Negotiating Norms, Challenging Stigmas: Athletes' Management of Gender, Sexuality, and Emotion on and off the Field

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ABSTRACT

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Sport participation can be psychologically and socially damaging to athletes. Although sport is a major cultural force often correlated with socially positive aspects and benefits such as elevated self-esteem, academic success, and financial rewards, sport can also be a socially constructed site where individuals often feel pressured to conform to dominant gender and, by extension, sexual norms. Athletes often find themselves negotiating norms and challenging stigmas where gender and sexuality are concerned as they endeavour to fashion identities that will be deemed acceptable to the culture in which they find themselves. This dissertation outlines a study conducted to explore the complex symbolic significance attributed to the construction and performance of various male and female identities in the world of sports. In particular, it will examine the relationship between the sportsworld, as a social construct, and the subsequent pressure of the dominant gender/sexual norms. Questionnaires were handed out to fourteen different Canadian university sports teams (N=261) as part of a research project with the overarching objective of identifying the ways in which athletes cope with social stigmas, manage gender and sexuality identities and emotions, and achieve social conformity. With this in mind, the athletes were asked a range of questions, most of which focused on the following themes: athletic characteristics, coping strategies, emotions, and sexual orientation. This dissertation will offer a synopsis of the data and findings. It will conclude by discussing key limitations that have been identified over the course of the research and by suggesting topics requiring further investigation.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO GENDER AND SEXUALITY MODELS AND THE MANAGEMENT OF ATHLETIC IDENTITIES AND EMOTIONS

Sport is a "major global, cultural, and economic force" (Meân & Kassing, 2008, p. 128). Sport participation is often correlated with physical self-efficacy, positive body image, high self-esteem, peer acceptance, and academic success (Leaper & Friedman, 2007); with social status, healthy exercise, bodily empowerment, self-confidence, and occasionally money (Messner, 2007); and with teamwork and cooperation (Anderson, 2009). However, it is also a gendered institution (Messner, 1992) and a socially and culturally constructed arena which tends to reflect and reproduce narrow "attitudes, beliefs, rituals, and values" (Ross & Shinew, 2007, p. 42). Similarly, gender is a social construction that constitutes men as masculine and women as feminine (Caudwell, 1999). In other words, masculinity and femininity tend to be seen as "sex-specific and sex-appropriate personality traits that [are] expressed behaviourally" (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009, p. 278). Gender constructs offer a lens through which we filter the world; we associate different values, expectations, and skills with gender-typed practices, tasks, and activities (Leaper & Friedman, 2007; Koivula, 1995). Furthermore, we associate different normative expectations with men's and women's displays of behaviour, desires, and feelings. In other words, the construction of gender involves the creation of conventional norms and traditional stereotypes that become linked to men and women in a variety of important ways (Ross & Shinew, 2007; Malcom, 2001). This argument is particularly relevant to the field of sports where male and female athletes are expected to participate in gender appropriate sports while displaying so-called suitable, normative gender behaviours; "practices of ... sport have a rich history of harbouring clear distinctions

between what it means to be masculine and feminine" (Hickey, 2008, p. 147). On the other hand, through human interaction, human beings have the ability to create and re-create, act, resist and rework frameworks of gender (Anderson, 2007; Butler, 1990, 1993, 2004), and so male and female athletes find themselves negotiating social norms and managing social stigmas as they endeavour to fashion gender self-identities that will be deemed acceptable to the culture in which they find themselves (Goffman, 1963; Broad, 2001; Anderson, 2005).

In the words of Australian sociologist R.W. Connell (1995): "being a man or a woman means enacting a general set of expectations which are attached to one's sex" (p. 22). Many scholars have noted that femininity tends to be associated with traits including passivity, submission, nurturance, compassion, and dependency (Leaper & Friedman, 2007; Koivula, 1995) while power, authority, activity, aggression, and autonomy, independence, self-confidence, and assertiveness have been associated with masculinity (Ostrow, Jones, & Spiker, 1981; Connell, 1987; Koivula, 1995; Leaper & Friedman, 2007). Consequently, our beliefs about gender and gender attributes (i.e., characteristics of masculinity or femininity) are constituted in oppositional terms (Fausto-Sterling, 2000) which explains why "the meanings of sports differ for men and women" (Harry, 1995, p. 115).

An important myth about sport or the sportsworld is that it creates "an escape from the pressures and problems of everyday life" (Messner, 1992, p. 9), a space for "voluntary expression of freedom, creative mastery, enjoyment self-awareness, and human development" (Gruneau, 1983, p. 23) and individual "expressions of agency"

(Horne, Jary, & Tomlinson, 1987, p. 105). According to influential sports educator Pat Griffin (1995), sport has five functions;

> a) defining and reinforcing traditional conceptions of masculinity, b) providing a context for acceptable and safe male bonding and intimacy, c) establishing status among other males, d) reinforcing male privilege and perceptions of female inferiority and e) reifying heterosexuality. (p. 54-55)

While sport may provide individuals with feelings of belonging, a place where they can be themselves, it can also be a socially constructed site where individuals often feel pressured to conform to dominant gender and, by extension, sexual norms (Eng, 2006; Leaper & Friedman, 2007). Contrary to many of the positive outcomes we believe emerge from sport, it is also a contested social terrain which often denies "human freedom and human creative capacities" (Gruneau, 1983, p. 23). According to American sociologist Eric Anderson (2009), sport participation can be psychologically and socially damaging to athletes. The sportsworld according to Anderson is a near-total institution (as opposed to Goffman's [1961] definition of a total-institution). Athletes usually have the agency to quit sports, but are also usually put into ranks and divisions, are dressed in uniform, and are obliged to follow orders (Anderson, 2009). Athletes can suffer from identity tensions and can find themselves negotiating or managing their athletic and masculine or feminine identities along culturally and socially constructed norms in order to achieve social conformity. Within these attempts, emotions fulfill social functions by regulating behaviour and sustaining moral rules (Armon-Jones, 1988). According to Norbert Elias (1982), because of cultural and social values, some emotions are identified as appropriate and others as inappropriate. Consequently, an individual must practice self-control and constraint and manage their emotions through self-transformation to

achieve social conformity according to identity and behavioural expectations (Hochschild, 2003; de Courville Nicol, 2011).

It is important to introduce a better understanding of issues related to gender and sexuality in different fields of sociology, whether in sociology of sport or sociology of emotions. The interrelation between these topics is ever-present in contemporary society. By working with and testing innovative frameworks, new and important concepts and ideas related to emotions and to gender and sexuality in sport will be explored in this study (Anderson, 2009; de Courville Nicol, 2011). First, this study will investigate the changing pressures placed on male and female athletes to conform to strict definitions of masculinity and femininity in the sportsworld. It will explore the significant transition of values and traditions within the sportsworld using Eric Anderson's (2009) theory of inclusive masculinity which is characterised by various masculinities, femininities, and sexualities, social inclusion, and acceptance. Anderson's claims will be tested to see whether they are borne out in Canada. More specifically, it is important to find out whether Canadian university-attending male athletes attempt to conform to a hegemonic or inclusive model of masculinity, whether female athletes attempt to conform to normative gender and sexuality norms using apologetic or unapologetic strategies, and whether homophobia is still present in team sport-related settings. Second, this study will explore the different physical, behavioural, and emotional characteristics a typical athlete should possess. Male and female athletes' perceptions of their own characteristics and of each other's characteristics will be examined. Third, this study attempts to gain an understanding of the relationship between different strategies of identity and emotion management in sport-related contexts. By using Hochschild's (2012) emotion

management theory and de Courville Nicol's (2011) embodied in/capacity theory including the notions of the moral experience of emotions, of emotion management, and of social conformity, this study seeks to establish a link between male and female athletes' identity and emotion management strategies. This paper will explore the idea that because men and women use different strategies to manage their gender and sexuality identities in a sport-related context, they also use different strategies to perform moral self-control and manage their emotions within this context. More specifically, de Courville Nicol's framework and concepts will be applied to a new object; which to say, that of the sportsworld. It is important to gain an understanding of the relationship between different strategies of identity and emotion management in a sport-related context, with a special emphasis on gender and sexuality. Finally, as this paper discusses the noteworthy identity-related shifts in the culture of sports and focuses on the lack of literature regarding identity and emotion managing strategies, it will expose the complex symbolic significance of sport in the construction and management of various male and female identities and emotions and answers the question; how do athletes negotiate norms and manage social stigmas of gender and sexuality and what strategies of identity and emotion management do they use to construct their athletic identities?

Chapter 1
REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND CONTEXT

According to symbolic interactionist Erving Goffman (1963), when strangers come into our presence, we tend to categorize them. First appearances enable us to assign specific categories and attributes to different people. In other words, we very quickly stereotype or profile strangers we meet in order to make sense of who they are and how to relate to them. When a stranger exhibits an attribute that diverges from our normative expectation of who he/she is or how he/she should behave, this attribute becomes what Goffman identifies as a *stigma* (or a "failing, a shortcoming, a handicap" [p. 12]). For the purposes of this research, and following a distinction between the transgression of social imperatives and the failure to meet social ideals in stigma production (de Courville Nicol, 2011), stigma therefore results from perceived transgression of a boundary or failure to meet elevated standards of socially normative forms of gender and sexuality on the part of athletes.

1.1 Sport Participation

Sport for boys can be a "chance for openness, expression, and intimacy", a place where they, can be themselves, but it can also create a space of "loneliness, shame, and vicious competition" (Pollack, 1998, p. 272). Sociologist Eric Anderson (2005) argues that the institution of sport produces an exclusive and orthodox form of masculinity; boys and men in the sportsworld are expected to follow and display normative and traditional masculine behaviours related to this form of masculinity. More specifically, sport has

been an apprenticeship in masculinity, an initiation to manhood, an obligation boys and men must fulfill, and "the leading definer of masculinity" (Connell, 1995, p. 54; Pronger, 1990). Consequently, the male athlete most often has to manage and perform his identity in relation to a hypermasculine, hyperheterosexual athletic model. If he conforms to this hypermasculine, hyperheterosexual model, he is an ideal athlete. On the other hand, if he fails to conform to this model, he might not be considered an ideal athlete and may be stigmatized as unmasculine, feminine, and homosexual.

For women, sport participation is often considered abnormal because it is strongly associated with prevailing conceptions of masculinity (Blinde & Taub's, 1992b; Leaper & Friedman, 2007). When women participate in sports, they are entering a setting for ideal masculine identities to unfold. The female athlete most often has to manage and perform her identity in relation to a masculine, athletic model. If she fails to conform to this masculine model, she might not be considered an ideal athlete. On the other hand, if she conforms to this ideal masculine athletic model, she can be stigmatized as masculine and lesbian. As a result, "women athletes are denied the opportunity 'to be themselves' and may fall victim to feelings of alienation as they attempt to disassociate from their athletic identities, bodies, and emotions" (Blinde & Taub, 1992a, p. 164). Unfortunately, these conceptions have created struggle within the construction and management of athletic self-identities and emotions.

1.1.1 MEN IN SPORT.

Boys' and men's participation in sports demands that male athletes construct, perform, and manage identities that agree with dominant discourses and respected images

of sport masculinities; "it is here that many boys are exposed to 'lessons' on how to get back up after being knocked down, how to express themselves physically, how to impose themselves forcefully, how to mask pain and how to follow team rules" (Hickey, 2008, p. 148). More specifically, male athletes have to fashion "hypermasculine" (Paechter, 2006, p. 47) and "hyperheterosexual" (Anderson, 2005, p. 26) athletic identities against feared stigmas of femininity and homosexuality. According to Goffman (1963), shame can be a central possibility when an actor realizes they possess a stigma. The actor must therefore "manage" the information they receive from others about their failing(s) and decide "to display or not to display; to tell or not to tell; to let on or not to let on; to lie or not to lie; and in each case, to whom, how, when, and where" (Goffman, 1990, p. 57). In other words, the actor may directly attempt to correct their failing. According to Kimmel (as cited in Brod & Kaufman, 1994), other males "watch us, rank us, grant our acceptance into the realm of manhood" (p. 128) and so male athletes are expected "to demonstrate their masculinity off as well as on the field" (McKay, Messner, & Sabo, 2000). Furthermore, Kimmel argues that "manhood becomes a lifelong quest to demonstrate its achievement" (as cited in Brod & Kaufman, 1994, p. 127). As a result, boys and men have to avoid behaviours that are associated with femininities or homosexual masculinities (like giving up [Knoppers & Anthonissen, 2005]) and employ different identity management strategies.

Accordingly, heterosexuality becomes a requirement for manliness and those who do not conform, are often stigmatized as homosexual and may experience homophobia—or, "the irrational fear or intolerance of homosexuality" (Messner, 1992, p. 34; Plummer, 1999). According to Messner (1992), boys learn at a young age that it is unacceptable to

be suspected of being gay or to be unable to prove one's heterosexuality. American sociologist Michael Kimmel (2007) characterizes homophobia as "organizing . . . our cultural definition of manhood" (p. 214). In other words, homophobia enforces "compulsory heterosexuality" (Rich, 1980) on men which has been described as a "socially constructed political institution" (Halbert, 1997, p. 17) which organizes social relations and enforces heterosexuality (Cox & Thompson, 2000). Because sports "serve as the center of masculine production for all boys and men in Western culture" (Messner, 2002 as cited in Adams, Anderson & McCormack, 2010, p. 281), homosexuality and athletics represent "contradictory attitudes to masculinity" (Pronger, 1990, p. 2). Male homosexuality, according to Eric Anderson (2005) is in contemporary Western culture "synonymous with physical weakness and emotional frailty" (p. 13). Homosexual relations, therefore, are a violation masculinity and consequently, boys and men fear being labelled homosexual, fear being labelled "a fairy, a wuss, of a fag, of being perceived as feminine" (Pollack, 1998, p. 185). As a result, homophobia becomes a "powerful political weapon of sexism", and gender regulation, in general in boys' and men's sport (Griffin, 1992, p. 252).

According to public health expert David Plummer (1999), young boys in his study on the development, meanings, and significances of homophobia identified two common methods used to manage homophobic harassment: (1) concealment of the "authentic" self; and (2) social withdrawal (p. 73). These strategies involve "being tough, restraining emotions, withholding intimacy, taking risks, and 'proving one's self'" (p. 220). Furthermore, boys learn to police themselves and "the boundaries of acceptable manhood acts" (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009, p. 288) and surveil their behaviours at a young age.

According to sociologists Adi Adams, Eric Anderson, and Mark McCormack (2010), male athletes also police the sexual and gendered lives of other male athletes. This strategy includes subordinating other athletes through physical dominance and ridicule and by using emasculating and homosexualizing nicknames such as "sissies" (Kimmel as cited in Brod & Kaufman, 1994) or "fags" (Plummer, 1999). Homophobia therefore plays a big role in policing male athletes' behaviours. It is most often used to "police gender transgressions" (Davison & Frank, 2006, p. 182) or as this study will demonstrate, to police the inability to meet social standards. The strategy of social withdrawal confirms Goffman's (1963) argument that "the tendency for stigma to spread from a stigmatized individual to his close connections provides a reason why such relations tend to be either avoided or to be terminated" (p. 30). Another identity management strategy used by male athletes is performing exaggerated masculine behaviours and attitudes (i.e., hypermasculinity) and exaggerated forms of heterosexual masculinity (i.e., hyperheterosexuality) such as strength, power, aggression, and violence (Wellard, 2009; Kimmel, 2007; Pronger, 1990). Furthermore, men also sexually objectify women, use "anti-women kind of humour" (Pringle & Hickey, 2010, p. 127; Anderson, 2005), participate in public discussions of sexual conquests, and engage in homophobic talk (Anderson, 2005). These strategies are demonstrated to prove hypermasculinity and hyperheterosexuality, and to suggest that there is but one type or kind of masculinity to be enacted: hegemonic masculinity.

1.1.2 WOMEN IN SPORT.

Preconceptions of masculinity are strongly associated with athleticism (Blinde &

Taub, 1992a) and preconceptions of femininity are strongly associated with heterosexuality (Griffin, 1992; Cox & Thompson, 2000). According to American sociologist Joseph Harry (1995), women who commit to sport wholeheartedly often have their sexualities questioned; "women who participate in physically rough and high-risk sport are still commonly seen as 'unfeminine' and their (hetero)sexuality is often considered suspect" (Davison & Frank, 2006, p. 180). When discussing athletics, sport is a social context where masculinity and homosexuality is exaggerated by stigmatizing masculine female athletes as gay (Eng, 2006); "those [women] who did excel within the doctrine of *strongest, hardest, fastest* ran a high risk of having their identity masculinised and ridiculed" (Hickey, 2008, p. 150). In other words, the social stigma of homosexuality female athletes experience comes from the idea that "sports are masculine; therefore, women in sports are masculine; therefore, women in sports are lesbians" (Brownsworth, 1991 as cited in Broad, 2001, p. 182). Subsequently, assumptions and expectations based on gender and sexuality are reinforced in the world of sports and constrain female athletes' identity performances (Ross & Shinew, 2007).

Women who fail to conform to expected gender-typed behaviours, are most often stigmatized and labeled as masculine, deviant (Blinde & Taub, 1992a, 1992b), unwomanly, unfeminine (Messner, 1992) and as "mannish [lesbians]" (Griffin, 1992, p. 252; Messner, 1992, p. 17). According to Michael Messner (2007), women's participation in sports is "contested ideological terrain" (p. 32); female athletes are faced with the complex task of balancing the requirements of masculinised sports with the expectations of dominant feminine ideals and the display of "compulsory heterosexuality" (Rich, 1980). Consequently, homophobia becomes what American

education researcher Pat Griffin (1992), calls a "weapon of sexism" (p. 252) which maintains the heterosexist status quo on female sport teams.

Women's participation in sports challenges the traditional conceptualizations of femininity and threatens definitions of masculinity; as a result, female athletes attempt to combine two culturally contradictory social identities of being a *woman* and being an *athlete* (Oglesby, 1978; Kolnes, 1995; Clasen, 2001). A few appropriate or acceptable sports for women include skating, skiing, and dance because they are pleasing to watch and do not involve bodily contact (Engel, 1994). In addition, women who participate in team sports such as field hockey, football, and basketball (which mandate masculine strength, bodily contact, and aggression) are commonly stigmatized as masculine and, by extension, lesbian (Ostrow, Jones, & Spiker, 1981; Blinde & Taub, 1992a; Engel, 1994). Hence, female athletes often employ techniques or strategies to either minimize or maximize their deviance from ideal female characteristics and manage discrediting attributes of masculinity and homosexuality. In other words, female athletes often negotiate "a gendered identity with a sexual identity with an athletic identity" (Adams, Schmitke & Franklin, 2005, p. 27) and attempt to fashion their feminine and heterosexual identities by negotiating or challenging masculine and homosexual stigmas and avoiding gender transgressions.

1.1 Emotions and Emotion Management

> *There is agency in this process; people are not passively shaped by their social environment. As recent feminist analyses have pointed out, girls and women are implicated in the creation of their own identities and personalities, both in terms of how they participate in their own subordination and how they resist. Yet this*

> *self-construction is not a fully conscious process. There are also deeply-seated, unconscious motivations, fears, and anxieties at work. So, too, in the development of masculinity.* (Messner, 1992, p. 21)

Emotions are present in all aspects of social life, including sports. Much of the research on emotions in sport revolves around athletes', coaches', and the fans' emotions in relation to sport performance. According to renowned Olympic advisor, researcher, and teacher Yuri Hanin (2000), "emotional phenomena play an important part in sport and exercise from both an intra- and an interpersonal perspective" (p. 3). Moreover, research tends to focus on athletes' performance anxiety, coaches' frustrations, or fans' happiness or sadness toward a game won or lost. The research on emotions in sport tends to focus on emotions such as anger, anxiety, aggression, sadness, joy, pride, success, fatigue, pain, and pride (Hanin, 2000). Cognitive/appraisal theories which argue that how one appraises a situation determines the emotions experienced have been developed and explored within sports (see Arnold's Appraisal Theory, 1960, 1968, 1970a, 1970b, Arnold & Gasson, 1954; Weiner's Attributional Theory of Emotion, 1985, The Intuitive-Reflective Appraisal Model by Vallerand, 1987; Smith's Sport Performance Anxiety Model, 1996 as cited in Hanin, 2000). In addition, goal and motivational theories which suggest that goals and motivation play an important role in producing emotions have been developed and explored as well (see Madler, 1984; Ortony et al. 1988 as cited in Hanin, 2000). Although these theories describe the presence of emotions in sports, there is a lack of research on emotions in sports in relation to identity performances. Athletes not only have to perform their athletic identities and manage their emotions in relation to the game

they play, but they must also constantly manage and perform appropriate and conforming gender and sexuality identities and emotions within the sportsworld.

Although not specifically discussed, much of the literature on identity construction refers to emotions men and women experience when managing social stigmas. A few representative examples are: female athletes might ***fear*** losing social approval (Griffin, 1992); boys and men might ***fear*** being labeled homosexual as well as being labeled "a fairy, a wuss, of a fag, of being perceived as feminine" (Pollack, 1998, p. 185); female athletes might have to manage high levels of ***anxiety*** from the inner conflict between their athletic and feminine identities and roles (Oglesby, 1978; Del Rey, 1978; Theberge, 1985; Cox & Thompson, 2000); and a boy is likely to feel "...an ***anxiety*** which frequently expresses itself in over-straining to be masculine" (Hartley, 1959 as cited in David & Brannon, 1976, p. 14). Furthermore, according to Goffman (1963), ***shame*** can be a central possibility when an actor realizes they possess stigma. Sport can also create a space of "***loneliness***, ***shame***, and vicious competition" (Pollack, 1998, p. 272). To better account for the role of emotional experience in the formation and management of self-identities, the concept of emotional norm-pairs developed by Canadian sociologist de Courville Nicol (2011) is adopted. Furthermore, emotions and emotion management are also made sense of in terms of their social function in processes of identity management.

The formation and management of self-identities can be linked to the experience of emotions. According to anthropologist Claire Armon-Jones (1988), emotions have social functions. Emotions "sustain and endorse cultural systems of beliefs and value" (p.57). They also represent the social values of a society which are then internalized by

individuals. Once internalized, appropriate or inappropriate emotions can be felt and displayed or performed as "emotives" (a concept used by historian and cultural anthropologist William Reddy [1999] which identifies a special class of utterance constituted of emotion claims) by agents in relevant, specific social and moral contexts. In other words, individuals' attitudes, behaviours, and social practices can be regulated along particular social norms through emotional means (Armon-Jones, 1988).

According to American social scientist Deborah Gould (2001), emotional dynamics not only have social functions, but also have political and ethical implications. Gould analyzes lesbians' and homosexual men's struggle for social inclusion in the 1980's and the emotional ambivalence they experienced in a heteronormative society due to the AIDS epidemic. One the one hand, Gould explains how lesbian and homosexual individuals experienced shame, self-hatred, and fear due to the AIDS epidemic, but also experienced self-pride and anger. The repression of anger for the sake of pride, which "came to designate avoidance rather than confrontation" (de Courville Nicol, 2011, p. 137), was mobilized in response to this emotional ambivalence and shaped the focus and form of AIDS activism. In other words, Gould demonstrates the ways in which emotions and their expression shape individuals' responses toward certain experiences and how ambivalence is managed by setting rules and norms about emotions. The same thing can be said about gender and sexuality identity performances; contemporary society sustains specific, gender oriented, social and cultural norms and moral expectations and once internalized, men and women may perform and manage their gender and sexuality identities in ways deemed to be either socially appropriate or inappropriate.

