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Liam Lattrell
Male College Veterans,
Masculinity, and their
Help Seeking Behaviors.

Abstract

This study investigates the relevancy college experience has on masculinity amongst male US military personnel (active duty and veterans) and how this ‘manliness’ affects help seeking behaviors. *Sample.* 152 active duty male US military members and male veterans. *Methods.* Using quantitative survey instruments that measured masculinity and help seeking behaviors, I surveyed active duty military and veterans. I ran statistical tests to determine correlative factors related to masculinity and help seeking scores between participants with college experience and those without this experience. Additionally, I drafted open response questions and ran an analysis on this data comparing it to participants’ quantitative scores. I also analyzed demographics relative to the aforementioned data. *Results.* Masculinity proved to have a strong negative correlation with help seeking behaviors for the entire sample as well as veterans with and without college experience. Participants without college experience were shown to be more likely to access help than those who had not attended college. There was not a significant difference in masculinity scores between the two groups.

Upon the preliminary findings, it is recommended that more education be provided to veterans about how masculine identities have been shown to affect help seeking behaviors. In addition, it is recommended that more research be conducted to de-stigmatize the act of veterans seeking help--especially for those transitioning in to college environments

MALE COLLEGE VETERANS, MASCULINITY, AND THEIR HELP SEEKING
BEHAVIORS

A thesis based upon a sample of military veterans and active duty personnel, submitted in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Social Work.

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Northampton, Massachusetts, 01063

2014

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Chapter I

Introduction

It is not a secret that US military veterans come back from war with a myriad of physical and mental health problems that often plague their lives. However, what seems to be less known is whether male veterans (who predominantly represent our armed forces) seek help for their ailments. Transition from military to civilian life can be very difficult for veterans. It is often challenging for veterans to re-acclimate to new and old surroundings, find work, and try career pursuits, frequently through a college education. In fact, many OEF and IEF veterans quickly become homeless; while the homeless rate is less than previous generations of veterans, the PTSD rate amongst OEF and IEF veterans is substantially higher than prior generations, and many veterans, especially men, are not seeking out help for their mental health problems (DeAngilis, 2013). Professional practitioners endorse seeking help for new transitions, especially when dealing with trauma and other mental health symptomology. However, studies indicate that seeking help is impeded by stereotypical manly behaviors, often described as “masculinity” (Good, Mintz, and Dell, 1990; David and Brannon, 1976; O'Neil et al., 1986). The purpose of this study is to better understand whether masculinity impacts male veteran's help-seeking behaviors—especially amongst the college population.

This study seems relevant because of the onslaught of veterans returning home and entering college who are in need of help, and it seems necessary because of the lack of existing literature. There are more veterans enrolling in college than any time in US history. According to the Department of Veteran Affairs, in 2103 there were over one million veterans using GI benefits for higher education. While there has been research on masculinity and help seeking behaviors, there have not been studies conducted on this relationship as it pertains to military

members, veterans, or college veterans. In the literature review I first outline theoretical understandings of masculinity and discuss ideas about how a person's environment may influence their social identity. More specifically, I examine how military and college arenas impact masculinity amongst active duty soldiers and veterans. The literature that exists provides a platform of understanding about how masculinity can affect a man's desire and ability to seek help. Notably, as the research gradually becomes closer to my empirical question, "How masculinity affects help seeking behaviors amongst college veterans?", there is progressively fewer studies that examine the empirical inquiry.

The present study should be considered mixed methods as it utilizes both quantitative measures and open ended responses. The help seeking (Cohen, 1999) and masculinity (Parent, 2011) questionnaires I utilized were approved by the Smith College Institutional Review Board (IRB). The recruitment process, outlined in the chapter three methodology section, gathered an adequate sample size necessary for running statistically meaningful comparisons of veterans with college experience versus veterans and active duty soldiers without this experience. This analysis was complimented by open ended responses; this added a more personal understanding of how male military and veterans understand their masculinity and help seeking behaviors. A variety of tests were completed to tease out means and correlations, making the data digestible for analysis.

The final chapter (Discussion and Limitations) opens up discussion about the research process and results. The data is put into the context of existing literature eliciting a comparative discussion. The chapter highlights gaps in research of how military and college veterans' masculinity and help seeking behaviors differ from other populations. I also outline the importance this study serves for the field of social work and the limitations and biases of the research. This section concludes by recommending additional research which may further

develop an awareness of how our military, both enrolled and not enrolled in college, needs to be educated about help seeking options and how impediments, like masculinity, may influence their use of these services.

Chapter II

Literature Review

Defining Masculinity

Masculinity is a term that can take on various meanings and operate in different ways. Such a vague and fluid term is naturally understood differently and interrelates with other social theories. In this section, I will unpack different perspectives on masculinity. These theories will show up throughout my literature review and during the analysis of my own research. The literature on gender theory is expanding and as such this section only begins to analyze masculinity. I hope that by exploring the complexity of masculinity, I will provide context for my discussions regarding how college veterans' masculinity influences their help seeking behaviors.

Masculinity is related to other gender theory concepts and it is helpful to discuss these theories to clarify the term. Pleck Sorenstein and Ku (1993) note that masculinity largely fits under the theoretical umbrella of "social constructionism"; social constructionism purports that men act and think in particular ways because of social influences. Social cultures, including the United States, the military, and college all interrelate, but they also can act independently and affect male behaviors differently. Kimmel (1994) describes masculinity as a social phenomenon stating "manhood does not bubble up to consciousness from our biological makeup; it is created in culture". Masculinity is thus often not seen as an inherent product men are born into but rather a product of social influence. Definitions regarding what actions and behaviors constitute masculinity seem to vary. Shrock and Schwalbe (2009) understand masculinity not simply as men's actions and characteristics, but as men who oppress women to maintain the benefits of the dominating social class. Kimmel (1994) notes that it is established similarly to other hegemonic identities (e.g. the "white" race and "heterosexual" orientation); these social constructions

position other marginalized races and sexual orientations as opposite which reifies their dominance.

Hegemonic masculinity is a subset of the gender studies field. Connell Messerchmidt (2005) construe hegemonic masculinity as socially normative behaviors men strive to emulate in order to maintain dominance over women. However, within hegemonic masculinity, there are ostensibly other group identities that take on different gendered norms. Many modern “pop psychologists” characterize masculinity as a rigid idea of the macho man who domineers over women, perpetuating sexism and masochistic ideals. Connell and Messerchmidt argue that this is an over simplification given how differently men enact their gendered behavior. Like any social assessment, the instrument (CMNI 46) I use to measure masculinity is biased and based on preconceptions on what defines “manly” behavior. In fact, this scale elicited very heated and controversial feedback from participants. Masculinity is not a term that can be defined in a sentence; it is a social construction that men embrace depending on interchanging contexts and social relationships and it means different things to different people.

The difference in how men embrace their gender identities can problematically cause gender role identity stress (Moss, 2010; Berdahl, 2007). Frosh (1994) believes “the apparently monolithic nature of masculinity begins to fragment as soon as one investigates it..just like women, men are not all the same.” In “Masculinity as Masquerade,” Moss (2006) argues that different subsets of masculinity make it difficult for men to find their true identity; he feels men are constantly faced with the challenge of altering the conception of their self--even if it is less in tune with their “actual” persona (2006). He theorizes that gender identity is always subjective, and because there will always be different degrees of judgment on how men are supposed to present and identify, men constantly chase their true identity (Moss, 2006). Meanwhile, despite

the adverse emotional and physical health effects that come with these identities, Moss argues that there are social pressures that dictate men's allegiance to masculine ideals. When men attempt go against the tide of masculinity there are social and economic ramifications; men can quickly become ostracized from their communities (Moss, 2010). Men that do live up to manhood ideals, such as those who act modest, are viewed as weak and alienated by their peers (Berdahl, 2007). This, in turn, results in men leading more arrogant lifestyles to avoid being pigeonholed into marginalized groupings (Moss, 2010). To date there has been a deficit of literature about the “backlash” men face when they try to reject masculinity (Moss 2010).

How Veterans Fare After War

College veterans are at higher risk for suicide than civilian college students. Recent research suggests that roughly 17% of male college students have contemplated suicide. Meanwhile, a study presented in 2011 at an American Psychological Conference found that half of military members enrolled in college have contemplated suicide (Lipka, 2011). Despite this alarming disparity, there is a deficit of research on the individual transition for veterans returning to colleges (Rumann and Hamrick, 2010). There has, however, been research conducted on men, masculinity, and help seeking behaviors as they pertain to military personnel and college students. In the proceeding pages of this section, I will outline examples of studies that explore how men embrace masculine behaviors, how college men subscribe to these ideals, the relationship between military men and masculinity, and, across these three categories, how these associations relate to help seeking behaviors. I break it down into these three categories to make it transparent that while there is related research there remains a lack of depth on my exact research question. This literature review is not close to being exhaustive, but it begins a narrative about how masculinity influences veterans enrolled in college and their decisions to seek help.

