

GENDER ROLE CONFLICT AS A MEDIATING FACTOR BETWEEN
TRADITIONAL MACHISMO AND SHAME PRONENESS IN MEXICAN MEN

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

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BALL STATE UNIVERSITY

MUNCIE, INDIANA

JULY 2018

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“Hay más tiempo que vida.” – Mexican proverb

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~Andrew

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	1
INTRODUCTION	2
Sexual Minorities and Shame	3
Cultural Attitudes Toward Sexual Minorities	4
Gender Role Conflict	5
Traditional Machismo	8
Research Hypotheses	9
METHODS	11
Participants	11
Instruments	12
Demographic Questionnaire	12
The Machismo Measure	13
Gender Role Conflict Scale - Short Form	15
Personal Feelings Questionnaire – 2	16
Translation Method	16
Procedure	17
RESULTS	18
Participants	18
Structural Equation Modeling	21
Measurement Model	22
Structural Model	24

DISCUSSION	27
Limitations	31
Implications for Research and Theory	32
Implications for Practice	33
Conclusion	34
REFERENCES	36
APPENDICES	
Appendix A: Recruitment E-mail (English)	46
Appendix B: Recruitment E-mail (Spanish)	47
Appendix C: Informed Consent (English)	48
Appendix D: Informed Consent (Spanish)	49
Appendix E: Demographic Questionnaire (English)	50
Appendix F: Demographic Questionnaire (Spanish)	52
Appendix G: The Machismo Measure (English)	54
Appendix H: The Machismo Measure (Spanish)	56
Appendix I: Gender Role Conflict Scale–Short Form (English)	57
Appendix J: Gender Role Conflict Scale–Short Form (Spanish)	59
Appendix K: Personal Feelings Questionnaire–2 (English)	60
Appendix L: Personal Feelings Questionnaire–2 (Spanish)	61

Appendix M: Extended Literature Review	62
Machismo	62
Traditional Machismo	63
Caballerismo	63
Historical Context of Masculinity in Mexico	64
Aztec Identity	64
Spanish Identity	65
Mexican Identity	65
Gender Role	68
Gender Role Conflict	70
Historical Context of Sexual Minorities in Mexico	72
Sexual and Social Identity Development	74
Sexual Initiation	75
Social Identity	77
Cultural Attitudes Toward Sexual Minorities	77
Sexuality and Mental Health	79
Shame	81
Shame Proneness	83
Summary	85
References	87

FIGURES

Figure 1: Proposed Structural Model (1st Hypothesis)	10
Figure 2: Proposed Structural Model (2nd hypothesis)	10
Figure 3: Translation Model	18
Figure 4: Measurement Model	26
Figure 5: Structural Model	27

TABLES

Table 1: Mean Comparison of 3 Groups for Traditional Machismo Responses	19
Table 2: Mean Comparison of 3 Groups for Gender Role Conflict Responses	19
Table 3: Mean Comparison of 3 Groups for Shame Proneness Responses	19
Table 4: Mean Comparison of 2 Groups for Traditional Machismo Responses	20
Table 5: Mean Comparison of 2 Groups for Gender Role Conflict Responses	20
Table 6: Mean Comparison of 2 Groups for Shame Proneness Responses	20
Table 7: Factor Loadings for Measurement Model	23
Table 8: Parcel and Indicator Zero-Order Correlations	24
Table 9: Factor Loadings for Structural Model	25
Table 10: Factor Structure of the Machismo Measure	55
Table 11: Factor Structure of the Gender Role Conflict Short Form	58
Table 12: Personal Feelings Questionnaire 2 Scoring Key	60

ABSTRACT

DISSERTATION: Gender Role Conflict as a Mediating Factor between Traditional Machismo and Shame Proneness in Mexican Men

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Shame proneness has been shown to have serious implications on mental health. This study was designed to test a structural model of the relationship between *traditional machismo*, gender role conflict, and shame proneness, in Mexican men. A sample of 382 men participated in the study. A structural equation model was created in which gender role conflict, as measured by the Gender Role Conflict Scale-SF, would have a mediating effect between *traditional machismo*, as measured by the Machismo Measure, and shame proneness, as measured by the Personal Feelings Questionnaire-2. Results indicated the structural model was an adequate fit with the data; gender role conflict mediated the relationship between *traditional machismo* and shame proneness. Gender role conflict had a large effect on shame proneness ($\beta = .78$), and *traditional machismo* showed a large effect on gender role conflict ($\beta = .65$), but was negatively correlated with shame proneness ($\beta = -.41$). Sexual minority status was related to gender role conflict ($\beta = .28$), but negatively correlated with *traditional machismo* ($\beta = -.24$).

Gender Role Conflict as a Mediating Factor Between Traditional Machismo and Shame**Proneness in Mexican Men**

“If there is anything universal in the experience of gay men [...], it is the centrality of shame as an aspect of their lived experience” (Frommer, 2003; p. 66)

It is estimated that approximately 1.2 million of the 21 million residents of Mexico City are sexual minority men, generally defined as “men who have sex with men” (retrieved from aidsinfo.unaids.org, 2018). The majority of sexual minority research in Mexico has focused on MSM, driven primarily by a need for information around sexual behaviors related to the contraction and spread of HIV and AIDS (Lozano-Verduzco, 2016). Some studies have focused on self-identity and gender-roles, primarily among rural and indigenous populations (Carrillo, 1999; Carrillo & Fontdevila, 2011; Parrini, Castañeda, Magis-Rodríguez, Ruiz & Lemp, 2011); however, very little attention has been given to the emotional experiences of sexual minorities in Mexico (Cruz, 2004; Granados & Delgado, 2007). From a counseling psychology perspective, attention must be paid to the identities and lived experience of this population in order to effectively treat mental health issues or develop preventative community or social interventions. Researchers have found sexual minority men are at higher risk for developing mental health problems such as depression, anxiety and substance use, compared to their heterosexual peers (Granados & Delgado, 2007; Ortíz-Hernández, 2005).

Due to the marginalization and social stigmatization experienced by sexual minorities, shame has been identified across cultures, ethnicities, and nationalities as a near-universal condition of identity development among these groups (Frommer, 2003). Sexual minorities live in perpetual awareness of societal attitudes and beliefs about homosexuality that put them at risk of

varying degrees of social rejection. Risks range from subtle marginalization and experiences of discrimination, and escalate to threat of violence and death.

Following the legalization of same-sex marriage in Mexico City in 2009, 43.3% of 52,095 residents surveyed said they would not allow a homosexual person to live in their home (Mexico, 2011a), though only 38% responded similarly when asked specifically about lesbians (Mexico, 2011b). In Mexico City, 45% of transgender women experience abuse from a family member and 70% either run away or are thrown out of their homes. Mexican newspapers reported an average of nearly 60 homophobia motivated murders per year between 2001–2009, double the average of those reported from 1996–2000 (“Killings of Gays Increase in Mexico,” 2011). From 2010–2013, an average of 90 sexual minorities were reported murdered per year (Sida & Cotidiana, 2014). It is uncertain if the risk of violence toward sexual minorities in Mexico is increasing, or if the rise in numbers is a result of crimes being more accurately recorded. The true number of homophobic motivated murders is likely higher than reported because hate crimes against sexual minorities are often mischaracterized as "crimes of passion" by the Mexican legal system (Sida & Cotidiana, 2014). In a Tijuana sample of sexual minority men, 39% reported being the victim of sexual violence within the previous year; in that sample, men who had experienced sexual abuse in childhood were found to be at greater risk of adult experiences of homophobia and higher instances of depression and hostility (Semple et al., 2016). It is noteworthy that transgender women appear to be at the greatest risk, comprising nearly half of homophobic-motivated murders.

Sexual Minorities and Shame

Because sexual minorities are growing up and developing their sexuality and identity within such contexts, many view themselves, along with socially stigmatized sexual identities

and desires, with some degree of negativity. *Internalized homonegativity* is a form of shame experienced out of personal or vicarious rejection of one's self in response to unwelcome desires or behaviors considered inferior or deviant by society (Trub, Quinlan, Starks, and Rosenthal, 2016). Trub et al., found experiences of discrimination were, not only significant in creating internalized homonegativity in sexual minorities, but had a large effect size as well ($\beta = 1.80$).

Shame has been associated with a multitude of psychological problems: anger and avoidance (Lewis, 1971; Lutwak & Ferrari, 1997; Tangney & Dearing, 2002; Tangney & Fisher, 1995; Tangney, Wagner, Fletcher, & Gramzow, 1992), interpersonal anxiety (Lopez, Gover, Leskela, Sauer, Schirmer, & Wyssmann, 1997; Lutwak & Ferrari, 1997), depression (Feiring, Taska, & Lewis, 2002; Hoblitzelle, 1989; Tangney & Dearing, 2002), interpersonal isolation (Hill, Thompson, Cogar, & Denman, 1993; MacDonald & Morley, 2001), obsessive thinking, paranoid ideation, disordered eating, and low self-esteem (Allan, Gilbert, & Gross, 1994; Cook, 1991; Harder, 1995; Harder, Cutler, & Rockart, 1992; Harder & Lewis, 1987; Hoblitzelle, 1987; Sanftner, Barlow, Marschall, & Tangney, 1995). Little research has been published around shame as it relates to sexual minority men in Mexico; however, there is ample evidence of pervasive negative cultural attitudes toward homosexuality that threaten, discriminate, and marginalize in potentially shame creating ways, to warrant investigation.

Cultural Attitudes Toward Sexual Minorities

Some have argued that the prevalence of homonegativity in Mexican populations is due to religious beliefs and traditions which condemn homosexuality (Moral & Valle, 2014). According to the 2010 Mexican Census, the population is 83% Catholic, and over 90% Christian. Cardinal Javier Lozano Barragán, a prominent Mexican Catholic leader, compared gay marriage to "considering cockroaches part of the family," while Cardinal Norberto Rivera Carrera, the Arch-

bishop of Mexico City, included gay marriage among Mexico's leading social problems, along with violence and poverty (Sida & Cotidiana, 2014). Perhaps indicative of how much influence religious leaders have over cultural attitudes were the findings of a study of male university students in northeast Mexico. Catholic participants were 3 times more likely to have attitudes of rejection toward homosexuality than their peers of other religious affiliations, except for non-Catholic Christian students who were nine times more likely (Moral & Valle, 2014).

While there is an obvious connection between religious group affiliation and homonegativity in Mexico, it does not account for the differences in discrimination and anti-homosexual sentiment experienced by different groups of sexual minorities. As noted previously, homosexual women are looked upon more favorably than homosexuals in general, and nearly half of homophobia motivated murder victims are transgender women. These two patterns seem to indicate that sexual minority men are stigmatized to a greater degree than sexual minority women; transwomen, who may be understood by others to be gender non-conforming men, are stigmatized more than gender-conforming men. Indeed, researchers have found that masculinity is socially favored over femininity in men, even among male homosexual populations (Carrillo, 1999; 2002; Ortíz-Hernández, 2005), while higher levels of discrimination toward men are related to "feminine" presentations (Castañeda, 1999; Cruz, 2002; Ortíz-Hernández, 2005; Sandfort, Melendez, & Diaz, 2007). It seems clear there is a hierarchy of rejecting attitudes toward sexual minorities, with the least favored group being males who present with feminine characteristics (Carrillo, 1999; 2002; Castañeda, 1999; Cruz, 2002; Prieur, 1998).

Gender Role Conflict

Gender role conflict is experienced by men when they struggle to adhere to behaviors associated with culturally constructed gender norms (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman,

1986). Lozano-Verduzco (2016) proposed that homonegativity toward men is motivated by a view of sexuality in which gay men are understood to be feminine, and are therefore denying masculinity as a source of social power. Men's socialization to adhere to strict gender norms is a defining feature of Mexican culture that should be considered when examining the internal experience of sexual minority men (Castañeda, 2007). Several North American researchers have theorized that homonegativity is grounded in a rejection of femininity (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009; David, Grace, & Ryan, 2004; Langlois & Downs, 1980; Lehavot & Lambert, 2007; Powlishta, 2004). Others have demonstrated that negative attitudes toward gay men may be in reaction to their sexual orientation, even in the absence of information about gender role adherence (Herek, 1988; Schope & Eliason, 2004). Blashill and Powlishta (2009) noted that men who display behaviors associated with femininity are often assumed to be gay (Deaux & Lewis, 1984; Lehavot & Lambert, 2007; Martin, 1990; McCreary, 1994), suggesting that reactions to perceived femininity in men arise because their behavior implies homosexuality. They found that gender role and sexual orientation were shown to be considered negative characteristics in men, and each, independently, produced significant main effects on public perception.

A consistent finding around homonegativity has been: 1) men are more likely than women to hold negative attitudes toward sexual minorities, 2) homonegativity is focused on sexual minority men to a greater degree than toward women, and 3) gay men who are perceived as feminine experience homonegativity at higher rates than masculine gay men (Winegard, Reynolds, Baumeister, & Plant, 2016). This suggests that one's gender-role adherence is an important part of the way male homosexuality is perceived and experienced. Masculinity is not favored exclusively by heterosexual populations; research among gay men has suggested that mas-

culinity is viewed more favorably than femininity in both self and other gay men (Sánchez, Greenberg, Liu, & Vilain, 2009).

In order to fulfill cultural demands of masculinity, men may be expected to only display behaviors that are considered to be in the masculine domain, while eschewing behaviors considered feminine, with equal or greater vigor. Lagarde (1996) described cultural hegemonic masculinity as a power structure which elevates men and masculinity through the degradation and alienation of women and femininity. Ortiz-Hernández (2005) proposed that the oppression of sexual minority men in Mexico was ultimately caused by the dominant cultural attitude of *androcentrism*, or the inferiority of feminine before masculine. Men who violate gender norms put themselves at odds with a power structure in which men are expected to constantly establish their masculinity in narrowly defined ways. (Lancaster, 1988).

Choi, Herdman, Fuqua, and Newman (2011) found that gay men who scored high in negative aspects of masculinity (e.g. *aggressive* and *dominant*) were more likely to experience gender role conflict, consistent with previous findings (Good et al., 1995; O'Neil et al., 1986; Sharpe & Heppner, 1991). Femininity among their sample was found to be inversely related to the restricted emotion and affect components of gender role conflict, consistent with findings by Sharpe and Heppner (1991) who found femininity to be negatively correlated with gender role conflict. This suggests that, despite increased stigma, higher levels of femininity in gay men actually protected against conflicted feelings regarding gender-role adherence. Only high scores in positive aspects of masculinity (e.g. *independent* and *self-sufficient*) were not associated with gender role conflict.

Men in Mexico who experience greater levels of gender role conflict likely experience greater levels of shame, as has been found among heterosexual populations elsewhere (Efthim,

Kenny, & Mahalik, 2001; Kaufman, 1989; Krugman, 1995; Thompkins & Rando, 2003). Re-

search among Mexican-American men has found gender role conflict to be a predictor of stress and depression (Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2000). If gender role conflict is implicated as a significant factor contributing to shame proneness and other psychological distress in general male populations, it may be important to understand ways in which cultural attitudes around gender-role adherence impact Mexican men, regardless of sexual minority status. Gender role conflict is not a sexual minority problem, as much as it is a cultural masculinity problem.

