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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
RIVERSIDE

Losing Their Way: How First-Year College Boys Find Trouble on the Way to Becoming  
Men

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction  
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

by

John-Paul Wolf

August 2014

Dissertation Committee:

Dr. John Levin, Chairperson

Dr. Margaret Nash

Dr. Daniel Ozer

Dr. Robert A. Hanneman

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The Dissertation of John-Paul Wolf is approved:

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Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

## Acknowledgements

While I sat on my porch with an evening cocktail in my hand I said to my friend, “let’s do it.” That evening we spoke about our futures and pathways to the achievement of our goals. We both acknowledged our need to continue our education. That night we decided to go back to school. He would go to law school and I would pursue a doctorate in education. They were easy decisions for us to make because, after all, they would only take three years to complete. Six years later, as I end this journey that began with such ease and yet challenged me in innumerable ways, I know of the considerable distance I have traveled and all the people who have carried me along the way. I am grateful for each of the people who have inspired me, encouraged me to persevere, and humbled me as I made this journey. I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge them here.

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I am incredibly fortunate to have married into a wonderful family. My mother- and father-in-law, Kitty and Gerry Buss, have consummately supported me throughout the dissertation process. I am thankful for their support and encouragement, for frequently watching my daughters so Shannon and I can have a quiet reprieve and most of all for making me a part of their family—as if I was their own son. Their home caught fire, disfiguring much of the structure; Gerry, a carpenter, rebuilt the house, and inspired me to work toward my goal even when I felt like the task was too big. On the days I found myself not liking the process of writing, Kitty has always reminded me that challenges make my writing stronger, my ideas clearer, and my achievement sweeter. I would be remiss if I did not also thank Katie and Daniel O’Rourke and Beth Ann Lee, my brother- and sisters-in law, as well as Johanna O’Neil, my mother-in-law’s sister, for their interest in my research as well as their love and support.

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me to push myself and convinced me that I am capable of this achievement. My debt of gratitude is because he believed in my abilities to persist and achieve long before I did. I hope that I can, someday, support someone in the same manner that Michael, and everyone I have acknowledged, supported me.

## Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my two daughters: Jordan Elizabeth and Shelby Leah. Both have taught me patience, kindness, and unwavering love, while they have inspired me to be a better man in every way imaginable.

## Abstract of the Dissertation

Losing Their Way: How First-Year College Boys Find Trouble on the Way to Becoming Men

by

John-Paul Wolf

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate School of Education  
University of California, Riverside, August 2014  
Dr. John Levin, Chairperson

The influence of masculine role norms and gender-role stress on the likelihood a first-year college male will become involved in the student conduct process is addressed in this investigation. Furthermore, the causes of policy violation, identity development, and social identity construction are explored.

Quantitative and qualitative methods were employed to examine the adherence to masculine role norms and experience of gender-role stress by first-year male students enrolled at a public research university. In this prospective study, data were collected in two phases. Phase One entailed completion of two masculinities-related scales and a demographics questionnaire by 429 participants, then the collection of student conduct outcomes at year's end. Phase Two consisted of face-to-face semi-structured individual interviews with 10 men.

Theories of hegemonic masculinity, gender socialization, identity development, emerging adulthood, and social identity influenced both methodological design and execution of this investigation. Analysis of the quantitative data did not provide support for the hypothesis that social norms and gender-role stress increased the likelihood of involvement in the student conduct process. However, elevated interest in athletics and fraternities were both instrumental factors in an increase in the likelihood of the participants' involvement in the student conduct process. Analysis of the qualitative data produced three sub-themes—pre-college socialization, individual identity development, and social identity development—to explain the causes of misconduct. These sub-themes allowed for a nuanced explanation of the quantitative findings.

Pre-college socialization was of considerable importance to the establishment of the types of masculinity participants presented. Conceptions of masculinity were found to be significant in the identity development of the participants, which influenced their behaviors and the social groups with which they sought involvement. Those with the most involvement in Greek life and athletics presented the most dominant forms of masculinity and examples of misconduct.

Findings from this study can support practitioners who work with male students, especially in the areas of student affairs, student conduct, athletics, and Greek life. Insights from this investigation may be applicable to both high school and college students throughout their academic career. Recommendation for practice and implications for future research are proposed.

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## CHAPTER 1:

### INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

For at least the past decade there has been considerable attention in media to boys who not only underachieve socially but also underachieve in school (Tyre, 2008). Popular media tells the story of boys who show signs of trouble as early as preschool, where they are suspended or expelled at a rate five times higher than girls; they are diagnosed with learning disorders at a rate four times higher than girls (Tyre, 2008). While the problem of behavior and learning disorders may start as early as preschool, problems continue through high school, where 32 percent of boys drop out (Whitmire, 2009, March 6). This news has led to a flurry of research on the topic of why boys and men underachieve in school as well as a resurgence of feminist scholars warning against accepting these numbers without a discourse that does not “draw us towards an unproblematised ‘truth’” (Raphael-Reed, 1999, p. 93): that is, a truth where boys are destined to underachieve socially and educationally simply because they are boys, and girls are left to suffer the consequences of these failings because they are girls. Thus, the sweeping proclamations of failing boys may disguise the numerous educational inequalities experienced by girls and women, such as reduced individual instruction for and participation by girls or the tracking of girls away from STEM fields that are attributable to gender (Mendick, 2005; Sax & Harper, 2005).

In 1979, women comprised the majority of college students at (50.9%), and in the three decades since this percentage increased to 57.1 percent of students (National Center for Education Statistics, 2010). This shift in enrollment has been observable long enough

for researchers and practitioners alike to begin to develop gender based theories to explain this phenomenon. Additionally, academic and student services programs have entered the landscape with the creation of Women's Studies departments, Women's Resource Centers, and a myriad of other support services to ensure that women can navigate their way to a college degree (Glazer-Raymo, 2008). Women are provided with gender specific resources to achieve student leadership positions, increase health and safety, and persist in a variety of academic departments and in graduation. However, by addressing or solving the problem of low college going rates, persistence, and achievement of women, institutions may have constructed and maintained new problems (Levin, 2007). Levin (2007) highlighted that when there is "enrollment growth and the realization of access for diverse populations there is considerable potential for misalignment of institutional functioning and student needs" (p. 83). In spite of the persistent lagging of male students in the areas of achievement and persistence in college, few programs exist at the institutional level to support male student development, including K-12 levels to prepare boys or men for the landscape in tertiary education (Harper & Harris, 2010). If support services were introduced to provide gender specific support to women to improve their rates of attrition, persistence, and achievement, then gender specific programs for men may have the same results. However, due to the success of programs focused on girls and women in addressing historical issues of female underrepresentation at institutions of higher education, these programs should not suffer defunding or reduction of institutional support with the inclusion of programs for boys and men. There is considerable merit to Connell's (2000) assertion that programs to

assist underachieving boys at all educational levels need to be established but not to the detriment of programs designed for women.

Practitioners and academics have worked to create a student conduct process that seeks to address student behavior, educate and socialize students to the culture of the campus, and prevent further infractions (Gehring, 2001). However, past research has suggested that men are twice as likely as women to be involved in a student conduct process (Bazik & Meyering, 1965; Cummins, 1966; Janosik, 1985). That is, men are overrepresented in the university conduct process (Harper, Harris, & Mmeje, 2005; Laker, 2005). On most campuses, a prodigious amount of alcohol abuse occurs among male students (Capraro, 2004). Additionally, on most college campuses, violent acts are most often committed by men toward other men—and often toward women (Laker, 2009). Moreover, techniques for working with men and the use of theories of men's development have failed to reduce the over-representation of men in the student conduct process, even within a context of the modernization of the field of student affairs (Harper et al., 2005). Thus, this investigation explores the roles of gender-role conflict, male role norms, experiences, and perspectives of college men who may or may not violate the university's student code of conduct.

The purpose of this work was to investigate the experiences of gender-role conflict with a sample of college men and their adherence to contemporary masculine norms, as well as their experiences and perspectives on their academic and social behaviors, so as to inform institutional policies and programs that may support men who might otherwise create an educational context that is detrimental to the mission of

institutions of higher education. While the investigation set out initially to employ a quantitative methodology, the investigation ultimately used both quantitative and qualitative methods for data collection and analysis. Quantitative data were collected from a sample using a web-based survey collection tool that employed two psychometric scales that focus on masculinity and gender-role stress. The qualitative data were collected through interviews that examined the students' experiences and expressions of masculinity in the college context, and explored their relationships with both men and women. Participants in this study included male university students who are in their first year of college, have not previously attended college, and who volunteered to complete the online survey and be interviewed.

Chapter One provides both background and contextual information to position this investigation in the realms of gender and higher education. Then, the problem, purpose, and research question are presented. Next, the chapter expresses the significance of the research. Finally, the chapter closes with an outline of the subsequent chapters.

### Background and Context

All levels of schooling are instrumental in the social development of students, and in this area of development differences between genders persist into higher education (Sax & Harper, 2005). Under-development in this area manifests itself as misbehavior and misconduct. Just as pre-school boys are more likely than girls to be expelled from school (Martin, 1998), men in college are also more likely to be expelled or involved in the student conduct process (Dannells, 1997). In the United States, males are less likely to be enrolled in higher education, more likely to fail to persist through to graduation,

more likely to be involved in campus student misconduct processes, and more likely to develop unhealthy lifestyles and social behaviors than females. As well, males are more likely to commit suicide (Burke, 2009; Clayton, Hewitt, & Gaffney, 2004; Dannells, 1991; Davis & Laker, 2004; Harper et al., 2005; Sax & Harper, 2005).

Currently, institutions of higher education have little more than heuristics as a guide based on gender stereotypes, hegemonic discourse, speculative experience, and even imprudent feminism that has portrayed “boys as pathologized by toxic traditional masculinity” to identify men who may violate student conduct policies (Capraro, 2004, p. 27; Sommers, 2000). In the stories of high profile cases of violence on college and university campuses, we hear of males “who are disaffected, disconnected, hostile, or emotionally diminished” and others on campus who noticed problematic behavior but were lacking tools to understand and respond to the situation (Laker, 2009, p. 1). Furthermore, Laker (2009) asserts that student affairs practitioners have neither accepted nor discussed that the problems of violence and misconduct on college and university campuses are a gendered problem and not just a student problem. Finally, from the institutional perspective, behaviors that lead students to be involved in their institution’s student conduct processes—such as drug and alcohol use, acts of both physical and intimate violence, and general malfeasance—are potential risks to the institution’s ability to teach and develop students.

The over-representation of men in the student conduct process suggests that there is a need for more direct interaction with male students on the part of institutional actors to address misconduct and assure that productivity in the areas of student education and

development are undisturbed. Reframing the over-representation of men in the student conduct process as a gendered problem, rather than just a student problem, could allow for better articulation of the problem as well as the development of interventions specifically designed for college men. Although male (and female) students have been socialized to hegemonic masculinity highlighted with hyper-masculine behavior prior to their arrival on college and university campuses (Ferguson, 2000; Garbarino, 1999), there is nonetheless malleability in the construction of masculinity that could result in a softer and less disruptive form of masculinity (Connell, 2000). If male undergraduate students' performance of gender is aligned with college and university goals there is a possibility that men will become less represented in the student conduct process.

#### Problem Statement

In the United States, men are underrepresented in attendance at institutions of higher education. This dearth of males covers every racial subgroup with the exception of Asian Americans (Clayton et al., 2004). Large data sets from the U.S. Department of Labor (2002) have shown that male enrollment patterns have been in fluctuation. The U.S. Department of Labor (2002) expected that by 2010 the number would decline to 42 percent of students enrolled. Increasingly, policy makers are concerned with the difference in enrollment rates of men and women specifically within Latino and African-American communities (Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, 2007). The Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges (2007) reports that between 1976 and 2004 Latino males who earned bachelor's degrees increased by 260 percent. During the same time period, Latinas increased by 580 percent. Clayton,

Hewitt and Gaffney (2004) indicated that enrollment for Black men may be reduced before men matriculate because of factors such as low graduation rates, lack of preparation, low achievement test scores, and cost (p. 11). Although the same factors may cause access problems for all students (Perna, 2006), without greater human capital investment and changes in their *habitus* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), that is, skill sets, ways of acting, and their socially learnt dispositions which may be taken for granted as these are acquired through the experiences of everyday life, men may be more affected by misinformation about the market opportunities available to them. Notably, male students' over- involvement in the student conduct process mitigates none of the above issues.

In addition to stifled academic outcomes, college men are challenged with serious health risks, difficulties with psychosocial development, poor help-seeking behaviors, and low levels of campus engagement. When these challenges are combined with a misunderstanding of appropriate masculine behaviors, substance abuse, and violence, the result is what Michael Kimmel (2004) refers to as a “crisis concerning men in higher education” (p. 97). The core of this crisis is the social pressure for all men to conform to social construction of hegemonic masculinities. Additionally, scholars have unveiled the harmful effect and detrimental nature of the social constructions of hegemonic masculinity, which has individual and group effects on undergraduate male students. Given this knowledge, faculty and administrators are well positioned and ethically obligated to intervene and support the development of men (Harris, 2006). As well, most college and university campuses provide innumerable opportunities to “challenge



undesirable behaviors and attitudes, while also encouraging the development of healthy identities and lifestyles.” (Harris, 2006, p. 14).

In spite of the challenges college men face, there is a dearth of effort to support the development of these men (Davis & Laker, 2004; Harper et al., 2005; Kellom, 2004). A contributing factor to the lack of support for the development of college men can be attributed to the lack of scholarly work that focuses on the developmental challenges contemporary men face on college and university campuses. Most of the existing literature on undergraduate male students focuses on trends within social sub-groups that act on campus such as fraternities, student athletes, and men who perform hyper-masculinity through behaviors such drug and alcohol overuse and abuse, sexual assault and harassment, and violence toward both men and women. It is possible that more normalized, yet nonetheless disruptive, displays of masculinity have been ignored in the literature because after college men are conferred a higher social status through more lucrative employment opportunities. However, this limited set of issues that concern male college students has not focused on college men as gendered people; this leads to the assertion by Kimmel and Messner (Davis & Laker, 2004; 2007) that men are often treated as genderless beings. Thus, this investigation considers three main issues: 1) the crisis related to behaviors of men in higher education; 2) the lack of specific interventions for male college students that view such students as gendered beings; and 3) the individual consequences of hegemonic masculinities performed by first-year undergraduate male students on college and university campuses.

## Statement of Purpose

Theories of power have been used to explain problems of performance, persistence, and engagement of college women and people of color (Capraro, 2004). Research on female under-enrollment has identified admissions practices as sexist, and research on minority under-enrollment has identified admissions practices as racially biased (Capraro, 2004). However, when problems of performance, persistence, and engagement of college men are identified the theories of power “leave us at a loss to explain the plight of the powerful when that plight is not all positive” (Capraro, 2004, p. 23). The paucity of research on the experiences of men may come from assumptions that this group has already been studied. Capraro argues that previous researchers have devoted time to describing the general human experience, but not the male experience (2004). Foundational theories such as those from Arthur Chickering and Lawrence Kohlberg did not focus on the gendered nature of their subjects and thus they chose to develop their theories as gender-neutral (Chickering, 1969; Kohlberg, 1969; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). Further research, however, has demonstrated that gender, contingent on social context, is an important factor in the understanding of the development of humans (Butler, 1999; Gilligan, 1982).

When gender is conceptualized as a performance that has both personal and social meaning, then gender becomes recognizable through ongoing normative acts. The normative acts have become normalized through their repetition in “ritually specific, drawing on well-worked-over, sociohistorical scripts and easily recognizable scenarios” (Butler, 1988; Ferguson, 2000, p. 171). The concept of hegemonic masculinity furthers

the socio-historical script so that societal practices present masculinity as naturally and normally superior to less dominant forms of masculinity and all forms of femininity. Ideation of, and behaviors aligned with, hegemonic masculinity can have perceptible effects on both the student and the institution (Pascoe, 2007). Students' negative perception of campus climate, after their involvement in the conduct process, may encourage students to disregard rules and also lead to violations of policies (Van-Kuren & Creamer, 1989), transfer to institutions where they will experience greater support, or drop out of college altogether (Bean & Eaton, 2000; Tinto, 1993). The failure of academics to ask questions about masculinity and the effects of masculinity in social spaces is a form of cultural support of men's power (Connell, 1993). Thus, college and university faculty and administrators to have no base of knowledge on the gender-related stress and conflict undergraduate male students manage during the course of their college careers. To counter such negative stress and conflict, research needs to identify those factors that lead students to engage in misconduct.

In light of these gaps in both research and practice, this investigation addressed the over-representation of male undergraduate students in the student conduct process as a potential consequence of male undergraduate students' attempts at hegemonic masculine behavior. The investigation was informed by the theoretical perspectives of Gender Role Conflict (O'Neil, 1981) and Masculinities (Connell, 1995). Empirical data were collected and analyzed on both the adherence to hegemonic ideology of masculinity by male college students and the level of conflict these students experience due to their own perceived gender roles.

The attempted achievement of hegemonic masculinity, by men, through the exhibition of normative masculine ideology role behaviors may create gender-role conflict for male undergraduate students. This process, combined with student affairs practitioners' inadequate understanding of gendered roles (specifically masculinities) in student behavior and identity development, and a lack of knowledge and skill in working with students whose gender identity is masculine, all contribute to the over-representation of undergraduate men in the student conduct process (Harper et al., 2005; Keyes & Simmons, 1992; Laker, 2005). Harper et al. (2005) suggest that male gender-role conflict, in concert with precollege masculine socialization, social construction of masculinities, development of competence, and self-efficacy, acts on contextually bound gendered social norms. When these factors are in conflict with the "environmental ethos and corresponding behaviors required in college," they cause and perpetuate the over-representation of undergraduate men in the student conduct process" (Harper et al., 2005, p. 568).

### *Research Questions*

Given the above conceptual framework, the major question of this research follows: Does ascribing greater importance to fulfilling hegemonic masculinity standards and experiencing greater gender-role conflict predict misconduct by first-year first-time male students? Three additional questions were also investigated in this study: (a) From the participant's perspective, what are the causes for adherence to or violation of university policies; (b) in what ways do college men express dominant and alternative concepts of masculinities; and (c) in what ways are both the identity development and

social identity development of first-year first-time male students influenced by conceptions of masculinity?

### *Research Approach*

After I received approval from both the Human Research Review Board at the project site and the dissertation committee, as well as permission from the institution to communicate with subjects at the project site, I emailed requests to participate in this research to 1,930 first-year first-time male students prior to their arrival at a mid-sized public university in Southern California. Of those 1,930 students, 449 completed some part of or the entire survey instrument. The outcome variable, which consisted of their student conduct record, was matched to the participants at the end of the academic year. Additionally, I interviewed and audio-recorded, during the academic year, 10 first-year first-time male students who completed the survey. These two modes of data collection comprised the methods of data collection.

To protect the privacy of participants, I removed their personally identifiable information from the survey data once the outcome data were matched. Thus, I did not have the opportunity to know the identity of participants who violated university policies. Additionally, to protect the participants, during the interviews, I did not audio-record names and I allowed participants to choose the locations of the interviews. I word processed transcripts of the interviews, manually coded collected data, and assigned each participant a pseudonym as a technique of analysis.

This research was conducted with the assumption that there is no singular way in which men experience and express masculinity while enrolled at an institution of higher

education. Therefore, the purpose of this investigation was not to test the effects of a certain type of masculinity on male students' behavior. Instead, the purpose was to understand and explain how stresses and strains on first-year male students were a consequence of their attempts to achieve a personal form of masculinity and lead to campus misconduct.

Finally, while the quantitative data sample is rather robust and representative of the first-year male college students at the research site, the qualitative portion of this research is not. While an unrepresentative sample of interviewees may be viewed as a limitation of the research, the qualitative portion of data when combined with theoretically based analysis provides much discussion and insight into the thoughts of first-year male student as they relate to their masculinity while they experience transition into college. The qualitative data were collected to add richness to the quantitative data by my hearing, in their own words, the stresses and strains of students' attempts to achieve masculinity and the outcomes those pursuits have on these men's behaviors, relationships, and lives. However, the value of the qualitative data and the data's applicability to the problem of the investigation resulted in their use to explain men's behaviors to an extent unanticipated at the outset.

#### *Rationale and Significance of the Problem*

While it may appear that institutions of higher education, framed as places that educate men and women, are solely accountable to the students they teach, these institutions have a history of accountability to local community, state, and federal governments (Thelin, 2004). The pressure for institutional accountability is evident in

every department of the university (Alexander, 2000). Heightened political attention to institutional accountability is now coupled with greater attention to campus violence and student behavioral issues (Ludeman, 2004), that is, institutions, specifically student affairs divisions, are now held accountable for the maintenance of student behavior. In addition to accountability expectations, higher education as an enterprise has been framed both as serving the “public good” and as resulting in “private benefits” (Labaree, 1997). As such these institutions are likely to be responsive to pressures for accountability to deliver on both “public good” and “private benefits” to their constituents.

Historically, higher education in the U.S. has sought to prepare a citizenry that will have a strong sense of civic duty and virtue (Labaree, 1997). Research indicates that there is considerable social return on investment in higher education (Ehrenberg, 2006), which is due in part to the social development of students while they are in college. In spite of an academic capitalist movement in higher education that has encouraged the institutions of higher education to focus heavily on the marketability of their students (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), student affairs practitioners in higher education have maintained a history of focusing on students’ needs, development, and well-being. Student affairs practitioners and academics have developed a narrative to bring focus to students and their learning (Hirt, 2007). The outcome of this focus is in part the “public good” experienced by a society with a more educated populace. The argument is that when the populace is more educated there are lower rates of crime and incarceration, less reliance on public assistance, and better overall health (Paulsen & Toutkoushian, 2006). However, the process for students to develop to a point that they are able to provide these

outcomes to society is certainly not the same for every student. Men, for example, will be subject disproportionately to institutional student conduct processes (Dannells, 1991; Harper et al., 2005). If there was a greater understanding of the role gender plays in the prevalence of student misconduct, then more efficient methods of working with men prior to and within the student conduct process would allow institutions of higher education to be more effective in providing an outcome of “public good” while maintaining and enhancing the private benefits provided to graduates.

The full achievement of the educational potential of men and women in higher education has been historically and persistently blocked by acts of violence and disrespect for authority figures and academic personnel (Bureau of Applied Social Research, 1964; Jackson, 2000; Moore, 1974; Mullins, 2003). Educational institutions are places that, in part, create masculinities and disturb them (Fine, Weis, Addelston, & Marusza, 1997). As such, women must work harder, achieve at a higher level academically than men, and present themselves as overtly feminine or completely stripped of femininity to compensate for their “transgressions” of academically achieving in a historically masculine area in order to maintain their places (Glazer-Raymo, 2008; Mendick, 2005; Ong, 2005). In a longitudinal, qualitative study of 10 women of color who pursued degrees in physics, Ong (2005) found that the women engage in “body projects” to shape their identity and gain acceptance into a highly masculine field of study. To avoid creating an image that resulted in their differential treatment, some students would approximate ordinariness by fragmenting their identity and eschewing feminine images of dress, makeup, and female-stereotype behaviors. Other women would



manipulate stereotypes so that they could be understood by the men or would work to perform at a level that is superior to their male peers (Ong, 2005). It is in these ways that continued, unchecked hegemonic masculinity creates a climate that is hostile for both men and women.

Although these negative behaviors have been attributed to men by virtue of their sex, little is known about how these behaviors are influenced by the male students' ideology of gender (Harris, 2006). The persistent reproduction of hegemonic masculinity, a dominant form of masculinity, in U.S. society has resulted in young men struggling with the paradox of expressing their gender ideology to the detriment of their educational experience or compromising their gender ideology to succeed academically and socially in higher education. For contemporary women, this paradox is not as great of an issue as it once was (Nash, 2005), but as illustrated above continues as an issue with which women struggle. Thus, the attempted achievement of hegemonic masculinity by male students has bolstered a gender dichotomy in education that under the gaze of accountability in higher education and with the current methods of practitioners working with men is arguably untenable (Davis & Laker, 2004).

### *Significance of the Study*

The major question of this research (“Are men who ascribe greater importance to fulfilling masculinity standards and who experience greater gender-role conflict more likely to be involved in the student conduct process during their first-year in college?”) could have substantial importance to practitioners in the field of student judicial affairs. This research may allow student misconduct to be framed as a function of resolution of

gender conflict instead of as an unchangeable aspect of a masculine identity.

Additionally, the research can lead to identification of the variables that are most salient in creating gender identity conflict that leads to violations of student conduct policies.

This investigation, which attends to masculinity, gender-role strain, and the students' own experience and construction of masculinity, will be a contribution to the burgeoning body of work that frames men as in need of specific support for their development. The intention is that this work will result in improvements in training and professional development for student affairs practitioners who work with men, especially those who work with men in the area of student conduct. Additionally, this work can influence and inform institutions as they continue to hone judicial policies, create developmental programs for men, and respond to issues created by men on their campus. Finally, this investigation has the potential to have predictive value in the identification of men who may violate student conduct policies, and this will allow for the development of interventions to address the root causes of male student misconduct.

### Chapters of the Dissertation

Six chapters comprise this dissertation. In chapter two, I review and discuss literature that links the social construction of gender, masculinities, contemporary understandings of college aged male students, and student misconduct. I highlight the paucity of literature that uses gender theory to explain contemporary college men's issues. I critique misguided and misinformed processes used to curb negative behaviors of college men. Additionally in chapter two, the theoretical framework and analytical approach that guided the design and execution of this dissertation are presented. In

chapter three, the methodology and approaches, including data collection and data analysis procedures, are described and explained in detail. Findings of the investigation are presented in chapters four and five. The dissertation is concluded in chapter six, with the investigation's conclusions as well as the implications for future research, implications for parents, and improved practice.

## CHAPTER 2

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMING

Most scholarly work on college men's gender socialization and subsequent behavior has occurred in the fields of psychology, sociology, and gender studies. Each field has utilized varied perspectives to explain and explore issues related to college men. However, in higher education, researchers have focused primarily on collegiate sub-populations known for expressions of hyper-masculinity, such as student athletes and fraternity members. As such, the common male student is either missing from the literature or is grouped into research that is not concerned with gender. To remedy this problem in higher education there is a burgeoning body of literature that inquires into the experiences of a wider variety of men including non-affiliated men and non-athletic men, as well as men with diverse racial, socio-economic, and sexual backgrounds.

In this chapter, I address the literature on male college students. While the enterprise of higher education is global, the literature reviewed and assertions made primarily address youth in the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and Australia. The literature reviewed in this chapter outlines how boys are socialized into a specific masculine performance that leaves them at odds with college and university officials who may not be prepared to address the social and psychological developmental needs of men. First, I address gender and social constructivist theory, which refers to the socially constructed characteristics considered by society to be typical of and appropriate for men. Second, I address the concept of masculinities, drawing largely on the theory of hegemonic masculinity. Then, I illustrate how social discourse is used to reify the

superiority of masculinity over femininity and less dominant forms of masculinity. Third, I critique current understandings of college aged male students derived from the scholarly literature. Fourth, I draw attention to the lack of student development theories concerned with men as gendered beings. Finally, I review the literature that surrounds the professional development of student affairs practitioners as well as the processes used by institutions of higher education to respond to student misconduct, specifically focusing on how these processes are inadequate for student affairs professionals who work with men to address masculinity while they work toward behavioral changes in college men.

### Gender and Masculinities

In the sections that follow, the concept of gender will be framed as a social construct that is performed by those who seek to be viewed in a specific gender arrangement. As such, gender becomes malleable rather than an immutable trait of one's sex. Following the framing of gender, I explore the theory of masculinities, specifically the contemporary social views of masculinity compared to contemporary academic conceptions.