Men, Masculinity and Help Seeking

“Women seek help-Men die” was the conclusion of a Switzerland study comparing suicide amongst men and women (Angst and Ernst, 1990). Angst and Ernst (1990) reported that a study at a suicide prevention institution indicated that 75% of the people seeking services were women, while 75% of the suicides committed in that area during the same time period were by men. Empirical studies indicate that while men frequently subjectively report having better physical and mental health than women, they under report health problems and self-medicate at much higher rates. The discrepancy between the lack of help seeking and the actual need for treatment amongst men is directly related to traditional gender-role expectations; men who are in need of treatment but do not utilize professional help typically endorse more traditional masculine qualities (Moller-Leimkuhler, 2001).

There has been a deficit of empirical studies about masculinity and its relationship with help seeking behaviors (Kimmell, 1994). Addis, Malahik and Mansfield (2003) argue that men who subscribe to traditional masculine ideologies (self-reliance, competitiveness, emotional control, power over others, and aggression) are less likely to seek help and their mental health suffers. According to Briscoe (1987), men utilize medical help from general practitioners half as much as their female counterparts which in turn has adverse effects on physical and mental wellbeing. O’Brien and Hart (2005) comment that the majority of studies published on men’s help seeking behaviors have primarily focused on physical diseases; this, in turn, has resulted in a void of research on men seeking help for mental health symptomology. Rickwood and Bathwaite (1994) surveyed 715 adolescents about emotional distress and found that among the 27 percent of boys who reported high levels of distress, 23 percent did not reach out to anyone (family, peers, professionals) and only 17 percent sought professional help; this was much higher

than in the female population surveyed . This study suggests that amongst younger populations males are still less likely than their female counterparts to seek help.

Men, Masculinity, Help Seeking and College.

Mental health issues are a serious problem for college veterans (Lipka, 2011). Studies suggest that college men who adhere to typical masculine norms have negative attitudes about seeking help (Good, Mintz, and Dell, 1989; David and Brannon, 1976; O'Neil et al., 1986). Good, Mintz and Dell (1989) surveyed 401 undergraduates at a large Midwestern State University using two gender role instruments and a help seeking attitude questionnaire. The survey found that students' perceptions about their male role in society, their apprehension of being too intimate with other men, and misgivings about showing emotions, were all related to negative attitudes toward seeking help for mental health issues. The literature indicates that there is a consistently strong relationship between restrictive emotionality and negative attitudes about seeking help (David and Brannon, 1976; O'Neil et al., 1986). These studies, though, do not include environmental factors as part of their discussion. O'Neil et al. surveyed (1986) 524 college men using gender role conflict scales. While their research demonstrated convincingly that college men that harbored more masculine traits (e.g. reluctance to express emotions) had higher levels of gender role conflict, they did not address help seeking behaviors and did not address different age and socioeconomic groups. Studies often do not compare their results with a control group or mention other studies where men are positioned in a non-collegiate environment (O'Neil et al., 1986; Good Dell and Mintz, 1989). The only data I could locate where perspective could be garnered about the masculinity of college men relative to non-collegiate populations was through studies by Parent (2009; 2011) who created the Conformity to Masculinity Norms Inventory (CMNI) 46 (used in this study). Parent (2011) examined 229

college undergraduates from a large Canadian University and found their average masculinity score to be almost identical (1.51) to the expected score of 1.5 (Parent, 2009). Notably, these scores are much higher than female college athletes and non-athlete female college students who respectively scored 1.16 and 1.06 on the CMNI 46. My study will examine collegiate and non-collegiate veterans and active duty personnel; I hope that by comparing and contrasting these different environments with the existing data on these populations, the research will begin to show how different social contexts may influence masculinity and help seeking behaviors.

Masculinity, Psychological Wellbeing, and Help Seeking Behaviors amongst Military Members

While there has been sufficient literature written on how civilian populations of men's masculinity influences help seeking behavior, there has not been ample research on this association as it relates to military men (Jakupcak, Lorber, Garcia, and Finley, 2011). Arkin and Dobrofksi (1978) note that a core aspect of the military identity is to be tough, invulnerable, independent and impervious to the emotional difficulties associated with combat. Evidence suggests that men who can identify with masculine traits are more likely to join the military as they can relate to the enforcement of these gender norms (Barrett, 1996; Brooks, 1990). According to Eisenhart (1975), the military is a masculine domain in which men get a “secondary socialization” and traditional masculine norms are often reinstalled and perpetuated. Men who have been socialized to follow masculine norms are more self-reliant and less likely to utilize mental health services (Levant and Richmond, 2007).

It seems important to compare different eras of military personnel and their help seeking behaviors in order to unpack how social influences may affect help seeking efforts and mental health outcomes. Studies suggest that that embracing cultural masculine norms in the military is

related to men's decisions to seek help. In fact, an estimated "...55 to 65% of recently deployed personnel express worry that seeking mental health care could result in being seen as weak (Hoge et al., 2004;)." The concealment of emotions and suffering leaves soldiers feeling that their emotional pain is anomalous--Lorber and Garcia (2010) contend this may exacerbate psychological problems. They describe Traditional Male Gender Role Norms (TMGRN's) as gendered identities and behaviors men embrace as a result of social influence. Studies show that OEF and IEF veterans are more susceptible of being socialized into to TMGRN's, and another study found that TMGRN's are more prominent amongst younger men (Lorber and Garcia, 2010; Levant and Richmond, 2007). Levant and Richmond (2007) contend that OEF and IEF soldiers' youth, in conjunction with deficits in emotional control, results in them relying more heavily on TMGRN's to cope with trauma. Military training frequently teaches masculine "tough it out" mentalities as being the only emotional coping tool soldiers should utilize. This seemingly has translated into more psychological problems for the new era military; a recent study at an outpatient Veteran PTSD clinic found that OEF and IEF veterans had much lower attendance and higher rates of dropout than Vietnam veterans (Lorber and Garcia, 2010). OEF and IEF veterans also reportedly have on average more severe PTSD symptoms than Vietnam veterans (Jakupcak, et al., 2011). It seems necessary to further investigate the correlation between socialized masculine coping strategies and poorer outcomes in mental health for new era military personnel and veterans.

College Veterans, Masculinity, and Psychological Wellbeing

There has been little research conducted on college veterans and masculinity. Parent, and Alfred (2013), nonetheless, completed a study on the adherence to stereotypical masculine norms among college veterans and its relationship with mental wellness. His study, which surveyed

college veterans through three statistical instruments, found that, amongst college veterans, conformity to masculinity was harmful to mental health outcomes; however, his research found that this relationship was fully mediated by veterans that reported being “hardy”. Showing weaknesses, though, could be seen as effeminate for this population--this research did not account for the possibility that those who embrace masculine norms and consider themselves “hardy” may be more likely to answer questions in a way that enables them to look “psychologically well”. For instance, in a related study examining how hardiness, social support, and other stressful events influence symptom severity amongst Vietnam veterans diagnosed with PTSD, a reviewer commented that a person's current state of psychological distress could affect self-reported levels of hardiness (King, King, Fairbank, Keane, and Adams (1998)). Funk and Houston (1987) note that survey measurements of hardiness may overlap considerably with a person's maladjustment traits or psychopathology; they found that people who report high levels of hardiness on surveys frequently reported symptoms of social alienation, powerlessness, and feelings of insecurity. Thus, those who were reporting as “hardy” were frequently reporting of other mental health vulnerabilities. Beyond neglecting the potential hypocrisy of self-reporting hardiness, Alfred's study did not compare masculinity with help seeking behaviors, and it did not compare results with a control population, and, as a result, one cannot discern how associations of masculinity, hardiness, and psychological wellbeing amongst male college veterans' surveys differ from civilian populations and active duty military.

There also has been little research on college veterans' identities (including masculinity). Rumann and Hamrick (2010), however, conducted a qualitative study examining the construction and reconstructions of student veteran identities and how this impacted their transition from the military into college. The four major themes they deciphered from their respondents were role

incongruities, maturity, relationships and identity redefinitions. Their study seemed limited by its number of respondents (six) and the nature of the methodology. The authors do not specify the questions they asked but simply themes of responses. The study also does not address gender roles as part of veterans' identities. This omission ostensibly hinders their research; it seems pertinent to include gender roles when assessing how male college veterans construct and reconstruct identities, because, as indicated from literature (albeit limited), masculinity is a prevalent factor in how male veterans enrolled in college understand their character (Alfred, 2013).

