995). Behavior could not be reduced to a law-like set of rules that governed action. The field of cognitive anthropology developed as the focus in the social sciences shifted from the material to the cognitive with an interest in the idea or value systems of a group (D'andrade, 1995).

Over the years and into the present, researchers worked to develop of cognitive definition of culture that operationalizes Tylor's classic definition (Dressler et al., 2005b; Bindon, 2007). In this conception, culture is defined as "knowledge, belief, art, morals, law custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1958, in Bindon, 2007). Unlike Tylor's concept of a "complex whole," however, cognitive anthropologists do not consider culture as a complete package that all people in a group embody in their lives (Dressler et al., 2005b).

Instead, what we consider "culture" is composed of many cultural models of the various domains of life such as religion, beauty, grocery shopping, eating, and so on (Dressler et al., 2005b). These are basic outlines of what is expected and are general enough that the details of every interaction are filled in on a situational-basis and are informed both by shared knowledge

and an individual's experiences (Dressler et al., 2005b). Another way of thinking of how these models shape our views of the world we live in is through Bourdieu's concept of cultural spaces. In this view, people construct and define the cultural world they live in (in Dressler et al., 2005b). These definitions of the world around us are, generally, arbitrary constructions, but, because of agreement regarding these definitions of the world, cultural models are compelling forces (Dressler et al., 2005b).

Unequal distribution of knowledge and a multiplicity of models are two key features that need to be considered when utilizing a cognitive theory of culture. A single individual may hold many models for one situation based on his or her upbringing, experiences, and exposure to media such as television, movies, or literature. Because there are multiple models for many situations in life, it would be near impossible and unnecessary for every person to have knowledge of all aspects of every model in his or her culture. Instead, knowledge of cultural models is shared unequally among members of the group and some people can be considered more knowledgeable than others regarding certain domains of culture (Bindon, 2007; Romney, Weller, and Batchelder, 1986). But, even if one person has less knowledge of the model, if there is sufficient sharing in the group, that person is still compelled to adhere to the model. Knowledge of a model, however, is not deterministic of behavior – an individual can be knowledgeable of many models in the same domain, some of which may conflict with each other. The individual, knowing one or several models of the same domain, can choose which models he will adhere to in his or her life and which models he or she will reject.

### **Cultural Consensus and Cultural Competence**

Anthropologists need to be able to operationalize what they study in order to measure these units. In the case of cultural models, cultural consensus and cultural competence provide

one method for operationalizing these concepts. The foundation of these concepts is the sharing or consensus of cultural models in a group, and this cultural consensus theory is outlined by Romney, Weller, and Batchelder (1986). Information or knowledge is stored in the minds of the members and in the material artifacts of a society – information which cultural consensus theory seeks to identify and measure (Romney, Weller, and Batchelder, 1986).

Because knowledge is differentially shared in a group and there can be multiple and even conflicting models, measuring the degree of consensus is vital to the study of cultural models (Dressler et al., 2005b). If there is cultural consensus, then there is enough agreement among members of a group to assume that a model is known and shared between these members (Bindon, 2007). When a model is sufficiently shared, there should be some pattern of agreement, from which researchers can begin to outline the model (Romney, Weller, and Batchelder, 1986). From this pattern of consensus, we can also begin to make some inferences regarding the knowledge of individual informants both in relation to each other and to the group as a whole (Romney, Weller, and Batchelder, 1986). If there were a set of questions created to test an individual's knowledge of a cultural model, those who knew more would have better scores than those who knew less (Romney, Weller, and Batchelder, 1986). Competence is the term used to refer to this score based on the degree of an individual's knowledge of a model or domain (Romney, Weller, and Batchelder, 1986; Dressler et al., 2005b). Specifically, the competence score is the correlation between an individual's answers to questions about a domain and the consensus understanding of the domain (Dressler et al., 2005b). Knowledge of ideals is not all there is in life, however. Researchers need to also make connections between the ideal, the reality, and the tangible effects of these concepts on the individual's health.

## **Cultural Consonance: Linking Culture with Health**

During the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, anthropologists began the call for a synthesis between cultural and physical realms of study. The beginnings of this shift can be seen in the 1960s when epidemiologists such as Cassel, Patrick and Jenkins (1960) began noting that health and disease were not the result of a simple cause and effect relationship and that the context of a situation influenced whether a person became ill. Part of that context involves the person's social group and environment (Cassel, Patrick and Jenkins, 1960). In their study of health in relation to the cultural transition from a rural agricultural subsistence to an industrial one, the researchers found that second generation factory workers (those who were more knowledgeable of this new industrial lifestyle) were healthier than those who belonged to the first generation of factory workers (Cassel, 1976). These findings supported their hypothesis that first generation workers were experiencing psychosocial stress because of the difference in the cultural patterns and values with which the workers were raised and the cultural patterns and values of the more industrial lifestyle (Cassel, Patrick, and Jenkins, 1960).

In anthropology similar work was being done regarding studies of modernization and disease risk (Dressler and Bindon, 2000). These studies generally found that as exposure to Western or "modern" lifestyles increased, so too, did risk of chronic diseases such as high blood pressure, coronary artery disease, and diabetes (Dressler and Bindon, 2000). Going a step further, researchers then began examining disease risk between different groups in the same population, but the cultural aspects of disease risk remained poorly understood (Dressler and Bindon, 2000).

An early attempt to move beyond the study of modernization on health and understand how an individual's social status or standing in a group would impact his or her physical health is found in the concept of status incongruity or status inconsistency. The health disparities of

different socioeconomic groups had already been well-established with better health tending to be characteristic of people occupying a higher socioeconomic status (Dressler, 2004b). Status incongruence, though, sought to look at variation in health status within the same economic or social classes (Dressler, 2004b). This theory predicted that there would be an increased disease risk when the social statuses of a person do not match, such as the example of a black physician in mid 20<sup>th</sup> century America (Dressler, 2004b). While the person might receive respect in some situations because he is a physician, in other situations he might experience prejudicial and rude treatment due to his ethnic status (Dressler, 2004b).

These studies of status incongruence were conducted in many settings throughout the globe and were again related back to the issue of modernization and acculturation. In Samoa, modernization brought not only lifestyle changes such as decreasing amounts of physical activity and dietary changes, but also gender role changes and shifts in prestige (Janes, 1990; McDade, 2001). Like an individual's socioeconomic status, acculturation was also found to be associated with health, but in this case the association was an inverse relationship (Dressler, 2004a). In other words, as a group became more modernized or acculturated to a Western lifestyle, their health statuses tended to decline (Dressler, 2004a). In anthropology, status incongruence was refined into lifestyle incongruence, which refers to differences or discrepancies between a person's different social statuses. In St. Lucia, Mexico, Brazil, Samoan and African American communities in the United States, effects of these discrepancies in relation to arterial blood pressure levels and other indicators of health have been found (Dressler, 2004a; Bindon et al., 1997; McDade, 2001). Elevated arterial blood pressure levels are associated with both psychosocial stress as well as cardiovascular disease, making the study of factors that increase the risk of these conditions of interest for everyone.

These results point to the stressful nature of inconsistencies between belief and reality in our daily lives. Stress is a broad concept that has been used and applied in a variety of ways. In everyday speech it is usually used to refer to an anxious state of mind that is usually associated with things such as problems with social relationships, a perceived overload of work, or pressure from an outside source (Chrousos and Gold, 1992). This is a very flexible definition and so many people have used the term in differing ways. It is essential for researchers to provide explicit definitions for the terms they employ and measure in their research, especially for potentially vague concepts like stress. In the 1950s Hans Selye defined stress as the “non-specific” response of the body to demands (Mason, 1975). This he conceptualized as a stimulus-response process in which the body experienced a demand or “stressor” and reacted to it (Mason, 1975). While this definition makes a step towards specificity, it is still too broad to be a useful definition in research without further clarification of what the researcher means by what responses and what demands are being examined.

In anthropology, especially physical anthropology, the stress concept has been utilized in research of the biological and cultural adaptations of people to environmental factors, especially in extreme environments (Bindon, 2007). Much of the world, however, does not reside in environments with conditions such as extreme temperatures or low levels of oxygen in the atmosphere, so researchers began exploring the interactions between culture, biology, and health. This new orientation demanded a new perspective on the stress model. Biocultural anthropologists have used the concept of stress in order to link cultural factors and the health status of the individual (Bindon, 2007). This relationship is far more complex than the mechanistic cause-effect relationship proposed by Selye and others (Mason, 1975). Biocultural anthropologists, rather, tend to see these interactions between culture and health as the result of

multiple factors influencing health outcomes (Dressler and Bindon, 2000). The stress model that has developed for use with these webs of causation deals with the incongruity between the demands and expectations put on a person by his or her surrounding environment, especially culturally and socially, and that person's resources to cope with such demands (Dressler, 1992).

How do we reconnect culture and the negative health impacts of stress? Building from cultural consensus theory as well as the conceptual framework of "social incongruity" first suggested by Cassel, Patrick, and Jenkins (1960), the concept of cultural consonance has been developed to bridge the gap between health and culture (Dressler and Bindon, 2000). Cultural consonance refers to the measure of the degree to which a person actualizes his or her knowledge of culture in his or her own life (Dressler and Bindon, 2000). In Cassel and colleague's (1960, 1976) studies of workers in Appalachia, individuals who were less knowledgeable of the more modern lifestyle were not living out those industrial ideals in their life and, so, were experiencing stresses. Cultural consonance, then, provides a way to measure the disparity between the ideal and reality and relate these differences back to the individual's health.

Cultural consonance, in conjunction with the emphasis on the nature of culture as shared knowledge provided by cultural consensus theory, allows researchers to identify cultural models, assess the degree of sharing, and measure how these models are incorporated into daily life. Because culture is shared in a group, there is consensus of how life should be lived and people in that group are expected to behave, think, and live in certain ways based on these cultural models. Repeated failures to live out expected cultural models have been shown to be related to increased levels of psychosocial stress in individuals. As with studies of lifestyle incongruity, researchers have found that, as cultural consonance decreases, depressive symptoms and the arterial blood

pressures of individuals tend to increase (Dressler and Bindon, 2000; Dressler, 2005; Dressler et al., 2005a).

Hypertension is one of the risk factors for heart disease and stroke, which were two of the top five causes of death in the United States in 2005 (National Center for Health Statistics, 2009). Between 2003 and 2006, 31.3% of the population in the United States suffered from hypertension, an increase of 25.5% from 1988 to 1994 (National Center for Health Statistics, 2009). The Southern region of the United States has a higher prevalence of hypertension than the rest of the country (Obisesan, Vargas, and Gillum, 2000). Cultural models of Southern masculinity in this region of the country direct men, especially non-Hispanic white males, in how life “should” be lived. Nationwide, white males have lower rates of high blood pressure than other groups, but hypertension is still a major health concern considering the negative health implications of this condition.

People who experience more stress, including stressful events or chronic stressors such as financial difficulties or family issues, tend to experience depressive episodes and depressive symptoms more often than people with fewer stressors in their lives (Hammen, 2005). Depression can affect an individual’s immune function, lifestyle, and behavior, including activities such as exercise (Beck and Alford, 2009). Depression is also associated with increased risk of coronary heart disease in men and women and is also associated with increased risk of fatal coronary heart disease incidences in men (Ferketich et al., 2007). Because both depression and elevated blood pressure levels are associated both with stress and heart disease, investigating sources of stress that may contribute to the health of the individual is an important area of study, especially for men living in the “stroke belt” of the country.

## **Preliminary Study: Perceptions of Self in College Males**

In an unpublished study, I undertook a study of perceptions of self among white college males at the University of Alabama. A total of thirty men were interviewed and were split evenly between men from the South and those from other parts of the country. The purpose of this study was to examine whether men from the South perceived themselves as different or held different masculine ideals than non-Southern men.