#### *Gender as a Social Construct*

Gender, similar to other aspects of identity such as sexual orientation, race, and class, is socially constructed (Butler, 1999; Edwards & Jones, 2009; West & Zimmerman, 1987). In one of the only constructivist grounded theory investigations on college men, Edwards and Jones (2009) describe how in an effort to perform masculinity and meet societal expectations of men, students utilize a mask of masculinity in order to be accepted and understood by others at their institutions. In this way, gender is situated, as

Butler (1998) described, as a “performative accomplishment” (p. 520)—that is, carried out by actors who are “doing” gender (Butler, 1988; Fenstermaker, West, & Zimmerman, 2002; West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126). However, well before students’ gender can be performed there are social factors, such as attitudes toward men and women, gender based traditions, and gendered social scripts, that shape the eventual performance. In this way, gender is not a trait of individuals but is instead the “name we give to cultural practices that construct women and men as different and that advantage men at the expense of women” (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009, p.278). These social factors serve as the foundation for future gender performance. I address these below.

Sexing of the body occurs at the earliest stages of development, frequently taking place prior to birth, leading to the assumption that there are only two sexes: male and female (Fausto-Sterling, 2000). This assumption persists in spite of the prevalence of sex organ ambiguity, hermaphroditic presentation of the sex organs, and intersex individuals (Fausto-Sterlin, 2000). Once the body is sexed, a myopic dichotomous understanding of sex dominates the treatment, expectations, and gendering of this being by society.

Connell (2005) asserts that the emotional dynamics of family have an influence on gender. At home, children become gendered through dress, the toys they are presented with, and the activities that are encouraged as well as those that are discouraged. The family and home constitute the primary place where the normative ideology of masculinity is presented, internalized, and practiced. Parents and caregivers teach the social scripts used to perform gender to children. Framed by the social construction of gender perspective, gender identity develops through practices that occur in social places

such as “school settings, sports culture, popular culture, and families” (Harris, 2008, p. 458).

During the early school years initial performances of gender occur. In the preschool classroom, the first signs of difference in genders become pronounced (Martin, 1998). Boys between the ages of three and five years are allowed to engage in more rough physical activities than girls. Boys are encouraged to play and sit further away from the instructor, and are allowed by the instructor to be disengaged from instruction. Girls, conversely, spend time near the instructor, are encouraged to play quietly while sitting, and must always be engaged with the instructor (Martin, 1998). In kindergarten, boys begin exploring common masculine narratives they have been exposed to such as gun play, fighting, and sports cars (Jordan & Cowan, 1995). Jordan and Cowan (1995) highlight how kindergarten boys enact “warrior narratives” that legitimize and justify violence that occurs between good and bad characters (p. 727). These warrior narratives are not sanctioned by the teachers and thus discouraged as deviant behavior. The deviant behaviors are often negotiated through the concept of accommodation and resistance, developed by Genovese (1972). If the boys assume that their performance of the warrior narrative, or other masculine narratives, is essential to their masculine identity then the prohibition of such behavior may mean the boys come to define the school environment as feminine (Best, 1983; Brophy, 1985; Jordan & Cowan, 1995). The gendering of boys, especially in the classroom, sets the stage for their future disengagement in what they consider to be a feminine education. This can be accredited to the idea that as the boys progress through grades, the appropriateness of their gendered behavior dwindles, yet the

boys en masse do not suffer any consequences as their behaviors become normalized, especially through play on the sports field, and accepted in spite of their inappropriateness (Connell, 1987; Messner, 1992; Raphael-Reed, 1999).

The ubiquity of gendered practices, gendered speech, and the gender dichotomy facilitates the gendering of youth (Connell, 2005; Harris, 2008). Mass media assist in shaping the masculine image through music, advertisements, coverage of sporting events, and gendered roles in movies and television that reinforce stereotyped views of masculinity (Keith, 2011; Kimmel, 2008; Messner & Montez de Oca, 2005; Nylund, 2004). Participation in athletics, for many young men, is highly influential in the development of a certain type of masculinity that equates toughness of body and mind, aggression, and competitiveness with masculinity (Messner & Sabo, 1990). Additionally, sports work to differentiate types of masculinity based on perceived levels of physical rigor, aptitude, and strength. These levels aid in the maintenance of an “ideology of male supremacy and female subordination” which continues off the athletics field (Harvey, 1996, Introduction, Paragraph 1).

It is within these social areas (e.g., home, school, church, and athletics fields) that masculinities and femininities are practiced, performed, and constructed. Although the social environments of the home and school are where the identity development process begins, this should not be understood to mean that identity (masculine or feminine) is fixed. By way of example, Anne Fausto-Sterling (2000) argues that bodies are medically assigned a sex in cases where the sex is ambiguous. The salient point in this research is that when bodies are sexed and then a sociocultural gendering process occurs, the created



identities may not be accurate for the individual (Fausto-Sterling, 2000). In these cases, the person may take both medical and performance steps to bring congruence to their gender identity and sex, in this way showing that gender and sex are both fluid and changeable, and not inexorably tied to each other.

Although gender arrangements have been dichotomized into male and female, there exists among these two genders socially recognizable but indistinct performances that validate the existence of multiple femininities and masculinities, which creates a hierarchy of gender types (Connell, 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In the case of masculinities, power and privilege are made to appear natural and normal even when there is no reason for these to appear that way (Anderson & Umberson, 2001). That is, the general structure of male power and female subordination will persist in spite of evidence to the contrary (e.g., female supervisors of male worker, households headed by women, classes taught to men by women) [Connell, 2005]. Or, perhaps even more salient is that women have participated in tertiary education more than men over the past thirty years yet they suffer from unequal wages and are often excluded from seats of power (Connell, 2005, Harris, 2006). In a society without awareness of gender performance, masculine privilege is understood as normal and biologically determined; in essence, the possession of a fully formed penis provides men with all the privileges of being a man, in contrast to the notion of genders as socially constructed (Fenstermaker et al., 2002).

However, as intersex people transition from one sex to another there appears to be little gender trouble created by the transition because most often trans-people's performance of gender is constrained by the gender binary (Schilt & Connell, 2007). This

gendering of the body by outside forces is not dissimilar to gendering children's bodies. Often the trans-person appears to accept their new role in the binary, even if the binary is not representative of their identity (Schilt & Connell, 2007). One explanation for this phenomenon is that if people are not performing gender in a standard, socially recognizable manner they violate our collective social norms because "gender [is] an overarching system that restricts possibilities of gender expressions for men and women at the same time as it provides necessary structure for a 'livable life'" (Schilt & Connell, 2007, p. 601). Thus, gender is the interplay of societal expectations and personal performance. As such, and relevant to this investigation, gender is performed on college campuses, where societal expectations and personal performance of masculinity may bring the actor into conflict with student conduct policies. Thus, the over-representation of men in the university conduct process would seem to be determined by the much more malleable performance of gender rather than the constraining concept of sex.

Masculine men are expected, by society, to be heterosexual. Butler (2004) asserted that "the heterosexualization of desire requires and institutes the production of discrete and asymmetrical oppositions between 'feminine' and 'masculine,' where these are understood as expressive attributes of being 'male' and 'female'" (p. 24). Under these conditions, gender is defined, unproblematically, as leaving essentialism to fragment identities so that one is only capable of a singular identity, which is normalized as masculine or feminine (Grillo, 1995). In the case of masculinity, Donaldson (1993) suggests that "male norms stress values such as courage, inner direction, certain forms of aggression, autonomy, mastery, technological skill, group solidarity, adventure and

considerable amounts of toughness in mind and body (p. 644).” Gendered performances that use these values in commonly performed gender scripts lead to the creation of gender identities that become normative as they are socially instituted so that they can be socially recognized as masculine (Butler, 1999).

Within this context, individuals display gender by enacting differentiated normal gender arrangements associated with their gender. As such, normalized behaviors and actions signify differences in gender arrangements and thus differences between how society identifies the male and female sexes (Butler, 1999; West & Zimmerman, 1987). For gender to be identified, with certainty, by others and enacted in a normalized masculine manner, men need to perform these roles accurately, without projecting gender ambiguity (Schilt & Connell, 2007). This approach to the explanation of gender suggests that gender performance is subjective to those witnessing the performance and those enacting the performance; thus, there is no single way to perform gender in spite of the institutionalized need to do so (Butler, 1999).

### *Masculinities*

Contemporary views define masculinity as an ideology that benefits certain men through misogyny and homophobia, which are concepts that that bolster masculinity (Edwards & Jones, 2009; Thompson, Pleck, & Ferrera, 1992). Masculinity is not representative of a certain type of man but, rather, a way in which men position themselves through discursive practices that grant them power and privilege by subjugating others (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) further assert that masculinity is defined as a configuration of practice organized in

relation to the structure of gender relations. This assertion is consistent with a wide body of academic literature, which has found that humans utilize gender arrangements to solve gender problems—the masculine is assumed to be superior and normal while alternatives are viewed as inferior and abnormal (Butler, 1999). Educational institutions are somewhat unique places where gender is performed, created, policed, and refined (Connell, 2000; Jackson & Dempster, 2009), often due to the age of the population of students. Since gender is socially constructed (West & Zimmerman, 1987) and performed in social contexts (Butler, 1988), the performative nature of gender means that it is subjective and could be constructed in a manner that is different from contemporary conceptualizations of and discourses about genders, including masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Men who stray too far away from masculine norms, in their performance of masculinity, risk losing out on the privileges and power afforded to those men who can perform in a socially recognizable manner. It is notable that as men are forced into a hierarchy of masculinities, women fall outside this framing and thus continue to be subjugated by an oppressive gender arrangement, even if they are able to perform in masculine ways (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Pascoe, 2007). In an attempt to be masculine, men must make a rational choice between acceptable and responsible social behavior in school and the socially celebrated performance of masculinity, which may not always align (Connell, 2005; Jordan & Cowan, 1995). Although most men learn to negotiate their masculinity in public spaces and private realms (Connell, 1989), not all men navigate this conflict in the same manner or at the same time, which leads to a diversity of masculine performances.

The theory of multiple masculinities arose from empirical evidence of a study of high school boys who displayed multiple hierarchies in both gender and class (Kessler, Ashenden, Connell, & Dowsett, 1982). In a brief history of the origin and formulation of hegemonic masculinity, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) outline how the high school project was “interwoven with active projects of gender construction” in sociology to critique the male sex role literature and suggest a model of multiple masculinities and power relations (p. 830). The resulting model was incorporated into the sociological theory of gender and resulted in “six pages in *Gender and Power* (Connell, 1987) on “hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity” and became the most cited source for the concept of hegemonic masculinity” (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 830). Concurrently, in other parts of the world “women of color”—such as Maxine Baca Zinn (1982), Angela Davis (1983), and bell hooks (1984)—criticized the race bias that occurs when power is solely conceptualized in terms of sex difference (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 831). These critiques set the stage for examination of claims that universalized the monolithic category of “men.” One such examination of a hierarchy came out of work on gay men who experienced violence and prejudice from straight men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Although it is apparent that males and females can utilize masculinity, it appears that for masculinity to be performed in a socially recognizable manner the performance will conform unambiguously to a specific normal view of racially dominant heterosexual upper-class men. As a result, this stereotype perpetuates a masculinity that oppresses women and establishes a hierarchy of men based on a myriad of factors such as education, income, cultural background, social capital, and

physical prowess. This hierarchy results in the marginalization of some men and the valorization of others, and can limit all men with untenable rules for masculine gender performance (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Edwards & Jones, 2009; Gough & Peace, 2000; Harris, 2008), while conversely benefitting all men (Donaldson, 1993).

### Social Support for Hegemonic Masculinity

In the United States as well as in other countries men have been the dominant sex. Women have and continue to struggle to gain equal rights, pay, and representation. In spite of the social advances women have made in the past century, women in the United States fight against a culture that views men as superior to women. Evidence of this cultural view is found in the discourses used to describe and promote men often at the expense of women. These cultural perspectives and their supporting discourses are the cornerstones of the hegemony of masculinity that is explored in the following section.

### *Hegemony of Masculinity*

Masculinity organized and understood within an ideology of subordination of women and the creation of hierarchies of men is hegemonic (Connell, 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity comprises power and privilege inaccessible to or unfit for some men due to their race, class, sexual orientation, views on morality, religion, age, and ability of their mind or body (Edwards & Jones, 2009). Thus, men with the least power and privilege are marginalized and dominated by men who are granted access to power and privilege by societal norms. This exclusion and derision create, within the social context of gender, multiple masculinities (Edwards & Jones, 2009).

Within scholarly works, there are three themes that point to the creation, persistence, and reproduction of the a hegemony of men in the academy: 1) specific gender arrangements and the policing and valorizing of masculinity at the institutional level while ‘othering’ the feminine as weak, inferior, and unnatural (Connell, 1989; Gough & Peace, 2000; Jackson & Dempster, 2009; Mendick, 2005; Pascoe, 2007; Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009); 2) masculine discourses used to police, protect, and create deference (Gough & Peace, 2000; Jackson & Dempster, 2009; Martin & Hummer, 1989; Mendick, 2005; Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009); and, 3) the inability of higher education practitioners to reduce behaviors systematically that violate student conduct policies due to the lack of scholarly works on how to identify, address, and resist normative gender related behaviors of masculine students (Laker, 2005). That is, as a consequence of insufficient research or practice in higher education, practitioners do not view men through a gendered lens, which could allow for the creation of programs and practices to assist men with enduring the dissonance between masculinities and achievement in higher education (Davis & Laker, 2004; Glazer-Raymo, 2008; Harper & Harris, 2010; Harris, 2008).

The performance of a hegemonic ideology of masculinity is constructed through specific behaviors, which are not dissimilar from behaviors associated with a normative perspective of masculinity. Heterosexual male privilege is enacted through the disregarding of alternative (feminine/gay/lesbian/bisexual) identities (Butler, 1999). Hegemonic masculinity has been understood as the pattern of practices (i.e., actions, not just a set of expectations or identity) that allowed men’s dominance over women to

continue (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). As an ideology, hegemonic masculinity is not a normal form of masculinity but instead is normalizing. That is, no individual man is able to enact hegemony but many men will aspire to achieve hegemonic masculinity, which ideologically legitimizes the global subordination of women to men. Hegemony does not equate simply to violence, although it could be supported by force. Instead, hegemony is defined as ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasion of others to its superiority (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Religions, such as Christianity, that teach that the man should be the head of household and serve as benevolent leaders, imply and often declare the superiority of men over women. Job markets that pay men more than women for the same work demonstrate value for men over women. Governments that exclude women, or conditions where women are underrepresented in leadership positions, support the ideology of male superiority. Finally, classrooms that listen to and promote boys' voices over girls' voices inculcate youth with the idea that male voices should be heard over female voices (Orenstein, 1994).

Although hegemonic masculinity has been defined as a specific type of masculinity that exists primarily within White males in relation to other males (Connell, 1995), more recent understandings position it as one umbrella category of masculinity that other subjugated masculinities (such as Black masculinity) fall under and aspire to achieve (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). That is, hegemonic masculinity is an ideology of masculinity that acts as both a way of positioning men within a masculine spectrum as well as an ideology for all men, regardless of their race and ethnicity, to adhere to.



Hegemony is about the nature of power that is used to exert control over groups by the dominant group [in this case the dominant group is men] (Donaldson, 1993). Specifically, hegemony is defined as the ideological or cultural power used by the dominant group to remain in power (*The Oxford English dictionary*, 1989). Although it would be reasonable to assume that the concept is only concerned with physical power, hegemony is more centrally concerned with gaining power through consensus and social media.

[Hegemony is] a pivotal concept in Gramsci's Prison Notebooks (1996) ... [I]t is about the winning and holding of power and the formation (and destruction) of social groups in that process. In this sense, it is importantly about the ways in which the ruling class establishes and maintains its domination. The ability to impose a definition of the situation, to set the terms in which events are understood and issues discussed, to formulate ideals and define morality is an essential part of this process. Hegemony involves persuasion of the greater part of the population, particularly through the media, and the organization of social institutions in ways that appear "natural," "ordinary," and "normal." The state, through punishment for non-conformity, is crucially involved in this negotiation and enforcement. (Donaldson, 1993, p. 645)

The above understanding of hegemony, while it addresses power and domination, provides an important connection to gender and more specifically to masculinity in that for hegemony to be effective it must appear normal. Just as femininity must be performed in a socially recognizable manner, hegemonic masculinity that affords masculinity power

is performed in a manner that is socially recognizable, sanctioned by society, and supported through common social discourse (Butler, 1999; Donaldson, 1993).

*Discourses Normalizing the Superiority of Masculinity*

While discourse can mean any written or spoken communication, here it means “a regulated and regulative body of ideas and sets of knowledges which delimit the kinds of questions we can ask, the ways in which we understand the world, with powerful discourses [such as the discourse on boys] becoming ‘regimes of truth’ (Foucault, 1972)” (Raphael-Reed, 1999, p. 94). This “regime of truth” has in effect obscured the negative effects of men’s behaviors and their overrepresentation in university conduct processes to a point that poor behavior by male students is expected and a part of the college experience. Single horrific behaviors, such as the shooting death of 33 members of the Virginia Tech community in 2007 by a male student; the bludgeoning to death of Yeardeley Love, a student at the University of Virginia in 2010; or the stabbing and shooting deaths of six students at the University of California, Santa Barbara in 2014 at the hands of male students, have garnered a great deal of public interest and pulled attention away from the good work these institutions carry out. These stories have distracted the public from the no less horrific but often non-lethal sexual assaults and physical assaults perpetrated by college men every year. Moreover, the public, and at times the academy, has engaged in a discourse of “boys will be boys,” especially in single-gendered contexts such as fraternities and athletics, to ignore binge drinking and drug usage, a culture of hooking up, and jockeying for status and respect (Martin & Hummer, 1989; Miller, 2008).

Masculinities are constructed through peer interactions (Kimmel, 1996). The boys-will-be-boys discourse is made real through group interactions that are hinged upon “fellowship, camaraderie, validation, homophobia, and unhealthy expressions of masculinity” (Harris, 2006, p. 79). Several scholars have described the rules or codes of conduct that strictly dictate acceptable masculine behavior (Ferguson, 2000; Kimmel, 2008; Pollack, 2000). Failure to adhere strictly to the rules can be met with significant consequences which may explain why “some college men will passively accept or engage in the sexist, homophobic, or violent behaviors exhibited by their peers, even when these behaviors are contrary to their own personal values and beliefs” (Harris, 2006, p. 79), such as contributing to the sexual abuse of others or protecting the perpetrators who commit such violations (Kimmel, 2008).

Beyond the boys-will-be-boys discourse, where disruptive behavior is accepted as natural for boys, there exists the “fag discourse,” which uses fear of homosexuality to police any transgression of masculine behavioral rules (Pascoe, 2007). This entails the man-as-the-provider discourse where the achievement of masculinity is tied to the ability to make money at any cost (Willott & Griffin, 1997). It includes as well the discourse of “effortless achievement” where boys must appear to achieve academically without studying because of their innate intelligence in contrast to girls who must study to achieve (Jackson & Dempster, 2009). Each of these discourses reinforces essentialist notions of gender difference, while together these discourses define masculinity narrowly as an unattainable gender type.

Men and women approach schoolwork in exceedingly different manners (Connell, 1989). Many scholars have contended that academic achievement is perceived to be a feminine activity by boys and men (Alder, Kless, & Alder, 1992; Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998; Swain, 2005). Men attempt “effortless achievement” to be accepted as naturally intelligent while women work through a process of study, writing, and revision (Jackson & Dempster, 2009, p. 341). The celebrated discourse of achievement without effort requires boys/men to project an image of being marginally successful in college without studying, reading, or preparing for papers and tests while living a life where chasing women and substance abuse is the norm (Jackson & Dempster, 2009; Kimmel, 2008). Within this frame, men may be placed in conflict with their gender ideology and their academics. For effortless achievement to appear natural, men must find ways of navigating the middle between devoting too much time to their masculine image or too much time on academic pursuits. However, this discourse begins to parse out a range of masculinities. Too much attention to academic pursuits does not appear masculine and academic failure (or failure of any kind) also does not appear masculine. The discourse of effortless achievement suggests that the only men capable of navigating this middle ground are naturally highly intelligent and willing to engage in the maintenance of their masculine ideology (Jackson & Dempster, 2009). Men who appear to be placing too much emphasis on the process of studying are policed by other men and women through bullying and feminizing name-calling as well as reduced social status and access to women (Connell, 1989; Jackson & Dempster, 2009). Finally, because the discourse of effortless achievement is seen in society as authentic and naturally representative of

intelligence in contrast to the inauthentic feminine process of exerting effort to studies to make up for the lack of intelligence, there is little reason for men to change this discourse in spite of their grades, which are inferior to those of women in the same institutions (Glazer-Raymo, 2008; Jackson & Dempster, 2009). Outside of the classroom, men and women can both be affected by a discourse that addresses sexuality, homophobia, and misogyny.

Men are socialized into their masculinity in an aggressive, sometimes violent manner that is physically damaging and emotionally scarring (Connell, 2000; Pascoe, 2007; Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009). Manhood is often signified through aggression and violence; the warrior narrative justifies and legitimizes violence as long as it is a struggle between asserted good and evil (Jordan & Cowan, 1995). Additionally, both the pervasiveness of bullying and the effective physical resistance to bullying have been attributed to the valorization of aggression and violence while boys are asserting a masculine self (Kimmel & Mahler, 2003; Phillips, 2007; Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009). Finally, athletic competitions further the salience of signifying manhood through physical aggression and physicality when coaches, teammates, and fans celebrate more aggressive play and express disdain for less aggressive play through booing and homophobic or feminine name calling (Fine, 1987; Pascoe, 2007).

The fag discourse is used almost ubiquitously to police those boys/men who are not performing their masculinity adequately enough to be accepted by more dominant boys/men. This discourse urges hyper-masculine behaviors that are then accepted by dominant males and celebrated throughout society with the classroom identified as the

imperfect exception to societal acceptance (Pascoe, 2007). Pascoe's (2007) observation of this phenomenon during a yearlong study at an urban high school found that when a boy/man is not performing masculinity adequately, he would be scolded in a manner that publicly calls to question his sexuality. This discourse is used for both minor and major infractions of masculine practice. Yet, women are allowed to utilize this discourse on men and toward women, but only for the purpose of showing power and authority over lesser masculine groups and subjugated women (Pascoe, 2007). Together, the discourses of effortless achievement and fag discourse work within the educational institution to situate only the most capable performer of masculine ideology in a place of power over females while stratifying men based on salient factors of a masculine ideology.

While the discourses of boys-will-be-boys and effortless achievement may obfuscate the responsibility men have for their own behavior and its effects on others, the discourses also serve to confuse the differences between sex and gender. Assuming this confusion, it is possible for academic and student affairs professionals alike to lose sight of the important role gender plays in understanding and responding to male student behaviors that violate campus student conduct policies (Harper & Harris, 2010, Harper et al. 2005). Without an understanding of the role gender plays in the identity development and subsequent behaviors of college men, academics and administrators are ill equipped to facilitate the identity development of men.

#### Contemporary Challenges to the Identity Development of College Men

The social environment of colleges and universities provide many challenges to the identity development of men, especially when combined with a hegemonic masculine

ideology. Combinations of substance use and abuse as well as pressure to perform one's gender for others, as is discussed below, may lead men to the student conduct process. However, the lack of scholarly work in the area of masculinities and student behavior has left higher education practitioners without adequate tools to overcome these challenges.

### *Problems Men Have on Campus*

Within scholarly work in higher education on the experiences of undergraduate men, connections have been found between their hegemonically oriented beliefs about male behavior and their use of alcohol (Capraro, 2004), stunted emotional development (Ludeman, 2004), willingness to protect a perpetrator or be a perpetrator of sexual assault (Martin & Hummer, 1989), and lack of help-seeking behavior for emotional and psychological problems (Good & Wood, 1995), in addition to their general overrepresentation in university conduct processes (Harper et al., 2005; Laker, 2005). Much of the research on college men and their behaviors has focused on men and violence with specific attention to oppressive and violent behaviors toward women (Hong, 2000; Ludeman, 2004). Men are the greater abusers of alcohol on college campuses, and this abuse has been linked with behavioral problems on college campuses (Dannells, 1997; Harris, 2008; Hong, 2000; Polomsky & Blackhurst, 2000). Finally, a growing body of scholarly work links hegemonic masculine norms with male violence (Hong, 2000; Pascoe, 2007). Research that takes a trait perspective of masculinity asserts that these negative behaviors are traits of masculinity rather than the expression of an ideology of masculinity. This trait perspective has potential to reify a boys-will-be-boys attitude as it relates to college men and their behaviors (Connell, 1995). When the boys-

will-be-boys attitude is supported, a culture of complicity allows researchers, student affairs practitioners, faculty, and students to ignore and thereby support problematic behaviors created by a normalized performance of masculinity (Kimmel, 2008).

Contemporary masculine ideology supported by hegemony of masculinity suggests to college men that to be a “man” they must behave in a manner that is contrary to student conduct policies. To be a man, they must drink to excess, accommodate or attempt to accommodate as many sexual partners as possible, objectify women, express homophobic masculine behaviors, engage in aggressive behaviors to illustrate to others their physical competency, appear to be successful without effort, and force deference of the feminine (Dannells, 1991; Harris, 2008; Jackson & Dempster, 2009; Martin & Hummer, 1989; Messner, 2001; Rhoads, 1995; Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009). These hegemonic masculine images and discourses present a challenge to the access and persistence of men in higher education because some institutional practices serve to disrupt this form of masculinity (Fine et al., 1997), while others continue to support hegemony of men. Specifically, universities create policies for students who seek to protect women, reduce violence and alcohol use, create a collegiate community based on mutual respect, and provide equal access to all students. Conversely, behaviors that promote hegemony for men create and reproduce deference, misogyny, and hostility.

Student affairs practitioners do have a number of methods to assist in the identity development of men while also reducing the negative effects of performing a hegemonically oriented form of masculinity. Ludeman (2004) suggests that when institutions foster awareness for emotional development and allow that to occur in a



group that explores the relationship between emotion and behavior, it will reduce the adverse behaviors associated with hegemonic masculinity. While men are socialized into masculinity, peers discourage the expression of feelings and activities that are identified as feminine (Pascoe, 2007). Narrative Therapy or Peer-Group Education may assist student affairs practitioners in developing men who have violated student conduct policies through their expressed images of masculinity (Stein, 2007). Nylund and Nylund (2003) assert from their study with college men that a type of therapy that addresses masculinity as the problem, rather than a focus upon the man as the problem, can be effective in reduction of hegemonic practice. Similarly, peers and peer groups have been shown to have positive effects on college males in the area of rape prevention attitude (Stein, 2007). These approaches, in conjunction with less socialization and celebration of hegemonic masculinity, show potential to further the development, achievement, and access of men in higher education. At the same time, reductions in hegemonic behavior have potential to result in frequency reduction of the use of discourses that create differences for women and situate them as inferior. Fundamental changes such as those referenced above could reduce the occurrence of those students who present images of hegemonic masculinity. Such changes could also serve to change society's collective views of men and masculinities and the theoretical frames that are used to study and work with men in higher education (Harper & Harris, 2010; Jackson & Dempster, 2009).

#### *Gaps in Student Development Theory and Inquiry*

*Theory.* Foundational theories of student development may be useful in the study of male students as long as those theories are used appropriately and actually describe the

experience of the students. However, without specific gender focus, research on men will not address masculinities (Edwards & Jones, 2009). For example, Howard-Hamilton (1997) presents theories that can be used to guide research that will create programs for African-American men. Even though Howard-Hamilton purports to discuss men, it is clear that she overlooks masculinities. The theoretical frameworks presented by Howard-Hamilton fall into two categories: Afrocentric and Foundational learning and development theories. Although these theories provide a theoretical framework that allows for greater understanding of African-American students and general human learning and development, they tend to overlook masculinity. Howard-Hamilton could have utilized theories on men and masculinities to inform her work that was specifically about African-American men. Other studies have suffered due to a similar oversight.