Where my study is positioned amongst existing literature

The existing literature that pertains to this study is sparse and leaves an unexplored niche regarding how masculinity influences help seeking behavior for military men enrolled in college. I organized my literature review in a manner that gradually honed in on research that seemed closest to my empirical question of how male college veterans' masculinity influences their help seeking behavior. Broadly speaking, there has been a deficit of literature on masculinity and help seeking behaviors (Kimmel, 1994). There is also a lack of research on how help seeking affects men's mental health symptomology (O'Brien and Hart 2005). The literature that has examined this phenomenon has found that men in general are less likely to seek help than women (Angst and Ernst, 1990). Even more so, men who subscribe to traditional masculine ideologies are less likely than other men to access help; as a result, their mental health suffers (O'Brien and Hart, 2005). Within the college realm, research on how masculinity influences help seeking amongst students indicates that college men adhering to typical masculine norms are more prone to having negative attitudes about reaching out for help (Good, Mintz, and Dell, 1989; David and Breenon, 1976; O'Neil et al., 1986). These studies do not include environmental factors as part

of the discussion and frequently neglect to include a non-collegiate control population (O'Neil et al., 1986; Good, Dell, and Mintz, 1989).

As we move in to the military arena, there remains a deficit of literature on how masculinity influences help seeking behavior amongst men (Jakupcak, Lorber, Garcia, and Finley, get date). Hoge et al. (2004) note that military instilled masculinity has a negative effect on men utilizing help resources this seems especially relevant for OEF and IEF veterans. New era veterans are reporting higher levels of PTSD symptoms and thus are at an increased need for support (Jakupcak, et al., 2011). Narrowing closer to my empirical question I found, amongst college veterans, there is even less research on masculinity, help seeking and psychological wellbeing. Alfred (2013) designed a study on adherence to stereotypical masculine norms among college veterans and its relationship with mental illness, and then analyzed how veterans' hardiness mediated this correlation. Meanwhile, the other study I found, by Rumann and Hamrick (2010), is a qualitative study on college veterans' identities.

The research I have just summarized suggests that there is a small amount of literature on men, masculinity, and help seeking and even less on specific populations like college veterans and men in the military. Most importantly, I was not able to locate any literature that addressed my exact empirical inquiry. This absence of literature bears significance in how I chose to gather and evaluate my data. I hope that including demographics in conjunction with a control population will provide a new and interesting regression based analysis. The following section explains the methodology I used to investigate masculinity and help seeking behaviors amongst college veterans.

My study is based on a mixed methods approach examining quantitative data and open ended responses. In addressing my research question, I used two tested survey instruments and

an array of open ended response questions. The study compares the results of my experimental population (veterans enrolled in college) with my control population (veterans and active military not enrolled in college). In this study, I examine the relationship of participants' masculinity and help seeking behavior with their demographics and open ended responses. I then compared the data of men enrolled in college with those who were not enrolled.

Chapter III

Methodology

Sample

Participants were recruited through a Facebook snowball dissemination process and via postings on social media group pages (including Facebook groups and reddit.com groups). Before proceeding with this operation, I obtained approval from the groups' administrators. On these platforms I advertised the survey explaining the study, its purpose, and who was eligible. My inclusion criterion was any male veteran or active duty soldier. However, I also aimed to have a good number (at least 40 percent) of participants in college or with college experience as this provides a more compelling comparison of masculinity and help seeking behaviors amongst college veterans versus those without college experience. My sample was comprised of entirely men who had served or were actively serving in the military--there were a couple of participants that were eliminated from the sample pool because they did not meet this criteria. I also eliminated participants who only answered a couple questions and those who were clearly not taking the survey seriously and posted either derogatory or joking answers on the fill in the blank and open ended questions.

Data Collection

The survey information was collected in an online survey platform, Survey Monkey, that allows participants to easily respond electronically to surveys. My data collection was designed to protect confidentiality for participants who chose to remain anonymous. I ensured participants in the informed consent section that, if they desired, their data could remain anonymous. I made it clear that the link to the survey does not keep email addresses or ask for

names. Furthermore, I noted that an online software program will collect the data participants provide and only I, my research adviser, and the Smith College School for Social Work Statistical Analyst will have access to their information. If participants chose to refrain from contact, all of their data remained completely unidentified. I was able to ensure anonymity by disseminating my survey through Facebook groups and through Facebook friends who had male veteran acquaintances. My other social media posting (on reddit.com) also disguised participants' identities, and I did not have access to the names of those who were taking my survey. The survey itself did not ask for demographics that would reveal individuals' identities

I collected data from participants using two evidence proven questionnaires, participants' demographics, and open ended questions. The two surveys I used to assess masculinity and help seeking behaviors were comprised of Likert scale questions. "The Conformity to Masculinity Norms Inventory (CNMI)-46", is a questionnaire comprised of forty six questions and is normally completed in about ten minutes. This instrument is an abridged version edited by Parent (2010) from the original CMNI which was created by Mahalik et al. (2003). Participants were scored on a rating scale of one to four (higher numbers indicated higher levels of identified masculinity) measuring general levels of masculinity (a culmination of all the questions answered) and within the following subsets: power over women, emotional control, self-reliance, hetero self-presentation, winning, and playboy (Mahalik et al. 2003). Mahalik et al. (2003) reviewed the instrument through a comparison of multiple studies and found that "the CMNI had strong internal consistency estimates and good differential validity." Meanwhile, the "Willingness to Seek Help Questionnaire", is comprised of twenty five Likert scale questions and should be completed in about seven minutes. Cohen's instrument (1999) is based on a help seeking theory developed by Lucas (1994) who felt that help seeking behavior could adequately

be determined by the “recognition of the need for outside assistance, readiness for self-disclosure, and willingness to relinquish some degree of control to a helper (Cohen, 1999).” Like the CMNI, this scale also has been proven as being effective, and through an evaluation of inner item consistency, was deemed to have a reliability coefficient of .85 (Cohen, 1999). The masculinity scale had an alpha reliability rating of .91 and the help seeking scale had an internal reliability of .744. These reliability measure deciphers how well a group of questions “fit together”. In part, these scales were chosen based on their tested reliability and use through existing research which exceeds the accepted standard for reliability. Additionally though, I chose Parent's edited version of a much longer CMNI questionnaire because I was trying to be mindful of how long participants would be willing to spend completing the survey, and I decided to use Cohen’s instrument in part because it was seemingly the most used help seeking questionnaire. I obtained permission from the creators of these instruments to utilize them in my research (please see Appendix C and D).

In addition to the surveys, participants were also asked to complete five to seven open ended questions (seven if they were enrolled in college and five if they were not). These questions were similar to the survey questions as they focused on masculinity and help seeking behaviors with two questions addressing the male veteran college experience. The purpose of including open ended questions was to elicit reporting of more personal experiences that may not have been conveyed through the survey questions alone. Using statistics exclusively can limit the depth of an analysis because it only captures what the survey has deemed as important--it does not allow for more personal experiences and interpretations of the studied behaviors. The time of completion for this portion of the survey should have varied depending on the length and

depth of participants' answers. Naturally, not all of the participants elected to answer the open response questions.

Data Analysis

With data accrued virtue of the survey instruments and open response questions, a statistician at the Smith College for Social Work ran a multiple regression analysis that included participants' demographics. The statistician sorted demographics based on the participant's age, sexual orientation, years of military experience (including their branch), marital status, highest level of education, race, enrollment in college, employment status, and potential engagement in combat during service; also, if they were in college, whether they lived on campus and the length and type (2 years (associates), 4 years (bachelor's, or graduate) of their program. Correlations were then generated between participants' demographics and their respective answers to the survey instrument scales and open ended questions. The primary analysis, however, focused on the relationship between their CMNI scores and help seeking questionnaire data. Within this analysis, a Pearson Correlation Test was conducted to identify how veterans' help seeking behaviors related to different subsets of masculinity (Winning, Emotional Control, Risk-Taking, Violence, Power Over Women, Playboy, Self-Reliance, Primacy of Work, and Heterosexual Self-Presentation (formerly Disdain for Homosexuals) (Mahalik, et al., 2003). I then analyzed the open ended questions to extract themes and used frequencies and descriptive statistics to summarize my demographic questions. Utilizing this data, the statistician was able to run a regression analysis of the previously mentioned correlations with help-seeking behavior and the masculinity sub scales. Lastly, a *T Test* was completed comparing how the latter analyses differ between my experimental group (veterans enrolled in college) and my control population (veterans not enrolled in college or still actively serving).

Chapter Four

Results

Descriptive Statistics

The study had 156 eligible participants. Originally this number was 191, but participants that did not meet the eligibility criteria were eliminated. Participants were immediately excluded if they either did not agree to the informed consent, did not identify as being a man or were not an active duty soldier or veteran. All of the participants were men (n=156) and either were enrolled in the military or had military experience. However, not all of the participants completed all of the questions. There were 95 participants who finished the masculinity scale and 116 that answered all of the help seeking instrument questions. See tables one through seven for more details about the participants' demographics.