In the study, the researcher examined free time activities, personal qualities viewed as important, manly qualities, and Southern qualities. These responses were coded as either physically, behaviorally, or appearance oriented, or as cognitively, intellectually, emotionally oriented. In analysis, a significant, positive correlation was found between the length of time an informant had lived in the South and the number of physical, behavioral, appearance oriented responses. Southern students desired physical qualities to be noticed more often than non-Southerners. Also, when describing the ideal man, Southerners listed more physically-oriented qualities than non-Southerners. These results seemed to indicate that Southern men hold more physically-oriented ideals of masculinity than do men from other parts of the country.

## **Conclusion**

The present conception of Southern masculinity emerges from a rich history of colonialism, religion, slavery and segregation, and the experience of a region trying to rebuild after the Civil War. These models are also influenced by the enculturation of western ideals of masculine dominance, which is reflected in the roles of men as fathers, husbands, protectors, providers, and masters over their family and property. By taking a cognitive perspective of culture as knowledge, we can begin to consider the existence of cultural models of masculinity, or what a man needs to know, do, think, and believe in order to really be a man. Measures of

how well a man knows a cultural model that is shared in his group as well as how well he lives out this model in his life can both be connected with mental and physical symptoms of psychosocial stress.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

This study took place over three phases using both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection. In-depth semi-structured interviews were used to identify what Southern men see as important to life and to being a man. Freelisting, pile sorting, and ranking exercises were then utilized to enumerate and identify salient items in the men's own words for what is important for being a man. Finally, using the data from the first two exercises, as well as data from preliminary research and the literature, surveys were created that were used to measure what aspects of Southern masculinity were shared across the sample as well as to measure the extent to which men were living out these features of masculinity in their own lives.

A depression inventory and blood pressure measurements were administered during the last phase as indicators of psychosocial stress. Height and weight were also collected to calculate the informants' BMIs. All fieldwork took place in the city in west-central Alabama between August of 2010 and March of 2011.

#### **The Sample**

A total of forty-eight men were recruited for this project. All men were white males between the ages of 25 and 57 who had lived in the South for the majority of their lives, including the time from birth to approximately ten years of age, were accepted into the study. These requirements were selected for participants in order to have a better chance of the men sharing cultural models of masculinity. For this project, the South is defined as Texas, Arkansas,

Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Kentucky. Although Texas is not traditionally considered a part of the old South, this state was included in this study because of the close geographic location which allows the exchange of ideas, beliefs and practices. Additionally, any man from Texas was questioned before being admitted into the study to assess whether he identified as a Southerner. The only man that grew up in Texas also spent his formative years in Louisiana and Alabama. Participants were recruited via public fliers, snow-ball sampling, and through social contacts in the community. All participants read and signed informed consent documents and received five dollars compensation for their time.

### **The Setting**

All participants were from the area in and around the city and all interviews were conducted in this area as well. The population is 93,000 according to the city's website, but there is fluctuation between the summer and the academic school year in the population due to the large public university and many smaller institutions in the area. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, approximately 64.6%% of the county's population identifies as non-Hispanic white, 31.2% identifies as black, and the remaining population identifies as American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, Hispanic or Latino, or multiple races (2010). Approximately 78.8% of the county's population has completed high school, received their GED, have attended some college, or have received a technical degree and 24% have received a Bachelor's degree or higher (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

### **Phase 1: In-depth Interviews**

For the first sample, five men from the community were recruited for in-depth interviews. This interview lasted between 45 minutes to an hour. Men were asked general demographic questions (age, income, education level, occupation) as well as more in-depth questions about

living in the South and being a Southern man. Questions touched on what was good about living in the South, what men in the South do in their free time, the importance of religion and family, things that are important to men, how men should act, differences between Southern men and men from other areas, and qualities that are admired and not admired in Southern men. A full list of Phase 1 interview questions can be found in Table 3.1. Although specific questions were asked, participants were allowed to follow the direction of their thoughts and speak on the subjects that came to mind during the interview. This allowed the participants to guide the researcher in understanding what domains are important for Southern masculinity.

Table 3.1 Phase 1 Interview Questions

1. How long have you lived in the South?
2. Do you enjoy living here? What do you enjoy? What do you not enjoy?
3. Do you consider yourself a Southerner? Why (or why not)? What makes a person Southern?
4. Describe the ideal man. What does he look like? How does he act? How does he treat people? What does he like to do in his free time? What kind of job would he have?
5. What do men here like to do in their free time?
6. How do you think men should act? Towards women? Towards children? Towards other men? Towards animals? Is there a difference in how you think men should act and how they really do act? What are the differences?
7. Is religion or faith important in the South? Should it be important? Why or Why not? What is important (or not important)?
8. What things are important to men here? Why are they important?
9. Do you think there are any differences between a man from the South and men from other parts of the country? What are these differences? How do these differences, if there are any, affect a man's life?
10. Is family life important to men here? Is family important to you? Tell me about your family life
11. What do men want to have in life?
12. What do men want to do in life? Are some occupations better than others?
13. Describe a man that you admire. Why do you admire him? How does he look? Act? Think?
14. Describe a man that you do not admire. Why do you not like him? How does he look? Act? Think?

After the interviews were completed, each interview was transcribed by the researcher and read through to identify themes that participants talked about. Because participants were free

to discuss any aspect of the domains they were questioned on, these shared themes can be looked at as things that are important to Southern men.

## **Phase 2: Freelisting, Pile Sorting, and Ranking**

In the second sample 12 men from the community were recruited to take part in two interviews. Two men did not complete the second interview due to scheduling conflicts. The men were compensated upon the completion of the second interview. Taking the themes identified in the first phase interviews, a freelisting interview schedule was developed. Questions in this interview asked the participant to list all of the words and phrases that he associated with a particular subject (see Appendix A for all freelist items). For example, one question was “Please list as many things that men do in their free time as you can think of.” Participants were asked to create freelists on the subjects of family, relationships, religion, skills, hobbies, free-time activities, behaviors, values, Southern culture, and food. The first interview schedule for Phase 2 can be found in Table 3.2.

The second interview of this phase involved pile sorting activities with selected words and phrases from the freelists, which were clearly printed on individual index cards. First, participants were asked to perform an unconstrained pile sort. This involved looking over the cards and separating the cards into as many or as few piles as they saw fit. The men were allowed to create piles based on any criteria they chose and the only restrictions were that there had to be at least two piles and that there had to be at least two cards in a pile. Unconstrained pile sorts can be used to gain a general sense of the overall meaning of the terms being sorted (Dressler et al., 2005b). When the informant had created his piles, the researcher recorded which cards were in each pile and asked the respondent to explain why he put cards into the pile and what each pile represented to him.

Table 3.2 Freelisting Interview Questions

1. Please list as many words or phrases that you would use to describe a good family as you can think of.
2. Please list as many words or phrases that you would use to describe a bad family as you can think of.
3. Please list all the relationships you can think of where you look for support in your life.
4. Now, please list as many things that men do in their free time as you can think of.
5. Please list as many things that men should be able to do or skills that men should have as you can think of.
6. What are the expectations we have of men in life? (What should men be in life? What roles should they fulfill?) Please list as many things as you can think of.
7. What are some words, phrases, or descriptions that you relate with religion? Please list as many items as you can think of.
8. What is good about being religious or having faith? Please list as many things as possible.
9. What is bad about being religious or having faith? Please list as many things as possible.
10. What are good behaviors men have? Please list as many as possible.
11. What are bad behaviors men have? Please list as many as possible.
12. What some good values that men have? Please list as many as possible.
13. What are some bad values that men have? Please list as many as possible.
14. What are some good things or behaviors that are part of Southern culture?
15. What are some bad things or behaviors that are part of Southern culture?
16. What are some words or phrases you would use to describe a good community?
17. What are some words or phrases you would use to describe a bad community?
18. What foods do Southerners eat? Please list as many as you can think of.

At this point the cards were reshuffled and the participant was asked to create three piles: one pile of the cards that represented the things that were most important for being a man, a pile that represented things that were least important for being a man, and a pile that represent things that were neither the most important nor the least important for being a man. After respondents were finished creating the piles, the researcher recorded the cards in each pile. Next, respondents were asked to rank the cards in each pile from the card that represented what they saw as most important to being a man to the card that was least important for being a man within that pile. When the participant finished ranking the cards for each pile, the researcher then recorded the rank order of the cards.

### **Phase 3: Consensus and Consonance Surveys, CES-D, and Blood Pressure Measurements**

For the third phase of research 31 men were recruited from the community. This phase required participants to take part in two interviews. Of the 31 men recruited, 31 participated in the first meeting and 30 participated in the second interview. One man would not respond to the researcher's attempt to set up the second meeting. Participants were compensated after completion of the second interview.

During the first meeting the researcher administered a cultural consensus survey, the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Inventory (CES-D). Participants' blood pressures were taken at the beginning and the end of the interview. The cultural consensus survey was a series of 26 statements about how the ideal man should be. Statements included "The ideal man should be a father" and "He knows his neighbors" (see Table 3.3). Men were asked to indicate the degree to which they and the people they knew would agree or disagree with each statement. Participants could "Strongly Agree," "Agree," "Disagree," or "Strongly Disagree" with each statement. Questions in this survey originated from observations from the preliminary study, themes and important qualities emphasized by the literature dealing with Southern masculinity, and from highly ranked qualities from the ranking exercise of Phase 2. The consensus survey was used to determine the ideal attitudes, feelings, and behaviors for Southern men. In the analysis of this survey, a consensus answer for each question was determined, which acted as an "answer key" of sorts for cultural consonance analysis (Bindon 2007; Dressler et al., 2005b). This survey is also used to calculate the degree of sharing or consensus of a model within a group. If a model is shared, then members of the group will be held to the standards of the model whether they completely agree with the model or not. Even though an individual may not agree or adhere to aspects of a model such as masculinity, if his social group agrees on how men

should be, he will, no doubt, feel pressure from the group to also adhere to the model. Also, the individual's cultural competence score, or the measure of how well their knowledge matches the shared model, is calculated from the consensus survey (Dressler, 2005).

Table 3.3 Consensus Survey Interview Statements

1. The ideal man should be a father.
2. The ideal man shows respect to women and his elders.
3. He should not drink.
4. He should have pride in where he is from.
5. The ideal man has trouble controlling his temper.
6. He enjoys watching sports.
7. He opens and holds doors for others.
8. He knows his neighbors.
9. The ideal man is the leader in his family.
10. He is not open to new ideas.
11. He is able to fix things around his home.
12. He walks away from his family during hard times.
13. The ideal man can only really be himself around other men.
14. He believes that God has a plan for his life.
15. He should be a husband.
16. He trusts people of other races.
17. The ideal man has trouble communicating with other men.
18. He is a fighter.
19. He is a leader in the community.
20. The ideal man would rather eat meat than fruits and vegetables.
21. The ideal man wants to make more money than his partner.
22. He thinks that his way is the only way.
23. He has trouble communicating with women.
24. He enjoys competition.
25. The ideal man should believe in God.
26. He enjoys playing sports.

The CES-D is a 20 question self-report survey intended to measure symptoms of depression in the general populations (Radloff, 1977). This scale uses questions from previously validated depression inventories and measures the current level of depressive symptomatology (Radloff, 1977). Each item is a statement, such as "I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing," and respondents are asked to select the amount of time during the past two weeks that

they have felt like the statement (for the whole survey, see Table 3.4). Participants can choose between the choices of “Rarely to none of the time (<1 day a week),” “Some or a little of the time (1-2 days a week),” “Occasionally or a moderate amount of time (3-4 days a week),” or “Most or all of the time (5-7 days a week).” When scoring the CES-D, each question receives a point value based upon the selected answer. For all of the questions except numbers 4, 8, 12, and 16, “Rarely to none of the time” was given a score of 0, “Some or a little of the time” was given a 1, “Occasionally or a moderate amount of time” was given a 2, and “Most or all of the time” was given a 3. For numbers 4, 8, 12, and 16, the scoring scheme was reversed, reflecting the positive nature of these statements. As the individual’s score increases, so, too, does the presence and occurrence of symptoms of depression (Radloff, 1977).