A handful of studies have attempted to identify variables that will predict if a student will be a disciplinary student or not by looking at GPA, SAT scores, and academic majors, but none of these studies investigated students' out-of-class experiences (Polomsky & Blackhurst, 2000). In their study of a small group of students who were involved in multiple conduct cases, Polomsky and Blackhurst (2000) showed that repeat disciplinary students were more socially active than non-repeat disciplinary students and have a more diverse group of friends. Polomsky and Blackhurst suggest that alcohol use or divergent priorities may explain their outcomes; notably missing is the use of gender as a theoretical tool. The purpose of Polomsky and Blackhurst is to examine differences in the experiences of male college students with repeat conduct violations and those male students without repeat violations. They chose to focus on males in their

research because those students are more likely to be involved in the conduct process and thus more likely to be involved with repeat violations. While their selection of men in their sample is supported by the likelihood of men violating policies, the investigation is not concerned with men from a gender perspective. Instead, the research is focused myopically on the biological sex of their participants.

As one example of the importance of theory in functionally oriented investigations, the use of grounded theory can prevent researchers from falling into the pattern of not focusing on masculinity while researching men. In effect, researchers understand their data in ways that predefined theoretical assumptions do not allow (Charmaz, 2006). The systematic methods used in grounded theory allow researchers to analyze qualitative data and construct theories grounded in the data themselves (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Although the use of grounded theory is not suggested for this investigation, the use of such a tool is noted to highlight the importance of including theoretical frameworks that may be overlooked in studies of college men. Just as some theoretical frameworks have been overlooked in the study of college men, so too have some methodological approaches.

*Methodology.* Empirical research on men and masculinities in the field of psychology has been dominated by quantitative, correlational, and non-observational methods (Whorley & Addis, 2006). Additionally, the inclusion of racial/ethnic minorities, especially Asian men, has been low (Whorley & Addis, 2006). Similarly, the scholarly literature on male student misconduct, the conduct review process, and interventions has been, until recently, based entirely upon quantitative approaches (Davis & Laker, 2004).

The operational purposes of Polomsky and Blackhust (2000) were twofold: first, to identify the difference between “male disciplinary students” and “male non-disciplinary students” and their involvement with faculty, courses, the student union, clubs and organizations, personal acquaintances, and student acquaintances (p. 43). The second purpose was to identify differences between male disciplinary students’ and male non-disciplinary students’ perceptions of the campus environment, opinions about college, and estimates of the value of their college experience. The research questions could be studied in a number of ways, but the researchers utilized quantitative research methods. Data for the study were collected using the College Student Experiences Questionnaire CSEQ (Pace, 1994). The CSEQ has four major foci. Section one of the instrument collects demographic data. The researchers used this section to match non-disciplinary students with the disciplinary students who were selected to complete the questionnaire. The second section collects data on the students’ frequency and quality of involvement in various dimensions of the college environment. Section three identifies students’ opinions about college and their perceptions of the quality of personal educational experiences. The fourth and final section of the CSEQ ascertains estimates of gains from the college experience. This final section seems to focus predominantly on in-class factors, which makes the use of this instrument questionable in that most student misconduct occurs outside of the class. If this research had been conducted utilizing a different methodology then perhaps a thicker description of the differences between disciplinary and non-disciplinary students could have been amassed that would have utility for academics and practitioners alike.

Recently, qualitative approaches have been employed to gain insight into the perceptions by male students of their college experiences and into the experiences of those who work with men (Edwards & Jones, 2009; Harris, 2008; Laker, 2005; Pascoe, 2007). The change in methodology suggests that quantitative approaches used were insufficient to explain why men behave in ways that violate campus conduct standards and underutilize student affairs programs and services (Davis & Laker, 2004). As an alternative, qualitative research conducted that uses grounded theory and gendered lenses may be more effective in both the acquisition of data on the male students' perspectives, insights, and experiences in college and the explanation of students' behaviors and experiences (Spence & Parikh, 2004). Results of such research could facilitate understandings of the most salient variables to masculine identity development in college, which could result in the creation of programs that enable student affairs practitioners to support the development of male college students who are less likely to come into conflict with university policies.

*Areas of Study.* In an effort to discover the effects college has on students and how much of that change is due to the college experience, researchers have explored a range of developmental areas (Love, 1995). Theories describe patterns of student development of ethics, identity, morality, and cognition (e.g., Astin, 1993; Bean & Eaton, 2000; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; Tinto, 1993). How attitudes change, career choices and opportunities are influenced, and even the quantity of learning that occurs in college have been explored as well (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). Issues of retention and the factors that shape a student's decision to remain in college or leave have been given

considerable scholarly attention (Astin, 1993; Bean & Eaton, 2000; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; Tinto, 1993). A reasonable body of literature has been amassed on the important role faculty and peers have on the socialization of college students (Astin, 1993; Bean & Eaton, 2000; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; Tinto, 1993), but little research has focused on the effects that student affairs professionals have on student outcomes (Love, 1995).

*Inadequate Staff Development for Practitioners Working with College Men*

If we view student affairs practitioners as working toward optimizing the public benefits of higher education through their work with men, then there are three primary issues that pertain to college men—(1) men are under-enrolled in four-year-degree-granting programs in comparison with women, which necessarily reduces positive outcomes for society of higher education because of a constrained input and output of men; (2) men, the most frequent violators of campus conduct policies, are placed oftentimes in negative direct contact with campus administration; and, (3) graduate programs to train student affairs practitioners do not train their students to work specifically with men. These issues have been brought to light in a number of scholarly works (Clayton et al., 2004; Dannels, 1997; Edwards & Jones, 2009; Laker, 2005). Although these issues have been prominent on college campuses for decades, little scholarly work has been carried out to reduce the barriers to male college student access and persistence (Clayton et al., 2004; Edwards & Jones, 2009). Furthermore, foundational theories of student development, which are taught in the graduate programs that train these professionals, are not adequate for those graduate students to understand the

processes and patterns of college male development (Davis & Wagner, 2005; Edwards & Jones, 2009).

Graduate programs in student affairs cover identity development of numerous types of students. One of the best-selling and most widely used textbooks is *Student Development in College: Theory, Research and Practice*, and the table of contents shows that the text explores the development of women, racial and ethnic groups, and gay, lesbian, and bisexual identities, but nothing specifically about male identities (Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998). This issue, however, was rectified in the second edition of the same book (Evans, Forney, Guido, Patton, & Renn, 2010). Additionally, *How College Affects Students*, an encyclopedia of current research and trends in higher education, spends none of its 649 pages on the development of men and masculinity (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). Thus, without a foundation of theory and research on masculinities in higher education there is little hope that student affairs practitioners will be able to handle men's identity development issues and behaviors. Yet, university conduct officers, who are most often student affairs practitioners, consider it best practice to attend to the identity developmental needs of male students within the conduct process (Gehring, 2001; Lancaster & Waryold, 2008), even if they lack training and information to address those needs (Laker, 2005). Davis and Laker (2004) assert that by ignoring gender (or race), scholars and practitioners allow groups that have been historically viewed as privileged to maintain dominance and the privilege of invisibility. If academics and practitioners fail to do the work it will take to develop college men, then the issues

created by patriarchy, hegemonic masculinity, and power will continue to be condoned (Davis & Wagner, 2005).

Much has been written about the student's in-class experiences and student/professor interactions. Absent from the literature are the effects of the out-of-class experiences students have with student affairs practitioners. Student affairs programs on college campuses seek to develop students through on-campus living, clubs and organizations, and social support programs in ways that are not often addressed inside the classroom (Kuh, 1993; Renn & Arnold, 2003). The development of coherent values, ethical standards, and character is central in student affairs work, and the inattention to these factors has led to criticism of student conduct administration both inside and outside the university (Waryold & Lancaster, 2008). The public is increasingly concerned with what is perceived as overt drug and alcohol abuse, violence, sexual promiscuity, and overall hedonism on campus (Blimling & Whitt, 1999). Student affairs practitioners have been tasked with managing the out-of-class behavior of students and creating processes and procedures to reshape behaviors that violate student conduct policies and disrupt learning (Van-Kuren & Creamer, 1989). Polomsky and Blackhurst (2000) suggest a definition of out-of-class experience as "participation in activities and events that are not part of the formal curriculum but nevertheless influence student learning and development" (p. 41). This definition would suggest the inclusion of involvement in student affairs activities such as clubs, organizations, internships, residential life programs, recreational sports, and service-learning opportunities, all of which are most often facilitated by student affairs practitioners.



In spite of the involvement with students of student affairs practitioners on college campuses, these professional people are often invisible in higher education research. Love (1995) argues that if “nonteaching professionals...are overlooked or are excluded from the researcher’s frame of reference, their influence will not be assessed” (p. 163). Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that there are professionals on campus, other than faculty, who have frequent contact with students and affect student outcomes (Love, 1995). The field of student affairs has become more sophisticated and professionalized, resulting in more highly trained and educated student affairs professionals who interact with students (Love, 1995). Student affairs professionals interact with students outside of the classroom, more frequently than faculty, and in most cases the interactions are more intentional and focused on the student’s development (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). Students do not seem to differentiate between in-class and out-of-class experiences as much as earlier research had suggested (Kuh, 1993). Therefore, previous conceptual frameworks about faculty-student interactions can be extrapolated to also include student affairs professionals (Love, 1995).

#### *Inadequate Processes for Working with College Men*

As student affairs practitioners, conduct officers are uniquely poised to begin specific targeted developmental work with males. There appears to be a never-ending supply of men who will persist in behaviors that are not aligned with institutional missions or conduct policies. Conduct officers are a group of student affairs professionals who, by nature of their role, will have direct interaction with students (Dickstein & Christensen, 2008). In the early Colonial colleges, “fearing the unbridled expression of

the natural depravity of their charges,” presidents and faculty were charged with creating codes of conduct that strictly monitored every behavior and sought to shape the students’ moral character (Dannells, 1997, p. 3). With the expansion of colleges and universities across the country came the development of dormitories and dining commons grudgingly supervised by faculty acting *in loco parentis* for all matters of student life (Dannells, 1997; Thelin, 2004). The ratification of the Twenty-Sixth Amendment lowered the age of majority to 18 in most states and changed the student-institutional relationship from *in loco parentis* to a more contractual and consumerist frame (Dannells, 1997). In the contemporary context, we treat students as adults and subsequently subject them to less authoritarian control than in the past, which has resulted in pressures on institutions to take more responsibility for students’ behavior (Pavela, 1992).

One of the primary objectives of conduct officers is to enforce campus policy, but positioned organizationally under the umbrella of student affairs, conduct officers must also focus on a student’s personal and social development (Dannells, 1997). Prior to the 1960s, courts in the United States granted high esteem to the student conduct decisions of professors and administrators in higher education and rarely reviewed the appropriateness or fairness of disciplinary action (Stevens, 1999). Ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment forced publicly funded universities to provide due process prior to taking any action that would deprive a student of their protected liberty or property interests (Stevens, 1999). Concurrently, private colleges that promise, in official literature, to provide due process must do so according to contract law (Stevens, 1999). The conduct process at most campuses has become legalized and thus the process is adversarial

(Gehring, 2001), which decreases the likelihood that gender identity, ethical, or psychological development of the student will occur. Gehring (2001) asserts that due process must be an important part of student conduct administration, but has the potential to have a negative effect on the student's interaction with the university.

When due process procedures confuse students, the opportunity for developmental work to occur is all but destroyed. Often the student conduct process places administrators in “competing values systems—institutional, legal, ethical, and individual” (Gehring, 2001, p. 14), all of which can be difficult when added to the inability of many student affairs practitioners to be effective educators (Fischer & Maatman, 2008; Laker, 2005). This problem is compounded since men and masculinities are not studied in graduate preparation programs that educate and train many student affairs practitioners. Thus, men often find themselves in administrative review meetings with student conduct officers who are ill prepared to work with them as men with developmental needs (Laker, 2005).

Through a series of interviews with new student conduct officers, Laker (2005) concluded that graduate programs failed to prepare them to work with men in the conduct process. Generally, these ill prepared student affairs practitioners indicated they were doing nothing more with men than telling them to cease behaviors that were violations of student conduct policy (Laker, 2005). This type of interaction coupled with the data from Polomsky and Blackhurst (2005) supports both Gehring (2000) and Laker (2005) in the assertion that students perceived the college environment to be hostile. Under these

conditions, conduct officers struggle with the demands to conform to legalistic discourse while furthering the developmental philosophy of student affairs (Ludeman, 2004).

The review of published research that makes up this discussion of men in college and the out of class professionals who work with them illuminates students' postsecondary experiences as well as student affairs practitioners' challenges in developing and supporting male identity and male student outcomes. While much of the research is concerned with either men in groups who perform hyper-masculinity or singular men as non-gendered beings, inquiry that utilizes gender as a theory on college men who violate university policy is lacking. Furthermore, those professionals tasked with supporting the ethical, psychological, and identity development of male students may not be supported in their efforts through research and education. The next section describes the theoretical orientation and framework of the study.

#### Theoretical Orientation and Analytical Framework

Theories are used to create frameworks that help explain phenomena, predict future outcomes, and create new knowledge (Rowan, 2006). The design and execution of this investigation was guided by a number of theoretical models of gender role and construction, human behavior, and emerging adulthood and identity development. Theoretical perspectives pertaining to hegemony of masculinity, Pleck's (1981) and O'Neil's (1984) theories of gender-role conflict and strain, masculinities, and social norms theory work in concert to provide a theoretical framework to explain the over-representation of men in the university conduct process, the identities they develop, and how those identities translate into behaviors that may violate university policies.

### *Gender-Role Conflict and Strain*

Embedded within the behaviors associated with masculinities of undergraduate male students are societal and personal notions of masculinity, which often necessitate the expression of behaviors that support a hegemony of men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Edwards & Jones, 2009; Harper et al., 2005; Harper & Harris, 2008; Pascoe, 2007) and contribute to violence, sexual assault, negative Greek affiliation, cheating, and overall campus misconduct (Jackson & Dempster, 2009; Ludeman, 2004; Vasquez Guerrero, 2009; Warin & Dempster, 2007). In addition to the negative effects on other students, men who attempt to meet unattainable expectations of masculinity may delay the development of their identity and put their own mental health at risk (Good & Wood, 1995), which can result in behaviors that also violate campus student conduct policies.

The theories of sex role strain provide a way to understand how socialized gender roles, such as masculinities, have negative psychological effects on people (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David & Wrightsman, 1986; Pleck, 1981). Two theories of sex role strain, self-role discrepancy theory and socialized dysfunctional characteristics theory, allow for Pleck's theory of sex role strain to make the assumptions "that: (1) violation of gender roles can lead to negative psychological consequence, (2) certain gender-role characteristics are psychologically dysfunctional, and (3) both sexes experience strain and conflict because of gender roles" (O'Neil et al., 1986, p. 336). O'Neil et al. (1986) note that "cognitions, affective experience, behaviors, and unconscious experience" are four entwined dimensions for conceptualizing gender-role conflict (p. 338). Of particular interest to this investigation is the dimension of behavior that is comprised of the way

people act, how they respond, and how they interact with others around gender-role issues (O'Neil et al., 1986).

Hegemonic masculine images amplify gender-role conflict by forcing men into conflict between conforming to the behavioral expectations of higher education institutions and “traditional” masculine gender performance described by Thompson et al. (1992). This conformity may be an affront to their gender ideology and performance in a socially recognizable manner that validates the supremacy of masculinity, which is often not approved of by policies created to control student behavior. The consequences of not performing masculinity in a socially recognizable manner are harsh. These men have the status of their sex and heterosexuality challenged through name calling, bullying, and harassment (Pascoe, 2007). These men lose status within their social groups as their masculinity is stripped away and replaced with charges of weakness and femininity (Harvey, 1997). This is not to say that all men in the academy are even able to reproduce hegemonic masculine images fully in the establishment of their identity. However, all those who attempt to align their behaviors with hegemonic masculinity receive the benefits of that social space and consequences of their attempt regardless of the type of masculinity they are actually able to evoke and the acts of manhood they execute (Connell, 1995; Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009). If student affairs practitioners and institutions of higher education are dedicated to the personal development of students, it is essential that these environments and those working therein are equipped to challenge hegemony of masculinity while those practitioners also support the development of positive masculinities.

### *Perspectives of Masculinity*

The next theoretical approach, the normative perspective of masculinity, positions masculinity as an ideology rather than a set of biological or psychological traits or characteristics. In this way, “the ‘traditional’ male is...one who endorses the ideology that men *should* have” culturally defined masculine characteristics (Thompson et al., 1992, p. 576). This differs from the trait perspective that positions males as actually in possession of culturally defined masculine characteristics (Pleck, 1981; Thompson et al., 1992). Conversely, the normative perspective “views ‘masculinity’ as a socially constructed gender script and examines the ideologies and institutions involved in maintaining different masculinity standards” (Thompson et al., 1992, p. 577). Since this investigation will focus on first-year college men who are just entering the collegiate environment and at that point have yet to express their masculinity within that social setting, or experience conflict due to their gender role, the normative perspective of masculinity becomes particularly salient. It stands that students’ behaviors will likely be aligned with their assumptions of how men should perform their masculinity.

Given that there are two perspectives (normative and trait) on masculinity, it is understandable that assessment of attitudes toward masculinities are also bifurcated (Pleck, 1981). Assessment instruments grounded in the trait perspective of masculinity utilize items that contain descriptive statements “about what men *actually* are like” (Thompson et al., 1992, p. 577). Conversely, assessment instruments grounded in the normative perspective of masculinity utilize items that contain prescriptive statements “about what men *should* be like” (Thompson et al., 1992, p. 577). For this investigation,

instruments that utilize prescriptive statements are necessary to understand the students' ideology of masculinity and how masculinity should be performed in that the ideology of masculinity is more likely to influence future behavior.

With the acknowledgment of the existence of multiple types of masculinity, it cannot be assumed that men with their social groups, cultures, and potential subcultures will have the same masculinity standards (Connell, 1995). While this investigation is concerned with students, it is not concerned with student roles or attitudes toward students' roles. Instead, the concern is with the male role, which does not possess an organizational context or location (West & Zimmerman, 1987). That is, the view of the male role as a monolithic construct does not lead to a clear understanding of men's gender. Additionally, numerous studies have provided evidence that few males comply fully with or endorse the cultural standards that define the male role narrowly (Thompson et al., 1992). Therefore, instrumentation used in this investigation is sensitive to the multiplicity of masculinity or shown to not be affected by cultures, at a minimum.

#### *Emerging Adulthood, Identity Development and Social Identity Development*

Simultaneously with gender-role stress and strain, college men (and women) are undergoing psychological and social development. In particular, college students ages 18–25 are situated in an environment that allows for an extended period of time for them to explore different roles and identities as they move into adulthood. Concurrently, through the exploration of roles and identities, students navigate toward people and groups that validate their roles and identities in the social space. Arnett (2000) describes this period of time as “emerging adulthood.”



[N]either adolescence nor young adulthood but is theoretically and empirically distinct from them both...a time of life when many different directions remain possible, when little about the future has been decided for certain, when the scope of independent exploration of life's possibilities is greater for most people than it will be at any other period of the course. (p. 469)

During this time of emerging adulthood most people do not identify themselves as having reached the mantle of adulthood, due to the transient nature of their domicile, lack of career, lack of long-term relationship, and continued enrollment in college (Arnett, 2000). However, the above demographic transitions are ranked near the bottom of important factors for attaining adulthood by emerging adults (Arnett, 2000; Greene, Wheatley, & Aldava, 1992). Arnett (2000) contends that the top two criteria for emerging adults to transition into adulthood are “*accepting responsibility for one’s self and making independent decisions*” (p. 473). Certainly during the first year of college students are presented with numerous opportunities to try on the role of adulthood. However, the most salient feature of the theory of emerging adulthood to this investigation is that risk taking behaviors, including alcohol and drug use, binge drinking, and driving while intoxicated, peaks during these years. The freedom from oversight in college allows nearly unfettered opportunity for emerging adults to engage in a wide range of novel and intense experiences (Arnett, 2000). When masculinities promote involvement in risky behavior, and behaviors that devalue women are superimposed upon the emerging adult stage of life, the results for many college men can be student misconduct.

While working through the process of emerging into adulthood, individuals are able to explore different identities. Gee (2000) defines identity as “being recognized as a certain ‘kind of person’ in a given context” (p. 99). This means that one’s identity is dependent on its recognition by other people—similar to the performance of masculinity. From the discursive perspective of identity, it is the dialogue of other people that determines how a particular identity is recognized (Gee, 2000). Masculinity as a discursive identity produces and reproduces ways in which people talk to and about others in discourse and dialogue. Men are confronted with discourse and dialogue that stresses negative features of masculinity which they internalize and act upon (Connell, 1995; Gee, 2000). Some men will not accept the prevailing dialogue around their identity and will seek out and work with others to develop more positive identities; others will not. When these men share common interests, individual identity begins to reflect an identity that is aligned with the group. A combination of discursive identity and affinity group identity results in one’s recognition as a certain “kind of person” (e.g., machismo, tough guy, nerd, preppy, metro, and frat boy). Social identity theory posits that categorization of self and others into specific classifications allows for both segmentation and order of the social environment and allows for identification of oneself in the social environment (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Furthermore, Ashforth and Mael (1989) assert that in numerous studies the uses of social identity theory have shown that individuals tend to choose activities that are congruent with salient aspects of their identity. That is, individuals’ behaviors are influenced by their conceptions of the behavioral norms of their peers (Berkowitz, 2003). Additionally, those individuals will support institutions

and organizations that enhance and support their identity. In this way, college men can seek out other men with whom they share both interests and similar gender performance expectations, which will result in both small groupings of men and more organized groups (e.g., clubs, sports teams, and fraternities).

#### Summation

The preceding literature review frames my subject with a wide-angle lens. The topics covered included gender as a social construct, the experiences of boys and men, men and masculinity, contemporary understandings of college men's experiences and identities, the lack of student development theory that specifically addresses masculinity, and college disciplinary practices and how those practices do not advantage men. From the literature it can be seen that masculinity is a construct that is malleable and that in its present form may affect male students' collegiate experience in an adverse manner. These effects include as well men's persistence and attainment. Institutions of higher education, however, have not responded programmatically to ensure the persistence and attainment of men. Additionally, practitioners are ill equipped to deal with the crises of male behavior. Since young men are socialized into their masculine arrangements prior to college, underprepared, immature, and sometimes violent young men will continue to find their way into college. The onus is upon student affairs practitioners to find approaches to socialize men to the behavioral expectations of college (Keyes & Simmons, 1992), even if they are at present ill equipped or untrained.

To tackle the problems for men (and women) created by gender-role conflict and hegemonic masculine role norms, scholarship needs to address the identity development

of men and masculinities. The theories of sex role strain, the normative perspective of masculinity, and the theories of hegemonic masculinity frame this study. The experiences of male gender-role conflict, gender socialization, and hegemonic masculinity may lead to the overrepresentation of men in the student conduct process (Harper et al., 2005). Specifically, adherence to restrictive, socially constructed notions of masculinity and a fear of femininity may lead to male gender-role conflict, especially if the social system is not supportive of behaviors associated with a specific type of masculinity (O'Neil, 1990). Furthermore, Kimmel (1996) asserts that within the social system of peer interactions masculinities are developed. The university is a social system in which men function and have social interaction (Jackson & Dempster, 2009; Ludeman, 2004; Warin & Dempster, 2007), and as such is a site for male gender-role conflict and the expression of a normative masculine ideology that can result in “personal restriction, devaluation, or violation of others or self” (Good & Wood, 1995, p. 70). Yet, the identity development of men and masculinities has received minimal attention in higher education research.

Inquiry on college men and how they experience higher education has been limited to certain student populations and topics (Harris, 2006). In contrast, the experiences of men in Greek organizations and athletics groups have been given considerable scholarly attention (e.g., Harvey, 1996; Jackson, 2000; Martin & Hummer, 1998; Messner & Sabo 1990; Miller, 2008). Foundational student development theorists such as Chickering and Erikson inadvertently limited their inquiries to white heterosexual male undergraduates as they were the primary participants in their work. Additionally, social issues such as drug and alcohol abuse or mental health concerns have also received

substantial attention (e.g., Dickstein & Christensen, 2008; Good & Wood, 1995; Kimmel, 2006; Ludeman, 2004; Jackson & Dempster 2009). Finally, trends in negative social behaviors exhibited by college men, such as violence, sexual assault, and other university policy violations have been chronicled (e.g., Dannells, 1991; Hong, 2000; Harper et al., 2005; Laker, 2009; Ludeman, 2004). However, there are student populations and variables regarding male students that have received limited or no academic treatment: the experiences of Latino and Asian men or the academic experiences and out-of-class experiences of men in general are core groupings that have been under researched (Harris, 2006).

Although the gaps noted above as highlighted by Harris (2006) are not entirely within the scope of this investigation, this research attempts to add to current knowledge on the role masculinities play in directing the behaviors of an ethnically diverse group of first-year college men who violate university policy. This is achieved by an examination of both qualitative and quantitative data on first-year undergraduate males' adherence to a hegemonic masculine ideology, conceptions of masculinities, and their effects on students' behaviors outside of class, as well as the ways in which these students negotiate their masculinity within the gendered environmental norms of the university. In the following chapter, the research methodology is presented.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESEARCH METHODS AND DESIGN

#### Chapter Overview

The methodological approach to this investigation was primarily quantitative with limited qualitative inquiry to inform the quantitative outcomes, as suggested by Greene, Caracelli, and Graham (1989). However, the richness of the qualitative data and their utility to provide insight into individual male students' experiences with masculinity and gender-role stress lead to a mixed methods approach to data collection and analysis. Specifically, concurrent procedures were employed, as suggested by Creswell (2003), where both forms of data are collected at the same time and then utilized to address the research problems comprehensively. Creswell (2003) asserts that by "nesting" qualitative data collection in a more robust quantitative data collection procedure it allows for analysis of "different questions or levels of units" in the sample (p. 16). This chapter addresses the development of hypotheses, specifically from conceptual hypotheses to operational hypotheses. The concepts employed in this investigation are presented through a concept map that explains how the employed concepts are linked together for investigative utility. For quantitative data collection, eight instruments are discussed and justification for the instruments selected is provided. Interviews, as a method of qualitative data collection, are discussed and the protocol for semi-structured interviews is provided. Additionally, the data collection process is presented and includes sampling, timelines, and recording techniques. Finally, the data analysis plan is presented.

## Methodological Approach

### *Theoretical Proposition*

A theoretical proposition begins to address the quandary of male undergraduate students' overrepresentation in the student conduct process. For the major research question, the proposition combines masculine ideology with gender-role conflict: that is, an individual's (in this case a student's) aspiration to fulfill socially constructed masculinity standards combined with gender-role conflict. This conflict explains a portion of the overrepresentation of undergraduate first-year men in the student conduct processes. Gender-role conflict refers to a "psychological state where gender roles have negative consequences or impact on a person or other. The ultimate outcome of gender-role conflict is the restriction of that person's ability to actualize their human potential or the restriction of someone else's ability to reach their potential" (O'Neil et al., 1986, p. 336). Thus, behaviors by men that violate student conduct policies can be understood as the result of the combination of the male student's gender ideology and gender-role stress, which are in conflict with behaviors required by the university's social system and student conduct policies (Harper et al., 2005). This scholarly view suggests that when a male student's precollege expectations of individual gendered performance in college, which have been informed by societal construction of masculinity, do not match the environmental context presented while that student attempts to develop competence and self-efficacy, a condition of dissonance will influence the individual's involvement in the student conduct process (Harper et al., 2005).

### *Conceptual Hypotheses*

The conceptual hypothesis for this research investigation states that if male students, upon entering college, have adopted a normative masculine ideology and/or experience greater gender-role conflict than their peers, then the outward manifestation of the conflict and ideology will be evident in their behaviors. Some of these behaviors will only violate low-level policies that result in minimal sanctioning such as forewarnings or written warnings; whereas other behaviors will violate more serious or high-level policies that will result in sanctions such as student conduct probation, restitution, suspension, or expulsion. The independent variables are gender-role conflict and ideology of masculinity among other demographic variables. Demographic control variables are used to prevent spuriousness by controlling for differences in masculinity as well as the probability of misconduct that may be due to social class and ethnic background. The dependent variable is involvement in the student conduct process for violation of student conduct policy either at a low level or high level.