Table One: *Ages and number of participants*

	Frequency
Total Participants	156
Age Range	19-54
Average Age	31
Mode of Ages	28
Participants who finished the entire masculinity scale	91
Participants who finished the entire help seeking scale	116

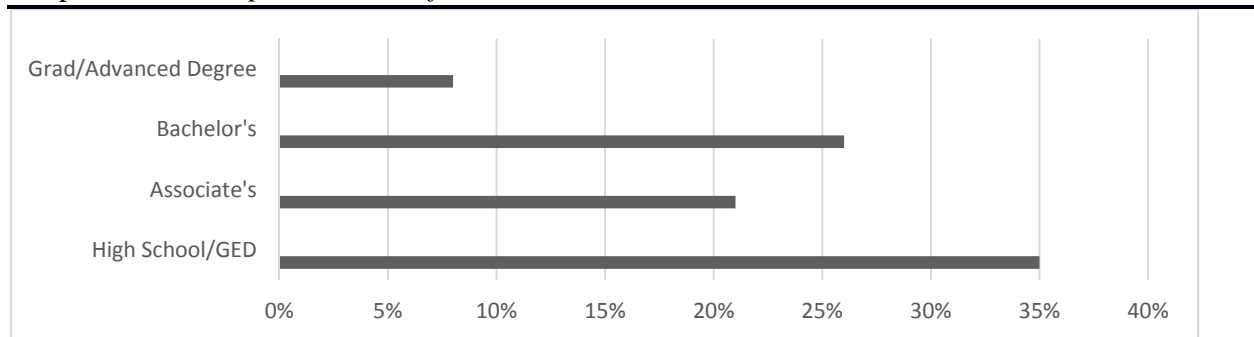
As table two indicates, my sample was predominately White with very little racial diversity.

Table Two: *Participants' racial identities*

	Frequency
African American	0
White	134
Pacific Islander	1
Asian	2
Hispanic	3
Mixed	7

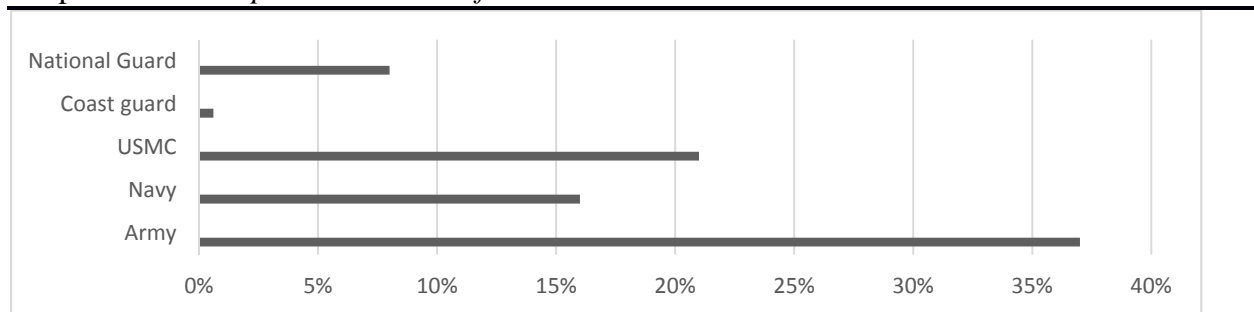
Graph one shows that about 35 percent of the participants had not been awarded a degree past their high school diploma and about 65 percent had higher educational credentials.

Graph one: Participants' levels of education



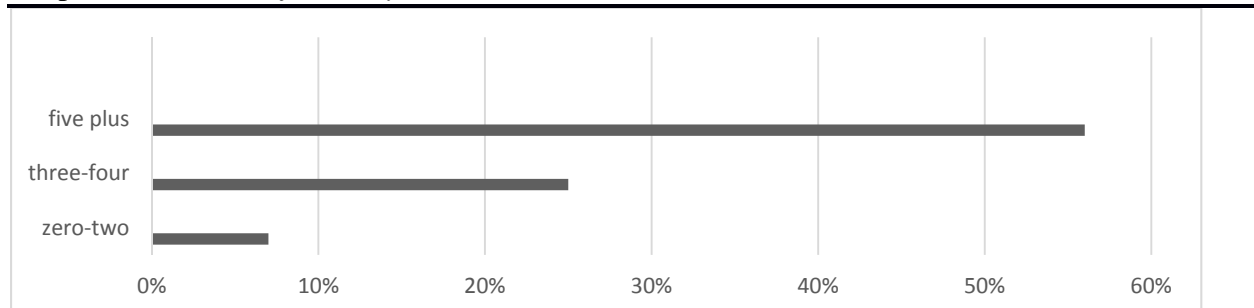
Graph two shows that the vast majority of my participants identified that they were either in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps.

Graph two: Participants' branches of service



Meanwhile, these service members at large had a lot of military experience (see graph three).

Graph Three: Years of military service



Other Demographic Results:

- 98 percent of my participants do not live on a college campus.
- 46 percent of my participants are married, 40 percent are single, 12 percent are divorced and one percent widowed.

Masculinity

Table Three shows a comparison of masculinity scores between veterans currently enrolled in college versus those who are not currently enrolled. A t-test was also run to compare masculinity scores for veterans with college experience versus those without experience—this test revealed that there not a notable difference between the scores.

Table three: *Comparison of masculinity scores*

Entire Sample		In College	
N Valid	104	N Valid	44
N Missing	52	N Missing	21
Mean	1.5462	Mean	1.5814
Kurtosis	0.572	Median	1.5548
Std. Deviation	0.35677	Std. Deviation	0.35503
Std. Error of Kurtosis	0.469	Variance	0.126
Minimum	0.59	Minimum	0.83
Maximum	2.73	Maximum	2.39

Table four compares CMNI 46 scores of the entire sample, veterans actively enrolled in college, veterans not currently in college, and two other studies. Parent (2011) represents the mean masculinity score for 229 undergraduate men at a large Canadian university who took the CMNI 46. Meanwhile, Steinfeldt et al. compares the mean CMNI 46 scores for women in college playing a sport ($n=78$) and college women that were not actively participating in athletics ($n=65$).

Table four: *Comparison of CMNI 46 scores with other studies*

Entire Sample	Actively in college	Not in College	Parent (2011)	Parent (2009)	Steinfeldt et al (2011): College athlete	Steinfeldt et al. (2011) College-non-athlete
1.58	1.55	1.52	1.51	1.45	1.16	1.06

Help Seeking

A t-test that was run comparing participants with college experience versus those without, showed that veterans and active military personnel with college experience were more likely to seek help than men without this experience; men with college experience had an average help seeking score of 1.733 and those without had an average of 1.56.

Table five: *Comparison of help seeking scores*¹

Entire Sample		In College	
N Valid	116	N Valid	49
N Missing	40	N Missing	16
Mean	1.6815	Mean	1.7509
Std. Deviation	0.38433	Median	1.84
Kurtosis	0.262	Std. Deviation	0.37691
Std. Error of Kurtosis	0.446	Variance	0.142
Minimum	0.88	Minimum	0.88
Maximum	3	Maximum	3

Table six below, compares mean scores for the willingness to seek help questionnaire. I examined help seeking behaviors for the entire sample, veterans actively enrolled in college, veterans not currently in college, veterans with and without college experience, and with a study

¹Table four is examining active duty military and military veterans that are *presently* enrolled with those who are not—this is a different test than the mean scores that were just outlined comparing help seeking behaviors of military members and veterans with and without college *experience*.

that was conducted by Cohen (2008). Cohen’s study was his initial trial of his instrument—he measured the help seeking behaviors of Israel Social Work Students.

Table six: Mean scores for the Help Seeking Questionnaire and Cohen’s study²

Entire Sample	In College	Not in College	With College Experience	Without College Experience	Cohen (2008)
1.68	1.75	1.62	1.72	1.56	2.12

Relationships between Masculinity and Help Seeking Behaviors

Table seven (on the next page) compares correlations of CMNI 46 masculinity scores and help seeking behaviors for veterans with and without college experience.

²Note that these are mean scores for the entire Help Seeking Questionnaire—thus, they reflect an average of all 25 questions.