Table 3.4 Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale

1. I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me.
2. I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.
3. I felt that I could not shake off the blues even with help from my family.
4. I felt that I was just as good as other people.
5. I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.
6. I felt depressed.
7. I felt that everything I did was an effort.
8. I felt hopeful about the future.
9. I thought my life had been a failure.
10. I felt fearful.
11. My sleep was restless.
12. I was happy.
13. I talked less than usual.
14. I felt lonely.
15. People were unfriendly.
16. I enjoyed life.
17. I had crying spells.
18. I felt sad.
19. I felt that people disliked me.
20. I could not "get going."

Blood pressure levels were measured with digital blood pressure monitor with automatic inflation and deflation. This allowed the researcher to have minimal experience with blood

pressure measurement and still obtain accurate results. Blood pressure measures were taken at the beginning of the meeting and at the end of the meeting.

During the second meeting the researcher administered the cultural consonance survey and took the men's heights and weights and their blood pressure levels at the beginning and the end of the interview. The cultural consonance survey was very similar to the cultural consensus survey and dealt with the same 26 items. In the consonance survey, instead of being asked how they and people they knew thought the ideal man should be, the men were asked about their own lives and experiences (see Table 3.5). As with the Consensus survey, men could "Strongly Agree," "Agree," "Disagree," or "Strongly Disagree" with each statement. Because of the similarity of the consensus and consonance surveys, a period of at least five days in-between the first and second meetings was implemented in order to decrease the likelihood of answer bias.

The consonance survey was administered in order to create a measurement that reflected the degree to which participants were living out the ideals of masculinity investigated in the consensus survey. As noted above, an "answer key" of what the men should answer to be living out their model of masculinity was produced from the consensus analysis. With the answer key and participants' responses to the consonance survey a continuous scale score was produced reflecting the degree to which participants were matching the model of masculinity.

Height was taken in centimeters with and was later converted into inches and rounded to the nearest tenth. Weight was measured to the nearest pound on a calibrated scale used for all informants. These two measures were then used to calculate BMI. The demographic variables collected included age, occupation, highest level of education, and income. Occupation and level of education were converted into a number scale according the Hollingshead Four Factor Index of Social Status (1975). Education levels were assigned a score of 1 to 7 and included: less than

Table 3.5 Cultural Consonance Survey Statements

1. I trust people of other races.
2. I enjoy playing sports.
3 I am not open to new ideas.
4. I am proud of where I am from.
5. I believe in God.
6. I would rather eat meat than fruits and vegetables.
7. I show respect to women and my elders.
8. I do not drink.
9. I am a husband.
10. I am a leader in my community.
11. I have trouble communicating with women.
12. I have walked away from my family during hard times.
13. I am a fighter.
14. I feel like I can only really be myself around other men.
15. I enjoy competition.
16. I am a father.
17. I have trouble controlling my temper.
18. I believe that God has a plan for my life.
19. I have trouble communicating with other men.
20. I enjoy watching sports.
21. I am the leader in my family.
22. I know my neighbors.
23. I make more money than my partner.
24. I fix things around my home.
25. I open and hold doors for others.
26. I think that my way is the only way.

seventh grade, junior high school (9<sup>th</sup> grade), partial high school (10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> grade), high school graduate, partial college (at least one year) or specialized training, standard college or university graduation, and graduate professional training (graduate degree) (Hollingshead, 1975).

Occupation was assigned a score of 1 to 9 based on the prestige of the occupation (see Appendix B). According to Hollingshead’s method (1975) social status was calculated by differentially weighting occupation and education level values and adding the two values together. Status scores, then, can range from 8 to 66, with higher scores indicating higher social status (Hollingshead 1975). An additional variable to measure socio-economic status was created using

a modified version of Hollingshead's scale to account for income levels. For this SES variable, a person's annual income was assigned an income level score of 1 to 9 (1=\$0-\$19,999, 2=\$20,000-\$29,999, 3=\$30,000-\$39,999, 4=\$40,000-\$49,999, 5=\$50,000-\$59,999, 6=\$60,000-\$69,999, 7=\$70,000-\$79,999, 8=\$80,000-\$89,999, 9=\$90,000 and above). This income level score was then added to the Hollingshead education level score and occupation level score to get the SES variable measure. SES scores could range from 3 to 26.

### **Cultural Consensus Analysis**

Cultural consensus testing and analysis was used to estimate the "correct" answers of consensus survey. This analysis also indicated both the degree to which a model of masculinity was shared, as well as each individual's cultural competence score. A matrix of the participants' responses to the cultural consensus survey was analyzed using Anthropac version 4.983 (Borgatti, 1992). Answers are then used as units of analysis and informants as variables in a factor analysis which examines the degree of agreement between informants and determines if there is a single factor or answer around which informants cluster (Dressler and Bindon, 2000). The numbers of factors that are needed to represent agreement is given by the eigenvalues (Dressler and Bindon, 2000). The ratio between the first eigenvalue and the second eigenvalue in the analysis, then, must be a value of 3 or more if there is sufficient consensus or sharing in the sample regarding the cultural model being tested (Dressler and Bindon, 2000). The competence score, or the amount of knowledge each participant has regarding the model being tested, was also calculated in this analysis. Consensus analysis also provides researchers with a cultural "answer key" for each item in the survey based on the weighted ratings of each participant, which was used to calculate the consonance score of each participant (Dressler and Bindon, 2000). If a participant's answer exactly matched the consensus answer, then a score of three was

assigned for that item. If the participant answered “strongly agree” when the consensus indicated “agree,” then a score of two was given. When the consensus was “agree,” answers of “disagree” and “strongly disagree” were given a one and a zero, respectively for that item. If the consensus answer was “disagree,” then matching answers received a score of three, “strongly disagree” a score of two, “agree” a score of one, and “strongly agree” a score of zero. The scores for the 26 items were then added to produce a consonance score.

### **Analysis**

Quantitative analyses were all conducted using Anthropac version 4.983 and PASW Statistics 18. In addition to cultural consensus analysis, Anthropac was also used to analyze freelist and pile sort data. T-tests, correlations, and regressions were used in the statistical analysis. Dependent variables were individual and average systolic and diastolic blood pressures, highest and lowest systolic and diastolic blood pressures, and CES-D scores. Independent variables used in analysis included age, education level, occupation, income, cultural competence scores, cultural consonance scores, social statuses, and BMI. Statistical tests included descriptive statistics, correlations, regressions, and multi-dimensional scaling. It was hypothesized that men with lower cultural consonance scores would exhibit more symptoms of psychosocial stress, measured by blood pressure levels and depressive symptoms, than men with higher cultural consonance scores. A significance level of  $p < .10$  was used for all analyses in this study.

## CHAPTER 4

### PHASE I RESULTS

Five men took part in the first phase. Average yearly income of respondents ranged from \$25,000 to \$80,000 and level of education ranged from high school GED to graduate and professional degrees. Several recurring themes emerged during these interviews: the importance of family and faith, roles that men should fulfill in life, and values and behaviors.

Notably absent from the interviews was a discussion of racism in the South. Only one informant mentioned an increased frequency of racism and racist comments in the South as compared with his experiences in the northern United States. Also, all of the men seemed reluctant to explicitly say that there were differences between Southern and non-Southern men when asked “Do you think there are any differences between a man from the South and men from other parts of the country,” despite offering examples of differences in the context of other questions. Additionally, at some point before the interview, either during recruitment of participants or right before the interview began, all of the men informed the researcher that they did not consider themselves “typical” for the Southern man. These assertions seem contradicted by the similarities of answers and opinions of issues dealt with throughout all three phases of research.

#### **Importance of Family**

The importance of family for men, especially in the South was emphasized as a top priority in life. A heterosexual marriage with children was assumed in discussions of the family.

As one man put it, “everything in the South is more centered on family values.” Southern men were also seen as being “more oriented towards their families” and spending more time “doing family activities together” than men in other parts of the country. These values are seen as intimately tied to religiosity in the South, with four of the five men mentioning family values or activities with family in conjunction with religious values or church. Speaking of his parents raising him and his siblings, one man said that his parents “were both very active in church as we were growing up. I think that affected our values of family and how we raised our families.”

The concept of family was also intimately linked to the roles of men such as husband, father, protector, and provider. When discussing the ideal man, one informant asserted that “the ideal man understands how to balance providing for his family and being there for his family” and that he “takes care of himself” so that he can “physically...be there to take care of his family.” Successfully raising a family, then, requires both monetary and physical presence in the lives of family members for support. A man’s “primary priority is his wife and children and providing for them” and he should “[want] to provide for [his] family and do what’s right for [his] family.”

The success of a man in life is also seen as connected with how well he handles his family. One informant stated that “whatever I do, I want to make my family proud of me...I want to make sure my family is taken care of. I want to see my family succeed and do well and prosper. I want to see them happy.” Men who “do what it takes to take care of their family” are admired, while those who may leave their families to take part in other hobbies or activities are ridiculed.

## **Importance of Faith**

Faith and religiosity were seen as some of the core features that separated the South from other parts of the country. Religion was seen as a “dominant” feature of growing up in the South that determined acceptable behaviors and political beliefs. In the South, “people’s behaviors are controlled by the church and...you behave a certain way, or are expected to behave a certain way in society.” These restrictions may lead to the concealment of certain behaviors such as drinking and partying. Because of the “bible belt” quality of the South, conservative values were seen as more prominent and Christian values were seen as the values upon which the United States was founded.

In the lives of the men, religion was seen as providing “hope and comfort” as well as helping “keep people on the right path” to a “higher moral standard.” One man claimed that “if faith is important, there is less crime, more courteousness, and a sense of community.” Religion and faith were also mentioned as giving “purpose” to one’s life by all of the men and as providing some of the important Southern values. One informant cited faith and religion as defining “what is right and what is wrong” and a foundation for justice.

For religion and faith to truly matter in life, several men mentioned the fact that simply going through the motions was not enough. Faith “forms a good structure for how you live your life” and that “faith should be a part of [one’s] life on a daily basis – [faith] shouldn’t be something [one] just [does] on Sunday.” Men who were “strong” in their faith were admired by several of the men, which included, according to one man, “saying grace at meals in front of other people” and not having a “problem exhibiting [their faith] in their everyday life.”

Church related functions were mentioned by all of the men as activities that Southern men often take part in. Church fellowship and going to church on Sundays were mentioned as a

standard part of the week, as described by one man: “work Monday through Friday, and then go drink Friday night, Saturday night, recover Sunday, go to church, get back to the grind.” Many of the statements regarding ideals, family life, and roles men should fulfill were embedded in comments about faith or religion as being vital to the Southern man, indicating that religion and faith are major factors in the formation of the cultural model of Southern masculinity.

### **Roles Men Fulfill in Life**

As already mentioned, men are expected to be husbands, fathers, providers, and protectors for their families. A job is necessary for a man because “it allows him to provide necessities for his family.” This role of provider was seen by one man as creating the need to be a “superhero” because men want to provide, protect and “be important to somebody.” One man claimed that “men in general get their self-worth from their jobs more than anywhere else...that’s where they get their pride from their life.”

The role of protector in conjunction with being a mentor is especially important as regards children. Being a good mentor means a man is consistent in what he teaches children and his own actions because “kids learn by seeing, not by listening, so men need to not be hypocritical.” Protecting and mentoring were connected for some men because by keeping the behavior of children in line and not letting them “run around and cuss and act like fools,” men were protecting both by keeping “a watchful eye on the kids around them” and watching “themselves in front of those kids” to “make sure that their actions are...positive actions.”

