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IN BODYBUILDING

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THE RELATIONSHIP OF MALE IDENTITY, THE
MESOMORPHIC IMAGE, AND ANABOLIC STEROID USE
IN BODYBUILDING

By

Tracy Warren Olrich

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ABSTRACT

THE RELATIONSHIP OF MALE IDENTITY, THE MESOMORPHIC IMAGE, AND ANABOLIC STEROID USE IN BODYBUILDING

BY

TRACY WARREN OLRICH

The purpose of this study was to investigate the process and impact of bodybuilding and, later, anabolic steroid use in the lives of ten bodybuilders. The data were analyzed in light of two perspectives, namely, the critical feminist theory of hegemonic masculinity (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1987) and self-concept (Rosenburg, 1979). Structured interviews were used to examine the process by which individuals became involved in bodybuilding and, later, anabolic steroid use. The majority of the men were introduced to weight training through participation in an organized sport. Once involved in weight training and bodybuilding, gains occurred in muscular size and strength. This led to an enhancement in feelings of self-esteem and masculinity, largely due to peer reinforcement. At some point bodybuilding improvement plateaued causing frustration. Curiosity occurred pertaining to the efficacy of anabolic steroid use. After a period of indecision, the men chose to begin using anabolic steroids. Nine of the ten bodybuilders had overall positive experiences associated with anabolic steroid use. Physical side effects were experienced which reversed upon cessation of use. Bodybuilding and anabolic steroid use were found to reinforce hegemonic masculine characteristics.

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It is with great love and appreciation that I dedicate my thesis to the three people whose love, support and encouragement have allowed me to strive after my goals and dreams.

To Mom and Dad who have always given me positive encouragement to believe in myself. Their love and direction have provided me reassurance when sometimes I questioned the course I had chose to follow.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"A man's presence is dependent upon the promise of power which he embodies. If the promise is large and credible, his presence is striking. If it is small or incredible, he is found to have little presence...A man's presence suggests what he is capable of doing to you or for you. His presence may be fabricated, in the sense that he pretends to be capable of what he is not." (Berger, 1972) pp. 45-6.

In today's society, "traditional" and "emerging" roles of what it is to be male have created confusion, anxiety, fear, and crisis for many males. The social definition of male is often contradictory and ambivalent (Hoch, 1979). Traditionally, it is theorized, male identity revolved around the breadwinner ethic. It was the male who was to support the family, be the protector, and the patriarchal figure for those dependent on him. By establishing himself in this manner, the male could achieve a separation from women and groups of men who are perceived as a threat to their dominance. This concept is known as hegemonic masculinity (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1987). In the post-World War II era, however, traditional male roles have eroded. Due to the lessening of traditional craft skill, the rise in the level of structural employment, the decline of the family wage, and the surge of women into the work force, the male breadwinner role has slowly worn away. Although the traditional means of expressing maleness are eroding, men continue to have the same need of defining themselves, to prove themselves as men in the public world (Tolson, 1977). It has been theorized

that while the traditional role of males has eroded, there has been a simultaneous rise in the growth of organized sport and athletics. Sport has become the primary sphere of the masculinization experience for the male. Traditional male values of strength, power, domination, and violence are equated with the conquering of the frontier, with being the protector, the breadwinner. With these traditional channels of proving "maleness" closed, there are very few outlets for males to prove themselves as men in the public world (Messner, 1986).

In sport, the male is not only allowed to express the traditional male values, but encouraged to do so (Dubbert, 1979). Therefore, sport becomes the ideal place for the male to prove his masculinity. As Fasteau (1974) points out, it is widely assumed that sport builds sound masculine behavior. Equally important is the fact that, through sport, the male can establish his masculinity in view of the public. Messner (1986) found that by the time males reached high school, sport was the primary means by which males established themselves as men in today's society.

Knowing that establishing the masculine identity in the public's eye is important for the male (Messner, 1986), it follows that it would also be important for the male to look like an athlete in everyday life. In daily contact with society, it could be theorized that looking like an athlete could help further establish the male's masculine identity.

The self-concept can be described as "the totality of the individual's thoughts and feelings with reference to oneself as an object" (Rosenburg & Turner, 1981). The self-concept is how the individual perceives him/herself. Rosenburg (1979) reports that the individual's self-concept is influenced by institutional systems such as family, school, and church, and also by the immediate social and environmental context of the individual.

By being an athlete, or looking like one, the male would receive reinforcement from the institutional systems mentioned above, and the self-concept would be enhanced. The athlete, or the athletic image, as defined by society, has definite characteristics epitomized by the mesomorphic male--broad shoulders, a narrow waist, and well-developed chest and arm muscles.

In many studies conducted on the subject (Lerner & Gellert, 1969; Lerner & Schroeder, 1971; Tucker, 1982a), an "overwhelming majority of males report that they would prefer to be mesomorphic, as opposed to endomorphic (thin) or ectomorphic (fat)" (Tucker, 1982a). This preference is expressed by boys as young as 5 and 6 years of age, and also by college-age men (Mishkind, Rodin, Silberstein, & Striegel-Moore, 1987). Tucker (1982a) found in his work with college-age males that those who expressed favor toward the mesomorphic physique also established an even greater preference toward the hypermesomorphic physique. This physique can be thought of as the "muscle-man" type with

exaggerated muscular development of the chest and arms tapering to a narrow waist.

The mesomorphic physique is also equated with a number of positive characteristics including strength, intelligence, self-confidence, independence, active, persistent, and a leader (Mishkind, et al., 1987; Tucker, 1983c). Mesomorphs are seen as more attractive and better looking than other body types, and have been found to receive numerous social benefits. Adams (c.f. Tucker, 1983a) reported that overwhelmingly positive traits have been attributed to pictures and line drawings of the mesomorphic male, while endomorphic and ectomorphic physiques receive mainly negative ratings.

Franzoi and Shields (1984) reported that males' satisfaction and dissatisfaction with their body occurred in three different areas. The first area identified was the face and its features, such as the eyes, cheekbones, chin, and ears. The second area was that of the "upper body strength", including the chest, shoulders, and arms. The third area was "physical conditioning." This included being physically fit and having good physical stamina, a high energy level, and controlled weight.

While a person's face and its features are not under a person's control, except through cosmetic surgery, the male sees the areas of upper body strength and physical conditioning as being under direct volitional control (Mishkind, et al., 1987). Through proper physical training,

the male believes that both the physical conditioning and the upper body strength are malleable.

Although the development of physical fitness and conditioning are important to the male, the results of this type of conditioning are often not apparent to the group in which the male interacts. The development of the upper body strength dimension, however, becomes readily apparent with sufficient muscular hypertrophy. In understanding the importance of the male establishing his masculine identity in the public arena, it becomes obvious that males would choose to develop the upper body strength dimension (Mishkind, et al., 1987). Building upper body strength is a prime ingredient of weight training for today's athletes. The activity of bodybuilding would be one of the most effective modes for non-athletes to develop the upper body. Thus, bodybuilding would become a preferred male activity for both athletes and non-athletes.

The growth of bodybuilding would suggest that this is so. Bodybuilding has become so popular that competitions are televised weekly. There has been an astounding increase in the participation rate of bodybuilding (Klein, 1986).

Those individuals who are involved in the sport of bodybuilding often adjust their entire lifestyle in order to develop their physiques to perfection (Gaines & Butler, 1974). Hours each day may be spent training in the weight room. Diets may be scrutinized so closely that every morsel of food that is consumed has been analyzed, in order to help

the individual make the greatest possible gains (Klein, 1986). Aerobic work is performed to lower body fat levels to a minimum. And after much time and devotion is given to the sport, the results are visually apparent.

These individuals appear to be the epitome of health and fitness. Unfortunately, quite often this is not the case. "In direct contradiction to their public boasting of fitness and strength, we find bodybuilders' use of (anabolic) steroids and other drugs to be widespread. Despite the profoundly negative effects of steroids on health (e.g., the carcinogenic effects and the negative impact on the liver), steroid use is virtually universal among male competitors and increasingly frequent among women and non-competitors" (Klein, 1986).

Why would an individual, who otherwise is devoted to such a healthy lifestyle, participate in such an unhealthy activity? How could participation in an activity such as bodybuilding become so important that an individual would resort to the use of dangerous drugs?

Statement of the Problem

This study analyzed the process in which individuals became involved in bodybuilding and, later, anabolic steroid use. This study analyzed the impact that involvement in bodybuilding and anabolic steroid use had on the self-concept and masculine identity of the subjects. This study also analyzed the changes in self-concept and masculine identity

that occurred due to participation in bodybuilding and anabolic steroid use.

Limitations

This study entailed in-depth interviews of ten bodybuilders who used anabolic steroids at some point in their involvement in the activity of bodybuilding. Due to the small sample size, results should not be generalized to other groups of bodybuilders. Interview bias must be acknowledged. The interviewer is a bodybuilder and was acquainted with the subjects.

Delimitations

The subjects were asked for their agreement to participate in the study by the researcher. The gender of the subjects in this study was limited to males. This study was limited to males in order to analyze male participation in bodybuilding and subsequent anabolic steroid use. This study was also limited to persons who used, or had used, anabolic steroids. All subjects belonged to a weight training facility which emphasized bodybuilding.

Definitions

1. **Anabolic Steroids:** Synthetic hormones resembling the male sex hormone testosterone in structure (Goldman, 1984). In the male, testosterone is the hormone responsible for androgenic and anabolic activity in the body.

2. **Bodybuilder:** A person who participates in a number of activities (the primary activity being weight training) in order to enhance his/her physique.
3. **Bodybuilding:** A sport in which athletes compete in events to determine the most perfect physique. It can also describe any form of physical activity in which the participant receives any positive physical gain. Weight training is the primary means of physical training used in this activity.
4. **Bodybuilding (Physique) Contest:** A competition in which the physiques of participants are compared and rated in terms of physical perfection in a subjective manner by a panel of judges. Physical perfection is assessed on a number of parameters, including muscular size, muscular definition, and muscular symmetry.
5. **Competitive Bodybuilder:** A person who has competed in a bodybuilding contest, or is currently preparing for a bodybuilding contest.
6. **Hypermesomorphic individual:** A person with exaggerated muscular development--broad shoulders, narrow waist, large chest and arms.
7. **Non-competitive Bodybuilder:** A person who participates in the activity of bodybuilding, but has never competed in a bodybuilding contest.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW of the LITERATURE

The use of anabolic steroids and other muscle enhancing drugs is becoming widespread in our society (Johnson, 1985). Individuals who use these drugs do so with the belief that these substances will enhance their strength and physical development (Goldman, 1984; Lamb, 1984; Todd, 1987). Although numerous negative side effects have been attributed to their use, the number of individuals consuming anabolic steroids is on the rise (Klein, 1986).

As the problem was stated in Chapter 1, this study analyzed the process by which individuals became involved in bodybuilding and, later, anabolic steroid use. This study analyzed the impact that involvement in bodybuilding and anabolic steroid use had on the self-concept and masculine identity of the subjects. This review of the literature addressed relevant information relating to this problem. Major topics of this review included: (a) self-concept development, (b) hegemonic masculinity, (c) bodybuilding and (d) anabolic steroids. Self-concept was analyzed through Rosenberg and Turner's (1981) theory of self-concept development. Hegemonic masculinity was analyzed through a critical feminist perspective.

Self-Concept Development

The self-concept is often recognized to be a stable enduring feature of the personality. As Stryker (1981)

stated, self-concept is "a stable set of meanings attached to the self as object." Rosenberg (1979) described the self-concept as "the totality of the individual's thoughts and feelings with reference to oneself as an object." The self-concept is how the individual perceived himself/herself. And though uniquely distinct and personal to the individual, social factors play a major role in the formation of one's self-concept. The infant is not born with a self-concept, but self-concept is developed throughout one's life (Stryker, 1981).

A large share of the formation of one's self-concept is influenced by the institutional systems within which the individual comes in contact. Examples of these institutions include the family, school, economy and church (Rosenburg, 1979).

One noticeable institution which Rosenberg (1979) failed to mention was sport. Sport may be of tremendous importance to the development of self-concept of participants (Messner, 1986).

The self-concept is also influenced by the immediate social and environmental context of the individual (Rosenburg, 1979). Therefore, the self-concept can be thought of as a social product. Self-concept achieves shape and form from the matrix of a given culture, social structure and institutional systems. The individual's self-concept, however, also influences the environment around him/her by the actions he/she takes. In this way, the self-concept can

also be thought of as a social force (Rosenburg, 1981). Most important to this review is the aspect of the self-concept as a social product.

As mentioned above, as the self-concept is being developed, the individual is influenced by the environment around him/her. This influence is so great that Cooley (cited in Rosenberg & Turner, 1981) described the phenomenon as "the looking glass self." Mead (1934) stated that "we are more or less unconsciously seeing ourselves as others see us." To be more exact, individuals see themselves as they believe others see them, not how others actually see themselves (Rosenburg & Turner, 1981). If people believe that others perceive them in a positive manner, then they will perceive themselves in a positive manner. Conversely, if people believe that others perceive them in a negative manner, they will see themselves in a negative manner.

Not everyone's influence has the same effect on the individual's self-concept. The opinions of those who are significant in the life of the individual will have a much greater effect than those that are not significant. Significant others may include family members, members of a peer group, co-workers, etc., (Rosenburg, 1979).

Rosenburg and Turner (1981) acknowledged that within the nature of the self-concept are different and various components. Of particular interest to this study are the components of self-esteem and identity salience.

Self-Esteem Formation. Self-esteem can be described as the way one feels about one's self in daily situations (Rosenburg & Turner, 1981). The major motivation of self-esteem is the protection of the self-concept. Three principles of self-esteem formation must be considered. These three principles are reflected appraisals, social comparison, and self-attribution.

The principle of reflected appraisals is closely related to the concept of the looking glass self (Rosenburg & Turner, 1981). People see themselves in the manner in which they believe others see them. More than this though, when individuals are looked up to and respected by those about them, they will respect themselves. Thus, self-esteem will be enhanced. Conversely, if those around a person belittle or despise the individual, self-esteem will suffer. Rawls (1971) goes as far as to state, "our self-respect normally depends on the respect of others."

Klein (1986) found many bodybuilders who, at a younger age, suffered from poor self-images, unmet needs and personality deficiencies. Klein felt that these negative factors motivated many bodybuilders to become engulfed in the activity (bodybuilding). As young bodybuilders witnessed their physiques improving, their self-esteem also rose.

The second principle highlighted by Rosenburg and Turner (1981) is the principle of social comparison. Important to the social comparison principle is the theory of social

evaluation. Pettigrew (cited in Rosenberg & Turner, 1981) described the theory of social evaluation as follows:

"The basic tenet of social evaluation theory is that human beings learn about themselves by comparing themselves to others. A second tenet is that the process of social evaluation leads to positive, neutral, or negative self-ratings which are relative to the standards set by the individual employed by comparison."

Klein (1986) found social comparison to be very prevalent in the southern California bodybuilding subculture. Bodybuilders continually compared themselves to others in the gym.

The third principal of self-esteem formation was that of self-attribution (Rosenburg & Turner, 1981). The theory of self-attribution concluded that much of the individual's internal psychological workings were learned by the individual through viewing the effects caused by his own actions. Thus, if a child received a poor report card, or an adult had an identity which revolved around a low prestige job, a low self-esteem would be expected (Bandura, 1978). It must be seen, however, that for the effect to make an impression on the global self-esteem of an individual, the effect must be one that is achieved, not one that is ascribed.

Identity Salience. A second component of self-concept development that is of importance to this study is that of identity salience. The component of identity salience and the influence of identity salience on the self-concept are varied and complex (Rosenburg & Turner, 1981). Some roles

that a person plays are much more central to the individual's self-concept, while other's are much more peripheral (McCall & Simmons, 1978; Mulford & Salisbury, 1964; Schur, 1971; Stryker, 1981; Turner, 1978). There are several implications which must be addressed in order to fully appreciate the concept of identity salience.

First, it must be realized that people are more likely to seek and pursue opportunities to play roles that are central to the identity rather than peripheral (Stryker, 1981). Thus, the collegiate football player may pursue every chance to get out on the playing field, but may begrudge time spent in the classroom. The bodybuilder may devote many hours to the gym, preparing his physique, rather than spending this time with his family. Second, individuals are more likely to develop skills and qualities that are relevant to their central, rather than peripheral, roles (Rosenburg & Turner, 1981). To take the example of the bodybuilder again, he/she may spend hours learning about building muscular size, and the nuances of the finer points of nutrition, but make no initiative to learn of music, or the arts.

Third, the roles given central status may transfer or diffuse into other roles (Turner, 1978). In fact, the central roles may soon engulf the peripheral roles. Schur (1971) suggested that this role may come to loom so large in the consciousness of the individual that other roles soon pale in comparison. At this point, the individual may not even discern his/her other roles.

In accordance with this concept, Gaines and Butler (1974) found many bodybuilders working in menial low-paying jobs. This allowed their training and "sunning" (laying in the sun to get a tan) to take precedence in their daily lives.

Fourth, the global self-esteem of the individual is likely to be affected greatly by performances within the central roles rather than peripheral ones (Rosenburg & Turner, 1981). Therefore, the world-class athlete may be crushed after a poor performance, but unaffected by a low grade within the classroom.

Fifth, the individual's sense of who and what he/she is weighs greatly upon these central rather than peripheral roles. Therefore, the athlete may be unsure of who, and what he/she is upon retirement from his/her sport. For the athlete, retirement means that he/she has lost the one activity in which he/she has built a sense of identity (Messner, 1986). Olrich (1988) theorized that the bodybuilders he interviewed began participating in bodybuilding as a means of delaying athletic death. All of the bodybuilders in this study had been involved in athletics in high school, but upon entrance to college, they were no longer involved in a sport. Bodybuilding allowed these athletes to continue in an athletic endeavor.

Self-concept development is greatly influenced by an individual's immediate social environment. How an individual

believes others perceive him/herself has a direct impact on the way the individual perceives him/herself.