Table seven: Correlations for masculinity subscales and help seeking behavior scores

Masculinity Subset		Entire Sample	College Experience	No College Experience
Masculinity Tot	Pearson Correlation	-.463**	-.400**	-.660**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0	0	0
	N	104	79	24
Winning	Pearson Correlation	-.228*	-0.185	-0.186
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.02	0.102	0.385
	N	104	79	24
Emotional Control	Pearson Correlation	-.515**	-.515**	-.448*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0	0	0.028
	N	104	79	24
Risk Taking	Pearson Correlation	-0.133	-0.09	-0.21
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.177	0.429	0.324
	N	104	79	24
Violence	Pearson Correlation	-0.17	-0.172	-0.142
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.084	0.13	0.508
	N	104	79	24
Power over women	Pearson Correlation	-.201*	-0.124	-0.383
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.04	0.276	0.065
	N	104	79	24
Playboy	Pearson Correlation	-.208*	-0.212	-0.013
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.034	0.061	0.953
	N	104	79	24
Self-Reliance	Pearson Correlation	-.606**	-.517**	-.779**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0	0	0
	N	104	79	24
Primacy of work	Pearson Correlation	0.02	-0.001	0.049
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.838	0.992	0.821
	N	104	79	24
Hetero Self- Presentation	Pearson Correlation	-.262**	-.241*	-.452*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.007	0.032	0.027
	N	104	79	24

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Relationships of Demographics and Masculinity and Help Seeking Behavior Scores

Participants' demographic data showed correlations between personal factors and help seeking and masculinity scores. T-test's indicated that there were not any considerable differences in overall masculinity and help seeking scores between participants who had engaged in combat versus those who did not have combat experience. However, there was a significant difference in the *risk taking* masculinity subscale for these two groups. Participants who had combat experience had a higher risk taking mean ($m=1.68$) than those had not been in combat ($m=1.47$); this was the only subscale that indicated any significant difference. Participants' marital statuses were categorized and compare by two groupings of 1) married and 2) widowed, divorced, and single. For the Winning subscale, those who were not married had a higher mean score ($m= 1.8$) than those who were married ($m=1.58$). For the Primacy of Work subscale, those who were not married had a higher mean score ($m=1.49$) than those who were married ($m=1.16$). There was not any significant differences in masculinity and help seeking mean scores comparing married and unmarried participants.

Open Ended Responses

The following outlines the seven open ended questions participants were asked to answer. The first question, "Do you think you gender impacts your ability to ask for help" received 62 usable responses³. The answers were grouped into four thematics: A) Does not impact help seeking (i.e. "Absolutely not"), B) Yes, but to a small degree (i.e. "Slightly, but I see those stigmas going away more and more"), C) Yes, adversely affects men's ability to ask for help (i.e. "I think that the social norm has been set in place over the decades and it is one of those things

³By 'useable', I am acknowledging that there were some responses that were unusual in that they did not answer the questions.

that is hard to shake off”), and D) Changes depending on the environmental context (i.e. “Not really, unless it is a gender specific question/situation). See table eight.

Table eight: *Do you think your gender impacts your ability to ask for help?*

	Frequency	Percent
A) Does not	28	46%
B) Yes, but a small degree	16	25%
C) Yes, adversely affected men's abilities to seek help	13	21%
D) Sometimes but it depends on the environment	5	8%

I also asked participants “How did your military experience affect your understanding of what should be expected of you as a man?” There were a total of seventy eligible responses; I coded these answers into the following themes: A) It did not, B) It Increased Personal Expectations, C) It taught me to take care of others and myself, D) Broadened my perspective of what I value, and E) Increased my expectations to practice “manly behaviors”. Forty seven percent of the respondents stated that their time in the military did not affect their masculinity. Answering this question, one participant stated, “Not much at all, other than teaching me to be independent (i.e. doing my own cooking, cleaning, ironing, etc.) Things that in previous generations men might have expected a wife to do”. Meanwhile, about seven percent of respondents felt the military increased their expectations to behave in a “manly” fashion. One male stated, “The military environment tends to propagate the idea of fighting and violence as “manly””.

I asked participants whether these expectations (learned from the military) impacted their ability to seek help. I coded these answers into the following categories: A) Yes, B) No, C) Yes, but just a little (i.e. “A little, I learned to be on my own for my military time, so I will try to handle things on my own...but I will get help if needed before I screw things up”), D) No, but societal and civilian expectations do. There were 58 total eligible responses. Seventy two percent of respondents stated that these expectations did not affect their ability to seek help. For instance,

one participant stated, “I don't feel like my service had any impact one way or the other. I'm not generally someone who sought help prior to joining, so I don't know if there was a change”.

Seventeen percent stated that masculine expectations the military instilled in them did affect their ability to seek help. One participant stated, “Yes, asking for help is often seen as weakness depending on the situation”.

I also asked participants what people, tools, and resources they utilized to cope with problems and emotional issues. I had a total of 61 eligible responses which were categorized into the following themes: A) Community support (i.e. “Family, close friends, and my wife”), B) Professional Help (i.e. “Doctors mostly, they are far more knowledgeable about what is going on with my anatomy than I am”), and C) A combination of both (i.e. “Friends, family, and professionals”).

Table nine: *What people, tools, and resources do you use to cope with problems?*

	Frequency	Percent
A) Community Support	40	69
B) Professional help	11	19
C) A combination of both	7	12

I was also interested in other modalities participants employed to cope with difficult circumstances. As there was such breadth and diversity of responses, I was unable to categorize them into themes. Of note, twelve percent of participants stated that they used drugs or alcohol as a way to cope with difficult circumstances.

Participants who had college experience were asked to answer two additional questions. The first question asked was, “How were men expected to behave in your college setting?” After reviewing the responses I categorized answers amongst the following thematics: A) There were (are) not gender related expectations (i.e. “I don't think there are specific expectations of men at my college”), B) hyper-masculine (i.e. “as alpha males who pick up a number of women”), and C) Not sure (i.e. “no clue”).

Table ten: *How were men expected to behave in your college setting?*

	Frequency	Percent
A) There are (were) not gender related expectations	23	72%
B) Hyper-masculine	4	13%
C) Not sure	5	16%

The second question I asked participants that had college experience was “How did (has) college affect(ed) whether and how you use other people for help?” I coded responses into the following categories A) It has not had any affect (i.e. “It has no effect I’m aware of”), B) It has made more likely to reach out to others (i.e. “It’s given me to courage to follow my wants and desires... Which means using other people to get there”) C) It has made me less likely to reach out to others (i.e. “More discriminating in who I ask for help”), and D) It has broadened my understanding about available resources (i.e. “Informed you of outside resources”). The frequency and percentage of responses can be seen in table eleven.

Table eleven *How did (has) college affect(ed) whether and how you use other people for help?*

	Frequency	Percent
A) It has not had any effect	32	65%
B) It has made me less likely to reach out to others	6	12%
C) It has made me more likely to reach out to others	16	16%
D) Broadened my understanding of Available resources	3	6%

Chapter V

Discussion and Limitations

As indicated, this research found that masculinity negatively affected help seeking behaviors. Additionally the study found that there was not a significant difference in participants' masculinity relative to college experience; however, participants with college experience were more likely to seek help and utilize help resources. Ultimately, my results were laden with design flaws and research limitations. My sample size was sufficient but there were some issues with participants' credibility. That said, I believe that this is an important study covering a crucial problem. It seems the United States has inadequately prepared services for veterans returning from combat, leading to epidemic rates of suicide. Throughout this discussion, I recommend further investigation into how masculinity may play a role in whether male military members and veterans seek help. This study hopefully can, in some capacity, serve as a stepping stone to further understand why male military members and veterans are reluctant to seek help; especially amongst the college population.

Sample

I exceeded my survey pool expectations recruiting well over 100 participants. For the purposes of a comparative analysis, ideally I would have liked to have more participants without any college experience. Fortunately, the statistical analysis from the scales for both groups showed good internal reliability which was expected since previous research also found the Help Seeking Behavior and Conformity to Masculinity Norms Inventory (CMNI) as being statistically valid. Meeting these benchmarks was a crucial milestone as it verified the instruments as dependable measures worth analyzing.

Summary of Previous Findings: Comparisons with this Study

There has been little research to date on how masculinity affects help seeking behaviors for veterans and active duty personnel, and there have not been any studies about this relationship pertaining to college veterans. The existing literature suggests that men who embrace more masculine ideals are less likely to seek help (Addis, Malahik and Mansfield, 2003; David and Brannon, 1976). In the college arena, Mintz and Dell (1989) found that as students embraced more masculine ideologies, they were more likely to harbor negative impressions of help seeking behaviors. The findings of this study mirrored previous research; male active duty personnel and veterans (with and without college experience) who identified as being more masculine, were less likely to seek help. The current research suggests that, regardless of the context, more “manly” men are less likely to seek help.

Masculinity

Participants with college experience essentially identified as being just as masculine as those without this experience. The CMNI 46 average score (using a 0-3 scale) for men generally falls around 1.5 (Parent 2009). The average score for this study was very close to research examining civilian populations (Parent and Moradi, 2011; Parent 2009). This surprised me as the military is generally thought of as a “hyper-masculine” environment that promotes masculinity (Eisenhart, 1975). Interestingly, the other studies using the CMNI 46 also examined college students (Parent and Moradi (2011) and Parent (2009)). Notably, though, the mean scores of the present study were significantly higher than a study that used the CMNI 46 scale to measure masculinity for groups of college women. This seems to make sense; given normative social expectations, I would expect women to be less likely to embrace masculine identities. Further

empirical investigation is needed to elaborate on the significance of the CMNI 46 mean disparity between genders.