According to sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild (2003), author of *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*, individuals engage in emotion management or emotion work through surface and deep acting. Hochschild (2003) defines surface acting as when individuals' expressions, body postures or gestures are 'put on' and not a part of their selves and where "the body, not the soul, is the main tool of trade" (p. 37). In other words, surface acting is when "the action is in the body language, the put-on sneer, the posed shrug, the controlled sigh" (p. 35). On the other hand, deep acting is a direct way of "exhorting feeling" (p. 38) where individuals do not necessarily think about their actions or emotion displays as acting. Within deep acting, Hochschild (2003) maintains that we sometimes "try to stir up a feeling we wish we had, and at other times we try to block or weaken a feeling we wish we did not have" (p. 43). Similar to identity management, Hochschild (2003) makes clear that individuals manage their emotions (whether by using surface or deep acting) alongside socially constructed scripts or what she calls "feeling rules" which "guide emotion work by establishing the sense of entitlement or obligation that governs emotional exchanges" (p. 56).

Hochschild's (2003) concept of feeling rules can be linked to Armon-Jones' (1988) idea that emotions have social functions. Hochschild (2003) states that there are "rules or norms according to which feelings may be judged appropriate to accompanying events" (p. 59). A "feeling rule" or "script or a moral stance toward [feeling]" (p. 56) has the social function of representing social values which once internalized by individuals, lead to the display and performance of appropriate or inappropriate emotions in different social and moral contexts. Similarly, social gender or sexuality scripts or schemas, once internalized by individuals, lead to the display and performance of appropriate or

inappropriate identities. Just like men and women's managed gender and sexuality identities can be identified as appropriate or inappropriate in a sport- related context, emotions or displays of emotions can also be identified as appropriate or inappropriate; "a feeling itself, and not simply the way it is displayed on face and body, can be experienced as misfitting a situation" (p. 63). Furthermore, just like there might be social sanctions or punishment for inappropriate identity performances, there exists "sanctions common on the social scene- cajoling, chiding, teasing, scolding, shunning- [that] often come into play as forms of ridicule or encouragement that lightly correct feeling and adjust it to convention" when there is an apparent "gap" between an expected "ideal feeling" and an "actual feeling" (Hochschild, 2003, p. 58-59, 61). This idea of an expected ideal feeling can be linked to the ideal gender and sexuality identities or roles expected of male and female athletes.

Male and female athletes' sexuality identities have been associated with a fear in our society about sport encouraging, promoting, or even generating homosexuality (Knight & Giuliano, 2003). According to sport sociologists Annelies Knoppers and Anton Anthonissen (2005), men are confronted by homophobia based on the idea that men who play sports are without doubt heterosexual. According to psychologists Jennifer Knight and Traci Giuliano (2003), female athletes continue to be confronted by homophobia based on the idea that all women who play sports are lesbians. Stigmatizing female athletes, masculine or not, as lesbians and male athletes who are 'discovered' to be or experience themselves as being homosexual can negatively affect individuals' self-concepts; social stigmas most often result from a perceived transgression of a boundary or failure to meet standards of normative forms of gender and sexuality on the part of

athletes and feelings of discomfort, anxiety, loathing, and fear can therefore arise (Caudwell, 1999).

According to Armon-Jones (1988), fear has an instrumental role in regulating a variety of attitudes such as jealousy, guilt, and shame. Due to the possible gender and sexuality stigmas placed upon athletes, fear can explain certain feelings of insecurity or shame male and female athletes can experience when managing their identities and emotions. By performing masculinities, femininities or sexualities that are not socially conforming, athletes may feel shame or insecurity, may fear punishment such as ridicule or exclusion for managing their identities and emotions incorrectly, or may fear humiliation or loss of integrity. In any case, different expected gender and sexuality identities (or social roles) can establish different feeling rules for male and female athletes. Consequently, male and female athletes might need to manage their emotions accordingly.

According to Hochschild (2003):

> A social role- such as that of bride, wife, or mother [or athlete]- is partly a way of describing what feelings people think are owed and are owing. A role establishes a baseline for what feelings seem appropriate to a certain series of events. When roles change, so do rules for how to feel and interpret events. (p. 74)

Hochschild argues that social roles represent a baseline for defining some feelings and emotions as appropriate and others as inappropriate in different social contexts. Furthermore, Hochschild argues that "both men and women do emotion work" (p. 162). Although she points out that there is evidence in contemporary society that women express and manage emotions more than men, Hochschild also puts forth the idea that

there is a "difference in the *kind* of emotion work that men and women tend to do" (p. 165, emphasis added) and that "emotion work is important in different ways for men and women" (p. 163). The difference in kind and not in degree of emotion management by men and women might explain the assumption of a gender difference in emotion work. Hochschild illustrates her idea that men and women simply use different emotion management strategies in her book titled *The Second Shift: Working Families and the Revolution at Home* (2012) and investigates the emotion management strategies used among American, heterosexual married couples who share the work of the "second shift".

In this more recent study, Arlie Hochschild and co-author sociologist Anne Machung (2012) investigate the quiet struggle of the second shift in many two-job marriages; that of sharing housework and parenting responsibilities. Husbands' and wives' dissimilar gender ideologies and gendered emotional "feeling rules" create a gender gap and inequality in the performances of household labour; "in some, the surface of a gender ideology strongly conflicted with underlying feelings" (p. 192). Through the use of various case studies and analyses of couples' behaviours, this study reveals a variety of gender emotion management strategies used to cope with unequal loads of household labour. While mothers and wives used strategies of helplessness, of "supermoming", of cutting back on work (domestic or other), childcare, marriage, and personal needs, and of seeking help, fathers and husbands used coping strategies of cooperation or resistance. As Hochschild and Machung (2012) establish the need for interaction between a wife's gender strategy and that of her husband's to resolve the emotional and marital conflict of housework and childcare, the problem of the second

shift, but most importantly, the complex symbolic significance of emotions, feeling rules, and gender are exposed.

In a sports context, while female athletes are often presented as passive and emotional, male athletes are portrayed and perceived as "tough, hard players who rarely express emotions other than aggression and anger and only smile to celebrate victory" (Shaw & Hoeber, 2003 as cited in Klenke, 2011, p. 135). Male athletes often "police the expression of emotion, affirming the principle that boys should not express fear or pain" (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009). This kind of framing, where women are associated with emotions and men as associated with the repression of emotion, causes us to ignore that both men and women must manage emotional experience and expression in a sports context. The literature on emotions and the broader cultural perception of emotional expression tends to ignore this idea precisely because people associate women with emotionality and men with non-emotionality. A new theoretical framework is therefore needed to explore and understand the ways in which male and female athletes experience and manage emotions, namely the ways in which they express or repress these emotions via moral self-control efforts.

Valérie de Courville Nicol is a Canadian sociologist whose research interests revolve around social economies of fear and desire, processes of emotional socialization, emotional regulation, and emotion management, and popular forms of literature that seek to manage the moral dangers associated with immoral experiences of fear or of desire. Influenced by many theorists including American anthropologist William Reddy (1997, 1999), German sociologist Norbert Elias (1978, 1982), British anthropologist Mary Douglas (1966), American sociologist Arlie R. Hochschild (1983), and American

philosopher Noël Carroll (1990), de Courville Nicol develops an innovative approach called embodied in/capacity theory in her book titled *Social Economies of Fear and Desire: Emotional Regulation, Emotion Management, and Embodied Autonomy* (2011). In de Courville Nicol's own words, "embodied in/capacity theory is an attempt to move beyond the opposition between emotions as either biological and natural or social and constructed that has animated much scholarship on the emotions" (p. 5). Through the use of this theory, de Courville Nicol (2011) investigates the interactive and relational processes that govern embodied emotional experience, explores the relationship between emotional experience and agency, and looks into the "features of the emotional economies that structure emotional experience in their relation to the dynamics of emotion management" (p. 2). Applying de Courville Nicol's (2011) embodied in/capacity theory to emotions and emotional expression in sport might explain how emotionality is a gendered form of emotional expression negatively associated with women (i.e., an emotional incapacity) whereas non-emotionality is a form of emotional expression positively associated with men (i.e., an emotional capacity). The issue will be on the one hand, of determining how male athletes may seek to overachieve masculinity as a means of meeting the ideal of hypermasculinity and hyperheterosexuality associated with male athletes (i.e., as more male than other males), and on the other hand, of determining how female athletes may repair the stigmas attached to being in a 'male' role as well as the stigmas attached to being a woman (double stigma) through emotion management.

Chapter 2
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Masculinity Models

2.1.1 THE MALE SEX ROLE.

According to Goffman (1963),

> In an important sense there is only one complete unblushing male in America: a young, married, white, urban, northern, heterosexual, Protestant, father, of college education, fully employed, of good complexion, weight, and height, and ***a recent record in sports*** ... Any male who fails to qualify in any one of these ways is likely to view himself—during moments at least—as unworthy, incomplete, and inferior. (emphasis added, p. 128)

Goffman's athletic "complete unblushing male" can be linked to social scientist and sex role researcher Robert Brannon's work. In 1976, Brannon defined the male sex role using four general themes or dimensions;

1) No sissy stuff: The stigma of all stereotyped feminine characteristics and qualities, including openness and vulnerability.
2) The Big Wheel: Success, status, and the need to be looked up to.
3) The Sturdy Oak: A manly air of toughness, confidence, and self-reliance.
4) Give 'Em Hell!: The aura of aggression, violence, and daring. (p. 12)

These four dimensions set normative expectations for boys and men. From boyhood to manhood, males are taught to be anything but what females are; "a 'real man' must never, never resemble women, or display strongly stereotyped feminine characteristics" (p. 14). For example, while girls and women are permitted and expected to show emotion, Brannon (1976) argues that being emotional or crying is probably the most humiliating behaviour a boy or man can engage in. A young boy then, might feel "an anxiety which

frequently expresses itself in over-straining to be masculine, in virtual panic at being caught doing anything traditionally defined as feminine, and in hostility toward anything even hinting at 'femininity', including females themselves" (Hartley, 1959 as cited in Brannon, 1976, p. 14). After asking young boys what they thought boys have to be able to do, Brannon (1976) recorded the following: "they have to be able to fight ... they have to be athletic ... they have to be able to run fast ... they must be able to play rough games ... they need to know how to play many games- curb ball, baseball, basketball, football..." (p. 238). When the four dimensions of normative masculine expectations are expected within athletics, sport becomes an important institution in the social construction of boyhood and manhood. Brannon's work has been among the most important in social science research on men and masculinity and continues to inform current scholarship on men and masculinity due to the strength and ongoing relevance of its claims. Specifically, Brannon's four rules of masculinity concisely summarize R.W. Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity.

2.1.2 HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY.

Hegemony is a concept popularized by Italian neo-Marxist Antonio Gramsci (1971) which refers to "a particular form of dominance in which a ruling class legitimates its position and secures the acceptance-if not outright support of the classes or archetypes below" (Anderson, 2009, p. 30). Using Gramsci's concept of hegemony, Connell (1983, 1987, 1995) put forth the concept of hegemonic masculinity. According to British sociologist Jeff Hearn (2004), "the first substantial discussion of the idea of 'hegemonic masculinity' was in the paper 'Men's Bodies', written by R.W. Connell in 1979 and

published in *Which Way Is Up?* in 1983" (p. 56). In the book *Masculinities,* Connell (1995) describes hegemonic masculinity as "the culturally idealized form of masculine character" (p. 83). In other words, the hegemonic ideal "sets a standard against which all manhood acts are measured" (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009, p. 286). Furthermore, hegemonic masculinity is strongly linked to "toughness and competitiveness", to the "subordination of women", and to "the marginalization of gay men" (p. 94; McKay, Messner, & Sabo, 2000, p. 149). Namely, hegemonic masculinity is defined "in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to femininities" (Messner, 1992, p. 156; McKay et. al, 2000). Furthermore, hegemonic masculinity is the most dominant form of masculinity ("white, middle-class, heterosexual" [McKay et. al., p. 48]). According to Anderson (2007), attributes of hegemonic masculinity (i.e., "orthodox masculinity") such as strength, masculinity, good looks, and hyperheterosexuality can be found within teamsports (Adams, Anderson & McCormack, 2010, p. 280; Anderson, 2005, 2007, 2009). Consequently, teamsports play an important role "in the construction of hegemonic masculinity, particularly in North America" (Anderson, 2002, 2005, 2007; Messner, 1992, 2002). As a result, when men participate in sport, they are most often imposed an ideal athletic model; that of the hegemonic masculine model.

American communications scholar Nick Trujillo (1991) explains that gender theorists appear to define hegemonic masculinity using five features: "(1) physical force and control, (2) occupational achievement, (3) familial patriarchy, (4) frontiersmanship, and (5) heterosexuality" (p. 291). Consequently, boys or men who do not display these five features are often considered less masculine or unmasculine and therefore, are often labelled or stigmatized as homosexual. A male athlete is therefore held to the standards of

hypermasculinity (Paechter, 2006; Adams, Anderson & McCormack, 2010) and compulsory heterosexuality (Rich, 1980) or hyperheterosexuality (Griffin, 1998; Pronger, 1990, Anderson, 2005) and is expected to enact them at all times. Furthermore, just like sport maintains and reproduces heterosexuality (Davison & Frank, 2006), "heterosexuality maintains [and reproduces] hegemonic dominance in North America" (Anderson, 2007, p. 105). Consequently, a male athlete has to manage and perform a hypermasculine and hyperheterosexual identity opposite to what is considered feminine and in relation to this hegemonic model. Performances of hypermasculinity and hyperheterosexuality, or "heteromasculinity" (Pronger, 1990) are defined by men

> showing overt physical prowess (Messner, 1992), using sexism and femphobia to distance themselves from association with femininity (Pronger, 1990), deploying homophobia to distance themselves from homosexuality (Anderson, 2002), and committing physical violence against themselves and others (Kelly & Waddington, 2006; Parker, 1996). (Adams, Anderson & McCormack, 2010, p. 280)

Furthermore, male athletes must often prove their (hyper)masculinity and (hyper)heterosexuality by avoiding traits such as "compassion, weakness, fear, or the appearance of vulnerability" (Messner, 1992 as cited in Anderson, 2009, p. 34) which are most often associated with women (Kimmel, 1994 as cited in Anderson, 2005). If a male athlete conforms to this hegemonic model, he is an ideal athlete. On the other hand, if he does not conform to this ideal masculine athletic model, he can be stigmatized. This notion of social conformity, according to researchers Kevin Davison and Blye Frank (2006), can create fear in men of "humiliation, exclusion, or the violence of other men if they fail to conform" (p. 188).

It is important to note that Connell (1995) acknowledged the importance of recognizing diversity in masculinities. Consequently, a few years after Connell's work was published, psychologist William Pollack (1998), in his landmark book *Real Boys*, argued that boys are now being pushed towards expressing two diverse and opposing images of masculinity: (1) the traditional image (in which men do not express emotions freely and favor a traditional role toward women); and (2) the egalitarian man or the "new man" who is empathic, egalitarian, and sensitive (p. 147). After having young boys take a test that measures how traditional they were about masculinity and a test that measured their openness to egalitarian ideas, Pollack concluded that the boys felt inconsistent and unclear about their masculinity because they scored high on both tests. He explained: "So when given the opportunity to bare their souls, these adolescent boys, without knowing it, revealed an inner fissure, a split in their sense of what it means to become a man" (p. 166). This reveals conflict or inner turmoil and illustrates the social pressures boys and men feel about their gender and sexuality identities in present-day society. As a solution, Pollack (1998) suggested that scholars create a model of masculinity that was broad and inclusive, one that encouraged boys in all their "interests, relationships, and activities" and supported that there was no "one single way of being 'manly'" (p. 51) or "no singular 'male sex role'" (Connell as cited in Messner, 2007, p. 47). One scholar took up Pollack's challenge: American sociologist Eric Anderson.

2.1.3 INCLUSIVE MASCULINITY.

According to Eric Anderson (2007), there are many studies that illustrate a significant decrease in homophobia in North America, more specifically, among team

sport athletes. Anderson (2007) argues that a more inclusive form of masculinity is growing among "university-aged, White, middle-class men" (p. 106). In his book titled, *Inclusive Masculinity: The Changing Nature of Masculinities,* Anderson (2009) formally introduces this new form of inclusive masculinity.

Anderson (2009) rejects the mythical socially positive (what he calls 'socio-positive') aspects and benefits of sport which include "elevated self-esteem, better school attendance, educational aspirations, higher rates of university attendance and perhaps even post-schooling employment" (p. 53) and argues instead that sport participation is often psychologically and socially damaging to athletes. More precisely, Anderson puts forth that the number one socio-negative aspect of sport is the "masculine ether in which most competitive sports swim" (p. 24); which is to say, that competitive sports impose an ideal and normative masculine athletic model onto athletes.

Anderson (2009) argues that in a culture of diminishing *homohysteria*--which he defines as a "fear of being homosexualized" (p. 7)- men who adhere to an inclusive masculinity "demonstrate emotional and physically homosocial proximity. They include their gay teammates, and are shown to value heterofemininity" (p. 7). In other words, inclusive masculinity "makes masculinity available to gay men—and femininity available to straight men" (Anderson, 2007). What is more in an era of diminished homohysteria, homophobic discourse, control, domination, hierarchy, and hegemony disappear almost entirely. In addition, contrary to men who adhere to hegemonic masculinity and stigmatize or marginalize other masculinities, men who subscribe to inclusive masculinity stigmatize those "who maintain orthodox views of gendered expression among men" (Anderson, 2007, p. 113). Inclusive masculinity therefore encourages multiple

masculinities and discourages "the use of social stigma to police them" (p. 96). In other words, men who adhere to an inclusive form of masculinity are even seen to celebrate expressions of femininity (Anderson, 2007). To support these claims, Anderson conducted a semester-long ethnography of a British high school with one of his graduate students, Mark McCormack.

Mark McCormack (2011) observed that the boys in his study displayed an inclusive version of masculinity. First, there were "various masculine archetypes co-existing without social struggle … and with no one group dominating" (Anderson, 2009, p. 94). Second, homophobia or the use of homophobic discourse was unacceptable. These results contrast what other researchers previously thought "about teamsport athletes exhibiting highly homophobic attitudes" (Anderson, 2007, p. 112). Consequently, in a culture free of homohysteria, Anderson argues that masculinity will no longer be used to stratify men. Furthermore, "differences between masculinity and femininity, men and women, gay and straight, will be harder to distinguish" (p. 9) and therefore lead to a decrease in sexism. Finally, Anderson's arguments are that in an Anglo-American culture where homophobia is on the wane, university-attending, white, middle-class men are losing their orthodox (i.e., hegemonic) gender patterns and as a result, "inclusive masculinities are fast becoming the norm … both inside and outside sport" (p. 76) or on and off the field. Anderson is not insinuating that sport as an institution is free of homophobia, but argues that at this time, men frown upon homophobia, value emotional and physical intimacy, and are not afraid to "display behaviours that were once stigmatized as feminine" (Anderson, 2007; 2009, p. 98).

2.2 Femininity Models

2.2.1 THE APOLOGETIC.

American sociologist and former physical education teacher Jan Felshin (1974) was the first scholar to argue that in order to avoid the social stigma of lesbianism or masculinity, female athletes engage in *apologetic* behaviour;

> The apologetic has been served in countless ways from an insistence on "heels and hose" as an appropriate off-the-court costume to the sacrifice and exile of some women athletes whose non-conforming attitudes or appearance threatened the desired image of femininity. At the least, this point of view accounts for the inordinate attention to how female athletes look and the illogical commentaries on their social and sexual lifestyles. (p. 37)

Women athletes "sometimes 'apologize' for [their] participation in sport by emphasizing femininity" (Davis-Delano, et. al., 2009, p. 131) or performing attributes of hyperfemininity (Paechter, 2006) in attempt to promote a heterosexual image (Broad, 2001; Griffin, 1998). In other words, the female athlete "frequently denies the importance of her athletic endeavors and avows the importance of her appearance and the desire to be attractive" (Felshin, 1974, p. 37). This defensive mechanism is a strategy used to manage female athletes' fears of losing social approval (Griffin, 1992), of being labelled lesbian (Griffin, 1998) or deviant (Blinde & Taub, 1992b), and to manage the high levels of anxiety from the inner conflict between their athletic and feminine identities or between social and personal expectations (Oglesby, 1978; Del Rey, 1978; Theberge, 1985; Cox & Thompson, 2000).

2.2.2 STIGMA MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES.

Sociologists Elaine Blinde and Diane Taub (1992b) developed three stigma management techniques from their interviews with female athletes: (1) *concealment* of information, (2) *deflection* of harmful characteristics, and (3) *normalization* of stigmatized behaviour. Within the first management technique, female athletes concealed information about their athleticism. The women in this study either disassociated themselves from people who were not female athletes (i.e. *self-segregation*), or they withheld information about their athletic status (i.e. *passing*) or finally, they accentuated their femininity using clothing and makeup and disidentified themselves from more seriously stigmatized athletes using "rude comments" and by being "very critical and mean" (p. 529) (i.e. *disidentifiers)*. Female athletes in this study apologized for their sport participation or for their masculine and athletic behaviours by concealing their athletic identities. Within the second management technique of *deflection*, female athletes attempted to accentuate nonsport roles, attributes, and identities such as their student or social role. Finally, within the *normalization* technique, female athletes directly confronted the stigma they experienced. The women did not apologize for their sport participation or for their masculine or athletic behaviours. Instead, female athletes accepted the stereotyped attributes placed upon them so that these attributes would lose their stigmatizing capability. Although many managing and negotiating techniques have been employed by various female athletes, it is important to note that not all female athletes feel the need to or are interested in apologizing for their athleticism while emphasizing normative or traditional behaviours of femininity (Messner, 1988; Nelson, 1991; Wheatley, 1994; Birrell & Cole, 1994; Broad, 2001).

2.2.3 RESISTANCE.

Scholars have looked into the ways female athletes resist or challenge the social stigmas associated with their sport participation (Broad, 2001; Anderson, 2005). Michael Messner (1988) contributed to the literature on women in sports by characterizing their participation as a symbolic resistance to an institution "largely defined by patriarchal priorities" (p. 77). Sport sociologists Susan Birrell and Cheryl L. Cole (1994) argue that sport can be "transformed from a mechanism for the preservation and reproduction of male values to a celebration of feminist alternatives" (p. 242). American sociologist Elizabeth Wheatley (1994) examined gender and sexuality reproduction and resistance in her study of female rugby players. More specifically, Wheatley analyzed men's and women's rugby songs and concluded that, "the women's version of rugby disrupts the male, heterosexual hegemony of the rugby subculture by exposing female physical capability in a typically male enclave, while openly expressing a distinct identity and lifestyle through its social proclivities" (p. 207). Gender studies scholar Kendal Broad (2001) acknowledges that previous literature on women and sports has offered counter-perspectives to the apologetics, but that it fails to explain how women in sports resist heteronormativity.