When analyzing bodybuilding in relation to the self-concept components of self-esteem and identity salience, certain implications become evident. These implications are discussed below.

First, the component of reflected appraisals would have great effect on the bodybuilder. As the bodybuilder's physique improves, greater peer recognition and positive reinforcement from peer groups would likely occur. As the appraisals become more positive, the bodybuilder would have a more positive appraisal of him/herself.

Second, social evaluation for the bodybuilder could have numerous applications. Before the individual ever participated in bodybuilding, the effects of social evaluation could make the subject aware of physical deficiencies between himself and peer groups, which may lead to beginning bodybuilding. Social evaluation could lead to anabolic steroid use if the bodybuilder finds himself deficient in relation to the new peer group.

A third and very important component to analyze would be that of identity salience. Bodybuilding is a very demanding and time consuming sport. To become involved in bodybuilding means that the bodybuilder must be committed to the sport. To become fully committed would be to allow bodybuilding to take a central role status. Other roles, such as husband,

father, breadwinner, wage-earner may also demand central status. Role conflict could easily occur.

The next concept is not identified as a component but must be addressed. Throughout this discussion, Rosenberg (1979) speaks of social factors, social evaluation and social context which play a major role in self-concept formation. What must be addressed is the expectations of these social forces. Societal expectation must be analyzed, so it may be understood what is expected of the individual. The expectations that the male is expected to adhere to will greatly affect his self-concept, identity salience and the way in which he perceives his masculine identity.

The next section of this chapter analyzes the expectations society has for the male. The next section also looks at the importance of sport within the context of society.

The Importance of Athletics in the Development of the Male Identity in Current Society

How important are athletics in the life of the male? What role does athletics play in establishing the male identity? A number of historians and sociologists (Dubbert, 1979; Farrell, 1986; Franklin, 1988; Messner, 1986, 1987; Pleck & Pleck, 1980; Stearns, 1979; Tolson, 1977) have attempted to analyze these questions. To truly understand these questions, they must be addressed through a historical perspective. Below is a brief summary of current thought on the subject.

Historical Dimension. Throughout history, males have pursued avenues in which they may achieve superiority and separation from women. Power and dominance over females and subordinated groups of other males provided a means by which males in power established their masculine identity. After the dominance over a subordinated group was established, the group in power developed means to maintain the domination. This concept is referred to by sociologists of a critical feminist perspective as male hegemony (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1987).

Dubbert (1979) addressed the traditional means in establishing identity in the lifecourse of the male. Before the industrial revolution, male identity was primarily established through "patriarchal land ownership" and military activity (Stearns, 1979). The frontier offered the opportunity for almost any male to acquire his own property. Dubbert (1979) in his work explained that "as long as the frontier existed, a man with sons knew that when the urge to prove their manhood came, they could acquire a farm, start a business, or provide their own adventure by moving to the frontier." But soon the frontier closed, and there were no new battlefields for the male to test his manly courage, identity traits, and show his superiority.

The closing of the frontier was due to the rise of the industrial revolution and industrial capitalism (Tolson, 1977). The concentrated ownership of land accompanied this shift in economy. No longer was patriarchal land ownership a

viable means for the male to establish his identity. Only a small percentage of males owned substantial parcels of land (Dubbert, 1979).

With the concentration of land ownership came the rise of urbanism. An "upper" class of people developed which owned major portions of land and businesses. In addition, two major classes emerged, namely, the "working class" and the "middle class" (Stearns, 1979). While these two major classes differed substantially (which is beyond the scope of this work), certain values were shared. One value was that of the male "breadwinner." The "breadwinner ethic" became the major source of male identity establishment (Tolson, 1977). By providing for and protecting the wife and family, the male could once again establish his identity. The sustenance and survival of the wife and children depended on the male, thereby proving the male's superiority and importance. The family's standing in the community owed much to the manliness of the husband. Providing for and protecting the family was seen as a very masculine activity (Stearns, 1979).

The onset of World War II brought about more change. Economies shifted and a major change occurred within the family. For many families it became imperative for the female to leave the home and help support the family. The "breadwinner ethic" now was being threatened by the female entry into the workforce (Tolson, 1977).

The female entry into the workforce was only a part of the threat the males perceived. Another major factor was the nature of the work in which the male participated, especially the middle-class male (Dubbert, 1979). Work no longer pitted man against nature, machine or one another. Most positions lacked a strong physical component. The masculine physique, which was a by-product of physical type occupations of an earlier day, seemed to be diminishing.

Williams' (cited in Dubbert, 1979) statements in the late nineteenth century, brought light to this issue. Williams noted that "the struggle for existence, though harder and harder, is less and less a physical struggle, more and more a battle of the minds." Unfortunately for the male, a cognitive battle is something that cannot be viewed or observed by the surrounding peer group. This could be seen as a problem for the male, as he historically sought opportunities to "establish his male identity in a public arena" (Tolson, 1977).

Williams (cited in Dubbert, 1979) further notes that men, especially urban dwellers, lacked the opportunity to be active enough to sustain a strong, vigorous physique. This deprivation of activity then led to the development of calisthenics during school time, college gymnasiums, athletic clubs in cities, and the amazing increase in sport participation.

Males became concerned that the combination of the factors mentioned above were leading to the possible

feminization of society (Kimmel, 1990). It is interesting that, with the gradual destruction of "traditional bases of male identity and privilege, sport has become an increasingly important cultural expression of traditional male values--organized sport became a primary masculinity-validating experience" (Dubbett, 1979).

The values so important to the male, i.e., physical strength, power and prowess, aggression, violence, could all be displayed on the athletic field. These values, which were discouraged in most arenas, were encouraged on the playing field by society. Sport also gave the male an arena in which to achieve that was separate from the female. As Messner (1986) comments, sport has become one of the "last bastions of male power and superiority over--and separation from--the perceived feminization of culture." The importance of this final point must be emphasized. Sport has become one of the final areas for the male to maintain hegemonic dominance over the female.

Current Research. Messner (1986) attempted to analyze specifically the importance of athletics in the lifecourse of the male. He interviewed 30 males who had once identified themselves as athletes. These males were former high school, collegiate, and professional athletes. Messner (1986) found that most of his subjects were affected by athletics throughout their lifespan. For the young boy, athletics were a way to gain attention from family, peers, and community. The more attention he received, the more motivated the child

was to devote time and energy into the pursuit of athletic excellence. Millions of young males are willing to give this intense motivation to athletics. Messner explained this in terms of identity. A young boy feels pressure from society to develop and maintain his own separate identity. Clear boundaries may be formed. Distance and separation (not only from females, but from one another), which are imperative to the development of their identity, may be developed and maintained. Ironically, athletics appeared initially to the young boy to give avenues to the closeness and intimacy which he so craves. This finding is consistent with Chodorow's (1978) argument that while the young male feels pressure from society to develop an identity separate from others, he still retains the basic human needs of connection and intimacy with others.

The male quickly realized, however, that as an athlete, he must be good. Attention is contingent upon winning and excellence in performance (Messner, 1986; Farrell, 1986).

As Messner (1987) points out,

"it is sadly ironic that what they seek from sports is something sports cannot deliver; and the pressure to achieve strips them of the ability to receive what sports can really offer: fun. The establishment of the public masculine identity is concerned more with doing and achieving, than it is with fun. With no clear cultural definition of masculinity--the achievement of masculine status is truly problematic. And if it is difficult to define masculinity in terms of what it is, it is at least clear to boys what it is not: a boy is not considered masculine if he is feminine" (p. 57).

When analyzing the male transition and development throughout adolescence, Messner (1986, 1987) found that the expectations from the "crowd" loomed larger in the mind of the male than previously. The "crowd" for the adolescent male athlete includes immediate family, friends, peers, teammates, fans and the media. Athletics by this time in the male's life have become the primary source for the establishment of the male identity. Performance is paramount in the mind of the adolescent male. The young male must continually "prove, achieve, re-prove and re-achieve his status." The adolescent male feels that he is only as good as his last performance (Messner, 1987).

Farrell (1986) found that the male feels his worth is even less stable than his last performance. His interviews brought to light the fact that the male may feel worth only as long as he is playing on the athletic field. As soon as a substitution occurs, the crowd immediately cheers for the replacement, leaving the male to feel ignored and forgotten. The adolescent male now feels like a replaceable cog in a large machine.

What is important to this discussion, however, is how this development of athletics relates to the male and his physique. While sport was seen as a way to establish identity in a culturally acceptable manner, it was seen also as a means to develop a strong, muscular, "manly" physique. Theodore Roosevelt saw athletics as a way to build strong males throughout society (Dubbett, 1979).

Mesomorphic Image. The muscular or "mesomorphic" physique has always been seen as active and more athletic than other types of physiques (endomorphs and ectomorphs) (Tucker, 1984). When it is understood that the male pursues avenues for public displays of establishing manhood, and that sport has become a primary avenue for establishing this identity, the importance of the mesomorphic physique to the male becomes more clear. It is a logical step for the male to want a mesomorphic physique. By possessing a mesomorphic physique the male would be seen as athletic by others in that public arena, which is so important to him (Bershiel & Walster, 1972; Byrne, London & Reeves, 1968). Through the act of being observed by others, the male could, in effect, establish his identity. By possessing a mesomorphic physique, he could be seen as athletic and physically capable, when viewed by others (Tucker, 1982b). Even more important to the male, however, is the fact that by possessing this image, the male now maintained a hegemonic dominance: separation from females through actual physical traits.

Mishkind et al. (1987) stated that the muscular male is seen in our culture as the ideal. The muscular male is intimately tied to cultural views of masculinity and the male sex role. According to Mishkind et al., our society "prescribes that men be strong, powerful, efficacious--even domineering and destructive." A number of researchers have found the mesomorphic physique to be seen as the most

attractive and socially desirable physique (Brodsky, 1954; Hamachek, 1978; Tucker, 1982b).

Tucker (1984) surveyed college students as to their self-perceived somatotype (bodybuild), as it relates to personality. Tucker found mesomorphs to be more impulsive and easy-going than males of other physique types (endomorph, ectomorph). He also found the mesomorphs to be significantly less emotionally labile, less overreactive, and less anxious than self-perceived endomorphs and ectomorphs. He explains these findings from a symbolic interactionist perspective in this way:

"...the principle theme being that the self develops in relation to the expectations and reactions to other people-a social product of reciprocal interchange. Because no characteristic is more readily noticeable than physical appearance, no physical structure is more preferred than the mesomorph, and no physique is associated with expectations as favorable as those with the mesomorph, it seems plausible that mesomorphic males tend to be recipients of a commensurately high proportion of positive feedback, which enhances psychological functioning" (p. 1231).

Tucker (1984) noted that physical attractiveness, particularly as it relates to the body structure, may have consequences that are more than skin deep. Adams (cited in Tucker, 1984) stated "physical attributes of a pleasing nature are likely to stimulate positive social action from others that will lead to a healthy psychological make-up."

Mishkind et al. (1987) stated that the muscular male probably enjoys social advantages yet undocumented. Spence and Heimlich (cited in Mishkind et al., 1987) found

masculinity to be positively correlated with personal attributes such as independence, active, competitive, persistent, self-confident, and superiority. Mishkind et al. related that the muscular physique "may serve as the symbolic embodiment of these personal characteristics" and later concluded that, (speaking of the male), "they experience an intimate relationship between body image and potency-that is masculinity-with the muscular mesomorph representing the muscular ideal. A man who fails to resemble the body ideal is, by implication, failing to live up to sex-role norms, and may thus experience the consequences of violating such norms."

Seeing that the mesomorph is associated with so many positive and socially desirable characteristics, it seems only logical that the male would attempt to narrow the gap between his self-perceived somatotype and the mesomorphic ideal. Weight training and bodybuilding become logical avenues for the male to pursue in an attempt to realize the mesomorphic ideal. Also, seeing that the effects of weight training and bodybuilding are so visible to the public arena of the male, weight training and bodybuilding became the option for which males would be most likely to opt (Mishkind et al., 1987). One avenue that allows males to be judged in their success at developing their bodies is bodybuilding.

In summary, throughout history the male has sought avenues in which to establish his identity. Due to events in history and changing economic conditions, traditional avenues

in which the male could establish his identity have closed. Simultaneously, there has been a tremendous rise in the growth and popularity of sport. Many historians and sociologists believe that sport has become the arena in which the male establishes his identity. Also important to the male is the development of the athletic type physique. This physique is known as the mesomorphic physique. The mesomorphic physique is characterized by a heavy musculature, and many males seek to develop this physique through weight training (bodybuilding).

Bodybuilding

The term bodybuilding is a large and encompassing term. Bodybuilding can be described as a sport in which athletes compete in events to determine the most perfect physique. It can also describe any form of physical activity in which the participant receives any positive physical gain (Gaines & Butler, 1974; Schwarzenegger, 1977). Both definitions will be of importance to this work.

Although bodybuilding can be thought of as any activity in which the participant receives positive physical gain, it usually refers to any form of activity in which the participant exercises with various forms of weight training equipment (Gaines & Butler, 1974). According to trade publications, as many as 85 million Americans participate in some form of weight training (Klein, 1986).

Bednarek (1985) further differentiated bodybuilding into three distinct and separate categories. Bednarek did not

name these categories, but separated them by the type of participant in each group, regardless of sex. The first category was represented by the competitive bodybuilder. This person was not content just to see muscular growth and development. This person actively sought comparison with other athletes through bodybuilding contests. Bodybuilding or "physique" contests, are competitions in which contestants are compared to other athletes in the areas of muscle form, size, definition, proper presentation of the body, and overall proportions and harmony within the physique.

The second category that Bednarek (1985) identified was represented by the non-competitive bodybuilder. Overall muscular development is the goal of this athlete. Although this participant may have trained just as intensely as those in the first category, this person has no urge to compete in bodybuilding contests. Bodily appearance is the major focus of the participants of the first two categories.

The third category that Bednarek (1985) identified consisted of participants who have a primary goal of physical fitness. Generally, participants from this category were more concerned with losing weight, or maintaining current fitness levels, than working to develop greater muscle mass. In this study, primary focus will be on both the competitive bodybuilder and the non-competitive bodybuilder.

Tucker (1982a, 1982b, 1983a, 1983b, 1983c, 1987) has conducted a number of studies on the effects of weight training in relation to self-concept and perceived body-type

in relation to personality, and personality change. Tucker's studies were conducted with college-age males. He did not separate them by race or socio-economic status. Although these studies looked at weight training in a general manner, and not specifically bodybuilding, many important results were found and will be discussed below.

Tucker (1982b) conducted a study with 105 college males to determine the effect of a weight training program on the self-concepts of the participants. In the 16 week study, male subjects from four sections of an Ancient American History class were compared to male subjects in a weight training course in the area of self-concept. The Tennessee Self-Concept scale was chosen to assess self-concept. Participants in the Ancient American History class showed no improvement in self-concept. Tucker concluded that increases in muscular strength and girth bolstered feelings of personal pride, confidence and self-worth. Tucker believed this effect could be partially explained by the positive effects of the subjects' seeing their physiques growing progressively more muscular as a result of their own efforts.

In another study Tucker (1982a) examined the relationship between perceived somatotype (bodybuild) and body cathexis (satisfaction) among 88 male undergraduates. Tucker again found the mesomorphic physique to be seen as the ideal. The more the participant perceived his physique to be closer to the ideal, the higher the body cathexis score. The farther the participant strayed from the ideal, the greater

the dissatisfaction. As discussed earlier, the mesomorphic physique is associated with a number of positive characteristics (Brodsky, 1954; Hamachek, 1978; Staffieri, 1967). Thus, Tucker concluded that mesomorphs would have greater body satisfaction due to greater amounts of positive feedback and would be more inclined to feel better about themselves than less muscular or mesomorphic individuals.

Tucker (1987) conducted a study in which 241 males were studied to analyze which participants received a greater increase in terms of body concept and psychological profiles, from participating in a weight training class. The experimental group (n=114) consisted of males enrolled in an undergraduate weight training class. The control group (n=127) consisted of males enrolled in a health education class. Tucker found that the participants who benefitted the most were those who initially perceived themselves as being farther from the mesomorphic ideal. Through the course of the weight training class, these participants posted the greatest advances toward the mesomorphic ideal. The control group posted no statistically significant changes in any profile measure.

It is important to note that within the mesomorphic category, the hypermesomorphic or "muscle man" physique is the most preferred (Deno, 1953; Mishkind et al., 1987; Tucker, 1987). This preference can be seen in children as young as 5 and 6 years old (Mishkind et al., 1987). This

gives further understanding to the phenomenal growth seen in the sport of bodybuilding (Klein, 1986).

It is obvious from the studies described above that participation in bodybuilding and weight training can be a very positive thing, helping the participants bridge the gap between their perceived bodytype, and the mesomorphic ideal. This, however, only represents one aspect of the true picture.

Klein (1986, 1985a, 1985b, 1981) spent 4 years studying the bodybuilding subculture in Southern California. Southern California is known as the mecca of bodybuilding (Gaines & Butler, 1974; Klein, 1986; Schwarzenegger, 1977). Although many of the findings of Klein cannot be generalized to a greater population than that in Southern California, his insights are helpful in gaining a greater understanding of the sport and more importantly, its subculture.

Klein (1986) found great contradictions between bodybuilding's image as projected through trade publications, most notably Muscle & Fitness, and the reality of the sport he found in Southern California. Three major areas of discrepancy surfaced. These included (1) individualism versus socially determined self, (2) heterosexual projection versus homosexuality, and (3) health versus illness. All three areas will be briefly discussed.

In the first area of discrepancy, Individualism versus Socially Determined Self, Klein (1986) found that male bodybuilders prefer to think of themselves as "rugged

individuals." Most had previously been involved in team sports, and expressed dislike for these types of sports. Quite often these individuals saw themselves as "loners", or "not easy to make friends with." Sprague (cited in Klein, 1986) found bodybuilders to be significantly more self-sufficient and less group-dependent than the normal population. This is in agreement with Chodorow's (1978) thought that the male seeks to establish a separate identity within the society, as discussed earlier.