Help Seeking

Research shows that there are differences between help seeking behaviors amongst the participants in this study versus non-military populations. Participants in my study that have experienced life in a college classroom indicated that they were more willing to reach out for help than those without this collegiate experience. This does not seem shocking; college seems to be an environment where seeking help is often a necessity in order to be successful. A study surveying Israeli graduate students found that participants were significantly more likely to seek help than the participants in this research (Cohen, 2008). There are a couple significant factors to consider when comparing this study to Cohen's. First off, it is important to note that it is mandatory that Israeli citizens serve in the military; thus, presumably, those surveyed were military veterans. Secondly, the fact that the survey sample was comprised of Israeli social work grad students is meaningful—Social Work by nature is a helping profession and therefore it seems reasonable to assume that professionals in the field may be more likely to accept and utilize help. It is noteworthy, though, that a group of Israeli graduate students were significantly more likely to seek help than participants in this study who had a range of college experience. As the participants in this study who had college experiences were largely undergraduates, it seems merited to further investigate whether help seeking behaviors are related to education levels and academic concentrations.

Relationships between Masculinity and Help Seeking Behaviors

The correlative results, which showed that masculinity was negatively associated with help seeking behaviors, is congruent with previous studies that examined this relationship on

other populations (Good, Mintz, and Dell, 1989; David and Brannon, 1976; O'Neil et al., 1986).

This, however, is the first study to test this relationship on active duty military members and veterans—and more specifically, analyzing scores relative to participants' college experience.

Given they had lower help seeking scores, it was not alarming that more masculine veterans without college experience were less likely to seek help—meaning, their masculine identity was more attributable to a reluctance to seek help than participants with college experience.

Fascinatingly, the masculinity scores between the college and non-college groups was almost identical. It could be that the correlative difference between the two groups is a result of college life providing a more secure sense of gender identity for military men—perhaps participants with this experience felt that asking for help is less of an impediment to their masculine identities than those who have not been through college. The open response answers, however, contradict the latter hypothesis.

Open Ended Responses

The open ended response questions contradicted the survey data and existing research. Almost half of the participants felt that their gender did not influence their help seeking behaviors. The notion that gender does not affect help seeking behaviors seems dubious in light of the correlative results of this survey and studies like Angst and Ernst (1990) which found that 75 percent of people seeking support at a suicide prevention clinic were women. It is possible that this discrepancy is related to gender insecurities men harbor. For instance, “power over women” is identified as a key factor of masculinity (Mahilak, 2003). Men, thus, may refuse to accept that gender social pressures make it more difficult for them to ask for help because, by doing so, they are admitting that women have a particular social advantage. This runs contrary to

the notion of gender superiority, or power over women, which may seem frightening to a man's sense of identity.

Only a small minority of participants felt that their military experiences increased their masculinity. Because there is a paucity of research on masculinity in the military, it is difficult to discern whether the majority opinion of my participants—who generally felt that the military had virtually no influence on their masculinity—reflects the sentiments of other soldiers. Furthermore, the vast majority of respondents felt that military inculcated gender expectations did not affect their ability to seek help. However, research suggests that military culture instills a greater degree of masculinity than most civilian arenas (Eisenhart, 1975). Given that research suggests that more masculine men are more likely to join the military (Barrett, 1996; Brooks, 1990), I think it makes sense that a large proportion of respondents do not see the military as impacting gender expectations—for they already identify as being masculine and thus a heightened masculine environment may seem normal. Nonetheless, the participants' general consensus that amplified masculinity does not affect help seeking behaviors runs contrary to their survey data.

Participants' reported coping strategies show that the vast majority utilize communal support as their primary modality to deal with their problems. Considering that this study's average help seeking score was considerably lower than other populations (Cohen 2008), I am surprised that such a large percentage of respondents reported using communal support as a primary means of coping. This, elicits an interesting query regarding what participants construe as a help seeking act. It could be that those relying on friends and family may not perceive this as a means of accessing help. Amongst the college participants, the vast majority did not feel as though there were any gender expectations in collegiate environments and did not think that

college affected their help seeking behaviors. As these responses contradict the survey data, it seems that either participants are not able to accurately assess how their environment influences masculinity and help seeking or perhaps there is a flaw in the survey instruments.

Limitations

There were issues that limit this study's validity and usefulness. Initially, there were some methodological problems with the recruitment of participants. The demographic data shows that the vast majority of my participants were White. While there is not any evidence of cultural studies on masculinity or help seeking, it is plausible that racial identity and cultural backgrounds impact masculinity and help seeking behaviors. Another potential recruitment fault was the manner in which I disseminated my survey. I utilized Social Work Facebook groups--it is worth considering the possibility that, as my colleagues largely identify as liberal, they may have shared the survey with friends that have similar social and political ideologies, possibly affecting the results.

Methodological issues also arose when I advertised my survey on a Reddit.com military group. My post generated controversial feedback. Veterans on the Subreddit group made inflammatory statements about the nature the survey questions. One user wrote, "I took your (*\$#!ing) survey. Sounds like we're all sexist homophobics that love taking risks!" (self.military, 2014). Another commented that he felt the questions were "ridiculously biased" (there was a slew of similar responses). By posting on the same thread, I attempted to justify my choice of the survey questions by reporting the instruments' proven reliability (Cohen, 1999; Parent, 2010). I also acknowledged that the survey instruments do highlight stereotypical masculine traits-- I hoped this would validate participants' assumptions that my survey was accusatory. Unfortunately, no one replied to my comment. It is possible that the survey questions did in fact

come across as biased and accusatory. Even so, this population may be sensitive to being targeted as “overly manly” or “too tough”. Further investigation is merited to assess whether the survey tools are biased or whether, perhaps in conjunction, the military population is sensitive to the “tough guy” label.

Given the hostility that was directed at the project through comments on Reddit and also some inflammatory answers to open response questions, I am curious whether all the participants completed the survey with honest intentions. Amongst the open response questions, one participant stated, “I don't exactly understand what it is you think I need help getting or doing. I'm in peak mental and physical condition in a healthy long term relationship”. Another participant simply stated, “You are a bi****”. I believe that it is important to mention these responses as it seems that similarly to those who posted on the reddit group, people were upset by the design of the study--it is possible that some participants felt that the study was attempting to garner specific results. Probably unbeknownst to most of the participants, my survey instruments were based on previously validated research and are deemed reliable measures for help seeking and masculinity (Cohen, 1999; Parent, 2009). For future research it might be worth considering providing a description of the survey instrument design and also validate of the efficacy of the instruments for participants.

Another design flaw of my study was that wording of the open response questions. In general, that questions may have been a bit nebulous. For instance my question, “How did your military experience affect what should be expected of you as a man?” generated a large variety of responses--many of which did not actually answer the question. For example one respondent stated, “If anything, it taught me what was really important and not to sweat the small things. When dealing with life and death decisions as a fighter pilot dropping bombs one learns what

stress is and how trivial most people's worries are". Answers like this participant's, which does not answer the question, made it difficult to code for themes. I thus had to formulate broad categories and discard several answers.

Implications for Social Work

This research may be useful for the field of social work as it expands upon existing literature about masculinity and men's reluctance to seek help. Men are half as likely as women to see professionals for either physical or mental health problems (Briscoe, 1987). This reluctance to seek help has been directly tied to masculinity and gender role expectations (Moller-Leimkuhler, 2001). This association is also true for the college population (Good, Mintz, and Dell, 1989; David and Brannon, 1976; O'Neil et al., 1986). What my study in collaboration with prior research indicates then, is that men, and specifically, military men, are less likely to seek help than women and civilian counterparts because of their strong masculine identities (Parent, 1999; Steinfeldt et al., 2011). This is relevant in optimizing care for veterans who are in need of care but are not reaching out for help.

My research data indicates a possibility that men in the military may not actually be more masculine than men in civilian populations. Although the CMNI 46 cross comparison is limited in that it only looks at two other studies using the same survey, it is worth consideration that men in the military may not be that much more masculine than the average population--Parent's instrument was designed to have an average of almost the exact mean that was the product of this study. Regardless, this study tells us is that there is a strong negative correlation between masculinity and help seeking behavior for active duty military and veterans. Related to this, the Reddit forum responses indicate that some military personnel are sensitive to masculine accusations. This sensitivity may serve as a barrier to seeking help, as it is possible that veterans

do not feel civilians and professionals are able to appreciate their experiences and understand military culture. By lowering the stigmatization of men seeking help and by perhaps having services that show more awareness and appreciation of veterans' service and problems, veterans may begin to reach out for help at higher rates. Further research on this topic is necessary to optimize mental health and college campus services.