2.2.4 THE REFORMED APOLOGETIC.

Sports studies scholars Mary Jo Festle (1996) and Nancy Theberge (2000) conducted their own studies on female athletes and argued that women employ the "reformed apologetic" and compensate for participating in sports by "exaggerating their femininity while at the same time embracing their athleticism" (as cited in Malcom, 2003,

p. 1388). In other words, female athletes no longer downplay athleticism or the "masculine, competitive components of their participation in sports" (Adams, Schmitke, & Franklin, 2005, p. 21) while emphasizing their femininity and heterosexuality; they now embrace both identities.

2.2.5 THE UNAPOLOGETIC.

Women's participation in sports is not just a "contested ideological terrain" (Messner, 1988, p. 198), but a "confrontational political" one as well (Broad, 2001, p. 198). According to Broad (2001), some women in sports are able to maintain an athletic identity without using apologetic behaviour; that is, these women do not compensate for their non-normative behaviour and challenge the gender and sexual ideals of society (Malcom, 2001; Broad, 2001). According to Broad's (2001) study on female rugby players, women were not embarrassed or ashamed of transgressing gender boundaries; they rejected the white, middle-class, and U.S. femininity and beauty standards and refused to apologize for their participation in sport. In other words, these athletes challenged heteronormativity through assertions of sexual multiplicity and fluidity by engaging in what she called *unapologetic behaviour.* The unapologetic is comprised of "transgressing gender, destabilizing the heterosexual/homosexual binary, and 'in your face' confrontations of stigma" (p. 182). These female rugby players challenged and resisted normative frameworks of gender through their continued participation in sports. Instead of women "boundary-defenders" (p. 198) who enact an apologetic by willingly conforming to traditional notions of femininity, Broad describes the athletes in her study

as “boundary-strippers” (p. 199) who enact an unapologetic by complicating the categories of womanhood and heterosexuality.

In 2007, counselors Melissa Fallon and LaRae Jome posited three categories of strategies used in negotiating negative gender-role messages related to being a female rugby player. The first strategy was identified as using *influencing messages* where athletes would influence the expectation or the source of the message. In other words, female rugby players either created a support network for themselves (like the rugby community) and found refuge and acceptance, or they sought to prove the source of the message wrong by becoming better athletes, or finally, they created support for rugby by presenting positive information about their sport to their friends and families. This strategy can be categorized as an unapologetic behaviour because athletes who utilize this strategy reach out to others and do not hide or downplay their masculine or athletic behaviours. The second strategy, which can also be categorized as an unapologetic, was identified as *avoiding internal conflict or disapproval.* Female athletes using this strategy either directly disagreed with the message or discredited the source of the message, they either employed an adaptive gender-role schema which meant displaying different behaviours in different contexts, or they accepted limitations by accepting “the idea that they could not fulfill all gender-role expectations” (p. 318). Although these strategies seem to demonstrate female athletes resisting or challenging social stigmas, Fallon and Jome also observed a type of apologetic strategy used which was identified as *accommodation responses*. Similar to the original apologetic strategy and to Blinde and Taub’s (1992b) ‘disidentifiers’, some female athletes in this study used clothing, makeup, and jewelry as a strategy to appear more feminine and accommodate and conform to

gender-role expectations. These findings exemplify how female athletes are still using a variety of identity and stigma management strategies. Whether female athletes experience social stigmas or not and whether they employ apologetic or more unapologetic strategies, both forms of identity management techniques seem to be present in the sportsworld. Further investigation in this area is therefore needed in order to better understand the conditions and contexts in which these strategies are utilized by female athletes to manage their gender, sexuality, and athletic identities.

2.3 Embodied In/capacity Theory: Emotion Management, Emotional-Norm Pairs, and Social Conformity

De Courville Nicol (2011) argues that emotions have "an affective basis and are experienced biographically through embodied subjects' interactions with social and other forces" (p. 6). Emotions are also felt forms of problems we seek to overcome or resolve and consist of "structured urges to confront, to avoid, or to prevent problems" (p. 3). Individuals are motivated by fear (i.e. the urge to avoid anticipated pain) to overcome danger, and they are motivated by desire (i.e. the urge to seek anticipated pleasure) to implement security. This moving away from danger and toward security illustrates subjects' experiences of fear emotions, or felt incapacities, and desire emotions, or felt capacities. Consequently, when social norms make individuals feel responsible for their experiences of suffering and wellbeing, self-fear and self-desire become urges that prompt individuals to overcome moral danger (i.e., "an objectified anticipated pain" [p. 91]) and implement moral security by acting upon their own agency. In other words, when individuals see themselves as responsible for being socially inept or socially transgressive, they see their own agency as an object of transformation in becoming

socially apt or socially obedient. Moral agency is therefore conscious or unconscious, but intentional in self-work. This "responsibilization" (p. 88) means individuals must exercise power over themselves through actions of social conformity, which is "accomplished through the rewarding of certain actions and the punishing of others" (p. 123), and emotion management which refers to any "intention-driven exercise of power over agential means (over cognitive, emotional, biological, sensorial, moral, or behavioral processes)" (p. 114). This, when successfully performed, is referred to as the exercise of moral self-control.

De Courville Nicol's (2011) embodied in/capacity theory helps explain how individuals transform and govern themselves to fit in, to belong, and to perform or display acceptable social identities. Incapacity feelings, or painful feelings, and capacity feelings, or pleasurable feelings, are experienced more or less simultaneously, along a continuum; they are not conceptualized as a binary, but may be experienced as such. Individuals may experience more painful emotions or more pleasurable emotions at different times, but the transformation process of felt emotions is fluid and feelings of in/capacity imply one another.

A feeling of incapacity (or of powerlessness) is a "felt lack of ability to move away from the anticipated pain that forms the experience of danger" while a feeling of capacity (or of powerfulness) is a "felt ability to move toward the anticipated pleasure that forms the experience of security" (p. 4). Felt incapacities and capacities are conceptualized as emotional-norm pairs. These are "the forms of felt incapacity and of felt capacity through which danger and security are experienced and managed" (p. 27). They can be classified in terms of three general emotional strategic orientations to

problems: *confrontation* (i.e., fight) which is experienced within the overarching emotional-norm pair terror/courage; *avoidance* (i.e., flight) which is experienced within the overarching emotional-norm pair phobia/escape; and *prevention* (i.e., freeze) which is experienced within the overarching emotional-norm pair worry/safety. Within the *confrontation* strategic orientation, danger is experienced in the present as a force that can be overturned. Within the *avoidant* strategic orientation, individuals feel the need to mitigate a dangerous force they have previously come into contact with. Finally, within the *prevention* strategic orientation, danger is experienced as a future outcome whose realization must be circumvented. Within these emotional strategic orientations and the transformation of emotional experiences, emotional-norm pairs can come into being through *emotional differentiation* which is the process "through which a new emotional-norm pair experience is created as a means to deal with the absence of existing emotional or other means" for dealing with a problem or by *emotional blending* which is the process "through which an already existing alternative emotional-norm pair experience is invoked as a means to deal with the inadequacy of means to problem resolution" (p. 5). In other words, *emotional differentiation* is the process through which new emotional-norm pairs are created to deal with problems or threatening forces. These new emotional-norm pairs can then be blended with other emotional-norm pairs. *Emotional blending* on the other hand is the blending of already existing emotional-norm pairs to create new ones as a way to deal with problems or threatening forces. The processes of *emotional differentiation* and of *emotional blending* can lead to the development of culturally specific emotional norms when they become collectively embodied.

As individuals transform themselves and their emotions and move from feelings of incapacity to feelings of capacity, they perform emotional management of self and "exercise power over themselves through efforts at moral self-control" (p. 6). This exercise of moral power in the overcoming of moral danger and the implementation of moral security (i.e., moving from a feeling of moral incapacity to a feeling of moral capacity), according to de Courville Nicol, is a motivated and deliberate transformation of the self in which individuals seek to either repress and correct their transgressive and erroneous desires, or activate and form their latent and immature desires. The motivation to engage in moral self-control efforts is often tied to the desire to experience social approval. Self-repressive self-transformation efforts, or the mode of power to repress and correct, is said to predominate in discipline-based modern societies, while self-expressive self-transformation efforts, or the mode of power to activate and form, is said to predominate in contemporary realization-based societies. As such, de Courville Nicol identifies four forms of moral self-control to overcome moral danger and implement moral security: self-repression and self-correction, and self-activation and self-formation.

De Courville Nicol (2011) designates experiences of social dis/approval (of not belonging/belonging) as experiences of shame/pride when they are tied to a sense of self that is illegitimate or erroneous (i.e., a self that transgresses an imperative) such that it must be negated through efforts of self-discipline (i.e., self-repression and self-correction). In counterpart, experiences of personal insecurity/self-esteem are tied to a sense of self that is latent or immature (i.e., that falls short of an ideal) and that must be asserted through efforts of self-realization (i.e., self-activation and self-formation).

Individuals' experiences of moral in/capacity and their moral self-transformation efforts can be related to athletes' (male and female) gender and sexuality identity management insofar as it is "the affectively motivated, deliberate transformation of the self as a force in the fulfillment of an imperative or of an ideal, in the moving away from suffering and toward well-being" (de Courville Nicol, 2011, p. 7). According to Heikkala (1993), "the will to do better [in sport] must . . . carry a strong internalized feeling of a 'need' for discipline and conformity to the practices necessary for achieving the desired goal (as cited in Wellard, 2009, p. 19).

To the extent that athletes wish to experience the pleasure of social approval from the social groups they value, and to the extent that they experience responsibility for achieving this sense of approval, they can be said to engage in moral self-transformation efforts when they feel that an aspect of their selves (e.g. appearance, behavior, feelings, thoughts) does not conform and therefore constitutes an incapacity. This research is particularly interested in examining the nature and dynamics of these emotional perceptions and self-transformation efforts as they pertain to gender and sexuality identities. On the basis of what emotional incapacities are female and male athletes likely to engage in moral self-control efforts? And what moral actions of social conformity are these athletes likely to engage in in order to achieve the feeling of social approval, whether pride or self-esteem?

De Courville Nicol (2011) writes;

> I call the feelings of responsibility for social approval that trigger repressive or discipline-based self-control efforts shame/pride, whereas I call the feelings of responsibility for social approval that trigger expressive or realization-based self-control efforts personal insecurity/self-esteem. Shame/pride is an expression of

> the self-fear I also refer to as immoral capacity (or immoral powerfulness), which is the danger the individual represents for their self as a powerful force of transgression. Personal insecurity/self-esteem is an expression of the self-fear I also refer to as immoral incapacity (or immoral powerlessness), which is the danger the individual represents for their self as a powerless force of ineptitude. (p. 124)

This study proposes that male athletes' experience understood through the emotional-norm pair of personal insecurity/self-esteem is useful. The management of their athletic identities is conceptualized on the basis of a feeling of ineptitude in the performance of hypermasculine and hyperheterosexual identities. Thus, while managing gender and sexuality identities and emotions in sport-related contexts, men should most often use the self-realization form of emotion management which de Courville Nicol designates as "the emotional economy in which danger is overcome and security implemented based on the principle that healthy desire must be pleasurably activated or formed in the production of moral capacity" (p. 177). This study also proposes that female athletes' experience understood through the emotional-norm pair of shame/pride is useful. The management of their athletic identities is conceptualized on the basis of a feeling of transgression in the performance of masculine and lesbian identities. Thus, while managing gender and sexuality identities and emotions in sport-related contexts, women should most often use the self-discipline form of emotion management which de Courville Nicol designates as "the emotional economy in which danger is overcome and security implemented based on the principle that irrational desire must be painfully repressed or corrected in the production of moral capacity" (p. 177).

2.3.1 MALE ATHLETES' EMOTIONS.

The identity of the "male athlete" represents what de Courville Nicol (2011)

identifies as a *sign of security*. A *sign of security* is tied to a promise relation (i.e., an object of desire) between a force and a pleasurable outcome. When a man enters the sportsworld, he is entering a setting that connotes and is affectively associated with masculinity and heterosexuality as signs of security. As a result, a male athlete's object of desire is likely to be a (hyper)masculine, (hyper)heterosexual identity. If a man sufficiently conforms to this masculine and heterosexual model, he may possess and may be performing an ideal athletic identity, which ensures a pleasurable emotional experience. If he does not sufficiently conform, he can be stigmatized (as insufficiently masculine and heterosexual). As athletes of the male gender, men most often do not necessarily transgress expectations of masculinity and heterosexuality. Instead, they might feel that they fail to meet standards of morally normative forms of gender and sexuality (i.e., they may experience ineptitude). When it comes to managing the social stigmas associated with being a male athlete, the point of departure for men is most often having to measure up to an ideal, where the failure of doing so would produce stigma. Male athletes might therefore engage in enhancement work through self-realization (i.e., activate and form latent or immature desires leading to actions that confirm that one not only meets but also surpasses norms of masculinity and heterosexuality) in order to conform to expectations of ideal hyper-male identity and meet social approval in the form of admiration and success. Male athletes might therefore morally struggle to maintain the desire status of a taken for granted or assumed masculine and heterosexual identity to prevent stigmatization.

To summarize, maintaining or performing a hypermasculine and hyperheterosexual identity may be understood as a moral responsibility for male athletes,

inasmuch as it is a means of enhancing these two ideals. In order to move from feelings of insecurity due to a lack of conformity, to feelings of self-esteem which arise from social conformity, these male athletes may activate or form their moral desires of hypermasculine and hyperheterosexual identities in order to experience the pleasurable anticipation of social conformity.

It is important to note that while the logic of self-realization might apply for a heterosexual male athlete (regardless of gender identity) or for a masculine male athlete (regardless of sexual identity), for a homosexual male athlete (regardless of gender identity) or a more feminine male athlete (regardless of gender identity) a mixture of self-discipline and self-realization might apply. A heterosexual male athlete (regardless of gender identity) or a masculine male athlete (regardless of sexual identity) may not perform hyperheterosexuality or hypermasculinity to prevent being stigmatized with a homosexual or feminine identity, but rather as a means of enhancing heterosexual or masculine self-identity. For a homosexual male athlete (regardless of gender identity) or for a more feminine male athlete (regardless of sexual identity), the performances of hyperheterosexuality or of hypermasculinity additionally or alternatively may act as defensive mechanisms that protect against potential embarrassing disclosure.

2.3.2 FEMALE ATHLETES' EMOTIONS.

The identity of the "female athlete" represents what de Courville Nicol (2011) identifies as a sign of danger. A *sign of danger* is tied to a threat relation (i.e., an object of fear) between a force and a painful outcome. When a woman enters the sportsworld, she is entering a setting that connotes and is affectively associated with masculinity. As a

result, a female athlete's object of fear may become this masculine identity. Female athletes are 'contaminated' by masculinity, as it were. The female athlete is likely to experience herself as transgressing the expectation femininity required for social approval through her association with the male world of sports. While the requirement that she be athletic, which connotes masculinity, is a function of her role as an athlete, her ability to properly embody this role may lead to the perception that she transgresses the expectations of proper femininity. Moreover, as women who have been 'contaminated' by masculinity, they are also often held to experience the 'wrong kind of desire' – that is the illegitimate or erroneous forms of desire associated with lesbianism. In short, as athletes of the female gender, women may feel that their identities transgress expectations of femininity and heterosexuality. The point of departure for female athletes is most often stigmatization. Female athletes might therefore engage in reparation work through self-discipline (i.e., correct and repress desires leading to actions that confirm stigma and further stigmatize) in order to conform to expectations of proper female identity and meet social approval. Female athletes might therefore morally struggle to overcome the fear status of masculinity and lesbianism and prevent further stigmatization.

To summarize, maintaining or performing a feminine and heterosexual identity may be understood as a moral responsibility for female athletes, inasmuch as it is a means of repairing their transgression of these two imperatives. In order to move from feelings of shame due to a lack of conformity, to feelings of pride which arise from social conformity, these female athletes may repress or correct their moral desires of masculine and lesbian identities in order to experience the pleasurable anticipation of social conformity.

It is important to note that while the logic of self-discipline might apply for a lesbian female athlete (regardless of gender identity) or for a masculine female athlete (regardless of sexual identity), for a heterosexual female athlete (regardless of gender identity) or a more feminine female athlete (regardless of gender identity) a mixture of self-discipline and self-realization might apply. A heterosexual female athlete (regardless of gender identity) or a feminine female athlete (regardless of sexual identity) may not perform heterosexuality or femininity to prevent being stigmatized with a lesbian or masculine identity, but rather as a means of enhancing heterosexual or feminine self-identity. For a lesbian female athlete (regardless of gender identity) or for a more masculine female athlete (regardless of sexual identity), the performances of heterosexuality or of femininity additionally or alternatively may act as defensive mechanisms that protect against potential embarrassing disclosure.

Men and women (and presumably homosexual and heterosexual, masculine and feminine men and women) may utilize different emotion management strategies to implement self-control and to socially conform because the source of fear for male and female athletes is different (i.e., perceived transgression of a boundary for the latter or failure to meet standards for the former). While male athletes may engage in enhancement efforts in order to meet an ideal of hypermasculinity and hyperheterosexuality through self-realization, female athletes may engage in repair efforts in order to become feminine and heterosexual once again. It is therefore a possibility that male and female athletes need to manage their gender and sexuality identities and emotions of shame and insecurity differently.

2.4 Summary/Conclusion

First, this review is an attempt to illustrate how sports have become a contested social terrain for both men and women; sports are central sites for the social production of various masculinities, femininities, and sexual orientations and also sites that demand social conformity from its participants (i.e., athletes). As a result of this demand and need for social conformity, both male and female athletes suffer from identity tensions and need to manage in different manners not only their athletic identities, but also their gender (feminine or masculine) identities and sexuality identities (lesbian/homosexual or heterosexual). In other words, male and female athletes have to display suitable normative gender behaviours at all times because different normative expectations, conventional norms, and traditional stereotypes for men and women have been created and are present in the sportsworld (Ross & Shinew, 2007; Malcom, 2001; Hickey, 2008). Sexism and homophobia are also found to be used as policing tools for managing athletes' identities in the sportsworld (Griffin, 1992; Anderson, 2005; 2009; 2011).

As previously mentioned, male athletes sometimes employ different identity management strategies depending on the model of masculinity enforced upon them. The pressures to socially conform to a hegemonic form of masculinity can create fears of being stigmatized (Pollack, 1998). More specifically, when male athletes exhibit an inability to meet standards of hegemonic masculinity within the sportsworld, they can be stigmatized as unmasculine, as feminine, and as homosexual. Exaggerated masculine behaviours and attitudes (i.e., hypermasculinity) and exaggerated forms of heterosexual masculinity (i.e., hyperheterosexuality) (Paechter, 2006; Adams, Anderson & McCormack, 2010; Griffin, 1998; Pronger, 1990, Anderson, 2005) sometimes need to be

displayed by male athletes in sport-related settings. Furthermore, in a culture of hegemonic masculinity, male athletes might employ identity management strategies in which they police their behaviours and those of other men to reach, attain, and exhibit ideals or standards of hypermasculinity and hyperheterosexuality (Adams, Anderson & McCormack, 2010). In a culture of diminished homohysteria and of inclusive masculinity, male athletes might refrain from engaging in homophobia while they accept and respect diverse masculinities (Anderson, 2009).

For female athletes, the pressures to socially conform to a feminine and heterosexual femininity model can create fears of losing social approval (Griffin, 1992). More specifically, when female athletes exhibit gender and sexuality transgressions within the sportsworld, they can be stigmatized as unfeminine, as masculine, and as homosexual (i.e., lesbian). Feminine behaviours and attitudes (i.e., femininity) and forms of heterosexual femininity (i.e., heterosexuality) therefore need to be displayed by female athletes in sport-related settings. Female athletes sometimes employ various strategies to distance themselves from signs of maleness and avoid the lesbian identity; "female athletes sometimes 'apologize' for women's participation in sport by emphasizing femininity" and heterosexuality (Davis-Delano et.al, 2009, p. 130). Other women sometimes employ strategies such as the unapologetic to resist and challenge the masculine and homosexual stigmas they experience;

> …women who played rugby did not try to compensate for their non-normative behavior by simply conforming to traditional gendered appearances. Rather than defensively curling their hair and applying makeup to apologize for their masculine athletic pursuits, rugby players resisted and challenged beauty standards through their continued participation in sport. (Broad, 2001, p. 189)

The fact that some female athletes have to resist or challenge social stigmas testifies to the pressure exerted upon them to socially conform to dominant forms of femininity and heterosexuality. Second, the idea that managing emotions and managing stigmas and identities entail different techniques or strategies due to different social norms and expectations has been considered. By using the work of Valérie de Courville Nicol (2011), her embodied in/capacity theory, and her ideas of a moral experience of emotions, of emotion management, and of social conformity, this review identifies how managing social stigmas, boundaries, and ideals, masculine or feminine athletic identities, and achieving social conformity through moral self-control is performed through either realization-based or discipline-based means. Finally, this review demonstrates how male athletes might manage their emotions of personal insecurity alongside their identities using a self-realization form of emotion management while female athletes might use a self-disciplining form of emotion management to manage their emotions of shame.

2.5 Research Objectives

For this particular study, the goal is to explore the gender and sexuality models present within the sportsworld and to gain an understanding of the ways in which male and female athletes manage their gender and sexuality identities and their emotions in a sport-specific context. More specifically, 14 sports teams were sought out to answer a written survey in order to formulate a collective understanding of athletes' experiences as men, as women, and as athletes. By employing a methodology of quantitative nature, this study seeks to illustrate how male and female athletes view a typical athlete physically,

behaviourally, and emotionally. It also seeks to investigate the identity management strategies athletes employ in managing the possible social stigmas they experience. Furthermore, the presence of homophobia, homophobic behaviour, and homophobic language will also be explored. In addition, informed by Canadian sociologist Valérie de Courville Nicol's (2011) embodied in/capacity theory, her ideas of a moral experience of emotions, of emotion management, and of social conformity, this study seeks to further identify how managing social stigmas, masculine or feminine athletic identities, and achieving social conformity through moral self-control and self-transformation is performed through either realization-based or discipline-based means.

2.5.1 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1. Investigate typical athletic characteristics (physical, behavioural, and emotional)
    - As a way of investigating typical athletic characteristics, both male and female athletes' opinions of a typical athlete and of male and female athletes' physical, behavioural, and emotional characteristics will be examined

2. Investigate the identity management strategies of Canadian university-attending athletes and the models of gender and sexuality among Canadian university sport teams
    - As a way of investigating the identity management strategies used by Canadian male athletes, the analysis will be done according to the hegemonic/inclusive masculinity divide
    - As a way of investigating the identity management strategies used by Canadian female athletes, the analysis will be done according to the apologetic/unapologetic behaviour divide
    - As a way of investigating the models of gender and sexuality, the level of homophobia will also be examined using the homophobia scale

3. Explore de Courville Nicol's (2011) emotional-norm pairs and emotion management styles in a Canadian sport related context
    - As a way of exploring the emotional-norm pairs experienced by Canadian university-attending athletes, experienced emotions reported by both male and female athletes will be categorized according to *confrontation-based, prevention-based, and avoidance-based* emotional-norm pairs
    - As a way of exploring the emotion management styles of Canadian university-attending athletes, the analysis will be according to the self-realization-based (insecurity/self-esteem) and self-discipline-based (shame/pride) divide

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

> *Social research is a process in which people combine a set of principles, outlooks, and ideas (i.e., methodology) with a collection of specific practices, techniques, and strategies (i.e., a method of inquiry) to produce knowledge. It is an exciting process of discovery, but it requires persistence, personal integrity, tolerance for ambiguity, interaction with others, and pride in doing quality work.*
>
> -W. Lawrence Neuman & Karen Robson (2009: 2)

3.1 Participants

This study uses a purposive and convenience sampling techniques. Purposive sampling is used when a researcher uses his or her judgment to select a sample for a specific purpose as well as in exploratory research such as this one (Neuman & Robson, 2009). The main reason for using this method is usually to obtain a specific sample for in-depth observation.

