

Toward an Integrative Psychology of Masculinities

Y. Joel Wong¹ and Shu-Yi Wang²

¹ Counseling & Educational Psychology Department, Indiana University Bloomington

² Counseling and Wellness Center, University of Florida

Despite advances in the psychological study of masculinities, the term “masculinity” or “masculinities” has been conceptualized differently across diverse theoretical approaches. To address these challenges, this article seeks to integrate the myriad ways that masculinities have been studied by scholars. Drawing on scholarship from various fields, the authors delineate five domains of masculinities—self-ascribed, other-ascribed, situational, performative, and macro masculinities. Reflecting an integration of these five domains, masculinities are conceived as the constellation of cultural and individual meanings attached to men and boys that are (a) attributed to the self as well as to (b) people, concepts, and objects; (c) embedded in situational cues; (d) performed as social practices; and (e) distributed through ecological influences. The authors propose a framework that pieces together these domains of masculinities, describes how they differ in their stability and proximity of influence on people’s lives, and explicates their linkages with each other. Finally, the authors explain how the framework and the five domains can guide future psychological research and practice.

Public Significance Statement

This article provides a definition of masculinities by integrating scholarship from different fields of study. The authors describe five domains of masculinities that can guide future research and practice.

Keywords: masculinities, masculinity, men, boys

In 1964, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart coined the phrase, “I know it when I see it,” when describing his criterion for deciding whether a motion picture was obscene. Perhaps this nebulous phrase applies equally well to masculinities—what masculinities mean seems obvious, yet elusive. It is apparent that masculinity is related to being male, but what does it mean? Masculinity has been variously defined as “anything men think and do to be men” (Gutmann, 1997, p. 386), labels people use to describe attributes that distinguish men from women (Spence, 2011), a culture of dominance and assertiveness (Hofstede, 1980), and “thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and behaviors that are generally considered to be appropriate for boys and men” (Levant & Pryor, 2020, p. 3). It appears that the attempts at defining this term have emphasized different concepts. Yet, it is plausible that various conceptualizations of masculinities are appropriate, but inadequate, because they do not capture the multifaceted nature of masculinities. This is unsurprising, given that masculinities are

studied across diverse disciplines (e.g., sociology and public health) and that the psychology of men and masculinities is a relatively new field that only emerged about 30–40 years ago (Smiler, 2004). Concurrently, several authors have offered thoughtful critiques of how masculinities has been conceptualized in psychology; taken together, these scholars emphasize the need for more context-driven accounts of masculinities that foreground people’s diverse social roles and interactions with their social milieu (Addis et al., 2010; O’Neil, 2015; O’Neil et al., 2017; Smiler, 2004; Wetherell & Edley, 2014).

Accordingly, we build on these critical reviews and propose an inclusive definition of masculinities that incorporates scholarship from diverse areas of psychology and the social sciences. Using our definition of masculinities as a guide, we explain how different lines of research on masculinities can be grouped together in five broad domains. As we will demonstrate, for example, the constructs of conformity to masculine norms (Mahalik et al., 2003) and gender role conflict (O’Neil, 2015) may have different theoretical bases, yet both belong to the same of domain of masculinities because of a shared emphasis on meanings about men that are attributed to the *self*, as opposed to meanings attributed to *others* (e.g., men in general). We then propose a framework to organize these domains. Our central thesis is that an exclusive focus on only one domain provides an incomplete portrait of masculinities but, collectively, they contribute to an integrative psychology of masculinities that present a more holistic understanding of people’s lives.

This article contributes to the literature in several ways. First, our definition will clarify the meaning of masculinities, which will help advance the psychology of masculinities. For instance, in quantitative research, the term “masculinity” is frequently used as a predictor

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Y. Joel Wong  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3006-6871>

Shu-Yi Wang  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7557-0089>

Y. Joel Wong is the Editor of the Psychology of Men and Masculinities.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Y. Joel Wong, Counseling & Educational Psychology Department, Indiana University Bloomington, 201 N. Rose Avenue, Bloomington, IN 47401, United States. Email: joelwong@indiana.edu

of outcomes (e.g., Rothgerber, 2013), but a lack of precision in what this means obfuscates the interpretation of findings. Second, we highlight scholarship and research methods from diverse fields, including research that is less well known in American psychology (e.g., discursive psychology [DP]), to promote the cross-fertilization of ideas. Third, our framework will articulate ways in which the five domains of masculinities can stimulate novel practical applications and new programs of research. In concert with recent trends in the psychology of men (Wong & Wester, 2016), we use the term *masculinities* to signify that there are multiple meanings of masculinities varying across time, social roles, and social groups (Smiler, 2004). However, in line with grammatical conventions, we use the singular form, *masculinity*, when it is employed as an attributive noun (e.g., “masculinity constructs”).

Defining Masculinities

Masculinities are defined as the constellation of cultural and individual meanings attached to men and boys that are (a) attributed to the self as well as to (b) people, concepts, and objects, (c) embedded in situational cues, (d) performed as social practices; and (e) distributed through ecological influences. As seen above, there are five domains of masculinities in our definition: (a) self-ascribed, (b) other-ascribed, (c) situational, (d) macro, and (e) performative masculinities. Our emphasis on *meanings*—including beliefs, norms, and stereotypes—aligns with how gender has been defined by psychologists, namely, a set of meanings attached to sex and sex differences (Shields & Diccio, 2011). Also implied in our definition is the notion that masculinities are related to but can transcend the male biological sex. As we will demonstrate, masculinities are relevant to women (e.g., Halberstam, 2019) and even to nonhumans. In subsequent sections, we elaborate on the five domains and point out how the strengths of each domain complement limitations in other domains.

Before describing the five domains of masculinities, several clarifications are warranted. We do not intend to propose a new theory of masculinities, nor is our primary interest in evaluating theories of masculinities because this has been addressed elsewhere (see Smiler, 2004; Wong & Wester, 2016). Nevertheless, we use three meta-theoretical perspectives as analytic frames to examine the five domains—feminism, social constructionism, and intersectionality. Our emphasis on feminism necessitates attention to men’s privileges and how masculinities reflect inequities in gender relations (Flood & Pease, 2005; Silverstein, 2016). The influence of feminism on the study of masculinities is embedded in the sociological notion of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995; Wedgwood, 2009), which refers to a set of social practices that embodies the most honored way of being men and boys and reflects men’s domination over women and other men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). To illustrate, masculinity ideologies—beliefs about the standards against which men are evaluated—include sexist beliefs, such as the avoidance of femininity, that denigrate women and perpetuate gender inequities (Levant & Richmond, 2016). Concurrently, social constructionism asserts that masculinities do not contain universal and invariant meanings. Instead, there are multiple, dynamic meanings associated with men that reflect a society’s culture and individual constructions of masculinities (Addis et al., 2016; Wong et al., 2020). Hence, masculine norms that encourage men’s domination over women, while difficult to eradicate, are neither natural nor inevitable. Finally,

the intersectionality perspective contends that people’s multiple collective identities intersect in ways that mirror interlocking systems of power and oppression (Cole, 2009; Crenshaw, 2017). Applied to masculinities, this perspective explains how the mutually constitutive nature of gender and other collective identities (e.g., race) engender unique meanings of masculinities, particularly for men with minoritized identities (Liu & Wong, 2018). For instance, intersectionality scholars have emphasized the overlapping nature of gender and race, such that masculinities are “raced” (e.g., men from different racial groups are stereotyped as having varying levels of masculinities), while race is also gendered (e.g., White privilege contains elements of masculine privilege; Chavez & Wingfield, 2018; Liu, 2017; Wong & McCullough, 2021).