Traditional Machismo

In order to understand gender role conflict, we must examine the norms around masculinity within a cultural context. *Machismo* has been widely accepted as the construct that represents the standard of masculinity expected of Mexican men (Andrade, 1992; Mirandé, 1997). The author would like to make a special note that the introduction of *machismo* is not intended to imply that the majority of Mexican men have destructively hypermasculine tendencies. Mirandé (1997) criticized early academics for focusing exclusively on the negative traits of *machismo*, rendering it synonymous with toxic hypermasculinity. He found that many Mexican men felt *machismo* was an integral part of their cultural identity and argued that it also represented positive attributes of masculinity such as sensitivity, nurturance, and wisdom (Díaz-Loving, Rocha, & Rivera, 2007; Mirandé, 1988). In a qualitative study with adolescents, *responsibility* was the most significant concept associated with *machismo*; responsibilities included: respect for spouse, protecting one's children, and finding gainful employment (Stern, Fuentes-Zurita, Lozano Treviño, & Reysoo, 2003). Mirandé sought to differentiate *machismo*, the code of masculinity for Mexican men which included the aforementioned positive traits; from *traditional machismo*, which is associated with negative traits such as violence, anger, and homonegativity. Arceniega, Anderson,

Tovar-Blank, and Tracey (2008), later noted that *machismo's* positive descriptors were also qualities of *caballerismo*, a code of chivalry held by Spanish gentlemen that is venerated by Latino cultures worldwide. Arciniega and colleagues developed the Machismo Measure, which conceptualizes *machismo* as an umbrella term under which *traditional machismo* and *caballerismo* exist as separate constructs (2008).

Research Hypotheses

The current study was designed to better understand the relationships between *traditional machismo*, gender role conflict, and shame proneness in men in Mexico, with special attention to the way it may impact sexual minorities. Shame proneness is one's likelihood of reacting to situations with self-rejecting thoughts (Harder & Zalma, 1990). Shame in the form of internalized homonegativity is associated with hypermasculinity and gender role conflict among sexual minorities in Mexico; however, little research has examined the impact *machismo* and gender role conflict have on general shame proneness. Understanding shame proneness, independent of the construct of internal homonegativity, may help us to understand how pervasive feelings of shame might become in response to gender role conflict experienced by sexual minority men.

This study had 2 hypotheses: 1) gender role conflict was expected to mediate the effects of *traditional machismo* on shame proneness in Mexican men (Figure 1), and 2) gender role conflict was expected to mediate the effects of sexual minority status on shame proneness in Mexican men (Figure 2).

Figure 1. Proposed structural model for Hypothesis 1.

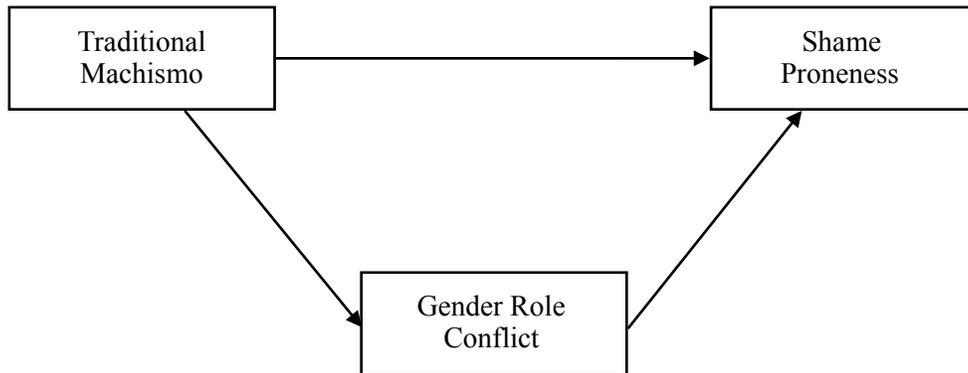
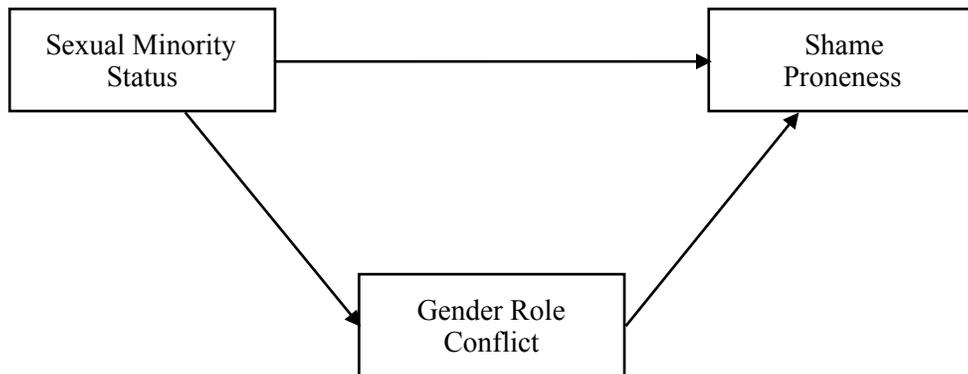


Figure 2. Proposed structural model for Hypothesis 2.



Methods

Participants

Of the 537 people who initiated the survey, 39 declined to respond to any additional items. Another 91 were removed for failing one or more of three instructed-response items included as validity checks to insure participants were actively reading and understanding each item. An additional 2 participants who identified as cisgender women were omitted, as was 1 participant under the age of 18. Finally, an additional 22 participants were omitted because they were born and/or were living outside of Mexico. In order to increase the likelihood that our results reflect Mexican cultural experiences, the author felt it important to analyze only data of participants most likely to have been raised and continuously living in Mexico. After cleaning the data, the final sample of men who met inclusion criteria and responded to all items on all measures was $N = 382$.

Participants ranged from 18 – 51 years of age with a mean age of approximately 26 years ($SD = 6.5$). Approximately 26% identified as living in Mexico City, with 11% from Monterrey, 6% from Guadalajara, 3% from Tijuana, 2% from Chihuahua, 2% from Hermosillo, 2% from Mérida, 2% from Mexicali, 2% from Morelia, 2% from Puebla, 2% from Veracruz, 2% from Zapopan, 1.5% from Zacatecas, 1% from Aguascalientes, 1% from Guadalupe, 1% from Juárez, 1% from León, 1% from Querétaro, 1% from San Luis Potosí, 1% from Xalapa, 1% from Zacatecas, and the remainder from various other cities and towns. Approximately 80.7% of the sample self identified as heterosexual ($N = 308$); 8.9% identified as homosexual or gay ($N = 34$); 9.4% identified as bisexual, pansexual or otherwise non-monosexual ($N = 36$); and 1% identified as asexual ($N = 4$). Among those who identified as heterosexual, 13.6% ($N = 41$) also answered affirmatively to questions about interest or history in voluntary oral and/or anal sexual behavior with

other men, making 30% of the total participants (N=115) sexual minorities in that they are not strictly heterosexual. All but 2 participants were cisgender men; one participant identified as a transgender female, and another identified as genderqueer.

Instruments

Demographic Questionnaire. Participants were asked to report gender, age, location of birth, current nation of residence, sexual behaviors and preferences, and sexual identity. Gender options provided were: man, woman, trans-man, trans-woman, or other. Age was reported in an open field, as were questions assessing national origin and residence. Sexual behaviors were assessed using specific questions about past experiences and current interest in oral or vaginal sex with women, as well as experiences or interest in oral and/or anal sex with men. Participants who answered affirmatively to having voluntary experience or interest in oral sex with either gender were then asked about their preferred "sexual role" using a 5 point Likert scale where 1="exclusively prefer to receive oral sex," 2="sometimes give but prefer to receive," 3="equally like to give and receive," 4="sometimes receive but prefer to give," and 5="exclusively prefer to give oral sex." A similar assessment of preference followed a question for participants who endorsed anal sex experience or interest with men, where 1="exclusively prefer *activo* or penetrative role" to 5="exclusively prefer *pasivo* or receptive role." Multiple questions assessing sexual identity and sexual behaviors were used to capture variances among sexual minority men, including sexual role preference. Researchers have historically found strong relationships between sexual role preference and gender role presentations among Mexican men who have sex with men. Those who endorsed a preference for the receptive sexual role were more likely to demonstrate "feminine" behaviors in their gender presentation, while those who preferred to assume a penetrating sexual role continued to identify as heterosexual (Carrillo, 1999; Carrillo & Fontdevila, 2011;

Parrini et al., 2011). Sexual identity options provided were: heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual or pansexual, and asexual. Because sexual behavior is not the only factor in sexual minority identity, including questions about how participants self identify was to account for men who may identify as a sexual minority without having engaged in any homosexual behaviors.

The Machismo Measure. Arceniega et al. (2008) developed the Machismo Measure following Mirandé's (1997) proposed construct of *Machismo* as an umbrella term containing 2 sub-categories. The measure consists of 20 brief statements, 10 of which correspond to *traditional machismo* and 10 which correspond to *caballerismo*. Negative traits, primarily associated with hypermasculinity, were categorized under *traditional machismo*. Items related to *traditional machismo* included phrases like, "It is important not to be the weakest man in a group," and "A man should be in control of his wife." Adaptive aspects of masculinity, like family connectedness and social responsibility, were associated with *caballerismo*, and measured using phrases like, "Men should respect their elders," and "The family is more important than the individual." Arceniega et al. (2008) sought to determine if a 2-construct model of *traditional machismo* and *caballerismo* was representative of a larger, less stigmatizing construct of contemporary *machismo* as advocated by Mirandé (1997). Each item is answered on a 7-point Likert scale with responses ranging from 1= "strongly disagree" to 7= "strongly agree" with 4= "neutral."

The sum for each scale then indicates the strength of a participant's alignment with each construct. A confirmatory factor analysis found that items corresponding with *traditional machismo* were significantly correlated with acts of *antisocial* aggression (such as arrests or fighting) with a correlation of $r = .21$. *Traditional machismo* items were also found to be extremely correlated to an *aggressive masculine* personality type ($r = .35$), while *caballerismo* was negatively correlated ($r = -.04$). *Caballerismo* correlated with life-satisfaction ($r = .25$) but *tra-*

ditional machismo did not. *Caballerismo* also correlates to greater emotional connection to others ($r = .35$). *Affiliation* scores were modestly related to items of *caballerismo* ($r = .23$). In nearly every category, not only were *traditional machismo* and *caballerismo* significantly different, but they were powerfully different. The only category which was not significantly correlated with either sub-construct was *alcohol consumption*. Neither construct was correlated with greater amounts of alcohol consumption than the other. *Traditional machismo* was related to greater levels of *antisocial* behavior, greater *alexithymia*, less ethnic identity, and less desire to interact with other groups than was *caballerismo*.

Estrada, Rigali-Oiler, Arceniega, and Tracey (2011) were successful in validating the Machismo Measure with a Gay Mexican population. For the validation study by Estrada et al., demographic questions, including questions about sex role preferences in regards to anal and oral sex, were asked in order to test for any interaction between sexual-role preference and *machismo*. The 20-item Machismo Measure (Arceniega et al., 2008) was administered, with minor changes to reflect grammar used when discussing a same-sex relationship. Coefficient alphas were comparable to those reflecting samples of heterosexual men (.76 for *traditional machismo* and .80 for *caballerismo*). Their study supported a correlation between internalized homonegativity and *traditional machismo*; however, risky sexual behavior and the number of partners reported did not correlate significantly (Estrada et al., 2011). Higher education levels were correlated with lower levels of *traditional machismo* and there were no differences in sexual role preference found for either construct.

Factor loadings for *traditional machismo* had a correlation of $r = .88$ while factor loadings for *caballerismo* had a correlation of $r = .84$, demonstrating strong construct validity

(Arciniega et al., 2008). Test-retest reliability was determined to be .79 for *traditional machismo* and .71 for *caballerismo* (Estrada et al., 2011).

The Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS-SF). The original Gender Role Conflict Scale contains 37 items which measure 4 domains related to gender conflict: 1) success concerns; 2) restrictive emotionality; 3) restrictive affection; and 4) work concerns (O'Neil et al., 1986). Success concerns were measured with items such as, "I like to feel superior to others," and "Winning is a measure of my value and personal worth." Restrictive emotionality was measured with items such as, "Talking about my feelings during sexual relations is difficult for me," and "I do not like to show my emotions to other people." Restrictive affection is measured using items like, "Men who touch other men make me uncomfortable," and "Hugging other men is difficult for me." Work concerns are assessed with questions like, "Finding time to relax is difficult for me," and "My work or school often disrupts other parts of my life." Participants score each item on a 6-point Likert scale from 1="strongly disagree" to 6="strongly agree" with higher scores indicating higher experiences of gender role conflict.

These subscales have been associated with negative mental health outcomes for men including depression, anxiety, substance abuse, self-esteem, and shame (Wester, Vogel, O'Neil, & Danforth, 2012). Concerns around success, power, and competition are associated with gender role conflict (.83-.89; O'Neil, 2008). Gender role conflict has also been associated with fear of femininity accounting for items related to emotionality and affection. In a confirmatory factor analysis, Choi et al. (2001) found the alpha coefficient was .85 for work concerns, .79 for restrictive affection, .79 for restrictive emotionality, and .88 for success concerns. Cronbach's alpha for the whole scale was .92 and internal consistency ranged from .78 to .88.

Wester et al. later developed a short form of the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS-SF; 2012) consisting of 16 items as a briefer alternative to the original. The items included in the GRCS-SF were chosen following an exploratory factor analysis of the original GRCS, using a sexually diverse U.S. sample (41% racial/ethnic minorities, 50% sexual minorities). This was followed by a confirmatory factor analysis using another U.S. sample (26% racial/ethnic minority, 60% sexual minority). All four subscales of the GRCS-SF were significantly correlated with those of the original GRCS suggesting it captures the same constructs as the original (Wester et al., 2012), therefore the GRCS-SF was selected for this study.

Personal Feelings Questionnaire–2 (PFQ2). Harder and Zalma (1990) developed this assessment of a person's likelihood, or *prone*ness, of reacting to personal mistakes or other experiences with self-rejecting behaviors. The scale has a total of 22 items, each consisting of a word or short phrase. Ten items measure shame prone

ness, 6 measure guilt prone

ness, and 6 are "fillers" that measure neither. Items measuring shame prone

ness are phrases like, "embarrassment," "feeling humiliated," or "feeling disgusting to others." Items are answered on a 5-point scale with responses ranging from 0="never experience the feeling" to 4="experience the feeling continuously or almost continuously." Higher scores indicate higher shame prone

ness. Cronbach's alphas for shame prone

ness was .78 and test-retest stability for shame prone

ness was .91 (Harder & Zalma, 1990). Factor loadings for depression (.41), self-derogation (.39), self-consciousness (.30), and social desirability (.25) all showed significance of $p < .05$ or higher (Harder & Zalma, 1990).

Translation Method. The demographic questionnaire, the GRCS and the PFQ2 were translated using Cha, Kim and Erlen's (2007) adaptation of Triandis and Brislin's (1984) "de-centering" method for achieving *content equivalence*. De-centering focuses on achieving vocabulary

equivalence, idiomatic equivalence, grammatical-syntactical equivalence, experiential equivalence, and conceptual equivalence. This method is preferable to a direct translation because the meaning of the original content can be preserved, whereas a direct, literal translation cannot be expected to reflect cultural context.

Three bilingual translators worked as a group to decide on the best culturally equivalent translation for each item (see Figure 3). Once the translators could agree on a culturally equivalent translation for all instruments, a fourth bilingual translator back-translated all items into English to allow for comparison with the original text. The completed back-translation was then compared to the original by a monolingual English speaker. The comparative analysis identified 6 items which were judged too dissimilar in meaning to qualify as culturally equivalent, therefore these items were returned to translators #1, #2, and #3, who repeated the process of collaboratively translating the original items into Spanish. The fourth bilingual translator again back-translated the items until the back-translation and original had achieved an equivalent meaning.