Although helpful to understand the “big picture,” the conceptual hypothesis is not specific enough to define the concepts in question and how they will be identified within the investigation. In the present research investigation, the operational hypothesis is that if first-year undergraduate male students have adopted a normative masculine ideology upon entry into the university and also experience higher levels of gender-role conflict they will behave in a manner that validates their masculine ideology. Those behaviors will violate student conduct policies at either a low or high level (e.g., pranks, unauthorized indoor sports, excessive noise, social parties or gatherings that promote



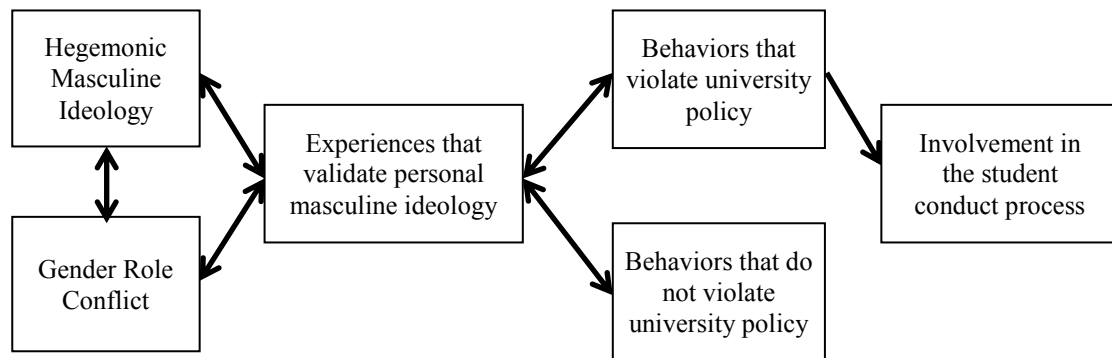
drug and alcohol use, non-sanctioned physical combat, promiscuous sex, sexually harassing behavior, and academic misconduct). Furthermore, each of those behaviors that violate high-level student conduct policies has been associated with hegemonic masculinity (Anderson & Umberson, 2001; Archer, Pratt, & Phillips, 2001; Bunting & Reeves, 1983; Connell, 1989; Donaldson, 1993; Harris, 2006; Pascoe, 2007). Conversely, some men may express their masculinity, and have their masculinity validated, outside the social space of the institution. Alternatively, some men may attempt to change their gender identity through counseling therapy such as anti-hegemonic therapy (Nylund & Nylund, 2003). Other men who have adopted a less normative masculine ideology will behave in institutionally appropriate ways that support a positive campus climate, which can lead to positive outcomes in higher education (Kuh, 1993; Locks, Hurtado, Bowman, & Oseguera, 2008).

From this operational hypothesis, the indicator for the independent variable of gender-role conflict would lead to high scores on an instrument that assesses gender-role conflict, strain, and stress. The indicator for the other independent variable, concerning the support of a normative masculine ideology, would lead to high scores on an instrument that assesses the level of importance the student places on fulfilling masculinity standards. The indicator for the dependent variable is involvement in the student conduct process, where these students have been designated responsible for violation of low-level or high-level student conduct policies. That is, both gender-role conflict and masculine ideology inform the experiences men seek to validate themselves as men. These experiences are comprised of a combination of behaviors that either

violate university policies or conform to such policies. When the behaviors violate university policy they may result in the student's involvement in the student conduct process at either a low or high level. The concept map below illustrates that the concepts are linked together (see figure 1).

Figure 1

Concept Map



*Theoretical Framework*

The theoretical framework that is outlined in the concept map above proposes that when men transition into the novel social setting of the university they bring with them their masculine ideology, and the salience of their gender performance will increase and be reinforced as they transition into higher education, but the masculine ideology is not changed (Tatum & Carlton, 2008; Warin & Dempster, 2007). Additionally, these students will experience differing levels of gender-role conflict as they enter the institution. These two factors, masculine ideology and gender-role conflict, will influence the students' behaviors and experiences so that they validate the gender identity of the student. Some men, group (A), will seek to mediate this conflict through engaging in activities that do not create conflict between their gender identity and the institution. These men will have

experiences that influence their masculine ideology and reduce conflict with their gender role. Subsequently, these men will have experiences that align their behaviors with university policy. Therefore, these men will not likely be involved in the student conduct process. Conversely, the men of interest in this investigation, group (B), will seek experiences that validate their hegemonic masculine ideology and reduce gender-role conflict. These experiences will influence the expression of behaviors that reify their masculine gender identity and the hegemony of men. The behaviors that these men exhibit may be in conflict with the university's student conduct policies as discussed in chapter two. Therefore, those men in group (B) will more likely than men in group (A) be involved in the student conduct process.

More specifically, the concept map assumes that when men start college they become engaged in a community that is foreign to them and they will pursue experiences and groups that allow them to fit in the community. The unfamiliarity with this community shapes their perceptions of the campus climate (Locks et al., 2008). Students' behaviors are contingent on the students' adoption of normative masculine ideology and internalized conflict with their gender role. Dependent upon the adopted masculine ideology, this conflict may be resolved through formation of a positive self-identity and subsequent behaviors, or the conflict will persist. Several scholars have suggested that pressures from society to conform to stereotyped masculine behaviors may drive these men to enact their masculinity through behaviors that are aligned with reifying the hegemony of masculinity (Capraro, 2004; Pascoe, 2007). Furthermore, labeling theory assumes that in the university setting where the dominant institutional norms are those of

gender equality, men who do not conform to those norms are labeled as deviant by the conduct system, which may exacerbate their gender-role stress and provide a stepping stone, for some, to further misconduct (Bernburg, Krohn, & Rivera, 2006).

Once a male student begins to align their masculine ideology with hegemonic masculinity and attempts to achieve a hegemonic masculine ideal through behaviors that fulfill hegemonic masculinity standards in this new social setting, he will engage in experiences that promote, allow for, and celebrate behaviors that counter one or more of the values of the institution. Thus, he may violate policies established to uphold those values. Negative experiences can include loudness, binge drinking, viewing pornography, aggressive promiscuous sex, playing with simulated or real weapons, engaging in verbal or physical fights, and image maintenance through refusal to study (Clayton et al., 2004; Dannells, 1988, 1997; Edwards & Jones, 2009; Harper et al., 2005; Jackson & Dempster, 2009; Ong, 2005; Polomsky & Blackhurst, 2000; Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009). All men (and women) may behave in a manner that violates student conduct policy, but it is the student who misbehaves actively and frequently who is more likely to progress to involvement with the student conduct process, especially at the higher level of severity. The progression from behaviors that violate student conduct policies and go unnoticed by the institution to behaviors that violate student conduct policies and result in participation in the student conduct process is a causal relationship. That is, once a student violates policies actively those behaviors lead to student involvement with the conduct process and potentially designated responsibility for the violation. University agents are not capable of identifying each student who violates policy each time they do so, but a

student who violates the student conduct policies frequently is more likely to be identified than those who rarely violate policy. Following this, I pose the following research questions:

- I) Does ascribing greater importance to fulfilling masculinity standards and experiencing greater gender-role conflict predict misconduct by first-year first-time male students?
- II) What are the causes for adherence to or violation of university policies?
- III) How do college men express dominant and alternative concepts of masculinities?
- IV) In what ways are both the identity development and social identity development of first-year first-time male students influenced by conceptions of masculinity?

#### Quantitative Instrumentation

##### *Rubric for Inclusion*

There are a plethora of instruments that have been developed to assess the different aspects of masculine ideologies, attitudes toward men and masculinities, and other related constructs (Thompson et al., 1992). However, not all of them are equally suited for use in this investigation. Therefore, I developed a rubric to select the instruments that would be most useful for this investigation. First, instruments should measure gender orientation and gender ideologies separately, as conflating these constructs, which have differential correlates, could limit the instrument's ability to assess each construct individually (Thompson et al., 1992). Second, the instrument must

be focused on masculine ideology, beliefs, and attitudes about how men experience gender rather than a focus on gender-role attributes, orientation, and comparative attitudes toward or between men and women, which have been shown to be distinct empirically (Thompson & Pleck, 1986). Third, the instrument must be grounded in the normative perspective of masculinity that focuses on how men should perform masculinity in contrast to the trait perspective with its focus on how men actually perform masculinity. That is, the instrument should utilize language in the items that are prescriptive rather than descriptive (Thompson et al., 1992). Fourth, since the population under investigation will complete these survey instruments voluntarily it is important that the number of items on the instruments be at a minimum. Finally, as this investigation assumes that a myopic view of masculinity is untenable for men, the instrument should not assess a singular masculinity but should be oriented toward multiple masculinities, or not be highly affected by differentiated masculinity (Connell, 1995). In utilizing the rubric outlined above, I selected The Male Role Norms Scale (MRNS; Thompson & Pleck, 1986) and the Gender Role Conflict Scale [GRCS-I] (O'Neil et al., 1986) for this investigation. Each scale is aligned with the theoretical framework of this investigation (see Appendixes A and B for scales).

#### *Male Role Norms Scale*

The MRNS was developed from a shortened version (58 items) of the Brannon Masculinity Scale [BMS] (Brannon & Juni, 1984), which has 110 items, and is reviewed below, that laid the foundation for measurement of masculine ideology. The MRNS (Thompson & Pleck, 1986) was designed following the same theory of masculinity

ideology utilized in the BMS with its items reduced to 26 empirically derived items by use of factor analysis. Thus, the MRNS also reduced the masculinity factors to (1) status norms (11 items,  $\alpha = .81$ ), (2) toughness norms (8 items,  $\alpha = .74$ ), and (3) antifemininity norms (7 items,  $\alpha = .76$ ) [Thompson et al., 1992]. Through Thompson and Pleck's (1986) combination of multiple samples of college students, the scales' internal reliability was found to be .86. While the MRNS has all of the strengths of the BMS, the reduction of items makes this instrument more likely to be completed by a voluntary sample.

#### *Gender Role Conflict Scale*

The GRCS-I assesses gender-role conflict by addressing four complex and overlapping dimensions of how men experience their gender. These dimensions include cognitions, affective experience, behaviors, and unconscious experiences (O'Neil et al., 1986). A high score on this scale supports the assumption of an expression of gender-role conflict. The GRCS-I is comprised of 37 broadly written items that are not affected by generational differences in men. The scale is comprised of four subscales: (1) success, power, and competition (13 items,  $\alpha = .85$ ), (2) restrictive emotionality (10 items,  $\alpha = .82$ ), (3) restrictive affectionate behavior between men (eight items,  $\alpha = .83$ ), and (4) conflict between work/family relations (six items,  $\alpha = .72$ ). Aligned with the rubric for scale selection detailed above, the GRCS-I does not compare sexes nor does it conceptualize a singular masculinity. However, the fourth factor was not utilized in this investigation as the items lack relevance to the study and participants. One notable limitation to the GRCS-I is that it "excludes nontraditional masculinity standards such as

men actively participating in family life or men engaging women as coequals and sharing power” (Thompson et al., 1992, p. 598), which is not problematic for this investigation in that this investigation is not concerned with alternate masculinity standards.

#### *Scales Not Selected for Inclusion*

The scales of masculine ideology and masculinity-related constructs are derived from Thompson et al. (1992), who reviewed and evaluated sixteen scales for masculinity ideology and masculinity-related constructs. They limited their review to “(1) attitude measures that tap ideologies about men and masculinities, and (2) inventories for other masculinity-related construct that reveal how males might experience their gender” (Thompson et al., 1992, p. 574). Thus, those measures oriented to the trait perspective of masculinity that assess gender stereotypes and gender orientation were excluded from the review (Thompson et al., 1992) Therefore, the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974), the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence & Helmreich, 1978), and the Masculine Behaviors Scale (Snell, 1989), which measure gender orientation and stereotypes respectively, were not reviewed because those constructs of masculinity are not germane to investigations based on the utilization of normative perspectives. However, Thompson et al. review a number of scales that can be employed in this investigation (see Table 1). Thompson et al. organize their review under two categories. The first category contains scales concerned with ideology, beliefs, and attitudes about men and masculinity standards in a form that does not address gender orientation. This initial category is divided into scales that assess a specific masculinity type and those scales that assess



attitudes toward masculinities. The second category of scales reviewed is comprised of scales that assess gender-role stress and strain.

While Thompson et al. (1992) reviewed 16 scales, eight of the scales are not germane to this investigation as they focus on sexuality (Stereotypes About Male Sexuality Scale)[Snell, Belk & Hawkins, 1986], attitudes toward masculinity (Attitudes Toward Men Scale) [Downs & Engelson, 1982], (Attitudes Toward Men Scale) [Iazzo, 1983], (Attitude Toward Masculinity Transcendence Scale) [Moreland & Van Tuinen, 1978], (Attitudes Toward the Male's Role Scale) [Doyle & Moore, 1978], or extreme forms of masculinity such as hypermasculinity (Hypermasculine Inventory) [Mosher & Sirkin, 1984], (Macho Scale) [Bunting & Reeves, 1983], (Macho Scale) [Villemez & Touhey, 1977]. A synopsis and discussion of the relevance of the six remaining scales reviewed by Thompson et al. that are germane to this investigation, but were not selected, appear below.

Distinct from scales that are concerned with hypermasculinity, sexuality, or public attitudes toward men and masculinities is the Brannon Masculinity Scale [BMS] (Brannon & Juni, 1984; Thompson et al., 1992). The BMS consists of four themes that each address a different aspect of masculinity and are divided into subscales: (1) "No sissy stuff" broken into "Avoiding femininity" and "concealing emotions," (2) "The Big wheel" which is divided into the "Bread winner" and the "being admired and respected" subscales, (3) "Sturdy Oak" broken into "toughness" and "male machine" subscales, and (4) "Give 'em Hell," which in one subscale encompasses violence and adventure (Thompson & Pleck, 1986). The BMS uses prescriptive and descriptive statements in 110

items that assess approval of norms and values that define the male role (Thompson et al., 1992). The BMS does not compare genders directly and does not assume a singular conception of masculinity. While this scale is well suited for use in this current investigation, the number of items on the instrument makes it prohibitive to administer. However, there is a short form of the BMS that contains 58 items and lacks separate subscale scores, but can be used to assess overall self-reported masculinity ideology (Brannon & Juni, 1984). While this short form of the BMS appears to be ideal for use in this investigation, the number of items on the scale is high when compared to the MRNS.

In an effort to reduce the BMS while including dimensions of sexuality, Pleck, Sonenstein, and Ku developed the Male Role Attitudes Scale (MRAS) [1993]. Two scales precede the MRAS. The first scale is the Brannon Masculinity Scale (Brannon & Juni, 1984). The second scale is the Male Role Norms Scale (Thompson & Pleck, 1986) and is reviewed above (See Table 1). The MRAS utilizes eight items derived from MRNS for seven of the items and uses a single item from the Stereotypes about Male Sexuality Scale (SAMSS) [Snell, Belk, & Hawkins, 1986b]. Together these items focus on the importance men place on fulfilling masculinity standards (Thompson et al., 1992). The coefficient alpha for this measure is .56; this score of internal reliability may be due to the small number of items on the scale (Thompson et al., 1992). While the scale is aligned with the theoretical framework of this investigation, it does frame a single conception of masculinity, which is problematic for this investigation. However, it has been reported that in analyses that use the MRAS to detect differential correlates of normative masculine ideology among adolescent males in diverse racial and ethnic

groups, similar correlates were found (Pleck et al., 1993). However, the lack of internal reliability makes the use of this instrument questionable.

Table 1

Measures of Masculinity Ideology

Author/Scales	Number of items	Some items compare sexes	Some items measure attitudes toward women	Scale assumes one masculinity	Reliabilities	Subscales
Brannon & Juni (1984) Brannon Masculinity Scale	110	No	No	Yes	$\alpha = .95$	7
Levant et al (1992) Male Role Norms Inventory	58	No	No	No	$\alpha = .93$	7
Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku (1993) Male Role Attitudes Scale	8	No	No	Yes	$\alpha = .56$	None

*Note.* From “Men and masculinities: Scales for masculinity ideology and masculinity-related constructs,” by E. H. Thompson; J. H. Pleck and D. L. Ferrera, 1992, *Sex Roles*, 27, p. 582-583.

In an effort to investigate contemporary male norms, Levant et al. (1992) devised the Male Role Norms Inventory [MRNI]. Originally, the MRNI used seven normative standards, but confirmatory factor analysis specified that there are only three male role

dimensions assessed by the MRNI (Thompson et al., 1992). Thus, the MRNI is composed of three subscales which include (a) feminine avoidance, homophobia, status/achievement, restrictive emotionality, and attitudes toward sex, (b) self-reliance, and (c) aggression (Levant et al., 1992). Thompson et al. (1992) report that many of the items compare sexes, which would make this scale fall outside of the scale selection rubric.

The second category of scales germane to this investigation and reviewed by Thompson et al. (1992) is comprised of three instruments that assess other masculinity-related issues such as gender-role conflict, stress and strain due to gender roles, and behaviors in social relationships (see Table 2). The first of these scales reviewed by Thompson et al. is the Traditional-Liberated Content Scale (TLCS; Fiebert, 1983). The TLCS was designed to index the feelings and behaviors of men in four social relations: “men’s relationships with women, relationships with children, relationships with other men, and involvement at work” (Thompson et al., 1992, p. 593). Relationships with children and involvement at work addressed by the TLCS are not pertinent to this investigation. The two subscales that comprise the TLCS are categorized as liberated or emerging views and traditional views of masculinity. Thompson et al. assert that two items in each subscale compare men to women, and attitudinal items are present in the scale as often as items that assess self-representation, which leads to problems of interpretation. Taking into account that the TLCS is concerned with feelings and behaviors in specific relational contexts, and, due to the potential problems with interpretation, the TLCS was excluded from this investigation.

Beyond scales for relationships, the Masculine Gender Role Stress Scale [MGRS], developed by Eisler and Skidmore (1987), presents five types of situations that are common in men's lives and hypothetically result in more stress for men than for women. The scale seeks to assess the manner in which the subjects appraise the five types of situations (Thompson et al., 1992). The five situations include (1) situations that demonstrate physical inadequacy, (2) situations where tender emotions are expected, (3) situations that place men in subordination to women, (4) situations that threaten male intellectual control, and (5) situations that reveal performance failure in work and sex (Thompson et al., 1992, p. 598). While the scale does not compare men to women or view masculinity as a singular concept, the format of items on the scale appears to focus more on an older population that is working or married, which is not the best fit for this investigation.

Finally, the Masculine Role Inventory (MRI; Snell, Belk, & Hawkins, 1986a) measures compliance by men and women to three standards of masculinity. The three dimensions of masculinity assessed include preoccupation with success, restricted emotionality, and inhibited affections. While these dimensions of masculinity could be utilized in this investigation, it is not clear that this scale can be used in conjunction with a masculine ideology scale as the scales may be intercorrelated. Additionally, Thompson et al. (1992) indicate that, similar to the MGRS, the MRI mixes items that assess both attitude and self-representation in addition to avoiding prescriptive wording within the scales items, which creates problems with interpretation. Each of the above scales has been widely used to study aspects and dimensions of masculinity (Thompson et al.,

1992). However, due to the design of the scales, their intended population, focus on attitudes, or conflation of dimensions of masculinity, those scales are not considered for use in this investigation.

Table 2  
Measures for Other Masculinity-Related Constructs

Author/Scales	Number of items	Some items compare sexes	Some items measure attitudes toward women	Scale assumes one masculinity	Reliabilities	Subscales
Fiebert (1983)						
Traditional-Liberated Content Scale	29	Yes	Yes	No	$\alpha = (\text{na})$ 3-week = .88	2
Eisler & Skidmore (1987)						
Masculine Gender-Role Stress	40	No	No	No	$\alpha = .90$	5
Snell (1986)						
Masculine Role Inventory	30	No	No	No	$\alpha = (\text{na})$ 4-week = .78	None

*Note.* From “Men and masculinities: Scales for masculinity ideology and masculinity-related constructs,” by E. H. Thompson; J. H. Pleck and D. L. Ferrera, 1992, *Sex Roles*, 27, p. 594.

#### *Demographic Data*

In addition to the use of MRNS and GRCS-I, information concerning the students’ demographics was collected to include cultural background, previous and future

involvement in athletics, level of interest in joining a fraternity, students' college affiliation (Humanities and Social Sciences, Engineering, or Natural Sciences), involvement in living-learning communities and other campus groups, incoming GPA, SES (i.e., family income and parents' highest level of education), and housing status (i.e., on-campus or off-campus) [see Appendix C]. While the MRNS, GRCS-I, and demographic data provided the foundation of this research it is not possible to understand the meaning men make of their experiences in college or how their performance of masculinity shapes their behaviors without hearing their descriptions and understandings of these performances and experiences.

#### Qualitative Inquiry

Qualitative data provided evidence for the researcher to clarify data analysis of the quantitative data, to explain nuances in the phenomenon under investigation, and to validate the findings of that data set. Additionally, the qualitative data were analyzed as an additional data set to address the final three questions of this dissertation, which could not be addressed by the quantitative data. While there is considerable research on the education process in the United States, only a small portion of the work involves the perspective of students (Kvale, 1983; Levin, 2007). While the present investigation attends to the masculine ideology of students and their gender-role conflict, this approach alone fails to probe into how college men experience and perform the constructs under investigation. However, the use of interviews provides a pathway for understanding the meaning students make of their experiences (Seidman, 2006).

### *Interviewing as a Method of Data Collection*

To understand behavior, access to the actors' own understanding of the meaning they place behind their actions is needed. Seidman (2006) contends that, "interviewing, then, is a basic mode of inquiry. Recounting narratives of experience has been the major way throughout recorded history that humans have made sense of their experience" (p. 8). Additionally, interviewing is one of the most commonly used methods in psychology (Berg, 2001; Kvale, 1983; Seidman, 2006). The qualitative interview is not just storytelling by the interviewee or a conversation between two people, but is instead an interaction where the interviewer listens and observes (spoken and unspoken communication), allows the interviewee to tell the fullness of their story, and guides the conversation through the exploration of the topic under investigation (Berg, 2001). Thus, interviewing provides access to the perspectives people have of their behaviors and concurrently provides a way for researchers to understand the behavior's meaning (Seidman, 2006). Since the present study seeks to gain insight into the experiences of the participants with performing masculinity and their behavior while in college, interviewing was an appropriate method of data collection.

There are innumerable methods of conducting interviews that range from highly structured to unstructured and that utilize any combination of open- or close-ended questions to guide the interview (Seidman, 2006). Berg (2001) suggests that standardized interviews are best when the goal of the interview is to obtain specific information, "thoughts, opinions, and attitudes about study-related issues" (p. 69). Conversely, the



nonstandardized interview does not assume that the researcher knows, prior to the interview, exactly what questions will need to be asked (Berg, 2001). Between standardized and nonstandardized interviews is the semistandardized interview, which uses predetermined questions and allows the researcher to probe into responses to gain greater insight.

### *Interview Questions*

In this investigation, the purpose of the interview was to provide clarification of the data analysis of the quantitative data, explain nuances in the phenomenon under investigation, and validate the findings of the investigation. That is, the purpose was not to give life to the participants' stories or explanations, but served for trustworthiness and reliability purposes. Thus, a semistandardized interview approach was utilized in this investigation. The participants were asked the following questions based on the factor structure present in the GRCS-I and the ideology of masculinity assessed by the MRNS with primary focus on violation of university policies: 1) What do you do with your leisure time? 2) Have you violated any university policies? 3) What has led you to violate or follow the university policies? 4) What was the best part and worst part about abiding by or violating university policies? 5) What does "being a man" mean to you? 6) What have been your best and worst experiences that show other people that you are a man? 7) Did your violation or abiding by policies illustrate your masculinity to others? 8) Do you feel that following the rules prevents you from expressing your masculinity fully? 9) How do you respond when you are not succeeding? 10) How do you talk about your feelings? 11) What is your best and your worst experience when you think about your

relationships with other men? 12) What is your best and your worst experience when you think about your relationships with women? 13) Do you feel that there are rules that you must abide by to be considered a man?

Following the response to each scheduled question, unscheduled probing questions were employed to solicit more information from the interviewee. Berg (2001) contends that probing questions allow the researcher to “draw out more complete stories from the subjects” (p. 76). Probing questions utilized during the interviews most often took the form of “Tell me more about that.” “What does that mean?” “How did that make you feel?” or simply, “Why?” Most importantly, questions were asked in a way that allowed the interviewee to be comfortable with expression and thus lead to both honest and complete responses so that the necessary data could be collected (Berg, 2001).

#### Setting and Context

This investigation was conducted at the University of California, Riverside (UCR). UCR is a public research university located in Southern California and is one of the 10 campuses of the University of California system. The university enrolled, at the time of the study, approximately 20,700 students of whom 18,600 are undergraduates studying in its four colleges—natural and agricultural sciences, engineering, humanities and social sciences, and business administration. UCR is a moderately selective, research intensive public institution with an acceptance rate of 76.3% (*U.S News and World Report*, 2012). Men comprise nearly half (48%) of the student population.

During the time the institution collected demographic information on its 2012 first-year student population there were 1,919 first-year male students who attended

UCR. The ethnic composition of UCR included the following: African American (5.73%), Asian (46.74%), Mexican American (24.02%), Latino (6.20%), Native American (.31%), and Caucasian (15.16%). Additionally, a small group of students (1.77%) did not specify their ethnic background. With this ethnic composition, UCR was ranked sixth in the nation for diversity (*U.S News and World Report*, 2012). Finally, UCR is designated as a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI): more than 25% of the student body is comprised of Hispanic students. To support the multi-ethnic composition of the campus, the Student Affairs Division supports numerous culturally specific support departments that provide support for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, Chicano/Chicanas, African Americans, Middle Eastern students, and Native Americans.

Campus organizations that are frequently investigated in studies of college men are less active at UCR than other campuses. Greek-letter organizations provide minimal opportunities for campus engagement. Only 4% of undergraduate men are affiliated with a Greek-letter fraternity (*U.S New and World Report*, 2012). All of the Greek-letter fraternities are affiliated with national organizations. Although athletic involvement of the campus is at the NCAA Division I level, none of the men's sports are highly regarded by the student body. That is, student support for athletics is not as substantial as at most other Division I institutions. As such, varsity athletics do not provide significant opportunities for campus engagement; however, there are non-varsity athletics in which students can participate. Although, there is rare national recognition for athletics, UCR is highly regarded for teaching and research.

Overall, UCR was ranked 97<sup>th</sup> among national universities and 44<sup>th</sup> among national public universities during the 2011–2012 academic year (*U.S New and World Report*, 2012). *The Times' Higher Education World University Rankings* (2012) ranked UCR 143<sup>rd</sup> out of 400 universities in the world, based on reputation for teaching and research. These rankings place UCR reasonably close to the middle of ranking groups. As such, UCR provides an investigative site that will allow for some application of findings to other universities in the higher education landscape.

### Participants and Recruitment

Every attempt was made to develop a sample that was representative of diversity of men at the research site. Participants were recruited in two phases. Phase one involved an invitation to participate by students completing a survey instrument after providing informed consent. This occurred prior to the students' arrival on campus through their university provided email. Phase two began approximately 14 weeks after the start of the academic year. In phase two, only participants in phase one were contacted to complete an in-person follow-up interview after they provided informed consent. The sections that follow detail the participants and each of the phases.

#### *Participants*

For this investigation, at the time invitations were sent out, there was potential for 1,930 men to complete the survey portion of this research. However, only 449 men (23.3%) chose to participate. The participants' ethnic composition is similar to the ethnic composition of the site: African American 19 (4.23%), Asian American 188 (41.78%), Mexican American 121 (26.95%), Latino 23 (5.12%), and White 69 (15.37%). The

majority (98.66%) of the participants were between 16 and 20 years of age. Additionally, I found that 418 (92.89%) of the participants expressed that they would classify their sexual orientation as heterosexual. Seven (1.56%) participants identified as women although invitations to participate in the study were only sent to participants who identified with the institution as men. No participants identified as transgender. Two participants selected other for their gender and specified their gender identity as bi-gender in the follow-up question. In the area of high school grades, 73.69% of the participants reported grade-point averages between 2.83 and 3.7. Finally, the majority (46.90%) of participants reported that their parents' income was less than \$49,000 per year. However, participants who reported parental annual incomes between \$50,000 and \$99,999 made up 26.23% of the sample, with the remaining 26.66% of participants reporting their parents make more than \$100,000 per year.