Domain 1: Self-Ascribed Masculinities

Self-ascribed masculinities are the meanings connected to boys and men that are attributed to the self. Because gender is one of human beings’ most visible collective identities, it profoundly shapes their sense of self (Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013). Indeed, self-ascribed masculinities are the most common domain of masculinities examined in psychological research and are typically informed by gender theories that assume people’s self-ascribed masculinities are influenced by the way they have been socialized (Wong et al., 2010). Research on self-ascribed masculinities aligns with personality, clinical, and counseling psychology in that masculinities tend to be measured as individual differences using Likert-type scales (e.g., Swartout et al., 2015) and conceptualized as antecedents of mental health outcomes (O’Neil, 2015; Reidy et al., 2016; Swartout et al., 2015).

Studies on self-ascribed masculinities can be classified into three types of constructs: (a) masculine attributes, (b) masculine identities, and (c) stressful experiences associated with masculinities. Research on masculine attributes examine the degree to which people perceive that they possess or adhere to characteristics associated with the male social group. Measures of masculine attributes include the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1981), which presumably assesses personality traits reflecting stereotypical qualities associated with men (“masculinity,” e.g., being assertive and ambitious) and Mahalik et al. (2003) Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI; and other versions of this scale), which assesses people’s self-perceptions of the extent to which they conform to 11 masculine norms (e.g., risk-taking, violence, winning).

By contrast, masculine identities are people’s thoughts and feelings about their membership as men. Scholarship on masculine identities is situated within the collective identity literature in that they represent ways in which men connect their sense of self with the male gender group (Hornsey, 2008). Masculine identities include men’s identification with stereotypical male images (e.g., Average Joe, Jock, and Nerd; Smiler, 2006), their feelings of connection to other men (Wade, 1998), and the degree to which their self-worth is derived from their sense of masculinity (Burkley et al., 2016). Importantly, masculine identities and masculine attributes are related to each other because, according to self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987), people tend to conform to the stereotypical attributes of the group they identify with when their group identity is salient. Hence, men who strongly identify with the male gender group are also more likely to conform to masculine attributes (Wong et al., 2020).

A third type of self-ascribed masculinity construct focuses on discrepancies and people's experience of stress related to their attempts to fulfill masculine gender roles—these include masculine gender role conflict (O'Neil, 2015), masculine discrepancy stress (e.g., Reidy et al., 2016), and discrepancies between people's perceptions of their own masculine traits and what they ought to and ideally should have (Weisbuch et al., 1999). Most scholarly inquiries in this area have been guided by the gender role strain paradigm, a feminist-oriented theory asserting that masculine gender roles are often dysfunctional as they incur stress for those who fulfill and fail the requirements of masculine norms (Levant & Richmond, 2016; Pleck, 1981). For instance, men's adherence to the masculine norm of emotional control robs them of intimacy with their loved ones but failing to conform to this norm might also leave them feeling inadequate as men.

In recent years, research on self-ascribed masculinities has grown in conceptual diversity. Advances in the field include embracing the intersectionality perspective by examining men of color's experiences with gendered racism (Liu & Wong, 2018) and adopting a possible masculinity lens by asking men to describe the type of men they want and ought to be (Molenaar & Liang, 2020). Nonetheless, we highlight one weakness in research on self-ascribed masculinities. Because most studies on self-ascribed masculinities assess between-person variability using Likert-type measures, they share the same limitations as research on individual differences in personality psychology. That is, masculinities are treated as constructs of individual differences divorced from social context (Addis et al., 2010). A person might conform to masculine norms in some social settings (e.g., in the company of male friends) but not in others, yet this situational variability is not adequately captured in Likert-type measures. We address this limitation in our discussion on situational masculinities (Domain 3) below.

Domain 2: Other-Ascribed Masculinities

If self-ascribed masculinities refer to how people view themselves, other-ascribed masculinities explicate the ways masculinities are attributed to constituents in one's social milieu, including people, concepts, and objects. Other-ascribed masculinities include ideologies, perceptions of social norms, stereotypes, and attributions to concepts and objects associated with boys and men. Social psychology and counseling psychology have informed research in this domain in that the constructs of interest are conceptualized as emerging from a shared social context (Morris et al., 2015) and have implications for people's mental health (e.g., Levant & Richmond, 2016).

The distinction between self- and other-ascribed masculinities is vital. For example, a man might believe that *men* should generally not express too much emotion (masculinity ideology of restrictive emotionality; other-ascribed masculinities) yet *view himself* as emotionally expressive (low conformity to the masculine norm of emotional self-control; self-ascribed masculinities). Evidence supporting this distinction is also seen in different scale factor structures when people rate themselves versus others on masculine attributes (Choi et al., 2008; Hammer et al., 2018).

Masculinity ideologies, the socially constructed belief and value systems that stipulate standards against which men are judged (Levant & Richmond, 2016), form the backbone of studies in other-ascribed masculinities. Perhaps the most well-known measure

in this domain is the Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI; Levant et al., 1992) and its variants, which articulate traditional ideologies in the U.S. concerning what men should do, such as nonrelational sex and restricting one's emotions.¹ U.S.-based research has found that the endorsement of traditional masculinity ideologies is positively correlated with problematic psychosocial outcomes, for example, poorer mental health and sexual aggression (Levant & Richmond, 2016). Reflecting social constructionist and intersectionality notions that there are unique meanings of masculinities across cultures (Liu & Wong, 2018; Wong et al., 2020), researchers have also drawn attention to cultural variants in masculinity ideologies (Arciniega et al., 2008; Janey et al., 2013). Ng et al. (2008) found that men from Asian countries deemed career success and being viewed as a man of honor as the most crucial attributes of a man, while focusing less on physical and sexual attributes more prevalent in U.S. dominant masculinity ideologies.