Klein (1981, 1986) also found, however, that a social structure did develop within the community. Klein (1981) states, "Despite their individualism, bodybuilders do in fact form a community, rooted in their physical distinctiveness and what it symbolizes. Forced in upon themselves, bodybuilders have fashioned a subculture in Southern California's more tolerant climate. The gym, various contests, Muscle Beach, and the media hype are additional factors making possible the expression of the subculture. In this context their individualism is actually fused into a social system that allows them their atomism while concealing social bonds." This again is in agreement with Chodorow (1978), who states that while the male seeks independence, he craves intimacy.

The second area of discrepancy that Klein (1986) found was that of Heterosexual Projection versus Homosexuality. Through monthly "muscle" magazines, and numerous advertisements, compulsory heterosexuality is enshrined. As

Klein states, "the message is that if one looks like a man, some woman will drape herself over him." For many males, the building of a muscular physique becomes necessary to reach a desired state of heterosexuality (Klein, 1986).

In contrast, Klein found the selling of sexual favors to the gay community very prevalent in the Southern California (Venice Beach) area. This is known as "hustling" in the bodybuilding community. Bodybuilders often needed this source of income to finance their lifestyle which centered on training. The selling of sexual favors was estimated to occur within about 40% to 75% of the bodybuilders in the Southern California bodybuilding population. While this activity was engaged in by a large percentage of the bodybuilders, they often felt resentment or hatred for the gays. This was most likely due to the suppressed anxiety of homophobic feelings. The presence of gays posed a threat to the bodybuilders' masculinity. By becoming involved with the gays in a sexual manner, the bodybuilders felt alarming anxiety as their heterosexuality came into question. Compulsive heterosexuality was one of the bases upon which their hegemonic masculine identity was based. Klein (1986) found the result of this anxiety led some bodybuilders to nervous breakdowns, attempted suicide, and the repudiation of bodybuilding altogether.

The third area of discrepancy that Klein (1986) identified was that of Health versus Illness. Once again, bodybuilding is projected by trade publications to be a very

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healthy activity in which to be involved. Diets are analyzed for correct nutritional content, training routines are developed to maximize results, and aerobic activity is engaged in to reduce bodyfat levels to a minimum (Klein, 1986, Gaines & Butler, 1974, Schwarzenegger, 1977). Bodybuilders project an aura of health and fitness.

In direct contrast to the healthful image that is projected upon the public, this image is not always the result of diet and exercise. For example, many writers claim the use of anabolic steroids in bodybuilding is widespread (Klein, 1986; Taylor, 1982; Todd, 1987). These studies, however, were qualitative studies looking at athletes' perceptions of steroid use, including how widespread the use was. Yet, results of a study by Buckley & Yesalis (1988) showed that 6.6% of 3,403 twelfth grade male students had used steroids. Considering these results were found among the general population, this would indicate a significant rate of steroid use for non-medical reasons which would reinforce anecdotal reports.

The three discrepancies described above also illustrate the manner in which the media, in this case the trade publications within the sport of bodybuilding, contribute to the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity. In each of the three instances, the media helped to maintain a socially acceptable image which actually deviated greatly from the truth.

In summary, bodybuilding is any type of physical training that leads to improvement in the physique. The definition of bodybuilding usually is thought of in much narrower terms. Bodybuilding is usually defined as weight training done in such a manner as to produce extreme muscular hypertrophy. Studies conducted concerning the relationship of weight training to self-esteem improvement have consistently showed a positive correlation. As the subject sees his/her physique improve there is also improvement in self-esteem.

Bodybuilding publications also present bodybuilding as a very positive, healthy activity. Klein (1986) found this not always to be the case. In direct contrast to the public projection of health that the trade publications presented, he found the use of anabolic steroids to be very widespread within the subculture he observed.

Anabolic Steroids

Anabolic steroids are synthetic hormones resembling the hormone testosterone in structure (Goldman, 1984). In the male, testosterone is the hormone responsible for androgenic and anabolic activity in the body. Androgenic is the term used to describe the development of secondary sex characteristics. Anabolic is the term which describes the promotion of tissue growth in the body (Lamb, 1984; Stone & Lipner, 1980). It is the anabolic component that bodybuilders and athletes from various sports are concerned with. The general conception is that if testosterone is

responsible for the growth of tissue (muscle), then greater amounts of testosterone will help the athlete gain greater amounts of muscle growth, if combined with resistance exercise (Goldman, 1984; Lamb, 1984; Todd, 1987; Wright & Stone, 1985).

Physiological Effects. Numerous studies in the early 1970's were conducted to determine if, in fact, anabolic steroids did promote muscular growth when combined with resistance exercise. Results were equivocal (Ariel, 1973; Bowers & Reardon, 1972; Freed, Banks, Longson, & Burley, 1975; Golding, Freyding, & Fishel, 1974; O'Shea, 1971; O'Shea & Winkler, 1970; Stamford & Moffat, 1974; Ward, 1973). As a result of these works, a number of professional organizations, including the American College of Sports Medicine in 1977, issued statements claiming that there was no proof that anabolic steroids promote muscular growth in healthy males (Goldman, 1984; Lamb, 1984).

Taylor (1985), however, stated in his book, **Hormonal Manipulation**, that steroids are efficacious. Taylor believed that steroids did work, if taken in high enough dosages and combined with resistance exercise. Taylor found major methodological flaws in studies disclaiming the efficacy of anabolic steroids. Haupt and Rovere (1984) suggested in their review of the literature concerning steroids, that steroids are highly effective for an athlete who has reached a state of catabolism in his/her training.

Most athletes are positive of the efficacy of the hormones (Goldman, 1984; Taylor, 1985; Todd, 1987). With a large percentage of physicians continuing to discount the effectiveness of steroids, their credibility was affected negatively in the eyes of many athletes (Taylor, 1985).

Recently, the American College of Sports Medicine altered its stance, claiming that when combined with resistance exercises, anabolic steroids may enhance performance in some individuals. This can be seen as a major change in position, most notably because this stance was changed without any significant changes in the scientific literature (Taylor, 1985).

It is becoming more evident, through anecdotal reports by athletes (Chaikin & Telander, 1988; Olrich, 1988), and by involved physicians (Taylor, 1985; Haupt & Rovere, 1984), that steroids are effective. If, in fact, steroids are effective, why should an athlete not take them? There are a number of medical and ethical factors that must be taken into account.

Anabolic steroids are potentially very dangerous drugs (Goldman, 1984; Lamb, 1984). They have been associated with a number of side effects. A complete review of the literature concerning medical side effects of anabolic steroids is beyond the scope of this work. A brief description of the major implications will be presented.

Anabolic steroids have been associated with severe liver disease, including hepatocellular carcinoma (cancer of the

liver) and peliosis hepatitis (blood filled sacs within the liver) (Goldman, 1984; Lamb, 1984; Taylor, 1985; Stone & Lipner, 1980; Wright & Stone, 1985). Rupturing of these sacs could potentially cause severe hemorrhage and liver failure (Lamb, 1984).

Serum thyroid, pituitary, and steroid hormones produced by the athlete's body are severely decreased during anabolic steroid therapy (Alen, Rahkila, Reihila & Vihko, 1987). This often results in testicular atrophy in the male (Goldman, 1984; Lamb, 1984; Wright & Stone, 1985). Testicular function will be lessened or halted during periods of anabolic steroid use (Strauss, 1988). Wilm's Tumor, a tumor of the kidney, has also been associated with anabolic steroid use in a single case (Goldman, 1984).

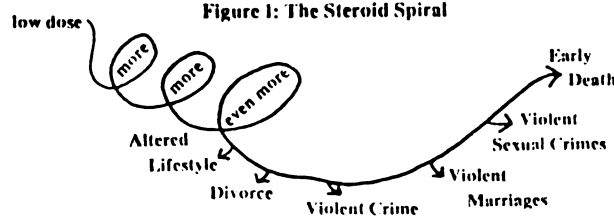
It has been hypothesized that the side effects caused by anabolic steroids are dramatically increased due to the large quantities that many athletes self-administer. Athletes have been found to use 10 to 40 times the amount prescribed therapeutically (Lamb, 1984). Burkett & Falduto (1984) conducted a survey of anabolic steroid users. Of the 24 athletes surveyed who used steroids, 20 were found to be "stacking" steroids (combining two or more steroids) in order to cause a synergistic effect. The lowest reported use of anabolic steroids by the athletes was 350% of the therapeutically recommended dosage. Most athletes were taking 4 to 8 times the recommended medical dosage.

Psychological Effects. Of great importance to this work were the psychological effects associated with anabolic steroids. Anabolic steroids, even in low dosages, can have effects on the male personality (Taylor, 1985). With moderate to large dosages, complete personality changes can take place (Taylor, 1985; Todd, 1987). An increased level of aggression is one of the most obvious psychological changes (Goldman, 1984; Olrich, 1988; Taylor, 1985; Todd, 1987). With the increased levels of aggression came increased levels of confidence, almost to a point where the user no longer has a true picture of reality. As Olrich (1988) found in an interview with a former steroid user, the user relates:

"You know it increased my self-confidence, as far as, it was like, I could go into a bar, and I'd know. I could walk into a bar, and I'd have enough self-confidence to go face-to-face with anyone in the bar. And if someone started fucking with me, I would not be afraid. I would not back down. Now, I'm not afraid, but I've got common sense. When you're on the drug, it's like you have enough confidence that I could fuck anybody up. You know, you're thinking, 'That's a scary feeling, 'cause that 270 pounder could be on the same shit you are!'" (p. 26).

Taylor (1985) described what he calls "the steroid spiral." From following the histories of past users, he found a pattern of behavior caused by the increased aggression level. First, the athlete begins to take anabolic steroids in low dosages. The athlete tends to "cycle" on and off the steroids. He/she gradually uses larger doses on each cycle. Mood swings and behavior patterns widen, until the personality change effects the people in which the steroid

user comes into contact. Taylor diagrams this phenomena as shown below:



While this description is intriguing, it lacks sufficient documentation to test its validity.

Increased sense of well-being and euphoria have also been noted (Goldman, 1984; Olrich, 1988; Taylor, 1985). Athletes report excellent workouts, bodybuilders note that they achieve an excellent "pump." "Pump" is a term used by bodybuilders to describe a feeling of tightness and fullness in the muscle, caused by an increased blood flow to the muscle. Arnold Schwarzenegger (1977) described the feeling of being pumped as "better than sex." Many bodybuilders attest to the addictive nature of the "pump" (Olrich, 1988; Schwarzenegger, 1977). Anabolic steroids increase the intensity of the pump and help to further reinforce usage (Olrich, 1988).

A study by Pope and Katz (1988) of 41 steroid users showed significant affective and psychotic symptoms during periods of anabolic steroid use. The subjects of the study reported significant increases in muscular mass and strength. None of the 41 subjects recalled adverse medical effects of steroids requiring medical consultation. Five of the subjects reported psychotic symptoms during periods of steroid use. No subjects reported such symptoms during periods of non-use. Five subjects also reported manic

episodes during periods of steroid use. Five subjects developed major depression during periods of steroid use.

Psychological Dependence. A few researchers have noted a psychological dependence to anabolic steroids (Goldman, 1984; Olrich, 1988; Taylor, 1985). The tremendous gains that the athlete perceives him/herself gaining, combined with an increased sense of well-being and euphoria help to contribute to this dependence. In his interview of current and former steroid users, Olrich (1988) found that each athlete felt there was an intense psychological dependence. A quote from a former user sums this up well:

"If you ever try anabolic steroids...you will understand why people become so psychologically addicted to them. They're...when you're on them, it's great. It's great in the gym. You become unbelievably strong. You look great. You look better than you ever have in your life. There's no doubt about it. Your strength will go up. You can work out at 100% seven days a week if you want. Your fat goes down. It's great."

He goes on to conclude:

"...the psychological addiction is so strong. It's as strong as with any other drug. Like I said, when you are on steroids, your workouts are great. And if someone really loves to work out, that's one of the greatest experiences of your whole entire life. I can honestly say that there are few things in this world I'd rather do than train. And when you're on steroids, it's magnified tenfold. It's just...you get incredible workouts, and there are times you think you're never going to go off." (p. 29)

Olrich (1988) postulates that if possessing a muscular physique helps the male establish his identity, then the use of anabolic steroids, and the increased muscle mass that it

affords, helps to further validate the male's identity. This is congruent with Mishkind et al. (1987) and more recent anecdotal evidence. Murphy (1986) found that high school boys are taking drugs to "bulk up for the girls." Wood (cited in Johnson, 1985) calls it the new drug epidemic in high schools. He goes on to note that the growing reliance on steroids is a "way of dealing with the self-doubts of young boys about their masculinity. Unfortunately, this is the kind of problem most teenagers have, so they can be easily exploited. Steroids have become the thing for the kids to do. In the last few years, they have become very big in high schools."

Olrich (1988) further postulated that if using anabolic steroids help the male to validate his masculinity, the withdrawal of their use would have the opposite effect. After withdrawing the use of steroids, the effects from the steroids quickly subside (Goldman, 1984). Watching their muscles shrink and strength levels drop would in effect emasculate the male (Olrich, 1988).

English (1987) developed six theoretical explanations for the reasoning behind steroid use in the adolescent athlete. Using Jessor's (1982) Problem Behavior Theory as a basis for this explanation, English identified six major reasons for an athlete to use steroids.

The first reason English (1987) identified for using anabolic steroids was "blocked" or unattainable goals. The athlete often feels that his/her natural ability is limited

and that goal attainment is nearly impossible without the use of anabolic steroids.

The second reason identified was "a way to express solidarity within a group" (English, 1987). The athlete may feel that by acquiring the physical characteristics of those he/she admires or competes against, the athlete may gain acceptance into that particular peer group.

The third reason English (1987) identified is that steroids are taken as a way to cope with anxiety. Frustration, failure, and the fear of failure, as they relate to performance, may have devastating effects on the adolescent athlete's self-image. Anabolic steroids may improve the athlete's performance, thereby becoming a coping mechanism to help the athlete deal with anxiety.

Finally, English (1987) labels the fourth reason for using anabolic steroids as "confirmation of identity." Athletes may use steroids to overcome psychologically contrived inadequacies. English believes that when this occurs, steroids "metaphorically become an orally ingested form of self-esteem."

The fifth reason English (1987) theorized for athletes using anabolic steroids was rebellion. The athlete no longer respects or maintains adult or societal authority. Steroid use in this case may be a form of rebellion against such authority.

English (1987) identified a sixth reason for steroid use as "transitional markers." In this scenario, the athlete may

use steroids to show his/her peer group that he/she has finally become fully committed to reaching his/her athletic goal(s). This explanation offered by English has merit in helping explain adolescent steroid use. Unfortunately, it has not been substantiated through any type of psychological or sociological research.

In summary, anabolic steroids are drugs used in bodybuilding and athletics to enhance muscular development. Anabolic steroids are similar in structure to the male hormone testosterone. Numerous studies were conducted in the 1970's in order to determine anabolic steroid effectiveness. Results were equivocal. Some studies found steroids to be effective, while other studies did not. Current thought is that steroids are effective, if taken in large enough quantities. Steroids have also been found to be dangerous. Numerous side effects have been associated with steroid use. Even though these side effects have been documented, steroid use to enhance muscularity is on the increase. Steroids have also been found to cause psychological side effects. Psychological side effects of particular importance include personality changes and psychological addiction to the drugs. Researchers have also theorized that males may use steroids in an attempt to validate their masculinity.

Summary

The purpose of this section was to review pertinent literature relating to the process of becoming involved in bodybuilding and, later, anabolic steroid use. Self-concept

development was analyzed and theoretically linked to bodybuilding involvement. Literature on the importance of athletics in the development of the male identity was reviewed to gain a greater understanding of societal expectations and pressures the male may be experiencing. The activity and sport of bodybuilding was also reviewed. Bodybuilding was shown to be an activity which developed and enhanced qualities identified in society as being masculine. Literature on anabolic steroids and their use was reviewed in order to gain a greater understanding of this drug use phenomenon.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Participants

Description of Participants. This study entailed in-depth interviews of ten male bodybuilders. The bodybuilders ranged in age from 18 to 35 with the exception of one bodybuilder who was 57. Eight of the ten participants were Caucasian. One participant was African-American, and one participant was Hispanic.

The educational status of the men varied. All of the participants had completed high school. Two of the men were enrolled as undergraduate students at the time of the interview. One of the participants was working toward the completion of a masters degree in sociology. He also held a full-time position as a social worker. Two of the participants were doctoral students in exercise physiology programs. One of the exercise physiology doctoral candidates also worked in a cardiac rehabilitation program. One of the participants had completed a degree in engineering and was employed as an engineer in an automotive parts manufacturing plant. One participant had completed an undergraduate degree and worked as a corrections officer within a State correctional facility. One participant was a physician who had also taught courses at the local university. Two of the participants had completed high school and chose to enter the

work force. One worked in an automotive plant, while the other worked in a factory which produced furniture.

While all of the men could be described as middle class in terms of socio-economic status, there was variety within this classification. The full-time students were at the lower end of the classification, while the engineer and the physician were at the upper end. The rest of the subjects placed somewhere between these two extremes.

The participants resided in the upper Midwest and Southwest regions of the U.S. and in Canada. The largest percentage resided in the upper Midwest.

Of the ten participants, five were competitive bodybuilders and five were non-competitive bodybuilders. All of the participants had used anabolic steroids at some time during their involvement in the activity of bodybuilding. A competitive bodybuilder was defined as a bodybuilder who had competed in a bodybuilding contest or was currently preparing for a contest. A non-competitive bodybuilder was defined as a serious weight trainer who had never competed in a bodybuilding contest and was not currently preparing for a contest.

Gaining Access to the Participants. The researcher of this study was in a unique situation which allowed access to the participants of this study. The researcher had himself been involved in weight training for approximately 15 years and competitive bodybuilding for approximately 4 years. During this time, the researcher had become personally

acquainted with each of the subjects. The researcher asked each person for their willingness to be a participant in the study. Every person who was asked to be a part of the study agreed to participate. There were no refusals.