Of the 449 survey participants, a group of 10 men were interviewed individually. Pseudonyms, based on characteristics I perceived, were given to each participant to maintain their anonymity and ease reporting. The participants' ethnic composition included: African American 2, Asian American 1, Latino 4, and White 3. All of the participants identified as heterosexual. Anecdotally, none of the participants appeared to be outside of the age range 17–19. Finally, although not specifically collected, each of the institution's undergraduate colleges were represented in the sample.

### *Recruitment*

The participants were recruited to participate in this study in two phases through their university email addresses for both phases. The email invitation introduced the

study as cooperation between the investigator and the Dean of Students Office. Participants were informed of their rights as a participant and given the option to reject or opt out of participation. Additionally, the participants were asked to grant permission for their student conduct records to be used in this investigation. The participants were informed of the steps taken to assure that their participation in this study would not be used in any university processes. Finally, the invitation highlighted the opportunity to win a \$100 retail gift card for their participation in the investigation. Later, additional email invitations were sent to random participants of the survey asking for their participation in an interview. This invitation also informed the potential participant that if they choose to participate they would be remunerated for their time with \$20.00. Responses to this invitation resulted in 10 men interviewed for this study. Specifics on recruitment for each phase are detailed below.

*Phase one.* Potential participants responded to the invitation that was sent to their university email address as provided by the institution. Embedded within the email invitation was a URL link. Interested participants selected the link. The link opened a page on their web browser, which started the process for beginning the survey. This concluded recruitment for the quantitative portion of this study; however, participants had to be recruited for the qualitative portion.

*Phase two.* Fourteen weeks after the quantitative data collection period, participants for the qualitative portion were recruited through their university email. Invitations to be interviewed were sent to randomly selected participants who had completed the survey portion of the research. A random number generator was used to

select participants for invitation by their participant identification number created when they completed the survey instrument. The invitations were sent in batches of 20 each month for five months until 10 volunteers were recruited. In total 100 invitations were sent out netting 11 responses and 89 non-responses. One of the participants who responded was not interviewed because he was in a class being taught by the researcher and would have constituted a conflict of interest. The invitations informed the participants that they had previously participated in this study, that their participation would be appreciated, and that they would be remunerated \$20.00 for their time and honesty in a 90-minute interview.

When a potential participant responded to the invitation, I contacted him to remind him that he had already participated in this study, describe the purpose of this portion of the study, address any question or concerns he might have, and thank him for his interest. Additionally, I asked each potential participant about their availability and if there was a place on campus that was private, safe, and convenient that they would like to meet for the interview. In understanding that I was interviewing first-year students who may not yet know of such a place on campus, I also offered the use of my private office, which is also on campus. Once the potential participants responded with their availability, they were scheduled at a time of their choosing in a place of their choosing. Finally, the potential participant was thanked for their willingness to participate and given instruction on the completion of an informed consent form.

### *Informed Consent*

*Phase one.* Prior to beginning the survey portion of this investigation, participants were advised to read the electronic HRRB approved consent form. Participants with questions or concerns were encouraged to contact me so that that I could address their concerns prior to their giving informed consent. Additionally, the contact information for my doctoral supervisor was provided for any additional questions. I was not contacted with concerns by any potential participant. Within the informed consent form participants also granted permission for the researcher to have access to their private student conduct records. Once the potential participants provided their student identification number and email address, as a form of digital signature, the participant was presented with the survey instrument. Since two types of data were collected at different times, I decided that there would need to be a different informed consent protocol for the qualitative portion of this investigation.

*Phase two.* Participants in the interview portion of data collection for this investigation who responded to the email invitation were sent a response email, which included details about the project and an HRRB approved consent form. Each participant was advised to review the form carefully and to contact me with any questions or concerns so that I could address their concerns prior to their giving informed consent. Finally, each participant was asked to submit a signed HRRB informed consent form upon their arrival to the interview site.

Upon arrival but after greetings, I asked each participant if they had brought the signed informed consent form or had any questions. None of the men who volunteered to



be interviewed indicated that they had read the informed consent form prior to arriving for the interview in spite of instructions to do so. Additionally, none of the participants brought a signed copy or in most cases a copy at all of the informed consent form. Therefore, the HRRB informed consent form was reviewed prior to the interview with each participant and they were asked if they were willing to participate while given adequate time to decide. No potential participant decided not to participate after reviewing the consent form.

This investigation was conducted as a prospective study. As such, the data for the independent variables were collected prior to the start of the academic year. The research site is on a 10-week quarter schedule, rather than a semester schedule. This scheduling type results in the academic year beginning at the end of September. The survey instrument was offered electronically online throughout the month of September. This period of time encompassed two weeks prior to the students' arrival on campus and the first two weeks the students were on campus, during what is commonly known as Weeks of Welcome. During the first week there are no classes, thus students can undergo campus-welcoming activities. Following the initial data collection phase, one academic year was allowed to elapse so that the dependent variable of student misconduct could occur. Collection of the outcome variable will be discussed in a subsequent section.

#### Data Collection and Exclusion Procedures

Since both quantitative and qualitative data were collected for this investigation, data collection was broken into multiple phases. The first phase was quantitative data collection that utilized an electronic survey. The second phase was qualitative data

collection that consisted of 10 individual interviews. The final phase was the collection of university student conduct records of participants and then matching them with their responses on the survey administered in phase one. The following sections detail each of the phases.

*Phase One: Survey*

In the first phase of data collection, I collected 449 completed surveys from UCR men. Out of this original sample, 18 people started the survey but did not complete enough of the instrument to be included in the investigation. That is, they did not provide any demographic information or provide consent to participate in the study. However, 68 participants completed the survey more than once. In these cases, the most complete response was maintained. Of the 18 cases where data were missing, six were duplicate responses. If both responses were complete, the first iteration was retained. All duplicates were placed in a sub-sample for future analysis.

Embedded within the factors on the MRNS are items that ask for the opposite of the response from other items in that same factor. These items are used to identify whether or not the participants give genuine responses or simply complete the survey without reading the questions. Additionally, the GRCS presents the questions in a randomized manner. In addition to disguising the factors of the instrument, this randomization allows for some identification of participants who do not provide genuine responses. In the context, participants who both missed the reverse coding of items and lacked any variation of response on the GRCS-I were removed from the sample set. Use of this protocol resulted in a sample reduction of eight participants.

Each of the participants fit the following inclusion criteria:

- A. Identified by the institution as a first-year student;
- B. identified by the institution as not a transfer student; and,
- C. identified by the institution and participant as identifying as male.

Data were collected using convenience sampling. Although participation in the study was voluntary, the sample is representative of all first-year male students at UCR who fit the inclusion criteria above. Demographic items were collected to compare to the male population of the institution and to approximate the representative power of the sample. Analysis of the demographics data is presented in chapter four.

#### *Phase Two: Interviews*

Interviews were scheduled for 90 minutes in a comfortable and safe place of the participants' choosing. A total of nine men selected to have the interview occur in my office. One man asked for the interview to be conducted at a local coffee shop. All of the men chose to be interviewed during a weekday and during the daytime hours between 9:00am and 4:00pm. In phase two of the data collection, I conducted individual interviews with 10 currently enrolled first-year undergraduate males UCR students. Audio-recordings were made of all of the interviews except in one case where the recording failed but note taking used as a backup provided usable data. The recorded parts of the interview ranged in time from 48:28–1:05:27 (Mean: 58:02.11 minutes). This includes time at the end of the interview when the recording was not stopped until the participant left the interview site in case they added any additional information. However, this did not include introductions, review of the HRRB informed consent form, and

questions about the project. Additionally, field notes were taken at the time of the interview. Following the interviews, I transcribed the interviews for later data analysis. The data analysis procedures I used in this investigation are presented in the following section.

In an effort to achieve the most successful interview possible I abided by the “Ten Commandments of Interviewing” suggested by Berg (2001, pp. 99–100) as follows. First, at the start of the interview, small talk not related to the topic of investigation was conducted for a few minutes to build rapport. Second, once the interview had begun every attempt was made to keep the interviewee on topic and on schedule. Third, I attempted to be natural and ask memorized questions in a manner that made them appear as though they were just conceived. Fourth, I provided the interviewee with nonverbal responses that were appropriate for the responses given. Fifth, on the days of the interviews, I dressed in a manner that was casual, which is common dress in the university environment for a graduate student. Sixth, the interviews were conducted in a comfortable private setting. Seventh, probing questions and silence were used to solicit more from monosyllabic initial responses. Eighth, every effort was made to treat the interviewee respectfully and provide feedback to the interviewee that their responses were all helpful to the investigation. Ninth, the interviewer was practiced in the art of interviewing. As part of my professional career I regularly interview men about their behavior and have been doing so for eight years. Finally, the participant was shown appreciation and thanked for their participation in the study.

By following the above 10 commandments of interviewing, I was able to collect sought after data. Although there were eleven pre-defined questions, the interview protocol allowed for flexibility so that questions could be used in an order that made the interviews have a conversational tone. This semi-structured approach provided flexibility for me to engage in dialogue with the participants that yielded more data than the pre-defined questions could alone (Berg, 2001; Patton, 2002). In an effort to solicit narratives from participants about their experiences as college men and their behaviors, I refrained from offering feedback that would indicate that I disagreed with their behavior. Instead, I appeared to endorse their behaviors and thoughts as an already trusted insider in their world.

#### *Phase Three: Outcomes Data*

After the conclusion of the academic year, quantitative data concerning student misconduct by participants were collected from the university's student conduct database. Over the course of one academic year, only 58 participants became involved with the university conduct process. The remainder of the participants had no university conduct record, although that does not mean they did not violate any university policy. The data were ordered by severity. First, violations such as disruptive noise or noise during prescribed quiet hours, cleanliness, complicity in other participants' violations (unless they were complicit in a higher-level violation), failure to evacuate during emergency drills, lying, violation of guest policies, and the possession of pets were coded as low-level violations. Second, violations such as academic dishonesty, abuse, threatening behavior, harassment, stalking, violence, alcohol possession or use, disorderly conduct,

controlled substances possession or use, arson, gambling, hazing, sexual misconduct, vandalism, or weapons possession were coded as high-level violations. Additionally, repeated low-level violations were singularly coded as a high-level violation as this may be a sign of defiance. Finally, violations that occurred due to accidents were removed from the investigation, as they were not directly related to the students' behavior. These included activation of a fire alarm while attempting to cook, behaviors performed by their guest while they were not present, or breaking items while tripping or falling.

#### Data Analysis Procedures

To understand and then explain masculinity's role in the overrepresentation of first-year undergraduate males in the university student conduct process quantitatively, an understanding of the simultaneous relations among aspects of Gender Role Conflict, masculine ideology, and student misconduct is needed. These relations were investigated using Proportional-Odds Cumulative Logit Model to analyze the quantitative data collected in phases one and three. However, for the qualitative data collected in phase two, Content Analysis methods were utilized.

#### *Quantitative Data*

A particular form of logistic regression is suggested for analysis when the outcome variable is ordinal (Pedhazur, 1997). The outcome variable of this investigation will be coded into three categories [No misconduct (1), low-level (2), and high-level (3)]. As such, these data are ordinal because there is a rank order, but no way of measuring the distance between ranks. The cumulative odds ordinal logistic regression with

proportional odds allows the outcome variable to be conceptualized as a latent variable (McCullagh, 1980) and predicts the log-odds of being in category  $j$  or below.

For this investigation variables were selected based upon a literature review. From this review of the literature, masculinity and gender-role conflict were identified for further investigation (Harper et al., 2005). Additionally, the following variables may be utilized as controls: cultural background, involvement in athletics, level of interest in joining a fraternity, college affiliation, involvement in living-learning communities, GPA, socioeconomic status, frequency of alcohol consumption, time spent in high school on exercise or sports, partying, watching television, playing video games, and participating in online social networks. Many of these variables have been used in demographic studies of students who violate university student conduct policies but have yielded inconsistent results (Polomsky & Blackhurst, 2000). However, it was prudent to collect information on these variables so that if needed they could assist in assuring the model is specified properly. My selecting variables a priori provided a theoretical basis for the investigation and prevented problems associated with atheoretical studies such as model misspecification and over reporting of the coefficient of determination (Pedhazur, 1997).

For analysis of the continuous variable GPA, mean centering will be used to bring meaning to the variables and facilitate interpretation. A score of zero will be equivalent to the mean of the sample. Scores that are greater than zero will be understood as greater than the mean, while scores less than zero will be understood as less than the mean. Similarly, SES, alcohol consumption, and involvement in athletics will be constructs comprised of multiple items. With the exception of alcohol, the items will be

standardized prior to construction, which will effectively center the variable. Level of interest in joining a fraternity will require no additional manipulation in coding for analysis, as a low score of one meaningfully indicates no interest. The categorical variables (cultural background, college affiliation, and living-learning communities) were dummy coded prior to analysis.

To use the cumulative odds ordinal logistic regression with proportional odds model in this investigation one assumption must be satisfied. There must be a test for whether the slopes of the  $X$  variable are equal across the logit equations. If the regression of  $Z$  on the  $X$ 's is heteroscedastic, such that the variance increases with the mean, then the logit equation will not produce a constant slope. Non-constant slopes are objectionable, because the slopes will cross, which implies negative probabilities. One reason this assumption may be violated is that the data present normal errors rather than logistic errors. Another reason the assumption of parallel slopes may be violated is that the determinant of misconduct may not be the same for low-level and high-level misconduct. During analysis, if it becomes clear that the logit model will not work because the assumptions of homoscedasticity and parallel slopes is not satisfied, then parallelism will be tested using the multinomial logit if the slopes are substantially different.

However, if the assumption of parallel slopes is satisfied, through the score test for the proportional odds assumption, which tests for whether the slopes of the  $X$  variables are equal across the logit equations, then the null hypothesis is that the model where one slope is fitted for each response category is true. That is, the model will have two intercepts, one for each of the logit equations, and 14 slopes, one for each  $x$  variable,



for a total of 15 free parameters. The alternative is that different slopes are needed in a saturated model. In this investigation, the saturated model fits a separate three-category multinomial distribution to each of the 14 covariates, which has  $14 \times (3 - 1) = 28$  free parameters. Therefore, the overall model fit test will have  $28 - 15 = 13$  degrees of freedom. If the assumption of parallel slopes is satisfied, then model fit statistics can be used to establish the model fit for this model for investigation of the data. Once model fit has been established, through the Test of Parallel Lines in Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), the predictive quality of the variables under investigation on student misconduct is identified.

#### *Qualitative Data*

Content analysis was employed to analyze the qualitative data gathered from interviews. Content analysis can be understood broadly as “any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages” (Holsti, 1968, p. 608). A content analysis method is the most direct way to analyze transcriptions of recorded verbal communications systematically, but due to the complexity of analysis of qualitative data it is difficult to establish a “step-by-step operational procedure that will consistently result in qualitative analysis” (Berg, 2001, p. 102). In spite of this difficulty, the following section outlines steps that were utilized in the content analysis procedure.

To assure that the data are readily accessible, a method of systematic filing was used. The first step was to read through the transcripts thoroughly and identify both similar and dissimilar patterns in the data (Berg, 2001). An interpretative approach was

used that sought to “organize and reduce data to uncover patterns of human activity, action and meaning” (Berg, 2001, p. 239). As such, analysis was not limited to manifest content, that is, only analysis of elements in the data that were actually there and countable. The analysis extended to latent content as well. Latent content included the “interpretive reading of the symbolism underlying the physical data” (Berg, 2001, p. 242). From this initial reading, both major topics and several subtopics were identified. Both deductive and inductive categories were devised. Inductive categories are those that are identified in the data and may not have been originally considered. Deductive categories are those that were suggested by the theoretical perspective of the investigation (Berg, 2001). The devised categories were used for coding.

Coding was conducted following four basic guidelines suggested by Strauss (1987, p. 30): (a) ask the data a specific and consistent set of questions, (b) analyze the data minutely, (c) frequently interrupt the coding to write a theoretical note, and (d) never assume the analytic relevance of any regularly used variables such as age, sex, social class, and so forth until the data show it to be relevant. Since interviews were conducted in a semi-structured and scheduled format, the level of sampling for analysis was by section. Sections of data were portioned by the questions that were asked during the interview. Analysis at this level made more sense than at the level of words, sentences, or phrases because the data were collected from interviews and the interviewee may not have structured their responses in a manner that is similar to written communication.

Coding frames were used to analyze the content of the data. Berg (2001) asserts that “coding frames are used to organize the data and identify findings” (p. 253). For this

investigation, primary coding occurred by subdividing the data into five major themes, which were: 1) understandings of masculinity, 2) socialization to masculinity, 3) motivation to abide by or violate policies, 4) masculine social connection, and 5) fear of femininity. Secondary coding further divided the data using theories of male role norms, gender-role conflict and stress, identity development, emerging adulthood, and social identity. With the data sorted in this manner, patterns became apparent and these patterns were used to test the hypothesis of this investigation.

Hypothesis testing with the qualitative data began by assessing the applicability of the hypotheses (Berg, 2001). Berg (2001) suggests the use of “negative case” testing where the researcher generates either a deductive or inductive hypothesis and then searches all cases to identify cases that do not support the hypothesis (p. 256). Cases that did not support the hypothesis were either discarded or the hypothesis was redesigned to account for those cases. I then inspected each case in the sample to determine if there was a high level of certainty attained to provide support for the hypothesis. Finally, Berg (2001) suggests that inconsistencies in the data be discussed separately “in order to explain whether they have invalidated overall patterns” (p. 257). In the findings section in Chapter 5 that follows, I discuss several inconsistencies that were found in the data.

#### Trustworthiness

For this investigation there were two types of data collection and analysis. Thus, there were several methods to establish trustworthiness. For both parts of this investigation, I followed the aforementioned procedures for data analysis methodically. Throughout the process, I took note of every step in order to represent those steps here

accurately. Additionally, I worked closely with three faculty members on the analysis. Two of the faculty have expertise in quantitative methods and one has expertise in qualitative methods.

### *Quantitative Trustworthiness*

For the quantitative portion, which is the foundation of this investigation, protection of the internal validity was preplanned. In my attempt to reduce error control, variables were selected based on a thorough review of relevant literature. Similarly, the instruments were selected methodically from a large group of statistically proven instruments. By collecting data at the start of the academic year for first-year students, I neutralized college environmental influences. There was, however, no way to account for attrition in this investigation, and it is possible that some participants who completed the survey left the institution without generating a student conduct record.

Assurance of external validity was also taken into account while I planned for this investigation. First, the research site and the sample that was drawn from the site have high levels of ethnic and socioeconomic diversity. Thus, the findings have some potential for use at other institutions. However, at sites with ethnic and socioeconomic homogeneity, the social space may influence the performances of gender. To protect external validity, standard confidence limits have been used so that the statements made are reasonably accurate statements based on the data. However, for these statements to be useful they must also be reliable.

Since the present investigation was conducted as a prospective study there was no treatment or experiment as is often common. Therefore, the reliability of this

investigation rests on the established reliability of the instruments that were used for data collection. Both the GRCS-I and the MRNS have been shown to have high Cronbach's Alpha scores, that is, there is a high level of test-retest consistency. Therefore, the data collected by these instruments are reliable. Additionally, Cronbach's Alpha scores were calculated using the sample data and were also high, as will be shown in Chapter 4. However, the outcomes data are lacking in reliability as will be noted below in the section on limitations.

#### *Qualitative Trustworthiness*

Qualitative data provide challenges to establishing both validity and objectivity. These challenges are compounded when only one type of qualitative data are collected—in the present investigation that is interview-only data. Understanding that this investigation's methodological foundation is not qualitative, less methodologically appropriate standards were used than would be found in research using only a qualitative methodology. However, steps were taken to ensure the trustworthiness of this portion of the investigation. By following the reconstruction of conventional validity suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985), I sought to protect the credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability of this the portion of the investigation.

Referential adequacy was demonstrated in this investigation by making recordings and transcriptions of the interviews, rather than relying on field notes alone. Thus, I allowed the participants' voices to be the data that aided in establishing credibility and believability (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). In the next chapter, the inclusion of quotations from participants helps to demonstrate that the research was conducted in a

manner that describes the participants' perceptions, thoughts, and feelings appropriately. Although it would have been ideal to be able to identify participants in this investigation, the goal of receiving truthful responses from a population that may have been violating university policies was more important. Thus, this is a known limitation of the investigation. Finally, by engaging in negative case analysis, I show that some of the data do not align with other themes, patterns, and overall results in the investigation. This method demonstrates that I examined the data thoroughly so that the most accurate findings could be presented.

The second criterion for establishing validity as suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985) is the ability for the research to be transferable to other sites. In this investigation the research site provided a highly diverse sample, which, theoretically, could be transferred to other mid- to large-sized, four-year, moderately selective, comprehensive universities in the United States. This is particularly the case in that participants described their belonging to campus groups that are found at colleges and universities throughout the country. Although it is possible that a different sample from this site would have resulted in different data, it is unlikely that the themes identified would have been substantially different since these themes are consistent with prior research and theory on men. Given the details of the site and methods of data collections noted above, other researchers should be able to decide whether or not applying the results of this investigation to other areas is reasonable (Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

The dependability of this portion of the investigation was preserved by detailing the exact methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation. By keeping a reflexive

journal, I was able to provide information on my own beliefs and thoughts about the investigation so that a line of thought and inquiry became explainable. Additionally, in cooperation with a faculty member who specializes in qualitative research, my data, findings, and interpretations have been audited to determine consistency and dependability in the investigation.

Two methods were employed to assure the confirmability of this investigation. First, an extensive audit trail that includes my electronically audio-recorded interviews, written field notes, electronic communications with the participants, and consent forms was maintained. As well, by using the actual voices of participants I have allowed the data to speak without interpretation to show that they are not based on my own biases and assumptions. Second, the nature of the data collection method and the finite amount of time spent with the participants assists in the maintenance of disinterest. Participants were not afforded the opportunity to review the transcriptions of their interviews or my finding and this allowed me to maintain a distance from the participants and further preserved the disinterestedness.

The steps noted above were taken to establish the trustworthiness of this investigation. The methodological decision to utilize multiple methods and two distinct methodologies in this investigation also furthers the trustworthiness of this investigation. Interpretation of the quantitative results have been guided by theory but supported by qualitative data. Similarly, the opposite is also true as the qualitative findings are supported by the quantitative data. In spite of my efforts to design a trustworthy study, there are limitations that exist in this investigation.

## Delimitations

Several delimitations to this investigation's methodology exist that could not or were not addressed in the design of the study. However, none of these delimitations overshadow the usefulness of this investigation in addressing the research questions or in adding to the existing body of work that addresses misconduct in college men.

First, although highly diverse and similar to other campuses, the research site is not representative of all other institutions of higher education. Even when only taking into account other public research institutions of higher education, the site, although well situated in terms of prestige, student population, and size, is unique. Therefore, the findings should not be assumed to have the same utility in all contexts. Although barriers of access and resources limited this investigation to a single site, this investigation's methodology could be reproduced at another site to either show differences or similarities in the findings.

Second, selection bias may limit this investigation. Although all students who fit the participation criteria were invited to participate, not all chose to participate. While the sample that did participate is not statistically different, demographically, from the population that was invited, it is possible that men who perceive masculinity in a certain way are not the same men who participate in research voluntarily. This among other factors may explain the low number of participants who generated a student conduct record. Consequently, there may have been other men who did generate conduct records but did not participate in this investigation that would have provided either a different perspective or different answers to the survey instrument. If those men had been included



in this investigation, there is potential that the research findings would have been different.

Third, for both the quantitative and qualitative data there is room for more power to observe the phenomenon in question. As the qualitative findings show, this investigation's quantitative methodology for data collection was not able to capture all instances of misconduct because some students are never caught. That is, there is a high likelihood that many of the participants do regularly and actively violate university policies but are not caught. This delimitation leads to an unknown quantity of missing data of those men who should have been caught but were not. Thus, the outcome measure may be too weak to address the questions posed in this investigation adequately or fully.

Finally, in qualitative research, there is no correct or infallible way to interpret the participants' thoughts and perspectives. Although many follow-up questions were asked of the participants, I generated those questions and they may not have been the best questions needed to clarify what a participant was expressing. A different researcher could have asked different questions and could have reached different conclusions. Furthermore, if this investigation had been approached from a different theoretical perspective, such as grounded theory, the methodological protocols would have been different and likely changed the research findings.

#### The Role of the Researcher

Although this investigation has some limitations, it serves the function of providing more information on the potential causes of student misconduct found most prominently in first-year male students. My primary role as the researcher in this

investigation was to illuminate ways in which misguided but socially accepted conceptions of masculinities work to disrupt the university and the postsecondary experiences of students therein. My secondary and somewhat more important role was to bring relevance to this investigation through my experiences. My experiences as a student affairs practitioner who lives among and works with students—as well as my identities as a husband, father, and son—inform my understanding of the data collected and the findings of this investigation. By exploring the role of masculinity and gender-role conflict in shaping the behaviors and identities of men who violate university student conduct policy, this investigation and its findings may augment the positivist understandings that postsecondary educators and practitioners who work with college men have of the contributing factors to male student misconduct. With these new understandings, educators and student affairs practitioners may be better equipped to work on creating policies, programs, and other support services that address the specific needs of college men while these men construct their masculine identities. By showing men there are positive alternatives to hegemonic constructions of masculinity and the benefits of associated behaviors, practitioners can help men change their gender performance (Nyland & Nyland, 2003; Pollack, 2000). These changes in behavior may affect the postsecondary experiences of all students positively, but most importantly change the experiences of women who most often become the victims of men's unhealthy and dysfunctional conception of masculinity.

## Summary

Together the analyses of the quantitative and qualitative data were used to answer or address the research questions under investigation. This investigation primarily utilizes quantitative data analysis. However, given the stated limitations of the proportional-odds cumulative-logit model, qualitative analysis provided additional insight into the phenomenon under investigation. In spite of the limitations of this investigation, my insights gained from hearing men describe their first-year college experiences, combined with the statistical outcomes, help me explain the roles masculinity and gender-role conflict play in first-year male student misconduct.

In the past three chapters, I have built a foundation for the final three chapters of this dissertation. In the next two chapters, I present the findings of the investigation. In the final chapter, I will bring relevance to this study for both academics who study men in higher education as well as practitioners who work with these men every day. In doing so, the implications of the investigation allow me to offer strategies that may be effective in working with college men to reduce their representation in the university conduct process.

## CHAPTER 4

### QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

#### Chapter Overview

Findings from quantitative sections of this investigation with first-year first-time male students at UCR are presented in this chapter. In total,  $N=449$  survey participants were included in this portion of the investigation before incomplete and inconsistent protocols were employed, which reduced the data. This chapter will contain a reminder of the research questions and hypotheses. Then statistics that suggest that the sample utilized is representative of the students found at the research site will be presented. Additionally, coefficient alpha reliabilities for all subscales will be reported. Finally, the variables used to predict participation in the student conduct process will be presented. Following the quantitative findings, the qualitative findings will be presented. A summary of the key findings will bring this chapter to conclusion.

#### Research Question and Hypotheses

This investigation seeks to address four research questions. The first question asks whether or not the ascription of greater importance to fulfilling masculinity standards and experiencing greater gender-role conflict predicts misconduct by first-year first-time male students. It has been hypothesized that greater than average importance placed on fulfilling masculine standards by a man and a greater than average experience of gender-role conflict will have some predictive ability on whether or not a first-year male student becomes involved in the student conduct process. The other research questions will be

addressed in chapter five, by utilizing the qualitative data to provide a more nuanced understanding of the findings presented in this chapter.