Related to masculinity ideologies, the social norms approach (Wong et al., 2020; Zou & Leung, 2015), highlights the role that perceived masculine norms play in regulating attitudes and behavior. For instance, men's overestimation of their counterparts' approval of and degree of aggression might motivate them to enhance their aggressiveness to conform to perceived norms (Vandello et al., 2009). Studies also demonstrate the relevance of distinguishing between injunctive and descriptive masculine norms. One study found that perceived injunctive norms (what most men approve of) concerning men's emotional inexpressiveness predicted U.S. men's loneliness and dissatisfaction with life, whereas perceived descriptive norms (what most men do) negatively predicted intention to seeking counseling (Wong, Horn, & Gomory, 2013).

Beyond ideologies and perceived norms, stereotypes are another type of other-ascribed masculinity construct. Specifically, masculine stereotypes reflect generalizations related to boys and men that people attach to elements in their social world. Individuals tend to ascribe less "masculinity" to men who are modest (Moss-Racusin et al., 2010), show typical depressive symptoms (Cole & Davidson, 2019), support feminism (Anderson, 2009), seek flexible work arrangements (Vandello et al., 2013), and practice vegetarianism (Ruby & Heine, 2011). Importantly, masculine stereotypes also apply to women, as evidenced by Black women being stereotyped as masculine, which might negatively affect White heterosexual men's perceptions of their attractiveness (Galinsky et al., 2013).

From the standpoint of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), stereotypes about specific groups of men perform a psychosocial function: For instance, White people's negative stereotypes about Black men could be a means for the former to protect or achieve a positive collective identity and self-concept (Hornsey, 2008). Moreover, feminist and intersectionality perspectives highlight the interlocking relationship between masculine stereotypes and power. Stereotypes maintain power inequity between men and women and also between groups of men. For example, common stereotypes of men in the U.S. are implicitly "raced" in that they depict images of White men with the cultural resources afforded to

¹ Differences in the wording of items in the MRNI and the CMNI underscore the different domains of masculinities they measure—other-ascribed versus self-ascribed, respectively. Most items in the CMNI focus on the *self* (e.g., "I never share my feelings"), whereas the MRNI addresses beliefs about what men should or should not be or do (e.g., "Men should be detached in emotionally charged situations.").

them (Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013). Against this standard, stereotypes about men of color represent ways in which they are typecast as deviant—either through psychological emasculation (for Asian American men) or as hypermasculine men who are to be feared (for Black men; Wong, Horn, & Chen, 2013).

In addition to stereotypes about people, masculinities can be attributed to nonhumans, such that objects and concepts are imbued with gendered connotations (Gal & Wilkie, 2010). Thus, school subjects (e.g., math; Makarova et al., 2019), types of food (e.g., meat; Rogers, 2008), social status (e.g., wealth; Williams et al., 2010), sports (e.g., ones involving physical contact; Chalabaev et al., 2013), occupations (e.g., security patrol; Hall et al., 2015) can all be perceived to be masculine. To the extent that many men desire to be regarded as masculine, this insight on how everyday objects and concepts are interlaced with masculinities explains why men gravitate toward certain types of food, fields of study, and occupations (Gal & Wilkie, 2010; Hall et al., 2015). Likewise, the attribution of masculinities to academic disciplines has profound implications for women's career trajectory, given research showing that female Swiss students who attributed a strong masculine image to science and math subjects had a reduced likelihood of selecting a STEM major for their university education (Makarova et al., 2019).

A key contribution of research on other-ascribed masculinities is that masculinities are conceptualized as beliefs *related* to but not solely about men, emphasizing the distinction between men and masculinities. As earlier discussed, masculinities can be ascribed to women, things, and concepts. Indeed, the wide-ranging applications of other-ascribed masculinities showcase the ubiquity of masculinities and their influence on many aspects of people's day-to-day lives. However, one limitation is that situational variability is not adequately accounted for in studies on other-ascribed masculinities. The meanings associated with men are not static; instead, different contextual cues may determine the salience of other-ascribed masculinities. For instance, people expect men to be more assertive than women in work and sports situations, but the reverse is true in home environments (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2008). We turn to Domain 3, situational masculinities, to address this limitation.

Domain 3: Situational Masculinities

Situational masculinities are meanings linked to boys and men embedded in situations rather than in people's beliefs or behaviors. This perspective calls attention to the situational cues that trigger schema shaping gender-related behavior (Deaux & Major, 1987). Consequently, social contexts differ in their degree of gender saliency (Eagly, 2012). Research on situational masculinities is well-represented in experimental social psychology because the methodology of priming (activating knowledge structures through exposure to different types of information) allows researchers to manipulate the factors that cause differences in participants' responses (Oyserman & Lee, 2008).

Researchers adopting priming in studying masculinities have employed numerous methods to increase the accessibility of masculinities, resulting in behaviors congruent with traditional masculine norms. For example, men hearing male-related words from a car radio drove faster in a driving simulator compared to neutral or feminine conditions, presumably because of the activation of risk-taking masculine norms (Mast et al., 2008; see also Meier-Pesti & Penz, 2008, on masculinity primes and financial risk taking).

Similarly, other studies have documented the effect of priming masculinities on numerous outcomes, such as men's decreased desire to engage in affective communication (Ben-Zeev et al., 2012), men's increased intention to commit sexual assault (Edwards & Vogel, 2015), men's decreased gender role conflict (Jones & Heesacker, 2012), and women's improved performance on mental rotation tasks (Ortner & Sieverding, 2008).

Another line of studies uses a different approach to activate masculinities by creating a perceived threat to participants' manhood (i.e., their sense of how masculine they are). Guided by the theory of precarious manhood, these studies show that men's manhood is a fragile social status, and when threatened, it provokes anxiety and a desire to prove one's manhood through socially verifiable acts, such as physical aggression (Vandello & Bosson, 2013). As an example, after receiving false feedback that threatened their manhood, men in a word completion task wrote and completed more anxiety-related words (e.g., THREA_ [threat]) relative to nonthreatened men and to both threatened and nonthreatened women (Vandello et al., 2008). Moreover, masculinity threats have been linked to greater consumption of energy drink (Chiou et al., 2013), homophobic attitudes (Willer et al., 2013), acceptance of social inequality (Weaver & Vescio, 2015), and physical aggression (Cohn et al., 2009).