As husbands, men were expected to treat their wives as equals. In apparent contrast to these views, however, several men mentioned that the man should be the head of the household and the ultimate leader. One informant worked in a local music store and, in describing interactions he had had with church groups, mentioned that “there seems to be a lacking of a man to say

‘Well, this is my decision and this is what we’re going to go with and I’m sorry if you don’t like it, but this is how it’s going to be.’” This same man felt that “the man should be a source of strength for [a woman] to draw on.” Although no other men explicitly mentioned the man being the leader, this idea is implicit in their discussions of family – the man supports and provides, but does not receive support as his wife and children do.

### **Values and Behaviors**

When asked what makes a person Southern, aside from being born and raised in the region, a common answer was that if a man held Southern values, then he was Southern. When asked this question, one respondent stated “Southern traditions – believing in saying “Yes ma’am, yes sir,” having respect for elders – this sort of behavior is still found in the South. Other areas are more progressive...” Southern hospitality was another aspect of being Southern that was mentioned as being very important for men and Southerners in general. Being born in the South, then, doesn’t necessarily make one Southern in the true sense, but being hospitable and believing in conservative Southern values is what makes a person Southern – “I think it’s more to do with how they believe than with where they’re born...how they think, how they react to certain circumstances.”

Other “Southern courtesies” seen as important were opening doors for people, being courteous to others and exchanging greetings. People from the South were seen as being nicer and friendlier as a whole than people from other parts of the country. One man, who had lived in the Northeast for 12 years claimed that people working in the public service industry were “a little more appreciative and helpful” in the South than were those in his experiences up north. Having a religious, mainly Christian, upbringing was also seen as part of being Southern. These conservative Southern values were often tied back to Christianity and the “bible belt” mentality.

Addressing this stereotype of the South as biblically based and conservative, one man brushed critique of the stereotype aside saying, “Now, in some places in the country that’s thought of as being backward and hillbilly and that kind of stuff, but I think that it’s not a bad thing – it’s a good thing.” As noted earlier, religion is used as a foundation for many of the values and behaviors seen as important to Southern men.

Strength and activities that are associated with physical prowess such as hunting, fishing, and sports were often mentioned as being important to men. Strength was referred to both as a mental quality and as a physical quality. When describing a man that was admired, one informant said “I like strong people – I think that they’re dependable and honest, which takes a strong person because it’s much easier to be dishonest...” Earlier in the interview, this same man mentioned that physical strength and fitness was necessary so that a man could work and take care of his family. Another man put the importance of strength as allowing a man to grow “as a person, you know, into a stronger individual through exercise and eating right.” Another man said that by focusing “on their strength and finding their strength” that this is how a man would attract a beautiful woman to him. This statement not only emphasizes the importance of strength, but also the importance of a relationship with a woman so that he can fulfill the role of husband.

## **Conclusion**

During this phase, participants informed the researcher of what they viewed as important for a Southern man. Having a family and spending time with family was seen as important, as was belief and participation in faith and religious activities. Religion and faith were seen as intimately linked to many of the major themes that emerged from these interviews as guiding family interactions, political stances, the practice of manners and “Southern courtesies,” and defining the roles that men should enact in their lives. These roles included husband, father,

provider, and protector. Activities and interests were seen as centering on sports, hunting, fishing, and other outdoor activities. These findings support the discussion of traditional values of Southern masculinity that emerged before, during, and after the Civil War and Reconstruction.

## CHAPTER 5

### PHASE II RESULTS

Twelve men took part in the first interview of the second phase and ten men took part in the second interview. These men ranged in education levels from the completion of high school to a M.D. In income, the men ranged from \$26,500 to \$500,000, so a broad range of income was represented in this sample.

#### **Freelisting Results**

The first interview consisted of a series of 18 freelisting questions. These questions asked about family, relationships of support, free time activities, skills, expectations, religion, behaviors, values, Southern culture, community, and Southern food. The items of family, religion, behaviors, values, Southern culture and community included a prompt regarding both positive and negative aspects of these items. Terms and phrases that were very similar were grouped together under a category term. For example, if one respondent said that a good quality of families is “loving” and another said “love each other,” then both of these terms would be categorized as “loving.” A full listing of all free-list items can be found in Appendix A.

For the domain of family, a total of 26 distinct positive terms and phrases and 24 distinct negative terms and phrases were generated. The most commonly cited qualities of good families were “loving,” “supportive,” “togetherness,” “caring,” “communication,” “happiness,” and “honesty.” For qualities of bad families, the most common category terms had to do with destruction and selfishness.

A total of 16 relationships where people can find support were identified. Parents, family, including extended family, spouses, and church relationships were the most common answers. Family, or family related relationships, accounted for six (37.5%) of the total relationships listed, reflecting the importance of family in the support system.

There was a broad variety of free-time activities and skills that men were expected to take part in. A total of 43 free-time activities were generated and 43 skills. Many of the free time activities listed (n=17) were sports or sports-related activities. Outdoor activities were quite prevalent in the list. In terms of skills that men should have, all of the men listed repair work of some sort, whether plumbing, electrical, car, mechanical, and so forth. Having skills relating to the outdoors was also present in this list as shown by the skills of yard work, surviving in the wilderness, outdoor activities, hunting, and fishing.

When asked about roles that men should fill in life, 42 terms were generated. The most cited roles included breadwinner or provider, leader or being in control, father, protector, mentor, and being unemotional and able to withstand anything. These roles correspond with many of the roles mentioned by the men in Phase 1 with the additions of being able to withstand anything and being unemotional.

When asked about faith and religion, the majority of imagery associated with this domain pertained to Christianity. A total of 34 terms were associated with religion. Thirty-three positive terms were associated with being religious and 24 negative terms were associated with being religious. Support both from the church and from God was one of the most commonly cited positives to do with religion. Also, social aspects such as gatherings and fellowship with church members were also mentioned by several men along with religion providing some knowledge about the plan for life and after death. Critiques of religion and faith mainly centered on the

divisive nature between religious groups and the censure received from society as a whole.

People within a faith who behaved fanatically, superior, and were narrow-minded were also cited as negatives of religion or faith.

A total of 35 good behaviors, 32 bad behaviors, 30 good values, and 29 bad values were attributed to men. Devotion, loyalty and provision for family were common themes for both good behaviors and good values. Abandonment or neglecting family was viewed as a negative attribute or behavior. Also, being religious was considered positive while being non-religious was considered negative. Overconsumption of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs were also considered as negative behavior. Pride and religion were both listed on the good and bad lists. Pride was seen as a positive if one had pride in his heritage or where he was from, but if pride caused a man to become fanatical or violent about things such as sports teams, this quality was then viewed negatively. Similarly with religion, only religious fanaticism was viewed negatively. With these two qualities, then, moderation was positive, but extreme positions were frowned upon.

When asked about terms or phrases pertaining to Southern culture, 39 positive items and 24 negative items were generated by participants. Manners, respect, religion, and the important roles of men already mentioned were all considered positive. The stereotypes of Southern men as redneck, backwards, and stuck in the old ways were considered negative aspects of Southern culture. As with the first phase, racism was not an often-mentioned topic. Only five of the 12 men mentioned racism as a negative aspect of Southern culture and one of the men questioned whether racism was still an issue in the present. This finding is surprising considering the infamous race relations and conflicts that have characterized much of the Southern United States for much of the region's history.

For the domain of community, 31 terms and phrases characterizing good communities and 31 terms and phrases characterizing bad communities were listed by participants. As with family, behaviors, and values, religion was seen as a positive quality. Another important quality for good communities necessitated that people know their neighbors and that neighbors look out for each other. Terms and phrases describing bad communities included items such as “dark,” “unsafe,” where “no one knows each other,” and there is “no activity” going on in the community.

The final domain explored was Southern foods. A total of 86 foods were listed as being foods that Southerners eat. Some of the most mentioned foods included bacon, casseroles, catfish, fried chicken and fried foods in general, grits, okra, steak, sweet tea, and turnip greens. The validity of these foods being much-eaten by Southerners can be confirmed by stepping into any Southern diner offering a meat-and-three meal. One food group listed was fatty foods, which, along with fried foods, aligns with the assertions made by men in the first phase relating to the unhealthy qualities of Southern foods.

### **Pile sort and Ranking results**

Due to time and project scale constraints, all of these domains could not be investigated individually. Items from the free lists were selected to be used in the pile sort and ranking interview. Both commonly listed and several idiosyncratic terms were included to capture the range of concepts covered by the freelists. A total of 36 words and phrases were selected for the pile sorting and ranking activities as shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Items used for Pile sort and Ranking Activities

Family oriented	Athletic ability
Trustworthy	Yard work
Keeps family whole	Hunting
Hard worker	Golfing
Trusting other races	Watching football
Controlling anger	Fishing
Opens or holds doors	Exercising
Says “yes ma’am”/ “no ma’am”	Drinking
Knows God is there	Support from parents
Able to withstand anything	Support from Wife/Girlfriend
Protector	Support from Co-workers
Father	Family there when needed
Breadwinner	Knows neighbors
Takes charge	Open to new ideas
Can change tire	Confrontational
Can change oil	Eats steak
Can fix a leaky faucet/pipe	Eats fried chicken
Can balance check book	Loyal

From the unconstrained pile sort, we can begin to see how men associate terms together. Figure 5.1 shows the multi-dimensional scaling of the men’s pile sorts in two dimensions (stress=.069). Based on this visual representation as well as comments during the interview, men seem to be separating the items based on whether or not an item is considered as important for maintaining social relationships and the self. These include roles that men are expected to fulfill in life, behaviors and qualities that are admired, and support systems from family, coworkers, and neighbors. Items contained in that core group include “Protector,” “Father,” “Keeps family whole,” “Knows neighbors,” “Trusts people of other races,” “Takes charge,” and “Athletic ability.”

There also appear to be small peripheral piles representing skills, activities, and food and relaxation from top to bottom. The term “Confrontational,” which seems to be isolated, is a term that was often characterized as a negative action. “Eats Steak,” “Eats Fried Chicken,” and

“Drinking” were also sometimes characterized as negative because, although these are often good foods or a way to relax, in excess, all of these things can be seen as unhealthy.