### Preliminary Quantitative Analysis

Prior to analysis, the data needed to be cleaned of duplicate responses, incomplete responses, and other abnormalities. These steps reduced the sample size minimally. Additionally, four variables required transformation to be used in the model. The process of transformation reduced the data by creating composite variables. Following those processes the demographic data that were collected were compared to the demographics of the site to approximate the representative nature of the sample. Finally, the internal consistencies of responses on the survey instrument were calculated to assure that none of the items were misunderstood by participants, resulting in errant data. The following section details the steps for sample and data reduction as well as the analysis of the sample demographics and internal consistencies.

#### *Sample Reduction*

Within the full study sample, 12 participants did not complete one or more sections of the MRNS or GRCS-I. Tests for associations were conducted to assure there was not an identifiable demographic reason for these participants to not complete the survey. First, chi-square test for association was conducted between ethnicity and missing data. For the purpose of this chi-square test for association, four ethnicity groups were utilized. They were Asian American, Caucasian, Mexican American, and Other. Two cells had cell frequencies less than five, but none went to zero. There was not a statistically significant association between ethnicity and missing data  $\chi^2 (2) = 3.049, p =$

.218. The age of the participants with missing data ( $M = 17.83$ ,  $SD = .389$ ) was not statistically different,  $t(447) = .633$ ,  $p = .572$ ;  $d = .246$ , from that of the participants with complete data ( $M = 18.02$ ,  $SD = 1.02$ ). Additionally, the high school GPA of the participants with missing data ( $M = 3.23$ ,  $SD = .505$ ) was not statistically different,  $t(447) = -1.758$ ,  $p = .079$ ;  $d = -0.43$ , from that of the participants with complete data ( $M = 3.42$ ,  $SD = .369$ ). Finally, the composite SES of the participants with missing data ( $M = .288$ ,  $SD = .777$ ) was not statistically different,  $t(447) = -1.229$ ,  $p = .219$ ;  $d = 0.37$ , from that of the participants with complete data ( $M = -.008$ ,  $SD = .824$ ). I found no statistically significant difference between those who did and did not complete the survey, and thus those participants' responses were excluded from the data set. Additionally, eight participants missed the reverse coding of items and lacked any variation of response in the subscales of the GRCS-I. Due to the assumption that their responses were not genuine as shown in the sample reduction rubric, their responses were also excluded from the investigation. The final sample size was  $N = 429$ .

#### *Data Reduction and Transformation*

In addition to the subscales of the MRNS and the GRCS-I, both categorical and continuous variables were included in the data analysis. The categorical variables were ethnicity, college, and learning community involvement. The continuous variables were level of interest in joining a fraternity, GPA, SES, interest in athletics, and alcohol use. While many of the variables required no transformation or item combination, some did. What follows explains how those variables were treated prior to analysis.

*Grade Point Average.* For analysis of the continuous variable GPA, mean centering was used to bring meaning to the variables and ease interpretation. Therefore, a score of zero was equivalent to the mean of the sample. Scores that are greater than zero were understood as greater than the mean, while scores less than zero were understood as less than the mean. A Normal P-P plot suggested that the data were normally distributed. However, numerically GPA was not normally distributed with a skewness of 0.352 ( $SE = 0.116$ ) and kurtosis of  $-0.256$  ( $SE = 0.232$ ), which indicated a slightly positively skewed but normally kurtosed distribution.

*SES.* Three variables were used to construct an SES Scale score (Parent income, Father's education, and Mother's education). The variables were each standardized using Z-scores and the standard scores averaged to generate a composite SES scale that was used in the analysis. A Normal P-P plot suggested that the data were normally distributed. However, scores were not normally distributed, numerically, with a skewness of  $-0.090$  ( $SE = 0.115$ ) and kurtosis of  $-0.894$  ( $SE = 0.230$ ), which indicated a normally skewed but kurtosed distribution.

*Interest in Athletics.* Two variables were utilized to construct an Athletics Interests score (High School Athletics involvement and Interest in College Athletics). Each of the variables was standardized using Z-scores and the standard scores averaged to generate a new composite Athletics Interest variable. Because this variable was standardized, the mean is 0. The minimum score was  $-1.94$  and the maximum was  $1.60$  ( $SD = .872$ ). A Normal P-P plot suggested that the data were normally distributed.

Additionally, the scores numerically indicated a normal distribution with a skewness of -0.301 ( $SE = 0.117$ ) and kurtosis of -.088 ( $SE = 0.233$ ).

*Alcohol Use.* Frequency of beer consumption and frequency of wine/liquor consumption were utilized to construct an alcohol use construct. On the survey instrument the response options were “frequently,” “occasionally,” and “not at all.” These ordinal responses were recoded onto a rating scale of 0–2, representing “not at all” to “frequently.” Beer consumption had a mean of .344 ( $SD = .5204$ ). Wine/Alcohol consumption had a slightly higher mean of .359 ( $SD = .5249$ ). Because the standard deviation of these two items is virtually the same, the raw scores were added together to create the alcohol use variable with a mean of .7031 ( $SD = .9825$ ). A Normal P-P plot suggests that the scores are skewed positive, that is, more participants did not consume alcohol prior to college than those participants who did consume alcohol.

*Ethnicity.* This categorical variable was dummy coded prior to analysis. However, due to the small number of participants that reported identifying as Native American, Other Latino, Indian, Middle Eastern, and Other, these participants were grouped into other ethnicity categories. Specifically, those who identified as Other Latino were grouped with Mexican American / Chicano. Those participants who identified as Native American, Indian, Middle Eastern, and Other were grouped into a new Other Category. With these groupings, the ethnicity variable consisted of five categories. They were Asian/Pacific Islander, White/Caucasian, Mexican American/Chicano, Black/African American, and Other.



*Student Misconduct.* Incidents of misconduct were reported by policies and disciplinary outcomes. The majority of participants,  $N = 361$ , were not involved in the student conduct process. However, 58 of the participants were involved in the misconduct process. There were a total of 28 participants coded as low-level. At the low level, reported behaviors included: possession of alcohol, minor vandalism, disruptive noise, pranks, removal of university signage, building entry and exit through windows, failure to dismount skateboards and scooters indoors, and failure to evacuate a building during a fire alarm. Furthermore, there were 30 participants coded as high-level; nine of these participants had more than one occurrence of misconduct. At the high level, reported behaviors included previously noted behaviors as well as: academic misconduct, possession of marijuana and paraphernalia, lewd conduct, intoxication, as well as intoxication with an inability to care for oneself, attempted break-in, and threatening others. The most common problematic behaviors at the high level were academic misconduct and alcohol-related misconduct.

#### *Representation of the Population by the Sample*

On the survey instrument, demographic information was collected so that statistical comparisons could be made with the same demographic details known about the population under investigation at the research site. The research site provided demographic data that matched the data that were collected. The following section details the statistical tests that were conducted and provides support for the claim that the sample data are representative of the population at the research site. These analyses were conducted before any sample reduction techniques were used.

*Ethnicity.* A chi-square test for association was conducted between ethnicity and study participation. All expected cell frequencies were greater than five. There was a statistically significant association between ethnicity and participation in this study,  $\chi^2(4) = 11.231, p = .024$ . However, Cramér's  $V$  measure of association indicated that there was a weak association between ethnicity and study participation,  $V = .076, p = .024$ . As shown in Table 3, there was a slight over representation of participants who identified as Mexican American/Chicano. Additionally, there appeared to be a slight underrepresentation of participants who identified as Asian/Pacific Islander.

Table 3

Study Participation by Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Participant		Non-Participant	
	Count	Expected	Count	Expected
Asian American	188	207.7	703	683.3
Mexican American	121	106.5	336	350.5
Caucasian	69	70.2	232	230.8
African American	19	24.5	86	80.5
Other	52	40.1	120	131.9
Total	449	449.0	1477	1477.0

*Socioeconomic Status.* A review of the normal Q-Q plots shows that the data for both the participant and non-participant groups are approximately normally distributed. Furthermore, the data were positively slightly skewed, indicating a higher proportion of

participants with lower SES scores. This skewing is appropriate given that the site is a public university that attracts first-generation college students and students with less financial means than may be found at other institutional types.

An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare the composite SES of sample participants with non-participants. The 407 study participants, for which there were data, had a mean composite SES score of ( $M=.0036$ ,  $SD = .718$ ), which was not significantly different from the non-participant group of first-year males students  $N=1329$  of ( $M=.0646$   $SD = .792$ ),  $t(1734) = -1.389$ ,  $p = .165$ ;  $d = -0.081$ . However, there was not homogeneity of variances, as assessed by Levene's test for equality of variances ( $p = .046$ ) meaning that the SES of participants measured lower than non-participants and there were differences in the variances between the sample and the population.

*Grade Point Average.* An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare the high school GPA of sample participants and non-participants. The minimum reported GPA was 2.83 and the maximum was 4.40. The 441 study participants for which GPA was collected had a slightly higher mean GPA of 3.519 ( $SD = .313$ ) but were not significantly different from the university norm for first-year male student  $N=1477$  of 3.50 ( $SD = .292$ ),  $t(1916) = .973$ ,  $p = 0.331$ ;  $d = 0.063$ . There was homogeneity of variances, as assessed by Levene's test for equality of variances ( $p = .093$ ).

*Age.* An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare the age of sample participants and non-participants. The 441 study participants for which age was collected had a mean of 18.46 years ( $SD = .460$ ); they were not significantly different from the university norm for first-year male students  $N=1477$  of 18.46 ( $SD = .478$ ),  $t(1916) =$

.203,  $p = 0.872$ ;  $d = 0$ . There was homogeneity of variances, as assessed by Levene's test for equality of variances ( $p = .189$ ). Age was skewed 3.064 (SD .056) and kurtosed 27.792 (SD .112) considerably, which is intuitive since the sample was limited to first-year college students.

*Residency.* Of the 449 participants, 340 (75.8%) lived on campus and 109 (24.21%) resided off campus. The research site reported that 75.37% of all first-year students live on campus. The site was unable to disaggregate the on-campus living percentage by gender. However, the closeness of these values suggests that the sample is representative of the decision all students at the site make regarding living on or off campus during their first year.

In sum, there appeared to be no significant difference between those participants who chose to be included in this investigation and those who opted out. However, there was some indication that the variance of SES of participants was dissimilar to the variance of SES of non-participants, which indicates that the sample may not have come equally from the population under investigation. However, the  $t$  test did not indicate a significant difference between groups. Descriptive statistics of the sample following sample reduction techniques, including means and standard deviations for all continuous demographic variables and interest variables in model, are provided in Table 4.

Table 4

## Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
Age	429	16.00	35.00	18.015	1.009
GPA	429	2.00	4.00	3.421	.369
SES	429	-1.690	1.621	-.0097	.823
Athletics	428	-2	2	-.01	.870
Alcohol Use	429	0	4	.70	.980
Fraternity	428	1	7	3.52	1.582

*Internal Consistencies*

A Pearson's product-moment correlation was used to assess the relationship between GRCS-I and MRNS in study participants. Preliminary analyses showed the relationship to be linear with both variables normally distributed, and there were no outliers. There was a moderate positive correlation between level of gender-role conflict and adherence to masculine norms,  $r(427) = .473, p < .0005$ . The MRNS and GRCS-I were employed to measure different, underlying constructs of masculinity and gender-role conflict (See Appendix D for correlations). In this investigation, six constructs were used. Each of the constructs consisted of a different number of questions. As shown in Table 5, all of the scales had a high level of internal consistency, as determined by Cronbach's alpha. The Cronbach's alpha scores ranges from ( $\alpha = .735$ ) to ( $\alpha = .883$ ).

Table 5

## Internal Reliability of Subscales

Subscale	N of items	Mean	$\alpha$
Status Norms	11	4.58	.869
Toughness Norm	8	3.93	.735
Anti-Femininity Norms	7	3.17	.811
Success, Power, and Competition	13	4.04	.883
Restrictive Emotionality	10	3.40	.863
Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men	8	3.24	.853

## Quantitative Analysis and Findings

The principal focus of this investigation was to determine whether gender-role conflict and the adherence to masculine role norms could be utilized to predict the likelihood of involvement in the student conduct process by first-year first-time male students. Specifically, it was hypothesized that men high in gender-role conflict and masculine role norms would evince high odds of becoming involved in the university conduct process, whereas it was postulated that men low in gender-role conflict and identification with masculine role norms would exhibit low odds of becoming involved in the university conduct process. Given that the outcome variable is ordinal in nature, cumulative odds ordinal logistic regression with proportional odds was indicated to test for prediction (Agresti, 2010).

The cumulative odds ordinal logistic regression with proportional odds model allows the categorical outcome to be conceptualized as a categorized version of an unobservable continuous variable or latent variable  $Z$  indicating level of misconduct (McCullagh, 1980). If it is assumed that the categorical outcome is in fact a categorized version of  $Z$ , then  $Z$  will be divided into three regions by two cut-points  $c_1$  and  $c_2$  that are determined by the nature of the data and not arbitrarily by the investigator. That is, if  $Z \leq c_1$  then  $Y = 1$ ; if  $c_1 < Z \leq c_2$  then  $Y = 2$ ; and finally if  $Z > c_2$  the  $Y = 3$ . Therefore, if the regression of  $Z$  on the  $X$  variables is understood in the form:  $Z = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1 X_1 + \gamma_2 X_2 + \dots + \gamma_p X_p + \varepsilon$ , then  $Y$  will be related to the  $X$ 's through proportional-odds cumulative-logit model.

The cumulative odds ordinal logistic regression with proportional odds model utilizes the cumulative probabilities up to a cutoff, which in turn makes the whole range of ordinal categories binary at that threshold (McCullagh, 1980). The response will be  $Y = 1, 2, 3$ , as previously discussed. The associated probabilities are  $(\pi_1, \pi_2, \dots, \pi_j)$ , and the cumulative probability of a response less than or equal to  $j$  is:

$$P(Y \leq j) = \pi_1 + \dots + \pi_j$$

Thus, the 3-category response variable for this investigation will be modeled through the use of cumulative logits:

$$L_1 = \log\left(\frac{\pi_1}{\pi_2 + \pi_3}\right)$$

$$L_2 = \log\left(\frac{\pi_1 + \pi_2}{\pi_3}\right)$$

Therefore, in this notation,  $L_j$  is the log-odds of falling into or below category  $j$  versus falling above it.

The following model equations were used to determine the predictive ability of masculinity and gender-role conflict as they relate to student misconduct. The dependent variable is comprised of the three levels of student misconduct with the two cut-points. The majority of the independent variables from either the Male Role Norms Scale [Status ( $X_1$ ), Toughness ( $X_2$ ), and Anti-femininity ( $X_3$ )] or the Gender Role Conflict Scale [Success, power, and competition ( $X_4$ ), Restrictive emotionality ( $X_5$ ), and Restrictive affectionate behavior between men ( $X_6$ )]. The remaining independent variables are level of interest in joining a fraternity ( $X_7$ ), High School GPA ( $X_8$ ), SES ( $X_9$ ), cultural background ( $X_{10}$ ), involvement in athletics ( $X_{11}$ ), college affiliation (field of study) ( $X_{12}$ ), participation in a learning community ( $X_{13}$ ), and frequency of alcohol consumption ( $X_{14}$ ). Incorporating the covariates and requiring the coefficients for each  $X$  variable to be identical across all logit equations specifies the cumulative odds ordinal logistic regression with proportional odds model equations as:

$$L_1 = \log \frac{P(Y \leq 1)}{P(Y > 1)} = \alpha_1 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \beta_{14} X_{14}$$

$$L_2 = \log \frac{P(Y \leq 2)}{P(Y > 2)} = \alpha_2 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \beta_{14} X_{14}$$

The cumulative odds ordinal logistic regression with proportional odds model generates one less intercept (cut-point) than the number of categories in the independent variable (McCullagh, 1980). These intercepts,  $\alpha_j$ , are the log-odds of falling into or below category  $j$  when  $X_1 = X_2 = \dots = 0$ . In this model  $\beta_k$  is interpreted as the increase in log-odds



of falling into or below any category associated with a one-unit increase in  $x_k$ , while holding all other  $x$ -variables constant. That is, a positive slope indicates an inclination for the response level to decrease as the variable decreases.

A cumulative odds ordinal logistic regression with proportional odds was used to determine the effect of measures of gender-role conflict, measures of male role norms, interest in fraternity involvement, SES, age, GPA, ethnicity, interest in athletics, and prior alcohol use on whether or not male students would violate university policies. Since the assumption of multicollinearity is concerned with the independent variables, a linear regression analysis was used to test for multicollinearity. As shown in Table 6, none of the tolerances were less than .1 (the lowest is 0.445). Given these findings, I am confident that there is not a problem with collinearity in this data set. The dummy coded independent variables concerning ethnicity and college affiliation also presented no collinearity concerns but are not included in Table 6 because they are by definition collinear. I will be cautious with the ethnicity and college affiliation variables should they be found to be significant in the final model.

Table 6

## Full Model Collinearity Tolerances

Variables	Tolerance
Status Norms	.718
Toughness Norm	.668
Anti-Femininity Norms	.603
Success, Power, and Competition	.651
Restrictive Emotionality	.534
Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men	.445
Age	.967
SES	.738
GPA	.883
Athletics Interest	.864
Alcohol Use	.885
Fraternity Interest	.784

*Note.* Dependent Variable: Student Misconduct

The assumption of proportional odds was met, as assessed by a full likelihood ratio test that compares the residual of the fitted location model to a model with varying location parameters,  $\chi^2 (19) = 4.267$ ,  $p = 1.00$ . To further test the assumption of proportional odds, separate binomial logistic regressions were used on two dichotomous outcome variables that were created by coding the original misconduct variable into new variables (CAT1: No Conduct = 1, Minor & Major Misconduct = 0, CAT2: No Conduct

& Minor Conduct = 1, Major Misconduct = 0). Examination of the similarities or differences between the odds ratios of these variables shows that for most of the variables the assumption of proportional odds appears tenable (see Table 7). However, for some dependent variables the odds ratios are dissimilar, namely (Ethnicity – Asian American, Ethnicity – Caucasian, Ethnicity – Mexican American/Chicano). Thus, these variables were treated with caution in the final analysis of the ordinal regression.

Table 7

Full Model Odds Ratios of Independent Variables

Variables	B	
	Cat1	Cat2
Status Norms	-.061	-.045
Toughness Norms	-.175	-.234
Anti-femininity Norms	.086	-.110
Success, Power, and Competition	.326	.115
Restrictive Emotionality	-.158	-.144
Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men	-.019	-.183
SES	-.135	.044
Age	.062	-.266
GPA	.271	.695
Asian American	1.355	.318
Caucasian	1.062	-.136
Mexican American / Latino	1.318	.654

African American	.650	.685
Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences	.395	-.405
Natural Arts and Sciences	-.546	-1.433
Athletics	-.400	-.339
Alcohol Use	-.150	-.209
Fraternity Interest	-.221	-.241
Intercept	-.538	4.359

The deviance goodness-of-fit test indicated that the model was a good fit to the observed data,  $\chi^2(835) = 368.419, p = 1.00$ . Additionally, the Pearson goodness-of-fit test indicated that the model was a good fit to the observed data  $\chi^2(835) = 825.310, p = .588$ , but most cells were sparse with zero frequencies in 66.7% of the cells. However, the test for strength of association was not satisfactory, McFadden  $\rho^2(19) = .065$ . The final method of assessing model fit was to look at the change in model fit when comparing the full model to the intercept-only model. The final model did not statistically significantly predict the dependent variable over and above the intercept-only model,  $\chi^2(19) = 25.220, p = .153$ . That is, the independent variables did not add statistical significance to the prediction of the dependent variable. However, interest in joining a fraternity was close to statistical significance on the prediction of whether or not first-year male students would violate university policy Wald  $\chi^2(1) = 3.407, p = .062$  (See Table 8). Additionally, participant interest in athletic involvement had a statistically significant effect on the prediction of student misconduct, Wald  $\chi^2(1) = 4.302, p = .038$ . Specifically, an increase in athletic involvement was associated with an increase in the odds of violating university

policy, with an odds ratio of 1.536 (95% CI, 1.024 to 2.305). That is, as athletic interest increases so too does the likelihood of becoming involved in the student conduct process: those with athletic interest are 1.5 times more likely than those with lower athletic interests. This model predicted that all of the cases would be classified as “no conduct”; 87.85% were correctly classified. From the sample, 5.84% were involved with the student conduct process at a low level but were incorrectly classified by the model. Finally, from the sample, 6.31% were involved with the student conduct process at a high level but were incorrectly classified. That is, this model was not able to predict involvement in the student conduct process correctly.

Table 8

## Full Model Tests of Model Effects

Variables	Wald $\chi^2$	df	P
Status Norm	.100	1	.752
Toughness Norm	.550	1	.458
Anti-femininity	.091	1	.763
Success, Power, and Competition	1.548	1	.213
Restrictive Emotionality	.409	1	.522
Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men	.004	1	.948
SES	.385	1	.535
GPA	.371	1	.543
Ethnicity	2.368	4	.668
College Affiliation	4.485	2	.106
Learning Community Involvement	.260	1	.610
Fraternity Interest	3.470	1	.062
Athletics Interest	4.302	1	.038*
Alcohol Use	.432	1	.511

*Note.* Dependent Variable: Student Misconduct

\* $p < .05$ .

#### Reduced Model *Post Hoc* Analysis

In the original model, more demographic variables were included than are supported by the literature. Specifically, in this investigation college affiliation (field of study) and

learning community involvement were included. To align this investigation with previous literature more appropriately, these variable are removed for further analysis.

Furthermore, the design of this investigation limited the variability of the age variable. Thus, age was also removed from the model. Again, a cumulative odds ordinal logistic regression with proportional odds was used to determine the effect of measures of gender-role conflict, measures of male norms, interest in fraternity involvement, SES, GPA, ethnicity, interest in athletics, and prior alcohol use on whether or not male students would violate university policies. A linear regression analysis was used to test for multicollinearity. As shown in Table 9, none of the tolerances were less than .1.

The assumption of proportional odds was met, as assessed by a full likelihood ratio test that compares the residual of the fitted location model to a model with varying location parameters,  $\chi^2 (14) = 3.325$ ,  $p = .998$ . Examination of the similarities or differences between the odds ratios of these variables (see Table 10), to further test the assumption of proportional odds, shows that for most of the variables the assumption of proportional odds appears tenable.

Table 9

Collinearity Tolerances of Reduced Mode

Variables	Tolerance
Status Norms	.719
Toughness Norm	.670
Anti-Femininity Norms	.620
Success, Power, and Competition	.659
Restrictive Emotionality	.536
Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men	.440
SES	.738
Athletics Interest	.878
Alcohol Use	.889
Fraternity Interest	.792

*Note.* Dependent Variable: Student Misconduct



Table 10

## Odds Ratios of Independent Variables in the Reduced Model

Variables	B	
	Cat1	Cat2
Status Norms	-.056	-.033
Toughness Norms	-.141	-.161
Anti-femininity Norms	.022	-.200
Success, Power, and Competition	.316	.161
Restrictive Emotionality	-.157	-.167
Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men	.062	-.093
Fraternity Interest	-.221	-.241
SES	-.105	.039
Asian American	1.331	.251
Caucasian	1.083	-.040
Mexican American/Chicano	1.293	.597
African American	.833	.759
Athletics	-.400	-.332
Alcohol Use	-.150	-.209
Intercept	-.538	4.359

The deviance goodness-of-fit test indicated that the model was a good fit to the observed data,  $\chi^2(840) = 369.647, p = 1.00$ . Additionally, the Pearson goodness-of-fit test indicated that the model was a good fit to the observed data,  $\chi^2(840) = 844.938, p = .446$ ,

but most cells were sparse with zero frequencies in 66.7% of the cells. However, the test for strength of association was not satisfactory, McFadden  $\rho^2(14) = .049$ . The final method of assessing model fit was to look at the change in model fit when comparing the full model to the intercept-only model. The reduced model did not statistically significantly predict the dependent variable over and above the intercept-only model,  $\chi^2(14) = 18.992, p = .165$ . That is, the independent variables did not add statistical significance to the prediction of the dependent variable. However, interest in athletic involvement was close to statistical significance on the prediction of whether or not first-year male students would violate university policy, Wald  $\chi^2(1) = 3.708, p = .054$  (see table 11). Additionally, participant interest in joining a fraternity had a statistically significant effect on the prediction of student misconduct, Wald  $\chi^2(1) = 4.103, p = .043$ . Specifically, an increase in interest in joining a fraternity was associated with an increase in the odds of violating university policy, with an odds ratio of 1.253 (95% CI, 1.074 to 1.558). That is, as interest in joining a fraternity increases so too does the likelihood of involvement in the student conduct process: those with higher fraternity interest are 1.25 times more likely than those with lower interest.

Table 11

## Reduced Model Tests of Model Effects

Variables	Wald $\chi^2$	df	P
Status Norm	.099	1	.753
Toughness Norm	.370	1	.543
Anti-femininity	.004	1	.950
Success, Power, and Competition	1.503	1	.220
Restrictive Emotionality	.390	1	.533
Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men	.053	1	.819
SES	.385	1	.535
Ethnicity Group	1.955	4	.744
Fraternity Interest	4.103	1	.043*
Athletics Interest	3.708	1	.054
Alcohol Use	1.168	1	.280

*Note.* Dependent Variable: Student Misconduct

\* $p < .05$ .

These findings suggest that pre-college socialization to masculinity as measured by the MRNS and the GRCS-I is not statistically significantly associated with overall student misconduct in college. However, participant interest in joining a fraternity and athletics involvement was associated with an increased likelihood of involvement in the student conduct process, which may indicate that those variables mediate the effects of masculinity and gender-role stress on involvement in the student conduct process.

Membership in fraternal organizations has previously been linked to a myriad of student misconduct problems, which include excessive alcohol consumption and academic misconduct (Eberhardt, Rice, & Smith, 2003). Additionally, men with an intention to join fraternal organizations have been shown to perceive or anticipate significantly different drinking norms when compared to women (Read, Wood, Davidoff, McLacken, & Campbell, 2002). Interest in athletic participation and the culture surrounding athletics have been identified as mechanisms for pre-college gender socialization of men (Harris, 2006). Thus, athletic interest may serve as a proxy for a type of masculine gender performance not directly measured by the MRNS or the GRCS-I.

The following chapter will present the findings from the qualitative portion of this investigation. Within these findings, I will present how the data illustrate the connections between masculinity and student conduct through the lenses of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000), identity development (Chickering & Reisser, 1993), and social identity theory (SIT) (Tajfel & Turner, 1985).

CHAPTER 5  
QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

Chapter Overview

Everyone wants to be the most successful whatever; everyone wants to be the strongest...I have tried to let college become a place where I grow into more of a man...[I]t is a learning process and learning what ways you can and what ways you can't better become a man. (Ken)

Findings from qualitative sections of this investigation with first-year first-time male students at UCR are presented in this chapter. The students interviewed appeared to be representative of the diversity of students enrolled at UCR. The ethnic composition of those interviewed was: 2 African-American, 3 Caucasian, 4 Mexican-American, and 1 Asian-American. Additionally, I assume that the participants were presenting specific identities. That is, within the context of the interview, they projected a certain "kind of person." (Gee, 2000). I was able to identify the following kinds of participants: jock, nerd, wimp, bodybuilder, Frat boy, hardcore, effeminate, wimp, and All-American. Although there are arguably innumerable kinds of men, the kinds that participated were a diverse sample.

When I began to conduct interviews, each of the participants had been on campus for four months. Each man came to the interview with only a vague understanding that I was conducting research on college men, that they had already participated in a portion of the research, and that they would be paid for their time.

During the interviews, each man presented himself with his own unique way of expressing masculinity, privilege by his status as male, and meanings and understandings of masculinity. When asked what masculinity means, Jeff, who also attends classes at a local community college so that he can graduate in less time, replied:

Doesn't mean much. I mean it's not like I chose to be a man it is just how I was so...I think people over think that a lot. They want so much to be a man they become consumed by the stereotypes that men have. They become really rude, demanding, controlling. So I feel like a lot of people don't really know what it is to be their own man. They just follow what everybody thinks a man is supposed to be.