The researcher felt that a personal relationship with the subjects was of extreme importance. Many of the questions developed for the interview were of a personal nature. The researcher believed the only way to receive honest responses to such questions was for the participants to personally know the researcher. This would allow a high level of comfort for the participants and lessen the degree of threat.

The Interview

The interview questions were developed by the researcher in an effort to more fully understand the importance of bodybuilding and athletics in each subject's life. Questions were also developed to understand the subjects' knowledge, motivation, and experiences with anabolic steroids.

The Interview Questions. The importance of athletics in the life of the participants was addressed through the following questions:

1. When did you first become involved in athletics?
2. What sports were you involved with during junior high, high school, and college?
3. How important were athletics in your life when you were growing up? (Please give some examples, positive and negative.)

The following questions were general (non-specific) questions pertaining to bodybuilding:

4. When did you first become interested in bodybuilding?
5. Why did you pick bodybuilding, and not some other type of activity?
6. What type of impact has bodybuilding had on your life? (Please give some examples, positive and negative.)

The questions below were asked in order to examine the effect of bodybuilding on the participants' self-esteem. The questions below are also categorized by more specific descriptions of the various domains of self-esteem:

Reflected Appraisal:

7. Has bodybuilding changed the way you see yourself?
If so, in what way?
8. Has bodybuilding changed the way others perceive you? What do the following groups of people see: a) family b) friends c) members of the gym d) people "on the street?"
9. When you think of yourself, do you see yourself as a student, bodybuilder, family member, or something else? How would others describe you?

Social Comparison:

10. When compared to other members of the gym, are you physically more advanced, less advanced, or about the same? How does this make you feel?

Self-Attribution:

11. Is your personal ability in bodybuilding due mainly to genetics or self-determination? (This question will be asked later in the interview as a lead-in question to anabolic steroid use)

Identity Saliency:

12. How much time do you spend training daily?
13. Why do you spend the amount of time training when you could be participating in some other activity?
14. Please describe the way you feel during and after a) a good workout b) a bad workout c) doing well in a bodybuilding contest d) doing poorly in a bodybuilding contest (Non-competitors will not be asked questions 14c and 14d)
15. How long do you plan to be a bodybuilder?
16. What would you do if you were in a tragic accident and were no longer able to be a bodybuilder?

The following questions were developed to address the participants' heterosexual attractions:

17. Does your involvement in bodybuilding make you feel more masculine? Why or why not?
18. Are women more attracted to a muscular male? Why or why not?
19. Have women become any more or less attracted to you as a result of bodybuilding? In what way?

The subjects' perceptions of anabolic steroids and their use was addressed through the following questions:

20. Have you ever used anabolic steroids or any other muscle enhancing drug?
21. What are your thoughts concerning drug use in bodybuilding, by both males and females?
22. Why did you choose to begin taking steroids?
23. How do you feel physically when you are on steroids?
How is that different from when you are off steroids?
24. Do you find any personality changes associated with steroid use?
25. Do you feel there is any type of psychological addiction to anabolic steroids? If so, please describe.
26. What about your levels of self-confidence? Are they effected by steroid use?
27. Do others perceive you differently while you are on the steroids?
28. Do you feel any different about yourself when you are on steroids?
29. What are the side effects from steroid use?
30. Have you experienced any side effects from steroid use thus far?
31. Do you think that you will experience any permanent side effects from the steroid use?
32. Why does a person take a drug if they know there may be possible permanent side effects?

Data Collection Procedure

The ten interviews were conducted in a direct, in-depth, structured interview format. Before the interview began, the subjects read and completed the Human Subjects consent form (see Appendix A). Then the interview commenced. The interviews were tape recorded with the tapes being destroyed after the interviews were transcribed verbatim. Each subject was given a code for future reference to insure confidentiality.

The interviews were conducted in the privacy of the subjects' living quarters. The interviews lasted between one hour and one hour and 45 minutes. With the interviews lasting such a long time, there could be speculation that the quality of the responses diminished as the interview progressed. The author, however, found that the enthusiasm of the participants to share their experiences allowed for quality responses throughout the entire interview.

Treatment of Data

After the interviews were completed, the tape recordings of the interviews were transcribed. The author then read each interview transcription thoroughly, numerous times. The author then analyzed the transcriptions line by line, identifying all pertinent responses. To better understand the responses of the bodybuilders, the data were subjected to inductive analysis. The inductive building process involves identifying emerging themes from the quotes (see Appendix B). Certain responses could not be categorized by theme due to

their unique nature. Such responses were still considered for inclusion in the reporting of Chapter Four due to their contribution to the overall understanding of the subject matter. Results of the content analysis and theme identification were related to the concepts of hegemonic masculinity, self-esteem, the importance of sport in the lives of the individuals, bodybuilding, and anabolic steroid use in bodybuilding.

Initially, the two groups (competitive and non-competitive bodybuilders) were compared for similarity and differences in responses. However, no differences could be found between the two groups; therefore, the data from the two groups were combined.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS and DISCUSSION

Early Sport Involvement

As youth, the participants had competed in a variety of sports. A majority of the men reported competing in more than one sport. The sport with the greatest degree of participation was football (6), followed by wrestling (4), basketball (3), swimming and diving (3), track and field (3), baseball (2), hockey (1), cross country (1) and competitive skateboarding (1). When the participants were interviewed on their youth sport involvement, a major theme emerged. The theme was that their involvement in athletics was viewed in a very positive light (see Appendix B). The men spoke of how athletics helped them to develop skills such as teamwork, cooperation, discipline and the urge to achieve excellence in other facets of their lives.

For eight of the ten participants, athletics were extremely important. There were various reasons for this importance. As B related:

"I'd say they (athletics) were as important as the schoolwork I was doing. So, they were pretty important. Something to really look forward to."

E noted that athletics made the difference in giving him the motivation needed to complete high school:

"Athletics made the difference in my life for me making it through high school. I was interested in sports. In the seventh grade academics were sliding downhill tremendously. In the eighth grade, I was at the critical point of I was either going to be held back a year potentially, kicked out of school or sent to another

school because my academics were so bad. I had an instructor that I had in art class, who was really interested in me. He thought I had a lot of potential. He said, 'Look, this is the deal. I know you like sports a lot. I talked to the coach. I told the coach you cannot participate unless your grades come up.' That was the direct turning point in my life. It was the catalyst that pushed me to be more active in my academics, because of my interest in sports."

J felt his entire life revolved around his athletic participation. As he noted:

"I was extremely involved. That was basically my whole life. I loved athletics and the thrill of competition. So, every chance I got or every season, I was doing some type of athletic competition."

F felt that, coming from a single parent household, athletics gave him the skills needed to learn on his own:

"Very important to me. Because what I learned, I learned on my own, because I had no one else to teach me how to do it when I was young."

J described the positives he received from his participation in athletics:

"Positives. The aspect of teamwork, as far as working with individuals, and organized cooperation together to meet one successful goal or make one successful entity as far as the team was concerned. Also the thrill of competition for me. It always made me strive to be a better person or athlete, so to speak. I was always trying to set new goals or achieve new heights of success. I feel it's really athletics that's kind of how I came to be as of now."

E spoke of the discipline he received from sport participation:

"I personally think sports gave me a lot more discipline, because I had to be disciplined in athletics."

K spoke of how being successful in athletic competition gave him peer recognition. He felt this helped him to deal with shyness and the negative feelings he felt from being shorter than his peers:

"I think it (wrestling) helped me a lot socially. Because when I got better at it, at school then people started to notice you more and stuff. I had a string of sixteen undefeated my junior year, sixteen straight. And everyone was coming up, 'Hey, hey, you won another one' and stuff. That helped me out being shorter. I was a little shyer, too. Being better at something really helped break the ice a lot and I became more involved with other students and stuff."

It is important to note, however, that recognition was only received when K was successful. What if he had not been successful? Messner (1986) found his subjects felt peer acceptance would only be present if they were successful. The comment above indicated similar feelings.

Although athletics were viewed very positively, there were also negatives (see Appendix B). The amount of time that athletics required was seen as a major negative. At times, the subjects felt this sacrifice had an adverse effect on academics, personal and family relationships.

As C responded below, athletics could have a negative effect on personal relationships:

"I suppose the negative, I may have been some little more of an introvert in terms of going out with my friends. That type of thing. I felt more compelled to work out. So, I may have missed a little there."

K spoke of how participation in wrestling negatively affected his academic performance:

"It (wrestling) didn't help me much as far as my studies. Especially my senior year. I was cutting a lot of weight, and I wasn't thinking so much about academics at the time. It cost me in trig. I ended up getting a "D". The only "D" I've ever gotten. My wrestling was what I was keyed for."

When discussing the negative aspects of athletic participation, another minor theme emerged, i.e., receiving extreme pressure to excel (see Appendix B). Although only three of the ten men spoke of being affected in this manner, for those three it led to discontinuance of participation in that sport. G described his situation in this manner:

"I was a diver for 3 years. Did real well, but I became a little bit, a little bit too dissatisfied, not with swimming, but with the pressure that was put on me. I was doing quite well at it and it got to the point where I was doing it for other people, not myself. My parents were encouraging it a little more than I wanted too. The pressure just got too much, and I just withdrew from the whole thing and never did it since."

L felt similar pressure while competing in hockey. As he related:

"Well, when I was at a young age, I was too involved, which burned me out. I was touted as being, I would make junior (hockey rank) by such and such an age. NHL material. I had a lot of pressure from my father too. Like every night, get home from school and get your pads on, and my brother would take shots at me. I was a goalie. There was a lot of pressure, always."

So, it may be seen that athletics were very important for these individuals. Reasons varied from gaining peer recognition, the development of social skills, the thrill of competing, being associated with a team, to helping to deal with personal anxieties such as shyness.

Athletics were seen in an overwhelmingly positive light. However, negatives were identified, but were thought to be very minor in comparison to the perceived positives. The only exceptions to this were the three who felt extreme pressure to excel, and gave up their sport as a result.

A majority of subjects also received their initial exposure to weight training through this sport involvement. The next section will discuss this among other topics.

Bodybuilding

Initial Involvement. A majority of the subjects were introduced initially to weight training as a means for improving performance in the youth sport they were participating in at the time (see Appendix B). K noted:

"(Began) Right after my freshman year when I was 0-8 (in wrestling). I had to do something...I got a set of DP (Diversified Products) weights for my birthday. I did bench press, a set of leg extensions, a set of curls and a set of olympic presses. And that was my workout."

B related:

"I started training to get a little size for football. And that led into getting size and strength for track."

There was, however, a fascination for more than just exercising for these individuals (see Appendix B). Something/someone caught their attention. J captured the essence of this well:

"At the time, I was interested in it, but I was kind of like every one else at that age. I didn't really like doing it. But I was kind of interested in the fact, I was really fascinated by getting stronger and all the macho things we go through in the puberty stage."

He went on:

"As far as bodybuilding, I really got interested in bodybuilding when I was a junior in high school, the first time I'd ever seen one (bodybuilder). One of the first pictures I can remember seeing, a picture of Robby Robinson. And I thought, 'Man, I want to look like that guy'...Just the feeling of becoming bigger and stronger and more successful to me has really fascinated me."

D had a similar experience in his initial stages of weight training. Instead of seeing the bodybuilder in a magazine, he had the opportunity to meet one in person. The bodybuilder was Steve Reeves, who was, at that time, the reigning Mr. America. As D said:

"I think as a youngster you pick it up because of, you would (because of), someone that you have seen and that you admire. I was fortunate enough to meet a guy named Steve Reeves back when I was about sixteen or something like that. Steve was working out at a gym, and I was interested in bodybuilding at about 14. But to have the opportunity to meet a guy like that."

L also spoke in a similar vein:

"By standards, back then (late 70's), we had a fairly good gym. And I was heavy into it. There was a local powerlifting club. So, there was always someone to emulate."

It is important to note that the mesomorphic male is associated with numerous positive characteristics (Hamachek, 1978; Mishkind et al., 1987; Tucker, 1984). As the former comments show, these subjects too, associated the mesomorphic male image with positive characteristics.

Five of the ten subjects spoke of getting involved in bodybuilding in order to add mass to a "skinny" or

ectomorphic physique (see Appendix B). H was one in this category. He commented:

"And then I saw some of the big guys in there, too. They're not around anymore. And I said I want to look like that. That's what I want to look like. And being 5'5" you know, you kind of have a tendency to get a little tired of being 5'5", 135-145 lbs."

G spoke similarly:

"I think, when I was in high school, I was probably about 135 lbs. and skinny. I did have a lot of friends, but most of them were real athletic. On the football team, real big. And I think I kind of wanted to be a little more like them. Even though I was accepted by them. I still felt, boy, I wish there was a little more meat on my bones and a little like one of the other guys."

He went on:

I really had a drive to change the way I looked, my body. I wasn't happy being thin."

The dissatisfaction that these subjects felt is consistent with the findings of Mishkind et al. (1987) and Tucker (1982a). Mishkind et al.'s survey of college-aged male students revealed a 95% dissatisfaction among their physique, while Tucker found a 70% dissatisfaction with the college-age males he surveyed. The subjects in the studies by Mishkind et al. and Tucker also expressed they had a desire to be mesomorphic, specifically hypermesomorphic.

Although they were involved in weight training while participating in sporting activities in high school, seven of the ten subjects did not become heavily involved in bodybuilding until their high school or college athletic

career was through. Two of these subjects shared the fact that they were anxious for their athletic career to end so they could pursue bodybuilding more actively. Two became so involved during their participation in organized sport that they quit the sport to pursue bodybuilding.

While the subjects demonstrated a desire to change their physiques, to pursue the physical ideal that had caught their attention, there was more than just a physical change. The subjects also perceived a change in self-esteem.

Self-Esteem and Bodybuilding Involvement. As stated earlier, Rosenberg and Turner (1981) described self-esteem as being the way one feels about oneself in daily situations. Three principles were considered in the formation of the self-esteem.

The first principle was reflected appraisals. This principle was of tremendous importance. The subjects received large amounts of positive reinforcement as physical gains became noticeable (see Appendix B).

G spoke of how family and friends reacted to physical gains that he acquired:

"Yeah, I think it took a while, but, like, say my brother was always bigger than me, and he always shoved me around a bit. Now it's like he's really impressed by the way I look, I think...People, in general, that I run into, old friends that I used to know in high school that haven't seen me, since I've put on 50 lbs. since then, and they're just, 'Boy, you're really looking good. You been lifting a lot?' And it seems the positive reinforcement everyone's giving me now."

R commented:

"I really enjoy the whole outlook it gives me, and how it makes my body look. The way the younger parts of my family, say my nieces, nephews, everybody looks up to me. Even my mom really likes it."

E described it in this way:

"In certain portions, I think I associate myself completely with how the fact my demeanor and my size, everybody associated me, 'There's the big guy' or whatever. I wasn't so much I had a personality, but rather my physical appearance. That's what was attributed to my personality at times. And I hooked up on it, because that's the way I wanted to be seen. I was being noticed."

And being noticed for gaining in the physical realm meant acceptance into new social groups for some (see Appendix B). These new friends shared common goals and values in relation to the physique. K related:

"I started making gains fast and I liked that. It was a small school and we pretty much ruled the gym, more or less. There was about a dozen of us that were friends and I wasn't very big then, but these other guys were the biggest in the gym. I hung out with them, so I was in their clique."

H spoke of leaving old friends and gaining new friends:

"Well, a lot of people I used to run around with, I don't anymore because of this (bodybuilding). So, I've made new friends. And a lot of them are into the same type of thing I am into. So, the ones I got now have the same perception. We have the same perception for each other. We're into the health thing. We're into getting big. We're into competing."

The effects of reflected appraisals were far reaching and profound. As Rosenberg and Turner (1981) related, people see themselves in the manner in which they believe others see

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them. If the individuals are looked up to and respected by those about them, they will respect themselves. As shown above, when the men in this study showed physical increases, that equated to an increase in the number of compliments (positive reinforcement) they received. They were also now a part of a new peer group which shared common values. Logically, then all subjects spoke of how bodybuilding changed the way they felt about themselves.

When speaking of the impact bodybuilding had on his life, E related:

"...it's not always true for everybody, but I think it's true for me, it's almost like you become cocky. But it's more of a positive attitude toward yourself. You're successful in what you're doing because you're always on top of it. You become very confident of what you're doing and where you're going in life, so I think it's given me a positive outlook to achieve things. And I think I can achieve things. That's half the battle."

When H spoke on the same topic, he noted:

"Well the impact is a lot of good things. Self-confidence. You look good, you feel good. People look at you and feel good about you."

H also spoke of how he had a troubled childhood, and how bodybuilding has changed some of those feelings:

[Has bodybuilding changed the way you see yourself? If so, in what way?]

"Sure, I see myself as a positive person. As a good healthy person, and setting some good examples out there. Especially younger kids coming in the gym. They come up to me and I'm glad to help them out. I tell them from experience, on what I've learned. That's how I learn, from experience. And I set a good example for other people. I see myself as a positive person with some good things going on in my life because of this.

And you know, like I said, it goes back to the childhood. I didn't have a very good childhood. And this has changed, I think, a little bit."

B commented:

"I used to not think as much of myself, when I was a little thinner."

He goes on:

"I'd say it makes you more outgoing, you feel better about yourself. You want to do better in everything, not just in lifting weights. It really makes you really want to be successful, as far as on stage and off stage."

The second principle of self-esteem formation considered was social comparison. As stated in Chapter 2, the basic tenet of this principle was that human beings learn about themselves by comparing themselves to others. It was also found to be quite prevalent in this study. Two basic themes surfaced. First, the subjects compared themselves to others, and found themselves to be advanced (see Appendix B). This advanced self-rating made them feel good about themselves. J described how being advanced in the local gym made him feel:

"It feels good [to be advanced]. Older guys, too. One guy about thirty asked me what I do for my traps [trapezius muscle]. It feels good to be noticed for that, recognized for what you've done. It's hard work. It feels good to be in there, and it's kind of an ego trip too. You can walk around the gym, you don't ever have to hang your head."