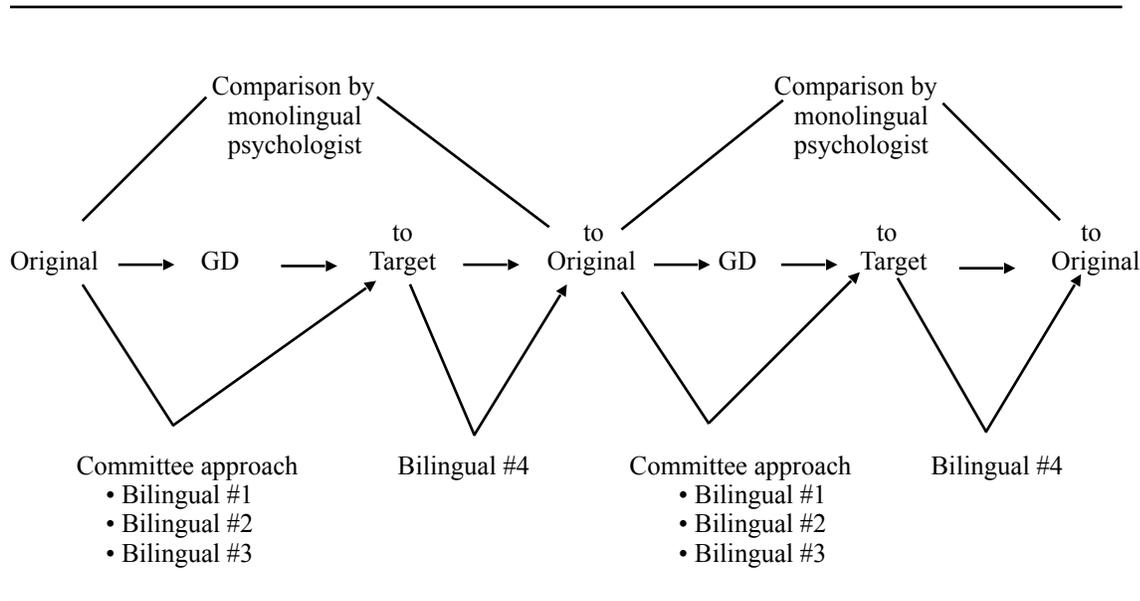
Translators #1, #2, and #3 speak Spanish as their native language. Two are originally from Mexico City, while one is from Ecuador, but lived 5 years in Mexico City. They each had studied English in childhood and spent significant time living in the U.S. and Canada. All translators have a background in psychology, counseling, and research. Bilingual translator #4 speaks English as his native language and is originally from the United States. He learned to speak Spanish as an adult living for nearly 3 years in Mexico City; he now provides counseling services in the Spanish language.

Procedure

Internal Review Board (IRB) approval was granted from a U.S. mid-sized Midwestern university. Participants were recruited by snowball sample via social media with the majority of

participants accessing the survey via [Facebook.com](https://www.facebook.com) or [Reddit.com/r/mexico/](https://www.reddit.com/r/mexico/) where a recruitment letter was posted (see Appendix A). As incentive, participants were given the option to enter a raffle to win one of twenty, \$10 [Amazon.com](https://www.amazon.com) gift cards in exchange for their participation. Upon completion of the survey, participants were able to access a link to the raffle entry page where they could enter an e-mail address which would be disconnected from their survey responses. Participation in this study was anonymous.

Figure 3. Translation model used in the study per Cha et al., (2007). GD = Group Discussion



Results

Participants

Using SPSS version 22, a mean comparison of responses was made between 3 groups on each measure: 1) men who identified with a sexual minority identity (e.g. gay, bisexual, asexual); 2) men who identified as heterosexual, but endorsed homosexual behavior or desire; and, 3) men who identified as heterosexual and denied any homosexual behavior or desire (see Tables 1–3). A

Levene's Test (1960) of homogeneity of variance determined there were no significant differences in responses between groups.

Table 1. Mean comparison of scores for Traditional Machismo sub-scale of the Machismo Measure

	N	Range	Mean	SD
Sexual minority identity	74	1.00 – 5.30	2.2716	0.93333
Identified as heterosexual but reported homosexual behavior and/or desires	41	1.00 – 4.80	2.4195	0.93547
Identified as heterosexual and denied homosexual behavior and/or desires	268	1.00 – 5.90	2.6863	1.04325

Table 2. Mean comparison of scores for Gender Role Conflict-SF

	N	Range	Mean	SD
Sexual minority identity	74	1.56 – 5.13	3.1537	0.77610
Identified as heterosexual but reported homosexual behavior and/or desires	41	2.00 – 4.56	3.1280	0.68078
Identified as heterosexual and denied homosexual behavior and/or desires	268	1.00 – 5.63	3.0434	0.84122

Table 3. Mean comparison of scores for Shame Proneness sub-scale of the Personal Feelings Questionnaire-2

	N	Range	Mean	SD
Sexual minority identity	74	0.20 – 3.70	1.8635	0.80912
Identified as heterosexual but reported homosexual behavior and/or desires	41	0.30 – 3.80	1.6951	0.85116
Identified as heterosexual and denied homosexual behavior and/or desires	268	0.10 – 3.80	1.5019	0.76853

A second round of mean comparison of responses were made between those with sexual minority status (combining groups 1 and 2 from previous comparison for larger sample power), and heterosexual identifying men with no report of homosexual interest or activity (see Tables 4–6).

Table 4. Mean comparison of scores for Traditional Machismo sub-scale of the Machismo Measure

	N	Mean	SD
Sexual Minority	115	2.3243	0.93270
Non Sexual Minority	268	2.6963	1.04325

Table 5. Mean comparison of scores for Gender Role Conflict-SF

	N	Mean	SD
Sexual Minority	115	3.1446	0.74059
Non Sexual Minority	268	3.0434	0.84122

Table 6. Mean comparison of scores for Shame Proneness sub-scale of the Personal Feelings Questionnaire–2

	N	Mean	SD
Sexual Minority	115	1.8035	0.82461
Non Sexual Minority	268	1.5019	0.76853

A second Levene's Test for equality of variances found no significant differences in responses; therefore, the data for heterosexual respondents were retained and sexuality was coded as a categorical variable, either 1 = sexual minority (N=115) or 0 = heterosexual (N=268).

Univariate and Multivariate Outliers. To determine if sample outliers should be retained, z-scores above 3.29 or less than -3.29 were checked for each measure, and Mahalanobis distance among variables was checked to identify any multivariate outliers (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Univariate and multivariate outliers were found to comprise less than 2% of the total sample in all instances (Meyers, Gamst, & Guarino, 2013).

Structural Equation Modeling

Using Mplus 6.11 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012), Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) was conducted to examine the relationships between *traditional machismo*, gender role conflict, and shame proneness. Using SPSS version 22, a Kolmogorov-Smirnov test of univariate normality on the composite variables indicated that the continuous variables violated assumptions of univariate normality ($ps < .05$). A maximum likelihood method was used to estimate all models by using an adjusted chi-square that has been found to be robust to non-normality (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012; Satorra & Bentler, 2001). The chi-square statistic is sensitive to large sample sizes (Bentler & Bonett, 1980); therefore, proceeding as recommended by Hu and Bentler (1999) and Brown and Greene (2006), goodness of fit were evaluated with the comparative fit index (CFI; $\geq .95$), the root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA; $\leq .06$), and the standardized root-mean-square residual (SRMR; $\leq .08$).

Outcome Variable

Three parcels (Cattell, 1956) of observed indicators were created for shame proneness latent variables. Russell, Kahn, Spoth, and Altmaier (1998) noted three arguments in support of

parcels: 1) they help address issues of normality created by individual items which may violate the maximum likelihood estimate procedures' assumptions of normality; 2) parcels reduce the total number of parameters in analyses; and 3) parcels reduce the likelihood that individual items with idiosyncratic characteristics will distort the analysis. To create the parcels, the maximum-likelihood method was used to conduct a factor analysis for each variable, then fit to a one-factor solution resulting in item loadings for each factor. Based on the factor loading, each item was ranked; then the highest and lowest ranked items were parceled together so that average loadings for each parcel on its respective factor is equalized. This method of parceling was chosen because the resulting item parcels are expected to reflect the underlying construct (Russell et al., 1998).

Predictor Variables

As with the outcome variable of shame proneness, three parcels were created for latent variables in the *traditional machismo* data. Parceling was not required for the GRCS-SF, which already is divided into 4 subtests fit to test latent variables.

Measurement Model

Following Anderson and Gerbing's (1988) approach, an initial measurement model was tested to determine if the parcels represented the latent variables adequately. Results indicated a fit to the data, $\chi^2(32, N = 382) = 51.791, p = .0149, CFI = .986, RMSEA = .040$ (90% CI = [.018, .060]), SRMR = .032. All parcels were found to have significant factor loadings on their latent variables, $\beta = .62$ to $.89$ at $p < .001$, with the exception of the GRC-SF subscale related to "work concerns" (GRC 4). This parcel did not alter the significance of outcomes when omitted so it was included (see Table 7).

Table 7. Factor Loadings for Measurement Model

Measured variable	Unstandardized factor loading	SE	Standardized factor loading
Traditional Machismo			
TM1	1.00	.00	0.787***
TM2	1.13	.08	0.786***
TM3	1.24	.09	0.872***
Gender Role Conflict			
GRC1	1.00	.00	0.568***
GRC2	1.07	.16	0.548***
GRC3	1.04	.14	0.625***
GRC 4	0.91	0.12	0.453
Shame Proneness			
SHM1	1.000	.00	0.855***
SHM2	1.24	.06	0.898***
SHM3	1.04	.05	0.849***

$N = 382$. *** $p < .001$.

Zero-order latent variable correlations were calculated and all were found to be significant with $p < .001$, indicating that *traditional machismo* was significantly associated with gender role conflict ($r = .66$) and shame proneness ($r = .10$). Gender role conflict was also positively associated with shame proneness ($r = .51$). Parcel and Indicator Zero-Order Correlations are presented in Table 8.

Table 8. Parcel and Indicator Zero-Order Correlations (N=382)

Parcel/Indicator	TM1	TM2	TM3	GRC1	GRC2	GRC3	GRC4	SHM1	SHM2	SHM3
TM1	—									
TM2	0.63	—								
TM3	0.67	0.69	—							
GRC1	0.34	0.30	0.40	—						
GRC2	0.25	0.24	0.31	0.25	—					
GRC3	0.35	0.29	0.41	0.30	0.40	—				
GRC4	0.17	0.19	0.18	0.35	0.26	0.28	—			
SHM1	0.05	0.04	0.08	0.21	0.25	0.27	0.25	—		
SHM2	0.10	0.06	0.10	0.25	0.30	0.25	0.24	0.77	—	
SHM3	0.04	0.03	0.09	0.24	0.27	0.27	0.18	0.72	0.76	—

All zero-order correlations demonstrated significance at the $p < .001$ level. TM1 TM2 TM3 = The Machismo Measure, Traditional Machismo Subscale parcels. GRC1 GRC2 GRC3 GRC4 = Gender Role Conflict Subscales for 1) success concerns; 2) restrictive emotionality; 3) restrictive affection; and 4) work concerns. SHM1 SHM2 SHM3 = Personal Feelings Questionnaire Shame Proneness Subscale Parcels

Structural Model

Next, a structural model was tested with *shame proneness* as an outcome variable, and with gender role conflict and *traditional machismo* as predictor variables. The model was also tested with age and sexual minority status entered as covariates. A robust weighted 'least squares' estimator (i.e., WLSMV estimator in MPlus) was used because sexual minority status was a categorical variable (0 = heterosexual, 1 = sexual minority). The structural model yielded different results than the measurement model (see Table 9); therefore, weighted root mean square residual (WRMR; ≤ 1.0) was used rather than SRMR to evaluate goodness of fit (DiStefano, Liu, Jiang, & Shi, 2017).

Table 9. Factor loadings for Structural Model using WRMR ≤ 1.0

Measured variable	Unstandardized factor loading	SE	Standardized factor loading
Traditional Machismo			
TM1	1.00	.00	0.782***
TM2	1.09	.09	0.760***
TM3	1.27	.10	0.872***
Gender Role Conflict			
GRC1	1.00	.00	0.579***
GRC2	1.04	.16	0.541***
GRC3	1.03	.13	0.628***
GRC 4	0.86	0.12	0.438
Shame Proneness			
SHM1	1.000	.00	0.858***
SHM2	1.23	.09	0.900***
SHM3	1.02	.08	0.844***

$N = 382$. *** $p < .001$.

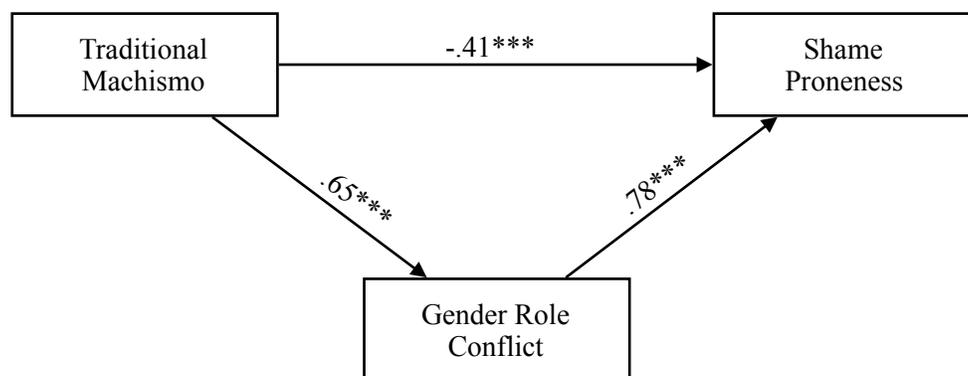
Results indicated an adequate fit to the data, $\chi^2 (47, N = 382) = 83.357, p < .001$, CFI = .949, RMSEA = .045 (90% CI = [.029, .061]), WRMR = .679. *Gender role conflict* was found to be directionally associated with *shame proneness* ($\beta = .78$, 95% CI = [.61, .96], $t(382) = 8.77, p < .001$), just as *traditional machismo* was found to be associated with *gender role conflict* ($\beta = .65$, 95% CI = [.56, .74], $t(382) = 13.93, p < .001$). *Traditional machismo* and *shame proneness* were negatively correlated ($\beta = -.41$, 95% CI = [-.58, -.24], $t(382) = -4.69, p < .001$). Gender role conflict demonstrated a slightly stronger relationship with *shame proneness* than with *traditional machismo*; however, both demonstrated a large effect size. *Traditional machismo* had a significant *negative* relationship with *shame proneness* with a medium inverse effect size (see Figure

4). Cohen's (1988) D guidelines to interpret effect sizes were followed where $\beta \leq .10$ is considered small, $\beta = .30$ is considered moderate, and $\beta \geq .50$ is considered large.

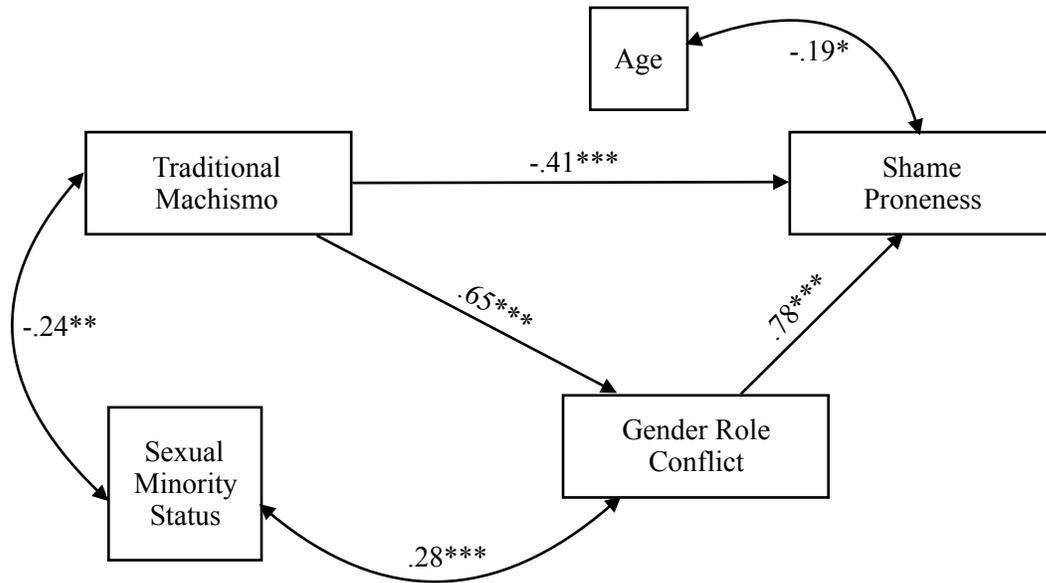
Sexual minority status was significantly correlated with gender role conflict with a moderate effect size ($\beta = .28$, 95% CI = [.47, .09], $t(382) = 2.92$, $p = .001$), but negatively associated with *traditional machismo* with small to moderate effect ($\beta = -.24$, 95% CI = [-.19, -.39], $t(382) = -3.26$, $p < .01$). Age was also found to be negatively correlated with shame proneness with a small effect size ($\beta = -.19$, 95% CI = [-.35, -.03], $t(382) = -2.39$, $p < .02$; see Figure 5).