An advantage of research on situational masculinities is that it provides clear evidence of the causal influence of masculinities on people's attitudes and behaviors. From a social constructionist standpoint, situational masculinities also capture the malleable nature of masculinities, which not only de-essentializes masculinities (i.e., masculinities do not invariantly affect behavior), but also elucidates *when* the impact of masculinities would emerge (Addis et al., 2010, 2016). However, one shortcoming of such research is that it might not give sufficient attention to people's agency in how they orient themselves to masculinities. That is, the demonstration of masculinities' causal influence on people's behaviors does not provide a detailed analysis of what they are attempting to accomplish socially (e.g., are they resisting, policing, or proving their worth in relation to hegemonic masculinity?). To address this issue, we turn to the next domain of masculinities—performative masculinities.

Domain 4: Performative Masculinities

Performative masculinities focus on how meanings associated with men and boys are enacted through social practices. This focus on performance treats masculinities not merely as people's attributes or beliefs but as located in *social actions*, namely, what people do, talk or present (e.g., dressing and mannerisms) in the presence of others. Masculinities, then, are an interactional accomplishment (Pfeffer et al., 2016) and include (a) the way people orient themselves and others in relation to hegemonic masculinity (e.g., attempts to justify or reject hegemonic masculinity or prove to others that one is sufficiently masculine; Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009; Seymour-Smith, 2017); and (b) the policing of masculinities (socially punishing others' behavior perceived as insufficiently masculine; Reigeluth & Addis, 2016). This view of masculinities dovetails with the *doing gender* perspective, which conceptualizes gender as a verb—an interactional process in which gender is invoked in daily activities (Shields & Diccio, 2011; West & Zimmerman, 1987).

Research on performative masculinities is primarily conducted via qualitative research especially through work in DP. Although several qualitative methods can be used to explore the performance of masculinities (e.g., ethnography; Pascoe, 2005), we concentrate on DP research because it is less likely to be published in U.S.-based journals. Grounded epistemologically in social constructionism, DP centralizes discourse, or language, as the site in which knowledge about psychological constructs (e.g., collective identity and attitudes) is enacted (Potter, 2012; Wetherell & Edley, 2014). Language, then, is not merely a medium for communicating one's emotions and thoughts but is also *performative* in that it accomplishes certain social functions (e.g., blaming others or justifying one's views; Lester et al., 2018). A DP researcher who analyzes a boy's description of what it means to be "masculine" is less interested in his feelings or beliefs on this topic but more in the social goals he is achieving (e.g., proving to the interviewer that he is sufficiently "masculine"). Indeed, this construction can fluctuate because language can be deployed to manage different social situations (e.g., whether the boy is talking with his male peers or his mother). Given this emphasis on social accomplishments, DP researchers are attentive to participants' rhetorical features (e.g., use of first-person plural pronouns, repetition of words, etc.). As such, DP research entails a fine-grained analysis of how masculinities unfold in quotidian social practices (Wetherell & Edley, 2014). Some scholars also adopt a critical approach to DP, which attends to historical-cultural forces that produce privilege and oppression (Potter, 2012; Seymour-Smith, 2017), a perspective that aligns with feminism's illumination of power in gender relations. For example, a critical DP researcher's analysis of boys' descriptions of what it means to be masculine might discuss how they draw upon culturally available discourses on masculine stereotypes and norms to construct a masculine identity.

DP research has spawned several studies on performative masculinities. In a seminal DP study, Wetherell and Edley (1999) identified strategies through which British men constructed themselves as masculine, such as aligning themselves with hegemonic masculinity, emphasizing their ordinariness as men, and rebelling against hegemonic masculinity. The authors concluded that participants were creating diverse identity positions in relation to hegemonic masculinity by using several contradictory discursive resources, allowing them to be both hegemonic and nonhegemonic at the same time. DP has also been applied to studies on British men's construction of feminism and feminists (Edley & Wetherell, 2001), British doctors and nurses' construction of their male patients (Seymour-Smith et al., 2002), and Canadian male undergraduate psychology students' negotiation of their identities as men in a gender atypical field (Marulanda & Radtke, 2019). DP is also well-suited for analyzing naturalistic conversations (i.e., interactions that would have occurred even in the absence of the researchers; Lester et al., 2018). Examples include the ways men interrupt each other and women in business meetings and a male peer group's conversation when watching a sports event.

A central strength of research on performative masculinities is that, more so than other domains of masculinities, it reflects a social constructionist view of masculinities by underscoring people's agency and their individual constructions of masculinities (Seymour-Smith, 2017). Unlike Likert-type measures in which people rate their levels of agreement with various statements about masculinities, an analysis of performative masculinities presents a

more dynamic view of how people orient themselves toward masculinities. That is, individuals are not seen as inexorably adhering to any particular set of masculine norms but are constantly constructing different versions of masculinities in varying social situations. However, if people use a range of culturally available discourses in their performance of masculinities (Seymour-Smith, 2017), it begs the question of what is in the content of these discourses, a topic we turn to in the next section.

Domain 5: Macro Masculinities

If performative masculinities examine how masculinities unfold at the micro level in daily social practices, macro masculinities, by contrast, illuminate broad, distal processes. Macro masculinities shed light on the *systemic* nature of masculinities—the meanings associated with boys and men at ecological levels (e.g., in groups, organizations, institutions, and societies). Although many psychologists identify ecological factors, such as societal norms, media, schools, and family, as key drivers of men's self- and other-ascribed masculinities (O'Neil, 2015; Shen-Miller et al., 2013), psychological research tends to address people's interactions with or beliefs about macro masculinities instead of directly studying macro masculinities. Put differently, the individual—rather than the system—is the unit of analysis in most psychological research on masculinities. To illustrate, a typical study of the mass media might investigate correlates of men's internalization of body ideals represented in various mass media (e.g., DeJesus et al., 2015), although the content of such mass media is not directly examined. We argue that macro masculinities deserve greater attention for several reasons. For one, feminist psychologists have observed that women's (and men's) personal experiences are impacted by broader structural forces that perpetuate gender inequities and have called for researchers to study macro-level indicators of gender (e.g., country-level measures of gender equity; Else-Quest & Grabe, 2012). For another, identifying evolutions in macro masculinities might help predict eventual shifts in individually held masculinity ideologies and gendered behavior. For example, Fulu and Miedema (2015) observed that the relatively low rates of intimate partner violence in Maldives stemmed from traditional societal masculine norms that prize men's calmness and eschews violence; however, the recent influx of modern gender ideologies expressed in mass media, such as music and the internet, could portend a rise in men's enactment of intimate partner violence.