The following criteria were applied in the selection of the teams: 1) the athletes should be practicing a team sport rather than an individual sport such as golf, badminton, swimming, tennis, or track and field because research suggests that team sports play a very important role in the construction of hegemonic masculinity, especially in North America (Anderson, 2007; Griffin, 1998); moreover, while looking into the literature on males' policing behaviours of other males in social groups (Adams, Anderson & McCormack, 2010), it made more sense to look into team sport settings than it was to look into individual sport settings where there would be no one's behaviours to police but

one's own; and 2) geographic proximity- namely teams that are located within universities in the Montréal metropolitan area. In total, all collective sport teams (N=33) in the four universities on the Island of Montreal (Concordia University, McGill University, Université de Montréal, Université du Québec à Montréal) were contacted through their coaches' email addresses posted on the universities' websites (see the complete list of sports teams in appendix A).

Out of the 33 teams contacted, 13 head coaches did not reply to the e-mail, three refused to participate, and three head coaches agreed to participate in the study, but were never met because of schedule restrictions. A few coaches accepted to participate after information was provided on the type of questions to be included in the questionnaire. The final sample consists of 261 university-attending student-athletes distributed in 14 sports teams. The participants are divided within the following teams: rugby (38.7% of the total sample), basketball (17.6%), soccer (14.2%), hockey (14.2%), football (9.2%), and volleyball (6.1%). Out of the total number of athletes who filled out the questionnaire 146 are male, 115 are female, and the mean age is 21.17 years. Most of the athletes identified themselves as being Canadian (71.2%), most are full-time students (92.1%), and were all university-attending student-athletes (38.4% first-year undergraduates, 20.5% second-year undergraduates, 20.2% third-year undergraduates, 18.6% fourth-year or more undergraduates, and 2.3% graduate students).

3.2 Procedure

After being granted permission to meet with the players, the head coaches were contacted for a second time to schedule appointments for the team meetings. Every sport team was met after a practice, and the date and time was determined by the coach. It was also the coach's responsibility to find a classroom or gymnasium for the meetings to take place. Most of the team meetings occurred in conference rooms with table space and chairs where the athletes had enough room to spread out. Other meetings occurred on the outside practice fields or in gymnasiums where the athletes sat on the ground or floor to fill out the questionnaire.

The head coaches were asked to be present during the team meetings so that they could gather their players and calm them down for the meeting. Once the coaches briefly explained the purpose of the meeting, some of them left the room while others stayed and were present for the duration of the meeting. Every meeting began with a short presentation of the study objectives. It was explained to the athletes that participation to the questionnaire was voluntary, confidential, and anonymous (see Ethical Considerations*)* and they had to sign the consent form attached to the questionnaire for their responses to be used in the study. It was also mentioned to them that the time required to fill out the questionnaire was between ten and fifteen minutes. The meetings ended by thanking all the players for their time and participation.

Meeting with the teams lasted in total between 30 and 60 minutes. Participants handed back the questionnaires immediately after they filled them out. Each participant was given the opportunity to pick up a resource referral sheet which included phone numbers and web sites for individual help and support services which none of them did

(see appendix B).

3.3 Measures

The questionnaire consists of six sections: 1) Perception of a Typical Athlete; 2) Typical Athletes' Characteristics; 3) Identity Management Strategies Used; 4) Homophobia Scale; 5) Experienced Emotions in Identity Management; 6) Background Information. The questionnaire was available in both English and French. Two versions of the questionnaire were distinctively generated for men and women though certain sections of the questionnaires are common to both versions (see appendix C and appendix D).

3.3.1 GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE.

Perception of a Typical Athlete. This section comprises three open-ended questions asking both male and female athletes to list up to five *physical*, *behavioural*, and *emotional* characteristics a typical athlete would possess. The top three answers that were reported in each of the three categories (*physical, behavioural,* and *emotional* characteristics) were considered for analysis.

Typical Athletes' Characteristics. This section of the questionnaire includes a list of 30 different *physical*, *behavioural*, and *emotional* characteristics, which were gathered and compiled from existing literature. Both male and female respondents are asked to indicate the extent to which they think the characteristics are observed among male and female athletes on a five-point Likert-scale (0 = never, 1 = occasionally, 2 = sometimes, 3

= often, and 4 = always). Both the male and female views of male and female athletes' characteristics were compared using an independent t-test (i.e., two sample t-test) to illustrate significant and non-significant differences between views.

Homophobia Scale. To see whether male and female athletes are involved in a sport-setting of homophobia, their scores to different homophobic statements were tallied and a frequency distribution was created (see appendix E). The homophobia scale was adapted from the Wright, Adams, and Bernat's (1999) "Homophobia Scale". All the statements from the original scale were adapted to a sports context for the purposes of the study (e.g., "Gay people make me nervous." became "Gay *athletes* make me nervous.") and two items were completely removed ("Gay people deserve what they get" and "Marriage between homosexual individuals is acceptable") because their meanings were irrelevant or ambiguous to the study of homosexuality in sports. Moreover, to facilitate summing the scores for this scale and to standardize all the items of the scale, statements that have a positive connotation were rephrased negatively (e.g., "I would feel comfortable having a gay roommate" became "I would feel *uncomfortable* having a gay teammate."). Using a five-point Likert-scale (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 0 = neither disagree nor agree, 3 = somewhat agree, and 4 = strongly agree), male and female athletes were asked the degree to which they agreed or disagreed with 23 statements related to homosexuality, homophobia, and homophobic language and behaviour. The original responses on the "Homophobia Scale" were reverted. Moreover, given that the scale did not have a value of zero, the authors subtracted 25 from every participants' total score and respondents were divided into four groups based on their final scores (0-25, *high-grade nonhomophobic*; 26-50, *low-grade nonhomophobic*; 51-75,

low-grade homophobic; and 76-100, *high-grade homophobic)*. In this version of the "Homophobia Scale", the scale is assigned a different value (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 0 = neither disagree nor agree, 3 = somewhat agree, and 4 = strongly agree). Similar to the original "Homophobia Scale", answers are summed-up to generate a final score ranging from 0 ("neither disagree nor agree") to 92 ("strongly agree"). This range is then divided into the following four categories, 0-23, *high-grade nonhomophobic*; 24-47, *low-grade nonhomophobic*; 48-70, *low-grade homophobic*; and 71-92, *high-grade homophobic*.

Background Information. This section assesses demographics such as age, gender, sexual orientation, cultural background, as well as education-related information including education institution attended, current year of study, cumulative grade point average (GPA), field of study, current student status, and type of sport played for this educational institution. A space is also available at the end of the questionnaire for respondents who wish to make comments on the questionnaire and/or the study.

3.3.2 GENDER SPECIFIC SECTIONS.

Both male and female athletes were asked to indicate how often they use 21 strategies listed to deal with male and female athletic stereotypes. It is important to note that some adjustments in the phrasing of the questions were deemed necessary to illuminate any confusion about what it means "to manage stigmas". Thus those words are replaced with more common words in sports-related contexts. The phrasing "to deal with" is used to replace the term "to manage" whereas the term "stereotype" replaces the term "stigma".

Male Questionnaire. To see whether male athletes adhere to a hegemonic or inclusive masculinity model, their scores to different identity management strategies were tallied and a frequency distribution was created (see appendix F). For the male questionnaire, the 21 strategies were put together with reference to existing literature on observed men's policing behaviours in sports (Adams, Anderson & McCormack, 2010; Kimmel as cited in Brod & Kaufman, 1994; Plummer, 1999; Davison & Frank, 2006). Answers are provided on a five-point Likert scale (0 = never, 1 = occasionally, 2 = sometimes, 3 = often, 4 = always). Reponses to all 21 items are summed to generate a final score with values ranging from a minimum of zero to a maximum final score of 84. Subsequently, the middle point of the scale is used as a cut-off point (84/2 = 42 and score $\geq$ 43) to determine a greater use of strategies within a *hegemonic* masculinity model. Scores lower than 43 indicate that male respondents used strategies that are usually employed within an *inclusive* masculinity model.

Female Questionnaire. To see whether female athletes employ apologetic or unapologetic strategies, their scores to different strategies were also tallied and a frequency distribution was created (see appendix G). For the female questionnaire, 14 questions assessing *apologetic* strategies (e.g., "How often do you try to look feminine [by wearing make-up, wearing jewelry, or having long hair] as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?", "How often do you apologize for being aggressive or using physical force as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?") are answered on a five-point scale similar to measures that are used for male respondents (0 = never, 1 = occasionally, 2 = sometimes, 3 = often, and 4 = always), while *unapologetic* strategies are answered on a reversed anchor scale (0 = always, 1 = often, 2 = sometimes, 3 =

occasionally, and 4 = never). Responses to all 21 items are summed to generate a final score with values ranging from a minimum of zero to a maximum final score of 84. Subsequently, the middle point of the scale is used as a cut-off point (84/2 = 42 and score ≥ 43) to determine a greater use of *apologetic* strategies whereas scores lower than 43 indicating the use of *unapologetic* strategies.

The first 11 strategies are edited versions of the strategies used in David-Delano, Pollock, and Vose's (2009) questionnaire on *apologetic* strategies used by female athletes. As a way to simplify the questions, the strategies are re-worded in a question form instead of statement form ("Because of stereotypes of female athletes, I avoid being aggressive or using physical force" became "How often do you avoid being aggressive or using physical force as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?"). Also, to add clarity, the phrase "as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes" is added to each strategy given that this research does not simply focus on whether female athletes use or do not use certain strategies, but rather the use of those strategies specifically to deal with female athlete stereotypes. The remaining 10 strategies are influenced by existing literature on women's identity management strategies in sports. In addition to the close-ended questions assessing identity management strategies, an open-ended question prompts respondents to list any other ways they use to deal with stereotypes.

Experienced Emotions in Identity Management. The emotional-norm pairs and emotion management styles in a Canadian sport related context and among Canadian university-attending athletes are explored. The emotional characteristics reported by the athletes are first examined and categorized as *confrontation, prevention, or avoidance-based* emotional-norm pairs. The emotional characteristics are then subdivided into 40

different emotional-norm pairs and the specific emotions reported are identified as feelings of incapacity or capacity (see appendix H). The questionnaire also includes a section on experienced emotions, which is based on de Courville Nicol's (2011) embodied in/capacity theory. An initial version of the measure was generated to capture emotional experiences that are experienced by respondents when dealing with or managing athlete stereotypes. This initial version was submitted to Dr. de Courville Nicol for feedback and comments, which led to the final version. Second, the emotion management styles of Canadian university-attending athletes are explored according to the self-realization-based and self-discipline-based divide. Male athletes are asked questions in relation to de Courville Nicol's emotional-norm pair of personal insecurity/self-esteem while female athletes are asked questions in relation to the emotional-norm pair of shame/pride. All respondents are asked to indicate on a five-point Likert-scale (0 = never, 1 = occasionally, 2 = sometimes, 3 = often, and 4 = always) the frequency of experiencing a set of emotions when dealing with or managing stereotypes. It is important to note that this instrument is tentative and remains exploratory in its way to capture the theory. Further remakes will be necessary.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

Although the head coaches volunteered their players' participation in this research, every participating athlete was free to refuse filling out the questionnaire. They were also informed of the possibility to skip or pass over any question that would make them feel uncomfortable or that they didn't want to answer. They were also informed that they were free to discontinue or withdraw from the study at any time, even after the

completion of the questionnaire. This information was communicated to participants orally and was also included in writing under the "instructions" page of every questionnaire (see appendix C and appendix D). Participating athletes also had access to the researcher's personal contact information (see appendix B).

The questionnaire was confidential and all study results are presented in an aggregated form, meaning through percentages or statistical means, without linking specific responses to specific participants. As the results section will illustrate, no names or identities are publicly communicated or linked to individual answers.

The questionnaire data was anonymized. The consent form which included nominal information were numbered identically to the attached questionnaire and were subsequently detached and stored in a secured location separate from the questionnaires. Consent forms will be kept for at least two years to ensure for respondents the possibility to be removed from the study. Measures of confidentiality, anonymity and voluntary participation aim at making respondents feel comfortable in filling out the questionnaire.

3.5 Statistical Analysis.

Quantitative data were analyzed using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). Independent t-tests were conducted to compare sub-samples of male and female athletes on the various examined dimensions namely the reported strategies, perception of homosexuality, and the various experienced emotions. Tests of significance were considered at the 5 % level ($p<0.05$) when comparing means ($\bar{x}$) of both male and

female athletes. Open-ended questions were examined for common or similar responses and then summarized accordingly.

CHAPTER 4
RESULTS

The opinions of both male and female athletes about the *physical*, *behavioural*, and *emotional* characteristics of male and female athletes were examined.

4.1 Perception of the Physical Characteristics of a Typical Athlete: A Gendered Perspective

Athletes (both male and female) most often report typical athletic physical characteristics related to "muscles", "build", "height", "strength", and "speed/power".

4.1.1 MALE ATHLETES' PERCEPTIONS.

In looking at the male athletes' responses (Table 1), *physical* characteristics related to "build" were reported for all three positions (first position = 16.9%; second position = 24.5%; third position = 26.7%) while *physical* characteristics related to "muscles" were reported in the first (28.9%) and second positions (18.7%). Additionally, *physical* characteristics related to "height" (first position = 22.5%), "strength" (second position = 16.5%), and "speed/power" (third position = 14.5%) were also reported by male athletes.

4.1.2 FEMALE ATHLETES' PERCEPTIONS.

In looking at the female athletes' responses (Table 2), *physical* characteristics related to "muscles" (first position= 33%; second position = 21.8%; third position = 15.4%) and to "build" (first position = 27.7%; second position = 26.4%; third position =

17.3%) were reported in all three positions. Additionally, *physical* characteristics related to "strength" (first position = 13.4%; second position = 14.5%), "height" (first position = 13.4%), and "other physical characteristics" (e.g., hair colour, facial hair, skin complexion, nails, makeup, clothing, injury, attractiveness, etc.) (third position = 23.1%) were also reported by female athletes.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of reported physical characteristics by male athletes (N = 146)

Characteristics	N	%*
First reported physical characteristic (N =142)		
1. Muscles	41	28.9
2. Height	32	22.5
3. Build	24	16.9
TOTAL	97	68.3
Second reported physical characteristic (N=139)		
1. Build	34	24.5
2. Muscles	26	18.7
3. Strength	23	16.5
TOTAL	83	59.7
Third reported physical characteristic (N=131)		
1. Build	35	26.7
2. Speed/Power	19	14.5
3. Other physical	17	13.0
TOTAL	71	54.2

***Valid percent of total sample for each line.**

Table 2. Descriptive statistics of reported physical characteristics by female athletes (N = 115)

Characteristics	N	%*
First reported physical characteristic (N =112)		
1. Muscles	37	33.0
2. Build	31	27.7
3. Strength	15	13.4
Height	15	13.4
TOTAL	98	87.5
Second reported physical characteristic (N=110)		
1. Build	29	26.4
2. Muscles	24	21.8
3. Strength	16	14.5
TOTAL	69	62.7
Third reported physical characteristic (N=104)		
1. Other physical	24	23.1
2. Build	18	17.3
3. Muscles	16	15.4
TOTAL	58	55.8

*Valid percent of total sample for each line.

4.2 Perception of the Behavioural Characteristics of a Typical Athlete: A Gendered Perspective

Athletes (both male and female) most often report typical athletic behavioural characteristics related to "achievement motivation", "self-confidence", "competitiveness", "social orientation/sportspersonship", "mental toughness", "team orientation", and "athletic identity".

4.2.1 MALE ATHLETES' PERCEPTIONS.

In looking at the male athletes' responses (Table 3), *behavioural* characteristics related to "achievement motivation" were reported in all three positions (first position = 22.6%; second position = 13.2%; third position = 16.8%). *Behavioural* characteristics related to "self-confidence" were reported in positions one (14.4%) and two (21.3%) and those related to "social orientation/sportspersonship" were reported in positions one (12.3%) and three (9.9%). Additionally, *behavioural* characteristics related to "mental toughness" (second position = 18.4%) and "athletic identity" (third position = 21.4%) were also reported by male athletes.

4.2.2 FEMALE ATHLETES' PERCEPTIONS.

In looking at the female athletes' responses (Table 4), *behavioural* characteristics related to "achievement motivation" were reported in all three positions (first position = 13.0%; second position = 27.6%; third position = 26.7%). *Behavioural* characteristics related to "self-confidence" (first position = 23.5%; second position = 14.3%) and "athletic identity" (second position = 18.1%; third position = 12.2%) were reported in two of three positions. Additionally, *behavioural* characteristics related to "competitiveness" (first position = 15.7%) and "mental toughness" (third position = 11.1%) were also reported by female athletes.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics of reported behavioural characteristics by male athletes (N = 146)

Characteristics	N	%*
First reported behavioural characteristic (N =146)		
1. Achievement Motivation	33	22.6
2. Self-confidence	21	14.4
3. Social Orientation /Sportspersonship	18	12.3
TOTAL	72	49.3
Second reported behavioural characteristic (N=136)		
1. Self-confidence	29	21.3
2. Mental Toughness	25	18.4
3. Achievement Motivation	18	13.2
TOTAL	72	52.9
Third reported behavioural characteristic (N=131)		
1. Athletic Identity	28	21.4
2. Achievement Motivation	22	16.8
3. Social Orientation/Sportspersonship	13	9.9
TOTAL	63	48.1

*Valid percent of total sample for each line.

Table 4. Descriptive statistics of reported behavioural characteristics by female athletes (N = 115)

Characteristics	N	%*
First reported behavioural characteristic (N =115)		
1. Self-confidence	27	23.5
2. Competitiveness	18	15.7
3. Achievement Motivation	15	13.0
TOTAL	60	52.2
Second reported behavioural characteristic (N=105)		
1. Achievement Motivation	29	27.6
2. Athletic Identity	19	18.1
3. Self-confidence	15	14.3
TOTAL	63	60.0
Third reported behavioural characteristic (N=90)		
1. Achievement Motivation	24	26.7
2. Athletic Identity	11	12.2
3. Mental Toughness	10	11.1
TOTAL	45	50.0

*Valid percent of total sample for each line.

4.3 Perception of the Emotional Characteristics of a Typical Athlete: A Gendered Perspective

Athletes (both male and female) most often report typical athletic emotional characteristics related to feeling "confident", "angry", "competitive", "mentally tough/strong", "emotional", "passionate", "aggressive", "stress", and "happy".

4.3.1 MALE ATHLETES' PERCEPTIONS.

In looking at the male athletes' responses (Table 5), *emotional* characteristics related to feeling "confident" were reported in all three positions (first position = 12.3%; second position = 8.3%; third position = 9.7%). *Emotional* characteristics related to feeling "aggressive" were reported in positions one (6.9%) and two (5.0%) while those related to feeling "happy" were reported in positions one (5.4%) and three (6.5%) and those related to feeling "angry" were reported in positions two (5.8%) and three (5.4%). Additionally, *emotional* characteristics related to feeling "empathetic" (second position = 5.8%), "passionate" (third position = 6.5%), and "emotional" (third position = 6.5%) were also reported by male athletes.

4.3.2 FEMALE ATHLETES' PERCEPTIONS.

In looking at the female athletes' responses (Table 6), *emotional* characteristics related to feeling "confident" (first position = 14.3%; second position = 12.9%; third position = 10.7%), "happy" (first position = 8.6%; second position = 5.4%; third position = 5.3%), and "competitive" (first position = 4.8%; second position = 6.5%; third position = 4.0%) were reported in all three positions. *Emotional* characteristics related to feeling "mentally tough/strong" were reported in positions one (8.6%) and two (6.5%). Additionally, *emotional* characteristics related to feeling "stress" (second position = 6.5%), "strong" (second position = 5.4%), and "motivated" (third position = 4.0%) were also reported by female athletes.

Table 5. Descriptive statistics of reported emotional characteristics by male athletes (N =146)

Characteristics	N	%*
First reported emotional characteristic (N =130)		
1. Confident	16	12.3
2. Mentally Tough /Strong	9	6.9
Aggressive	9	6.9
3. Happy	7	5.4
TOTAL	41	31.5
Second reported emotional characteristic (N=120)		
1. Confident	10	8.3
2. Angry	7	5.8
Empathetic	7	5.8
3. Aggressive	6	5.0
TOTAL	30	25.0
Third reported emotional characteristic (N=93)		
1. Confident	9	9.7
2. Passionate	6	6.5
Happy	6	6.5
Emotional	6	6.5
3. Angry	5	5.4
TOTAL	32	34.6

*Valid percent of total sample for each line.

Table 6. Descriptive statistics of reported emotional characteristics by female athletes (N =115)

Characteristics	N	%*
First reported emotional characteristic (N =105)		
1. Confident	15	14.3
	9	8.6
2. Happy	9	8.6
Mentally Tough/Strong		
3. Competitive	5	4.8
TOTAL	38	36.3
Second reported emotional characteristic (N=93)		
1. Confident	12	12.9
2. Stress	6	6.5
Mentally Tough/Strong	6	6.5
Competitive		
	6	6.5
3. Happy	5	5.4
Strong	5	5.4
TOTAL	40	43.2
Third reported emotional characteristic (N=75)		
1. Confident	8	10.7
2. Happy	4	5.3
3. Competitive	3	4.0
Motivated	3	4.0
TOTAL	18	24.0

*Valid percent of total sample for each line.

4.4 Perception of the Characteristics of a Typical Male Athlete: A Gendered Perspective

The perceptions of both male and female athletes of the athletic characteristics of a typical male athlete were explored.

There are differences in this sample between male and female perceptions of male athletes. Mostly, male athletes tend to over-rate themselves compared to female athletes on more feminine characteristics and under-rate themselves compared to female athletes on more masculine characteristics.