Interaction Term. Finally, an interaction term between *traditional machismo* and Gender role conflict was added to the structural model with paths from the interaction term to shame proneness. To create the interaction term in Mplus, the latent moderated structural equations method was used (Klein & Moosbrugger, 2000), which is built into the Mplus program. Monte Carlo simulation results indicate that this method reduces the likelihood of biased estimates compared to other methods of estimating interaction effects (Maslowsky, Jager, & Hemken, 2015). The interaction was not significant ($\beta = -.09$, $t(382) = -1.35$, $p > .05$); therefore, a simple slope analysis was not conducted.

Figure 4. Structural model prior to addition of covariates



N = 382. All path coefficients are standardized. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 5. Structural model including covariates effect sizes of Age and Sexual Minority Status.

N = 382. All path coefficients are standardized. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to better understand the relationship among *traditional machismo*, gender role conflict and shame proneness in Mexican men, paying special attention to how these constructs relate to the experiences of sexual minorities. Gender role conflict was expected to mediate higher levels of shame among Mexican men who have internalized attitudes associated with *traditional machismo*. Additionally, the author was interested in determining if shame proneness in sexual minority men in Mexico would also be mediated by gender role conflict which would support the theory that gender-role trespasses carry a greater stigma than sexual minority status. Shame proneness was measured as an outcome variable as it represents one's likelihood of reacting to personal mistakes with maladaptive internalized negativity associated with higher levels of mental health problems.

A measurement model and a structural model for the first hypothesis were evaluated and determined to fit with the data. The strongest associations found from this analysis were the large effect of gender role conflict on shame proneness followed by the large effect of *traditional machismo* on gender role conflict, despite *traditional machismo* having a moderate negative effect on shame proneness. Because shame proneness has been implicated in aggressive behaviors also associated with hypermasculinity, we expected to find higher levels of shame proneness in those scoring high in *traditional machismo*; however, the opposite seems to be true. The data suggests *traditional machismo* may be a protective factor against shame proneness among Mexican men who do not experience gender role conflict. It may be that men who hold attitudes associated with *traditional machismo* (e.g. "it is important not to be the weakest man in a group" or "real men never let down their guard") are less willing to report feelings of shame; however, they may also be less likely to *experience* shame if *traditional machismo* attitudes are socially rewarded.

As for the second hypothesis, when evaluating if gender role conflict acted as a mediator between sexual minority status and shame proneness, the data instead contraindicated any significant association between sexual minority status and shame proneness. Being a sexual minority was related to gender role conflict however, and was negatively correlated with *traditional machismo*. Despite being less likely to hold attitudes associated with homophobia or otherwise hypermasculine attitudes, sexual minorities were still likely to experience higher levels of gender role conflict compared to their heterosexual peers.

Previous literature has focused on sexual minorities' experiences of shame through a lens of homonegativity associated with social oppression (Kaufman, 1996; Meyer, 2003; Neisen, 1993; Tangney & Dearing, 2002; Wells & Hansen, 2003). This study uniquely identified how

shame in Mexican men was influenced by cultural ideologies of masculinity resulting in greater levels of gender role conflict, regardless of sexual orientation. While the social exclusion of sexual minorities often focuses on moral values, there is growing support to demonstrate that the underlying cause of rejection of sexual minorities stems from a rejection of gender-role trespasses most commonly associated with sexual minority men (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009; David et al., 2004; Langlois & Downs, 1980; Lehavot & Lambert, 2007; Powlishta, 2004). It is proposed that society's rejection of femininity in men creates a stereotype bias around sexual minorities that threatens the masculinity of all men.

In a study of U.S. Mexicans, Estrada et al. (2011) were able to identify *traditional machismo* as a predictor variable accounting for 11% of the variance in internalized homonegativity. When examining *traditional machismo's* relationship to shame outside of an internalized homo-negative context, it seems *traditional machismo* is only connected to shame when gender role conflict is present. It may be helpful in future research to examine the relationship between internalized homonegativity and shame proneness.

It is likely that those who hold attitudes associated with *traditional machismo* are also more likely to experience feelings of *vicarious shame* (Welten, Zeelenberg, & Breugelmans, 2012) around their own masculinity incited by the gender-role trespasses of others. Since *traditional machismo* has been associated with higher levels of aggression, alcohol use, physical fights and arrests; it seems reasonable to hypothesize that perpetrators of hate-crimes against sexual minorities in Mexico are more likely to be men who hold attitudes associated with *traditional machismo* reacting defensively to a perceived threat to their own masculine identity (gender role conflict), more so than in defense of a 'moral society.' It is important for researchers to differentiate among the experiences of sexual minority men and understand the attitudes and so-

cial values which underlie their physical and psychological risks. The current study highlighted that sexual minority status had no association with shame proneness, yet gender role conflict did, even in heterosexual participants.

While not the focus of this study, the findings offer data around the relationship between sexual identity, behavior, and attraction among Mexican men. Among men in our sample who endorsed a history or interest around homosexual activity, a slightly greater number of them identified as heterosexual than any other sexual identity. When analyzing the emotional experience of sexual minorities it is recommended that researchers use a thorough assessment of factors comprising sexuality and sexual identity in order to capture a more accurate and nuanced understanding of the way in which identity is informed and experienced.

Former research among sexual minority men in Mexico have found strictly gendered sexual roles (Carrillo & Fontdevila, 2011); however, this study found no significant connection between sexual-role preference and sexual identity. Among men who identified as heterosexual but endorsed interest or experience with homosexual anal intercourse, they were twice as likely to prefer the *activo* or inserter role exclusively than the *pasivo* or receptive role exclusively, but just as likely to have a *versatile* preference in which they might assume either role. Similar to findings by Estrada et al. (2011), sexual role was not found to be associated with *traditional machismo*. While previous research has identified greater stigma against men who assume the primarily *pasivo* role, this study identified no relationships between sexual role and gender role conflict nor between sexual-role and shame.

A final finding of interest was that age was negatively correlated with shame proneness. It may be that Mexican men develop shame resilience with age and experience, or it may be that there are generational differences that either promote shame proneness and resilience.

Limitations

Two of the measures used in this study, the GRCS-SF and the PFQ2, were developed and normed on U.S. samples. Despite rigorous effort to translate the measures for content equivalence, the constructs of gender role conflict and shame proneness may have limited applicability for Mexican populations. For example, the word for “shame” in Spanish is “*vergüenza*” which also translates to “embarrassment.” How might English speakers think of shame differently from embarrassment compared to Spanish speakers who use one word to capture both sentiments? Also, the GRCS-SF subscale measuring gender role conflict around work/family balance was the only subscale to lack significance when testing factor loadings for our measurement model. This suggests Mexican men may not experience gender role conflict around family and work concerns in ways the scale is able to measure.

All of our participants were social media savvy internet users. While this allowed for the collection of responses from men living all over Mexico, it is likely they are not representative of the full spectrum of male experiences. An estimated 85 million, or 65.3% of the Mexican population were online as of 2017 (“Mexico and Central America Internet Usage,” 2018), leaving over a third of the population unrepresented in this study. This limitation is likely reflected in the mean age of the participants (26), with our eldest participant being only 51 years of age. Another limitation of this sample was the low number of participants of the various sexual identities and orientations represented in the sample. Although nearly one-third of the sample qualified as a sexual minority in this study, there likely was not adequate power among groups to assess significant differences between sexual identities, or between men with differing sexual role preferences.

The identity of the researcher is certainly a limitation related to cultural knowledge. The premise of this study relied heavily on histories and accounts of Mexican writers and researchers when possible, and strove to test a model using culturally relevant constructs; however, as a U.S. born, English speaking, European-American researcher, there are likely limitations in understanding some of the nuances of Mexican culture that an outsider cannot fully intuit.

Implications for Research and Theory. This study primarily framed shame as a maladaptive and even destructive force. While the majority of research around the construct of shame has focused on its negative associations, there is also research to suggest a distinction of *moral shame*; which, when addressed can lead to positive outcomes such as elevation, gratitude, and moral experiences of pride (Tangney, Stuewig, & Mashek, 2007). It would be important for future researchers to identify if shame proneness in Mexican men has the same relationship to maladaptive behaviors and psychological distress as has been shown in other populations (Harder, 1995; Harder et al., 1992; Harder & Lewis, 1987; Kugler & Jones, 1992; Meehan et al., 1996; Tangney et al., 2009).

In this study, Mexican men did not differ significantly in their item responses from one another when comparing sexualities and sexual identities. This implies that gender role conflict may be a risk factor for Mexican men, regardless of sexuality. Furthermore, *traditional machismo*, gender role conflict, and shame proneness may be implicated in risk to others *by* men. Relationships have been observed between these constructs and destructive behaviors which can negatively affect others, such as substance abuse, violence, and unprotected sex (Eisler & Skidmore; 1987; Mirandé, 1997; Tangney & Dearing, 2002). It is important to gain a better understanding of the contributing factors of maladaptive behaviors in Mexican men by thoroughly identifying

how *traditional machismo*, gender role conflict, and shame proneness interact to predict destructive behaviors.

While this study focused on negative aspects of masculinity in Mexican men, future research around *caballerismo* may be beneficial in understanding the development of adaptive masculine identities. Mexican culture promotes countless strengths and values that have produced a resilient, family-oriented society in which many thrive. To study only the problematic aspects of culture is to ignore the wisdom embedded within.

Implications for Practice. It is important to consider that shame is an emotion all people feel in some form (Brown, 2012). So, while higher levels of shame are likely to lead to higher levels of distress, shame should not be understood as something that can be completely avoided. Because shame based behaviors are so prevalent in clinical populations, it is important for clinicians to be able to identify and help clients reduce shameful feelings. Clinicians may approach shame by helping clients to develop *shame resilience* (Brown, 2012; Sanderson, 2015). Brown (2006) measured shame resilience on a continuum between *shame* (feeling trapped, powerless, or isolated) and *empathy* (feelings of connection, power, and freedom). The findings of this study imply that diminishing gender role conflict may result in shame resilience. Shame resilience, the ability to endure unhelpful shame, may be developed by men in therapy by coming to identify and accept their own individual masculinity as *enough*. Empathic responses from others have been found to be most powerful in developing shame resilience, though self-empathy also increased it to a lesser degree. In addition to providing empathic responses, clinicians may help men develop self-empathy and, as necessary, skills used to develop social connections with others who are likely to provide empathy and acceptance.

In order for clinicians to provide truly empathic responses, it is important to understand the context in which men experience shame, and be able to identify factors that serve to maintain it. In Mexico, attitudes related to gender-role adherence and other stigmas about homosexuality likely serve to produce a culturally imposed experience of shame on sexual minority men. Clinicians working with this populations should understand how gender role conflict influences shame-fueled, maladaptive coping behaviors. Clinicians should also be sensitive to the possibility that masculine presentations in male clients of any sexuality may be a risk factor for shame proneness and may reflect experiences of gender role conflict. Clients whose gender role conflict is maintained by attitudes associated with *traditional machismo* may be able to reduce feelings of gender role conflict if they can develop a masculine identity based on values associated with *caballerismo*, moving away from self-stigmatizing thoughts and beliefs requiring strict gender-role adherence.

Conclusion

The present study examined two structural models in which gender role conflict mediated the effects of *traditional machismo* and sexual minority status, respectively, on shame proneness in Mexican men. Shame proneness was tested as an outcome variable because of its known connection with negative psychological and mental health outcomes. The model in which gender role conflict mediated the effects of *traditional machismo* on shame proneness was an adequate fit with the data; however, the second model was not supported entirely in that our data revealed no relationship between sexual minority status and shame proneness.

Of all the constructs measured in this study, gender role conflict was the only variable that appeared to predict shame proneness. Men experience gender role conflict when they fail to meet cultural expectations of masculinity, especially when they are stigmatized for doing so. The

results of this study imply that, while sexual minorities are more likely to experience gender role conflict than their heterosexual peers, a stronger predictor of gender role conflict in Mexican men is when they hold attitudes associated with *traditional machismo*. Since *traditional machismo* was negatively correlated with sexual minorities, these attributes are likely representative of two relatively distinct groups within our sample.

Sexual minority men are more likely to experience discrimination due to the way others perceive their gender-role adherence (Castañeda, 1999; Cruz, 2002) which may contribute to internalized gender role conflict. It may also be that some sexual minority men want to avoid gender-role trespasses in order not to be associated with a negative stereotype, and therefore feel more internal conflict, regardless of their “masculine” gender presentation. Among attitudes associated with *traditional machismo* is a belief that in order for a man to be as masculine as possible, he cannot ever be weak or feminine in any way (Mirandé, 1997). Because such a standard of masculinity is unrealistic and virtually unattainable, such ideals may be more likely to create gender role conflict in reaction to one’s perceived failures of masculinity. This also has important implications among heterosexual men who experience gender role conflict.

It may be tempting to understand discrimination against sexual minorities to be based solely on reactions to homosexuality; however growing evidence suggests that sexual minority men who do not meet cultural ideals of masculinity are much more likely to be the targets of discrimination than those who adhere more closely to gender role expectations. It is important for researchers and clinicians to understand the differences and complexities among sexual minority men in order to adequately assess and address their needs, both collectively and individually.

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Appendix A
Recruitment E-mail (English)

Greetings!

My name is Andrew L. Brimhall and I am a doctoral candidate in the Department of Counseling Psychology, Social Psychology and Counseling at Ball State University. I am in the process of collecting data for my dissertation under the supervision of Sharon Bowman, PhD.

I would like to invite you to participate in my study which is examining the experiences of Mexican men. The purpose of my research is to better understand what it means to be a man in Mexican culture. You are eligible to participate in this study if you are a man and at least 18 years old.

The survey is anonymous and takes about 20 minutes to complete. For those interested in participating in this study, please click on the following link (to be provided) which will take you to the consent form and survey. When you have finished the survey, you will have the option to enter a raffle for one of twenty (20) 200 Pesos Amazon gift cards. To insure anonymity, information used for the raffle will be in no way connected to the answers you provide on the survey.

This research has been approved by the Institutional Review Board for the protection of human subjects at Ball State University.

Please feel free to forward or repost this email announcement to eligible friends and colleagues. Should you have any questions, please contact me (albrimhall@bsu.edu) or my doctoral supervisor, Dr. Charlene Alexander (calexander@bsu.edu).

Thank you in advance for your willingness to participate!

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Appendix B

Recruitment E-mail (Spanish)

¡Saludos!

Mi nombre es Andrew L. Brimhall y soy candidato al doctorado del Departamento de Psicoterapia, Psicología Social y Terapia de la Universidad Estatal de Ball (Department of Counseling Psychology, Social Psychology and Counseling at Ball State University). Estoy recolectando datos para mi tesis bajo la supervisión de la Dra. Sharon Bowman.