Steve, a self-proclaimed "nerd" who viewed his form of masculinity as outside the norm of the stereotypical college man asserted: "I mean for me, it's more or less just being yourself... Be a man of your word. Don't cheat. Don't lie. Don't...insert other bad action here." These participants echo Davis (2002) who reported that men do "not think about themselves in terms of their gender" (p. 517). These male students also highlight that for some participants to be man is to refrain from negative activities. However, the majority of men interviewed favored a positive trope. They spoke about masculinity within the content of leadership, honesty, honor, and courage. Furthermore, they indicated that the masculine role was to be a protector, breadwinner, and independent thinker. Steve explained the diversity of men who achieve masculinity, and employed the hero theme.

Hal Jordan, who is the Green Lantern, saying he is just a man... or my more favorite super hero, Batman. In both instances, they are just men who were able to

become heroes just based on their will, determination, and gumption to enforce the good social protocols that are out there.

I followed up by asking if these fictional characters achieved masculinity in different ways: Steve agreed they did.

In the inquiry about a connection between student misconduct and masculinity, there was conflict in types of responses. Some participants expressed that by following the established policies they demonstrated their masculinity to others. Others noted that by violating the rules they expressed masculinity. Jeff equated rule following with adulthood.

It shows responsibility which is one of the aspects of being a man. By following the rules you're not immature to where you feel like you have to break the rules to be cool. By following the rules and being responsible it is like being an adult. You are not a kid in college. You are your own adult in college doing your own stuff.

However, Don, a confident first-generation college student with a low income job in a band and only marginal grades, indicated, when asked about showing others his kind of masculinity, that violating policies accentuates masculinity as long as core tenets of masculinity (success in school, employment, independence) are met.

I think it goes towards the typical, what is seen as a man. You know one who drinks and cheats [is] one who just doesn't care. I think it goes towards that. No it could go towards that...the masculinity part. I think it all goes towards the background of the man. If the man has everything down and is still down to break

policies then he is probably like a God (laughs). But if he is messing up and everything and still breaking policies then he is just going downhill.

Finally, Al, a young man who experiences freedom from his parents for the first time, and studies Engineering, noted that both violating policies and following policies demonstrate masculinity to others, depending on the contexts.

I think both can be, but it depends on who you are. Who's around you, I think. I think other guys are more likely to interpret breaking the rules as being a masculine thing. If there is a group of eight guys and seven of them want to go out drinking and one of them is just trying to abide by the rules, I think in that situation...I think that it would be a non-masculine act. This is a made up situation, so I wouldn't know why he wouldn't want to, but I think in a situation like that something like that would be interpreted as non-masculine. If you're around a bunch of people and they want to do something that you know is not a good idea and you know is very dangerous, ... and you are very firm, "no guys we can't do this," then that also displays dominance. Displaying that you know that it is a bad course of action, and you, being a man, you need to watch out for your friends. You need to let them know that this is not a good idea. So, that can be masculine too.

These examples illustrate the gender-role confusion created in the context of policy violations. In spite of the lack of clarity on the role that violating or abiding by policies plays in expressing masculinity, nearly all the participants indicated that they had broken rules on campus. Possible violations ranged from the low level of being too noisy,



establishing their own wireless network, and removing furniture from their residence hall room to a high level of alcohol/drug use, academic misconduct, and descriptions of behaviors that could be classified as sexual harassment.

Although not a specific question posed during the interviews, all but one of the men expressed that he was not yet satisfied in his manhood and that there was considerable distance to reaching the lofty mantel of manhood. In the remainder of this chapter, I will present a possible pathway from pre-college masculine socialization to social group participation and show where adherence to masculine norms and response to gender-role stress may lead to delayed identity development and misconduct.

#### Presentation of the Explanatory Model

Analyses of the data collected through individual interviews produced an explanatory model to answer the following research questions:

- I) What are the causes for adherence to or violation of university policies?
- II) How do college men express dominant and alternative concepts of masculinities?
- III) In what ways are both the identity development and social identity development of first-year first-time male students influenced by conceptions of masculinity?

The explanatory model focuses on the individual identity and social identity development of men from (a) pre-college socialization of masculinity, (b) individual identity development, and (c) social identity development. That is, the pre-college socialization to masculinity has imprinted boys with knowledge of masculine norms that

results in gender-role stresses that if not met may manifest in the oppression of women and men who are dissimilar (Scott, Havice, Livingston, & Cawthon, 2012). Furthermore, while the students will eventually form an adult identity, risk-taking behaviors that violate university policies do occur during adult development (Arnett, 2000). Finally, in an effort by the man to validate his individual identity he will seek groups of similar men who share the same interests, values, and beliefs (Gee, 2000). Should these groups be prone to the oppression of women and men who are dissimilar, embrace drugs/alcohol, or encourage unfettered expression of hegemonic masculinity, it is likely men who seek these groups will violate university policy along their journey.

#### Pre-college Socialization to Masculinity

Boys are encouraged from a young age by adults to be strong, independent, and assertive and to eschew actions that appear to be unmanly, including the expression of most emotions (Good, Dell, & Mintz, 1989). This socialization to masculinity continues through adolescence and into adulthood. College men are often worried about appearing either feminine or weak if they share their feeling with others— especially other men (Davis, 2002). These anti-feminine feelings often create a situation where the performance of masculinity requires the man to be powerful, that is, dominating conversations and social spaces and appearing to others as physically strong and emotionally invulnerable. Scott et al. (2012) assert that “too many times, ‘manhood’ is predicated on men being powerful and especially having power over women. This attitude does not end when a man enrolls in college” (p. 202). In this investigation, the participants noted their experiences of trying to live up to and failing to live up to

prescribed male roles and experience of gender-role stress, as well as their treatment of women and men who were not similar to themselves. Following the nomenclature of Scott et al. (2012), “similar” and “dissimilar men” will be used to describe in-groups or affinity groups and out-groups. According to Scott et al. (2012), “similar men are those who could possess the same values, same race, same sexual orientation, or same religious views.” (p. 202)

As explained in the explanatory model, pre-college socialization to masculinity is the starting point for men who enter college. That is, when men arrive on campus they have already been socialized to their way of understanding and expressing masculinity. To understand the importance of pre-socialization on men as they transition to college, theories of gender-role stress and male role norms were employed. Three sub-themes comprise masculine role norms: (1) status, (2) anti-femininity, and (3) toughness. Additionally, three sub-themes comprise gender-role stress: (1) success, power, and competition, (2) restrictive emotionality, and (3) restrictive behavior between men. Each of these sub-themes is explored below, in detail, using the participants’ voices to explain and explore the phenomenon.

### *Status*

Of the three sub-themes that comprise masculine role norms, participants discussed status the most often. Primarily, the participants noted the importance of strength and virtue when they demonstrate masculinity. The positive tropes that surround masculinity gave way to discussions of these men as the dominant force in social situations with women and dissimilar men. Weakness of body or stereotypical masculine

character was identified as reducing status in a hierarchy of masculinity. Men situated at the bottom of the masculine hierarchy suffered by identification as dissimilar men. This allowed the dominant group to taunt and tease the dissimilar men.

When the participants spoke about masculinity and what the concept of masculinity meant to them, they most often referred to leadership, strength, honesty, and virtue. Many of the participants also referred to the social roles that men should play. They spoke about the man's role as a provider and protector. Sammy captured the sentiment of nearly all the participants.

You are going to have to be the bread winner, so you have to figure out some type of plan to make money, provide, to be a leader in this world and in society, to your family. You have to stand up for basically what's right. You can't steer left if the positive way is to go right. Like you have to do what is right. You need to step up and actually live up to your responsibilities as a man. Work, you need to. You can't just sit around and not do anything. You have to be the provider. You're the bread winner; you're the leader. So, whatever you do that's what people are going to follow... You're going out; you're working; and, you're basically being a regulator, making sure that people aren't disrespecting the world, people, society, or women. Don't disrespect yourself, actually. As a person, you have to have respect for yourself... [You have to be] a leader, somebody that is positive that knows what's right, and who is going do the right thing, when someone's looking and when someone's not looking at them. That's what a man is.

While what the participants expressed was related to the man they would like to become in the future, one participant used the positive trope to explain why college men should not engage in academic misconduct.

I don't think a man cheats. In fact, I think a man shouldn't cheat. I think a man should be able to handle his things without having to cheat...For me I feel better about myself if I know the material and I get a good grade on the test by myself and I know that it is all my effort. And when I see that good grade I feel good.

And I feel manly, I guess you can say. (Al)

The participants assumed that by expressing these overwhelmingly positive characteristics their status as men was elevated. Greg explained that his best experience of showing others that he was a man came about when his older brother noted the importance of respect: "Oh yeah all my friends look up to you because they see you as someone who is really smart, someone who is really respectful, and they look up to you."

In a competition for status, to be the leader, breadwinner, and protector while also being smarter and more capable than women and less masculine men requires a position of dominance. As it pertained to student misconduct, there was no consensus on the role misconduct played on status. For some participants, rules violation was a way to show that the institution was not in control of the man, and thus this elevates his status. Al illustrated this concept: "I think being a man in our culture is not being dominated. So by not abiding by rules you can be showing that you don't really care what they think." For other participants, following the rules while pressured socially to violate them also elevated masculine status. Ken explained that "Like even if the people are saying 'oh you

are a wuss for not doing this,' deep inside they are like...they can stand up for themselves and really not bend or give in to peer pressure.” While it may be true that a dominant group of men would pressure another man to violate policies, for many of the participants, to be a man also meant to be socially dominant.

The first word that came to my head is dominance: just being able to show that you are in control, in control of your life, and in control of your surroundings. But then I think it is also being able to handle those situations in the proper way and not deal with them by getting out of line or getting aggressive or pissed off. There is also a gentleness that man needs to have to deal with women or children or other friends because men can't just be completely dominant and aggressive and overpowering. They also have to have a side that they can sit down and be a normal person. (Ken)

Ken's thought highlights the perceived superiority of men over women, children, and dissimilar men, a common perception of participants. Ken went on to share that the best experience to show others that he is a man encompassed the same theme of power.

I think it is also when you are in control of a conversation. Like in a social group when you are the one that is the natural leader of it I would say that is a man. Or when you look out for other people...like coming in...not necessarily saving somebody but coming in and helping them out or showing them that you can help them because you are a man.

In this way, the participants explained that to be less dominant is to have a lower status and be less of a man. When one has a lower status, they are considered to be weak and open for bullying and ridicule.

Men who fail to live up to the social norms prescribed for masculinity are viewed as inferior men who possess some failing that prevents them from achieving masculinity. Arnold explained that men who lack confidence could increase their status if they were just more confident.

Confidence, I think is maybe what I perceive [lacking] from other people who act...a little less confident; who act not as assertive. I see the way that they're unsure about what they are or what they are doing. That leads me to believe that if they would squish themselves around and becoming a...stronger person then that would make them more of a man.

Most participants noted that when they fail at a task the failing affects their feelings of masculinity and status. Ken explained that after a weak performance giving a speech where he stumbled over his words, he assumed that others thought he was weak. "Oh this person can't coherently say what they want to...So yea they are just not a man because they are nervous. They showed weakness." These thoughts are directly related to status because, as Ken went on to explain, when a man shows weakness other men will not respect him. "Why should I look up to him? He is weak and he doesn't know what he wants in life." Understandably, showing weakness or even dissimilarity with more dominant men is a behavior to avoid for most men. Jeff stated that because he was

unwilling to be flexible with his values he was dissimilar to other men. When asked about how much he was teased for not conforming, he responded that the teasing was frequent.

I would say a lot because they would always call me “nerdy boy” or “goodie two shoes” which is stupid. The majority of people growing up who I grew up with, they were completely different because...The things they saw as ok, or like fine, or lame. Because that differed they were always making fun of me for not following them exactly.

In both high school and college, the pressure to acquiesce to the wants of others and fulfill stereotypical masculine roles is not diminished.

While discussing drug and alcohol use, a majority of the participants who had experience with these substances related that pressure to engage in substance use is often tied to their masculine status. Eight of the participants noted that their least uplifting experience with other men concerns pressure to align their behaviors with the dominant group or face ridicule and ousting by the group. Jeff stated that when a group of his male friends decided to smoke marijuana he did not want to participate, and the other men said, “Oh stop being a little girl; stop being lame.” These powerful words directly targeted Jeff’s masculinity by likening him to a female who is deficient. Women also reify the stereotypes for male misconduct. Don explained that girls can also contribute to pressuring boys to drink.

I think like if one of my chick friends was like “let’s go drink in the rooms” and I say “naw that is bad,” I think the chick would see me as like...“Isn’t he supposed



to be the cooler one who is down to do stuff?” And, if I say “no” she will think “he is kinda lame.”

Don, who noted his enjoyment of drinking alcohol and smoking marijuana, made it clear the primary gender to decide the status of men is other men. Don explained this concept, using the same scenario where he does not want to drink alcohol. “Actually I think if a guy asks me [to drink alcohol and I say ‘no’] that brings me more down as a man or what is seen as a man. Because they would be like, ‘What the hell...this guy sucks’ and it is kinda true.” These examples show not only that the maintenance of status is important but also that there is considerable pressure to defy institutional conduct codes.

Furthermore, the use of imagery of females to insult men is an overt message that females are weak and of less status than men. This discourse of the inferior woman lays the foundation for and reflects already entrenched views of negative attitudes toward women and a culture of hegemony.

### *Anti-femininity*

Sexual harassment of men often comes in the form of name-calling. Men who do not appear sufficiently masculine are likely to be called gay or referred to in the feminine form. As such, participants expressed that to appear masculine; a man must eschew activities, behaviors, and interests associated with stereotypical femininity. By engaging in behaviors that are primarily considered acceptable only for women, a man invites his masculinity and sexuality to be questioned by dominant men. Although the appropriateness of expressing feelings will be discussed later in this chapter, one participant suggested that feelings of sadness were the province of women.

I mean it is ok for women to do that [express feeling down] because...I don't actually know why but...it is ok for them. But for guys it is like "Come on dude, get your shit together you know what to do. You are a man you should be able to handle this." (Don)

The implicit message is that men are superior to women when it comes to the management of feelings. Men control themselves while women cannot function or deal with stresses and strains of life.

A majority of the participants noted that others must not understand a man's behaviors and masculine presentation as stereotypically feminine. This restriction on the presentation of one's identity included societal expectations for male interests to be restricted to activities and items such as sports, cars, guns, and girls. One participant explained the difference between male and female interests and the way men and women are expected to react to a stereotypical situation.

I enjoy stereotypical dude things, like videos games; like sports. I played football for four years in high school. I like cars, guns. I like to go air-softing. Being a man is to me being able to enjoy hard situations and just liking manly things. What should and shouldn't men do? Men should know manly things. Like a man, if his car breaks down, a man should, not necessarily know how to fix it, but know at least what is going on and what to do in that situation. When a girl gets a flat tire, a lot of the times what they would do is call their boyfriend. And, I don't think a man should have to call someone if they have a flat tire. It is something they should know, or just I guess being able to act accordingly. (Al)

Later in the interview, Al explained that specific clothing is required to be considered a man by others. “If you are a guy that likes to wear dresses, then I don’t think you are going to be accepted by society because that is a girly thing, and that’s not what I think men should do.” However, Sammy, a confident and strong athlete who wore a pink shirt, contended that restrictive rules were no longer of importance. “I remember a few years back, people [would say], ‘oh I wouldn’t wear a pink shirt, that makes me less of a man,’ but I wear pink shirts and it doesn’t make me less of a man.”

Sammy was unaware of the privilege he had as a strong, confident man who could wear pink. Ken, a handsome, tall, athletic man, pulled childish pranks without any fear of his masculinity being questioned by other men. Don grew long hair, which he pulled into a pony-tail. Only the strong and confident men who were interviewed were able to bend the rules of masculinity without worry of emasculation and humiliation. For other participants, the rules of masculinity were more restrictive. Ashley, a man from Georgia, who spoke in a soft, high pitched voice, noted that because of his voice he is often considered to be homosexual. Ashley asserted that he was not homosexual. “I know like this one guy I met. He judged me based on the way my voice is, whatever, and then a mutual friend they have in common mention that ‘oh he thought you was gay because of your voice.’” Ashley and other men who fall outside of the social norm for men are situated as dissimilar and different by the dominant group. Confident men such as Sammy may not realize how their privilege disadvantages dissimilar men such as Ashley or Steve. Furthermore, these same confident men are unaware of how their privilege disadvantages women.

While speaking about female friends, three of the participants noted that they had female friends they referred to as “Bros” or “just friends” or “girls but not girl girls.” In each case, these specific women were not objects of sexual interest or attraction to the men. In two cases, these women were perceived by the participants to be dangerous because they were not deemed attractive enough for the men to spend time with and eventually find her attractive, thus making her a real woman. John, the only participant involved with a fraternity, explained that he does not interact with women he does not find sexually attractive. “I am kind of an asshole because I ignore ugly chicks.” Don noted when women know he is not interested in them sexually they can sometimes develop more substantive non-sexual relationships. Don refers to these women as “Bros” because they are more similar to men when does not find them sexually appealing. That is, women are only perceived by Don as being women when he finds them sexually attractive. However, when asked if he could be a sister to these women, he laughed and indicated that he could not. The participants noted that it is acceptable for men to assign the gender of women based on their perceived level of sexual attractiveness. However, this phenomenon was not reciprocal. That is, the dominant form of masculinity requires that men always be male, whereas females can be perceived as and even addressed as male or female depending on their attractiveness to men.

Although a direct connection between anti-femininity and student misconduct was not found in this investigation, the data show that first-year college men who abide by anti-feminine norms for masculinity form an attitude toward women and dissimilar men that can allow them to express superiority over these groups. The attitude of superiority

may allow dominant men to discard the voices of women—who may be institutional agents or peers—harass women, and bully or humiliate dissimilar men. These behaviors have the potential to disrupt the educational mission of higher education and violate institutional policy. Furthermore, these discursive interactions promote an inferior identity for women and dissimilar men and force them to accept that dominant men have achieved their status based on their natural strength and toughness.

### *Toughness*

For this investigation toughness is defined as not showing pain or fears, having a willingness to fight, and possessing physical strength. Throughout the interviews, there were few examples of toughness. In the cases where toughness was identified, no consensus could be found within the data on the importance of toughness as a masculine norm. However, the data indicated that physical strength was a favorable trait of masculinity to the participants; to fight physically, however, was deemed as an unfavorable behavior.

A majority of the participants exercised in the campus gym. The majority indicated that they engaged in a fitness regime that primarily focused on weightlifting. The participants connected exercise with the release of emotions or stress and not directly with the development of physical strength. Al and Arnold explained the connection between physical strength and masculinity. Al indicated that there is a connection between masculinity and physical strength: “I guess being a man could also be a physical thing too. Like being strong.” Arnold, who indicated that after a change to his weightlifting routine he is no longer able to power clean 245 pounds, explained that being

physically weaker causes him to have negative feelings: “It makes me feel weaker than before and that it the worst feeling ever. Knowing that you are less capable [of] doing something that you were able to do when you were younger.” Arnold suggests that the man he was at the time of the interview was physically weaker than a younger version of himself. Although he did not mention masculinity directly, he equates his age with his masculinity, which has diminished with his strength. However, toughness is comprised of more than physical strength; it also includes the capacity for violence.

Both Sammy and Ken provided data with content concerning physical fights. In both cases, aggression and physical fights were viewed by the participants as negative behaviors. Ken explained that in high school he had a friend who would write negative comments about other friends on social networking internet sites, which lead to a physical fight: “They ended up getting in a fight with, like actual fight, with them and he hurt them and beat him up and stuff like that. And then I couldn’t associate with him anymore. I just don’t want him around.” However, Ken also indicated that a physical fight was acceptable behavior for demonstrating dominant masculinity, but not in the context of physically hurting another person: “Sometimes men will both be trying to express their manliness and just get into fights like I’ve had too...” Ken further explained that fights allow for feelings of frustration to be expressed in an acceptable manner so that men in conflict can solve problems.

I think fights can solve problems lots of times. I think if you and this guy are having a problem that neither of you are willing to back down, and you just duke it out then that takes both of your frustration out and then once the frustration is

gone you guys don't feel the need to fight anymore. "This is stupid; why are we doing this?" and then you are back to a normal relationship.

Ken highlighted that the willingness and capacity to fight, or at minimum not acquiesce, prevents emasculation and allows for a normal relationship to emerge. Each day on college campuses men are in an intensely close environment where there is a constant need for them to compete to maintain their social standings with other men—especially similar men.

Not all men share the willingness to fight. Sammy noted that after coming to college he was at a party when a group of ruffians arrived and started a fight. "Me and my friends ran, and then the next day I found out it was a few of my friends that actually got jumped...it was kinda traumatizing. That kinda made us like not go out to off campus events anymore." Although Sammy was a baseball player with the physical ability to fight, he lacked the willingness fight. Steve indicated that there was considerable difference between himself and his cousins because they put too much emphasis on being a certain type of Machismo man. "[The reason we are not close] is the demeanor in which they carry themselves; it is that sort of arrogant swagger. [T]hey both talk about the potential for getting into fights." Neither Sammy nor Steve expressed that there was any masculine benefit to fighting.

The MRNS used in the quantitative data collection process asked a series of questions about physical toughness and fighting. The scarcity of data related to this construct in the qualitative data brings into question the manner in which contemporary college men relate to the concept of toughness and integrate the concept into how they

perceive masculinity. As will be shown in the section on success, power, and competition that follows, strength and toughness are characteristics a man must possess to be understood as a man by other men but they are not the more salient features of masculinity.

### *Success, Power, and Competition*

A majority of the participants connected success in activities they pursue to a proper way to express masculinity. The participants' concepts of success were not limited to physical prowess, academic achievement, or financial independence. Jeff, who prior to the interview argued with a professor who did not believe he could handle studying the sciences, indicated that a lack of persistence by men when faced with a challenge reduces that man's level of masculinity.

If you don't make it or you give up then I think that will lessen the way you and other people see you being a man. Typically, people see a man as in charge: the first to do something. But if you can't even do one thing and he just gives up like he don't want to try anymore then I am pretty sure we won't see that person as being as much of a man as they used to be before the situation. If they have a hard time and don't even try, they would decrease [their] masculinity.

Men who do not persevere, or "give up" and thus fail to succeed, have their masculinity questioned by other men. While speaking about his failings, one participant explained that to give up demonstrates weakness. "If you are a man, then you deal with hard situations like that. You respond by redoubling your efforts. I don't think a man should ever give up on something. I think that is a sign of weakness." Although many college



men are not financially independent from their parents, Don, who spoke proudly about the money he earned by repairing computers and playing in a band, questioned the masculinity of men who were not yet successful at financial independence from their parents. “I think it goes with all the independence stuff... I mean what kind of guy can’t even take care of his girlfriend, can’t take care of himself. He has to rely on his parents or other people.” The implicit message is that, for men, failure to succeed or continue to work toward a goal results in them being perceived as less masculine.

With the assumption that men can appear to be more or less successful and that their level of success or perseverance affects perceived masculinity, displays of power and competition become common between men in college. The majority of participants indicated that men make everything a competition. The participants want to be the strongest, smartest, or funniest, and they often want to be recognized as being correct in situations where decisions had to be made.

I think all men ... try to be tougher than each other. So even though we are cool with each other we always try and be the better, the faster, the smarter, and the stronger one with each other. That has always been with every guy, just you know like “oh what are you good at?” then boom and then I’ll be like “aww I am good at this” we will be like “oh that is cool; that is cool [downplay].” We just try and top each other. You know in video games, sports...I feel like guys feel like they have to be better than other guys. I have heard this before with other guys that when they see a guy that is buffer than them or anything they feel like “aww damn I wish I could be that buff. I got to get buffer than that guy.” I don’t know, I

think it is just a man to man thing. So you kinda gauge your manliness to their manliness. (Don)

Even within the “nerd” subculture that Steve spoke about where intelligence was valued over physical strength, both status and competition within the group was important. Steve noted that within his group, to be popular and successful one had to be clever, have quick wit, be able to tell intelligent jokes, and win the games they played. However, on the pursuit of success and power through competition some men will lose. These failings may lead to feelings which men are often unprepared to manage.

#### *Restrictive Emotionality*

“Well in my family it is taught that you don’t cry, especially the men in my family” (Ashley). This sentiment about crying as well as an overall need to control emotions that were associated with femininity was shared by all but one of the participants. The participants explained that the majority of the time when they cried they felt shame for being weak, embarrassed for losing control, and as if they were less masculine. Al acknowledged that men should have feelings but that the feelings must be controlled: “You should have them, but be able to control them. So, when I lose control, it is kind of humiliating.” In a quick round of questions and answers, Ashley, who other men thought was homosexual because of his slight build and high pitched voice, expressed that all emotions are to be guarded.

1. So how do you talk about your feelings?

I don’t.

2. Not with anybody?

No.

3. Do you write them down in a book?

No. It's like my mother always said I was like my father when it comes to that because we don't express ourselves.

4. How do you talk about your other feelings? Not just aggression. What about feelings of love?

I don't.

5. Feelings of sadness?

I don't.

6. So is that also a thing that it takes to be a man in your family? To be a stoic?

Yeah pretty much.

7. Do you think you follow those rules pretty strictly?

Yes I do.

Arnold, a self-proclaimed bodybuilder with a very admirable physique, had to stop the interview because he had difficulty controlling his anxiety and fear while responding to the research questions. He explained that he only expresses his feelings to one other person.

I feel pretty safe here, but usually if I were to meet you outside, not in an experimental environment like this, I would not express anything I have said to you just now. The information I am giving you right now is probably limited to

me and one other person...my closest friend. Mostly, this is because feelings are kept within me. So...I don't share at all.

Arnold later explained that there are consequences to expressing emotions. "You don't want to express your emotion because that comes at a cost, but as a human you have to experience some of these things, but know how to control them." The cost Arnold referred to was other peoples' perceptions of his masculinity. Ken explained that when he shares his feelings it makes him vulnerable. "I guess it goes back to the vulnerability thing, that if I do tell them how I feel I am vulnerable and they could... I guess they could judge me on that vulnerability." The fears shared by Arnold and Ken were not unfounded. Al directly connected control of emotions with perception of masculinity.

If you have a problem and you're just whining about it then that, to me, is not very manly [be]cause you need to control that whiny emotion, and you also just need to just suck up and deal with your problem. I think that statement kinda is to me being a man. It's "just suck it up, just deal with it."

Al's sentiment is that to fail to control certain emotions reduces a man to that of a child who is weak and unable to deal with life's problems, a condition which is not aligned with masculine norms or the way people speak about masculinity.

A minority of the participants noted that the expression of feelings of sadness and act of crying may be acceptable in certain situations. Ken indicated that is it acceptable to cry when a person in your family dies, but only when others who witness the tears know the context in which they are shed. Greg noted that tears are to be controlled when there is no appropriate reason for men to cry and when there is a need to maintain masculine

status, because even in the circumstances of death crying may weaken the social value of a man.

I remember we saw Marley and Me a couple years ago. When we were watching and the part where he died at the end, we were all getting really sad and teary but we didn't actually cry. Even though we are brothers, we didn't cry because there wasn't anything to cry about. It was just a movie. Recently I talked to my older brother and I asked him what would happen if my parents died, and he said he would have to drop out of college and run my dad's business. And then he said he wouldn't cry because if he cried then it would make him not strong, [not] someone we can believe in. He doesn't want to cry because he is the oldest brother—someone who we can always look up to.

Refusal to express emotions may be damaging to the man's ability to heal, cope, and deal with loss. The importance of sharing feelings and emotions should not be understated as not sharing can create a great deal of stress that may lead to mental health concerns as well as drug and alcohol abuse (O'Neil, 1981). A majority of the participants noted that when they could no longer control their emotions they would seek appropriate times, places, and people to assist them regain control. All but one of the participants indicated that they preferred to express their feelings to women because other men were too judgmental and may perceive them as weak.