4.4.1 MALE AND FEMALES ATHLETES' SIMILAR PERCEPTIONS.

Table 7 shows that there was no significant difference in the scores for male and female perceptions of male athletes being **competitive** ($\overline{x}_m = 4.74$, $\overline{x}_f = 4.79$, $t(257) = 0.96$, $p = .337$), **fit** ($\overline{x}_m = 4.57$, $\overline{x}_f = 4.59$, $t(257) = 0.25$, $p = .806$), **successful** ($\overline{x}_m = 4.18$, $\overline{x}_f = 4.16$, $t(257) = 0.25$, $p = .802$), **physically strong** ($\overline{x}_m = 4.18$, $\overline{x}_f = 4.29$, $t(255) = 1.27$, $p = .205$), **fast** ($\overline{x}_m = 4.15$, $\overline{x}_f = 4.08$, $t(257) = 0.71$, $p = .477$), **mentally tough** ($\overline{x}_m = 4.09$, $\overline{x}_f = 4.10$, $t(252) = 0.04$, $p = .969$), **self-reliable** ($\overline{x}_m = 4.09$, $\overline{x}_f = 3.86$, $t(252) = 1.71$, $p = .088$), **daring** ($\overline{x}_m = 4.06$, $\overline{x}_f = 3.94$, $t(256) = 1.20$, $p = .230$), **muscular** ($\overline{x}_m = 3.90$, $\overline{x}_f = 4.04$, $t(256) = 1.40$, $p = .163$), **egalitarian** ($\overline{x}_m = 3.64$, $\overline{x}_f = 3.41$, $t(258) = 1.94$, $p = .054$), **compassionate** ($\overline{x}_m = 3.45$, $\overline{x}_f = 3.52$, $t(256) = 0.63$, $p = .532$), **controlling** ($\overline{x}_m = 2.96$, $\overline{x}_f = 2.52$, $t(257) = 3.68$, $p = .000$), **heterosexual** ($\overline{x}_m = 2.78$, $\overline{x}_f = 2.58$, $t(254) = 1.79$, $p = .075$), **homosexual (gay/lesbian)** ($\overline{x}_m = 2.46$, $\overline{x}_f = 2.35$, $t(257) = 0.83$, $p = .407$), **masculine** ($\overline{x}_m = 2.33$, $\overline{x}_f = 2.34$, $t(257) = 0.12$, $p = .901$), **violent** ($\overline{x}_m = 2.12$, $\overline{x}_f = 1.95$, $t(255) = 1.30$, $p = .195$), **fearful** ($\overline{x}_m = 2.28$, $\overline{x}_f = 2.12$, $t(258) = 1.37$, $p = .173$), **weak** ($\overline{x}_m$

= 1.80, $\overline{x}_f$ = 1.94, t(253) = 1.60, p = .110), and **inferior** ($\overline{x}_m$ = 1.61, $\overline{x}_f$ = 1.46, t(240) = 1.57, p = .117).

Table 7. Independent t-test of the perception of typical male athletic characteristics by male and female athletes (N = 261)

Listed Characteristics	Typical Male Athletes' Characteristics			
	Male Athlete's Views	Female Athletes' Views	t(df)	p
Competitive	4.74	4.79	0.96 (257)	.337
Fit	4.57	4.59	0.25 (257)	.806
Achiever	4.31	4.48	2.09 (257)	.038
Intelligent	4.31	4.54	2.95 (257)	.004
Confident	4.22	4.49	3.37 (257)	.001
Successful	4.18	4.16	0.25 (255)	.802
Physically Strong	4.18	4.29	1.27 (255)	.205
Fast	4.15	4.08	0.71 (257)	.477
Powerful	4.14	4.41	3.03 (256)	.003
Mentally Tough	4.09	4.10	0.04 (252)	.969
Self-reliable	4.09	3.86	1.71 (252)	.088
Daring	4.06	3.94	1.20 (256)	.230
Muscular	3.90	4.04	1.40 (256)	.163
Open	3.72	4.05	3.24 (255)	.001
Egalitarian	3.64	3.41	1.94 (258)	.054
Emotional	3.54	3.21	2.72 (258)	.007
Feminine	3.49	3.51	0.19 (255)	.851
Compassionate	3.45	3.52	0.63 (256)	.532
Aggressive	3.17	2.92	2.42 (253)	.016
Sensitive	3.05	2.71	2.72 (258)	.007
Controlling	2.96	2.52	3.68 (257)	.000
Empathetic	2.93	2.59	3.33 (256)	.001
Heterosexual	2.78	2.58	1.79 (254)	.075
Homosexual (gay/lesbian)	2.46	2.35	0.83 (257)	.407
Masculine	2.33	2.34	0.12 (257)	.901
Violent	2.12	1.95	1.30 (255)	.195
Fearful	2.28	2.12	1.37 (258)	.173
Vulnerable	2.09	1.83	2.43 (256)	.016
Weak	1.80	1.94	1.60 (253)	.110
Inferior	1.61	1.46	1.57 (240)	.117

4.4.2 MALE ATHLETES'PERCEPTIONS.

Male athletes' perceptions of male athletes (i.e., of themselves) were higher than female athletes' perceptions of male athletes for the following characteristics; **emotional** ($\overline{x}_m = 3.54$, $\overline{x}_f = 3.21$, $t(258) = 2.72$, $p = .007$), **aggressive** ($\overline{x}_m = 3.17$, $\overline{x}_f = 2.92$, $t(253) = 2.42$, $p = .016$), **sensitive** ($\overline{x}_m = 3.05$, $\overline{x}_f = 2.71$, $t(258) = 2.72$, $p = .007$), **empathetic** ($\overline{x}_m = 2.93$, $\overline{x}_f = 2.59$, $t(256) = 3.33$, $p = .001$), **vulnerable** ($\overline{x}_m = 2.09$, $\overline{x}_f = 1.83$, $t(256) = 2.43$, $p = .016$). Specifically, while male athletes tend to over-rate more feminine characteristics of male athletes (i.e., of themselves) such as emotionality, sensitivity, empathy, and vulnerability, female athletes tend to under-rate these same feminine characteristics of male athletes.

4.4.3 FEMALE ATHLETES' PERCEPTIONS.

Female athletes' perceptions of male athletes were higher than male athletes' perceptions of male athletes for the following characteristics; **achievers** ($\overline{x}_m = 4.31$, $\overline{x}_f = 4.48$, $t(257) = 2.09$, $p = .038$), **intelligent** ($\overline{x}_m = 4.31$, $\overline{x}_f = 4.54$, $t(257) = 2.95$, $p = .004$), **confident** ($\overline{x}_m = 4.22$, $\overline{x}_f = 4.49$, $t(257) = 3.37$, $p = .001$), **powerful** ($\overline{x}_m = 4.14$, $\overline{x}_f = 4.41$, $t(256) = 3.03$, $p = .003$), **open** ($\overline{x}_m = 3.72$, $\overline{x}_f = 4.05$, $t(255) = 3.24$, $p = .001$), and **feminine** ($\overline{x}_m = 3.49$, $\overline{x}_f = 3.51$, $t(255) = 0.19$, $p = .851$). Specifically, while female athletes tend to over-rate more feminine characteristics of male athletes such as openness and femininity, female athletes also tend to over-rate more masculine characteristics of male athletes such as achievement, intelligence, confidence, and power. On the other hand, male athletes tend to under-rate the same feminine characteristics of male athletes and also under-rate the same masculine characteristics.

4.5 Perception of the Characteristics of a Typical Female Athlete: A Gendered Perspective

The perceptions of both male and female athletes of the athletic characteristics of a typical female athlete were explored.

There are differences in this sample between female and male perceptions of female athletes. Mostly, female athletes tend to over-rate themselves compared to male athletes on more masculine characteristics and under-rate themselves compared to male athletes on more feminine characteristics.

4.5.1 FEMALE AND MALE ATHLETES' SIMILAR PERCEPTIONS.

Table 8 shows that there was no significant difference in the scores for male and female perceptions of female athletes being **intelligent** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.97$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.81$, $t(252) = 1.84$, $p = .067$), **confident** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.94$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.76$, $t(253) = 1.78$, $p = .077$), **successful** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.90$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.85$, $t(253) = 0.49$, $p = .627$), **open** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.39$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.47$, $t(252) = 0.73$, $p = .469$), **egalitarian** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.36$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.46$, $t(249) = 0.83$, $p = .410$), **compassionate** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.31$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.37$, $t(249) = 0.58$, $p = .560$), **controlling** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.21$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.28$, $t(250) = 0.55$, $p = .586$), **empathetic** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.20$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.35$, $t(250) = 1.30$, $p = .195$), **heterosexual** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.07$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.13$, $t(246) = 0.50$, $p = .618$), **homosexual (gay/lesbian)** ($\overline{x}_f = 2.90$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.06$, $t(252) = 1.49$, $p = .139$), **masculine** ($\overline{x}_f = 2.69$, $\overline{x}_m = 2.67$, $t(251) = 0.20$, $p = .842$), and **violent** ($\overline{x}_f = 2.56$, $\overline{x}_m = 2.56$, $t(254) = 0.34$, $p = .973$).

Table 8. Independent t-test of the perception of typical female athletic characteristics by female and male athletes (N = 261).

Listed Characteristics	Typical Female Athletes' Characteristics			
	Female Athletes' View	Male Athletes' View	t(df)	p
Competitive	4.47	4.14	3.44 (247)	.001
Fit	4.29	4.04	2.76 (248)	.006
Achiever	4.11	3.87	2.60 (253)	.010
Intelligent	3.97	3.81	1.84 (252)	.067
Confident	3.94	3.76	1.78 (253)	.077
Successful	3.90	3.85	0.49 (253)	.627
Physically Strong	3.88	3.23	6.56 (253)	.000
Fast	3.87	3.36	4.87 (236)	.000
Powerful	3.85	3.19	6.66 (250)	.000
Mentally Tough	3.83	3.58	2.29 (252)	.023
Self-reliable	3.82	3.56	3.08 (247)	.002
Daring	3.72	3.30	4.31 (250)	.000
Muscular	3.66	2.81	8.30 (254)	.000
Open	3.39	3.47	0.73 (252)	.469
Egalitarian	3.36	3.46	0.83 (249)	.410
Emotional	3.33	3.62	2.62 (253)	.009
Feminine	3.33	3.58	2.07 (252)	.039
Compassionate	3.31	3.37	0.58 (249)	.560
Aggressive	3.26	2.80	4.04 (250)	.000
Sensitive	3.22	3.50	2.62 (250)	.009
Controlling	3.21	3.28	0.55 (250)	.586
Empathetic	3.20	3.35	1.30 (250)	.195
Heterosexual	3.07	3.13	0.50 (246)	.618
Homosexual (gay/lesbian)	2.90	3.06	1.49 (252)	.139
Masculine	2.69	2.67	0.20 (251)	.842
Violent	2.56	2.56	0.34 (254)	.973
Fearful	2.43	2.76	2.72 (251)	.007
Vulnerable	2.43	2.99	4.30 (251)	.000
Weak	2.09	2.54	4.26 (251)	.000
Inferior	2.02	2.35	2.64 (249)	.009

4.5.2 FEMALE ATHLETES'PERCEPTIONS.

Female athletes' perceptions of female athletes (i.e., of themselves) were higher than male athletes' perceptions of female athletes for the following characteristics; **competitive** ($\overline{x}_f = 4.47$, $\overline{x}_m = 4.14$, $t(247) = 3.44$, $p = .001$), **fit** ($\overline{x}_f = 4.29$, $\overline{x}_m = 4.04$, $t(248) = 2.76$, $p = .006$), **achiever** ($\overline{x}_f = 4.11$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.87$, $t(253) = 2.60$, $p = .010$), **physically strong** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.88$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.23$, $t(253) = 6.56$, $p = .000$), **fast** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.87$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.36$, $t(236) = 4.87$, $p = .000$), **powerful** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.85$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.19$, $t(250) = 6.66$, $p = .000$), **mentally tough** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.83$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.58$, $t(252) = 2.29$, $p = .023$), **self-reliable** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.82$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.56$, $t(247) = 3.08$, $p = .002$), **daring** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.72$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.30$, $t(250) = 4.31$, $p = .000$), **muscular** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.66$, $\overline{x}_m = 2.81$, $t(254) = 8.30$, $p = .000$), and **aggressive** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.26$, $\overline{x}_m = 2.80$, $t(250) = 4.04$, $p = .000$). Specifically, while female athletes tend to over-rate more masculine characteristics of female athletes (i.e., of themselves) such as physical fitness, strength, speed, power, and muscularity, competitiveness, achievement, mental toughness, self-reliability, daringness, and aggression, male athletes tend to under-rate these same masculine characteristics of female athletes.

4.5.3 MALE ATHLETES' PERCEPTIONS.

Male athletes' perceptions of female athletes were higher than female athletes' perceptions of female athletes for the following characteristics; **emotional** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.33$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.62$, $t(253) = 2.62$, $p = .009$), **feminine** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.33$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.58$, $t(252) = 2.07$, $p = .039$), **sensitive** ($\overline{x}_f = 3.22$, $\overline{x}_m = 3.50$, $t(250) = 2.62$, $p = .009$), **fearful** ($\overline{x}_f = 2.43$, $\overline{x}_m = 2.76$, $t(251) = 2.72$, $p = .007$), **vulnerable** ($\overline{x}_f = 2.43$, $\overline{x}_m = 2.99$, $t(251) = 4.30$, $p = .000$), **weak** ($\overline{x}_f = 2.09$, $\overline{x}_m = 2.54$, $t(251) = 4.26$, $p = .000$), and **inferior** ($\overline{x}_f = 2.02$, $\overline{x}_m = 2.35$, $t(249) =$

2.64, p = .009). Specifically, while male athletes tend to over-rate more feminine characteristics of female athletes such as emotionality, femininity, sensitivity, fearfulness, vulnerability, weakness, and inferiority, female athletes tend to under-rate these same feminine characteristics of female athletes (i.e., of themselves).

4.6 Identity Management Strategies: A Gendered Perspective

Both male and female athletes were asked to indicate how often they use 21 listed strategies to deal with male and female athletic stereotypes.

None of the male athletes in the sample adhere to a hegemonic masculinity model; the inclusive masculinity model is the most present in this sample.

None of the female athletes in the sample employ apologetic strategies to manage their identities; female athletes' responses illustrate the use of unapologetic strategies, but there is a variance among their unapologetic scores which ultimately creates a normal distribution.

4.6.1 MALE ATHLETES' STRATEGIES.

The analyses revealed that male athletes used none of the listed strategies as a way to deal with the male athlete stereotypes of hypermasculinity and hyperheterosexuality. Thus, all male athletes adhered to an inclusive masculinity model and that none of them adhered to a hegemonic masculinity model.

4.6.2 FEMALE ATHLETES' STRATEGIES.

For female athletes, the results revealed that none have employed an apologetic strategy to manage their identities whereas 92.2% of the sample reported employing

some of the listed unapologetic strategies to manage their identities. Contrary to male athletes where full adherence to an inclusive model was observed, a closer inspection of the distribution of scores revealed a greater variability in the level of adherence to the unapologetic model among female athletes.

As Table 9 shows, female athletes never employed an apologetic strategy, but tend to employ a variety of unapologetic strategies to manage their identities ($\bar{x}$ =13.53, sd= 5.37). As shown in Table 1, some of the unapologetic strategies are more popular than others with a level of reporting varying between 76.4% and 94.7%. In total, 94.7% of female athletes reported laughing *at or making fun of the stereotypes so that they lose their stigmatizing force* to deal with female athletes' stereotypes while 76.4% reported *compensating for the stereotypes by presenting positive information about the sport they play to friends and family* as an identity management strategy. Other highly used unapologetic strategies were *employing different and flexible behaviours in different contexts* (90%), *hanging out with people who support you* (85.8%), and *ignoring the stereotypes and being a better athlete* (85.1%).

4.6.3 MALE AND FEMALE ATHLETES' SELF-REPORTED STRATEGIES.

Other reported strategies within the sample include an absence of stereotypes, not caring about possible stereotypes, ignoring possible stereotypes, and using religion, spirituality, music, and drinking as identity management strategies. Furthermore, there is no association between 'other strategies' employed for identity management and gender.

The questionnaire also allowed athletes to report other strategies than those reported listed using an open-ended question. Table 10, shows the complete frequency

distribution for self-generated strategies. On the one hand, after conducting a Chi Square test (x^2=14.083, 9 d.f., p>0.05), there was no association between 'other strategies' employed for identity management and gender. In other words, the other strategies reported were independent of gender and there was an 11.9% probability that any deviation was due to chance. On the other hand, the frequency distribution allows for small differences between male and female athlete's identity management strategies to be observed. Table 10 reveals that 66.7% of the sample of female and male athletes did not provide any response to this question. Compared to male athletes, a higher proportion of female athletes reported an absence of stereotypes (6.1% of females vs. 1.4% of males), not caring about possible stereotypes (3.5% of females vs. 0.7% of males), or ignoring possible stereotypes (3.5% of females vs. 0.7% of males). On the other hand, a higher proportion of male athletes than females reported using religion, spirituality, and music as an identity management strategy (2.1% males vs. 1.7% females), and drinking which female athletes did not report at all (1.4% males vs. 0% females).

Table 9. Descriptive statistics of reported apologetic and unapologetic strategies by female athletes (N = 115)

	(%)				
	Never	Occasionally	Sometimes	Often	Always
Apologetic Strategies*	100	0	0	0	0
Unapologetic Strategies**					
15. How often do you laugh at or make fun of the stereotypes so that they lose their stigmatizing ability as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	5.3	18.6	24.8	45.1	6.2
16. How often do you hang out with people who support you as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes (e.g. other athletes, family, non-athlete friends, etc...)?	14.2	14.2	15.0	41.6	15.0
17. How often do you try to ignore the stereotypes and be a better athlete as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	14.9	15.8	8.8	30.7	29.8
18. How often do you compensate for the stereotypes by presenting positive information about the sport you play to friends and family as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	23.7	16.7	11.4	27.2	21.1
19. How often do you learn to accept the fact that you cannot always fulfill of your roles perfectly (e.g. student, employee, athlete, daughter, etc...) as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	23.0	22.1	14.2	34.5	6.2
20. How often do you actively disagree with the stereotypes or discredit the person who believes them as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	21.9	28.1	20.2	20.2	9.6
21. How often do you learn to employ different and flexible behaviours in different contexts as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	9.7	26.5	20.4	38.1	5.3
	Mean	**Median**	**SD**	**Min**	**Max**
Overall level of reporting unapologetic strategies	13.53	14.00	5.37	3.0	26

***Given that participants did not report any apologetic strategies, frequencies are not reported for individual items.**
****Valid percent of total sample for each strategy.**

Table 10. Descriptive statistics of self-generated strategies by male and female athletes (N = 261)

Strategies	MALE ATHLETES (N=146)		FEMALE ATHLETES (N=115)		TOTAL (%)**
	n	%*	n	%*	
Blank	97	66.4	77	70.0	174 (66.7%)
No	30	20.5	16	13.9	46 (17.6%)
N/A	5	3.4	2	1.7	7 (2.7%)
Don't use any strategy	4	2.7	3	2.6	7 (2.7%)
Absence of stereotypes	2	1.4	7	6.1	9 (3.4%)
Don't care	1	0.7	4	3.5	5 (1.9%)
Ignore stereotypes	1	0.7	4	3.5	5 (1.9%)
Religion, spirituality, music	3	2.1	2	1.7	5 (1.9%)
Drinking	2	1.4	0	0	2 (0.8%)
Item listed not a strategy	1	0.7	0	0	1 (0.4%)
	X^2		df		p
	14.083		9		.119

***Valid percent of total male and female samples.**
****Valid percent of total sample**

4.7 Male and Female Athletes' Self-reported Attitudes, Behaviours, and Feelings toward Homosexuality

The level of homophobia among male and female Canadian university-attending athletes was examined.

The results indicate that most of the athletes in this sample are *high-grade nonhomophobic*. More specifically, athletes report no homophobia within their sport settings and no homophobic feelings towards gay or lesbian athletes.

The results indicate that 254 (97.3%) of the athletes in the sample were *high-grade nonhomophobic* with a score of 23 or less on the homophobia scale. More specifically, 141 (96.6%) male athletes and 113 (98.3%) female athletes did not report any homophobia within their sport and any homophobic attitudes, behaviours, or feelings towards gay or lesbian athletes.

4.8 Perception of the Emotional Characteristics of a Typical Athlete as Emotional-norm Pairs: A Gendered Perspective

The perceptions of both male and female athletes of the emotional characteristics of a typical athlete were explored. Respondents reported emotional characteristics which were then categorized as emotional-norm pairs (de Courville Nicol, 2011).

4.8.1 MALE ATHELTES' PERCEPTIONS.

Table 11 shows that male athletes most often reported *emotional* characteristics that were categorized as *confrontation-based* emotional-norm pairs. The *emotional*

characteristics that were categorized as the *confrontation-based* emotional-norm pair uncertainty/certainty were reported in all three positions (first position = 12.5%; second position = 8.5%; third position = 9.8%). *Emotional* characteristics categorized as the emotional-norm pair misery/joy were reported in the first (7.8%) and second (10.2%) positions, while *emotional* characteristics categorized as the emotional-norm pair negativity/positivity were reported only once in the third position (12.0%). The *emotional* characteristics categorized as the emotional-norm pairs irritation/tranquility (first position = 10.9%; second position = 9.3%) and anger/assertiveness (second position = 9.3%; third position = 7.6%) were reported twice. Moreover, the *emotional* characteristics categorized as the emotional-norm pairs uncertainty/certainty, misery/joy, and negativity/positivity were reported as *feelings of capacity.* Lastly, the *emotional* characteristics categorized as the *confrontation-based* emotional-norm pairs irritation/tranquility and anger/assertiveness were reported as *feelings of incapacity*.

Table 11. Descriptive statistics of reported emotional characteristics by male athletes (N = 146)

Characteristics		N	%*
First reported emotional characteristic (N =128)			
Confrontation-based			
	1. **Uncertainty/Certainty**	16	12.5
	2. **Irritation/Tranquility**	14	10.9
	3. Misery/**Joy**	10	7.8
	TOTAL	40	31.2
Prevention-based			
	1. Weakness/**Strength**	15	11.7
	2. **Vulnerability**/Invulnerability	4	3.1
	Being repressed/Being liberated	4	3.1
	3. Inferiority/**Contempt**	2	1.6
	Being emotional/Being rational	2	1.6
	TOTAL	27	21.1
Second reported emotional characteristic (N=118)			
Confrontation-based			
	1. Misery/**Joy**	12	10.2
	2. **Anger**/Assertiveness	11	9.3
	Irritation/Tranquility	11	9.3
	3. Uncertainty/**Certainty**	10	8.5
	TOTAL	44	37.3
Prevention-based			
	1. Weakness/**Strength**	9	7.6
	2. **Vulnerability**/Invulnerability	4	3.4
	Being emotional/Being rational	4	3.4
	3. **Being repressed/Being liberated**	2	1.7
	Worry/Safety	2	1.7
	TOTAL	21	17.8
Third reported emotional characteristic (N=92)			
Confrontation-based			
	1. Negativity/**Positivity**	11	12.0
	2. Uncertainty/**Certainty**	9	9.8
	3. **Anger**/Assertiveness	7	7.6
	TOTAL	27	29.4
Prevention-based			
	1. **Being emotional**/Being rational	7	7.6
	2. Weakness/**Strength**	4	4.3
	Being repressed/Being liberated	4	4.3
	3. Vulnerability/**Invulnerability**	3	3.3
	TOTAL	18	19.5

***Valid percent of total sample for each line.**
The bolded emotions have the highest frequencies within the emotional-norm pairs

For *prevention-based* emotional-norm pairs, male athletes reported *emotional* characteristics categorized as the emotional-norm pairs weakness/strength (first position = 11.7%; second position = 7.6%; third position = 4.3%), being emotional/being rational (first position = 1.6%; second position = 3.4%; third position = 7.6%), being repressed/being liberated (first position = 3.1%; second position = 1.7%; third position = 4.3%), and vulnerability/invulnerability (first position = 3.1%; second position = 3.4%l third position = 3.3%) in all three positions. Moreover, *emotional* characteristics categorized as the emotional-norm pairs inferiority/contempt (first position = 1.6%) and worry/safety (second position = 1.7%) were also reported by male athletes. For the emotional-norm pairs weakness/strength and being repressed/being liberated, the *emotional* characteristics reported were those of *feelings of capacity*; for the emotional-norm pair being emotional/being rational, the *emotional* characteristics reported were those of *feelings of incapacity* and *feelings of capacity*, and while *emotional* characteristics categorized as the emotional-norm pair inferiority/contempt were reported as *feelings of capacity,* the *emotional* characteristics categorized as the emotional-norm pair worry/safety were reported as *feelings of incapacity.* Finally, no one reported *emotional* characteristics that were categorized as *avoidance-based* emotional-norm pairs.