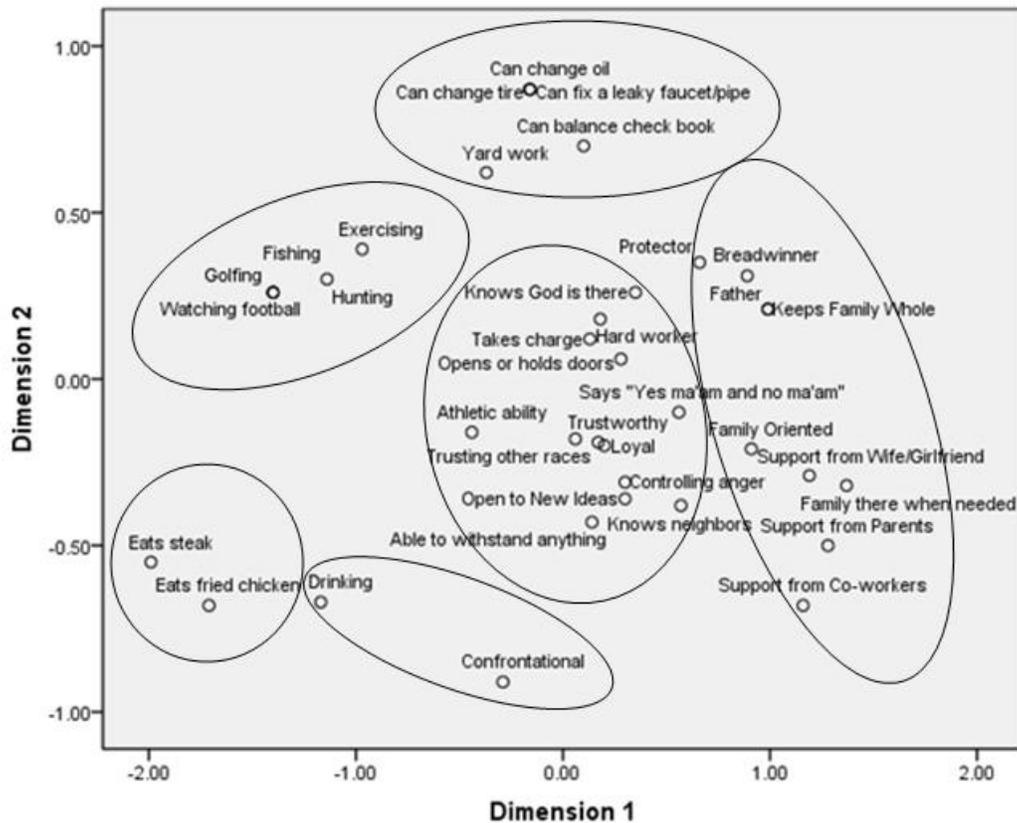


Figure 5.1: Multi-Dimensional Scale for Unconstrained Pile sort

A cluster analysis was run in order to get a better understanding of the way participants were grouping the data. A visual representation of this analysis is shown in Figure 5.2. From this analysis, we can see there are six main groups – negative activities (“Drinking” and “Confrontational”), food items, activities or hobbies, skills, and then two groups of qualities viewed as important for living a positive life. One group, which included the roles of protector, breadwinner, and father, and qualities of family life and sources of support were characteristics that were oriented towards the men’s interactions and relationships with others. The second group included personal characteristics of the man such as being open to new ideas, controlling anger, and being a hard worker. While the first group of characteristics is directed towards the

man’s connections with others, the second group encompasses qualities that a man needs to have in himself.

For the second pile sort and ranking activity, the participants were first asked to create three piles representing things that were most important for being a man, things that were least important for being a man, and things that were in-between the other two piles, being neither the most nor the least important. Figure 3 is a multi-dimensional scale of this pile sort in two dimensions (stress=.081). Items clustered on the right side of the graph are items that were sorted into the pile of things that were considered most important for being a man. Many of the items in this group were also found in the core group of items in Figure 1. Items that are gathered to the left of the graph were often considered to be least important for being a man.

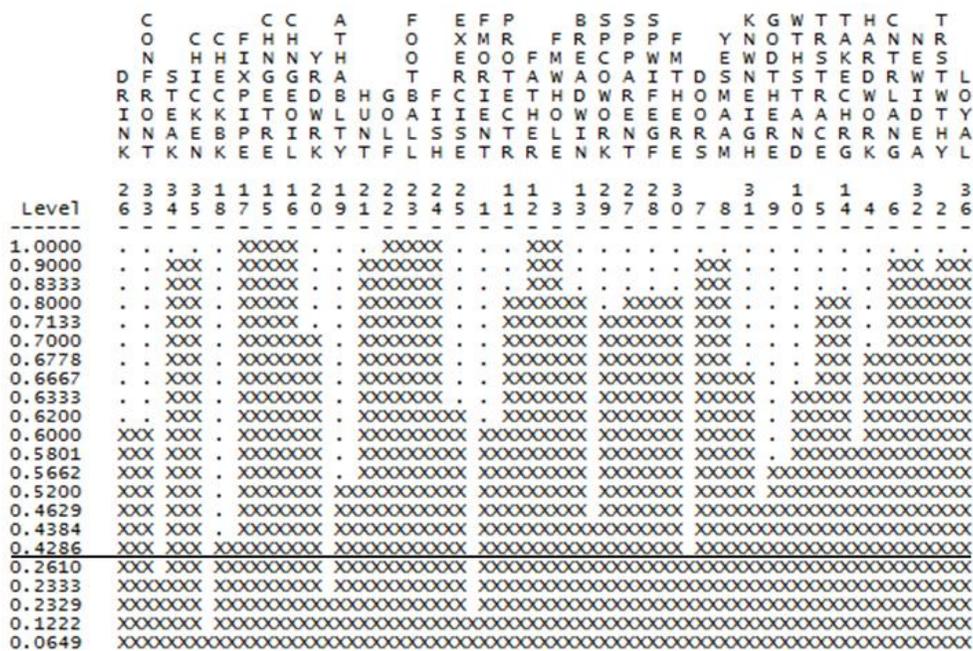


Figure 5.2: Cluster Analysis for Unconstrained Pile sort

Among the items to the right of the graph, personal qualities, attitudes, and behaviors are considered the most important. Items dealing with extra-family relationships dealing with neighbors, and people of other races, are located closer to the middle as are skills. “Athletic

ability,” although located within the core group of the unconstrained pile sort, fell in with items that are considered not as important for being a man in this ranked pile sort. As with the unconstrained pile sort, “Confrontational” is isolated from the other variables.

A cluster analysis was also run for the rank pile sort data. While there are three groups that emerge, there are two main groups, reflecting the multi-dimensional scaling results. Items pertaining to relationships with groups outside of the nuclear family including “Support from

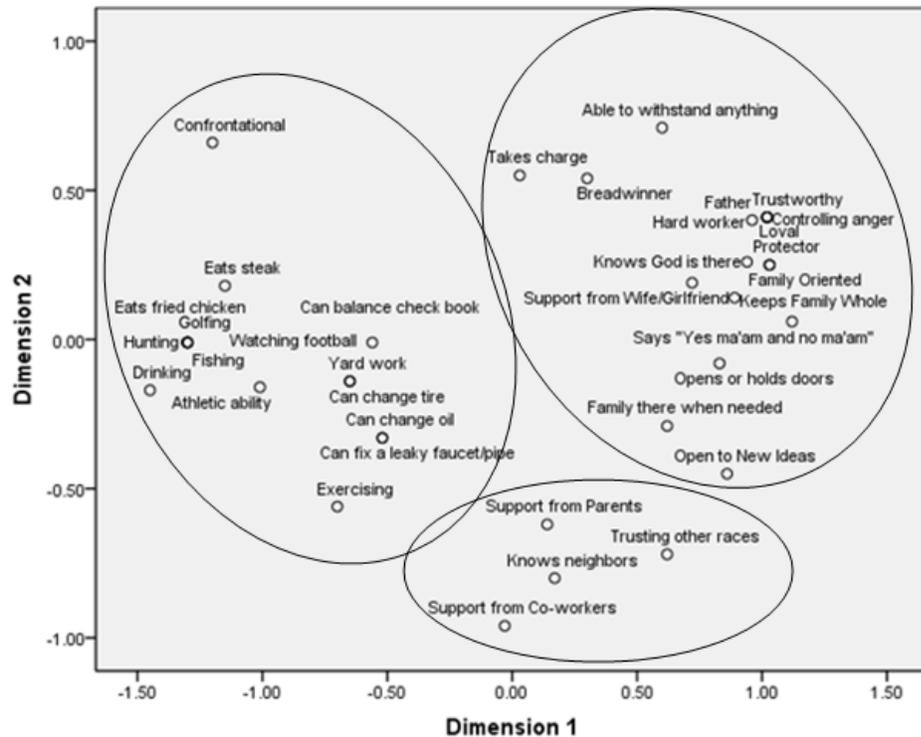


Figure 5.3: Multi-Dimensional Scale for Rank Pile sort

parents,” “Support from co-workers,” “Knows neighbors,” and “Trusts people of other races” were grouped apart from the rest of the items. The other two groups show divisions between personal qualities/roles and skills, abilities, and activities. Interestingly, being confrontational, although quite separated from the rest of the items in the multi-dimensional scale, is still included in the group including other skills, abilities, and activities of men.

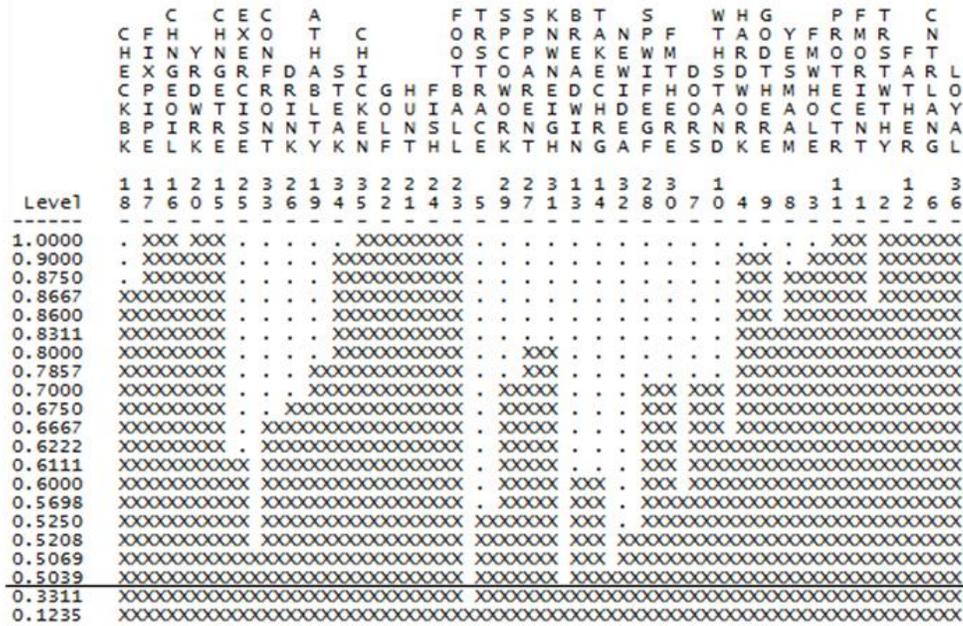


Figure 5.4: Cluster Analysis for Rank Pile sort

After participants had created the three piles, they were then asked to rank each pile in order of what they considered most important for being a man to what they considered to be the least important for being a man within each pile. In this way, a continuous ranking of all items was created without overwhelming the participant with the task of ranking 36 items at one time. Table 5.2 shows the items ordered in ascending order by mean rank as well as the lowest individual rank of each item. This ranking distribution corresponds with both the multi-dimensional scale and cluster analysis for this pile sort data. Personal traits and roles are, on average, ranked as more important for being a man, followed by skills, and with activities such as different sports and consumption of foods being consistently ranked as least important for being a man.

Table 5.2: Highest Individual Rank by Informants and Mean Rank of Items

<b>Item</b>	<b>Highest Informant Rank</b>	<b>Mean Rank</b>
Loyal	1	4.1
Trustworthy	1	4.3
Father	1	4.7
Knows God is there	1	4.9
Protector	2	5.1
Family oriented	2	5.8
Hard worker	2	6.4
Controls anger	3	7.3
Keeps family whole	3	9.2
Family is there	7	12.9
Support from wife/girlfriend	6	13.4
Says “yes ma’am and no ma’am”	9	14.2
Open to new ideas	9	14.6
Withstand anything	6	15.9
Takes charge	8	16.1
Breadwinner	5	16.2
Opens and holds doors	13	16.9
Support from parents	11	17.1
Trusts people of other races	8	19.2
Knows neighbors	10	20.4
Yard work	14	21.5
Can balance checkbook	18	22.1
Exercising	7	22.4
Support from co-workers	13	22.6
Change oil	16	23.0
Change tire	17	23.2
Fix leaky pipe/faucet	15	23.3
Athletic ability	21	27.3
Confrontational	12	29.5
Football	26	29.8
Fishing	28	31.3
Eats steak	20	31.3
Hunting	29	31.4
Golfing	27	31.9
Eats fried chicken	28	32.3
Drinking	28	34.4

## **Conclusion**

From the freelists, we can begin to see some of the qualities and behaviors that are considered important for being a man. These items are not a complete representation of Southern

masculinity because these findings are drawing on one of many models that exist in this region of the country. A man's attitudes and the roles he fulfills in his life are what define him as a man. The hobbies he participates in and the foods he eats are seen as enjoyable, but not as core defining features. Family and faith are considered very important for men as well as manners characteristic of "Southern courtesies." Behaviors and values, then, are viewed as more important for Southern masculinity than hobbies and activities.