Recommendations for Further Research

As men in the military are coming back from conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan with an array of mental and physical health problems, it seems warranted to further examine what can be done to educate them on the potential benefits of seeking help and how masculine preconceptions may encumber their ability to reach out. Research on how masculinity affects active duty and military veterans' help seeking behaviors would facilitate the development of more optimal care for this population. In order to tease out differences between civilian and military populations more cross comparison research on masculinity and help seeking is necessary. Research thus far (which is sparse) shows that men, in general, are less likely to seek help than women and that this has negative ramifications on their mental and physical health (Angst and Ernst, 1990; Addis, Malahik and Mansfield 2000; Briscoe, 1987). Given the reported hyper-masculine culture of the military (Eisenhart, 1975), I think there needs to be further investigation on how these entrenched ideologies operate. Soldiers obviously need to maintain certain mindsets that prepare them for battle, but it still seems crucial to provide education about available help resources and encourage them to seek these services when they need help. Additionally, we need services that feel welcoming to veterans. There must be a greater understanding of how veterans perceive their masculinity and to what degree they may feel

alienated by professionals and civilians. I think that these factors are especially salient and require specific research amongst the college population.

The transition of military life into the civilian world is very difficult, and institutions, like colleges, need to have better services available for veterans that need care. Research shows that college men who harbor more masculine traits are less likely to seek help (Good, Mintz, and Dell, 1989; David and Brannon, 1976; O'Neil et al., 1986) In lieu of a recent study that found that nearly half of college veterans have thought about committing suicide (Lipka, 2011), the results in this study seem to deserve further exploration. With a mental health epidemic of this magnitude, and evidence suggesting that masculine ideologies contribute to a reluctance to seek help, it appears necessary to investigate how military and college institutions can educate college veterans about utilizing services. There is also a need for more research about how to make existing help services appealing and non-stigmatizing to college veterans. Considering college experience has shown to increase help seeking behaviors, it seems to make sense to invest in resources that will ostensibly be utilized more than off campus services. Hopefully the present study can be used as a building block for more research on what seems to be a serious problem.

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Appendix A
Smith College Human Subject's Committee Approval Letter



School for Social Work
Smith College
Northampton, Ma
Massachusetts 01063
T (413) 585-7950 F (413) 585-7994

November 30, 2013
Liam Lattrell

Dear Liam,

You did a very nice job on your revisions. Your project is now approved by the Human Subjects Review Committee.

Please note the following requirements:

Consent Forms: All subjects should be given a copy of the consent form.

Maintaining Data: You must retain all data and other documents for at least three (3) years past completion of the research activity.

In addition, these requirements may also be applicable:

Amendments: If you wish to change any aspect of the study (such as design, procedures, consent forms or subject population), please submit these changes to the Committee.

Renewal: You are required to apply for renewal of approval every year for as long as the study is active.

Completion: You are required to notify the Chair of the Human Subjects Review Committee when your study is completed (data collection finished). This requirement is met by completion of the thesis project during the Third Summer.

Congratulations and our best wishes on your interesting study.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Elaine Kersten'.

Elaine Kersten, Ed.D.
Co-Chair, Human Subjects Review Committee

CC: Hannah Karpman, Research Advisor

Appendix B Informed Consent

Dear Participant,

My name is Liam Lattrell and I am a graduate student at the Smith College School for Social Work. Thank you for your interest in this study.

THE STUDY AND ITS PURPOSE

I am asking you to be a participant in a study researching how gendered norms affect college veterans' help seeking behaviors as they deal with difficult circumstances (past and present).

The purpose of the study is to further understand how masculine norms affect how college veterans deal with difficult circumstances; in this, I hope to garner understanding about how masculinity influences help seeking behavior and how social environments affect masculinity and help seeking practices. This study is being conducted as a thesis requirement for my master's in social work degree. Ultimately, this research may be published or presented at professional conferences.

ELIGIBILITY & PARTICIPATION

To be eligible for this study, you must be a man either actively serving in the US Military or a veteran. Those enrolled and not enrolled in college are eligible to participate in this study.

ANONYMITY & CONFIDENTIALITY

The survey will be conducted online and is completely anonymous if you choose not to contact me. If participants choose to contact me in quest of having further questions answered about the study (which will be an option), their information at that point will no longer be considered anonymous, but still will be protected from the wider community. The link to the survey does not keep email addresses or ask for participants' names. An online software program will collect the data you provide and only myself, my research advisor, the Smith College School for Social Work statistical analyst will be able to access to this information.

As further protection, the demographic information participants provide will be aggregated and presented in a manner that will not reveal any specific information about you. In addition, all research data will be kept in a secure location for three years, as mandated by federal law. After three years, I will continue to keep the research data secure or destroy them when they are no longer needed.

YOUR RIGHTS

Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may refuse to answer any question. You may also exit the study at any time prior to completing the survey. However, due to the anonymous nature of the study, upon submission, you will not be able to retract your answers to questions.

POTENTIAL RISK & HELPFUL RESOURCES

It is possible that questions in the survey instruments may elicit difficult emotions for respondents. The survey instruments were chosen in part, however, because they do not ask about specific events—the hope here is to lessen the chance that questions will be triggering to participants. The other risk of this study that your anonymity will be terminated if you decide to contact me for further questions--that said, even if you do contact me, your individual data will not reveal anything about you in the final thesis product. However, if participants elect to fill out the survey without subsequent contact with me, they will remain completely anonymous.

BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATION QUESTIONS & COMMENTS

You may benefit from this survey because you are contributing to a study which could be used by mental health professionals to better understand veterans' behaviors and in turn help design more appropriate treatment plans and interventions for those in need of help. Your participation in this study allows you the opportunity to offer your personal perspective on gendered social norms and your utilization of support resources. Greater insight for professionals serving veterans may benefit the larger group of which you are now a member.

I welcome your questions and comments and can be contacted by email at llattrell@smith.edu. Please feel free to also contact me if you have any concerns about your rights or about any aspect of the study.

You are also welcome to contact the Chair of the Smith College School for Social Work Human Subjects Review Committee at (413) 585-7974.

If you meet the eligibility requirements, I hope you will decide to participate in this study.

Please check yes if you meet the following criteria:

Do you identify as a man: Yes: No:

Are you actively enrolled in the military or a military veteran? Yes: No:

*******If you selected yes to both of these questions you may participate in this study**

BY SELECTING THE "I AGREE TO PARTICIPATE" OPTION BELOW, YOU ARE INDICATING THAT YOU HAVE READ AND UNDERSTAND THE INFORMATION ABOVE, THAT YOU HAVE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY, YOUR PARTICIPATION, AND YOUR RIGHTS, AND THAT YOU AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

I AGREE TO PARTICIPATE

I DO NOT AGREE TO PARTICIPATE

Appendix C
Recruitment Flyer

To All Male Veterans:

Thank you for your service. I am a graduate student at Smith College School for Social Work interested in how veterans cope and seek help. Please participate in a voluntary survey to help aid research for my graduate thesis concerning how male college veterans cope and seek help during and after the military. Again, this survey is for ALL men who have served; your experiences are crucial to further understand how college veterans' conceptions and practices related to masculinity may influence help seeking behaviors; additionally, my research will examine how these ideas and behaviors compare to veterans not enrolled in college.

Your help and input is extremely valuable for this research. This study will gather information about what can be done to broaden our services for veterans who need assistance. Of note, participants may skip any survey question they do not want to answer.

Again, thank you for serving your country.

Eligibility:

Participants must meet the following criteria

--***Veteran of the US Military or Active Duty***

--***Male Gendered***

If you meet eligibility requirements and want to participate in this valuable research, please access the survey through the following url: (Survey Monkey survey link will go here:

Appendix D
Demographic Questions

Are you presently enrolled in college Yes__ No__

Age: _____

Sexual Orientation: _____

Race/Ethnicity: _____

Marital Status: Single__ Partnered__ divorced__ Widowed__

Education level: HS/GRE__ Bachelor's__ Graduate or advanced degree__

Years served in the military 0-2__ 2-4__ 5+__

What Branch of the service did you serve in? Coast Guard __ Marines __ Army __Air force__
Navy__ National Guard__

Are you currently employed? Yes__ No__

Were you involved in combat during your service: Yes__ No__

If you are enrolled in college, please answer the following (if you are not, please proceed with the rest of the survey):

What type of college institution: Not enrolled__ Two Year__ Four Year__

Do you live on campus? Yes__ No__

Appendix E

Willingness to Seek Help Questionnaire

Please indicate how much you personally identify with each statement below. Please choose from the following response choices: “3”: identify completely with statement; “2”: identify with statement, “1”: do not identify with statement, “0”: do not identify with statement at all.