4.8.2 FEMALE ATHLETES' PERCEPTIONS.

Table 12 shows that female athletes most often reported *emotional* characteristics that were categorized as *confrontation-based* emotional-norm pairs. The *emotional* characteristics that were categorized as the *confrontation-based* emotional-norm pairs

uncertainty/certainty (first position = 16.5%; second position = 14.1%; third position = 12.0%) and negativity/positivity (first position = 11.7%; second position = 9.8%; third position = 12.0%) were reported in all three positions. *Emotional* characteristics categorized as the emotional-norm pair misery/joy were reported in the first (9.7%) and third (5.3%) positions, while *emotional* characteristics categorized as the emotional-norm pair underachievement/achievement were reported in the second (12.0%) and third (8.0%) positions. The *emotional* characteristics categorized as the emotional-norm pairs irritation/tranquility (8.0%), anger/assertiveness (5.3%), and passivity/proactivity (5.3%) were all reported once in the third position. Moreover, the *emotional* characteristics categorized as the emotional-norm pairs uncertainty/certainty, negativity/positivity, misery/joy, underachievement/overachievement, and passivity/proactivity were reported as feelings of capacity. Additionally, the *emotional* characteristics categorized as the emotional-norm pair anger/assertiveness were reported as *feelings of incapacity* and *capacity*.

For *prevention-based* emotional-norm pairs, female athletes reported *emotional* characteristics categorized as the emotional-norm pairs weakness/strength (first position = 14.6%; second position = 14.1%; third position = 5.3%) and worry/safety (first position = 1.9%; second position = 2.2%; third position = 4.0%) in all three positions. Moreover, while *emotional* characteristics categorized as the emotional-norm pairs being emotional/being rational (first position = 4.9%; third position = 4.0%) and being repressed/being liberated (first position = 1.9%; second position = 4.3%) were reported twice by female athletes, *emotional* characteristics categorized as the emotional-norm pair vulnerability/invulnerability were reported once in the third position (2.7%).

Table 12. Descriptive statistics of reported emotional characteristics by female athletes (N = 115)

Characteristics		N	%*
First reported emotional characteristic (N =103)			
Confrontation-based			
1.	**Uncertainty/Certainty**	17	16.5
2.	**Negativity/Positivity**	12	11.7
3.	**Misery/Joy**	10	9.7
	TOTAL	39	31.2
Prevention-based			
1.	**Weakness/Strength**	15	14.6
2.	**Being emotional**/Being rational	5	4.9
3.	**Being repressed/Being liberated**	2	1.9
	Worry/Safety	2	1.9
	TOTAL	24	23.3
Second reported emotional characteristic (N=92)			
Confrontation-based			
1.	**Uncertainty/Certainty**	13	14.1
2.	**Underachievement/Achievement**	11	12.0
3.	**Negativity/Positivity**	9	9.8
	TOTAL	33	35.9
Prevention-based			
1.	**Weakness/Strength**	13	14.1
2.	**Being repressed/Being liberated**	4	4.3
3.	**Worry/Safety**	2	2.2
	TOTAL	19	17.8
Third reported emotional characteristic (N=75)			
Confrontation-based			
1.	**Uncertainty/Certainty**	9	12.0
2.	Irritation/**Tranquility**	6	8.0
	Negativity/Positivity	6	8.0
	Underachievement/Achievement	6	8.0
3.	**Anger/Assertiveness**	4	5.3
	Misery/Joy	4	5.3
	Passivity/Proactivity	4	5.3
	TOTAL	39	51.9
Prevention-based			
1.	**Weakness/Strength**	4	5.3
2.	**Being emotional**/Being rational	3	4.0
	Worry/Safety	3	4.0
3.	**Vulnerability**/Invulnerability	2	2.7
	TOTAL	12	16.0

***Valid percent of total sample for each line.**
The bolded emotions have the highest frequencies within the emotional-norm pairs.

For the emotional-norm pair weakness/strength, the *emotional* characteristics reported were those of feelings of capacity; for the emotional-norm pair being repressed/being liberated, the emotional characteristics reported were those of *feelings of incapacity* and *capacity.* Additionally, the *emotional* characteristics categorized as the emotional-norm pairs worry/safety, being emotional/being rational, and vulnerability/invulnerability were reported as *feelings of incapacity*. Finally, no one reported *emotional* characteristics that were categorized as *avoidance-based* emotional-norm pairs.

4.9 Male and Female Athletes' Emotions in Identity and Emotion Management: A Gendered Perspective

This study investigated the degree to which male athletes feel personal insecurity and self-esteem, and the degree to which female athletes feel shame and pride in managing their identities and emotions.

4.9.1 MALE ATHLETES' EMOTIONS.

Most male athletes in this sample 'never' feel insecure about looking unmasculine or homosexual while more than half of male athletes 'occasionally', 'sometimes', 'often', and 'always' experience self-esteem when looking hypermasculine. Furthermore, more than half of male athletes in this sample 'never' experience self-esteem when looking hyperheterosexual.

Table 13 shows the degree to which male athletes feel insecurity and/or self-esteem when looking unmasculine, homosexual, hypermasculine, and hyperheterosexual. According to the data, 80.1% of male athletes 'never' feel insecure about looking unmasculine and 82.2% of them 'never' feel insecure about looking homosexual.

Additionally, more than half of male athletes (53.8%) 'occasionally', 'sometimes', 'often', and 'always' experience self-esteem when looking hypermasculine while more than half of them (56.2%) 'never' experience self-esteem when looking hyperheterosexual.

Table 13. Descriptive statistics of reported emotions of insecurity and self-esteem by male athletes (N = 146)

	%*		
	Never	Occasionally and Sometimes	Often and Always
Emotion of Insecurity			
1. How often do you feel insecure about looking unmasculine?	80.1	12.3	7.5
2. How often do you feel insecure about looking homosexual?	82.2	8.3	9.0
Emotion of Self-esteem			
1. How often do you experience self-esteem when looking hypermasculine?	46.2	26.9	26.9
2. How often do you experience self-esteem when looking hyperheterosexual?	56.2	26.0	17.8

***Valid percent of total male sample.**

4.9.2 FEMALE ATHLETES' EMOTIONS.

Most female athletes in this sample 'never' feel shame about looking masculine or lesbian while more than half of female athletes 'occasionally', 'sometimes, 'often', and 'always' experience pride when looking feminine. Furthermore, more than half of female athletes in this sample 'never' experience pride when looking heterosexual.

Table 14 shows the degree to which female athletes feel shame and/or pride when looking masculine, lesbian (i.e., homosexual), feminine, and heterosexual. According to the data, 81.7% of female athletes 'never' feel shame about looking masculine and 90.4% of them 'never' feel shame about looking lesbian. Additionally, more than half of female athletes (78.2%) 'occasionally', 'sometimes, 'often', and 'always' experience pride when looking feminine while more than half of them (51.3%) 'never' experience pride when looking heterosexual.

Table 14. Descriptive statistics of reported emotions of shame and pride by female athletes (N = 115)

	%*		
	Never	Occasionally and Sometimes	Often and Always
Emotion of Shame			
1. How often do you feel ashamed about looking masculine?	81.7	14.8	3.5
2. How often do you feel ashamed about looking lesbian (i.e. homosexual)?	90.4	7.0	2.6
Emotion of Pride			
1. How often do you experience pride when looking feminine?	21.7	24.3	53.9
2. How often do you experience pride when looking heterosexual?	51.3	14.2	34.5

***Valid percent of total female sample.**

CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION

5.1 The Male Athlete

Sport has been linked to positive outcomes such as increased self-esteem, academic success (Leaper & Friedman, 2007), self-confidence, and bodily empowerment (Messner, 2007). On the other hand, social scientists have also looked into the negative outcomes of participating in sports (Anderson, 2005). As a matter of fact, Anderson (2007) argues that we are living in a culture of decreasing homophobia as a more inclusive form of masculinity is growing. This inclusive masculinity as male athletes accept diverse masculinities, femininities, and sexualities and refrain from homophobic behaviour and language seems to be growing particularly among university-aged, White, middle-class men in the United States. Similarly, Canadian university-attending male athletes (regardless of culture and ethnicity) also seem to be embracing this inclusive masculinity model. While a typical athlete (male or female) might once have been described in stereotypically masculine terms, more feminine characteristics are now being reported by athletes as important to possess.

The male athletes in this sample report that a typical athlete is someone with big arms, big legs, someone with abs, and a "six-pack". In other words, a typical athlete for the male athletes in this sample is "toned", "jacked", and/or "cut". In addition, a typical athlete should be "big" with a "wide stance"; an athlete should also be "broad" with "wide shoulders" and should be "solid" on their feet. A typical athlete according to this sample of male athletes should also be "taller than average" with "long legs", should be

"fast", "powerful", and "explosive". Furthermore, a typical athlete according to the male athletes in this study should be disciplined, successful, determined, focused, and motivated; they should also be driven, strong-willed, and persistent. A typical athlete according to this sample of male athletes should also be confident, proud and cocky, and self-assured. In other words, a typical athlete's physical appearance is described according to musculature, build, height, and speed/power and by *behavioural c*haracteristics related to "achievement motivation", to "self-confidence", and to "social orientation/sportspersonship". The emphasis on these *physical* and *behavioural* characteristics shows that most male athletes still see a typical athlete as having traits associated with a hegemonic kind of masculinity. On the other hand, male athletes in this sample are also displaying characteristics, traits, and emotions which are not identified in literature on hegemonic masculinity.

Physical, behavioural, and *emotional* characteristics such as looking "pretty" and "handsome" or having a "clean face"; being patient, sociable, compassionate, respectful, cooperative, helpful, and empathetic towards others; or being "happy", "emotional" and feeling "passion" and "empathy" are now being used by male athletes to describe the appearances, behaviours and feelings of a typical athlete. It seems that male athletes are more open towards appearing, being, and feeling in typically more feminine ways. These characteristics, traits, and emotions have been identified in literature on inclusive masculinity.

5.2 The Female Athlete

Sport has been seen and understood as an apprenticeship in masculinity, an initiation to manhood, an obligation boys and men must fulfill, and "the leading definer of masculinity" (Connell, 1995, p. 54; Pronger, 1990), but today, many young girls and women participate in sport activities. As seen in the literature reviewed for this study, many women now engage in team sports previously identified as male-appropriate sports (Theberge, 2000) such as ice hockey, rugby, and basketball. When it comes to describing a typical athlete, female athletes in this sample use a variety of characteristics, traits, and emotions.

When it comes to describing a typical athlete's *physical* appearance, the female athletes in this study, like their male counterparts, used descriptive words related to muscularity, build, strength, speed and power. In addition, some female athletes specifically mentioned that a typical athlete should not wear makeup, should not have long nails, and should wear her hair up. Although some of the female athletes in this study reported that a typical athlete should be beautiful, feminine, and well put-together, most of them reported that a typical athlete should possess characteristics, traits, and emotions commonly used to describe a typical male athlete displaying hegemonic masculinity. In other words, *behavioural* and *emotional* characteristics such as being strong, fit, tall, agile, coordinated, and physically conditioned; being competitive, hard-headed, daring, and assertive; and feeling empowered, rational, and independent which were once identified as masculine characteristics or emotions, seem to now be reported by female athletes as important athletic characteristics. It seems that female athletes are more open towards appearing, being, and feeling in typically more masculine ways.

Consequently, there seems to be a noteworthy identity-related shift occurring in the culture of sports as the distinction between what it means to look, behave, and/or feel in masculine or feminine ways is blurred and harder to define.

5.3 Male and Female Athletic Characteristics

An identity-related shift can also be seen in the ways male and female athletes describe themselves and each other. Male athletes tend to over-rate themselves on feminine characteristics and under-rate themselves on masculine characteristics compared to female athletes. Male athletes also describe themselves as more aggressive than female athletes describe them, but what is different from previous studies is that male athletes also describe themselves using previously feminine identified characteristics such as being emotional, sensitive, empathetic, and vulnerable. What is more, male athletes describe themselves as typically more feminine than female athletes describe them. On the other hand, female athletes tend to describe male athletes using previously masculine identified characteristics such as being intelligent, confident, and powerful. What is more, female athletes describe male athletes as typically more masculine than male athletes describe themselves. Although female athletes seem to over-rate hypermasculine or hyperheterosexual characteristics among male athletes, male athletes in this sample seem to not only allow themselves to behave or feel in more feminine ways, but also allow themselves to report these more feminine behaviours and emotions. In other words, this sample of male athletes displays different masculinities and even femininities, and characteristics once linked with homosexual identities within their sport settings. These new expressions are in line with Anderson's description of inclusive masculinity as men

value emotional and physical intimacy, and are not afraid to "display behaviours that were once stigmatized as feminine" (Anderson, 2009, p. 98).

Female athletes tend to over-rate themselves on more masculine characteristics and under-rate themselves on more feminine characteristics compared to male athletes. Female athletes describe themselves using previously masculine identified characteristics such as being competitive, fit, fast, strong, powerful, self-reliable, muscular, and aggressive. What is more, female athletes describe themselves as typically more masculine than male athletes describe them. On the other hand, male athletes tend to describe female athletes as emotional, feminine, sensitive, and fearful. What is more, male athletes describe female athletes as typically more feminine than female athletes would describe themselves. Although female athletes seem to under-rate feminine or heterosexual characteristics among female athletes, female athletes in this sample seem to not only allow themselves to behave or feel in more masculine ways, but also allow themselves to report these more masculine behaviours and emotions. In other words, this sample of female athletes displays different femininities and even masculinities, and characteristics once linked with lesbian identities within their sport setting. These new expressions are in line with Broad's (2001) description of unapologetic behaviour as women complicate the categories of womanhood and heterosexuality.

5.4 Masculinity Model and Identity Management Strategies

From male athletes feeling pressured to socially conform to Brannon's (1976) four dimensions of normative masculine expectations, to them feeling pressured to conform to Connell's (1983, 1987, 1995, 2005) hegemonic masculinity, recently it has

been said that male athletes now feel little pressure to conform to any specific kind of dominant masculinity (Anderson, 2007). This would mean that because male athletes no longer feel the need to display hegemonic masculinity, for example, they no longer use identity management strategies to deal with or manage social stigmas because a variety of masculinities, femininities, and sexualities are now being accepted in the sportsworld.

The results of this study show that male athletes do not use the listed identity management strategies to deal with or manage athlete stereotypes of hypermasculinity and hyperheterosexuality. In this case, hegemonic masculinity does not seem to be a type of masculinity male athletes wish to perform. Although the findings of this study suggest that characteristics such as musculature, aggression, and self-confidence are still a huge part of what defines a typical athlete, it seems that male athletes no longer feel the need to work out and bulk up, to use or display physical force, aggression, and violence, or to accentuate their sport roles to prove their own hypermasculinity. Furthermore, the results of this study also suggest that male athletes no longer feel the need to hang out with females outside of sport settings, to publicly discuss sexual conquests, or to evaluate and judge women sexually and aesthetically to prove their own hyperheterosexuality. Additionally, results show that male athletes no longer seem to exclude gay teammates or other gay athletes, no longer seem to make fun of, publicly criticize, and make derogatory comments towards male teammates or other male athletes, or physically or mentally control or dominate, or publicly stigmatize male teammates or other male athletes. Finally, homosexualizing nicknames like “faggot” or “sissy” do not seem to have their place in the sport settings within this sample. The lack of identity management strategies reported by male athletes in this study illustrates that male athletes no longer feel the

need to conform to a hegemonic athletic model. According to the results, Canadian university-attending male athletes now seem to be displaying behaviours and attitudes Anderson (2007) links to a much more inclusive masculinity model. On the other hand, while social stigmas (or stereotypes) related to being male athletes seem to be nonexistent, only 1.4% of the male athletes in this sample reported an absence of stereotypes within their sport and only 0.7% reported ignoring these stereotypes. In other words, male athlete stereotypes still seem to exist within this sample which means that strategies other than the ones listed in the questionnaire are being used to manage identities. It is, therefore, possible that male athletes are now appropriating different or new identity management strategies.

5.5 Femininity Model and Identity Management Strategies

Since 1974, scholars have also observed and reported female athletes' stigma and identity management strategies. Jan Felshin's (1974) defensive apologetic strategy was/is used by female athletes as a means to apologize for their sport participation and for their masculine or lesbian tendencies by emphasizing femininity. Kendal Broad's (2001) unapologetic behaviour was/is used by female athletes who do not compensate for their athleticism or for their non-normative behaviours and even challenge gender and sexual ideals. Female athletes have employed various stigma and identity management strategies to fashion their identities of 'woman' and 'athlete'. While some female athletes report concealing information about their athleticism or accentuating their femininity using clothing, makeup or jewelry (Blinde & Taub, 1992; Fallon & Jome, 2007), other female athletes report directly confronting the stigmas they experienced (Blinde & Taub, 1992),

directly resisting it (Wheatley, 1994), directly challenging the gender and sexual ideals of society (Broad, 2001) or directly disagreeing with the messages of stigma or discrediting the source of the message (Fallon & Jome, 2007). Whatever the stigma or identity management strategies used the results of this study show that female athletes seem to no longer employ apologetic behaviours. In other words, the female athletes in this sample tend to use unapologetic strategies to manage the stigmas they experience and to manage their female and athletic identities. In other words, they seem to feel more confident and at ease with their feminine and athletic identities. The female athletes in this study also seem to feel that they no longer have to hide or accentuate either identity. Additionally, they report feeling much more confident with their identities. Some of the female athletes in this sample tend to laugh at or make fun of the stigmas they experience while others simply ignore stigmas or stereotypes and focus on being better athletes. In other words, the data suggest that social stigmas still exist and are still being associated with being a female athlete, but it seems female athletes are using ways to manage their identities that allow them to continue playing the sports they love and be who they want to be without fear of being put-down, insulted, disrespected, or disparaged.

5.6 Other Identity Management Strategies

Besides male athletes employing stigma and identity management strategies that support Anderson's inclusive masculinity theory and female athletes employing unapologetic strategies more often than apologetic strategies, athletes seem to use a variety of other strategies research has not yet focused on in relation to identity management and performance. Religion, spirituality, music, and drinking are also

strategies reported by athletes. Again, these strategies support the idea that athletes still experience social stigmas in the sportsworld; male and female athletes are still somehow being pressured into behaving and acting in specific ways. This suggests that instead of directly conforming to expected societal norms, athletes are shown to find strategies to deal with social stigmas and to escape pressures that can lead to identity tensions. More specifically, athletes seem to turn towards personal beliefs or somewhat self-destructive ways to help focus on their athletic performances rather than on their gender and sexuality performances which may or may not conform to dominant gender and sexuality norms.

5.7 Homosexuality and Homophobia

As the literature shows, homophobia has long been present in the sportsworld, but it has been said to be on the decline in America (Anderson, 2009). The results of Anderson's study of male athletes show that homosexual male athletes or less-masculine, unmasculine or feminine male athletes are being accepted and respected in sport-related settings. In this study, homophobia seems to have decreased or be almost absent in sport-related settings. In this study's sample, Canadian male athletes illustrate being more accepting of different sexualities, masculinities, and even femininities within male team sports. Similarly, lesbian female athletes or less feminine, unfeminine or masculine female athletes are being accepted and respected in sport-related settings. Again, in this study's sample, Canadian female athletes illustrate being more accepting of different sexualities, masculinities, and femininities. Furthermore, the results of this study show that homosexualizing nicknames like 'faggot', 'sissy', 'queer', 'mannish', and 'butch'

seem to have almost disappeared and athletes who tease or make fun of other athletes seem to be frowned upon. In addition, physical violence towards homosexual athletes seems to also be absent within the team sports of this study. This suggests that both male and female athletes understand that being openly homophobic is frowned upon in Canadian society at large. Both the male and female athletes in the sample appear to show progress in accepting differences in the sportsworld, more specifically within their team sports.

5.8 Male and Female Athletes' Emotions and Emotion Management Strategies

Part of embodied in/capacity theory is about how individuals achieve social conformity through emotion work. Emotion work or emotion management is when individuals move from forms of felt incapacities to forms of felt capacities. Within emotion management, individuals experience emotional norms which are classified into three strategic orientations to problems: *confrontation, avoidance,* and *prevention* (de Courville Nicol, 2011). Male and female athletes in this study report experiencing emotions that can be likened to emotional-norm pairs of a *confrontation-based* or a *prevention-based* strategic orientation, but none that can be likened to an *avoidance-based* strategic orientation.

5.8.1 STRATEGIC ORIENTATIONS.

As mentioned, within the *confrontation* strategic orientation (i.e., moving away from experiences of fear emotions or felt incapacities and towards desire emotions or felt

capacities), the emotional-norm pair terror/courage explains the source of other felt emotional-norm pairs; "terror designates the fear associated with the perception that one lacks the capacity to overcome danger through *confrontation*, with courage as its pair" (de Courville Nicol, 2011, p. 29). Within the *prevention* strategic orientation (i.e., moving away from experiences of fear emotions or felt incapacities and towards desire emotions of felt capacities), the emotional-norm pair worry/safety explains the source of other felt emotional-norm pairs; "worry refers to the fear associated with the perception that one lacks the capacity to overcome danger through *prevention*, while safety names its pair" (p. 29).

No *avoidance-based* emotional norms pairs are revealed in this study. Within the *avoidance* strategic orientation of moving away from experiences of fear emotions or felt incapacities and towards desire emotions or felt capacities, the emotional-norm pair phobia/escape explains the source of other felt emotional-norm pairs; "phobia explains the fear associated with the perception that one lacks the capacity to overcome danger through *avoidance*, while escape is the desire triggered by the perception that one is able to do so" (de Courville Nicol, 2011, p. 29). In other words, the athletes in this study do not avoid or run away from painful emotions or feelings of incapacity which may be brought about by identity-related social stigmas. Rather, this sample of athletes tends to confront these emotions or feelings of incapacity or attempts to prevent them.