Scholarship on macro masculinities span several disciplines, such as sociology, communication science, organizational psychology, cultural psychology, and public health. Here, we discuss two broad strands of research on macro masculinities—the mass media and ecological indicators of masculinities. The mass media, which includes social media, television (TV), movies, advertisements, video games, and magazines, is a major site for interrogating macro masculinities because it is ubiquitous and a purveyor of cultural ideals of masculinities in society (Giaccardi et al., 2016). The mass media does not merely reflect masculine norms and stereotypes, it also shapes social reality by projecting what is desirable and normative for men (Moss, 2012). A content analysis of advertisements in U.S. men's magazines found that 56% depicted at least one hypermasculine ideology (i.e., exaggerated messages about what it means to be a man; Vokey et al., 2013). Nevertheless, it would be an oversimplification to assume that the producers of mass media are

only concerned with promoting hegemonic masculinity. The mass media bolsters and undermines dominant stereotypes of men in contradictory ways (McKay et al., 2005). Advertisements and movies might attract viewers' attention by portraying unexpected, nonhegemonic portrayals of men (e.g., average-looking British working-class men who formed a male striptease group in the movie *The Full Monty*; [McKay et al., 2005]), while popular images of men on social media might present hybrid masculinities that selectively incorporate elements of femininities and subordinate masculinities into men's performance of masculinities (McCullough & Lester, 2021).

Consistent with feminist and intersectionality perspectives, research on mass media has also exposed the presence of racial and global hierarchies of masculinities. The global hegemony of White masculinities is evident in the numerical dominance of White men in pictorial advertisements in popular men's lifestyle magazines: Shaw and Tan (2014) found that 91% of male models featured in U.S. magazine advertisements were White, although, strikingly, most male models featured in magazine advertisements in Taiwan (60%) and China (56%) were also White (the magazines in Taiwan were locally owned, while the Chinese magazines were local affiliates of American and British magazines). In the same vein, an analysis of South African TV advertisements demonstrated that Black men were more often portrayed negatively and as being of a lower social class than White men, attesting to the importance of an intersectional analysis of race and gender (Luyt, 2012).

Besides the mass media, macro masculinities can be quantitatively analyzed using ecological indicators of masculinities. Conceptually, such research dovetails with applications of Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory to an analysis of men and masculinities (Shen-Miller et al., 2013). According to Bronfenbrenner (1979) ecological systems theory, human development is affected by multiple interlocking systems, including the microsystem (e.g., male peer groups and family), mesosystem (interactions between microsystems), exosystem (e.g., mass media), and macrosystem (e.g., societal masculine norms). A distinctive contribution of such research is the use of multilevel modeling to showcase the relations between macro masculinities (e.g., peer groups, communities, and nations) and psychosocial outcomes at the individual level. Although peer groups, communities, and nations appear quite different from each other, they share a common focus on the ecological system (not just the individual) as a unit of analysis in research. In such research, the average score of people in a group is often used as a measure of macro masculinities. Suppose a researcher is interested in studying the relationship between gender role conflict and the bullying behavior of 120 boys in 40 male peer groups. Using the terminology of multilevel modeling, the boys are considered nested within peer groups. Researchers could then study the link between peer group-level gender role conflict (macro masculinities) and individual-level bullying behavior.

Herein, we illustrate several recent studies that have used multilevel modeling to study macro masculinities. Among U.S. middle school children, children who belonged to peer groups that held more traditional masculinity ideologies perpetrated greater individual-level homophobic name-calling (Birkett & Espelage, 2015). Likewise, U.S. college fraternity chapter-level adherence to masculine norms was associated with fraternity members' personal endorsement of social dominance hazing motivations (McCready,

2019a) and alcohol consumption (McCready, 2019b). In another study, Bangladeshi men exhibited more problematic attitudes and behaviors regarding intimate partner violence if they lived in communities (e.g., villages) with stronger masculine dominance norms (Yount et al., 2018). Finally, in the fields of cultural psychology and organizational psychology, the most well-known indicator of macro masculinities is Hofstede (1980) unidimensional masculinity-femininity (MAS-FEM), an indicator of between-nation variability. Hofstede (1980) defined a masculine society as one that emphasizes assertiveness, toughness, and material success. Using survey responses of employees in a large multinational company, Hofstede assigned MAS-FEM scores ranging from 0 to 100 to nations based on mean scores of employees in those nations, with high scores representing greater "masculinity" (e.g., the U.S. and South Korea have MAS-FEM scores of 62 and 39, respectively). Meta-analytic research has found that nation-level MAS-FEM was associated with many organizationally relevant attitudes and behaviors (Taras et al., 2010).

Collectively, these studies demonstrate that masculinities can exist outside people's minds and behavior in the groups and communities within which people are embedded. Nonetheless, people do not passively imbibe the norms embedded within macro masculinities, as we have demonstrated in our review of performative masculinities. And, as we will show, macro and self-ascribed masculinities can each exert unique influences on people's lives. Hence, macro masculinities need to be considered together with other domains of masculinities, a topic we will address when discussing the integration of different domains of masculinities.

Framework for an Integrative Psychology of Masculinities

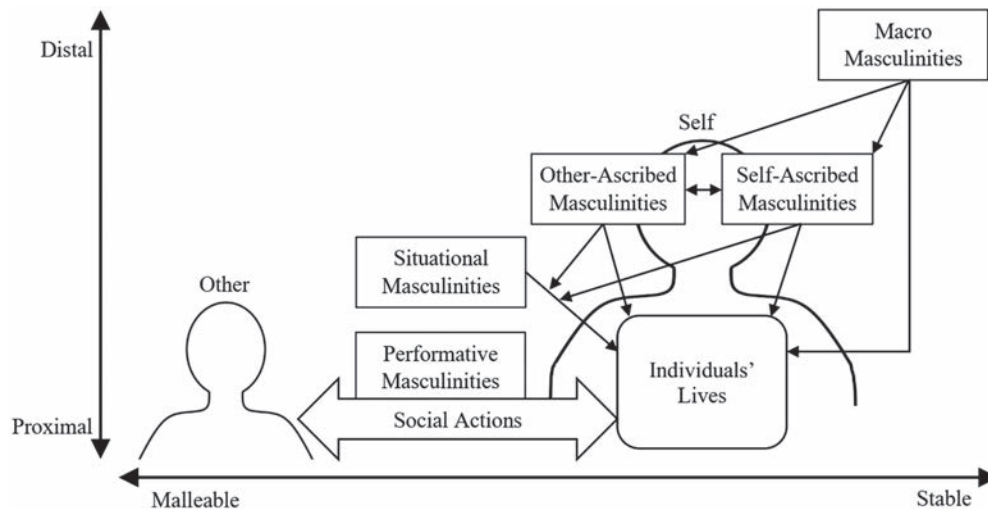
In sum, masculinities can be conceptualized as what people believe about themselves (Domain 1) and others (Domain 2), situational cues (Domain 3), what people do in social interactions (Domain 4), as well as ecological influences on groups and societies (Domain 5). As we have demonstrated, these domains of masculinities are studied in different fields, thus limiting the cross-fertilization of ideas. A careful delineation of these different domains and their relationships with each other could provide a more nuanced understanding of masculinities.