1. If I were afraid of heights, I would try to conceal this from my friends. 3 1 2 0
2. No conflict in our marriage could be so severe that my partner and I could not solve it on our own. 3 2 1 0
3. Were a problem to develop in my sex life, I would either need to solve it alone or to live with it, because I would not be able to discuss it with anyone. 3 2 1 0
4. If, for whatever reason, I were to have prolonged difficulty walking, I would do whatever possible to avoid asking help from anyone. 3 2 1 0
5. When something breaks down in my home, I usually persist in trying to fix it myself, even when it is difficult and I am wasting time and money. 3 2 1 0
6. If I were suddenly afraid to go out in the street, I believe I could overcome without help from anyone else. 3 2 1 0
7. If a serious problem were to arise in my marriage, I would be willing to talk about it with a professional, or with a friend or relative, but in any case I would not keep it to myself. 3 2 1 0
8. Sexual problems are a difficult topic to talk about, but if I were to have such a problem I would use the services of an expert. 3 2 1 0
9. If I ever have difficulty seeing, I will try to arrange my life so no one will notice. 3 2 1 0
10. If I were to lose control and hurt my child in a moment of anger, I would need to make sure that no one would know about it. 3 2 1 0
11. Discovering unexpectedly that my spouse was hitting my child too hard would lead me to seek out someone who could intervene as quickly as possible. 3 2 1 0
12. Were my spouse to suggest that we go to a family therapist, I would take the position that we are able to solve our own problems. 3 2 1 0
13. I believe that a time of mourning for a loved one would be a time when I would need other people. 3 2 1 0
14. If both my legs were to be broken in an accident, I would prefer to stay home for a few months rather than be pushed around in a wheelchair. 3 2 1 0
15. Some problems are so distressing that they cannot be managed alone. 3 2 1 0
16. If I were to develop an irrational fear of the dark and I were concerned that it might affect my child, I would seek out a person who could help me overcome my fear. 3 2 1 0
17. At the funeral of a loved one, I would do all I could do appear strong and not show any weakness. 3 2 1 0
18. If I had a chronic illness, such as diabetes, I would seek out persons who could offer me guidance in addition to the medical treatment. 3 2 1 0
19. If a member of my family were to become mentally ill, I would hope for contact with an expert who

- could advise me in how I might be of help. 3 2 1 0
20. If I thought I had a problem of excessive drinking, I could discuss it with persons who might be able to help me. 3 2 1 0
21. Problems of sexual dysfunction would cause me to seek outside help. 3 2 1 0
22. During a period of bereavement for a loved one, I would allow friends and relatives to take over some of the tasks for which I am usually responsible. 3 2 1 0
23. Becoming addicted to drugs is the kind of situation that would cause me to place my fate in the hands of an expert. 3 2 1 0
24. If, in the course of medical treatment for a physical ailment, I were to experience serious anxiety, I would ask the doctor to treat the anxiety. 3 2 1 0
25. If I am ever depressed, I will seek out the appropriate person to tell about it. 3 2 1 0

NOTE: The response format for all questions was:

“3” identify completely with statement

“2” identify with statement

“1” do not identify with statement

“0” do not identify with statement at all

Scoring was reversed on items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 19, 25; these were phrased as indicators of unwillingness to seek help.

Cohen, B. (1999). Measuring the willingness to seek help. *Journal of Social Service Research*, 26(1), 67-82.

***Note: I have obtained approval from Dr. Cohen for the use of this instrument.

Appendix F

Conformity to Masculine Norm Inventory-46

CONFORMITY TO MASCULINE NORMS INVENTORY-46

The following pages contain a series of statements about how men might think, feel or behave.

The statements are designed to measure attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors associated with both

traditional and non-traditional masculine gender roles.

Thinking about your own actions, feelings and beliefs, please indicate how much you personally agree or disagree with each statement by circling SD for "Strongly Disagree", D for "Disagree", A for "Agree," or SA for "Strongly agree" to the left of the statement. There are

no right or wrong responses to the statements. You should give the responses that most accurately describe your personal actions, feelings and beliefs. It is best if you respond with your first impression when answering.

1. In general, I will do anything to win SD D A SA
2. If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners SD D A SA
3. I hate asking for help SD D A SA
4. I believe that violence is never justified SD D A SA
5. Being thought of as gay is not a bad thing SD D A SA
6. In general, I do not like risky situations SD D A SA
7. Winning is not my first priority SD D A SA
8. I enjoy taking risks SD D A SA
9. I am disgusted by any kind of violence SD D A SA
10. I ask for help when I need it SD D A SA
11. My work is the most important part of my life SD D A SA
12. I would only have sex if I was in a committed relationship SD D A SA
13. I bring up my feelings when talking to others SD D A SA
14. I would be furious if someone thought I was gay SD D A SA
15. I don't mind losing SD D A SA
16. I take risks SD D A SA
17. It would not bother me at all if someone thought I was gay SD D A SA
18. I never share my feelings SD D A SA
19. Sometimes violent action is necessary SD D A SA
20. In general, I control the women in my life SD D A SA
21. I would feel good if I had many sexual partners SD D A SA
22. It is important for me to win SD D A SA
23. I don't like giving all my attention to work SD D A SA
24. It would be awful if people thought I was gay SD D A SA
25. I like to talk about my feelings SD D A SA
26. I never ask for help SD D A SA

27. More often than not, losing does not bother me SD D A SA
28. I frequently put myself in risky situations SD D A SA
29. Women should be subservient to men SD D A SA
30. I am willing to get into a physical fight if necessary SD D A SA
31. I feel good when work is my first priority SD D A SA
32. I tend to keep my feelings to myself SD D A SA55
33. Winning is not important to me SD D A SA
34. Violence is almost never justified SD D A SA
35. I am happiest when I'm risking danger SD D A SA
36. It would be enjoyable to date more than one person at a time SD D A SA
37. I would feel uncomfortable if someone thought I was gay SD D A SA
38. I am not ashamed to ask for help SD D A SA
39. Work comes first SD D A SA
40. I tend to share my feelings SD D A SA
41. No matter what the situation I would never act violently SD D A SA
42. Things tend to be better when men are in charge SD D A SA
43. It bothers me when I have to ask for help SD D A SA
44. I love it when men are in charge of women SD D A SA
45. I hate it when people ask me to talk about my feelings SD D A SA
46. I try to avoid being perceived as gay SD D A SA

CMNI-46 Scoring Instructions and Measure, Mike C. Parent, Updated: February 2, 2010

Researcher Preamble & Scoring Instructions:

The Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-46 (CMNI-46; Parent & Moradi, in press) is a short form of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI; Mahalik, Locke,

Diemer, Ludlow, Scott, Gottfried, & Freitas, 2003). Items for both measures are answered on a

4-point Likert-type scale, in accordance with Mahalik et al.'s (2003) conceptualization of masculine gender role conformity. Items reflect Winning, Emotional Control, Risk-Taking, Violence, Power Over Women, Playboy, Self-Reliance, Primacy of Work, and Heterosexual Self-Presentation (formerly Disdain for Homosexuals).

The preamble to the instrument is adapted directly from Mahalik et al.'s (2003) preamble to the CMNI. Item order for the CMNI-46 is consistent with item order for the CMNI.

Scoring:

Prior to scoring, ensure that responses are coded from 0 (strongly disagree) to 3 (strongly agree).

The following items need to be reversed:

4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 23, 25, 27, 33, 34, 38, 40, 41

Calculate subscales by summing or averaging scores thusly:

Winning: 1 + 7 + 15 + 22 + 27 + 33

Emotional Control: 13 + 18 + 25 + 32 + 40 + 45

Risk-Taking: 6 + 8 + 16 + 28 + 35

Violence: 4 + 9 + 19 + 30 + 34 + 41

Power Over Women: 20 + 29 + 42 + 44

Playboy: 2 + 12 + 21 + 36

Self-Reliance: 3 + 10 + 26 + 38 + 43

Primacy of Work: 11 + 23 + 31 + 39

Heterosexual Self-Presentation: 5 + 14 + 17 + 24 + 37 + 46

Mahalik, J.R., Locke, B., Ludlow, L., Diemer, M., Scott, R.P.J., Gottfried, M., & Freitas, G. (2003). Development of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*, 4, 3-25.

Parent, M. C., & Moradi, B. (2009). Confirmatory factor analysis of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory and development of the CMNI-46. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 10, 175-189.

Appendix G
Open Ended Survey Questions

Appendix E: Open Ended Questions

1) How did your military experience affect your understanding of what should be expected of you as a man?

2) Do those expectations impact your ability to ask for help?

3) Which people or resources do you seek out when you need help?

4) Please describe other methods you use to cope:

5) Do you think your gender impacts your ability to ask for help?

**Please only answer questions seven and eight if you are currently enrolled in college or have been enrolled in college after serving in the military.

6) How were (are) men expected to behave in your college setting?

7.) How did (has) college affect(ed) whether and how you use other people for help?