Quisiera invitarte a participar en mi estudio, que trata sobre las experiencias de hombres mexicanos. El propósito de mi investigación es tratar de entender mejor lo que significa ser un hombre en la cultura mexicana. Puedes participar en este estudio si eres hombre nacido en México y tienes al menos 18 años de edad.

La encuesta es anónima y le llevará alrededor de 20 minutos completarla. Si estás interesado en participar en este estudio, por favor presiona la siguiente liga (a proveerse) que te dirigirá al formato de consentimiento y a la encuesta. Cuando hayas terminado la encuesta, tendrás la opción de participar en una rifa para ganar una de las veinte (20) tarjetas de regalo de \$10 dólares de Amazon. Para asegurar el anonimato de tus respuestas, la información utilizada para la rifa no estará conectada de ninguna manera a tus respuestas a la encuesta.

Esta investigación está aprobada por el Consejo Institucional de la Universidad Estatal de Ball (Institutional Review Board of Ball State University) que protege a los participantes.

Puedes reenviar esta invitación por correo electrónico a tus amigos y colegas que quisieran participar. Si tienes alguna pregunta, puedes contactarme directamente a mí (albrimhall@bsu.edu), o a mi supervisora, Dra. Charlene Alexander (calexander@bsu.edu).

¡Gracias de antemano por tu disposición a participar!

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Appendix C

Informed Consent (English)

This study is intended to increase knowledge of the cultural beliefs of sexual minority men living in Mexico City. In order to participate you must be at least 18 years old. Those of any sexual orientation are encouraged to participate.

If you choose to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete an online survey honestly and completely; the survey will take about 20-30 minutes to complete. After participating you will be eligible to receive one of ten \$10 amazon.com gift cards via random selection from the participant pool. If you choose to enter the raffle you will be asked to e-mail the researcher at an e-mail address provided after you complete the survey. Since no identifying information will be collected about you during the survey, only those who express interest in entering the giveaway via e-mail will be entered into the drawing.

You will not be asked for your name or any other information that would make it possible to identify your answers as belonging to you (i.e., your participation in this study is anonymous). There is a small possibility that answering some of the questions on the survey may evoke some feelings of anxiety. If this should occur, you are encouraged to speak to a mental health professional. Services can be obtained by contacting Línea UAM (Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana) at 58 04 64 44 to receive psychological support by telephone, if you develop uncomfortable feelings during your participation in this research project. You will be responsible for the costs of any care that is provided. It is understood that in the unlikely event that treatment is necessary as a result of your participation in this research project that Ball State University, its agents and employees will assume whatever responsibility is required by law. For questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact Research Compliance, Sponsored Programs Office, Ball State University, Muncie, IN 47306, (765) 285-5070, irb@bsu.edu.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the study at any time for any reason without penalty or prejudice from the investigator. Please feel free to contact the investigator with any questions you may have regarding this study.

To participate in the study, click “I agree” below. By clicking on “I agree”, you are agreeing to participate in this research study and agreeing that the study has been explained to you and your questions have been answered to your satisfaction. If you have any additional questions at any time before, during, or after the study you can e-mail the researcher or his doctoral chair.

Thank you for your time and participation!

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Appendix D

Consentimiento Informado

Este estudio tiene como propósito ampliar el conocimiento de las creencias culturales de las minorías sexuales de hombres viviendo en la Ciudad de México. Para poder participar, usted debe ser mayor de 18 años de edad. Se les invita a participar sin importar su orientación sexual.

Si elige participar en este estudio, se le pedirá responder una encuesta en línea de manera honesta y completamente. La encuesta toma entre 20 y 30 minutos para completarla. Después de participar usted puede ser elegido para recibir una de diez tarjetas de regalo por \$10 dólares de Amazon.com a través de una selección aleatoria de los participantes. Si elige entrar al sorteo, se le pedirá que envíe un correo electrónico al investigador, a la dirección de correo electrónico que se le proporcionará al completar la encuesta. Dado que ninguna información personal será recabada durante la encuesta, sólo aquellos que expresen interés en la rifa del premio a través del correo electrónico podrán entrar al sorteo.

No se le pedirá su nombre o ninguna otra información que haga posible que sus respuestas lo puedan identificar (su participación en este estudio es anónima). Puede haber una pequeña posibilidad que al responder algunas de las preguntas en la encuesta le provoquen ciertos sentimientos de ansiedad. Si esto ocurre, se le recomienda hablar con un especialista en salud mental. Los servicios se pueden obtener contactando la Línea UAM (Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana) al teléfono 58 04 64 44 para recibir apoyo psicológico vía telefónica, si es que usted desarrolla sentimientos incómodos durante este proyecto de investigación. Usted será responsable de los costos de cualquier atención que se le otorgue. Se entiende que ante un evento poco probable en el que se necesite tratamiento como resultado de la participación de este proyecto de investigación de la Universidad Ball State, los representantes y empleados asumirán cualquier responsabilidad requerida por ley. Para dudas acerca de sus derechos como participante de la investigación, favor de contactar a la Oficina de Programas Patrocinados para el Cumplimiento Investigativo de la Universidad Ball State, Muncie, IN 47306, (765) 285-5070, irb@bsu.edu.

Su participación en este estudio es completamente voluntaria y es libre de abandonar el estudio en cualquier momento, por cualquier razón, sin ninguna penalización o prejuicio por parte del investigador. Tenga la libertad de contactar al investigador si tiene alguna duda relacionada a este estudio.

Para participar en este estudio, haga clic en “aceptar”. Al hacer clic en “aceptar,” estará acordando en participar en este estudio de investigación y aceptando que el estudio ha sido explicado y que sus dudas han sido respondidas satisfactoriamente. Si tiene alguna pregunta adicional en cualquier momento posterior, durante y después del estudio, puede escribir un correo electrónico al investigador o a su presidente de doctorado.

¡Gracias por su tiempo y su participación!

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Appendix E
Demographic Questionnaire

What is your sex?

[Multiple choices: male, female, trans-male, trans female, other: (open field)]

How old are you?

[Open field]

What city were you born in?

[Open field]

What city do you currently live in?

[Open field]

What is your sexual orientation?

[Multiple Choice: Heterosexual/Homosexual, Gay, Bisexual, Pansexual or other: (open field)]

Have you ever wanted to have voluntary oral sex with a woman, put your mouth on her clitoris or vulva, or wanted a woman to put her mouth on your penis?

[Multiple choice: yes, no]

(If yes, then)

What is your preferred role during oral sex? If you've never had oral sex, what do you think your preferred role would be?

[Multiple Choice: 1 = exclusively prefer to receive oral sex, 2 = sometimes give but prefer to receive, 3 = versatile (equally like to give and receive), 4 = sometimes receive but prefer to give, 5 = exclusively prefer to give oral sex, 0 = unsure/don't know]

Have you ever had sex with a woman voluntarily, that is, inserting your penis in a woman's vagina?

[Multiple choice: yes,no]

Have you ever had or wanted to have oral sex with another man voluntarily, that is, put your mouth on another man's penis, or another man putting his mouth on your penis?

[Multiple choice: yes, no]

(If yes, then)

What is your preferred role during oral sex with a man? If you've never had oral sex with a man, what do you think would be your preferred role?

[Multiple choice: 1 = exclusively prefer to receive oral sex, 2 = Sometimes give, but prefer to receive oral sex, 3 = equally like to give and receive, 4 = sometimes receive but prefer to give, 5 = exclusively prefer to give oral sex, 0 = unsure/ don't know]

Have you ever voluntarily had, or wanted to have anal sex with another man, meaning to put your penis in another man's anus or have another man put his penis in your anus?

[Multiple choice: yes, no]

(If yes, then)

What is your preferred role during oral sex? If you have never had anal sex, What do you think your preferred role would be?

[Multiple choice: 1 = exclusively prefer active, or penetrating role, 2 = versatile, but prefer active, or penetrating role, 3 = versatile (equally enjoy active and passive role), 4 = versatile but I prefer passive, or penetrated role, 5 = exclusively prefer passive, or penetrated role, 0 = unsure/don't know.

Appendix F
Cuestionario Demográfico

¿Cuántos años tienes?

¿En qué ciudad naciste?

¿En qué ciudad vives actualmente?

¿Cuál es tu identidad sexual?

[Opciones: Heterosexual/Homosexual o Gay/Bisexual o pansexual u otra.]

¿Alguna vez has querido tener sexo oral con una mujer de manera voluntaria, es decir usar tu boca en el clítoris o la vulva de una mujer, o has querido que una mujer ponga su boca en tu pene?

[Si, No]

(Si sí, entonces)

¿Cuál es tu rol preferido durante el sexo oral? Si nunca has tenido sexo oral, cuál crees que sería tu rol preferido?

[Opciones: dar sexo oral, recibir sexo oral, versátil (ambos dar y recibir), versátil pero prefiero dar, versátil pero prefiero recibir / inseguro / no sé]

¿Alguna vez has tenido relaciones sexuales con una mujer de manera voluntaria, es decir, insertar tu pene en la vagina de una mujer?

[Si/No]

¿Alguna vez has tenido o querido tener sexo oral con otro hombre de manera voluntaria, es decir poner tu boca en el pene de otro hombre o que otro hombre ponga su boca en tu pene?

[Si/No]

(Si sí, entonces)

¿Cuál es tu rol preferido durante el sexo oral con un hombre? Si nunca has tenido sexo oral con un hombre, cuál crees que sería tu rol preferido?

[Opciones: dar sexo oral, recibir sexo oral, versátil (ambos dar y recibir), versátil pero prefiero dar, versátil pero prefiero recibir / inseguro / no sé]

¿Alguna vez has tenido o querido tener, de manera voluntaria, sexo anal con otro hombre, es decir, introducir tu pene en el ano de otro hombre o que otro hombre introduzca su pene en tu ano?

[Sí / No]

(Si sí, entonces)

¿Cuál es tu rol preferido durante el sexo anal? Si nunca has tenido sexo anal, ¿cuál crees que sería tu rol preferido?

[Opciones: Activo, receptivo/pasivo, versátil, versátil pero prefiero un rol activo, versátil pero prefiero un rol receptivo/pasivo, inseguro/ no sé.]

Appendix G

The Machismo Measure

Below are some statements that reflect opinions on a wide range of topics. We understand that in different situations different responses may be appropriate, but please respond to each statement to the best of your ability. Please use the space just left of each item to fill in the response that most accurately depicts your personal beliefs about a statement. The rating scale for all of your responses are:

- 1 – Strongly Disagree 2 – Disagree 3 – Disagree Somewhat**
4 – Uncertain 5 – Somewhat Agree 6 – Agree
7 – Strongly Agree

Example: On item 1, if you strongly agree that “Men are superior to women.” Fill in the number “7”, if you strongly disagree, fill in the number “1”, and if you are uncertain, fill in the number “4”. Please respond to each statement to the best of your ability. When finished every item should have a corresponding written response to indicate your level of agreement or disagreement.

- ___TM___ 1. Men are superior to women.
 ___C___ 2. Men want their children to have better lives than themselves.
 ___TM___ 3. In a family a father’s wish is law.
 ___C___ 4. A real man does not brag about sex.
 ___C___ 5. Men should respect their elders.
 ___TM___ 6. The birth of a male child is more important than a female child.
 ___C___ 7. Men hold their mothers in high regard.
 ___TM___ 8. It is important not to be the weakest man in a group.
 ___TM___ 9. Real men never let down their guard.
 ___C___ 10. The family is more important than the individual.
 ___TM___ 11. It would be shameful for a man to cry in front of his children.
 ___C___ 12. Men should be willing to fight to defend their family.
 ___TM___ 13. A man should be in control of his wife.
 ___TM___ 14. It is necessary to fight when challenged.
 ___C___ 15. Men must exhibit fairness in all situations
 ___TM___ 16. It is important for women to be beautiful.
 ___C___ 17. A woman is expected to be loyal to her husband.
 ___TM___ 18. The bills (electric, phone, etc.) should be in the man’s name.
 ___C___ 19. Men must display good manners in public.
 ___C___ 20. Men should be affectionate with their children.

Table 10. Factor Structure of the Machismo MeasureC=Caballerismo scale $(\text{Item3} + \text{item4} + \text{item5} + \text{item7} + \text{item10} + \text{item12} + \text{item15} + \text{item17} + \text{item19} + \text{item20})/10$

Indicador – C

TM= Traditional Machismo scale $(\text{Item1} + \text{item3} + \text{item6} + \text{item8} + \text{item9} + \text{item11} + \text{item13} + \text{item14} + \text{item16} + \text{item18})/10$

Indicador – M

Appendix H
The Machismo Measure (Spanish)

Abajo están algunas frases que reflejan opiniones sobre una variedad de temas. Entendemos que en situaciones diferentes respuestas diferentes parecerán apropiadas, pero por favor responda a cada frase a lo mejor de su capacidad. Por favor use el espacio justo a la izquierda de cada frase llenando el espacio con el número de la respuesta que más represente sus creencias personales sobre cada frase. La escala para calificar todas sus respuestas es:

- 1 – Totalmente en desacuerdo 2 – Desacuerdo 3 – Algo en desacuerdo**
4 – Incierto 5 – Algo de acuerdo 6 – De acuerdo
7 – Totalmente de acuerdo

Ejemplo: En la frase 1, si esta totalmente de acuerdo que “Los hombres son superiores a las mujeres,” responda llenando el espacio a la izquierda de la frase con el número “7.” Si esta totalmente en desacuerdo responda con el número “1,” y si esta incierto responda con el número “4.” Por favor responda a cada una de las frases lo mejor que pueda. Cuando haya terminado cada frase deberá tener una respuesta que le corresponda y que indique el nivel de acuerdo o desacuerdo.

- ___TM___ 1. Los hombres son superiores a las mujeres.
 ___C___ 2. Los hombres quieren que sus hijos tengan mejores vidas que las de ellos.
 ___TM___ 3. En una familia el deseo del padre es ley.
 ___C___ 4. Un verdadero hombre no presume sobre el sexo.
 ___C___ 5. Los hombres deben respetar a sus mayores.
 ___TM___ 6. El nacimiento de un hijo es más importante que el de una hija.
 ___C___ 7. Los hombres consideran altamente a sus madres.
 ___TM___ 8. Es importante no ser el hombre más débil de un grupo.
 ___TM___ 9. Los hombres verdaderos nunca dejan bajar su guardia.
 ___C___ 10. La familia es más importante que el individuo.
 ___TM___ 11. Fuera vergonzoso para un hombre llorar en frente de sus hijos.
 ___C___ 12. Los hombres deben de estar dispuestos a pelear para defender a su familia.
 ___TM___ 13. Un hombre debe de estar en control de su esposa.
 ___TM___ 14. Es necesario pelear cuando retado.
 ___C___ 15. Los hombres deben de demostrar imparcialidad en todas las situaciones.
 ___TM___ 16. Es importante que las mujeres sean bellas.
 ___C___ 17. Se espera que una mujer sea fiel a su marido.
 ___TM___ 18. Las facturas (electricidad, teléfono, etc.) deben de estar a nombre del hombre.
 ___C___ 19. Los hombres deben de mostrar buenos modales en público.
 ___C___ 20. Los hombres deberían de ser cariñosos con sus hijos.

Appendix I
Gender Role Conflict Scale-Short Form

Instructions: In the space to the left of each sentence below, write the number that most closely represents the degree that you Agree or Disagree with the statement. There is no right or wrong answer to each statement; your own reaction is what is asked for.