He then related:

"It feels good to be able to walk around and know that they're looking at you. When you're doing sets, you know they're watching you. I enjoy it. I enjoy being at the gym."

G noted:

"I've never felt any better than anybody else. But I can see, it does kind of make you...it does kind of go to your head when you see the results, and you see other people that are smaller than you. You can't rub it in, but it makes you look at yourself and say, 'Boy, I've made some pretty good gains'."

And S responded:

"Physically? Is that a physical question? Yes, I'd say I'm miles more advanced compared to what I'm used to. I mean, I'll have people who are just as buff try to train with me, and they can't. They can't hang. I put a lot of effort into what I do at anything. Whether it's intellectually or physically. So, a lot of people who are "Body by Deca" or something, and they just can't hang with me in a workout. So, I've also got the reputation of being that way physically. And size wise, proportion wise, there are few people around, especially in my area, who are close to being as large as I am. So, I would have to say in all, yeah, I'd have to say heads and tails above most people."

The second theme that emerged in this area was that the subjects used social comparisons as a motivation (see Appendix B). If the subject perceived himself as less advanced than anyone in the gym, this motivated him to train harder to "catch" the more advanced person. If the subject was the most advanced person in the gym, then being the "best" became the motivation to train hard. Below are two statements illustrating this point. K responded:

"You'd see some of those guys over there who were curling three times what I'm curling, you know. And you think to yourself, I've got to do that too. And it's a psychological thing, obviously. Because you strive harder to prove that you can do, or at least come close to those guys."

When the subject was the most advanced at the local gym, this response by D was representative:

"And you feel like, from the other competitive bodybuilders in the gym, you feel like you're kind of put up on a pedestal. In a lot of situations, you could take that, and for most people it would be easy to get satisfied and kind of slack off from the training. But for me, I kind of use that as a real motivator. It really gets me going. I try to feed off it, rather than say 'I'm the most advanced in the gym, and all you others are scum.' I use it for fuel. It just makes me train harder."

The third principle of self-esteem to be considered was self-attribution. As described in Chapter 2, this principle concludes that much of the individual's internal psychological workings were learned by the individual through viewing the effects caused by his or her own actions. Self-attribution became another area in which the subjects found their self-esteem enhanced.

The subjects spoke of many benefits, to both themselves and others, that were derived due to their participation in bodybuilding (see Appendix B). Examples of such benefits were physique improvement, family and peer involvement, and goal attainment. These positive actions were a direct result of their actions, and, therefore, the subjects felt good about the results.

J expressed his feelings in this manner:

"I think it's pretty much been positive for me. When I started lifting in college, as I said, this goes back quite a ways, being shorter I had big glasses and stuff. When I started getting bigger and filled out more, that made me feel better about myself, and I got a little more forward, you know. I got into the Army, and I got my contact lenses, and I got bigger then. I got real big then. I got a lot more forward and stuff, plus

maturing too, I think. I realized that it doesn't matter if I'm short really."

G continued:

"It [bodybuilding] showed me some attributes of my own personality such as persistence and a desire to set a goal and achieve it. A lot of self-control, self-discipline. It's made me realize a lot of things about myself and sharpen a lot of skills that I had, just mentally. As far as concentration and blocking a lot of negative influence out there. I'm not as susceptible to peer influence, like I was in high school. I think it's really made me a stronger person. I feel better about myself. I feel like I'm doing something positive."

It should be noted here, the individual nature of the sport is a main reason why five out of the ten subjects were attracted to bodybuilding (see Appendix B). The subjects no longer relied on a team or a coach. They attributed success or failure to themselves as a result of their own actions.

As S described:

"We had so many people on the football team that just didn't gel right. And it occurred to me, I like bodybuilding because I succeeded or failed on my own accord. I didn't like having to rely in football on people being, or I would have to expect them to be as motivated as I was."

D noted:

"Also, a major thing was ever since the sixth grade I'd always played team sports and had a coach. I was finally done, my career was over. I was done with college football, and of course, I knew I wasn't going to play pro ball. And, I said 'I think I'd like to do something that's more me. Me oriented. Where I'm my own coach. I make my own decisions about when I train, and when I don't train.' It was just the fact that it was something that I could do on my own now and not really have to depend on four other guys or ten other guys. That was a really good feeling to me."

B also added:

"And bodybuilding is an individual thing that I could do at my own pace, and do my own thing. And that's why I really liked it. I thought, 'Well, I can do what I want with it'."

Identity Saliency and Bodybuilding Involvement.

Two major themes surfaced in the area of identity saliency. The first theme identified had seven of the subjects identifying their role as a bodybuilder as a central role, very important, but not the most central role (see Appendix B). Even though it may not have been identified as the most central role, large amounts of time were still devoted to training, food preparation, etc. The comments below from two of the subjects seem to be representative of some of their feelings.

G responded:

"I'd like to see myself as a student first. Right now, I'm obsessed with learning. It's what I want to do. It's true that I have to sacrifice to gain the knowledge that I want. I like to view myself as a bodybuilder, too, because I spend so much time at it and it's really important to me. But if I had to make a choice right now, I'd have to go with just school, because it's a temporary thing. I'm going to get it over with. But, it's something that's really important right now. And bodybuilding is something I plan on doing for a long time to come. It's going to be part of my life."

And M said:

"I guess first and foremost is me being an engineer. The fact that I've invested a lot of time and effort in my college education. I have also my body, but that's a continuous ongoing challenge. That's always going to be there and always some idea as to what degree."

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Role centrality was an area which was a cause of anxiety for two of the ten. The problem was that of role conflict. Klein (1986) found in his study of southern California bodybuilders that the role of bodybuilders was first and foremost in their lives. Other things were sacrificed to allow ample time to be spent bodybuilding. For some, it meant holding menial low paying jobs or even the selling of sexual activities to the gay community (termed "hustling") which would not interfere with their training and preparation.

That was not found in this study. Bodybuilding was very important, but not to the point of consuming other jobs in which the subject felt compelled to remain (see Appendix B). There was, however, role conflict due to time constraints. As J noted:

"I see myself as husband and father first. It (bodybuilding) takes me away, but I wouldn't stay away from my family for bodybuilding. Then, it's awful important to me. I keep going to work, when I don't lift, but as far as, I wouldn't quit my job for bodybuilding either. I couldn't do that because that would take away from me being a husband and father. Couldn't make the money. It's pretty important to me. I lift before I go to work. I know I'm going to be tired when I go to work, but that's secondary. I can't lift when I get out of work, so I'll sacrifice being tired at work for bodybuilding."

B responded:

"The gym I guess it would have to be (first), I'm a father also. So these two are conflicting all the time. The bodybuilding and the father. If I'm not bodybuilding and I'm with my son, and I know I've neglected, like I've got so many days I put in the gym, and I'm not doing it. Because I'm spending time with him. I feel guilty about that. I should be in the gym. And if I'm in the gym, the kind of time I like to spend

in the gym, I feel guilty about not being with my boy, being the father, a good father. So, I would like to, those are my two goals really. The identities that I'd like to be good at. But, I'd have to say that I am a good father. But, I'd have to say that I've been bodybuilding a lot longer than I've been a father. So I'd have to say, that would be more of my identity, bodybuilder or weightlifter."

Although only two mentioned role conflict specifically, seven of the ten mentioned that one of the major negatives of bodybuilding was the time commitment. Seeing that the time must be sacrificed from other areas of their life, it is likely that there was role conflict for the others also, at some point in their life. Compromises must have been made or the former role consumed or engulfed to allow for the time commitment required.

S's response suggested this:

"It's (bodybuilding) cost me a lot, because I've put it first at a lot of times when I shouldn't. It ended up costing me a lot of things. I put social life second all the time."

He went on:

"I guess it's cost me a lot. You could say it cost me a marriage. And at this point, I wouldn't say that. I might have two years ago...you kind of miss out on a lot of other things when you're training 4 or 5 days a week. A lot of people will (say) you don't live a life, you don't have a social life, but you can have both, I think. You just gotta decide what you want."

M noted:

"Negatives are that it takes a lot of time. If you have interest in other areas that consume a lot of time, since you spend so many hours in the gym, some things suffer. For example, as with relationships, it consumes a lot of your time and relationships suffer. Anything that takes a lot of time can suffer."

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T's comments offered even more:

"There are a lot of negatives I think in bodybuilding. One of the biggest negatives that I found is the selfishness that goes along with a sport in which you are the only participant. You exclude everyone else out of your life. And even to the point of losing friends."

In summary, it has been shown that from the responses given, the self-esteem of the men has been positively effected through the positive reinforcement each received in his social environment.

When viewing the effects of their actions (self-attribution), the subjects seem to also have received positive reinforcement, further enhancing their self-esteem. In the area of identity salience, bodybuilding was shown to play a central role in their lives, most, however, felt it was not the role most central to them. There was definite role conflict for two of the subjects, and evidence of current, or former role conflict for nine of the ten subjects.

Masculinity and Bodybuilding Involvement. In this study, bodybuilding did validate or further validate the masculinity of the men. As with self-esteem enhancement, the mechanisms for improvement of the masculine identity included reflected appraisal and social comparison among other factors. Eight of the ten subjects spoke of how bodybuilding did enhance their masculinity. While the remaining two did not feel their masculinity was enhanced, their responses to other questions indicated that there was an enhancement. Of

the eight who responded positively to the enhancement of masculinity through bodybuilding, it could be seen that they did equate physique with masculinity.

When asked the question "Does your involvement in bodybuilding make you more masculine?", the responses of the men showed how bodybuilding helped to reinforce the hegemonic masculine qualities being perpetuated in society (see Appendix B). The men felt feelings of superiority due to their bodybuilding involvement as the quotes below point out.

J responded:

"Yeah, I think so. Well, I mean from back in the ancient times, Atlas and Hercules, the big guys with the bodies, the big biceps, the big chest and everything. So, it's still in effect today. Arnold Schwarzenegger, the Chippendales...Still, you know the perfect man always has a good build, so it makes you feel more masculine. You're stronger, too. And, you know, it's always that males are supposed to be stronger. Just the socialization. It's bound to make you feel more masculine when you do that."

L said:

"I'm sure it does make me feel masculine, somewhat. Sure, I've equated men with decent builds. I don't have anything against skinny people, but if I was skinny, I'd sure want to be more muscular. Maybe it's just me."

As mentioned previously, some gained this masculinity through social comparison. The quotes below indicate this:

M noted:

"Maybe just, per se, the picture I can get in my mind of more masculine is the fact that if I was walking in the mall in the summertime, wearing shorts and a t-shirt, I would feel more masculine by the fact that I could stand next to anybody, and I would probably dwarf them."

And G agreed:

"I think at times it does [make me feel more masculine]. But I think that's more when I'm around either other guys at the gym or maybe out with a bunch of friends that are relatively small. It kind of puts me up on a pedestal. [People] say, 'You're looking great. You're huge.' And this and that. It kind of goes to your head at certain times. When I'm by myself, I don't feel any different. I don't feel any influence."

P said:

"The bigger I got, the bigger attitude I got. I mean when I go to the bar, I look to see if there's anybody else bigger in the bar, just to compare myself to him or her."

B commented:

"Yeah, I guess it does [make you more masculine] because people are intimidated by you, and I guess it's kind of neat. I don't want, don't thrive on it. I don't go out of my way to get it. But people, you intimidate people and you can see it. And whether you are trying to do it or not, it happens. It kind of makes you feel good. It feels like, I must look tough, you know, people are intimidated by me. Maybe they think I can kick their ass."

The former response also reiterates Mishkind et al.'s (1987) suggestion that the masculine identity is associated with cultural views of the male being powerful, strong, efficacious, domineering, and destructive. The following comment by B also contributed to this view:

"So yeah, it [bodybuilding] makes me feel like the man. The man role is supposed to be...You are supposed to be tough. You're supposed to be...and I feel like I kind of fill that role to some extent."

For one subject, masculinity was, in part, gained through the exclusion of females from the sport. He responded:

"Sure [it makes you feel more masculine]. Well, it's because I guess it's something you don't see a lot of women in. At least when I first started in bodybuilding, it was not a woman's sport. That would...the idea. And that just is my case, just ??? on forever. Not that I mind. Not that I mind seeing a muscular young body. I think it looks great. But it's just a mind set that...sure, yeah, it made me feel more masculine."

Hegemonic masculinity was further reinforced through compulsive heterosexuality. All ten men agreed that involvement in bodybuilding by the male led to greater heterosexual attraction (see Appendix B). Six subjects said uncategorically, yes, women are more attracted to the muscular male, as L's comment below pointed out:

"Yes, I think so. I think so. I don't care how many of them say 'That's gross'. I have had more women tell me, who've had muscular boyfriends, that they will never date another guy who isn't muscular. And I don't think they mean a bodybuilder, but they mean they will never date another ectomorphic person. And I wouldn't blame them. It'd be just like a guy dating a woman with an attractive body, and they all of a sudden, date someone that was extremely heavy. Why would someone do that?"

As this comment showed, if the male failed to live up to the societal physical ideal, he failed to live up to proper sex role norms, just as Mishkind et al. (1987), stated. More comments below further reinforce this theme.

R said:

"Almost definitely [women are more attracted to a muscular male]. I don't think that women really like a

guy that's totally out of shape. If they have a choice, they'd have one that's in shape."

B agreed:

"They say they are not. Okay, I've heard a lot of women say 'Oh, women don't like big guys. They just like someone that's in good shape.' But, I don't find that to be true. You look around and some of the best looking women are with some of the biggest guys. Especially in the professional bodybuilding. You look, and they always have some nice looking lady on their arm. So, yeah, I think the bigger the better."

And H said:

"Well, I grew up on the West Coast. I played around on the beach a lot. And who had the best looking chicks? It was always the guy with the best build. And I think that's one of the reasons that prompts a young guy to get into bodybuilding, or weight lifting, or gymnastics, or something like this. Into athletics in general."

An important point was brought out in the last two comments. The last two comments identify muscular "role models". These role models seemed to always be with beautiful women. It is not unusual that these comments surfaced. Klein (1986) identified the fact that bodybuilding trade publications enshrined heterosexuality. Professional bodybuilders are pictured throughout these publications with women draped over them. These type of stimuli may have significant impact on an adolescent or young adult.

Ironically, another major theme which surfaced in the area of physical attraction was that while women are attracted to the muscular male, the male could become overdeveloped, which may actually turn women away (see

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Appendix B). The responses below pointed this out well. R responded:

"When you start getting into the guys that are more muscular, more heavy, some people might call huge, I think it intimidates many girls."

G explained:

"I think it goes up to...there's a fine line on both sides. Either you're overweight or too skinny or something. Or you're fit, you're trim, you're shapely, you've got good muscle definition. Or you're huge. And I think somewhere in the middle there is that happy medium, that I like to stay at."

P's comment agreed:

"Not by a big muscular man. I'd say a slimmer, more cut man, is more attractive than a bigger bulky guy. I think they're more afraid, more intimidated by someone like that. I'm sure they like them, and I shouldn't say that these guys...it's just that they're too big, too beastly looking. Some girls like that, some don't. I'd say the majority likes the more slim, cut guy. The guy you see in magazines all the time."

And M stated:

"I feel like women are more attracted to a muscular male than let's say...to what degree muscular that has various ramifications of its own. I feel there are a lot more women attracted to a muscular male than are women attracted to a highly muscular male, like a bodybuilder or someone like that."

Nine of the ten subjects, however, felt that women were more attracted to them, personally, as a result of bodybuilding. G's response was very revealing:

"I think that they have been [more attracted]. A lot of the girls that I've met at school or on vacation or at the beach or something. I get a lot of comments on what good shape I'm in. The girls that I've dated really like being with a guy that's in shape. They like the attitude. Now, I'm not saying the attitude of being all

cocky and everything. But, just that you know that you're in shape, and you feel good about yourself. You aren't intimidated by people. You don't feel like 'Boy, I wish I was like them.' You can be yourself. And girls like to be seen with guys that are in shape. It makes them look good. It brings out your real personality. You don't feel intimidated by other people. You don't feel shy."

It can be seen in this quote that positive comments simultaneously effected his self-esteem and masculine identity. D also spoke of the attraction:

"Well, my wife doesn't have anything to worry about, but yes. I felt the initial interests were there because of my physique. Rather than when I used to not really be that muscular. So, yes, I would say that definitely has a significant influence in most cases as far as just the fact that I have a muscular physique."

R also responded:

"Definitely more. I've run into some hard times with that. As far as for a long time, I didn't have a girlfriend, so I'd catch myself seeing four or five girls. Dating them all at once. I kind of...right now, I'm just basically into one girl. That's the way I kind of like it, but I still do have problems, because girls will still come up to you and want to touch you and make comments."

It also must be noted that while the three physically largest subjects of the study felt that bodybuilding, in general, caused a positive attraction, they also felt, at times, a negative response from women due to being too large.

J's response was indicative of the feelings expressed:

"You get some [women] who are very, very...I mean it's like a cult thing almost. You get some who are right into it. They'll follow you anywhere. You get others who are totally repulsed by it."

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It is interesting to note that when one subject was asked if his masculinity was positively enhanced through bodybuilding, he vehemently denied that it was. It was noted throughout the interview, however, that many other responses contradicted this response.

It has been shown throughout this work, that bodybuilding has become a very positive force in the lives of these individuals. Positive reinforcement led to great increases in self-esteem and the subjects' masculine identity.

It also must be noted that besides the external reinforcement that the subjects received, another major theme was that five of the ten participants spoke of how they have become more "in touch" with themselves due to participation in bodybuilding and that bodybuilding was a stress release (see Appendix B). D responded:

"It [bodybuilding] caused me to strengthen my inner-determination, self-discipline, my will power. It's really strong and solid, my inner-being as far as those aspects."