Accordingly, we propose a framework to organize the five domains of masculinities, so that, together, they can contribute to an integrative psychology of masculinities (see Figure 1). Within this framework, we propose how the five domains of masculinities differ in their stability and proximity of influence on people's lives as well as how they are connected to each other. Although there is some conceptual and indirect empirical support for our framework, we frame the propositions herein tentatively, while encouraging further research.

Stability and Proximity

As depicted in Figure 1, the five domains of masculinities differ in their stability and proximity of influence on people's lives (e.g., behaviors and well-being). On the extreme end of the spectrum, macro masculinities are external, ecological forces "out there" that project distal influences on individuals. We also theorize that macro

Figure 1
An Integrative Framework of the Five Domains of Masculinities and Their Interrelationships



Note. Macro masculinities are located in the far upper right, reflecting their relatively stable and distal nature. Self- and other-ascribed masculinities have approximately the same degree of proximity to people's lives, although other-ascribed masculinities are more malleable. Additionally, these two domains are depicted inside an individual's head, indicating that they represent internal processes (e.g., beliefs). Situational and performative masculinities are the most malleable domains among the five. Note that performative masculinities are situated in social actions rather than in internal processes, as depicted by the box outside the individual. Arrows in the figure illustrate the effect of a domain of masculinities on (a) another domain, (b) a relationship between a domain and individuals' lives, or (c) individuals' lives, depending on where they point to. Arrows from macro masculinities to self- and other-ascribed masculinities and individuals' lives suggest a direct influence of macro masculinities on these elements. The mutual influence between self- and other-ascribed masculinities is indicated by the double-headed line. Moreover, self- and other-ascribed masculinities not only shape individuals' lives but also moderate the effect of situational masculinities, as seen by the arrows. Finally, performative masculinities are impacted by the other four domains as they are manifested in one's social actions, an aspect of individuals' lives regulated by the four domains (all of them have arrows pointing toward individuals' lives).

masculinities (especially those that exist at the societal level) are relatively stable, although not immutable, as compared to the other domains of masculinities (Hofstede, 1980; Young, 2015). To illustrate, it is harder to immediately change the masculine norms of an entire community than to alter an individual's perceptions of the norms. However, over a long period of time, macro masculinities can evolve (Kimmel, 2018; Smiler et al., 2009). For instance, across several decades, nation-level cultural values, including Hofstede's MAS-FEM indicator of nation-level masculinity, do change (e.g., decrease in MAS-FEM in the United States; Giraldo et al., 2005), although, remarkably, the relative positions of and differences between nations on these cultural values remain generally stable (Beugelsdijk et al., 2015).

In contrast to macro masculinities, self-ascribed and other-ascribed masculinities present more proximal influences on people's lives since they represent people's internal processes (identities, ideologies, stereotypes, etc.; Addis et al., 2010). As compared to situational and performative masculinities, we propose that self-ascribed and other-ascribed masculinities also reflect relatively stable individual differences. However, other-ascribed masculinities may be more malleable than self-ascribed masculinities. Indirect support for the relative stability of self-ascribed masculinities (vs. other-ascribed masculinities) can be found in self-verification theory, which holds that people develop stable self-views that help

them make sense of their worlds, and therefore they seek out experiences that reinforce the stability of their self-views (Swann, 2012). Hence, people who view themselves as relatively masculine or who perceive themselves as conforming to masculine norms are likely to pursue experiences that perpetuate the stability of their self-ascribed masculinities (Wong, Horn, & Gomory, 2013). However, because other-ascribed masculinities address beliefs about others, they are less directly tied to the self and thus more amenable to change as people are exposed to new information. Evidence supporting the relative malleability of other-ascribed masculinities can be seen in research on social norms interventions that seek to correct misperceptions of gender-related social norms. A 20-min social norms intervention reduced U.S. college men's perceptions of their male peer's sexism (other-ascribed masculinities), relative to a control condition, 3 weeks later (Kilmartin et al., 2008). Likewise, a 2.5-hr sexual assault prevention program increased college men's perceptions of other men's likelihood to engage in prosocial bystander behavior 7 months later, compared to controls (Gidycz et al., 2011).

Situational masculinities and performative masculinities, in contrast to self-ascribed and other-ascribed masculinities, are more malleable because they provide more contextualized accounts of people's lives. Because situational masculinities are meanings embedded within situations, they embody a *now-you-see-it-now-you-don't* quality as

people move from one context to another (Deaux & Major, 1987; Shields & Dicicco, 2011). To illustrate, perhaps some men experience threats to their manhood only in work, but not familial settings. Compelling evidence for the malleability of situational masculinities is found in the burgeoning body of experimental research showing that masculinities can be manipulated through priming methods to effect change in people's behavior and attitudes (e.g., by providing false feedback that threaten men's manhood [Vandello et al., 2008]; refer to the earlier section on situational masculinities). Likewise, performative masculinities are decidedly dynamic since they are located in people's social actions—people's performance of masculinities differs depending on the social context and audience (e.g., male peers vs. a teacher). More so than any other domain of masculinities, performative masculinities underscore the idea that masculinities do not have a deterministic influence on people and that they retain some agency in how they respond to their environments (Seymour-Smith, 2017). That is, in their social practices, people utilize, resist, or modify the cultural meanings of masculinities they receive from their environments, thus producing individualized meanings of masculinities.

Situational masculinities and performative masculinities also exert more proximal influences on people's lives than other domains. Through the priming methodology, researchers can document immediate shifts in behavior arising from temporary exposure to masculinities. The study of performative masculinities provides a fine-grained analysis of the way masculinities unfold in daily social life—the way one talks, dresses, walks, and interacts with others. Performative masculinities, thus, constitute the most proximal domain of masculinities to individuals' lives.

Connections Among Domains of Masculinities

Next, we discuss how the domains of masculinities are related to each other as well as recent research that explicates these linkages. Macro masculinities shape the types of environmental influences that are chronically available (e.g., perpetual images of men engaged in violence as portrayed on TV). Some of the impacts that macro masculinities exert on people are likely mediated through self-ascribed and other-ascribed masculinities (Morris et al., 2015). In other words, chronic exposure to masculine norms and stereotypes in peer groups, institutions, and communities influences people's self-ascribed masculinities (e.g., masculine identities) and other-ascribed masculinities (e.g., masculinity ideologies) through various psychological mechanisms, such as internalizing social norms as personal norms, endorsement of norms as a way of expressing men's masculine identities, and a desire to avoid perceived social sanctions (Mahalik et al., 2003; Morris et al., 2015; Wong et al., 2020).