Strongly Agree						Strongly Disagree
6	5	4	3	2	1	

1. ___ Finding time to relax is difficult for me.
2. ___ Winning is a measure of my value and personal worth
3. ___ Affection with other men makes me tense.
4. ___ I like to feel superior to other people.
5. ___ Talking about my feelings during sexual relations is difficult for me.
6. ___ I have difficulty expressing my emotional needs to my partner.
7. ___ Men who touch other men make me uncomfortable.
8. ___ I have difficulty expressing my tender feelings.
9. ___ Hugging other men is difficult for me.
10. ___ My needs to work or study keep me from my family or leisure more than would like.
11. ___ I strive to be more successful than others.
12. ___ I do not like to show my emotions to other people.
13. ___ My work or school often disrupts other parts of my life (home, family, health, leisure)
14. ___ Being very personal with other men makes me feel uncomfortable.
15. ___ Being smarter or physically stronger than other men is important to me.
16. ___ Overwork and stress caused by a need to achieve on the job or in school, affects/hurts my life.

Table 11. Factor Structure of the Gender Role Conflict Short Form (GRCS -SF)

Factor 1 - Success, Power, Competition (4 items)
Items – 2, 4, 11, 15

Factor 2 – Restrictive Emotionality (4 items)
Items – 5, 6, 8, 12

Factor 3 – Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men (4 items)
Items – 3, 7, 9, 14

Factor 4 – Conflicts Between Work and Leisure – Family Relations (4 items)
Items – 1, 10, 13, 16

Total Number of Items = 16

Appendix J

Escala de Conflicto de Roles de Género - Versión Corta

Instrucciones: En el espacio a la izquierda de cada enunciado, escribe el número que represente de manera más cercana el grado con el que estás de Acuerdo o en Desacuerdo. No hay respuestas correctas o incorrectas. Lo que se solicita es tu reacción personal.

De acuerdo completamente					En desacuerdo completamente
6	5	4	3	2	1

1. ___ Me resulta difícil encontrar tiempo para relajarme.
2. ___ Ganar me hace sentir que valgo y que soy valorado
3. ___ Las muestras de afecto hacia otros hombres me ponen tenso.
4. ___ Me gusta sentirme superior a los demás.
5. ___ Me cuesta trabajo hablar de mis sentimientos durante las relaciones sexuales.
6. ___ Me resulta difícil expresar mis necesidades emocionales a mi pareja.
7. ___ Me resulta incomodo cuando un hombre toca a otro hombre.
8. ___ Me resulta difícil expresar mis sentimientos de ternura.
9. ___ Se me dificulta abrazar a otros hombres.
10. ___ Mis necesidades de trabajo o estudio me alejan de mi familia y de relajarme más de lo que yo quisiera
11. ___ Me esfuerzo por ser más exitoso que los demás.
12. ___ No me gusta demostrar mis emociones a las demás personas.
13. ___ Mi trabajo o estudios interfieren frecuentemente en otras áreas de mi vida (hogar, familia, salud, esparcimiento).
14. ___ Estar en contacto muy cercano con otros hombres me hace sentir incómodo.
15. ___ Ser más inteligente o más fuerte físicamente que otros hombres es importante para mí.
16. ___ El trabajo excesivo y el estrés causado por una necesidad de logro en mi trabajo o estudios en ocasiones afecta mi vida.

Appendix K
Personal Feelings Questionnaire - 2

For each of the following listed feelings, to the left of the item number, please place a number from 0 to 4, reflecting how common the feeling is for you.

4 = you experience the feeling continuously or almost continuously

3 = you experience the feeling frequently but not continuously

2 = you experience the feeling some of the time

1 = you experience the feeling rarely

0 = you never experience the feeling

S___ 1. embarrassment

G___ 2. mild guilt

S___ 3. feeling ridiculous

G___ 4. worry about hurting or injuring someone

___ 5. sadness

S___ 6. self-consciousness

S___ 7. feeling humiliated

G___ 8. intense guilt

___ 9. euphoria

S___ 10. feeling "stupid"

G___ 11. regret

S___ 12. feeling "childish"

___ 13. mild happiness

S___ 14. feeling helpless, paralyzed

___ 15. depression

S___ 16. feelings of blushing

G___ 17. feeling you deserve criticism for what you did

S___ 18. feeling laughable

___ 19. rage

___ 20. enjoyment

S___ 21. feeling disgusting to other

G___ 22. remorse

Table 12. PFQ2 Scoring Key

[Shame Proneness Score = Sum S Items]

[Guilt Proneness Score = Sum G Items]

[items with no S or G are "fillers" and not scored]

Appendix L

Cuestionario de Sentimientos Personales - 2 (Spanish)

Elige un número del 0 al 4 que describa qué tan frecuentemente experimentas cada uno de los sentimientos enlistados.

- 4 = Continuamente o casi continuamente
3 = Frecuentemente pero no continuamente
2 = Algunas veces
1 = Muy pocas veces
0 = Nunca

- 1. Vergüenza
- 2. Algo de culpa
- 3. Sentirse ridículo
- 4. Le preocupa herir o lastimar a alguien
- 5. Tristeza
- 6. Demasiado preocupado por lo que proyecto de mí mismo
- 7. Sentirse humillado
- 8. Mucha culpa
- 9. Euforia
- 10. Sentirse “estúpido”
- 11. Arrepentimiento
- 12. Sentirse infantilizado
- 13. Poca felicidad
- 14. Sentirse indefenso, paralizado
- 15. Depresión
- 16. Ruborizarse
- 17. Siente que merece críticas por lo que hizo
- 18. Sentirse ridículo
- 19. Rabia
- 20. Disfrutar
- 21. Sentirse repugnante para los demás
- 22. Remordimiento

Appendix M Extended Literature Review

Machismo

The word *machismo* represents a standard of male behavior expected of Mexican men. It is the driving force of masculine behavior (Andrade, 1992). Despite the persisting stereotype of negativity, Mirandé (1988) found that 35% of American-Latino men surveyed described *machismo* as a cultural source of pride or honor. In the same study, 52% described it largely in negative terms, and 12% described the concept as neutral.

Mirandé (1988) found that 36% of Mexican men reported *machismo* to be an integral part of their cultural identity, yet previous to the 1990's, psychologists exclusively used *machismo* to describe negative traits associated with hypermasculinity in Mexican and other Latino men. Mirandé criticized this, arguing that *machismo* also represented positive attributes like responsibility, sensitivity, nurturance, and wisdom. Arceniega et al. (2008) later noted that *machismo's* positive descriptors were also qualities of *caballerismo*, a code of chivalry held by Spanish gentlemen that is venerated by Latino cultures worldwide. The tradition of *caballerismo* is a romantic one, in which men serenaded women and performed heroic acts of valor to win their favor. The folklore of *caballerismo* dates back to the 15th century Spanish Golden Age, from stories like *Don Quixote*. Spanish chivalry was thus revived, by what many consider one of the most influential literary masterpieces in history (Arceniega et al., 2008; Eisenberg, 1991). The masculine romantic ideal was perpetuated throughout the Golden Age of Mexican cinema from the 1930's–1950's (King, 1994). At present, Mariachis for hire convene at La Plaza Garibaldi in Mexico City where they may be commissioned any night of the week, at any hour, to serenade the object of one's affection from outside their bedroom window (Lida, 2009).

The delineation of positive and negative constructs within *machismo* is important for multiple reasons: 1) it helps expand the ability of researchers to measure and understand Mexican (and other Latino); male populations more accurately within a cultural context; 2) it dismantles the historical bias against Mexican masculinity by allowing for a positive narrative toward cultural gender-roles; and, 3) research which identifies and elevates socially adaptive behaviors associated with *machismo* may provide ways in which men can grow and thrive without abandoning their masculine identity.

Traditional Machismo. *Traditional machismo* was coined by Arciniega et al. (2008) as a term and a construct to describe the maladaptive attitudes and behaviors that have been associated with *machismo* for over half a century. It is used in contrast to *caballerismo* in order to differentiate between unhealthy expressions of *traditional machismo* and adaptive expressions of masculinity.

Traditional machismo has been associated with a variety of negative social and psychological outcomes such as aggression and antisocial behavior, difficulty identifying or describing emotions (alexithymia), and less productive problem solving responses; it is characterized by sexism and hypermasculinity (Arciniega et al., 2008; Casas et al., 1994). It has also been found to be associated with violence and increased use of alcohol (Alaniz, 1996; Neff, Prihoda, & Hoppe, 1991); and, interestingly, it has been found to be related to attitudes of dominance over women, but not in dominance over others in general (Arciniega et al., 2008). Attitudes associated with *traditional machismo* have been associated with internalized homophobia among self-identifying gay men (Estrada et al., 2011; Szymanski & Carr, 2008).

Caballerismo. Roughly translated, *caballero* means *gentleman*. This term is another subcategory of *machismo*, describing a code of chivalry held by men that is venerated by Latino cul-

tures worldwide (Arciniega et al., 2008). This construct was not examined in the current study; however, it is another facet of *machismo* which identifies constructive traits associated with masculinity in contrast to *traditional machismo*. *Caballerismo* has also been found to be associated with gender-role values such showing respect toward one's spouse, maintaining gainful employment, nurturing and protecting the family and its honor (Casas et al., 1994; Mirandé, 1988, 1997; Ramos, 1979). It has also been associated with dignity, wisdom, spirituality, and emotional connectedness. Ojeda and Piña-Watson (2014) found *caballerismo* predicted self-esteem and was associated with higher tolerance of other cultures and adaptive problem solving responses.

Historical Context of Masculinity in Mexico

In order to best understand the population and the constructs examined in this study, it may be beneficial to examine the historical and cultural contexts in which men in Mexico develop their masculine identity. Mirandé (1997), named three influences on male identity which inform the development of *machismo*: 1) Aztec Identity; 2) Spanish Identity; and, 3) Mexican Identity.

Aztec Identity. The Aztecs, or Mexica, as they called themselves, entered the Valley of Mexico in the mid 13th century. In the 14th century they founded the region's capital, Tenochtitlan in the center of modern-day Mexico City. According to Aztec legend, a small group of Mexica were led by a vision from their deity of war, Huitzilopochtli, toward a promised land. Their arrival to the promised land was confirmed by a sign: an eagle atop a nopal cactus, holding a serpent in its mouth. This is not an obscure tale lost in the tomes of Aztec history; the influence of this 700 year old tale on contemporary Mexican identity is evident in that the event is depicted on Mexican national flag. The Aztecs, were a patriarchal society which prescribed distinctly separate gender roles for men and women. The men were a violently religious, warrior society

whose wealth came largely from conquest. The Aztec religious leaders are also notorious for making thousands of ritual human sacrifices to their God of War (Mirandé, 1997). Mirandé suggests this aspect of Aztec history represents the overall cultural state of masculinity around the time of the arrival of the Spanish.

Spanish Identity. Following the fall of the Aztec Empire to Spanish conquest, Spanish masculine norms, according to Mirandé (1997), were imposed through colonialism in much the same way Catholicism had been. *Machismo* is often associated with strong Catholic roots and traditional values instilled through Spanish influence (Carrillo, 1999). Also, because the Spanish governed Mexico for nearly 300 years after the fall of the Aztec Empire, Mexican culture was heavily shaped by European influence. In addition to the violence of conquest which will be examined the following section, Spanish influence is also credited by Arceniega et al., (2008) for introducing the masculine norms of chivalry known as *caballerismo*. *Caballeros*, or, 'horsemen,' were wealthy gentleman land owners during Mexican colonization. Much of *caballerismo's* ideals are thought to be drawn from the classic Spanish text by Miguel de Cervantes (Cervantes & Ormsby, 1981), *The Ingenious Nobleman Don Quixote de la Mancha*. *Don Quixote* was first published in 1605 with a second part published in 1616. It was widely read throughout high society (Canavaggio, 2004) and had a far-reaching cultural impact on the masculine culture of Spanish colonists (Arceniega et al., 2008). *Don Quixote* is a protagonist whose insanity drives him to feats of virtue in defense of the weak, who shows unwavering opposition to wickedness, and who wins the heart of a woman by treating her with the utmost honor and respect in defiance of all others.

Mexican Identity. The final influence that Mirandé (1997) described was a direct result of the Spanish Conquest of Mexico. By the 16th century, Tenochtitlán, the Aztec capital, had

become a metropolis that rivaled Constantinople and Rome. The arrival of Hernán Cortés and his conquistadores was mistaken for the return of the White God, Quetzalcóatl, so the Moctezuma II, the Aztec king, welcomed the Spanish as honored guests and offered them tributes of gold. Relations between the Aztecs and the Spanish deteriorated quickly, however, which led to a confrontation in which Cortés took Moctezuma II hostage and forbade the practice of human sacrifice (Marroqui, 2011). During a ritual celebration feast, the Aztecs were suspected of covertly preparing for human sacrifice, as tradition dictated, but contrary to Cortés' prohibition. Thousands of Aztec leaders and nobles were locked into a courtyard and massacred by Cortés' men (Estrada, 1924; Mirandé, 1997;). The Aztecs retaliated, killing hundreds of Spaniards, wounding the rest, and driving Cortés' and his men from the city. Shortly after the expulsion, the population was ravaged by smallpox. Cortés soon returned with reinforcements and the weakened Aztec empire fell to the Spanish (Estrada, 1924).

Throughout this time, Cortés' translator was a 14 year-old Nahua girl named Malintzin, who had previously been 'given' to Cortés by the Chontal Maya people, as a slave and concubine. The child, Malintzin, is widely known to modern Mexicans only as *La Malinche*. Historic accounts report that Malintzin was respected by both Spaniards and Aztecs, however, she bore Cortés a son and for this sin has come to be regarded as a "traitress, whore, and the mother of a bastard, *mestizo* (mixed) race" (Mirandé & Enríquez, 1979, p. 24). The traditional narrative of La Malinche is that she is guilty of opening herself up to the conquistadores, and thereby humiliating and emasculating all men (Mirandé, 1997). She embodies the common Mexican slang, *La Chingada*—the whore, or literally: the raped.

Geneticists have confirmed that 93% of Mexicans are *mestizo*, comprised of an average admixture of European (64.9%), Native Indigenous (30.8%), and African (4.2%) descent; preva-

lences vary in individuals, usually depending on which region of Mexico they reside (Martínez-Cortés et al., 2012). A strong gender-biased admixture demonstrated that a great majority of race mixing was unidirectional: European men with Native women (Martínez-Cortés et al., 2012). This evidence supports historical accounts of the conquistadores raping thousands of native women (Mirandé, 1997).

Perhaps the most influential narratives of Mexican masculine identity were by Samuel Ramos (1962), a philosopher, and Octavio Paz (1950), a poet and Nobel laureate. Influenced by Alfred Adler's theory of personality, they suggested that *el macho* (the male) fosters deep-seated feelings of inferiority due to the spiritual rape and conquest of the Aztec nation by the Spanish Conquistadores. According to Paz, Mexican men overcompensate for deeply felt weakness and powerlessness in protecting their women from the horrific conquest. *Machismo* is an attempt to mask a profound sense of ineptitude and inferiority. Paz wrote of the complicated reality Mexicans face; they descend from both the conqueror and the conquered, the oppressor and the oppressed, *El Chingón* and *La Chingada*.

While the inferiority complex theory of *el macho* by Ramos and Paz may have been a sincere attempt to conceptualize their countrymen, Cowan (2017) lamented their narrative for framing natural gender experiences as a national neurosis. Building on their intellectual ideas, U.S. public health and social scientists throughout the 1940's, 50's, and 60's used *machismo* to scrutinize the character of Mexicans and other groups by attributing hypermasculine behaviors to the gender-role arrangements of Latino cultures. *Machismo* had become the term for problems of Latin character. Hewes (1954), an anthropologist, asserted that the quintessential Mexican male character was irrational, extravagantly obscene, with a phallic obsession, and dependent on the "fiction of his enormous virility" to compensate for a personal sense of worthlessness and inferi-

ority (pp. 217-218). Klapp (1964) described the foremost example of Mexican men to be *mucho macho*, meaning: virile, stubborn, valiant, and strong with an inclination toward rebellions and revolutions. Consider the term, “macho man,” derived from the Spanish *macho*, which simply translates to *male*, yet has implied hypermasculinity among U.S. English speakers for decades.