5.8.2 FELT IN/CAPACITIES.

Both male and female athletes in this study experience either *confrontation* or *prevention* emotional-norm pairs through felt *capacities* more than through felt

incapacities, which not only means that they fear felt *incapacities*, but that they desire felt *capacities* and that consequently, emotion work or emotion management is present and efficient in managing social stigmas and identities. Because some athletes in the sample reported feeling *confrontation-based* emotional-norm pairs as felt incapacities, they seem to be somewhat terrified of painful outcomes or of stigmatized identities (i.e., feminine and homosexual for males and masculine and homosexual or lesbian for females). Other athletes in the sample, due to reported *confrontation-based* felt *capacities,* seem to be somewhat courageous about being able to overcome danger by implementing security. Because some athletes in the sample reported feeling *prevention-based* emotional-norm pairs as felt *incapacities*, they seem to be somewhat worried about painful outcomes or of stigmatized identities. Other athletes in the sample, due to reported *prevention-based* felt *capacities*, seem to feel safe about being able to overcome danger by implementing security. It is therefore safe to say that athletes may either enhance or repair certain desires to achieve social conformity. More specifically, athletes may activate or form certain latent or immature desires, or repress or correct certain illegitimate or erroneous desires (i.e., certain physical, behavioural, and/or emotional characteristics). In other words, felt *incapacities* such as uncertainty, misery, and negativity (i.e., *confrontation-based*) and weakness and vulnerability (i.e., *prevention-based*) are transformed into felt *capacities* such as certainty, joy, strength, and invulnerability in order to conform to certain gender and sexuality ideals. As mentioned, by not reporting any *avoidance-based* emotional-norm pairs, athletes in this sample do not seem to experience phobias or feelings of escape toward managing their identities and emotions. In other words, although the athletes in this study seem to be "terrified" of

negotiating or challenging social stigmas or "worried" about having to do so, athletes do not seem to feel the need to hide from or escape the management of their identities. Rather, athletes seem to feel morally responsible for identity and emotion management in conforming to expected gender and sexuality norms via confrontation and prevention orientations rather than via an avoidance orientation.

The male athletes in this study report not experiencing feelings of insecurity about looking unmasculine or homosexual. On the other hand, they do report feeling some kind of self-esteem when looking hypermasculine or hyperheterosexual. As such, it can be argued that they are successful in their emotion management efforts (i.e., moving from personal insecurity to self-esteem). The same thing is reported by female athletes. The female athletes in this study report not experiencing feelings of shame about looking masculine or homosexual (i.e., lesbian). On the other hand, they do report feeling some kind of pride about looking feminine or heterosexual. As such, it can be argued that they too are successful in their emotion management efforts (i.e., moving from shame to pride). Although athletes in this study seldom report feeling fear emotions (i.e., personal insecurity and shame) about transgressing the boundaries of expected identities and emotions or about failing to achieve the standard emotions and identities, the fact that they report feeling desire emotions (i.e., self-esteem and pride) suggests that they do indeed fear the painful outcomes (i.e., personal insecurity and shame) of social nonconformity. Paradoxically, while it seems that not conforming to gender and sexuality norms is not typically experienced as an incapacity for the athletes in this study, conforming to them is still favoured. Male and female athletes in this study might accept and respect different masculinities, femininities, and sexualities within their team sports,

but when it comes to their own identities, performances or displays of dominant gender and sexuality norms are still valued, encouraged, desired, and celebrated within sport-related contexts.

5.8.3 EMOTION MANAGEMENT.

As mentioned, the male athletes in this study describe themselves using previously feminine identified characteristics such as being more emotional, sensitive, empathetic, and vulnerable than female athletes would describe them. Moreover, the female athletes in this study describe themselves using previously masculine identified characteristics such as being more competitive, fit, fast, strong, powerful, self-reliable, muscular, and aggressive than male athletes would describe them. This in some ways suggests that the male athletes in the sample see themselves as somehow being unable to meet social standards of hypermasculinity or hyperheterosexuality while female athletes in the sample see themselves as somehow transgressing gender norms. Moreover, the previous discussion explains that emotional-norm pairs are mostly reported as felt capacities rather than felt incapacities, which means that male and female athletes somehow fear felt incapacities and desire to feel felt forms of capacities. It can therefore be assumed that male athletes need to engage in the enhancement work of *self-realization* as they form or activate more desirable masculine and heterosexual characteristics to manage their emotions of fear or felt incapacities. In addition, it can be assumed that female athletes need to engage in the repair work of *self-discipline* as they repress or correct less desirable masculine and homosexual (i.e., lesbian) characteristics to manage their emotions of fear or felt incapacities. Whether or not male and female athletes use

these emotion management strategies, the results of this study indicate the presence of emotions in managing identity-related social stigmas. The emotion data provided access to an identity dynamic that would not otherwise have been accessible because the respondents in this study believe that non-conformity is not a problem; the basis of their feelings of self-esteem and pride tell us otherwise. The importance of emotions in identity management and performance is presented in this study, but further investigations are and will be necessary.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

First, this study investigated the changing pressures placed on male and female athletes in the sportsworld. More specifically, it explored definitions of masculinity and femininity within sport-related contexts. This study also explored the models of masculinity in Canadian university sport teams and the strategies used by female athletes to manage social stigmas and their identities were identified. In addition to identity management strategies, homosexuality and homophobia (i.e., homophobic behaviours and language) were also examined within Canadian university team sports. Second, this study investigated typical athletic characteristics of males and females reported by male and female athletes. Third, the study explored the management of emotions in sport-related contexts. More specifically, it explored felt emotional-norm pairs and the strategies used by male and female athletes to manage them and achieve social conformity. The objectives were to explore the idea of a significant transition of values and traditions in a sample of sport teams and to uncover the complex symbolic significance of sport in the construction and management of various male and female identities and emotions.

For this study, numerous sports teams were contacted to participate in filling out a self-reported written questionnaire. The questionnaire centered on male and female athletes' lives, on their social environment, and on how they view themselves and other athletes. More specifically, the questions centered on what athletes think is expected of them, on what they think it means to be a man, a woman, and an athlete, and on how they

manage their genders, sexualities, and emotions on and off the field. As this study illustrates, male and female athletes still identify dominant physical, behavioural, and emotional characteristics as important to possess. In addition, male and female athletes also report a decrease in homophobia (i.e., homophobic behaviour and language) which results in athletes feeling less insecure and less ashamed about managing identities that do not necessarily align with dominant societal norms. On the other hand, there seems to be some sort of satisfaction or felt social reward when managing identities that do align with societal norms. As a result, male and female athletes may find themselves either self-realizing or self-disciplining their emotions while managing their identities.

Most scholarly work on the subject of sports and identity management focuses on how male and female athletes manage their gender and sexuality identities. This study sets itself apart from the academic research on identity management insofar as it tests out new claims on gender and sexuality and examines whether they are borne out in Canada. Furthermore, attitudes, behaviours, and feelings towards homosexuality are explored. The importance of emotions in identity management is presented and emotion management strategies are also explored. A better understanding of the management of gender, sexuality, and emotions in sports might allow coaches and universities to implement policies which promote greater diversity in the valued embodied forms of experience of gender and sexuality and condemn rigid identity boundaries and standards.

6.1 Limitations

The limitations of the study are important to consider because they might have limited the access to important data. Before identifying specific limitations, it is important to mention limitations to any quantitative study.

6.1.1 QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH.

First of all, quantitative analyses are useful insofar as they effectively measure numerical data collected from a large sample. Quantitative research also allows for statistical measures of people's attitudes, behaviours, and feelings. Second, quantitative research can translate and summarize large sums of data into charts, tables, and graphs making the data easier to read and comprehend. Another advantage of quantitative analyses is that they provide results which can be replicated and most often generalized to a larger population. Furthermore, this type of analysis is advantageous because it allows the researcher to be more objective about the findings of the research than a researcher would be about the findings of qualitative analyses because there is a far less pronounced interpretive element. Lastly, quantitative analyses usually involve cost-effective data collection formats.

Some of the disadvantages of quantitative research are that it is vulnerable to statistical error. The misuse of sampling can sometimes undermine the accuracy and validity of a quantitative research study. Although quantitative studies can provide numerical descriptive results, they cannot provide detailed narrative and they provide less elaborative accounts of human experience. Also, having preset answers in a questionnaire does not always necessarily represent or reflect how individuals really feel. Participants

of quantitative research might just be choosing answers that are a closest match to their actual perceptions, therefore eliding important nuances.

In addition to the fact that this study is not of a qualitative nature, the limitations proposed might have resulted in distorted claims about gender, sexuality, and emotions in sport. Ultimately, there are three limitations at work throughout this study. They include the inability to quantify certain concepts, the operationalization of a new theory, and the unverified validity and reliability of the questionnaire.

6.1.2 QUANTIFYING CONCEPTS.

Some of the concepts defined and used in this study have not been or cannot be quantified or are hard to quantify. Concepts such as morality, social conformity, insecurity, self-esteem, shame, pride, and homophobia are concepts that are widely used, but they can also generate different meanings. Not only can two different people have two very different definitions of these concepts, but males and females (regardless of them being athletes or not) might also understand the meanings of these concepts in different ways. It might have been helpful in this case to ask respondents to define these concepts themselves. A collective definition of these terms might have been generated and used in the analysis of the data.

6.1.3 OPERATIONALIZING A NEW THEORY.

By working with de Courville Nicol's (2011) embodied in/capacity theory, this study encountered the challenge of operationalizing new ideas and new concepts. After several meetings with the founder of the theory, specific strategies and questions were pieced together for the questionnaire. The questions related to this literature have never

been used or supported before and so this tentative initiative to operationalize something that has never been operationalized before is open to interpretation and criticism.

In addition, after the data collection, the researcher and the founder of the theory became aware of a few imperfections in the 'Emotions' section of the questionnaire. Instead of using the terms "hypermasculine" and "hyperheterosexual", the founder and the researcher agreed that if the terms "masculine" and "heterosexual" were used, the respondents' responses might have been different. More specifically, the male respondents might not have been fully sure or confident about the meanings of the terms and so they might have chosen answers that did not necessarily reflect their true feelings. Another imperfection in attempting to operationalize this new theory is the fact that the questions about insecurity and self-esteem were not asked in the female version of the questionnaire for female athletes. In addition, the questions about shame and pride were not asked in the male version of the questionnaire. Although these questions were formulated based on an assumption anchored in the existing literature that defends the idea of measuring personal insecurity/self-esteem for males and shame/pride for females, the founder of the theory and the researcher agreed that asking all four questions to both male and female athletes would have provided more concrete evidence to support that male and female athletes employ different emotion management strategies.

6.1.4 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY.

The data collection instrument for this study is not one that already exists. In other words, the questionnaire used in this study has never been validated; its validity and reliability have never been confirmed. Although the 'Strategies' and 'Homosexuality'

sections of the questionnaire come from validated quantitative scales used in other research, the rest of the sections were created for the sole purpose of this study because there were no modern scales for measuring the specific concepts this study sought to explore. By using an invalidated and unreliable questionnaire, the study introduces and explores new concepts and theories, and examines the possibility of new occurrences, transitions, and shifts in sports. On other hand, the results of this study cannot be generalized to individuals who do not possess the characteristics of the participants, they cannot be generalized to individuals in other settings, and they cannot be generalized to past or future situations or studies. In other words, the study of 14 different Canadian university sport teams cannot be generalized to findings among all sport teams; this study can only hypothesize about these particular teams in this particular location and time.

6.1.5 CODE OF SILENCE.

There is a possibility that a code of silence was at work within this study's sample. Kimmel (2008) refers to male athletes' emotional detachment and silence as the "Code of Silence". According to Kimmel, boys and men fear being marginalized and shunned and so they remain silent about acts of cruelty, teasing, and violence within their sport teams. The extremely low levels of reported homophobic attitudes, behaviours, and language might have been due to this code of silence; athletes (male and female) might not want to admit to the existence of homophobia within their sport because they now know that even if they are homophobic, it is wrong to be seen as homophobic. This code of silence might have limited the access to this sample's real thoughts and feelings toward homosexuality. Further investigation in this area is therefore needed in order to

better understand the conditions and contexts in which homophobia plays a role in the management of emotions and of gender, sexuality, and athletic identities.

6.2 Recommendations for Future Research

Future studies of this nature should consider eight central recommendations that have emerged from the findings of this study. These recommendations include looking into individual sports, using more modern measuring scales, spreading the research out geographically, taking into consideration different demographics, assessing the usefulness of established conceptual categories of gender and sexuality, further investigating the usefulness of emotions in identity management, pushing boundaries in accessing athletes, coaches, and administrative officials, and making the results of studies like this one public.

6.2.1 INDIVIDUAL TEAMS.

Although this study's focus on team sports was justified by previous findings, it would be interesting and important to look into the ways male and female athletes manage their gender and sexuality identities and their emotions in individual sports such as figure skating, wrestling, golf, swimming, racket sports (e.g., tennis, badminton, table tennis, etc.), martial arts, boxing, gymnastics, track and field, and strength athletics. Although athletes who participate in individual sports are not playing or performing alongside teammates, these athletes are still observed, judged, and criticized by the general public, their coaches, and probably their own families and friends. Furthermore, different expectations might be placed upon them and they may experience different

emotions relating to identity performances. In addition, athletes practicing individual sports cannot go unnoticed in a team or crowd of athletes, therefore their gender and sexuality identities and the emotions that come from managing social stigmas become front and centre in their every-day presentations of self.

6.2.2 MODERN SCALES.

An important concept that is hard to quantify is homophobia (i.e., homophobic behaviour and language). As mentioned, the original homophobia scale by Wright, Adams, and Bernat's (1999) was edited for this particular study; all the statements except for two of them were altered to reflect homophobia in a sport-related context. Although the original scale has been validated, the edited version has not. Furthermore, homophobia today is not understood nor expressed in the same way it was when the scale was constructed. According to Morrison and Morrison (2003), men and women now have "contemporary" negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians; "attitudes not based on traditional or moral objections to homosexuality" (p. 15). These authors argue that studies using "multiple indices of homonegativity present a somewhat darker picture" (p. 16) which could explain why little homophobia was reported in this study. Also, Morrison and Morrison argue that scales like the original homophobia scale only measure one specific type of homonegativity; one that college and university students no longer support and that the statements reflect "old-fashioned" prejudices (p. 17). The homonegativity college and university students experience according to this study has undergone a transformation;

> Specifically, students' prejudice against gay men and lesbians has moved away from biblical injunctions and moral objections to more abstract concerns. These concerns may include: (1) gay men and lesbians are making illegitimate (or

> unnecessary) demands for changes in the status quo (e.g., spousal benefits); (2) discrimination against homosexual men and women is a thing of the past; and (3) gay men and lesbians exaggerate the importance of their sexual preference and, in so doing, prevent themselves from assimilating into mainstream culture. (p. 18)

Morrison and Morrison's 12-item Modern Homonegativity Scale (MHS) which measures political conservatism, religiosity, and modern sexism might be a better tool in future studies investigating homophobia or negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians among male and female athletes in university sport teams given that the scale used in this study appears not to be reflecting information relevant to fully elucidating the research question.

6.2.3 GEOGRAPHY.

This study took place in one specific geographic location. While the respondents of the questionnaire might have reflected experiences and feelings of many male and female athletes throughout Canada, similar studies in different locations would more than likely yield different results. This is why expanding research of this nature nationally or even internationally could result in more diverse findings.

6.2.4 CATEGORIES OF GENDER AND SEXUALITY.

It is necessary to examine both the usefulness and the relevance of categories of masculinity, femininity, and sexuality as conceptual tools for analyzing masculine and feminine ideals. More specifically, categories of gender and sexuality need to be critiqued because current conceptualizations of masculinity, femininity, and sexuality might not be appropriate in contemporary discussions about male and female athletes. The male athletes in this study describe themselves using feminine physical, behavioural, and

emotional characteristics while the female athletes in this study describe themselves using masculine physical, behavioural, and emotional characteristics. This illustrates how the lines that used to divide masculinity and femininity or heterosexuality and homosexuality are now blurred and need to be re-examined. Studies like this one which explore the ways men and women describe themselves or categorize themselves as gendered and sexual beings are required in understanding identity management in the sportsworld.

6.2.5 DEMOGRAPHICS.

Similar to expanding research geographically, expanding the pool of participants/respondents would also generate diverse findings. Focusing on athletes using demographic criteria such as culture and ethnicity, religion, age, and sexual orientation would generate diverse experiences which in-turn would contribute to comparative studies on sport and identity management.

6.2.6 EMOTIONS.

De Courville Nicol's (2011) work is new in the study of emotions. As illustrated, emotions can play a huge part in the way individuals manage their identities. First, while different emotions are deemed appropriate and inappropriate in different social contexts, male and female athletes are expected to feel different things in different ways. Male athletes are expected to withhold sharing their emotions while female athletes are most often expected to display their emotions publicly. Second, just like men and women manage their gender and sexuality identities in different ways by using different strategies, it can be assumed, as Hochschild and Machung (2012) suggest, that they also

manage their emotions in sport-related contexts using different strategies. Because this is a first attempt to operationalize embodied in/capacity theory, more studies need to explore this sociology of emotions, be it within athletics or otherwise, since emotional experience is universal, but often neglected in the study of gender and sexuality in sports.

6.2.7 PUSHING BOUNDARIES.

Just like universities support the establishment of classrooms, libraries, and research labs, they should also support the establishment of sports and social activities. Further research should continue to push boundaries in accessing athletes, coaches, league officials, and university administrators. Although participating in sports does have positive benefits, it also puts pressure on student-athletes to socially conform. Both positive and negative outcomes need to be studied to better the lives of university-attending student-athletes. Scholars who are persistent in accessing athlete populations are indispensable in making coaches and university officials aware of identity issues in sports. When the questionnaire for this study was handed out to athletes of different team sports, some of the athletes giggled and laughed at the questions about gender and sexuality. This is precisely the reason why it is up to researchers to create open and accepting settings for dialogue about difficult topics. Athletes who experience problems in managing their identities know what they are dealing with, but it is up to researchers to shed light on these issues so that policies and solutions can be implemented.

6.2.8 MAKING FINDINGS PUBLIC.

Finally, it is very important that findings on gender, sexuality, and emotion management in the sportsworld be made public. Results of studies should be printed in

brochures, books, videos, and on websites for athletes, coaches, their families, and others. People need to be aware of the pressures placed on athletes of all ages. While the media often portrays the benefits of sport and physical education participation, identity construction, management, and performance as decades of scholarship show can be a gruesome ordeal for some athletes even though the findings of this study do not suggest this. The more people know about the issues behind identity and emotion management in sports, the more appropriate resources can be offered to athletes suffering from identity tensions. Finally, creating discussion about different gender and sexuality identities within the sportsworld can not only promote, but also maintain new positive ideals, whether they are based on a mixture of masculinities, femininities, or sexualities.

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF SPORT TEAMS CONTACTED

Concordia University	**McGill University**	**Université de Montréal**	**Université de Québec à Montréal**
Men's Teams: • Football • Basketball • Hockey • Soccer • Rugby	Men's Teams: • Baseball • Basketball • Football • Hockey • Lacrosse • Rugby • Soccer	Men's Teams: • Football • Soccer • Volleyball • Rugby	Men's Teams: • Basketball • Soccer
Women's Teams: • Basketball • Hockey • Soccer • Rugby	Women's Teams: • Basketball • Hockey • Rugby • Soccer • Volleyball	Women's Teams: • Hockey • Soccer • Volleyball • Rugby	Women's Teams: • Basketball • Soccer

APPENDIX B: REFERRAL RESOURCES SHEET

Researcher: Jessica Légère
Phone: 514-895-8462
E-mail: jailege@hotmail.com

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Marc Lafrance
Phone: 514-848-2424, ext: 2142
E-mail: marc.lafrance@concordia.ca

Project 10:
www.p10.ca

Gai Écoute:
1-888-505-1010
www.gai-ecoute.qc.ca

Gay Line:
1-888-505-1010
www.caeoquebec.org

Tel-Jeunes:
1-800-263-2266
www.teljeunes.com

Fondation Jasmin Roy:
www.fondationjasminroy.com

Egale Canada:
www.egale.ca

Bullying Canada:
www.bullyingcanada.ca

PFLAG Canada:
www.pflagcanada.ca

GRIS:
www.gris.ca

Concordia University Counselling and Development
Tel.: (514) 848-2424, ext. 3545
Fax : (514) 848-4534
Website: http://cdev.concordia.ca/

McGill Counselling Service
Tel.: 514-398-3601
Fax: 514-398-8149
Website:
http://www.mcgill.ca/counselling/

Université de Montréal
Centre de santé et de consultation psychologique (CSCP)
Tel: 514 343-6452
Fax: 514 343-2479
Website: http://www.cscp.umontreal.ca/

UQAM
Services à la vie étudiante: Soutien psychologique
Tel: (514) 987-3185
Website: http://www.vie-etudiante.uqam.ca/soutienpsychologique/Pages/accueil.aspx

APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE (English, male version)

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Jessica Légère, MA Candidate, Sociology

[UNIVERSITY ATHLETES IDENTITY SURVEY 2012]

CONSENT FORM

This is to state that I agree to participate in a program of research being conducted by Jessica Légère of the Sociology and Anthropology department of Concordia University (*514-895-8462, jailege@hotmail.com).* I have been informed that the purpose of the research is to study the techniques athletes use in managing and performing their gender, sexuality, and athletic identities. I understand that I am to fill out the questionnaire (which should not take more than 20 minutes) to the best of my ability and that I do not need to answer any question that makes me feel uncomfortable. I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation at anytime without negative consequences. I understand that my participation in this study is confidential (i.e., the researcher will know, but will not disclose my identity). I understand that the data from this study may be published.

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT. I FREELY CONSENT AND VOLUNTARILY AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

NAME (please print) _____

SIGNATURE _____

If at any time you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact Adela Reid, Research Ethics and Compliance Officer, Concordia University, at (514) 848-2424 x7481 or by email at areid@alcor.concordia.ca.

PLEASE READ INSTRUCTIONS CAREFULLY

- **Please complete the questionnaire and return it to the researcher.**
- **Please sign your name on the consent form only.**
- **DO NOT write your name on the questionnaire.**
- **Your answers will remain anonymous.**
- **Your participation is voluntary.**
- **You do not need to answer any question that makes you feel uncomfortable.**
- **If you have any comments about the survey itself, there is a place for you to write your comments at the end of the survey.**

Thank you for your participation.

Male athletes are sometimes stereotyped as hypermasculine or as hyperheterosexual. Research indicates that these stereotypes create pressure on male athletes and can even result in discrimination. The questionnaire is designed to examine how male athletes respond to such gender and sexuality-related pressures.