## CHAPTER 6

### PHASE III RESULTS

#### **Descriptives**

The 31 men who participated in this phase ranged in age from 25 to 57 years. The average age was approximately 38.5 years and the median age was 35.5 years. All of the men in the sample at least completed high school or received their GED. The majority of the men had either a Bachelors or a Graduate degree (over 80% of the sample). Annual income levels ranged from 0 to 98,000 dollars, with an average of \$52,930.

In regard to occupation, with one exception, all participants were employed at the time of research. Two were students, one in undergraduate and one in medical school. In these cases, the occupation score was assigned based on their father's occupation. Because these men had not yet started their own careers from which to gain status, the occupation status of the father is used because this would be the environment in which the man was raised. The majority of men were employed in professional positions and 1/3 were unskilled or semi-skilled laborers or were unemployed. After the Hollingshead status score was calculated, the average score was 51.57 (out of 66) and scores ranged from 26 to 66. Body mass index (BMI) measures ranged from 18.95 to 35.65. Average BMI was 28.26, well into the overweight range for adult BMI. These findings are summarized in Table 6.1

Table 6.1 Distribution of Independent Variable Descriptive Statistics

Item		Number (%)
Age*	25-34 years	13 (43.3)
	35-44 years	8 (26.7)
	45 years and up	9 (30.0)
Education	Completed High School	1 (3.3)
	Partial College or Specialized Degree	5 (16.7)
	College or University Degree	13 (43.4)
	Graduate or Professional Degree	11 (36.7)
Yearly Income*	0-\$20,000	5 (16.1)
	\$21,000-\$40,000	7 (22.6)
	\$41,000-\$60,000	7 (22.6)
	\$61,000-\$80,000	8 (25.8)
	\$81,000-\$100,000	4 (12.9)
Occupation Level**	1	1 (3.3)
	2	0 (0)
	3	3 (10.0)
	4	2 (6.7)
	5	0 (0)
	6	4 (13.3)
	7	8 (26.7)
	8	7 (23.3)
	9	5 (16.7)
Hollingshead Status Score	26-45	8 (26.7)
	46-66	22 (73.3)
BMI	Less than 18.5	0 (00.0)
	18.5 – 24.9	9 (30.0)
	25 – 29.9	10 (33.3)
	30 or greater	11 (36.7)
Competence Score*	.40-.59	3 (10.0)
	.60-.79	10 (33.3)
	.80-.99	17 (56.7)
Consonance Score	48-55	6 (20.0)
	56-63	12 (40.0)
	64-70	12 (40.0)

\*\*For a full description of Occupation levels, see Appendix B

For the CES-D inventory, scores ranged from 0 to 36. Over half of the participants had scores at or below 6. The average score on the inventory was 8.2 and the mode was 5. The average systolic blood pressure was 137.14 mmHg and the average diastolic blood pressure level was 82.45 mmHg. Both of these averages are above the current “healthy” blood pressure levels of at or below 120 over 80 mmHg. One man had an average blood pressure of 207.25 over 109 mmHg. This man was also unemployed and a professed smoker. He acknowledged before his pressure was taken that it would be high, but that he didn’t have the time or money to go to the doctor. The highest and lowest systolic and diastolic blood pressure levels for each participant were also considered in the analysis. For the high and low systolic pressures, the average measures were 144.4 mmHg and 129.7 mmHg, respectively. For the high and low diastolic pressures, the average measures were 87.8 and 77.9 mmHg respectively. These results are summarized in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Distribution of Dependent Variable Descriptive Statistics

Item		Number (%)
CES-D	0-15	27 (90.0)
	16 and above	3 (10.0)
Average Systolic Blood Pressures (mmHg)	Less than 120	3 (10.0)
	120-139	19 (63.3)
	140 or greater	8 (26.7)
Average Diastolic Blood Pressure (mmHg)	Less than 80	14 (46.7)
	80-89	9 (30.0)
	90 or greater	7 (23.3)

### Cultural Consensus Analysis

The cultural consensus survey was analyzed to determine whether there was sharing of a model in the sample. Consensus was achieved with an eigenvalue ratio of 10.42 (a ratio of 3 or more indicates sharing). The consensus analysis also produced a competence score, or a score

that indicates how well each participant “knew” the model being tested. Competence scores can range between 0 and 1. The average competence score was .77 and scores ranged from .44 to .93. The cultural consonance score was calculated as a scale score that could range from 0 to 78. In the sample, consonance scores ranged from 48 to 70. The average consonance score was 60.9 and the mode score was 67. These results are also summarized in Table 6.1. Additionally, in table 6.3, the cultural consensus statements used in the cultural consensus survey are listed as well as the consensus answer. These consensus answers were then used in the cultural consonance analyses to determine each man’s consonance score.

Table 6.3 Consensus Survey Statements and Consensus Answers

<b>Consensus Statement</b>	<b>Consensus Answer</b>
1. The ideal man should be a father.	Agree
2. The ideal man shows respect to women and his elders.	Strongly Agree
3. He should not drink.	Disagree
4. He should have pride in where he is from.	Agree
5. The ideal man has trouble controlling his temper.	Disagree
6. He enjoys watching sports.	Agree
7. He opens and holds doors for others.	Agree
8. He knows his neighbors.	Agree
9. The ideal man is the leader in his family.	Agree
10. He is not open to new ideas.	Disagree
11. He is able to fix things around his home.	Agree
12. He walks away from his family during hard times.	Strongly Disagree
13. The ideal man can only really be himself around other men.	Disagree
14. He believes that God has a plan for his life.	Agree
15. He should be a husband.	Agree
16. He trusts people of other races.	Agree
17. The ideal man has trouble communicating with other men.	Disagree
18. He is a fighter.	Disagree
19. He is a leader in the community.	Agree
20. The ideal man would rather eat meat than fruits and vegetables.	Agree
21. The ideal man wants to make more money than his partner.	Agree
22. He thinks that his way is the only way.	Disagree
23. He has trouble communicating with women.	Disagree
24. He enjoys competition.	Agree
25. The ideal man should believe in God.	Agree
26. He enjoys playing sports.	Agree

## Statistical Analyses

The student's t-test and the Mann-Whitney Rank sum tests were used to determine if there were significant differences in BMI, CES-D scores, average systolic and diastolic blood pressures, and competence and consonance scores between men who were young and old, had a high or low consonance score, or had a high or low competence score. The continuous variables used in these tests were CES-D scores, average systolic pressure, average diastolic pressure, consonance score, competence score, highest and lowest systolic pressures, and highest and lowest diastolic pressures. Due to normality issues, non-parametric tests were used for the following variables: age, average systolic pressure, CES-D score, highest systolic pressure, and highest diastolic pressure. A significant difference was found between age group and the lowest systolic pressure ( $p=.047$ ,  $z=-1.990$ ). No other significant differences between groups were found.

Pearson correlations were run in order to determine if there is a relationship between consonance scores, competence scores, CES-D scores, the average measures of systolic and diastolic blood pressure, income, and occupations. A moderately strong significant correlation was found between consonance scores and yearly income, as well as between consonance scores and SES ( $r=.32$ ,  $p=.08$  and  $r=.38$ ,  $p=.04$ , respectively). Competence scores were found to have a moderate, inverse correlation with CES-D scores ( $r=-.44$ ,  $p=.02$ ).

The CES-D score was found to be positively correlated with average diastolic blood pressure ( $r=.36$ ,  $p=.05$ ). CES-D was also moderately and significantly correlated with yearly income ( $r=-.32$ ,  $p=.08$ ). These results are summarized in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 Pearson Correlations with Independent and Dependent Variables

	Age	Education Level	Occupation Level	Average Yearly Income	Hollingshead status	SES	BMI	Competence Score	Consonance score	Average Systolic Blood Pressure	Average Diastolic Blood Pressure	CES-D score
Age	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--
Education Level	-.13 (.51)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--
Occupation Level	-.27 (.14)	.49** (.01)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--
Average Yearly Income	.14 (.45)	.15 (.44)	.35* (.061)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--
Hollingshead status	-.27 (.15)	.64** (.00)	.98** (.00)	.34* (.07)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--
SES	-.09 (.63)	.53** (.003)	.82** (.00)	.79** (.00)	.83** (.00)	---	---	---	---	---	---	--
BMI	.19 (.32)	.19 (.32)	-.01 (.94)	.15 (.42)	-.05 (.78)	.08 (.68)	---	---	---	---	---	--
Competence Score	.11 (.55)	-.26 (.17)	.00 (.99)	.30 (.10)	-.05 (.79)	.15 (.42)	.22 (.25)	---	---	---	---	--
Consonance score	-.01 (.96)	.11 (.58)	.29 (.127)	.32* (.08)	.27 (.14)	.38** (.04)	.28 (.14)		---	---	---	--
Average Systolic Blood Pressure	.41** (.03)	.11 (.58)	-.35* (.06)	-.22 (.23)	-.29 (.12)	-.30 (.11)	.14 (.47)	.14 (.48)	.01 (.97)	---	---	--
Average Diastolic Blood Pressure	.40** (.03)	.09 (.64)	-.22 (.25)	-.18 (.34)	-.17 (.36)	-.20 (.29)	.19 (.33)	-.09 (.64)	.02 (.94)	.82** (.00)	---	--
CES-D score	.11 (.55)	.13 (.51)	-.08 (.67)	-.32* (.08)	-.05 (.81)	-.22 (.23)	.12 (.53)	-.44** (.02)	-.24 (.21)	.25 (.19)	.36** (.05)	--

\*significant at  $p < .10$

\*\*significant at  $p < .05$

Simple linear regressions were run with the predictor variables of competence scores, consonance scores, income, education level, occupation level, Hollingshead status score, SES, age and BMI. The outcome variables used were CES-D scores, average systolic blood pressure, and average diastolic pressure. In tests using CES-D scores as the outcome variable, an inverse relationship was found with competence scores ( $F=6.630$ ,  $p=.016$ ). Income also showed a moderate inverse relationship with CES-D scores ( $F=3.238$ ,  $p=.083$ ). Consonance scores,

education and occupation level, the social status scores, age, and BMI were not found to be significant predictors of CES-D scores.

When average systolic blood pressure was used as the outcome variable, occupation level and age were found to be significant predictors ( $F=3.923$ ,  $p=.058$  and  $F=5.539$ ,  $p=.026$ ). No other significant predictor of average systolic blood pressure was found. In regressions using average diastolic blood pressure, only age was found to be a significant predictor of this variable ( $F=5.409$ ,  $p=.028$ ).

Table 6.5 Simple Linear Regressions

<b>Outcome Variable</b>	<b>Predictor Variable</b>	<b>Standardized Coefficient</b>	<b>P value</b>	
CES-D score	Competence score	-.438	.016**	
	Consonance score	-.237	.207	
	Income	-.322	.083*	
	Education	.126	.507	
	Occupation	-.082	.667	
	Hollingshead status	-.046	.808	
	SES	-.224	.234	
	Age	.156	.411	
	BMI	.120	.526	
	Average Systolic Blood Pressure	Competence	.135	.478
		Consonance score	.008	.968
Income		-.224	.234	
Education		.106	.578	
Occupation		-.351	.058*	
Hollingshead status		-.288	.123	
SES		-.299	.109	
Age		.406	.026**	
Average Diastolic Blood Pressure	Competence	-.089	.640	
	Consonance score	.016	.935	
	Income	-.180	.342	
	Education	.089	.638	
	Occupation	-.216	.251	
	Hollingshead status	-.173	.361	
	SES	-.200	.288	
	Age	.402	.028**	
	BMI	.186	.325	

\*significant at  $p<.10$

\*\*significant at  $p<.05$

Multivariate regressions analyses were conducted in order to control for possible confounding variables that might mask relationships between cultural consonance or cultural competence and the dependent variable of CES-D scores. Competence scores were found to be a significant predictor of CES-D scores and consonance scores neared significance.