In 1965, Moynihan published a report in the U.S. entitled, *The Tangle of Pathology*, in which he attributed the economic hardships of African American families to their own, inferior cultural practices (United States & Moynihan, 1965). According to Moynihan, the horrors of slavery had shaped unhealthy cultural behaviors that were to blame for significantly higher poverty rates among African Americans. By the 1970's, some critical researchers recognized the similarities between this report and the pathologization of *machismo* in Latino men, and called for a departure from the pejorative view (Baca Zinn, 1982; Cromwell & Ruiz, 1979; Mirandé, 1977; Montiel, 1970). Despite their efforts, much psychological literature has continued to frame *machismo* as a negative characteristic among Latino men responsible for violent, aggressive, and over-sexualized behaviors (Beaver, Gold, & Prisco, 1992; Mosher & Sirkin, 1984). Lancaster (1994) wrote that *machismo* was a means of structuring power among Mexican men, and that drinking, gambling, risk taking, asserting opinions, fighting, and sexual conquest were behaviors performed primarily for other men to whom they must constantly prove their masculinity.

Gender Role

Gender roles are the patterns of specific behaviors that men and women are expected to perform which are influenced by socially constructed ideals of masculinity and femininity (Mahalik, Cournoyer, DeFranc, Cherry, & Napolitano, 1998). For Mexican men, *machismo* is the attitude that drives masculine behavior (Andrade, 1992). According to Carrier (1995), the strict gender norms found in Mexico are due to *machismo*. This may be accurate in that both *cabal-*

lerismo and *traditional machismo* have been found to be associated with beliefs about strict gender-role differences (Estrada et al., 2011). The paradigm for masculinity is that a man is more of a man the further he is from anything feminine (Castañeda, 2002). As a result, things like the expression of certain emotions or roles and activities associated with women, are often rejected (Castañeda, 2007).

This has likely contributed to high instances of misogyny and sexism, as well as the domination of women through a culture of hegemonic masculinity (Anders, 1993; Ingoldsby, 1991; Mosher & Tompkins, 1988). *Machismo* and gender-role norms in the Mexican context establish stereotypes around what it means to be a man regarding sexual activity (Connell, 1995; Díaz-Loving et al., 2007; Núñez, 2000). Men and masculinity is elevated to positions of domination and power through the devaluation and alienation of women and femininity (Lagarde, 1996). The desires of women are often seen as something to be controlled or managed, yet masculinity has generally been believed to be an inevitable natural force (Castro, 1998; Castro & Miranda, 1998). A study of adolescent courtship in rural Puebla (de Keijzer & Rodríguez, 2007; Rodríguez & de Keijzer, 2002) found a similar cultural expectation and approval for young men to take the role of pursuers and seducers. A 1997 meta-analysis of research on masculine sexuality in Mexico identified a common belief that penetrative sexual intercourse was a biological necessity for men (Szasz, 1997).

In 2000, however, Gutmann found a decrease in rates of extramarital affairs and procreation among men living in Mexico City compared to previous decades. Participants of that study also described sexual intercourse as a temporary desire rather than a physiological imperative, and reported greater comfort as a generation discussing sexuality; uncontrollable outbursts and bodily needs constituted the core of masculine sexuality. The idea that having male children is

important was endorsed, and that having a pregnant spouse was desirable. Childcare was seen primarily as a feminine responsibility.

Another study of adolescent males in Mexico City found that sexual initiation was an important marker of the passage into manhood because it asserted his heterosexuality (Stern et al., 2003). The young men reported they seldom used protection, as sex was often spontaneous due to the absence of private spaces and limited opportunities for sexual experiences. Masculine sexuality was seen as compulsive, and sexual conquest was viewed as proof of both virility and heterosexuality, while any sexual ambiguity was considered suspicious and shameful (although it is not uncommon for Mexican men to display affection through physical contact when intoxicated without it implying homosexuality [Gutmann, 2000]).

Many sexual minorities have difficulty complying with these norms which puts them in a subordinated status in regard to other men. Despite growing positivity toward the rights of sexual minorities and attempts to appear non-judgmental, homophobic jokes and comments continue to be mainstream among men (Gutmann, 2000). Homophobia has been described as an element of hegemonic masculinity (Cruz, 2002; Núñez, 2000), in other words, a tool for men to be perceived as more masculine.

Gender Role Conflict. Gender role conflict is the inner turmoil men may experience when rigid or overly restrictive attempts to adhere to culturally prescribed gender roles is incompatible with situational demands, thus leading to negative consequences for men or those around them (O'Neil et al., 1986). The inner conflict may be understood as a persistent stress fueled by one's inability to live up to masculine standards. Gender role conflict is may be incited by explicit external stressors such as teasing or bullying or social/romantic rejection by others for perceived deficiencies in masculinity; or it may be prompted by one's own perception that one isn't

meeting internalized masculine ideals. Gender role conflict has been shown to be most prominent in men who present as predominantly masculine (highly masculine with low feminine traits) when compared with ‘*androgynous*’ men who present with high masculine and high feminine traits, ‘feminine men,’ who present with low masculine but high feminine traits; and ‘undifferentiated,’ those men with low masculine and low feminine traits (O’Neal et al., 1986; Sharpe & Heppner, 1991).

When differentiating positive from negative aspects of masculinity among U.S. men, gender role conflict was related to negative aspects of masculinity (Choi et al., 2011; Good et al., 1995; O’Neal et al., 1986; Sharpe & Heppner, 1991). Similar to heterosexual men, highly masculine gay men were more likely to report gender role conflict than feminine men; however, high femininity was also significantly associated with gender role conflict (Choi et al., 2011). Regardless of sexual orientation, only the negative traits associated with masculinity seem to predict gender role conflict. A study by Blashill and Powlishtsa (2009) found gender role conflict was more likely to be experienced by sexual minorities who were not exclusively homosexual compared to men who identified as gay, although other research with sexual minorities has not found this association (O’Neil, 2008). Men who ‘hide’ their sexuality may be more likely to experience gender role conflict as they are more likely to worry about their sexuality being discovered through behavioral indicators (Blashill & Vander Wal, 2009).

Eisler and Skidmore (1987) found a relationship between male gender role stress and a propensity to engage in high-risk behaviors (e.g. substance abuse, violence, promiscuous and unprotected sex). Gender role conflict has also been found to Gender role conflict was found to be associated with stress in a population of Mexican men living in the U.S. (Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2000). In the same study, only the *restricted emotionality*

subscale of the GRCS-2 was associated with depression; *machismo* was not found to be associated with gender role conflict, however *machismo* was measured by a subscale of the Multiphasic Assessment of Cultural Constructs Short Form (Cuellar, Arnold, & Gonzolas, 1995) which does not differentiate attitudes associated with *traditional machismo* and those associated with *caballerismo*.

Historical Context of Sexual Minorities in Mexico

Accounts from 16th century European historians reveal abominable treatment of sexual minority Mexican men throughout early modern history. An account published in 1526 by Gonzalo Fernández de Ovieda (Fernández & Stoudemire, 1959) of child sexual abuse observed among the Caribs in the West Indies sparked an enduring stereotype among the Spanish that all native men were *Sodomites* who deserved to be enslaved. The word *Sodomites* is in reference to the Biblical account of God destroying *Sodom & Gomorra* for the sin of its inhabitants. The sin in question has traditionally been understood to mean the sin of homosexuality, thus a *Sodomite* (see Gnuse, 2015; he argues that the referenced sin of Sodom was inhospitality and that they were destroyed for their antisocial behaviors, not their same-sex behaviors). Predating the introduction of Christianity, there are accounts that homophobic attitudes already existed among the Aztecs and others; however, there were various native cultures throughout Mexico (e.g. Mayans & Zapotecs) which had, until then, been relatively unperturbed by same-sex behaviors (Reding, 2000). The colonization of *sodomy* surely impacted those groups the most. To the Spanish Christians of that time, there was no difference between a man engaged in consensual sexual behavior with other men and the accounts of sexual abuse among the Carib people: both were equally considered unspeakable sins. In 1530, a Catholic missionary published a defense of the native people assuring the Spanish that *sodomy* was also considered wicked and vile among native converts

and that anyone found engaged in same-sex behavior had been burned at the stake (Garza & Salvador, 2002). Unfortunately, the celebrated Spanish historian, Bartolomé de las Casas, perpetuated this hysteria through accounts of debauchery among indigenous groups in his *Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* published in 1552 (Casas & Griffin, 1992). It should be noted that Casas never visited the American continent, so it is unclear from whom his data was retrieved. Regardless, ‘sodomy’ panic led to the formation of inquisitorial investigations conducted by bishops and magistrates which resulted in the execution by burning of countless sexual minority men (Garza Carvajal, 2003).

It would seem that 350 years of such treatment toward men even suspected of *sodomy* created an environment in which homosexuality was suppressed and driven out of the public eye. In modern Mexico, public knowledge of homosexuality was non-existent until a scandal known as *El Baile de los 41* (Ball of the 41) took place in 1901 (McManus, 2014; Parrini & Hernández, 2012). The Ball was taking place in a private home that was raided by the police at 3:00 AM. The raid uncovered a debutante-like ball attended by 41 men from the Mexican elite, 19 of whom wore dresses, wigs, and jewelry. The discovery was widely publicized by the media largely due to the fact that the son-in-law of the president of Mexico was in attendance (Monsiváis, 2003). The men, presumably sexual minorities, were arrested and either imprisoned or sentenced to join the armed forces to fight against civil revolts. Perhaps because there was no word for *homosexual* at the time, the media referred to the men as *lagartijos* (lizard men).

The term “homosexuality” was created to categorize a variant or human sexual behavior that was determined to be a pathology by the sexologists and physicians of the early mid-1900's (McManus, 2014). During the 1930's and 40's meeting places for sexual minorities (bars, etc.) began opening in Mexico City, and advocate groups for sexual minority rights began to publish

post-revolutionary ideology which centered around nationalism, Marxism, and *machismo*. The word *gay* first arrived in Mexico via U.S. tourism sometime around 1955; The advent of the word '*gay*' shifted the social identity of sexual minority men from behavior-focused pejoratives to a modern, socially specific masculine identity (Laguarda, 2007). It seemed to break down the rigidity of the gendered sexual behavior (Parrini & Hernández, 2012).

The Stonewall riots that took place in New York City in 1969 marked the beginning of the modern Gay Rights movement in the U.S. which would go on to influence sexual minority culture in Mexico; the first annual Gay Pride parade was held in Mexico City in 1979. The AIDS epidemic halted activism in Mexico throughout the 1980's and decimated the sexual minority population as it had done in the U.S. Alonso and Koreck (1993) asserted that AIDS was primarily transmitted through homosexual contact between Mexicans and Anglos as IV drug abuse was not prominent in Mexico at that time. Following the devastation of the 1980's, gay culture in Mexico largely began to resemble U.S. gay culture as far as adopting symbols, labels, and behaviors similar to those in the U.S. among sexual minorities (Parrini & Hernández, 2012). By 2009 same-sex marriage was legalized in Mexico City, and in 2015 it was legalized nationwide.

Sexual and Social Identity

Sexual identity is more than the sexual role one assumes, and more than the sex or gender to whom one is sexually attracted. Sexuality is associated with values and emotions which are conditioned, in part, by disciplines, geographies, institutions, and languages (Fone, 2000; Nussbaum, 2010). Sexual identities develop within a larger background of the culture to which they belong (McManus, 2014). The relationships of gender, identity, and masculinity are all necessary to understand the way one's sexuality is experienced and expressed (List, 2005; 2009). For men, *straight*, *gay*, and *bisexual* are the most common sexual identities, while other delineations

(e.g. pansexual and asexual) have been adopted at increasing rates over the past two decades (Rust, 2001). The current study defines a sexual minority as anyone reporting sexual attraction, identity, or behavior that is not exclusively heterosexual therefore sexual identity will be examined through the lens of sexual initiation as well as social identity related to sexuality. Sexual identity formation does not have a universally applicable model (Parks et al., 2004; Rosario et al., 2001; Savin-Williams & Diamond, 2000). Sexual identity must be understood in context, paying attention to economic, social, cultural, political, and situational influences (Eliason, 1996). It is also important to anticipate how differences in region, class, education and culture create variability in the way identity is formed. Researchers should not assume all sexual minorities share are the same, even within a single generation.

Sexual Initiation. Carrillo and Fontdevila (2011) proposed sexual initiation as an alternate discussion to sexual identity formation since much of the sexual identity literature centers around North American research and populations (e.g. Cass, 1979; D'Augelli, 2002). Internalized cultural norms can deter one from adopting a gay, lesbian, or bisexual identity; sexual identity development models may not properly reflect the experience of many Mexican men for this reason. One study of sexual initiation in Mexico found 49% of participants reported their first encounter was with a friend, neighbor, or acquaintance; 15% reported their first sexual encounter was with a relative, and 23% reported their first sexual encounter was with a stranger. Only 8% reported first sexual encounters with a boyfriend or partner. Those whose sexual initiation occurred at a young age with an adult male most frequently reported that the adult was a relative. Using qualitative interviews Carrillo and Fontdevila (2011) found three distinct patterns of sexual initiation in gay Mexican men who initiated in adolescence or early adulthood: 1) gender-role sexual initiation, 2) homosocial sexual initiation, and 3) object-choice sexual initiation:

Gender-role sexual Initiation. This refers to those in the “receptive” sex-role (those labeled, *pasivo*). Their partners rarely kissed them or touched their genitals (the other participants were with partners who were willing to reciprocate roles). Some participants reported early sexual encounters during childhood or adolescence with boys or adult men including relatives, mostly male cousins or uncles, in non-consensual sexual encounters. Over half (n=46) of 76 participants began sexual initiation in a *pasivo* role. These participants did not identify as gay at the time. Some were labeled as ‘*maricones*,’ ‘*jotos*,’ or ‘*putos*’ (derogatory slang). They identified partners as ‘*mayates*’ (men who identified as heterosexual, but engaged in sexual behaviors with other men) who ‘bent them over.’

These reports are consistent with previous studies identifying a sharp dichotomization of gendered sexual roles along with a belief that sexual satisfaction should come via anal intercourse rather than fellatio (Carrier, 1976). Men who engaged in sexual behavior with other men and exclusively performed the penetrative role during intercourse maintained a masculine, heterosexual identity (Alonso & Koreck, 1993; Liguori, 1995). Qualitative studies of homosexuality in rural areas uncovered three distinct categories of gay men: 1) the *activos* who penetrate, and therefore maintain a non-stigmatized masculine identity; 2) the *pasivos* who are penetrated, and are greatly stigmatized even for non-sexual, effeminate behavior; and, 3) the rare minority who might assume both roles (Carrillo, 1999; 2002; Prieur, 1998).

Homosocial Sexual Initiation. When sexual initiation was homosocial, gender-roles did not play a role and sexual exploration with others was reciprocal (i.e. mutual masturbation, reciprocal oral or anal sex; Carrillo & Fontdevila, 2011). Men from this orientation saw themselves and their partners as masculine, and did not themselves *feel* homosexual. Half of the participants started this way, with some overlap in gender-role sexual initiation.

Object Choice Sexual Initiation. This type of initiation refers to men who meet other men in 'gay spaces' where sexual minorities are known to gather (Carrillo & Fontdevila, 2011). Most of these participants identified as gay or bisexual. Some adolescents reported encounters with adult men but described reciprocal encounters that were not limited to gender-role. Almarino, Riggle, Rostosky and Alcalde (2013) found that sexual minorities in 15 Spanish-speaking countries succeeded in developing positive self-identities when they felt free to explore sexual expression, free from gender-prescribed roles.