G noted:

"It showed me some attributes of my own personality, such as persistence and desire to set a goal and achieve it. A lot of self-control, self-discipline. It's made me realize a lot of things about myself and sharpen a lot of skills that I had, just mentally."

So, the question arises as to how something viewed as being so positive can lead to the use of drugs such as anabolic steroids.

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Anabolic Steroids

All ten participants in the study have, or had, used anabolic steroids at some point in their lives. It is important to note that five of the ten men were originally opposed to anabolic steroid use in bodybuilding. When analyzing the reasons for initial use, some common themes surfaced.

Initial Use. The amount of time the participants had been weight training, before beginning use varied greatly. The range was from less than one year to over forty years. Nine of the ten men, however, had been training for less than ten years before experimenting with drugs.

One major theme that became evident is that the men felt they were at a plateau in their training (see Appendix B). They felt they had made nearly all the gains they could make naturally (without drugs). Then a frustration set in as they saw others pass them with the aid of anabolic steroids. This also created a certain amount of curiosity (see Appendix B). What will these drugs do? Are they some sort of magical potion? What was all the hype about? The responses the subjects gave were very informative and some that are indicative of the group are below.

L explained:

"Well, I waited a long time, until I was about twenty-three years old. I felt I had reached a peak, a plateau. I did them partly to see what it was like, partly because of my friends had tried them and said that there seemed to be something magical about them, and, I guess, partly because I just wanted to get bigger like everyone else, faster."

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G said:

"I chose to...first of all, when I started I said I was never going to do them. I trained naturally for about four years. I got to the point where I kind of plateaued out, I felt. And I was being accepted by a lot of the bigger bodybuilders, just because I trained every day. And I was getting in pretty decent shape. But, I didn't have the size. I felt I'd like to put on some size, but I don't know. It's kind of scary. So, I didn't do it for a long time, and I see all these other people that were smaller than me just six months ago, and, all of a sudden, they're twice as big as I am. And what's the deal? So, I chose to try them. Just as kind of a personal experiment. I know the risks. I kind of wanted to say, 'Hey, what's everybody, what's all this hype about?' So, I decided to do a cycle."

R related:

"Initially, it was peer pressure as far as not being pressured to take. Just the pressure of trying to keep up with my peers that were already taking. I told them I'd never take any drugs. I guess I was afraid to fall behind. Plus, I was young. I was twenty, I guess. That had something to do with it. There was that curiosity of what would happen if I would. Maybe I would just instantly look like - instantly just get absolutely huge and gain all this weight. Just be big Joe Bodybuilder in three or four weeks. So, there was a curiosity there. And I can say it came down with me that the really yearning desire to be a great bodybuilder and be the best that I could possibly be. I'd say those three aspects were major contributors of why I started taking drugs."

And S noted:

"I was so anti-steroid when I started bodybuilding. I mean, I was very, very, very naive about the thing. And a lot of it was misinformation, reading the wrong things. And not knowing about anything. But, back then, not too many people were in the know, so it was almost, there wasn't any reason for it. But at the time, I was watching people put in half the effort I put in and half the heart."

As the last comment points out, there seemed to be some frustration as others (who were using steroids) passed the

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non-user in the level of physical development. For two of the subjects, more than just frustration was being experienced. These two men were experiencing negative pressure from areas other than athletics. They felt this negative pressure compelled them to use steroids. B's response was very poignant:

[Why did you choose to begin taking steroids] "It wasn't a good reason to. It wasn't because I was against them. I'd heard all the negatives, but I'd seen all the positives that they do. As far as if that's what you want. They work. But, I had well a personal thing with my son. We split up and I was having some problems seeing him, and she was being really really hard. And she was using him as a tool to get to, to manipulate me. And I knew it, and there was nothing I could do, because it worked every time. And I got a bad attitude. And I had a friend who was always stressing, or always suggesting that I try them, because he knew I could do it. And he could see I was serious. And I'd been there a long time. And he said 'Hey, you know, you can do it and I'll show you how to do it carefully.' And that's what made me decide. I had a bad attitude, and I said hell with it. I know I'm going to get cancer, whatever. And I know the chances are there, that it might happen. But, I said hell with it, you know. I'm working out hard, and I'm tired of seeing everybody pass me."

J noted a similar negative experience in non-athletic areas of his life which helped motivate him to begin taking steroids. His response was:

"I was awful rebellious in the Army. I had an earring, and, you know, I didn't...It made me mad a couple times of just doing things I thought were pretty stupid. I got to the point where I'd do anything I wasn't supposed to, I guess. And I hit a stale point in my lifting."

Beginning steroid use, however, caused internal conflict for one half of the group, as five participants were originally very much opposed to steroid use (see Appendix B).

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G's response described some of the thoughts that confronted him before beginning use:

"Boy, I went for a month or two just saying, 'Yeah, I'm going to do it, no, no, I can't do it. It's not that important.' It got to the point where I said screw it. I'm going to try it. Then I can see for myself what it's going to do."

It can be noted here that for these five men, who experienced internal conflict, bodybuilding, although not identified as the most central role in their lives, had been given a place of central status. It was shown here to be engulfing other roles of lesser significance. In this instance, certain values were overtaken by the bodybuilding role. New values concerning drug use were incorporated into a new values system in some. This is consistent with Turner (1978) who stated that certain roles may gain central status and engulf other roles.

Another theme that cannot be ignored is that five of the ten men felt compelled to begin steroid use to be competitive in their sport (see Appendix B). Four of these five were involved competitively in bodybuilding, while one was participating in football. M said it in this manner:

"I was under the influence of there's no way you can compete and be competitive with other athletes if you can't take these drugs. This has proven to be true throughout the years. But, I took it because of that at the time. I took it because I want to be competitive in bodybuilding."

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R had competed in bodybuilding for a few years, but then felt that if he really wanted to be successful in bodybuilding competition, steroid use was needed. He responded:

"I was kind of, I tell you, I got, I went into the natural [physique competition] like three times. I did pretty well. I'd say, I got fourth, I got third, and I got second. And from that contest at that time, it was really no place to go from winning the Natural. It's like, I want to bodybuild. I know I want to see how far I can go. I was 24, I think, 23 years old. And I was thinking, I'm almost done growing, as far as naturally. As far as I can. So, I wanted to see just how much they'll make me look better. Make me look worse."

Seven of the ten participants believed that to be competitive at a high level of bodybuilding [state, national, or professional], anabolic steroids, among other drugs, were a must. M's response was direct:

"To be competitive in bodybuilding, unless they do some serious drug testing, you might as well take drugs if you want to win. If you want to be in this sport because you enjoy it, and you're not completely hung up on the fact that you want to win - good, don't take them. That's fine. There's no problem with that at all. And you probably can look great. The only problem is you're not going to be as cut, you're not going to be as massive as the rest of the guys on stage. That's the reality of the sport."

S had two responses which echo similar thinking:

"And once you're involved with steroids, you realize that it's like being a little bit pregnant. I mean you don't just use, you can't just, I'll beat them at their own game. I won't do as much as they do, and I won't take these types of drugs. I'll take these, I mean, it's like being a little bit pregnant. It's all or nothing, if you're going to the top."

He later commented:

"Right now, it's like you've got your training. You have your diet. And you have your steroids. If you

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don't have the whole triad happening, you know, like steroids, one mass part of your total program that you're not taking care of. And you don't deserve to win. If you do win, by all means congratulations. But, don't whine and complain because this guy did, because he took care of business and got to know what I know."

Perceived Effects of Anabolic Steroid Use. Once the men began taking the steroids, the response toward the overall effects was very positive (see Appendix B). The men were gaining muscle mass, having excellent workouts, and obtaining goals they had set for themselves in the gym. Mentally, they felt more alert, more aggressive, more "tuned in" to their bodies. Some even felt more effective in the workplace. Below are a few of the responses:

"I am personally a lot more energetic and aggressive, probably a combination of those two words. Needless to say, I'm a lot more confident and potentially cocky for the fact that what happens is I'm physically looking better, be it bloated or not. I tend to be more cut when I'm on drugs, so I tend to look a little better. My muscular definition is coming out, my strength is increasing, so each time I try to obtain a new goal. I'm obtaining goals and as with anyone in life, when you try for something to obtain goals, you feel great. You feel great because I can do it. I can do anything. I'm more horny. I'm more aggressive. I just tend to attack things a lot more and everything seems to be clicking. I feel better. I'm stronger. You do, you have to sleep because you're training hard. But, you don't feel like you have to have as much sleep. You tend to be on top of the world. I don't know, I guess I like that feeling."

G's description was also very positive:

"Physically, stronger. I felt like training all the time. I loved coming into the gym, because I could hoist all these heavy poundages. I was making good gains. The pump that I got was incredible. When you get pumped up, I mean you could see man, you're looking huge and ripped. And it was just unbelievable. It

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really motivated you to get into the gym more...that part was good."

J's response was similar:

"Incredible. I'll never forget it, because I would get so pumped. Just doing chest, about half way through my chest workout, I couldn't touch my arms. At the end of the workout, I'd have to have somebody press my arms together. The pump is just like that. It's there. It's so intense, you know. It was fun, because I mean, geez, every day you'd go in and add fifteen pounds on what you were doing. It was remarkable."

And obviously with the participants feeling so good, seeing their bodies grow, their self-confidence also was on the increase. When asked about self-confidence, and how it was affected, B replied:

"Oh yeah. King of the World. It's just a good feeling. You can think straight. It's just a good feeling. But you just feel...you just think differently about situations. You react differently. You feel good about yourself, and you know you've got the edge. That's how you feel, you've got the edge. And that effects you through your whole cycle, whether you're training or not. You've got the edge."

Much of the self-confidence also came with the peer recognition the subjects received as they made gains while on a cycle. S's comment sheds light on this fact:

"Sure, sure. I guess when I think about it, I'd be a liar if I said I didn't [feel more confident]. I mean, let's face it, if I'm buff at 240, I'm more of a focus of attention and more. I mean, when you're in that environment, and people are used to you being the best, you're used to being the best, having to be the best. So, you get used to being in the spotlight, I guess."

Hegemonic Masculinity and Steroid Use. Earlier in this chapter, the discussion on hegemonic masculinity focused

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on how participation in bodybuilding enhanced the participants' masculinity. This was achieved through the men gaining recognition in the public arena. Through their bodies, the men were endorsing the values that society has come to associate with masculinity. Through the use of anabolic steroids, these values were greatly enhanced (see Appendix B). These qualities of aggressiveness, self-confidence, powerfulness, and strength (Mishkind et al., 1987) were all enhanced. Reynaud (1983) wrote of men making their bodies "instruments of power." Nichols stated that the building of musculature is a form of the male armoring himself, or adopting the "soldier archetype" of masculinity (cited in Mishkind et al., 1987).

These writers recognized a strong connection between the development of the musculature of the physique and the endorsement of hegemonic masculinity for the male. The connection became clearer in this study; the use of anabolic steroids greatly enhanced the qualities associated with masculinity for these males.

The participants were gaining more recognition and notoriety publicly due to steroid use. It has become well established that the male seeks to establish his masculinity in a public domain (Dubbert, 1979). The participants were gaining this recognition because the effects of the steroids were so visually apparent. The responses below reinforced this fact. M explained:

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"When you're on steroids, if you're bigger, you're stronger, and you're getting personal recognition from your peers, as in those other cases just explained, you're enjoying it. You're enjoying the peer recognition. If you're on steroids, and because when you're on steroids you grow, people are noticing you. You're lifting more weight, or whatever the scenario is that you are getting more peer recognition."

J's comments below pointed out a gain in peer recognition as well:

"A guy'd see me one day, and he'd seen me about two days earlier, and he'd walk by me and he goes 'Haven't your arms grown an inch since last time I saw you?' And everything fit a little snugger. It's a big ego boost. Just the enjoyment in the gym. You enjoy lifting and stuff, and it really enhances that, because everything is going up."

B noted:

"They [people in the gym] come right up and say, 'Hey, you're looking huge.' Oh yeah, they can see it visually."

G had a few responses which also point to the peer recognition and acceptance gained due to the gain in masculinity:

"I gained a good twenty pounds over the course of say, ten weeks. Which is incredible for me, when I can't put on five pounds in six months. I was retaining a little excess water, but my strength was up. I was carrying around a lot of mass. I couldn't tell exactly how much underneath the water. But, everybody was saying, 'Boy, you're really looking big.'"

He further noted:

"I felt like I had made another step forward, and made it to another level. Another level as maybe being accepted as a serious bodybuilder. Because you could see the results and everything. I was getting all the...a lot of compliments. When I'd run into some guys that seemed bigger than I was, I wasn't intimidated by them. I was another big guy. I kind of look on them

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like, what a bunch of idiots. But still, it's nice that whereas most of the guys that are smaller, they're [the big guys] over talking, 'What a twig, what a dweeb.' This and that, and for once they're going 'Aw.'"

The development of the masculine identity cannot be divorced from self-concept development for the male. While self-concept is developed through an interaction with social factors (Rosenburg & Turner, 1981), these social factors gain values from societal expectations. Therefore, increases in peer recognition would enhance the male's feeling of masculinity. These men found great increases in peer recognition due to anabolic steroid use. Masculinity was also enhanced in other ways. Four of the subjects spoke of an increase in performance sexually. B said:

"You're aggressive sexually, too. I've had a few girlfriends say, 'Wow, I like it when you're on it. You're very aggressive in bed.' And I might come home from the gym and if I weren't on a cycle, I might say, 'Hey, I'm too tired.' But when you're on [steroids], hey, you still got a little energy left."

And D mentioned:

"I hadn't felt this good, I mean vigorous. Every which way. Emotionally, physically, sexually. I was just outrageous."

Through these responses, one can note how obviously the subjects' masculinity had been enhanced through steroid use. The subjects were receiving greater amounts of peer recognition, enhanced physical stature, and even an enhanced sexuality. With so many positives being derived from the steroid use, it would seem logical that some type of

psychological addiction may occur. Another characteristic of the hegemonic male is the need to dominate other categories of people who may be perceived as threatening. The category of women are perceived as threatening to the hegemonic male. When the topic of women and their use of anabolic steroids was discussed, two major themes became readily apparent. The first theme dealt with freedom of choice (see Appendix B). Five of the participants felt that the issue of women taking steroids was one of choice. Those responses would seem to disconfirm evidence of the fact that females are perceived as threatening. For, if a female took steroids, she would gain strength, power, muscular size, and aggressiveness. These are hegemonic male characteristics which should likely be perceived as threatening. Yet, B responded in this manner:

"They need them to be competitive, really competitive, just like the men do. I think I am all for it, as long as they know what they are doing and are careful."

M's comments would agree:

"Women, same category as men. It's your own personal preference. Any woman should have her choice."

The remaining five were definitely against women taking steroids. Reasons cited were steroids caused more permanent physical damage for the female and caused the female to lose her femininity while taking on male characteristics. This change would obviously be threatening to the hegemonic male.

G spoke:

"I'm really against that [females using steroids]. I think that it's bringing women to a whole new dimension,

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as far as from what I've seen...I don't find it attractive when a woman starts looking like a man. Again, I'd like to think that if that's what they want to do, I'm all for it. But, personally, I'm not attracted to women that look like that."

What is interesting to note, however, is the feeling of threat that seems to be articulated through these responses. As the female increased her physique in size, the men perceived a threat to their hegemonic masculine values. This led to discomfort, as R's quote below brought to light:

"When I see women getting close to the same size as me, I don't like it. I think that's another aspect of it [drug use]. It makes a lot of guys want to get on drugs. They see these women are real huge."

These responses confirmed the fact that it was fine for a female to work out, as long as she kept her feminine characteristics. Steroid use by the female would cause her to lose her feminine characteristics, and she would begin to attain masculine traits. This would create a situation in which the hegemonic male would feel threatened and, as the quote above points out, may cause the male to begin drug use. By using anabolic steroids, the separation between the male and female could be maintained. This can be seen as another way in which steroids help the hegemonic male establish and maintain his masculine identity.

Psychological Dependency to Anabolic Steroids.

When questioned about the possibility of a psychological dependency to anabolic steroids, all of the men agreed there is a strong psychological dependency to steroid use (see

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Appendix B). If the participants had not been psychologically dependent on steroids themselves, they knew others who had been. They felt the dependency was more of a dependency to the size and the strength steroids gave, rather than to the drug itself. There was mention of also being dependent on the "mental edge" or focus that the drug gave, which would indicate a true drug dependency.

The participants' responses to this question were very definite and very insightful. As B pointed out:

"Sure, I know there is [a psychological dependency]. There's definitely. I know that. I know for a fact that, because I have troubles when I do a cycle, coming off. Because you see, you like how they make you feel, okay? Mentally, they just do something to you. You feel great. And then you get so much stronger. And you blow right up. And you puff up, you know. And you look good. And you put on weight. And that's what bodybuilder's want to do the most, is you want to get that weight. You want to get that weight up. And it comes up like nothing man. And it's just there. And then it goes. Just like it came. You keep some, but you lose the majority. You do keep some. And coming off, you lose that edge. You lose that strength, that cockiness. You know, all the good things that come, that you feel from them, go away. And you have to keep telling yourself, 'Hey, there's like a slump.'"

G's response agreed:

"I can see you get addicted to the increase in size. You see the gains. Before you're on them, before you ever do them, you plateau out. But, you get used to it. Then, when you go on a cycle of steroids, you see all of these incredible gains, and you say, 'Boy, this beats everything.' You know, I can train my ass off for five years and not get this. So, you get off it. You shrink a little bit. You say, 'Oh, I'm shrinking. I'm wasting away. I better get on another cycle.' You get on it again. You get addicted to the size that you're carrying around. You want to be big. You're getting noticed by everyone. It's a big ego boost. Everyone is saying, 'Boy, you're really huge.' And it goes right to your head. And you get to the point where you feel like

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you can't do it on your own. That's what I see a lot of people getting. I'll admit it, I was there, too."