In the first regression model, CES-D was regressed on age, BMI, and competence scores. This model was found to be significant ( $F=3.194$ ,  $p=.040$ ) with competence score as the only significant predictor of CES-D scores ( $p=.007$ ). This relationship was inverse, indicating that as a man's competence score decreases, his symptoms of depression will increase. This model was able to explain approximately 27% of the variance in CES-D scores. These results are summarized in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6 Standardized Regression Coefficients ( $\beta$ ) for Regression of Age, BMI, and Competence scores on CES-D scores

Variable	CES-D Score
Age	.175
BMI	.195
Competence scores	-.499*, $r^2=.269$

\*significant at the  $p<.01$

In the second regression model, CES-D scores were regressed on education level, BMI, and consonance scores. This model was found to not be significant ( $F=1.355$ ,  $p=.278$ ) and was able to explain approximately 14% of the variance in CES-D scores. Consonance scores, however, were found to be the only significant predictor of CES-D scores in this model ( $p=.099$ ). The relationship between these two variables was also found to be inverse, indicating that as a man's consonance score decreases, his symptoms of depression will tend to increase. The results are summarized in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7 Standardized Regression Coefficients ( $\beta$ ) for Regression of Education level, BMI, and Consonance scores on CES-D scores

Variable	CES-D Score
Education level	.210
BMI	.253
Consonance scores	-.330*, $r^2=.135$

\*significant at the  $p < .10$

## Conclusions

In this chapter the quantitative findings of the third phase of research were analyzed. We have confirmed that there does seem to be a shared model of masculinity among white, Southern men in this sample. Older men tend to have higher diastolic blood pressure readings than younger men.

Correlations showed that as income and SES increase, so do consonance scores. Symptoms of depression tended to increase as a man's competence score decreased and as average diastolic blood pressure increased. Age is a significant predictor of blood pressure, so the older the man, the higher his average systolic and diastolic blood pressure levels tended to be. A more prestigious job predicted lower average systolic blood pressure and a higher average yearly income and SES predicted lower CES-D scores.

In the main tests of the hypothesis, multivariate regression models showed that the more a man knows this shared model of Southern masculinity (i.e., his competence) and the more he lives out this model in his life (i.e., his consonance) the fewer depressive symptoms he exhibits. These findings indicate that competence and consonance scores are both significant predictors of depressive symptoms, although the relationship between competence and CES-D scores is stronger than the relationship between consonance and CES-D scores. No significant relationships were found between competence or consonance and any blood pressure measurements.

## CHAPTER 7

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study sought to outline and identify some of the important aspects of Southern masculinity in white males. Culture is defined as the knowledge a person needs to have in order to be a part of a group and this knowledge can be divided into many cultural models. There are multiple cultural models for every domain of life and many interpretations and models of Southern masculinity that are in a constant state of evolution (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Because a person's knowledge of cultural models is based both on shared knowledge and individual experience, the expression of models in daily life is unique and not a fixed condition (Dressler et al., 2005b). Because knowledge of certain models is shared in a group to some degree, there is generally a consensus regarding what a model will entail, but a person's own experiences will also inform his or her understanding of a model (Dressler et al., 2005b). Cultural consensus and consonance analyses were utilized in this project in order to measure not only the level of knowledge, or cultural competence, a person had regarding models of Southern masculinity, but also his cultural consonance, or the degree to which he actualized the cultural models in his daily life. The researcher further hypothesized that the degree to which men actualized the shared models of masculinity in their own lives would be inversely related to levels of stress.

In the first phase, in-depth interviews were conducted with a small group of men in order to begin to outline some of the important aspects of masculinity. From the review of the

literature, expected themes included the importance of family and religion, honor, mastery, and violence. The importance of family and religion in the South were emphasized as well as values such as trustworthiness and dependability.

The inner, mental strength and characteristics of men were emphasized more so than physical strength or material possessions or behavior. Also roles such as provider, protector, husband, father, leader, and mentor were frequently mentioned. There seemed to be tension between the need to be open-minded and progressive and the need to preserve the traditional values and roles of the Southern man. Women were claimed to be equals, but men were expected to make more money than their partner. Also, there seemed to be ambiguity regarding whether Southern men were different from men from other parts of the country.

During the freelisting part of the second phase, a second sample of men were asked to “flesh-out” these areas of masculinity through the enumeration of terms they associated with family, community, religion, Southern culture, values and behaviors. During the pile sorting, men tended to group items with similar qualities together such as roles, free-time activities, character traits, and sources of support and social relationships.

Being confrontational was, overall, seen as relatively unimportant for being a man, which seems to indicate a departure from the literature regarding traditional Southern masculinity. Commentary from the participants during this activity seemed to indicate that picking fights for no reason was frowned upon, but that if a man were being attacked or defending himself, his honor, or another person, fighting and violence were condoned, which does support the claims found in literature.

Hunting, fishing, and golfing, all activities that were emphasized as things men like to do and representative of their masculinity, were generally considered least important for being a

man, as were eating foods such as steak and chicken. Also, despite a history of strained race relations, trusting people of other races was seen as moderately important. These and, perhaps, all of the rankings in this exercise may have been influenced by what is considered socially acceptable or politically correct, despite the assurance of anonymity. These societal expectations, however, influence the model of expected behavior and beliefs of men, and so deviations from these expectations in men's actual behaviors will still contribute to stress in the individual.

Mastery and the importance of family could also be seen in the shared ideals of masculinity. The men agreed that men should be husbands and fathers and that they should make more money than their partner. Additionally, the ideal man would be a leader in his community and the leader and breadwinner in his family. Despite the progress of the feminist equal rights movements, then, masculine domination still seems to be perpetuated to some degree through the roles and expectations of Southern men.

The issue of race and racism was a notably absent topic of discussion for most of the participants in this study. One participant even claimed that racism was no longer a social issue in the South. Political correctness may be contributing to the silence of these men on the issue of racism in the South. Or, perhaps issues of race relations are being masked through an equating of certain races with issues such as poverty or immigration. Either way, the silence of these men on racism in the South is notable and deserves closer examination in future studies.

In the cultural consensus analysis, a high degree of agreement was found in the sample, which indicates that there is at least one shared model of masculinity in the South. Again, these shared elements do not represent the only model of Southern masculinity and are not universal to every man who lives in the South. Even within the group that shares these attitudes and beliefs, the interpretation of these items in a man's daily life can vary substantially. Cultural consensus

analysis showed that the ideal man should be a husband and a father, believe in God, be faithful to his family, and make more money than his partner. Additionally the ideal man should enjoy competition as well as playing and watching sports and should prefer meat to fruits and vegetables. He should respect women and his elders, hold and open doors for others, be able to fix things around the house, be open to new ideas, and trust people of other races. He should not walk away from his family during hard times and should be able to communicate with both women and other men. The ideal man should not be a fighter and should be able to control his temper (these findings are summarized in Table 8).

Aside from identifying and outlining models of Southern masculinity, this project also attempted to link the physical well-being of men with these cultural models. Cultural competence and cultural consonance were tested with the results of a common inventory of depressive symptoms and measures of blood pressure levels in order to test our hypothesis that men who have lower consonance scores will have more stress.

Although no significant relationships were found between competence or consonance and blood pressure measurements, competence and consonance scores are both significant predictors of depressive symptoms. In other words, as the competence or consonance score increases, the corresponding CES-D scores will tend to decrease. Men who know and live out the cultural model to a greater degree show fewer symptoms of depression. The relationships between competence and depressive symptoms and consonance and depressive symptoms were similar. Knowledge and action in regard to certain cultural models are closely related, as indicated by the similarity of relationships of these two variables with symptoms of depression. These relationships are not identical, however. The association between consonance and depressive symptoms is weaker than that between competence and depressive symptoms. Perhaps in this

instance, a lack of knowledge of a shared cultural model is more stressful to these men than the failure to actually live out the model. The South has been in a position of tension, poised between tradition and progress for many decades. This tension could result in models of Southern masculinity that are not as clearly defined or discernable for men as traditional Southern masculinity once was. With this ambiguity, the knowing of a model may become more important than the actual living out of the model. Additionally, the consonance survey in this study was focused on attitudes and beliefs rather than reports of material behavior. For this reason, informant responses may have tended towards the ideals of behavior even when they were asked about their own behaviors, which would contribute to the similarity of findings regarding competence and consonance.

Depressive symptoms and blood pressure belong to different categories of responses to psychosocial stress – mental and physiological responses, respectively. Different stressors have different responses, so the lack of both physical and psychological symptoms of stress in relation to competence or consonance scores does not mean that a situation is not stressful (Chrousos and Gold, 1992). Additionally, as discussed above, the consonance survey dealt mainly with attitudes and beliefs which are both mentally-oriented qualities which may contribute to stress manifesting in mentally-oriented ways such as depressive thoughts and feelings and not increased blood pressure. In this study both a lack of knowledge regarding the cultural model as well as a failure to actualize a model of Southern masculinity were found to be related to an increased number of depressive symptoms in the sample. The findings of this research are useful because stress can manifest in the occurrence of depressive symptoms, as found in this project, and through many physiological aspects such as elevated blood pressure levels and hormonal changes. Responses to stress lead to mental impairment and damage to the body. Understanding cultural models and

how these models can interact with health is important for gaining a full picture of the human body, health, and the cultural environment.

There have been many studies examining how the knowledge and actualization of cultural models is related to a person's health and this study contributes to this body of research through an examination of white males from the Southern United States. These findings show that competence, or knowledge, regarding expected ideals can influence stress levels in an individual as well as the actual living out, or consonance with, these expectations.

### **Limitations**

A major limitation of this study is the demographic bias of the sample. All of the men recruited to participate in this study had graduated from high school and all but one were employed or in school at the time of research. Additionally, the first phase sample was especially small, which could introduce a potential bias into the proceeding phases of research. Although the sample for this phase was small, the men represented a wide range of ages, incomes, and occupations. Additionally, the second and third phases of research tried to overcome this potential bias by drawing questions and topics both from the phase I interviews and the literature on Southern masculinities. A potential advantage to the general homogeneity of the sample demographics is that consensus analysis revealed a clear sharing of one of the models of Southern masculinity in the men. There are, of course, many shared models of masculinity. Through this research a model that is shared among middle-aged and middle-class white Southerners has been outlined.

In future research a sample that represents a broader demographic of the population including income, occupation, and education levels would provide a sample more representative of the Alabama population and may reveal additional models of Southern masculinity shared by

other demographic groups. Another limitation is the region from which these men were recruited involved one city in Alabama. Generalizations about men in other parts of the Southern region should be made with caution. A third limitation involved time and resources. Due to time restrictions, no aspects of the sub-domains of masculinity could be fully investigated. These sub-domains include family, religion, community, and Southern culture. Each of these sub-domains requires closer attention for a fuller understanding of Southern masculinity in future research. While this study focused more on attitudes and ideals, efforts should be made to explore the material behaviors associated with these ideals in order to better test the relationship between adherence to models of Southern masculinity and stress.