At the same time, multilevel research assessing masculinities at both group and individual levels suggest that macro masculinities and self-ascribed masculinities each have independent effects on people's attitudes and behaviors (see Figure 1). For instance, studies that simultaneously assessed group-level and individual-level conformity to masculine norms have found that different masculine norms at both the group (fraternity chapter) and individual levels were uniquely associated with U.S. college men's alcohol consumption and endorsement of social dominance hazing motivations (McCready, 2019a, 2019b).

As reflected in Figure 1, self-ascribed and other-ascribed masculinities also mutually influence each other. Self-ascribed masculinities form the basis for the development of other-ascribed masculinities. Indeed, according to Tobin et al. (2010) stereotype construction hypothesis, gender identity and attribute self-perception collectively impact gender stereotypes, such that a boy who views himself as aggressive is more likely to view boys in general as aggressive. However, the reverse can also be true: Boys and men use their perceptions of masculine norms and stereotypes (other-ascribed masculinities) to construct their sense of what it means to be male (self-ascribed masculinities; Tobin et al., 2010).

Furthermore, self-ascribed and other-ascribed masculinities can interact with situational masculinities to influence people's behavior and attitudes. Recent research has examined how individual differences in adherence to masculine norms moderate the impact of masculinity primes on attitudes and behavior (e.g., Parent et al., 2018). For instance, when their manhood was threatened, U.S. men were more likely to view a hypermasculine advertisement as masculinity-enhancing if they also conformed to the masculine norms of power over women, winning, and heterosexual self-presentation (Parent & Cooper, 2020). Hence, situational and self-ascribed masculinities can be mutually reinforcing, in a manner that men who adhere to masculine norms are more susceptible to manhood threats. Since performative masculinities reflect one's social actions—a core feature of people's lives—all the other four domains of masculinities also influence this domain. Accordingly, in the next section, we illustrate how researchers can integrate performative masculinities and other domains of masculinities using mixed-methods research.

Research Implications

What are the research implications of conceptualizing masculinities using our framework and the five domains? First, throughout this article, we have repeatedly emphasized the heterogeneous nature of masculinities. Therefore, it is not meaningful to use "masculinity" or "masculinities" generically to refer to a construct. Statements such as, "Masculinity was correlated with [name of variable]" are too vague and unhelpful. Moreover, researchers are not always accurate about which domain of masculinities they address in their research. In one study (Rothgerber, 2013), the author used a measure of beliefs about men's expected behaviors (e.g., "A man should work overtime;" other-ascribed masculinities) yet described it as a measure of "how masculine the participants reported *themselves*" (emphasis added, p. 368; self-ascribed masculinities). Accordingly, we encourage researchers to be precise about the domain of masculinities and masculinity construct (e.g., masculine identity or ideologies) they study. For example, although the BSRI (Bem, 1981) purports to measure "masculinity," a narrower descriptor, such as *self-ascribed masculine attributes*, is more appropriate.

Second, throughout this article, we have stressed the value of feminist, social constructionist, and intersectional perspectives in the study of masculinities (Addis et al., 2016; Crenshaw, 2017; Silverstein, 2016). These perspectives clarify the hierarchical (feminism), interlocking (intersectionality), and dynamic (social constructionist) features of masculinities. Combined, these insights guide future scholarship in several ways. Given the mutually constitutive nature of gender and race, masculinities are "raced." That is, hegemonic masculinity in the U.S. reflects *White*,

heterosexual masculinities, since White, heterosexual men are the socially dominant group in the U.S. (Chavez & Wingfield, 2018; Wong & McCullough, 2021). Although scholars have used various terms to describe the most dominant forms of masculinities, such as hegemonic masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) and traditional masculinity ideology (Levant & Richmond, 2016), the Whiteness and heterosexuality of these masculinities—as well as the ways they marginalize women and men from minoritized backgrounds need to be routinely exposed and acknowledged (Diefendorf & Bridges, 2020; Liu, 2017; Wong, Horn, & Chen, 2013).

Beyond these two broad suggestions, we provide several specific research recommendations. Research on situational masculinities has not adequately incorporated the insights of the intersectionality perspective (Liu & Wong, 2018). To illustrate, many U.S. men of color are exposed to competing sets of masculine norms from their own racial/ethnic group as well as from the dominant White culture. Therefore, future research could address how exposure to diverse masculine norms (e.g., White vs. Latino) differentially impacts men of color's gendered behavior. Similarly, regarding performative masculinities, we argue that DP research has not fully embraced intersectionality scholarship, particularly the notions that race is gendered and that gender is "raced" (Chavez & Wingfield, 2018). When U.S. men negotiate a masculine identity (e.g., Wetherell & Edley, 1999), they might be implicitly drawing on notions of race (e.g., Whiteness) to construct versions of masculinities. Considering negative stereotypes about men of color (Wong, Horn, & Chen, 2013), future DP research could combine the insights of intersectionality and social constructionism to explore how men of color position themselves in relation to both White hegemonic and subordinate masculinities (Chen, 1999).

Another limitation is that most DP studies on performative masculinities, including the ones reviewed in this article, rely on interview data. Likewise, a content analysis showed that most qualitative studies published in the journal, *Psychology of Men and Masculinities* utilized interviews as the only means of data collection (Wong & Horn, 2016). By contrast, other DP researchers have highlighted the value of analyzing naturalistic conversations (Lester et al., 2018). If performative masculinities emphasize meanings of masculinities performed through social actions, naturally occurring conversations provide an ideal forum to investigate moment-by-moment social interactions that unveil how people orient themselves to masculinities. For instance, one way men engage in the performance of masculinities is through maninterruptions, namely, interrupting women to assert dominance in a conversation (Lutzky & Lawson, 2019). Social settings in which maninterruptions can be analyzed include interpersonal process group therapy, business meetings, and college classroom discussions. Researchers can analyze who, when, and how someone interrupts and how others respond.

We also provide recommendations for how researchers can integrate the domains of masculinities in their empirical work. Given the interdisciplinary nature of masculinities, such work may require researchers to be familiar with literature and methodologies in different disciplines (e.g., sociology) and fields within psychology (e.g., DP) to engage in the cross-pollination of ideas. Regarding macro masculinities, we recommend that researchers develop indices of institutional masculinities. For instance, researchers could rely on a constellation of college data to construct an index of

U.S. college-level hypermasculinities—such an index might consider data such as the number of alleged infractions in fraternities and male-initiated sexual assaults, relative to the size of the college, and the presence of a highly competitive (e.g., a National Collegiate Athletic Association Division I) football team. Such methodological advances could pave the way for more research integrating macro masculinities with self- and other-ascribed masculinities using multilevel modeling. To illustrate, researchers can assess the joint influence of college-level hypermasculinities and students' individual-level masculinity ideologies on a host of student outcomes, such as mental health and academic engagement.