TYPICAL ATHLETE

I. In the following section, I am interested in your opinion about athletes. There are no right or wrong answers. Please picture a typical athlete in terms of what they would look like, how they would behave, and how they would feel.

a. Now, please list up to 5 **physical** characteristics that you think would describe a typical athlete (how you think they would look like):

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

b. Please list up to 5 **behavioural** characteristics that you think would describe a typical athlete (how you think they would behave):

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

c. Please list up to 5 **emotional** characteristics that you think would describe this typical athlete (how you think they would feel):

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

ATHLETES' CHARACTERISTICS

Never	Occasionally	Sometimes	Often	Always
1	2	3	4	5

II. Please indicate to which extent you think the following characteristics are observed among female and male athletes. Please circle the number that best reflects your personal opinion:

	FEMALE ATHLETES					MALE ATHLETES				
1. Muscular	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
2. Aggressive	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
3. Open	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
4. Vulnerable	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
5. Competitive	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
6. Masculine	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
7. Compassionate	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
8. Fast	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
9. Confident	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
10. Successful	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
11. Heterosexual	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
12. Physically Strong	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
13. Empathetic	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
14. Mentally Tough	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
15. Feminine	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
16. Fit	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

Never 1	Occasionally 2	Sometimes 3	Often 4	Always 5

	FEMALE ATHLETES					MALE ATHLETES				
17. Intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
18. Sensitive	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
19. Homosexual (gay/lesbian)	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
20. Violent	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
21. Weak	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
22. Self-reliable	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
23. Emotional	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
24. Daring	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
25. Powerful	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
26. Fearful	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
27. Controlling	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
28. Achiever	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
29. Egalitarian	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
30. Inferior	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

STRATEGIES

III. Now thinking about stereotypes associated with male athletes, please indicate how often you use the following strategies to deal with those stereotypes. Please circle the number that best reflects your personal opinion:

Never 1	Occasionally 2	Sometimes 3	Often 4	Always 5

a. How often do you try to look hypermasculine (by working out and bulking up) as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
b. How often do you display aggression, as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
c. How often do you display physical force as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
d. How often do you publicly stalk about sport as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
e. How often do you publicly hang out with male athletes outside of the sport setting as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
f. How often do you publicly hang out with females outside of the sport setting as a way to deal with the male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
g. How often do you avoid any (non-game related) physical contact with other males as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
h. How often do you display violence as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
i. How often do you talk about, or try to be seen with, a girlfriend as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
j. How often do you avoid publicly talking about homosexuality/bisexuality as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5

Never 1	Occasionally 2	Sometimes 3	Often 4	Always 5

k. How often do you accentuate your sport role as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
l. How often do you evaluate or judge women sexually or aesthetically as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
m. How often do you disclose information about your athletic status as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
n. How often do you avoid publicly expressing your emotions or engage in emotional intimacy with other men as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
o. How often do you engage in public conversations about sexually conquests (yours or other's) as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
p. How often do you exclude your gay teammates or other gay athletes from activities outside of the sport setting as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
q. How often do you make fun of gay teammates or other gay athletes as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
r. How often do you publicly criticize or make derogatory comments towards male athletes who do not have a masculine or heterosexual appearance as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
s. How often do you physically or mentally control or dominate other male athletes as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
t. How often do you publicly stigmatize other male athletes who are not hypermasculine or hyperheterosexual as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
u. How often do you publicly make fun of other male athletes using homosexualizing nicknames like "faggot" and "sissy" as a way to deal with male athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5

v. Are there any other ways than those mentioned above that you use to deal with male athlete stereotypes?

HOMOSEXUALITY

IV. The following statements are designed to measure your thoughts, feelings, and behaviours with regards to homosexuality. It is not a test, so there are no right or wrong answers. Do you strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, somewhat agree, or strongly agree with each of the following statements? Please circle the number that best reflects your personal opinion:

Strongly Disagree 1	Somewhat Disagree 2	Don't Know 3	Somewhat Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5

a. Gay athletes make me nervous.	1	2	3	4	5
b. Homosexuality in sports is unacceptable to me.	1	2	3	4	5
c. If I discovered a teammate was gay I would end the friendship.	1	2	3	4	5
d. I think homosexual athletes should not coach children.	1	2	3	4	5
e. I make derogatory remarks about gay athletes.	1	2	3	4	5
f. I do not enjoy the company of gay athletes.	1	2	3	4	5
g. I make derogatory remarks like "faggot" or "queer" to athletes I suspect are gay.	1	2	3	4	5
h. It does matter to me whether my teammates are gay or straight.	1	2	3	4	5
i. It would upset me if I learned that a close teammate was homosexual.	1	2	3	4	5
j. Homosexuality is immoral.	1	2	3	4	5
k. I tease and make jokes about gay athletes.	1	2	3	4	5
l. I feel that I cannot trust an athlete who is homosexual.	1	2	3	4	5
m. I fear homosexual athletes will make sexual advances towards me.	1	2	3	4	5

Strongly Disagree 1	Somewhat Disagree 2	Don't Know 3	Somewhat Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5

n. Sport organizations which promote gay teams are not necessary.	1	2	3	4	5
o. I have damaged property of gay athletes, such as "keying" their cars.	1	2	3	4	5
p. I would feel uncomfortable having a gay teammate.	1	2	3	4	5
q. I would hit a homosexual athlete for coming on to me.	1	2	3	4	5
r. Homosexual behaviour should be against the law.	1	2	3	4	5
s. I avoid gay athletes.	1	2	3	4	5
t. It bothers me to see two homosexual athletes together in public.	1	2	3	4	5
u. When I see a gay athlete I think, "What a waste".	1	2	3	4	5
v. When I meet someone I try to find out if he/she is gay.	1	2	3	4	5
w. I have rocky relationships with athletes that I suspect are gay.	1	2	3	4	5

EMOTIONS

V. Now thinking about stereotypes associated with female athletes, please indicate how often you experience these emotions in dealing with those stereotypes. Please circle the number that best reflects your personal opinion:

Never 1	Occasionally 2	Sometimes 3	Often 4	Always 5

a. How often do you feel insecure about looking unmasculine?	1	2	3	4	5
b. How often do you feel insecure about looking homosexual?	1	2	3	4	5
c. How often do you experience self-esteem when looking hypermasculine?	1	2	3	4	5
d. How often do you experience self-esteem when looking hyperheterosexual?	1	2	3	4	5

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Before we end, I have a few questions regarding your background.

1. **How old are you? _____**
2. **Which is your gender?**

   Male ……....☐

   Female……☐

   Transgender…… ☐

   Other, please specify _____

3. **Which is your sexual orientation?**

   Heterosexual……☐

   Bisexual……☐

   Homosexual……☐

   Other, please specify _____

4. **Which is your cultural background?**

Canada.....☐ Mexico, Caribbean, or Latin America.....☐
United States.....☐ Middle East (Saudi Arabia, Oman, Turkey). ☐
Africa..... ☐ Asia (China, Japan, Laos…)……☐
Asia (India, Nepal, Pakistan)☐ Eastern Europe (Albania, Hungary, Russia)..☐
Australia and Pacific Islands ☐ West Europe (France, Spain, Sweden)……. ☐
Don't know.....☐

5. **Which of the following educational institutions are you currently attending?**

Concordia University……☐
Université de Montréal …….. ☐
McGill University …….....☐
Université du Québec à Montréal. ☐

6. **Which sport do you play for your educational institution?**

Football……☐ Rugby……☐
Basketball…….. ☐ Baseball……...☐
Hockey……☐ Lacrosse……..☐
Soccer……☐ Volleyball……☐

7. **Which is your current year of study?**

1st year undergraduate.....☐ 2nd year undergraduate.....☐
3rd year undergraduate.....☐ 4th year or more undergraduate.....☐
Graduate studies.....☐

8. **Which is your current cumulative grade point average (GPA)?**

A .....☐ D …….☐
B.....☐ F …….☐
C ……..☐

9. **Which field of study best represents the area in which you are currently enrolled?**

Arts/Humanities ..... ☐	Science/Technology ..... ☐
Engineering ..... ☐	Social Science ..... ☐
Business/Commerce ..... ☐	Medicine ..... ☐
Other Health Sciences ☐	Law ..... ☐
Education ..... ☐	Other, please specify_____

10. **Which is your current student status?**

Full-time ..... ☐

Part-time ..... ☐

COMMENTS

Please express any additional comments you have about this questionnaire.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for your valuable participation!

APPENDIX D : QUESTIONNAIRE (English, female version)

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Jessica Légère, MA Candidate, Sociology

[UNIVERSITY ATHLETES IDENTITY SURVEY 2012]

CONSENT FORM

This is to state that I agree to participate in a program of research being conducted by Jessica Légère of the Sociology and Anthropology department of Concordia University (*514-895-8462, jailege@hotmail.com).* I have been informed that the purpose of the research is to study the techniques athletes use in managing and performing their gender, sexuality, and athletic identities. I understand that I am to fill out the questionnaire (which should not take more than 20 minutes) to the best of my ability and that I do not need to answer any question that makes me feel uncomfortable. I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation at anytime without negative consequences. I understand that my participation in this study is confidential (i.e., the researcher will know, but will not disclose my identity). I understand that the data from this study may be published.

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT. I FREELY CONSENT AND VOLUNTARILY AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

NAME (please print)_____

SIGNATURE _____

If at any time you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact Adela Reid, Research Ethics and Compliance Officer, Concordia University, at (514) 848-2424 x7481 or by email at areid@alcor.concordia.ca.

PLEASE READ INSTRUCTIONS CAREFULLY

- **Please complete the questionnaire and return it to the researcher.**
- **Please sign your name on the consent form only.**
- **DO NOT write your name on the questionnaire.**
- **Your answers will remain anonymous.**
- **Your participation is voluntary.**
- **You do not need to answer any question that makes you feel uncomfortable.**
- **If you have any comments about the survey itself, there is a place for you to write your comments at the end of the survey.**

Thank you for your participation.

Female athletes are sometimes stereotyped as masculine or as lesbians. Research indicates that these stereotypes create pressure on female athletes and can even result in discrimination. The questionnaire is designed to examine how female athletes respond to such gender and sexuality-related pressures.

TYPICAL ATHLETE

I. In the following section, I am interested in your opinion about athletes. There are no right or wrong answers. Please picture a typical athlete in terms of what they would look like, how they would behave, and how they would feel.

a. Now, please list up to 5 **physical** characteristics that you think would describe a typical athlete (how you think they would look like):

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

b. Please list up to 5 **behavioural** characteristics that you think would describe a typical athlete (how you think they would behave):

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

c. Please list up to 5 **emotional** characteristics that you think would describe this typical athlete (how you think they would feel):

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

ATHLETES' CHARACTERISTICS

Never	Occasionally	Sometimes	Often	Always
1	2	3	4	5

II. Please indicate to which extent you think the following characteristics are observed among female and male athletes. Please circle the number that best reflects your personal opinion:

	FEMALE ATHLETES						MALE ATHLETES				
1. Muscular	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
2. Aggressive	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
3. Open	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
4. Vulnerable	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
5. Competitive	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
6. Masculine	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
7. Compassionate	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
8. Fast	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
9. Confident	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
10. Successful	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
11. Heterosexual	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
12. Physically Strong	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
13. Empathetic	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
14. Mentally Tough	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
15. Feminine	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
16. Fit	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5

Never 1	Occasionally 2	Sometimes 3	Often 4	Always 5

	FEMALE ATHLETES						MALE ATHLETES				
17. Intelligent	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
18. Sensitive	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
19. Homosexual (gay/lesbian)	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
20. Violent	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
21. Weak	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
22. Self-reliable	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
23. Emotional	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
24. Daring	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
25. Powerful	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
26. Fearful	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
27. Controlling	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
28. Achiever	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
29. Egalitarian	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
30. Inferior	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5

STRATEGIES

III. Now thinking about stereotypes associated with female athletes, please indicate how often you use the following strategies to deal with those stereotypes. Please circle the number that best reflects your personal opinion:

Never 1	Occasionally 2	Sometimes 3	Often 4	Always 5

a. How often do you try to look feminine (by wearing make-up, wearing jewelry, or having long hair) as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
b. How often do you avoid being aggressive or using physical force as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
c. How often do you apologize for being aggressive or using physical force as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
d. How often do you avoid publicly talking about sport as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
e. How often do you avoid publicly hanging out with other female athletes outside of the sport setting as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
f. How often do you publicly hang out with males outside of the sport setting as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
g. How often do you avoid any (non-game related) physical contact with other females as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
h. How often do you not play as hard as you can when you compete against males in sports as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
i. How often do you talk about, or try to be seen with, a boyfriend as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5

Never 1	Occasionally 2	Sometimes 3	Often 4	Always 5

k. How often do you criticize or make rude comments about female athletes who are not feminine or who are lesbian as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
l. How often do you accentuate your non-sport role (e.g. student, girlfriend/wife, mother, etc...) as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
m. How often do you avoid publicly hanging out with female non-athletes outside of the sport setting as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
n. How often do you withhold information about your athletic status as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
o. How often do you laugh at or make fun of the stereotypes so that they lose their stigmatizing force as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
p. How often do you hang out with people who support you as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes (e.g. other athletes, family, non-athlete friends, etc...)?	1	2	3	4	5
q. How often do you try to ignore the stereotypes and be a better athlete as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
r. How often do you compensate for the stereotypes by presenting positive information about the sport you play to friends and family as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
s. How often do you learn to accept the fact that you cannot always fulfill of your roles perfectly (e.g. student, employee, athlete, daughter, etc...) as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
t. How often do you actively disagree with the stereotypes or discredit the person who believes them as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5
u. How often do you learn to employ different and flexible behaviours in different contexts as a way to deal with female athlete stereotypes?	1	2	3	4	5

v. Are there any other ways than those mentioned above that you use to deal with female athlete stereotypes?

HOMOSEXUALITY

IV. The following statements are designed to measure your thoughts, feelings, and behaviours with regards to homosexuality. It is not a test, so there are no right or wrong answers. Do you strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, somewhat agree, or strongly agree with each of the following statements? Please circle the number that best reflects your personal opinion:

Strongly Disagree 1	Somewhat Disagree 2	Don't Know 3	Somewhat Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5

a. Gay athletes make me nervous.	1	2	3	4	5
b. Homosexuality in sports is unacceptable to me.	1	2	3	4	5
c. If I discovered a teammate was gay I would end the friendship.	1	2	3	4	5
d. I think homosexual athletes should not coach children.	1	2	3	4	5
e. I make derogatory remarks about gay athletes.	1	2	3	4	5
f. I do not enjoy the company of gay athletes.	1	2	3	4	5
g. I make derogatory remarks like "mannish" or "butch" to athletes I suspect are gay.	1	2	3	4	5
h. It does matter to me whether my teammates are gay or straight.	1	2	3	4	5
i. It would upset me if I learned that a close teammate was homosexual.	1	2	3	4	5
j. Homosexuality is immoral.	1	2	3	4	5
k. I tease and make jokes about gay athletes.	1	2	3	4	5
l. I feel that I cannot trust an athlete who is homosexual.	1	2	3	4	5
m. I fear homosexual athletes will make sexual advances towards me.	1	2	3	4	5

Strongly Disagree 1	Somewhat Disagree 2	Don't Know 3	Somewhat Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5

n. Sport organizations which promote gay teams are not necessary.	1	2	3	4	5
o. I have damaged property of gay athletes, such as "keying" their cars.	1	2	3	4	5
p. I would feel uncomfortable having a gay teammate.	1	2	3	4	5
q. I would hit a homosexual athlete for coming on to me.	1	2	3	4	5
r. Homosexual behaviour should be against the law.	1	2	3	4	5
s. I avoid gay athletes.	1	2	3	4	5
t. It bothers me to see two homosexual athletes together in public.	1	2	3	4	5
u. When I see a gay athlete I think, "What a waste".	1	2	3	4	5
v. When I meet someone I try to find out if he/she is gay.	1	2	3	4	5
w. I have rocky relationships with athletes that I suspect are gay.	1	2	3	4	5

EMOTIONS

V. Now thinking about stereotypes associated with female athletes, please indicate how often you experience these emotions in dealing with those stereotypes. Please circle the number that best reflects your personal opinion:

Never 1	Occasionally 2	Sometimes 3	Often 4	Always 5

a. How often do you feel ashamed about looking masculine?	1	2	3	4	5
b. How often do you feel ashamed about looking lesbian (i.e. homosexual)?	1	2	3	4	5
c. How often do you experience pride when looking feminine?	1	2	3	4	5
d. How often do you experience pride when looking heterosexual?	1	2	3	4	5

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Before we end, I have a few questions regarding your background.

1. **How old are you? _____**

2. **Which is your gender?**

   Male ……..... ☐
   Female……. ☐
   Transgender…… ☐
   Other, please specify _____

3. **Which is your sexual orientation?**

   Heterosexual…… ☐
   Bisexual…… ☐
   Homosexual……. ☐
   Other, please specify _____

4. **Which is your cultural background?**

Canada.....☐ Mexico, Caribbean, or Latin America…… ☐

United States.....☐ Middle East (Saudi Arabia, Oman, Turkey). ☐

Africa.....☐ Asia (China, Japan, Laos)…….. ☐

Asia (India, Nepal, Pakistan)☐ Eastern Europe (Albania, Hungary, Russia)☐

Australia and Pacific Islands☐ West Europe (France, Spain, Sweden).....☐

Don't know.....☐

5. **Which of the following educational institutions are you currently attending?**

Concordia University……. ☐

Université de Montréal ……..☐

McGill University …….....☐

Université du Québec à Montréal ☐

6. **Which sport do you play for your educational institution?**

Football……☐ Rugby……☐

Basketball……☐ Baseball……...☐

Hockey……☐ Lacrosse……..☐

Soccer……☐ Volleyball…….☐

7. **Which is your current year of study?**

1st year undergraduate.....☐ 2nd year undergraduate.....☐

3rd year undergraduate.....☐ 4th year or more undergraduate.....☐

Graduate studies.....☐

8. **Which is your current cumulative grade point average (GPA)?**

A .....☐ D …….☐

B.....☐ F …….☐

C ……..☐

9. **Which field of study best represents the area in which you are currently enrolled?**

Arts/Humanities ..... ☐ Science/Technology ..... ☐

Engineering ..... ☐ Social Science ..... ☐

Business/Commerce .. ☐ Medicine ..... ☐

Other Health Sciences . ☐ Law ..... ☐

Education ..... ☐

Other, please specify_____

10. **Which is your current student status?**

Full-time ..... ☐

Part-time ..... ☐

COMMENTS

Please express any additional comments you have about this questionnaire.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for your valuable participation!

APPENDIX E: FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION FOR HOMOPHOBIA SCALE

Homophobic Level	MALE N = 146			FEMALE N = 115		
	Frequency	**% within scale**	**% within gender**	**Frequency**	**% within scale**	**% within gender**
High-grade nonhomophobic	141	55.5%	100%	113	44.5%	100%
Low-grade nonhomophobic	-	-	-	-	-	-
Low-grade homophobic	-	-	-	-	-	-
High-grade homophobic	-	-	-	-	-	-

Total sample N=261

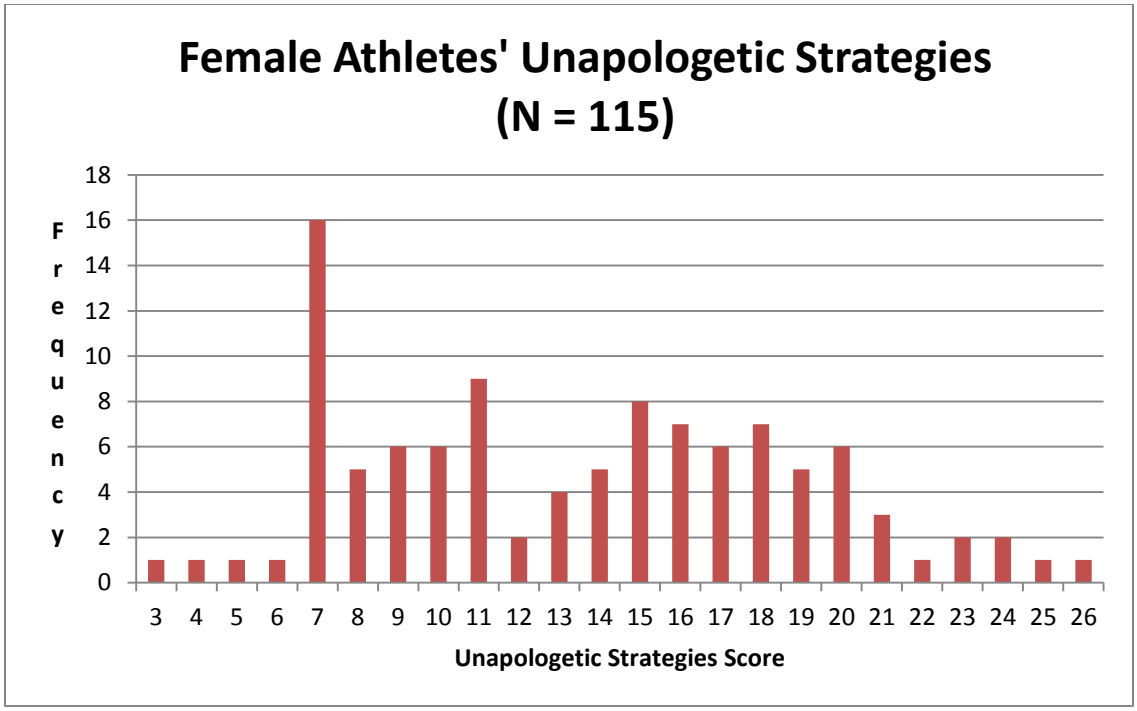
APPENDIX F: FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION FOR MALE STRATEGIES

Gender and Sexuality Model	N
Hegemonic Masculinity	0
Inclusive Masculinity	128
Missing	18
TOTAL	146

APPENDIX G: FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION FOR FEMALE STRATEGIES

Strategies	N
Apologetic	0
Unapologetic	106
Missing	9
TOTAL	115

APPENDIX H: BAR GRAPH FOR FEMALE UNAPOLOGETIC STRATEGIES



APPENDIX I: CODING OF THE EMOTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS INTO EMOTIONAL-NORM PAIRS*

Confrontation-Based Emotional-Norm Pairs

1. Uncertainty-**certainty**
2. Dishonesty-**honesty**
3. Irrationality-**rationality**
4. Confusion-**clarity**
5. Ignorance-**knowledge**
6. Indifference-**sympathy**
7. Frustration-**satisfaction**
8. Ingratitude-**gratitude**
9. Selfishness-**self-sacrifice**
10. Failure-**success**
11. Anger-**assertiveness**
12. Spite-**kindness**
13. Social disapproval-**social approval**
14. Personal insecurity-**self-esteem**
15. Misery-**joy**
16. Artificiality-**authenticity**
17. Irritation-**tranquility**
18. Submission-**domination**
19. Rivalry-**advantage**
20. Disempowerment-**empowerment**
21. Impulsivity-**self-restraint**
22. Passivity-**proactivity**
23. Negativity-**positivity**
24. Self-stagnation-**self-growth**
25. Emotional stress-**resilience**
26. Dependence-**independence**
27. Underachievement-**achievement**
28. Backwardness-**progress**
29. Heartlessness-**compassion**
30. Shame-**pride**
31. Rage-**revenge**

Prevention-Based Emotional-Norm Pairs

32. Humiliation-**dignity**
33. Inferiority-**contempt**
34. Hate-**love**
35. Abnormality-**normality**
36. Rejection-**belonging**
37. Weakness-**strength**
38. Vulnerability-**invulnerability**
39. Being emotional-**being rational**
40. Being repressed-**being liberated**

95. Direct to category of terror/courage

97. Can't classify

99. Missing

***The bolded emotions are feelings of capacity while the unbolded emotions are feelings of incapacity.**