## **Conclusion**

This project sought to explore not only whether there were shared models of Southern masculinity, but also to determine whether a failure to live out these models of masculinity would result in psychosocial stress manifested as depressive symptoms and/or elevated blood pressure levels. Research confirmed the hypothesis that the degree to which men both knew and were living out a shared model of masculinity was inversely related to the occurrence of depressive symptoms.

Traditional descriptions of Southern masculinity are often based on the Civil War ideal of the chivalrous gentleman. Family and God were central to the traditional Southern man and the duty of protecting his honor was an important part of life. Future researchers should continue to explore the ties between Southern masculinity and health with a larger, more representative sample in order to gain a better understanding of this group.

Anthropological and cognitive methods of research were integral to the success of this research. In-depth interviews, freelisting, pile sorting, and ranking exercises allowed participants

to outline and define the areas of masculinity with their own terms and definitions. There is, indeed, at least one shared model of Southern masculinity and these expectations of men are influenced both by modern mainstream American culture as well as the ideals and traditions of the old south. This research builds upon the work of other researchers by showing the relationship between culture and health as well as expanding the ethnographic base of cultural models research. Through an understanding of the complex relationships between culture and health, we can begin to better address the needs of people as both physical and cultural bodies.

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**APPENDIX A:  
Complete Freelist Item List**

<b>Qualities of a Good Family</b>	
Accepting	Honest
Active	Has a sense of humor
Caring	Kind
Close	Loving
Communicates well	Loyal
Considerate	Memories or Traditions
Encouraging	Nurturing
Family-oriented	Religious
Fulfilling	Safe
Gets along	Supportive
Giving	Together
Growth	Trustworthy
Happy	Unique

<b>Qualities of a Bad Family</b>	
Absent	Mean
Abusive	Non-caring
Alcoholism	Not close
Anger	No communication
Bad	Not content
Control	Not dependent
Deceitful	Not loving
Destructive	Not religious
Dysfunctional	Not supportive
Fake	Untrustworthy
Jealous	Selfish
Judgmental	Unsafe

<b>Relationships you look to for support</b>	
Church family	Most Relationships
Co-workers	Neighbors
Children	Parents
Extended family (aunts, uncles, grandparents)	Pets
Family	Police
Friends	Siblings
Girlfriend	Wife
Local Government	Yourself

<b>Free-time Activities</b>	
Bars	Mechanical hobbies
Biking	Watching movies
Playing basketball	Mud-riding
Playing baseball	Nothing
Building	Outdoor work
Working on Cars	Picnicking
Church	Playing music
Civic activities	Reading
Computer	Playing softball
Cooking	Sleeping
Exercising	Playing soccer
Family activities	Socializing
Playing football	Going to sports events
Fishing	Playing sports
Gaming	Playing tennis
Golfing	Traveling
Helping others	Watching tv
Hiking	Playing volleyball
Home repair	Visiting adult establishments
Hunting	Work
Listening to music	Watching sports
Martial arts	

<b>Skills that Men should have</b>	
Automotive repairs	Can lead
Take care of basic needs	Knows how to listen
Caring	Can read and write
Carpentry skills	Can read a map
Able to communicate	Mechanical ability
Is a member of a community	Is a good role model
Computer skills	Not materialistic
Coordinated	Nurturing
Can drive	Can change his oil
Stress education	Organizational skills
Electric repairs	Outdoor skills
Family-oriented	Can perform plumbing repairs
Father	Relationship skills
Can manage finances	Religious
Fishing	Responsible
Physically fit	Social skills
Can perform general repairs	Supportive
Have grown-up	Has basic survival skills
Good with his hands	Can change a tire
Can perform household repairs	Good work habits
Has a sense of humor	Can do yardwork
Hunting	

<b>Expectations of Men</b>	
Has answers	There for mechanical problems
Breadwinner	Mentor
Chief	Role model
In control	Does not listen
Makes decisions	Policemen
Disciplinarian	Protector
Doctor	Provider
Realize it's not just a man's world	Understanding of relationships
Takes care of family	Keeps house in Christian environment
Father	Reproduces
Fighter	Respectful of others
Firemen	Problem-solver
Follower	Strong
Head of Household	Successful
Honest	Supporting
Hunter/gatherer	Trustworthy
Instinctive nature	Unemotional
Innovative	Unselfish
Lawyer	Upstanding
Leader	Can withstand anything
Loving	Does yardwork

<b>Things associated with Religion</b>	
Angels	Love
Bible-thumping	Misleading
Christianity	Music
Church	Keeps from faith
Comfort	Opium
Compassion	Peace
Control	Polarizing
Controversy	Salvation
Faith	Serving others
Family	Sin
Forgiveness	Social
Giving	Support
God	Traditions
Spiritual guidance	Trust
Holidays	Values
Hypocrisy	Vengeance
Jesus	Worship

<b>What is good about being religious</b>	
Sense of belonging	Like-minded people
Comfort in hard times	Love
Faith	Not selfish
Family	Nourishing
Forgiveness	Pacifies
Foundation for life	Peace
Friends	Perseverance
Fullfilling	Provides a place to go
God	Plan for life
Helps treat others as you want to be treated	Gives purpose
Support from God	Share beliefs and ideas with others
Keeps out of trouble	Social contacts
Happy	Support from church
Harmony	Values
Lead by example	Good works
Positive life	

<b>What is bad about being religious</b>	
Bad communication with outsiders	Judgmental
Can cripple	Know-it-alls
Dead-end/bad	Misleading
People want to diffuse religion	Narrow-mindedness
Pragmatic people don't agree with	Piousness
Divisive	Finger-pointing
Unreal expectations	Cannot easily prove
Fanatics	Restrictive
Fear tactics	Society looks down upon
Go with the flow too much	Stigma
Hypocrites	Religious feel superior to non-religious
People impose their way	Too wrapped up in traditions

<b>Men's good behaviors</b>	
Take care of family	Take leadership roles in community
Chilvary	Loving
Work towards betterment of community	Manners
Considerate	Mentors
Can make decisions	Open to others
Easy-going	Outdoor activities
Educated	Patient
Family-oriented	Protectors of families
Good fathers	Provide for family
Friendly	Raised better
Gentle	Religious
Gentlemen	Respect for others
Expected to be good	Not in as much of a rush
Greet others	Supportive
Good with hands	Good values
Helps others	Well thought of
Honest	Work hard
Kind	

<b>Men's bad behaviors</b>	
Abandon families	Do not lead
Abusive	Do not provide for family
Adultery	Not gentlemen
Too much alcohol	Not progressive in thinking
Does not control anger	Pornography
Act like boys	Priorities out of order
Overly controlling	Less trusting of other races
Cursing	Rude behavior
Deciet	Selfish
Bad driving	Smoking
Drugs	Stealing
Easily drawn into negative situations	Feeling superior to women
Violent over football team	Using tobacco
Good ol' boy mentality	Not accepting of others
Quick to judge	Unhealthy behaviors
Loud	Violent

<b>Good Values that men have</b>	
Good choices	Being a good role model
Competitiveness	Outdoor activities important
Courteous	Positive outlook on life
Dependable	Pride
Determination	Providing for others
Devotion	Good upbringing
Education	Religious beliefs
Family important	Respectful of women
Fit	Emphasis on sports
Friendliness	Success important
Desire to help others	Support family
Honesty	Togetherness important
Hospitality	Unselfish
Loyalty	Knows right vs. wrong
Manners	Hard work ethics

<b>Bad values that men have</b>	
Family not important	Partying
Adultery	Proud
Too much alcohol	Too much time in the woods or at the pond
Bad role models	Racist
Not being providers	Redneck
Cursing	Religion gets in the way of being accepting
Deceit	Rude
Distrust of change	Selfish
Football is too important	Sports too important
Low self-esteem	Stigma of being from Alabama
Meanness	Tobacco
Not polite to strangers	Unaccepting
Not Christian	Vice
Stuck in old times/ways	Vulgarity
Strong opinions	

<b>Good things about Southern culture</b>	
Southern accent	Men being men
Men are breadwinners	Manners
Chivalry	Support for military
Courtesy	Outdoor activities
Cooking	Patience
More ways to relieve stress in south	Ready to protect home
Exercise	Being providers
Importance of family	Readiness
Fishing trips	Religion
Food	Respect of others
Friendliness	Respect children
Spirit of giving	Respect elders
Speaking to strangers	Respect women
Helping others	Socializing
Hospitality	Support
Sense of humor	Togetherness
Hunting trips	Trusting
Self-reliance	Good weather
Taking a lead role	Work ethic
Loving	

<b>Bad things about Southern Culture</b>	
Abuse	Macho
Excessive alcohol consumption	Education not as important
Backwardness	Less progressive
Cliquish	Opinionated
Moving away from Southern culture to national identity	Pride
Think in control	Racism
Disrespect nature	Rednecks
Fanaticism	Sports
Wrapped up in football	Hot heads
Ignorant	Tobacco use
Judgmental	Unaccepting
Lazy	Violent

<b>Ways to describe a good community</b>	
Active	Good leadership
Alert for problems	Maintained
Looks nice	Open
Strives to become better	Peaceful
Caring	Promotes industry
Strong civic organizations	Religious
Clean	Respectful
Considerate	Safe
Good education	Sharing
Family setting	Sociable
Forgiving	Supportive
Friendly	Together
Helpful	Hard working
Honest	Everyone talks
Inclusive	Community involvement
People know each other	

<b>Ways to describe a bad community</b>	
Bad leadership	No progress
Closed/isolated	No spiritual guidance
Controlling	No trust
Corrupt	Poverty
Dark	Poor school system
Decietful	Top-heavy power structure
Disrespectful	Trouble/gangs
Economic problems	Not accepting of others
Inconsiderate	Unconnected
Poor infrastructure	Unfriendly
Not caring	Unhelpful
No community	Unkept
No one knows each other	Unsafe
No involvement in community	Very quiet
Not dependable	Violent
Not supportive	

<b>Foods that Southerners Eat</b>	
Alfredo	Griddle cakes
Apple Pie	Grits
Bacon	Gumbo
BBQ	Ham
Beans	High calorie foods
Beef	Homemade foods
Biscuits	Hoppin' John
Baked beans	Hotdogs
Black eyed peas	Icecream
Bologna	Lima beans
Bread	Liver
Breakfast foods	Mac n' Cheese
Broccoli	Meat
Buttermilk	Mexican/Tex-mex
Burgers	Milk
Cake	Milkshakes
Carrots	Mashed potatoes
Casseroles	Okra
Catfish	Onion rings
Chicken	Oysters
Chitlins	Pease
Cobbler	Pecan Pie
Coconut cake	Red meat
Coca-cola	Ribs
Collard greens	Rice
Corn	Roast beef
Corn pancakes	Salad
Cow tongue	Sausage
Crawfish	Souse
Cornbread	Squash
Dessert	Starches
Eggs	Steak
Etufé	Sweet Tea
Fastfood	Sweet potatoes
Fatty foods	Sweet potato pie
Fried chicken	Tomatoes
Fried foods	Turkey
French fries	Turnip greens
Fried mushrooms	Vegetable soup
Fried pickles	Venison
Fried squash	Waffles
Green beans	Watermelon
Gravy	Wings

**APPENDIX B:**  
**Hollingshead Occupation Scale**

- 9 – Higher Executives, Proprietors of Large Businesses, and Major Professionals
- 8 – Administrators, Lesser Professionals, Proprietors of Medium-Sized Businesses
- 7 – Smaller Business Owners, Farm Owners, Managers, Minor Professionals
- 6 – Technicians, Semiprofessionals, Small Business Owners
- 5 – Clerical and Sales Workers, Small Farm and Business Owners
- 4 – Smaller Business Owners, Skilled Manual Workers, Craftsmen, and Tenant Farmers
- 3 – Machine Operators and Semiskilled Workers
- 2 – Unskilled Workers
- 1 – Farm Laborers/Menial Service Workers