M's response summed it up well:

"I've never been on the drugs where, 'Oh my God, I have to have a shot, or I have to have a pill.' I've never met anybody that's that way. But, they definitely want the effects of being big, because of the side effects of that. The side effects that they are getting peer recognition or personal recognition of some sort. 'God, you're really growing. God you look great. God you're stronger than shit.' People thrive off that, and you can't tell me in our society that people don't thrive off recognition. 'God you did a good job today. God you got a really good looking car. God you got a really good looking, whatever.' It doesn't matter what the scenario is. It's the same situation, just in a little different ballpark. People get pumped on that shit."

The participants' responses all spoke of being dependent on the size, the strength, and as this last quote pointed out, the peer recognition in which the male validates his masculinity. To take away anabolic steroid use would be to watch the musculature shrink, and with it, the superiority over other groups of males and females. The male would then be failing to live up to the sexual norms dictated by society (Mishkind et al., 1987), and in effect, emasculate himself (Olrich, 1988). This could create great trauma for the male. It became very clear how the male could become psychologically addicted to anabolic steroid use.

Perceived Physical Side Effects. In this study, the participants were asked to identify the side effects from steroid use. This question was asked in order to ascertain the subjects' knowledge of the potential side effects of

steroid use. Then the participants were asked if they had experienced any side effects from steroid use.

The range of knowledge of potential side effects varied greatly. Five of the men were very knowledgeable of the side effects of steroid use. Two were fairly knowledgeable, while the remaining three lacked knowledge in this area.

A theme that did surface is that the steroid users who experienced side effects were those who abused these drugs (see Appendix B). None of the men in this study classified themselves in the category of an abuser. It should be noted that this may be due to the "halo" effect. The men may not have wanted to be seen as "drug abusers" by the interviewer. One response by B indicated that this may be the situation:

"...one time I did have a bad, not real bad, experience with some stuff. But, I was doing some orals. Very toxic. Highly toxic orals. And I was warned about it, but I'd done some in the past and had no problems. It was like nothing happened. So, I'm assuming that they were fake. It wasn't the real stuff. Because this next stuff I got, I thought, hey, I've done this stuff before. They don't affect me like people say they do. And I jumped the dose up a little, but nothing, you know, I didn't go way over the dose, I'd always been warned not to go over. But, I was borderline. I was right at, they [people in the gym] said 'Don't do any more than that.' And my kidneys were aching. I felt like I had a lower back ache all the time. And I just could not get rid of that back ache. And I said 'Maybe this is the real stuff.' I slacked off, and they went away."

Eight of the ten believed, at the time they were using steroids, that steroids were safe if used properly. Once again B noted:

"But, I keep thinking as long as I stay within the guidelines, or the safe amounts, that you can avoid

those serious problems. As long as you stay in safe quantities, safe amounts. I think you can do just about anything if you do them safely."

S's statement agreed:

"... abuse of steroids isn't taking a lot of steroids, because to be perfectly honest, the more you take, the better you'll be. Abuse of steroids is just that. It's abusing them, long term abuse. That is likened to alcohol."

On the personal level, nine of the ten men experienced minor side effects which disappeared after discontinuance of steroid use. These included testicular atrophy, water retention, high blood pressure, joint pain, changes in cholesterol readings, and mood alterations. The kidney pain B described above and the negative cholesterol changes noted by L were potentially the most serious side effects noticed. None of the subjects experienced any of the major side effects cited in the literature, such as liver and kidney carcinoma. This leads to the next theme concerning side effects and media propaganda.

Five of the ten participants believed that the issue of side effects was basically a tool of propaganda used by the media to sensationalize steroid use (see Appendix B). Included in this group were three of the four most knowledgeable men in the area of steroid use. Included in the threesome were a cardiologist, a sociologist, and an engineer. L noted:

"The side effects, the permanent ones, I don't think are substantial unless they're in women...I don't really think that the side effects are as serious as everyone

says they are. I think the psychological addiction is much more serious than everyone is giving credit, because that leads to some of the more serious long-term effects."

And S said:

"Side effects are not indicators of your body degenerating and dying. Side effects are just that. So, again, the more androgenic the drug, the more potential for side effects."

Reaction to Media Portrayal of Anabolic Steroids.

S was later asked of the media's portrayal of steroid side effects. He responded:

"Yeah, I'd love to see their proof. The media talks about it. So often you've got 'My Life on Steroids' by Joe Schmoe and 'Steroids Destroyed My Life' by Cindy Whoever. But, you've got to read between the lines in there. You have to see what else is going on in their lives that are precipitating factors to have."

And M stated:

"The PDR, Physicians' Desk Reference, they talked, they did for years, they don't anymore, that all the drugs concerning anabolic steroids that were being used on the black market were sold as 'they will not enhance athletic ability.' Well, that's really pleasant to read that and also know that in Drug Free Nationals for powerlifting, the totals were about 700 pounds different. Well, you can't tell me that 700 pounds is not athletically enhanced. So, yes, I think it is a media hype. They're going to take it, and run with it, and exploit it for every benefit it's worth. I think if you were to sift it all out maybe five percent might be a reality at best. I think most of it is hype."

The negative portrayal of steroids and steroid users was important to M, as well as S. They did not feel the media gave an accurate picture. They resented the fact that they were now seen as immoral for what they felt was more of an

issue of freedom of choice. Nine of the ten men stated that steroid use was indeed an issue of freedom of choice. M and S captured this issue well, along with looking at the moral implications. M's quote is given first, followed by S's response:

"I personally think that if you take steroids, that it is your personal business. I think the word steroid is basically a black-marketed, media propagated tool. It is used extensively for someone to boost their ass up on a pedestal. Steroids are used extensively in society in pharmaceutical applications, as for creams on your body, as for birth control pills. People tend to overlook all those things and say steroids are always attributed to muscleheads in the gym. Yeah, there's some potential side effects to them. It's absolutely assinine not to assume that. There's potential side effects from eating Campbell's Tomato Soup, too. So you know, who's to say? I can't understand why our society is so hung up on this as compared to the crack problem, the cocaine problem, homelessness, AIDS, I don't know. You can name a list a mile long. What's the difference? These are people using it for them. This pushing effect, if it's there, I'm sorry, I have yet to catch it. Steroids are not pushed on people. People go look for them. You don't have to push the drug. People are looking for it. The percentage of people is assinine. I think it's more of a personal use and people are tending to use it, intentionally trying to use it, to improve themselves physically. Whether that's true or not, that's for the medical profession to determine. Whether they are influenced by the media, I don't know. But, I think it's a personal choice. When people smoke, they can affect other people around them. People take steroids, I'm sorry. How do they affect people? With their attitude? Well, everybody has an attitude. Women on their period have an attitude. So, you know, someone drinks. They can drive and crash into someone. Someone takes steroids, they can get a zit on their back. Excuse me. You can die from someone crashing into you, but you can't die from someone squirting a zit in your eye. You know, I don't know. I don't see the ramifications of someone taking steroids so long-term as so many other problems in our society. And I think it's their personal choice. I don't think it's anybody's business."

And S spoke in a similar vein:

"But the whole moral thing, I have the highest respect for true academia, but I have nothing but disregard for academia which will take media at face value. And as far as I'm concerned, there is no excuse, on an academic level, for misinformation. I mean, that's just as bad, that's bad academia. That's just outright bad studying. You're relying on media for your attitude. What you're doing, as a sociologist, I've done some studies, too, where you're leaning one way, but you should be going into it looking at any type of thesis. An objective standpoint of saying what does this information tell me. And even the way some of the questions are geared, maybe I have a problem with the level of naivete. Like I told you, this question is really saying tell me about side effects, rather than saying how blown out of proportion are the side effects that we know. So I get into that anyway.

But the whole moral thing, I mean what I said about the T.V. show about plastic surgery, and the whole Ben Johnson thing. I mean, the first day's paper, Ben Johnson of Canada and everything. The next day, it's like 0 to 0 in 9.3 seconds. Oliver North can sell arms to Iran, and he says he loves his country. And all of a sudden, he's a national hero. Ben Johnson says he took steroids to win a gold medal for his country, and he's a disgrace. I can't understand the way the public...why the public is playing to this thing. When all the information is there. I've got medical texts that will list drugs, and say it has, right in the sidebar, risk of overdose, risk of dependency, all these things for all these steroids, it's none, none, none. Testing rats and giving them 400 times their bodyweight in Decadurabolin and saying no adverse effects.

I'm not a morally bankrupt person. I hate that attitude being thrown upon me. I am very conscious about everything I do. I realize that when I make a choice, I'm making a choice for specifics, again. But that's not an end in itself. And I'm realizing that I'm making choices that do affect me, and I'm rational about them. I don't go into something half-cocked."

Discontinuance of Steroid Use. At the time of the interviews, four of the participants were currently using, or planning to continue using, steroids. Six of the

participants had discontinued steroid use. All ten participants still were bodybuilding intensively. The question arose, if the six men who once used steroids were still heavily involved in this same culture in which their steroid use began, why had they chosen to discontinue use.

For three of these six subjects, it became a situation of conflicting values (see Appendix B). The same moral ethic that M and S earlier questioned was the moral ethic that caused three of the subjects to quit steroid use permanently. G began to question the motivation behind his use:

"In a negative way, I look at why am I doing this? I told myself I was never going to do this. Really, when I quit smoking dope and all that, I said I'm never going to do drugs again. That's totally against my principles. Then I think to myself, well, that's exactly what I'm doing right now, is drugs, you know. And so it kind of, it kind of makes you think about what you're doing. And that's probably another reason why I don't want to do them again. Because all these people look up to me, as far as my family, my brother particularly. I got him into lifting. He's really into it. He got married, and he got overweight. And finally he's in [the gym]. He's training. He's looking real good. And he'll say 'Man, I can't believe you're really looking good and everything. Man, I'm glad that I can say that you aren't doing drugs and stuff.' And that really hits you."

And D said:

"Mentally, I kind of felt guilty the whole time I was on them, because I knew I'd compromised my morals. I'd always said that I would never take them. I just felt...I was kind of ashamed of myself."

Only one participant discontinued using steroids because of concern over negative health implications. This man was in his mid-fifties when he decided to use steroids. When his

cholesterol level and HDC/LDL ratio became elevated, he discontinued use in fear of developing cardio-vascular problems.

In looking at the participants developmentally, this would be understandable. The younger the participant is, the more likely he is to feel as though he would live forever, that is, a feeling of immortality. The older participant would no longer view his existence in this manner and would be more concerned with negative health implications.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the results of an interview conducted with ten subjects who were involved in bodybuilding and weight training. The subjects also had used anabolic steroids at some point during their training. The interviews showed that the subjects perceived bodybuilding in a very positive light. Bodybuilding also helped to enhance their masculine identity.

The subjects began steroid use for a variety of reasons. Once on steroids, the subjects noticed positive results, both physically and mentally. Anabolic steroids reinforced many of the positive benefits derived from bodybuilding, including increased muscle mass, self-confidence, and masculine identity.

Six of the ten subjects chose to discontinue use for various reasons. A conflict in values was the most prevalent reason for the subjects to discontinue use.

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CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

This study has looked at the process by which individuals become involved in bodybuilding and later, anabolic steroid use. This research has analyzed how involvement in bodybuilding and anabolic steroid use has affected the participants' self-esteem, identity salience and masculine identity.

This chapter will discuss how findings in this work illuminate ways in which self-concept theory as proposed by Rosenberg (1981) integrates with the critical feminist perspective of hegemonic masculinity. This chapter will discuss implications from the findings of this study in relation to physical education and athletics. This chapter will also discuss implications from the findings in relation to anabolic steroid use and prevention of use. The chapter will conclude with recommendations for future research.

Discussion

This study did not address self-concept issues in athletics prior to participation in bodybuilding, however, the importance of being involved in athletics was obvious. Athletics were extremely important in the lives of the majority of participants. The current study illuminated the fact that bodybuilding was the arena in which the men gained

their sense of identity. The mens' self-concept and masculine identity were intimately tied to their involvement in bodybuilding. For example, when these bodybuilders gained muscular size and strength, they all spoke of ways in which their self-concept increased in a positive manner. This increase was due to various reasons, including reflected appraisals, social comparison and self-attribution.

Reflected appraisals occurred as the men received large amounts of positive reinforcements from family, friends and peers. The men were noticed for their increases in muscular mass and strength. Obviously, the men were now living closer to the masculine ideal (the mesomorph) proposed by society. For this reason they became recipients of a commensurate amount of positive reinforcement. As Glassner (1989) states, "Muscles are the sign of masculinity", and these men had become that sign. The positive effect this had on the participants' self-esteem was apparent. These findings support Rosenberg's (1981) theory of self-concept development as discussed in chapter two.

Also important to this discussion was the symbolic importance of becoming a mesomorph. To become a mesomorph meant to become the literal embodiment of masculinity, specifically, hegemonic masculinity (Mishkind, et al., 1987). Attaining the degree of muscularity these men achieved meant becoming superior to women and other groups of men. This became apparent when the men spoke of comparing themselves to others (social comparison) and feeling good when this

resulted in a superior rating for themselves. Being superior was of such importance that when their social comparisons elicited a negative rating, the men ultimately became frustrated and delved into anabolic steroid use.

Hegemonic masculinity was apparent when some of the subjects spoke of the ability to intimidate others just by the fact of their physical size. And although, they chose not to dwell on this subject, they spoke of how this made them feel good.

What becomes readily apparent is the fact that the constructs identified by Rosenberg (1981) to enhance self-esteem (reflected appraisals, social comparison, self-attribution) are constructs that helped to reinforce hegemonic masculinity in the lives of these men. While this theory was excellent in identifying constructs salient to self-esteem enhancement in these subjects, the theory must be questioned as to the usefulness it would have on populations other than the middle class male in North American society. Persons less reliant on external standards for self-esteem enhancement may not receive the same effects from reflected appraisals, social comparison and self-attribution. Also this theory implies that enhancing the self-concept in such a manner is normal and in no need of being questioned. Proving oneself superior to others and relying on external gratification from society for self-concept enhancement should not be accepted as the ideal path to follow.

In light of this discussion, Tucker's (1987) conclusion that bodybuilding may be the ideal activity for college age males must be called into question. As discussed in chapter two, Tucker used Rosenberg's theory as a framework to assess changes in self-concept due to participation in weight training. Using this theory Tucker did find a positive enhancement of self-concept from weight training. Tucker felt this was largely due to the subjects receiving positive reinforcement for becoming more mesomorphic. As Tucker acknowledged, the mesomorph may be the recipient of positive benefits yet undocumented. What must be questioned, however, is whether or not an activity (bodybuilding) is truly ideal if the activity relies on the participants' need for superiority over other groups of people? Should an activity be encouraged that has a goal of reinforcing the symbolic hegemonic ideal of masculinity? A discussion of these questions will be included in the implications section.

As mentioned above, Tucker (1987) found that the subjects in his study perceived an enhancement in self-concept due to participation in weight training. These findings must be questioned, however, if the findings truly denote a change in self-concept or a change in self-esteem. Longitudinal studies should be done, to see if the subjects still had a positive rating well after the exercising portion of the study had finished. This would be more likely to identify a true change in enduring self-concept. The findings of the current study indicate these men had changes

in the more transient self-esteem rather than self-concept. This thought was captured by a participant in the current study when asked if bodybuilding made him feel more masculine:

"I think at times it does. But, I think that's more when I'm around either other guys at the gym, or maybe I'm out with a bunch of friends that are relatively small. It kind of puts me up on a pedestal. [People] say, 'You're looking great. You're huge.' And this and that. It kind of goes to your head at certain times. When I'm by myself, I don't feel any different. I don't feel any influence. I don't feel any more masculine than before."

This comment obviously points to an unstable self-rating, indicative of changes in self-esteem, not self-concept.

A final strategy that could be used to identify whether the subjects of the Tucker study had a true enhancement in self-concept would be to monitor their reactions to plateaus (lack of improvement). The brevity of Tucker's study would not allow for extended plateaus to occur. In the current study the reaction to plateauing by the majority of the men was ultimately frustration. This became one of the factors leading to anabolic steroid use. This would indicate that these men experienced changes in self-esteem, but probably not an enhancement in self-concept (the stable set of meanings about oneself) during bodybuilding participation.

Implications

Implications for the physical educator. Physical education is a domain in which current forms of male hegemony are reproduced (Humberstone, 1990). The physical educator

has the power to reproduce these forms of hegemony or to work to try to combat such influence. Weight training and bodybuilding may well be within the realm of activities taught throughout the course of the school year. Weight training and bodybuilding can be used to reproduce hegemonic masculinity. The discussion thus far has not been meant to deter participation in bodybuilding and weight training, but to more thoroughly analyze participation and reasons for this participation.

The approach the physical educator takes to weight training can have profound effects on the students, either for the positive or for the negative. It is imperative for the physical educator to discuss such factors as the meaning of body size for the male in this society. Discuss ways in which dominance occurs in society due to body size. How women and other groups of males are marginalized and subordinated by the dominant group. Discuss how the large male physique may become the symbolic embodiment of the hegemonic dominance. Ask students to question their own feelings in relation to dominating over or being dominated by others. Discuss with the students how no one benefits from such relationships.

High school students could benefit from a discussion of the importance of genetics in determining body size. Discussion should focus on how everyone may improve their health and strength from weight training, yet certain individuals are more predisposed to benefit from such

exercise. The small, slight male may never have the physique of Arnold Schwarzenegger, but should be encouraged to set realistic goals (along with all other students). The goal of these discussions would be to help the students to become more accepting of themselves and others. Although participation in weight training may lead to greater societal acceptance due to the visual effects of greater muscular size, the physical educator must encourage the student to develop his/her entire self so as not to rely on such a narrow focus as body size.

The physical educator must also teach the students the reality of plateaus in any physical endeavor and how to use plateaus to develop dedication instead of frustration. As shown in this study, this frustration may lead to decisions (such as using steroids) which may be counter to the students' belief structure. It is imperative therefore that the physical educator present a realistic picture (view) of possible benefits of physical training.