Social Identity. The term *gay* as an identity has helped men build a sense of self that maintains their masculinity (Lozano-Verduzco, 2016). Men who are socialized in an *object-choice* environment where open discourse is available, report experiencing 'homoerotic desire' as part of a gay identity. Where homoerotic desire may first be a threat to masculinity, *gayness* implies a reclamation of masculinity (List, 2005). Ethnographic studies of gay men in Mexico have found that 'coming out' to family and friends was one of the most important steps in the development of a gay identity (Hernández, 2001). The term *gay* is used primarily by middle-class, urban men (Gutiérrez, 2012; Laguarda, 2009); although, despite the privileges of their socio-economic status, mental and sexual health due to social discrimination continue to be a concern.

Cultural Attitudes Toward Sexual Minorities

"In the history of Mexico, homosexuals have been burned alive, the subject of systematic moral lynchings, disowned by their families and often their employers, imprisoned, exiled from their places of origin, excommunicated, and murdered just for the crime of their sexual orientation. There is no respect nor tolerance for '*los jotos, maricones, putos, afeminados, lilos, larailos, raritos, invertidos, sodomitas, tú la trais, piripitipis, puñales,*

mariposones, o mujercitos [emphasis added]'. Society hates them absolutely, until even recent times" (Monsiváis, 2010, pp. 253).

Cultural attitudes toward sexual minorities in Mexico have been improving over the past decades, but continue to be predominantly homophobic (Diez, 2010; Laguarda, 2009). Homophobia refers to unfavorable attitudes or beliefs about homosexuality which serve to marginalize sexual minority identities through the discourses, rejection, insults, and opposition of groups and societies which keep 'deviant' sexualities in subordination (Foucault, 1977; Herek, 2008; Lozano-Verduzco, 2008; Toro-Alfonso & Varas-Díaz, 2004).

McManus (2014) offered two possible functions of homophobia: 1) homophobia emerges from group resistance against identities that seem foreign and are perceived as a threat to the values and integrity of a society; or, 2) homophobia serves to reinforce cultural norms and taboos around gender-roles that govern society.

The 2010 Mexican Census recorded the population as 90% Christian including the 83% of the population identifying as Catholic. According to prominent Catholic leaders in Mexico, gay marriage is among Mexico's leading social problems, compared with violence and poverty (Sida & Cotidiana, 2014). In a study of male university students in northeast Mexico, Catholic participants were 3 times more likely to have attitudes of rejection toward homosexuality than their peers of other religious affiliations, except for non-catholic Christian students who were nine times more likely (Moral & Valle, 2014). As many as 4% of male students showed an attitude of extreme rejection, while 16% showed rejection (according to the Attitudes toward Lesbian and Gay measure).

There appears to be a strong connection between religious group affiliation and homonegativity in Mexico; however, it does not account for the differences in anti-homosexual

sentiment and discrimination experienced among sexual minorities. Sexual minority men are stigmatized to a greater degree than sexual minority women, and trans-women, who may be understood by others to be gender non-conforming men, are stigmatized more than gender-conforming men (Carrillo, 1999; 2002; Castañeda, 1999; Cruz, 2002; Ortiz-Hernández, 2005; Sandfort, Melendez, & Diaz, 2007).

There may be a greater rejection toward male homosexuality due to cultural stigmas that punishes male gender-role deviation more than in women (Moral & Valle, 2014). While men normally enjoy far more sexual freedom (especially in regard to masturbation, early sexual experiences, number of sexual partners, and even concurring partners), that freedom does not extend to homosexual relationships. Gender norms and masculine stereotypes govern sexual expression according to Cruz (2002) and Shwartz (2007). This limits the ability to negotiate sexual practices which increases risk for unsafe-sex, power and consent, and sexual assault/abuse. It is the disqualification and ridicule of sexual minorities that forces them into obscurity, creating what Balbuena (2010) called *individuos del silencio* (silent individuals), who have learned they are safer remaining on the margins of society (Rojas, 2018).

Sexuality and Mental Health. Homoeroticism is relegated to clandestine spaces (List, 2005). Many men find freedom in *gay* spaces, but the nature in which they engage is secretive; it increases risk to their emotional and physical well-being (Granados & Delgado, 2007). The capacity to negotiate sexual practices has been shown to be a relevant part of the context that puts men at risk for HIV infection.

In Guadalajara, Carrier (1995) found sexual minority men were using similar strategies as they did in the 70's: they continued hiding anything that made them seem homosexual, even when their families knew about their sexual identity. Men staying in the closet did so to maintain

their reputation or *heterosexual prestige* with family and friends. They also reported an aversion to being seen with effeminate men or to be seen in locations associated with gay men.

According to List (2005), the anxiety, fear and confusion gay men experience around their first sexual encounters are due to a lack of homoerotic models with whom they can identify so are often left to work things out on their own. Social exclusion has been found to have deleterious effects on mental health (Ortiz-Hernández, 2005). It is associated with higher rates of alcohol and drug use, suicide attempts, depression and other serious mental disorders. Men who experienced internalized homophobia, fear of stigma, and hiding; were found to be at higher risk of suicide attempts, mental disorders, and alcoholism.

Shame, fear, guilt and sadness are the basis of mental health issues such as depression and anxiety, which are common among Mexican gay men (Granados & Delgado, 2007; Ortiz-Hernández, 2005). Men have reported feeling ashamed of their desires and feeling near-constant fear of being found out (Lozano-Verduzco, 2015). Conversely, men who had shared their identity or erotic desires with others reported feeling liberated by being able to live authentically.

Stigma has been found to incite shame among sexual minorities (Kaufman, 1996; Neisen, 1993; Tangney & Dearing, 2002; Wells & Hansen, 2003), including a positive correlation between shame and internalized homophobic attitudes (Allen & Oleson, 1999). Internalized homonegativity is a form of shame experienced out of personal or vicarious rejection of one's self in response to unwelcome desires and behaviors considered deviant or inferior by society. Trub et al. (2016) found experiences of discrimination were, not only significant in creating internalized homonegativity in sexual minorities, but had a large effect size as well ($\beta = 1.80$). Internalized shame is a chronic sense of inadequacy, deficiency or inferiority that has become internalized as part of one's identity (Cook, 1988). Shame has been identified as a group-based

emotion. Sexual minority men with high levels of gender role conflict may experience vicarious shame for the behavior of others with whom they *could* be identified, regardless of how they themselves behave (Welten et al., 2012).

A study by Ortiz-Hernández (2005) found 12% of their sample of sexual minority men had attempted suicide, and almost 40% had experienced suicidal ideation within the past year; 23% reported mental disorders; 20% were at risk for substance abuse; 40% reported feeling guilt for homoerotic feelings and behaviors; 20% had negative attitudes toward effeminacy in men; 50% tried to hide effeminacy in front of heterosexuals; about 45% had disclosed their sexual identity to relatives, and 31% had disclosed it to co-workers; 40% actively concealed their same-sex significant other from family and co-workers. Unsurprisingly, it was determined that having fewer friends who knew one's significant other was correlated with a higher probability of mental disorders. Those who intentionally tried to hide their same-sex partner were at higher risk of suicidal ideation, as were men who avoided effeminacy.

Shame

Shame is a self-conscious emotion, arising when people value themselves negatively (Tangney, 1991). Shame is experienced when people feel they have undermined or failed to meet their core standards, goals, and values (Johnson & Yarhouse, 2013; Teroni & Deonna, 2008). It is internalized negativity, not necessarily in reaction to behaviors for which one feels guilty, but from a negative self-evaluation of one's core identity. Shame is the emotional experience of self-rejection. The core concern of shame is negative focus on one's notion of self (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Gilbert (2003) found shame reflects concerns for social status and/or inferiority. These can be differentiated as *image shame* versus *moral shame* (Allpress, Brown, Giner-Sorolla, Deonna, & Teroni, 2014). Image shame reflects a fear of social rejection that is experienced

as embarrassment or fear of humiliation, while moral shame is a rejection of self based on perceived personal inadequacies.

Shame, as a construct, is often described in contrast to guilt; they may be thoughts of as two sides to the same coin. One theoretical model differentiates shame and guilt by *self-behavior* distinctions (Branscombe, Slugoski, & Kappen, 2004; Lewis, 1971; Tangney, 1996; Tangney & Dearing, 2002; Tracy & Robins, 2004). Those experiencing guilt may think, "I did a bad *behavior*," but those more prone to shame may think, "I am bad." The distinction is subtle, however, guilt prone reactions to a bad behavior is to correct the behavior or make restitution. Once restitution is made, guilt abates. For a person experiencing shame, restitution may not be as readily made because it would not make a difference in whether or not they feel like a bad person. If guilt is absent, shame may have unique negative consequences (Tangney, Youman, & Stuewig, 2009) because there is no opportunity for restitution offered by guilt induced behaviors. Shame proneness relies on internal (and unstable, according to Cohen, Wolf, Panter & Insko, 2011), attributions about one's behaviors as evidence of their personal deficits (Tracy & Robins, 2004). Teroni and Deonna (2008) suggested shame stems from a general failure to live up to one's core values; when people see their own behaviors or traits as undermining one of their identity defining values, they may experience themselves as deeply flawed.

Another theoretical model rooted in anthropology (Benedict, 1946) proposes that shame and guilt are experienced depending on whether or not a misdeed is known versus kept secret. Private trespasses are likely to elicit guilt, but publicly exposed trespasses elicit feelings of shame (Combs, Campbell, Jackson, & Smith, 2010; Smith Webster, Parrott & Eyre, 2002). In this theory, guilt is associated with violating conscience while shame is the feeling that happens when one is on public display. Shame has been more strongly correlated with low self-esteem

following public transgressions than private (Stuewig et al., 2010; Tangney & Dearing, 2002); however, Tangney (1996; see also: Tangney, 2003; Tangney & Dearing, 2002; Tangney et al., 2007) argues the association between shame and publicity is not exclusive, citing a systematic analysis of shame and guilt triggers which revealed that both guilt and shame are experienced in the presence of others, and vice versa (Tangney et al., 1994). In Spanish, however, the words for *shame* and *embarrassment* are the same: *vergüenza*. On a cultural-linguistic level, Spanish speakers may be more likely to associate shame with social scrutiny that comes with public embarrassment because the word is the same.

Yet another relevant construct of shame that may be especially relevant to sexual minority populations is *vicarious shame*. Shame is a group-based emotion which people can experience for the behavior of others, regardless of how they themselves behave (Welten et al., 2012). One explanation is that vicarious shame is felt due to social identity threat. Social groups that people belong to, and identify with, can shape our self-image (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). When this is the case, emotions can be experienced on behalf of others belonging to the same group. (Mackie, Silver, & Smith, 2004). Group-based emotions are a result of appraisals of behaviors on a group level; (Branscombe & Doosje, 2004; Iyer & Leach, 2008; Smith, 1993). This happens when contextual factors make group identities salient (Brown & Turner, 1981; Tajfel, 1978), and attributes or experiences of the group can become absorbed through *self-stereotyping* (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987).

Shame Proneness. Shame proneness refers to one's personal inclination to react to mistakes with feelings of shame. People who experience shame do not go through life in a constant state of shame; rather, when they encounter emotional-relevant situations, people high in shame proneness are inclined to respond with internalized negativity (Tangney, Youman, & Stuewig,

2009). Shame has generally been categorized by researchers as a maladaptive emotion which leads to self-defensive and avoidant reactions (Allpress et al., 2014; Roseman, Wiest, & Swartz, 1994; Smith et al., 2002; Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996). Common responses to shame are social withdrawal, avoidance, anger, and blame (Kaufman, 1996; Lewis, 1971; Lutwak, Panish, & Ferrari, 2003; Tangney & Dearing, 2002; Tangney & Fisher, 1995; Tangney et al., 1992). Shame proneness has been associated with a number of psychological symptoms (Harder, 1995; Harder et al., 1992; Harder & Lewis, 1987; Kugler & Jones, 1992; Meehan et al., 1996; Tangney, Youman, & Stuewig, 2009), including low self-efficacy (Covert, Tangney, Maddux, & Heleno, 2003), depression (Feiring et al., 2002; Hoblitzelle, 1989; Tangney & Dearing, 2002), anxiety, eating-disorder symptoms, post-traumatic stress disorder, and suicidal ideation. Shame has also been implicated in increased rates of interpersonal anxiety (Lutwak & Ferrari, 1997; Lopez et al., 1997; Lutwak & Ferrari, 1997), fear of intimacy (Lutwak et al., 2003), insecure attachment styles (Lopez et al., 1997), and interpersonal isolation (Hill et al., 1993; Macdonald & Morley, 2001). Shame proneness also has been associated with increased rates of substance use and abuse (Meehan et al., 1996; O'Connor, Berry, Inaba, Weiss, & Morrison, 1994). One study found adolescents scoring high in shame tended to start drinking earlier and were more likely to later abuse narcotics (Tangney, Stuewig, Kendall, Reinsmith, & Dearing, 2005).

Low self-esteem is more likely to be linked to shame than guilt (Tangney & Dearing, 2002), and shame is not associated with empathic concern for others. Instead, shame is positively correlated with problematic self-oriented personal distress (Tangney et al., 2007), meaning the self-focusing nature of shame and sense of inferiority may allow little processing room for empathy toward others. People experiencing shame report feeling burdensome, worthless, powerless or small, and fearful of having one's defects exposed (Tangney, Youman, & Stuewig, 2009).

Among sexual minorities, Sherry (2007) found secure attachment was negatively correlated with shame proneness, while fearful and preoccupied attachment were positively correlated to shame proneness.

Shame has been found to be differentially related to a number of constructs (Tangney et al., 2009). For example, men's anger has been found to mediate between shame and psychological abuse in intimate relationships (Harper et al., 2005). It has also been found to mediate the effects of maladaptive perfectionism on depression (Ashby, Rice & Martin, 2006). Shame, fear, guilt and sadness are the basis of mental health issues such as depression and anxiety, which are common among Mexican gay men (Granados & Delgado, 2007; Ortiz-Hernández, 2005).

Summary

Opposition for sexual minorities in Mexico may be caused by 3 dominant norms: 1) heterosexism, the belief that homosexuality is deviant or of lesser quality than heterosexuality; 2) adherence to gender stereotypes; and, 3) androcentrism, which is a belief in the supremacy of the masculine over the feminine (Ortiz-Hernández, 2005). Each of these norms is expressed in some degree by attitudes associated with *traditional machismo*. *Traditional machismo* is a term used to describe the negative characteristics associated with masculinity, traditionally ascribed to *machismo*. Such attitudes among the general population certainly contribute toward discrimination against sexual minorities, but also put sexual minorities at risk for experiencing high levels of internal gender role conflict. Gender role conflict is an inner turmoil experienced by men when they feel unable to adhere to culturally acceptable gender roles which often results in higher levels of stress, substance abuse, risky sexual behaviors, and violence. Gender role conflict is more likely to be experienced by predominantly masculine men and reflects a striving toward masculine ideals.

Both traditional machismo and gender role conflict have been associated with numerous behavioral problems; and both, along with sexuality, have been associated with high risk, maladaptive coping behaviors and poor mental health. Shame proneness as a construct is the likelihood of a person to respond to personal shortcomings or errors with thoughts and feelings of self rejection. Shame proneness has been associated with numerous maladaptive behaviors and poor mental health. Using shame proneness as an outcome measure, we may be able to determine the effect of traditional machismo on gender role conflict, and how they both relate to shame proneness experienced among sexual minority men. It is a hypothesis of this study that attitudes associated with traditional machismo are mediated by the effects of gender role conflict as related to shame proneness. A second hypothesis is that gender role conflict similarly mediates shame proneness in sexual minority men.

If the hypotheses are supported it will provide evidence that social pressures to adhere to traditionally masculine gender roles has a greater impact on the mental health of male sexual minorities than does the contribution of *traditional machismo* or sexual identity alone.

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