By emphasizing the social nature of men's manhood, the theory of precarious manhood (Vandello & Bosson, 2013), which has been mainly tested in the domain of situational masculinities, offers points of connection with performative masculinities. The idea that men prove their manhood through socially verifiable acts dovetails with qualitative research on performative masculinities that views masculinities as social actions (Seymour-Smith, 2017). Future mixed methods research could integrate situational and performative masculinities by highlighting how men's behavior shifts as a function of threats to their manhood (using experimental methods) and also using DP to conduct a more in-depth exploration of their social behavior in naturalistic settings (e.g., casual conversations) when their manhood is threatened.

As earlier discussed, one limitation of research on self- and other-ascribed masculinities is that they have typically been operationalized as individual difference variables divorced from social context (Addis et al., 2010). An integration of self/other-ascribed masculinities and situational masculinities might address this concern. This can be achieved by having participants complete self-report measures of self-/other-ascribed masculinities (e.g., the CMNI) several times across different social roles and contexts (Smiler, 2004). Researchers could test whether scores on the masculinity scale differ as a function of roles or context (e.g., with their male friends vs. male colleagues) and whether the different versions of the masculinity scale differentially predict other psychosocial outcomes (Steinfeldt et al., 2011).

Furthermore, our hypothesis that other-ascribed masculinities are more malleable than self-ascribed masculinities can be explicitly tested in intervention research. For example, we expect that men who have received psychoeducation that emphasizes gender egalitarian expressions of masculinities will report a sharper reduction in the endorsement of masculinity ideologies (as measured by the MRNI; other-ascribed masculinities) than their conformity to masculine norms (as assessed by the CMNI; self-ascribed masculinities).

Finally, recent methodological innovations in DP research have opened up intriguing opportunities for the integration of macro and performative masculinities. Although DP research has typically focused on the analysis of language (Wetherell & Edley, 2014), McCullough and Lester (2021) developed a visually informed critical DP methodology to examine how masculinities are visually performed. This presents new opportunities for the analysis of mass media, which, we have argued, is also an expression of macro masculinities. In their study, McCullough and Lester analyzed how the 10 most liked images in 2018 from two male celebrities' Instagram accounts constructed masculine identities. Their methodology provides fruitful avenues to analyze the intersection of

macro and performative masculinities in other visually oriented mass media, such as social media videos.

Applied Implications

Beyond research, a consideration of the five domains of masculinities and our framework can enhance the work of practitioners, including psychotherapists, educators, advocates, and consultants. Many gender-informed psychotherapists are interested in how masculinities influence their clients' mental health (American Psychological Association, 2018). In this regard, the distinction between self- and other-ascribed masculinities, articulated in this article, can inform the work of psychotherapists. To the extent that these two domains of masculinities differ in whether masculinities are ascribed to the self or others (e.g., other men), an incongruence between self- and other-ascribed masculinities could be a source of psychological distress for clients. Indeed, one study found that U.S. men who strongly and personally conformed to the masculine norm of emotional control, while perceiving that most men in their influential male reference group were emotionally expressive, tended to be lonely (Wong, Horn, & Gomory, 2013). Hence, men's experience of loneliness cannot simply be understood as a function of high or low levels of emotional control, but also as the stress generated by being emotionally out of sync with other men. Consequently, we recommend that therapists concurrently assess their clients' self-ascribed masculinities (e.g., "What do you personally believe or do?") and other-ascribed masculinities (e.g., "What do most of your male friends believe or do?") as well as help their clients explore ways in which their self- and other-ascribed masculinities can be better aligned.

Our integrative framework can also inform what practitioners prioritize in terms of interventions. If macro and self-ascribed masculinities are less malleable than the other three domains of masculinities, it might make sense for initial intervention efforts to target other-ascribed, situational, and performative masculinities. For instance, antisexism interventions could help men change their perceptions of what other men believe concerning sexism (other-ascribed masculinities) rather than begin with trying to change their identities as men or their personal sexist beliefs (Kilmartin et al., 2008). Group therapy could also be a fruitful forum for therapists to address situational and performative masculinities because it provides ample opportunities for them to observe social interactions and the social context of people's lives. A therapist might point out that a male member in the group swears incessantly when another male group member is present but not when the latter is absent from group sessions. Alternatively, a therapist could identify instances of interruptions in group sessions and then invite female group members to share their reactions to being interrupted by the male group members.

This does not mean that practitioners should ignore interventions at the macro level. Organizational masculinities might be a fruitful area for intervention as compared to nation-level masculinities as it is probably easier to change the culture of an organization than that of a nation. In this regard, Cheryan and Markus (2020) have proposed the term *masculine defaults* to describe an insidious form of gender bias in which ideas, norms, and behaviors associated with the male gender role have the appearance of gender neutrality but favor men more than women in organizations. Organizational consultants could help disrupt these masculine defaults by

recommending changes to an organization's values statement and policies that reflect masculine norms privileging men over women (Cheryan & Markus, 2020). One example would be to modify the organization's job advertisements so that they emphasize collaboration rather than the masculine norm of competitiveness.

Moreover, practitioners would benefit from understanding that masculinities can also be attributed to nonhuman objects and concepts (other-ascribed masculinities). Considering research showing that female students' attribution of masculinities to math and science subjects was negatively linked to their interest in university STEM majors (Makarova et al., 2019), educators could work to demasculinize the way STEM subjects are portrayed in school. This could involve changing stereotypical masculine representations of scientists in textbooks, highlighting diverse representations of women in science, and emphasizing opportunities to fulfill communal goals through STEM subjects (Belanger et al., 2020).

Conclusions

In this article, we proposed an inclusive definition of masculinities that integrates the ways in which this term has been conceived across five domains. We contend that our understanding of masculinities would be more holistic if we consider and integrate how masculinities have been conceptualized across these five domains. Masculinities are both complex and intriguing. And as we have demonstrated throughout this article, masculinities touch on many aspects of daily social life, ranging from the food people eat to social interactions to mass media. Masculinities are therefore ubiquitous, yet often invisible because people do not always recognize the gendered nature of behaviors, beliefs, and norms, thus enabling meanings related to men and boys—and the power and privileges attached to these meanings—to operate under the veneer of gender neutrality and objectivity (Cheryan & Markus, 2020; Flood & Pease, 2005). We hope that the five domains of masculinities articulated in this article will help psychologists better understand the ways in which masculinities are intricately woven into people's identities, beliefs, behavior, settings, and, ultimately, the fabric of society.

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