The issue of anabolic steroid use should be addressed by the physical education teacher. The physical educator must be cognizant of not only the physical, but also the psychological needs of the students, and how these needs may influence anabolic steroid use. To adequately prepare students for study and discussion on the topic of anabolic steroid use, the physical educator should take time to discuss the issues presented above. By conducting such a discussion, the physical educator laid a foundation from

which a dialogue on anabolic steroids may be built. Strategies for discussing anabolic steroid use will be addressed in the section "Implications for Drug Education".

Implications for the coach. Many of the implications for the coach are congruent with the implications for the physical educator. The coach, however, faces distinctive conditions which the physical educator may not confront.

Principally, the coach must be highly cognizant of the importance of sport in the lives of the adolescents with which he/she works. The coach must be aware of the unique circumstances surrounding the athlete. The athlete has pressures unique in the fact that his/her successes and failures are in full view of the public. This may create extreme tension for the athlete to perform well. Success can lead to large amounts of praise and recognition. Success may also mean consideration for athletic scholarships and other benefits. Failure can easily result in public criticism which may have devastating effects on the athlete's self-esteem.

Society also places extreme emphasis on winning. The athlete can easily become obsessed with a need to win. An unhealthy level of competition can result. The athlete may seek whatever means possible, including the use of anabolic steroids, to enhance his/her chances of winning. The influence of the coach may be critical in the athlete's final

decision concerning steroid and/or other chemical use or abstinence.

The coach must have realistic expectations for the athlete. The coach should be aware that competitive sport is the domain responsible for introducing many athletes to weight training. Understanding this, the coach must help the athlete to develop attainable goals. The coach must not expect miraculous transformations from physical conditioning and off-season weight training programs. Unrealistic goals set by the coach may help influence the athlete to ultimately use steroids. The coach must also have a healthy attitude toward winning, losing and competition. The athletes will reflect the coach, and as mentioned above, an unhealthy attitude toward these factors may lead to anabolic steroid use. The coach must help the athlete to develop a healthy perspective toward athletics and competition.

Implications for the drug educator. This study has lead to a number of implications for the drug educator. First, the educator must have an understanding of the reasons behind anabolic steroid use. The educator must be cognizant of the fact that use occurs among males and females, and among athletes and non-athletes. The educator must be aware of the unique reasons each of these subsets of individuals may have for beginning use. The educator must also be aware of the factors that persons using these drugs perceive as positive. As the participants in this study pointed out,

anabolic steroid use can lead to greater perceived strength gains, gains in peer recognition, and goal attainment in physical training. These factors can be very reinforcing, which may lead to continuing usage. The majority of the men in this study also seemed minimally concerned with possible physical side effects. The side effects that did occur seemed to reverse upon cessation of use. Also apparent in this study, was the fact that the majority of the men experienced some type of moral dilemma concerning the use of anabolic steroids.

Although the statements above were greatly condensed and simplified, the educator should consider them when addressing anabolic steroid use. Considering these statements, the author suggests these recommendations:

1. Be honest with students/athletes about possible benefits of anabolic steroid use. Only by speaking honestly with the students/athletes can the educator maintain credibility.
2. Be honest with the students/athletes about possible side effects without sensationalizing. Sensationalizing negative side effects will also cause the educator to lose credibility.
3. Listen to the students/athletes and be cognizant of their unique needs and desires. Try to gain an understanding from their point of view.
4. Be aware of developmental issues. The adolescent believes that he/she is invincible and invulnerable. The

adolescent may not be concerned with side effects, if the drug helps the student/athlete to reach his/her goals. The adolescent is, however, attempting to develop a sense of identity and independence. Values are being shaped and developed. A more effective way to address anabolic steroid use in athletics may be from the standpoint of values clarification, rather than emphasis on negative side effects.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study was an exploratory work which began to look at the relationship of bodybuilding and anabolic steroid use in relation to self-esteem and the masculine identity, specifically hegemonic masculinity. Obviously much more research needs to be done. Specifically, research needs to be continued on the influence bodybuilding has on the male's self-esteem and self-concept. This relationship must be framed within an understanding of hegemonic masculinity. Research needs to address the manner in which the micro-structure of the male's self-esteem and self-concept are intimately woven with macro-structure of hegemonic masculinity within society.

Research needs to continue on the perceived effects the athlete has from anabolic steroid use. For what is perceived, whether true or not, is truth to the person perceiving. A greater understanding of these perceptions is imperative. The perceptions must not only emphasize the

perceived physical effects, but just as importantly the perceived effects on self-esteem, self-concept and societal interaction.

Research must also address the issues of why persons choose to begin the use of anabolic steroids. Special emphasis should be placed on which factors are the determinants which trigger the final decision to use.

Research must also address the reasons why persons choose to cease anabolic steroid use. As suggested by this study, the values of the participant must be addressed as well as physical side effects.

Males are not the only users of anabolic steroids. The realm of female anabolic steroid use should definitely be addressed. The psychological and sociological determinants concerning anabolic steroid use with female must be emphasized.

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APPENDIX A

UCHRIS Approval

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH INVOLVING
HUMAN SUBJECTS (UCRIHS)
206 BERKEY HALL
(517) 353-9738

EAST LANSING • MICHIGAN • 48824-1111

June 6, 1989

IRB# 89-255

Mr. Tracy Olrich
5490 Caris Road
Edmore, MI 48829

Dear Mr. Olrich:

Re: "THE RELATIONSHIP OF MALE IDENTITY, THE MESOMORPHIC
IMAGE, AND ANABOLIC STEROID USE IN BODYBUILDERS IRB#
89-255"

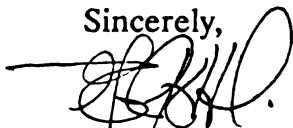
The above project is exempt from full UCRIHS review. I have reviewed the proposed research protocol and find that the rights and welfare of human subjects appear to be protected. You have approval to conduct the research.

You are reminded that UCRIHS approval is valid for one calendar year. If you plan to continue this project beyond one year, please make provisions for obtaining appropriate UCRIHS approval one month prior to June 6, 1990.

Any changes in procedures involving human subjects must be reviewed by the UCRIHS prior to initiation of the change. UCRIHS must also be notified promptly of any problems (unexpected side effects, complaints, etc.) involving human subjects during the course of the work.

Thank you for bringing this project to our attention. If we can be of any future help, please do not hesitate to let us know.

Sincerely,



John K. Hudzik, Ph.D.
Chair, UCRIHS

JKH/sar

cc: M. Ewing

APPENDIX B

Theme Development

Youth Sports Involvement

Theme 1: Athletics Important (Perceived in Positive Manner)

"I think they helped me out a lot socially."
"Athletics made the difference in my life."
"That (athletics) was basically my whole life."
"Very important to me."
"...sports gave me a lot more discipline."
"I think it (wrestling) helped me a lot socially."
"Positive in the terms of the discipline it instilled in me."
"(Athletics) always made me strive to be a better person."

Theme 2: Negative Perceptions of Athletics

"...it (athletics) took up a lot of time."
"I may have been a little more of an introvert in terms of going out with my friends.(due to the large amount of time athletics required)."
"...passed up some family time and stuff."
"Their were times I'd miss schoolwork training for sports."
"It (athletics) didn't help me much as far as my studies."

Theme 3: Some Participants Felt Extreme Pressure To Perform Well

"There was a lot of pressure for me, not just to succeed but to outdo everyone."
"The pressure just got too much, and I just withdrew from the whole thing."
"I also had an older brother who excelled in just about everything he did and it was kind of expected of me to follow in his footsteps."

Bodybuilding

Initial Involvement

Theme 1: Introduced to Weight Training Through Youth Sport

"(Began) right after my freshman year when I was 0-8. I had to do something."
"I started training to get a little size for football."

"Did it (weight training) to get bigger for football."

"I was first interested way back in junior high in the seventh grade in what we called our off-season program."

Theme 2: Fascinated With The "Big" Guys In The Gym/Magazine/Peer Group

"And I thought, man, I want to look like that guy."

"I was fortunate enough to meet a guy named Steve Reeves."

"So, there was always someone to emulate."

"And I think I kind of wanted to be a little bit more like them."

"And then I saw some big guys in there too...And I said I want to look like that."

"Seeing those guys lifting weights. And they were kind of coaches for us, too. That's how I got into it."

Theme 3: No Longer Wanted to Be Skinny (Small)

"...you kind of have a tendency to get a little tired of being 5'5", 135-145 pounds."

"I wish there were a little more meat on my bones."

"I wanted bigger arms."

"I started training to get a little size."

Self-Concept and Bodybuilding Involvement

Theme 4: Physical Gains Led To Increased Amounts of Positive Reinforcement/Peer Recognition

"And it seems the positive reinforcement everyone's giving me now."

"Everybody looks up to me."

"I was being noticed."

"You get looked at a lot more, which I feel is positive."

"I gained a lot of recognition."

"People look at you and feel good about you."

"Others notice it (body fat loss), and, of course, once again is an ego trip."

Theme 5: Acceptance Into New Social Groups

"I hung out with them, so I was in their clique."

"So I've made new friends."

"People I hang out with are bodybuilders."

Theme 6: Social Comparisons Led To Positive Self-Ratings

"It feels good to be advanced."

"It does kind of go to your head when you see the results, and you see others who are smaller than you."

"Yes, I'd say I'm miles more advanced."

"Maybe I'm physically advanced or genetically gifted."

"I'm more advanced in technique, form and ability."

Theme 7: Social Comparisons Led To Increased Motivation

"You strive harder to prove that you can do, or at least come close to those guys."

"I use it (being advanced) for fuel, it makes me train harder."

Theme 8: Individual Nature of Bodybuilding Was Attractive

"I like bodybuilding because I succeed or fail on my own accord."

"I'd like to do something that's more me. Me oriented."

"I've always been one for individual sports."

"Bodybuilding was an individual thing."

Theme 9: Bodybuilding Was An Important Role, But Not The Most Important Role.

"I like to see myself as student first."

"I guess first and foremost is me being an engineer."

"Number one, I'm a husband."

"My primary role has always been that of a physician."

Theme 10: Role Conflict Was Problematic

"I lift before I go to work. I know I'm going to be tired when I go to work, but that's secondary."

"These two (bodybuilder and father) are conflicting all the time."

Theme 11: Bodybuilding Enhanced Hegemonic Masculine Qualities

- "Males are supposed to be stronger."
- "But if I was skinny, I'd sure want to be more muscular."
- "I would feel more masculine by the fact that I could stand next to anybody and probably dwarf them."
- "At times it does (make me feel more masculine). But I think that's more when I'm around either other guys at the gym or maybe out with a bunch of friends who are relatively small."
- "The bigger I got, the bigger attitude I got."
- "It does (make you more masculine) because people are intimidated by you."
- "You are supposed to be tough."
- "Sure (it makes you feel more masculine). Well, it's because it's something you don't see a lot of women in."

Theme 12: Bodybuilding Led To Greater Heterosexual Attraction

- "If they (women) have a choice, they'd have the one that's in shape."
- "I've had more women tell me that they will never date another guy who isn't muscular."
- "Some of the best looking women are with some of the biggest guys."
- "And who had the best looking chicks? It was always the guy with the best build."
- "The girls I've dated really like being with a guy that's in shape."
- "I felt the initial interests were there because of my physique."
- "Definitely more. I've run into some hard times with that."

Theme 13: Bodybuilding Helped the Men Become More "In Touch" With Themselves

- "It (bodybuilding) caused me to strengthen my inner-determination, self-discipline, my will power."
- "It's made me realize a lot of things about myself and sharpen a lot of skills I had, just mentally."
- "I can actually respond to it (training) in a philosophical way."
- "I really enjoy the whole outlook it gives me."

"It's a release."

"It keeps my mind working in the right direction."

Anabolic Steroids

Initial Use

Theme 1: The Men Had Reached A Plateau In Their Training

"I had reached a peak, a plateau."

"I kind of plateaued out."

"I was getting in pretty decent shape. But I didn't have the size."

"I hit a stale point in my lifting."

Theme 2: Curiosity Set In As The Men Contemplated Steroid Use

"There seemed to be something magical about them."

"All of a sudden they're twice as big as I am. And what's the deal?"

"There was that curiosity of what would happen."

"I called up a friend of mine who I knew was doing them. I said, 'Hey fill me in.'"

Theme 3: Internal Conflict Was Experienced When Deciding Whether Or Not To Begin Use

"Boy, I went for a month or two just saying, 'Yea I'm going to do it, no, no, I can't do it.'"

"I said no."

"Pressures to use them and not to use them."

"I was so anti-steroid."

"I kind of felt guilty the whole time."

"I was against them."

Theme 4: Believed Steroids Were Needed To Be Competitive In Their Sport

"You might as well take drugs if you want to win."

"I want to see how far I can go."

"It's all or nothing if you're going to the top."

"Trying to keep up with my peers who were."

Theme 5: Positive Benefits Associated With Steroid Use

"More energetic and aggressive."

"Physically, stronger."

"Incredible, I'll never forget it."
 "King of the World."
 "I'd be a liar if I said I didn't feel (more confident).
 "Actually, I felt good."
 "Get more of a jolt out of your workout."
 "It's just like never having a bad workout."
 "I felt great."

Theme 6: Steroid Use Reinforced Hegemonic Masculinity

"You're enjoying the peer recognition."
 "It's a big ego boost."
 "Everybody was saying, 'Boy you're looking big.'
 "I was another big guy."
 "You're aggressive sexually too."
 "Emotionally, physically, sexually, I was just outrageous."
 "When I see a woman getting close to the same size as me, I don't like it."

Theme 7: Women using steroids is a freedom of choice issue

"They need them to be competitive, just like the men do."
 "The only place it seems to be an issue is North America."
 "If women want to do it, it's great."
 "Women, same category as men."
 "I'm all for people making their own decisions."

Theme 8: Women should not use steroids

"That takes alot away from their femininity."
 "I really don't like that at all."
 "It takes away alot of their femininity."
 "No positive aspects whatsoever."
 "There was certainly nothing feminine about that."

Theme 9: Psychological Dependence Possible

"Sure, I know there is."
 "You get addicted to the increase in size."
 "The side effect of peer recognition."
 "I think I have a little one."
 "Definitely."
 "Oh yea."
 "Oh, absolutely."
 "Yes."

"Oh, definitely."
 "Oh yea. I tried to get more."

Theme 10: Abusers Get Side Effects/Safe If Used Properly

"You know, you don't abuse them."
 "The people that tend to be abusers are the people that tend to get the side effects."
 "And the key word is abuse."
 "Some people take too much, they'll just break out all over."
 "As long as I stay within the guidelines, or the safe amounts."
 "To be perfectly honest, the more you take the better you will be."
 "I don't think the side effects are as serious as everyone says they are."
 "Side effects are just that."

Theme 11: Steroids Are A Tool Of Media Propaganda

"Yea, I'd love to see their proof."
 "I think it is a media hype."
 "I think they (the media) blow a lot of it out of proportion."
 "The newspaper read stories steroids caused liver cancer and bodybuilder dies. That's a problem."
 "A lot of the stories you hear about the use of drugs are biased."

Theme 12: Values Conflict Leads To Discontinuance

"I look at why am I doing this?"
 "I was just kind of ashamed of myself."

APPENDIX C

Explanation of Study

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
Health Education, Counseling Psychology and Human Performance
Human Subjects Consent Form

Dear Participant,

I am a graduate student at Michigan State University in the school of Health Education, Counseling Psychology and Human Performance. I am currently working on a study entitled "The relationship of male identity, the mesomorphic image, and anabolic steroid use in bodybuilders." This study is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Martha Ewing, Assistant Professor of Physical Education at Michigan State University. This study looks at the importance of athletics in the life of the individual, the current importance of bodybuilding in the individual's life, and the significance of anabolic steroid use within bodybuilding.

This study involves answering questions in an interview format. The interview will take approximately one hour to complete. The questions are not intended to trick or deceive in any way. There are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions, and the questions should be answered as honestly as possible. A portion of the interview questions deal with anabolic steroid use. You should further understand that your participation in this study will be treated with strict confidentiality. Subjects will remain anonymous in any reports or publications of the research findings.

In order to obtain useful information, I need your cooperation in completing the interview. Interviews will be tape recorded, with the cassette tapes being destroyed after the interviews have been transcribed. All information received is strictly confidential. Participation in this project is voluntary. You may choose not to participate at all, may refuse to answer certain questions or may discontinue the interview at any time.

All results will be treated with strict confidence. Results from this study will be available to you upon request. Please feel free to contact me at any time if you have any questions.

I am grateful for your assistance!

Thank you.

Tracy W. Olrich
5490 Caris Road
Edmore, MI 48829
(517) 268-5236

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APPENDIX D

Subject Consent Form

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I have read and fully understand this consent form. I understand that my participation in this study is strictly voluntary. I understand that I have the right not to answer any question. I also understand that I may terminate the interview at any time.

Signature

____/____/____
Date

APPENDIX E

Overview of Olrich (1988)

Olrich, T., (1988). Bodybuilding and anabolic steroid use:
It's meaning in the lives of five athletes. HCP 831,
Michigan State University, E. Lansing, MI

Structured interviews were used to examine the meaning and importance of bodybuilding and anabolic steroid use in the lives of five bodybuilders. Five white, middle class, male bodybuilders were selected as participants. The participants ages ranges from twenty to twenty-two. The subjects were currently attending college or had recently graduated. All the athletes were either current or former anabolic steroid users.

All of the men had participated in sports at the high school level. Upon entering college, bodybuilding was selected as an activity to stay involved in the sporting world once opportunity for participation as other opportunities were no longer available.

Once involved in bodybuilding, the men experienced increases in muscular size and strength which led to greater feelings of confidence and self-worth. After becoming immersed in this activity, the athletes chose to begin taking anabolic steroids. The use of anabolic steroids had profound effects on the way the men saw themselves. Large increases in perceived muscle size and strength led to further validation of feelings of confidence and self-worth. The men also spoke of a strong psychological addiction to anabolic steroids. Strong positive feelings associated with

the self when on steroids diminished when off steroids due to the loss of muscle mass and strength.