#### *Restrictive Behaviors Between Men*

In spite of the claim of not expressing their feelings with others, every participant explained their technique for the display of their emotions to other people. However, the

majority of participants noted that the expression of feelings to others was appropriate when the issue was extraordinary and not within the normal vicissitudes of life.

When something is really, really bugging me, I usually talk to someone about it. I like to get it out. If I need to, even though I know men don't cry, sometimes when I really, really need to I just let it out. I guess that to some people that makes you less of a man because you are crying. I like to do it because it is a way to release something that you have inside I guess. (Greg)

The majority of participants would only emote to family members, women, or trusted similar men. Al indicated that women were perceived to be safe because they are expected to accept and understand emotions. "I don't like to express my emotions to other guys or stuff like that because I worry about what they think about me. I know that girls don't really care as much about those things." Additionally, Steve expressed that he made an effort to speak about his feelings, especially when he was frustrated because of the psychological danger associated with the restriction of emotional expression. Steve indicated that for his more guarded feelings he only expressed them with a group of similar men he dubbed "The Council of Gentlemen."

While, during the interviews, there were opportunities for the participants to speak about restrictive behavior between men outside of the expression of feelings, only one participant suggested that affection between men could create gender-role stress. Specifically, the participant indicated that to be a man one had to also be heterosexual. However, since none of the interview questions specifically focused on affection between men, it is possible that data for this aspect of gender-role stress was not adequately

collected. Furthermore, as Harris (2006) suggested, the college environment has exposed men to “more freedom and flexibility to express masculinities in non-stereotypical ways, which leads to the ability to be more comfortable in their own sense of self” (p. 149). With a greater sense of self, the participants who were interviewed may have no longer associated masculinity and male affection negatively.

The gender-role stresses due to male role norms experienced by the participants were complex. The primary themes identified included the importance of maintaining status by always presenting oneself in a masculine manner, especially through avoidance of being perceived as feminine by other men. This included control over the expression of emotions and the compulsion to compete to show power and success. These themes if acted upon have potential to result in student misconduct. First, men who have not yet cultivated techniques for dealing with their emotions may “snap” as two of the participants noted. Failure to manage emotions is detrimental to identity development (Chickering & Reisser, 1993) and may lead to behaviors that violate campus policies. Second, men who struggle with the need to prove their masculinity through competition may become involved in physical combat, excessive drinking, abuse of dissimilar men, and academic misconduct. Don explained that he cheated in a remedial class so that he could have entry into the “real college level” course. This suggests that the need to appear successful superseded the need to be successful in the class. Finally, an attitude that supports the superiority of dominant men over women and dissimilar women could lead to mistreatment of both.

There were factors in addition to pre-college socialization to masculinity that need to be explored in an attempt to explain the overrepresentation of men in the student conduct process. The men upon entry into college viewed themselves as emerging adults. That is, they were no longer adolescents and in the majority of cases they did not yet view themselves as adult men. Throughout their initial year in college, the adult identity of the participants was in development. The section that follows details the participants' struggle between adolescence and adulthood as well as the risky behaviors they engage in while in the development stages of identity.

#### Emerging Adulthood and Identity Development

Demographic changes over the last 60 years have altered the patterns of development of young people as they transition from childhood to adulthood (Arnett, 2000). In the 1950s, late teens and early twenties marked most people's entry into adulthood through marriage, career, and other adult roles (Arnett, 2000). This time period for many, especially college students, has now been delayed until their mid to late twenties (Arnett, 2000). Presently, the period of age 18–25 is a time of emerging adulthood, which is distinguished by frequent life changes and exploration (Arnett, 1998; Rindfuss, 1991). Also, during this time of emerging adulthood, risk-taking behaviors such as unprotected sex, drug and alcohol use, binge drinking, and driving under the influence all spike in frequency when compared to other age groups (Arnett, 2000). While students work through the stage of emerging adulthood, they also undergo psychosocial development (Chickering & Reisser, 1993).



During the college years, students' identities develop in ways that have been studied extensively (Evens et al., 2010). Identities are complex and the developmental process is unique to each individual person. To bring clarity to this complex process, Chickering and Reisser's (1993) theory of identity development and its seven vectors that contribute to identity formation are used to present identity development in a comprehensive fashion. The section that follows will present findings from the qualitative data that highlight the pressure masculine norms place on identity development.

### *Emerging Adulthood*

When the participants spoke about their perception of masculinity, four of the participants alluded to viewing themselves as adults. Sammy indicated that he saw himself as an adult when he spoke with his father. "We are speaking as adults. He is not like ordering me to do something or I'm asking to do something. We are actually talking, like telling each other what's going on, or what we're doing or anything like that." Don, who expressed that he was independent from his parents, connected independence and masculinity.

I think the best is getting the feedback like "Oh my god you are so independent, you are so...like you have everything down. Dude that is so cool." And, I am just like "yeah I know." I am very confident. I don't want to be cocky but I am confident. I think that is the best thing, getting feedback. ...I think the worst is getting told that I can't be helped because I am too much of a man.

However, the majority of the participants did not express that they viewed themselves as an adult. Instead, the participants expressed that they view themselves as children who

struggle to make independent moral decisions rather than rely on the morality established by their parents during adolescence and childhood. Jeff explained that prior to his arrival at college he often viewed himself as less of a man because his parents continued to make decisions for him. When Jeff's parents would not sign the paperwork for him to participate in grade night, a celebration for seniors graduating from high school, he saw himself as a child. Al explained that when he went to college, he rebelled immediately against his parent's regime.

I think the first week thing [staying up late and drinking a small amount of alcohol], that was kinda just me reacting because my parents have kept me down for 18 years of my life. So I was just kinda wanting to get out, but then I went and it wasn't really...It didn't do much for me.

During the struggle between a history of being controlled by his parents and the new ability to make his own decisions, Al made a decision to engage in a risky behavior.

The theory of emerging adulthood posits that the traits emerging adults perceive as most important to their transition to adulthood are accepting responsibility for oneself, making independent decisions, and becoming financially independent (Arnett, 2000).

Each of these traits is aligned with masculine norms such as strength, independence, and financial independence. The alignment of traits that help define adulthood and masculinity may have the result of placing greater developmental stress on men compared to women. That is, it is possible for the female identity of women to be achieved without the achievement of adulthood, but it is not possible for the masculine identity of man to exist without the achievement of adulthood. One participant, who was

the first to go to college in his family, explained that even when he graduates from college that accomplishment will not place him on the same level of masculinity as his father. "I don't think it'll raise me up, you know, make me seem like more of a man than my dad or anything else, but it'll be a good piece. It will be a strong factor in making me a man." Sammy's statement assumes a strong correlation between masculinity and adulthood.

A majority expressed that they had not yet achieved the traits of adults (e.g., to accept responsibility for oneself, to make independent decisions, and to achieve financial independence) but that they want to achieve those traits in the future. Greg indicated that one of the reasons he abided by university policies is due to his dependency on financial aid. "I think about how they are giving me an education, and I find it easier just to go with the rules and not cause any problems." Jeff connected masculinity with the achievement of adulthood by the acceptance of responsibility for his actions.

It shows responsibility, which is one of the aspects of being a man. By following the rules you're not immature to where you feel like you have to break the rules to be cool. Breaking rules makes you this kind of person...not better but more popular. Like that doesn't really matter, so by following the rules and being responsible it is like being an adult. You are not a kid in college; you are your own adult in college doing your own stuff.

The ability to make independent decisions was the trait of adulthood about which the majority of the participants spoke. Two of the participants noted that they had academic interests but were deterred from the pursuit of those interests by their parents who wanted

them to pursue academic fields that could provide for a more lucrative career. Ashley indicated that he follows rules because of his parents' influence when he was a child. "The way that my parents have raised me...[is] basically always have guidelines that you live by and always go by the rules. Don't ever disrespect authority or anything." Guidelines such as those taught by Ashley's parents necessarily inhibit independent decision making if they are followed unquestionably. However, five of the participants explained that they make more adult decisions, such as the decision to date, stay out late, and pursue social interests, without their parents' knowledge. Jeff noted that he and his girlfriend, both very religious, decided to engage in premarital sex because they were eventually going to marry.

The church has a tradition that people see as "Oh you broke this rule; you are going to hell," but that is not really how we side. We side as this is what we want to do, taking control of our own lives and so, yea. (Jeff)

Independent decision making and pursuit of self-interest were the reasons most participants noted for violating university policies. "Sometimes my interests conflict with those of the rules, and...if I weight whether my opinion versus the rules opinion, and I think mine. If I don't agree with it then I might be more likely to break it. (Al)"

Five of the participants expressed interest in the pursuit of new experiences even if they broke the rules of their parents, institutional policies, and the law.

All but one of the participants noted, sometimes with pride and sometimes with shame, the risks they have taken since their arrival on the university campus. Most of the participants were in romantic sexual relationships, two participants were abstinent, and

three were regularly seeking sex with different women. John explained that his primary purpose for attending parties was to attempt to have sex with women. At the time of the interview John had not been successful in that endeavor. Risky behaviors were most frequently engaged in with another person who was a peer. Greg noted that peer interaction was of considerable importance when he takes risks with alcohol consumption. "I think the best part is the social aspect. There are not that many people who do it, just to get drunk. So, it's just having a fun time with friends, and then worst part is, well, it's illegal." Ken, who claimed to not enjoy the party scene on campus, explained that parties in college were different from high school due to the accessibility of drugs and alcohol.

Here, compared to high school, there are just a lot more people doing it and getting a lot more drunk. There is a lot more smoking especially cigarettes and marijuana. [There is] a lot more [drinking and smoking] than I saw in high school. It is just a lot more accessible I would say. It is because there are older people that you come in contact with, but in high school it is rare to have somebody as a friend who is over 21.

For some men, the combination of propensity for risky behaviors and access to substances must be the cause for policy violation. Two participants spoke in great detail about their own experiences with risky behaviors.

Don and Arnold's interviews were outliers. The majority of the participants engaged in risky behaviors at a level that was unlikely to result in harm to them personally or disrupt their academic pursuit. Although some of the students were more

academically focused than others, and others were more focused on the social aspects of their college experience, Don and Arnold were both interested in taking risks, which could disrupt their academic pursuits and result in physical harm to them. Don spoke at length about the validation of his masculinity through willingness to be “down” to try anything as long as he was able to maintain achievement of his responsibilities. Don thought of himself as the “babysitter” of his peers who were drinking alcohol for the first time. Conversely, Arnold viewed the college environment as a place to amass experiences that in total would make him a man who learned from experience rather than from books.

Don noted that prior to college he was involved in risky behavior. “I had my fun in high school. Yeah, like partying and hooking up with other girls and...now I am more calm.” Don explained that there is excitement when he violates rules and is not caught. “The best part was that I did it and not getting caught. I guess you just do it.” Later, Don explained that he has little regard for rules. “I don’t like rules that much...Like if someone asks me if I am down to do this and it is bad. Well it is not too bad but it is bad then I am like ‘yeah, sure.’” Don explained that he was willing to violate policies and the law because his desire for “fun” was more important than following laws and policies. “I guess I just want to have fun. I mean going with the rules, with the policies, is boring and dull.” Don explained that the thought of “getting caught” while in violation of policies does not prevent him from engaging in risky behaviors. “Well, just the thought of getting caught. Then again I don’t really think about getting caught.”

Don's perception of masculinity included the use of drugs and alcohol when other masculine norms were achieved. To explain this concept, Don called upon a variation of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow, 1943) as a tool to describe masculinity.

I would say first is being loved—having friends. People can trust you. Second, having your own stuff down. You should have grades down and you are doing good. Have some sort of income and your own tools, car. Your own necessities. You don't have to ask anyone for water or anything. You don't have to ask someone for \$20.00 or anything like that. The next one is being happy with yourself. Realizing you have all this and saying like “wow I have all this down,” like it is just great. The last one being able to party and still have everything in the triangle down.

Don expressed that he was an adult; he had a job although it paid very poorly; he achieved satisfactory grades in his classes although he was cheating in a remedial English class; he was experienced in life, due to his attendance at parties, marijuana and alcohol consumption, and sexual exploits with women while in high school. Don noted that he was a man because he was “down” to engage in risky behaviors, specifically smoking marijuana and drinking alcohol.

Conversely, Arnold expressed that he lived the “bodybuilding lifestyle.” That is, a lifestyle of restrictive controls on diet, supplement intake, weightlifting regimen, and cardiovascular exercise. Arnold was proud of his achievements as a bodybuilder and had a measure of confidence in his physique not observed in any of the other participants. Arnold restricted his expression of feelings. Arnold's failure to maintain that control

during the interview, required an interruption of the interview so that he could manage the physical manifestations of his anxiety, such as shortness of breath and sweating. Arnold's compulsion to control his body and emotions spilled over into his risk taking behavior. Arnold noted that he approached risk taking behaviors methodically, such as trying marijuana in a controlled environment, tobacco for a fixed period of time, and alcohol in a safe place, as well as intentionally seeking out a sexual partner on the residence hall floor in which he lived to explore the problems caused by that activity. Arnold asserted that for him to achieve masculinity he needed to experience life, which he defined as risk taking, with dangers along the way.

Arnold explained that he was motivated by curiosity to violate policies.

“Curiosity. Just as drinking in the dorms. You hear all about students drinking in the dorms. Alcohol, sex, et cetera. You want to try it yourself. So that explains why I did most things first quarter.” Furthermore, Arnold noted that he did not have guilty feelings or remorse for his violation of policies, including academic misconduct and the use of a woman for his social experiment. “No I don't feel guilty...It is just a learning experience.” The amassing of experiences through risky behaviors, which primarily violated policies and demonstrate a disregard for women, was an important factor in the expression of masculinity.

I think experience is, in a way, one thing that shows your masculinity because when I tried these things I built upon experience. I know what it is like to be under the influence of drugs and under the influence of alcohol. I know what it feels like to be with a girl in a hall. I shared these experiences so that I can talk



with my peers...more specifically other men. I think that builds upon your manlyhood [*sic*] because nothing speaks more about a person than what they have gone through and their experiences. So, I believe that in sharing with other people about [what] you have gone through, you show what type of person you are and hopefully more of your masculinity to people.

In assuming the importance of risky behaviors that violate university policies to Arnold's exploration of experiences that validate his masculinity, I asked if there were any policies that prevented him from the engagement in risky behavior and expression of his masculinity. Arnold, in a testament to his belief in his own strength, explained that the best way to learn is the "hard way."

They have that saying "Rules are set to be broken," but rules are also set there to be followed; that's what they are put out there to do. I believe you have to follow rules. I guess I have broken them a couple times to know what the flaws are. I believe that the best way to learn is through the hard way. People [accept the] experience of [others] as a way to bypass the hard way of learning. I like to go through the hard training. You know when they talk about drug addiction, I like to go through that phase to see what it actually feels like to be addicted. So right now I am experimenting with tobacco to see how long it takes to become addicted and how long [it will take] for me to get rid of it. I think that by living through the hardest thing that is possible, you are able to learn a lot more from it. In breaking the rules, you learn how to appreciate the rules. After seeing some of my friends acting ridiculous and stupid, I prefer abstinence or after I see people smoke

marijuana too much. There is a point where too much is passed. I don't say don't smoke at all or don't drink at all but there is a point where too much is too much. I think laws [are] to tell people there are limits. I respect the laws, definitely, but at the same time I want to know what it is like to live without the laws.

Arnold's explanation is representative of the majority of other participants' conception of the role risk taking has on the development of masculinity. That is, they understood the purpose of student conduct policies and rules, but due to their own self-interest or desire they decided to violate those rules. The decision to violate or abide by the institutional rules may or may not be made with a complete knowledge of potential consequences. However, through the pursuit of risky behaviors, these men are both making independent decisions and bolstering their masculine identity through behavioral alignment with masculine norms and stereotypes about first-year men in college. In this way, risk taking allows these men to develop their identity as they move toward adulthood and to demonstrate to others their masculinity and reduce gender-role stress.

### *Identity Development*

The seven vectors of identity development developed by Chickering and Reisser (1993) provide a way to understand the influence of college experiences on identity development. A majority of the participants conveyed information about the development of their identity and the influence masculinities had on that development. In the following section, I use Chickering's theory of identity development to show how masculinity and college experiences affect the participants' identity development, particularly competence, management of emotions, and movement through autonomy toward

interdependence. One participant's comments captured the developmental theme noted by the others.

I guess just how to be a man or how do you try to be a man, because not everyone is a perfect man. I mean some people they try and become a better man...I am trying to become more of a "gentleman" or like "a scholar." I am trying to become...like I am lifting weights or working out so I can get a better body so women will think I am more of a man, what society would call a man. How people on a day to day basis pursue being the ultimate man I guess. I think that is a huge pursuit that guys try and do. Even if they don't say they do consciously it is just something...[W]e are always trying to be the best...to be the top dog. Especially because just how men have a role in the family they always want to be the top head figure. Everyone wants to be the most successful whatever; everyone wants to be the strongest. (Ken)

Ken highlighted the need to develop on a few different vectors, including competence, during the establishment of his masculine identity.

*Developing Competence.* The majority of the participants indicated that they had become more confident through the achievement of greater physical competence. The student recreation center on campus was the site where they lifted weights, played physically active games, and performed cardiovascular exercises. They noted that physical activity helped them to cope with strong emotions, work through frustrations, and ultimately feel better. Steve explained that he started to work out when he came to college to manage his emotions. "Before I didn't really have a way of coping, but now

sort of like you know just going out doing cardio has helped a little bit and just you know separating myself from that.” Greg noted that by working out he has a better self-image and recognizes his personal accomplishment.

I was really, really small and skinny. I guess I started working out because I wanted to make myself, not look better, but feel better about myself...I ran, and worked out...lifted weights, pull-ups, pushups, I use to do P90X. I used to do that for a while. I remember the beginning, I would only be able to do like two pull-ups, and right now I can do like 18 or 19. So I feel like I grew. It made me feel better. I went from two to 18.

When I asked Greg if his new physical competency made him feel more masculine he replied, “yeah it did. I felt accomplished.” Included in the vector with content on the development of competence is intellectual competence and interpersonal competence. During the interviews, only two of participants provided substantial data about either of those aspects of competence development. The majority of participants noted, briefly, that the purpose of college is to learn and meet new people. These participants attended parties and occasionally consumed alcohol, which may be behaviors that coincide with participants’ attempts at the development of interpersonal competence. Sammy and Ken both spoke in specifics about networking and meeting new people. Ken noted that within the first quarter of the year he challenged himself to speak to a new person each day.

A minority of the participants referred to the development of intellectual competence. Arnold explained that the words “curiosity and knowledge” describe him because “I am trying to enhance my knowledge. Everything I do I am trying to learn as

much as possible.” However, Arnold also alluded to his engagement in academic misconduct with a group of friends. Although unauthorized collaboration and cheating is one method of development in the area of intellectual competence, it has the downside of ineffectiveness and violation of university policies which prohibit such behaviors. Arnold’s rationale for cheating illustrates the pathway to the development of intellectual competence of someone who also claimed to be driven academically while cheating.

We all have goals and sub-goals we wish to accomplish when there is time. We also have what type of grades we want in the quarter and we strive to achieve those goals. We do a lot of extracurricular [activities]. We try to do research and talk to professors and stuff. I think the main thing is that cheating is just one of the things that I do with my friends because I believe that helps us towards a greater goal, but we don’t ignore the fact that we have to put the time into learning all these subjects because as a Biology major I am trying to get to medical school so there is the MCAT. There are all these different criteria that I have to fulfill to be a good applicant for medical school. So the studies I put in, I put into study for the future. The cheating is just for the grade. Honestly, it is just something we wish to do to get the A in the class. That is why I don’t have no guilt towards cheating because I believe that the studying should not be tested on. Everything should be done by yourself and you should be the test of whether you are successful or not. Not the test that the professor gives. So we are all very academically based. That is our emphasis in school.

Arnold's drive to receive a high grade in his classes as he works toward medical school may be influenced partially by his needs to live up to masculine roles of success, power, and competition. By taking a risk and cheating, Arnold elevated his grades and potentially advanced his chances at a future lucrative career—if he is not caught.

*Managing Emotions.* A majority of the participants offered data on their restriction of the expression of their emotions, especially the emotional state of sadness. Although the majority noted that they restricted their emotions, restrictive emotionality is not the same as managing emotions. In particular, this developmental vector is concerned with the acceptance, appropriate expression, and control of emotions. Other participants referred to the development of new mechanisms to cope with their difficult emotions through physical activity and expression of those emotions with a select group of trusted people. While the masculine norm of restrictive emotionality influenced the way participants managed their emotions, most participants noted that it was acceptable to express the emotional states of happiness, excitement, or anger. Al noted that sadness was the least acceptable emotional state to express. “There [are] pretty much three main emotions: there's being happy, sad, or angry. And everything else is pretty much a combination of those three. I guess I should say happiness is the most acceptable, then angry, and then sad.”

Fear of their loss of control over the expression of their emotions was common among the participants. Ken noted the consequences of the restriction of his emotional expression.

I have really tried to let my emotions out and let them know how I feel because it is not good to just keep your emotions inside because, you know, they [female friends] won't be like "oh you don't appreciate me because you only keep it inside and don't show it" or if you have bad emotions inside they can just compound and you can just snap or break.

One participant expressed that he would seek psychological counseling services if he could not control his emotions. However, for the majority, their preference was to express their emotional state to women who they assumed would not judge their masculinity.

Well, sometimes when my girlfriend and I get into fights, I will go to other female friends just for help. Just to, I guess it is more of a venting thing. It's not necessarily me trying to figure out my emotions because I'm usually pretty good at knowing what I want. (Al)

The expression of emotional anxiety and stress to other people was not the only method that participants noted to manage their emotions.

A majority of the participants explained that they had methods for the resolution of negative emotional states that did not involve an expression of emotions with other people. Silent meditation and exercise were also used to manage emotional stress.

I go somewhere quiet, usually in my car, and I think about what I am doing and where I am and where I want to be. Then I think about what I do to get to there, to where I want to be...I'm not an angry person. I'm usually a calm person, but stress does build up and the way I release it is by working out. That is the thing I go to when something is bugging me I guess. (Greg)

Physical activity was reported as a successful tool for participants to release the stress associated with restrictive emotionality. All participants noted that the time they spent on physical activity allowed them to contemplate their emotions, find resolutions to the problems, and chart new courses of action.

*Moving Through Autonomy Toward Interdependence.* A majority of the participants noted that to be a man they needed have a high level of autonomy. They expressed that they were emotionally independent as that was entwined with “being a man.” Their focus was on instrumental independence, which included making independent decisions concerning their life’s goals. For most of the participants, the college experience proved to be their first experience with autonomy.

I think being able to make your own choices, that’s what I think. [Be]cause we just came out of high school. Being able to make your own choices, and being on your own basically. That is what I think most freshmen men are doing. They are more open to life, and I guess now they can choose what they want and what they don’t want to do. (Greg)

Equally, all participants noted that they valued the experience of interdependency with other men. Often this interdependence occurred in small groups where men work out together, study together, travel together, cheat on coursework together, and facilitate infidelity.

Participants explained that to achieve masculinity a man requires instrumental independence. Jeff noted that a man must not need support from others. “Like not relying on your parents is the first step. That means you are the man in your life. Your dad is



always going to be there but you are setting up your own standards.” Jeff then illustrated the point further, by explaining his independent process for his application to attend college, which he thought demonstrated his masculinity.

I think one of my best experiences was in choosing to come to UCR because like I did everything myself at that point. I applied here myself. I looked into schools. I did research myself. So, I made the decision to come here not based on other people or where other people wanted me to go.

However, when the potential outcomes of the decision were not positive, such as the decision to drink alcohol or cheat on coursework, the number of participants who were open with friends and family members about their independent decision dwindled. Three of the participants explained that they had made the decision to engage in romantic relationships and have sex. Neither their parents nor their religion supported these decisions. Although similar to making independent decisions, as discussed on the section about emerging adulthood, the unique difference here is that the decisions were made in opposition to the preferences of people who generally provided support and approval. Greg was the only participant to explain that he made a decision that was in direct opposition to his parents' preferences. At the same time he communicated his intentions.

My parents, they didn't really allow me to date [be]cause they thought I was going to screw up, but I knew I would do just as good...[Dating] wouldn't be a distraction to me. I told them when my next report card comes, "I'll even show you that this [dating] doesn't distract me." The report card came and I didn't change any of my habits. I pretty much did the same thing [by earning good

grades]. I showed them...I did a little bit better [be]cause in the end, when I graduated from high school, I was valedictorian.

All other participants explained that they had not told their parents about their decisions. Their lack of communications about their decisions with their parents may be explained by their unfinished development of emotional independence. Chickering and Reisser (1993) defined emotional independence as “freedom from continual and pressing needs for reassurance, affection, or approval from others” (p. 117). A majority of the participants noted that their parents were emotional supporters but not the sole supporters as they recognized connectedness to and interdependence with other men.

All of the participants noted a preference for personal connection with other men. The experiences that create these connections took the form of mentor relationships, close friendships, or groups of similar individuals. Sammy explained how the more experienced men on the baseball team taught him how to exercise more effectively. Steve noted his “Council of Gentlemen,” where the expression of private emotions could occur. Many of the participants explained the connection that is created when men share positive experiences.

A couple of friends and I, we went on a road trip over the summer for a community college and we just really bonded...[W]e were really good friends in middle school and in elementary school and then we kind of went to different schools in high school. And we still hung out every once in a while, but then when we got to come back and do one last “hurrah” before we all went our separate ways. So, that was probably the time I felt most connected or best with

other men...Like we just went out into the wilderness, well not wilderness. But just go on a road trip to kinda rough it for a little bit. To just get away for a little bit from our normal comfortable lives and just kinda depend on each other to just give us that comfort. And just have a relationship and fill that void that society or comfortability had filled before. (Ken)

While most participants offered uplifting stories about their time spent with their “bros,” one participant highlighted the bond created between men by cheating in class. Through the shared experience of cheating in class, which Arnold acknowledged as a serious violation of university policy, Arnold developed a stronger bond of friendship with other men. Arnold’s explanation of this bond illustrates an awareness of the need for interconnectedness with others men.

I think after you cheat, we collaborated together; it forms a stronger bond between some of us. Because we believe if we stick together through this then...it is kind of like one man versus the world; but together it is us versus the world. In a way we can overcome the system. We don’t have to study and study and study and do everything on our own. We can collaborate and work together to achieve a common goal and that is something that, in a way, unites us. Even though it is just cheating, it helps build our friendship.

The competitive environment between men in the institution as well as social and academic conduct policies create a conflict for men, as they are moving through autonomy toward interdependence. That is, men negotiate their autonomy, which may leave them at a masculine status disadvantage as compared to other men, or they bind

themselves to other men and potentially engage in behaviors that counter the expectations for behavior instituted by the university.

*Developing Mature Interpersonal Relationships.* This vector of identity development is concerned with the connection between the development of a sense of self and experience with relationships. The behaviors most associated with this vector are the development of interpersonal tolerance through the recognition of differences and commonalities of individuals, as they present themselves (Reisser, 1995). None of the participants spoke about a same sex primary friend. However, seven of the participants spoke about their inner circle of friends with which they expressed emotions, shared interests, and participated in activities. John noted that his fraternity brothers would be a new family for him and provide him a place to call home. Sammy noted the close connection between the men on the baseball team. “With the baseball team we are really close. It’s kinda like real close knit, just like a family.” Within these intimate groups the participants expressed that they were allowed to be men.

Just being able to have someone that you can mess around with, or someone that like... I think a lot of male friends these days tend to just insult each other just for the sake of it. So, that can be kinda fun sometimes, just like come out and say, “What’s up asshole” or just things like that can be fun. Just having someone that also has similar interests to you. Being able to do manly things—like I like to go air-sofing with male friends, just like to go play sports with male friends. I guess just having someone else like you—because girls and guys are way different. You can’t do the same things with girls that you do with guys. (Ken)

These data suggest that within close-knit friendships, men are able to explore masculine interests and reinforce their masculine identity, but they are not challenged to explore or accept differences. Instead, when difference was identified, the dissimilar man would find a different group. Don spoke about exchanging information on interests, sports teams, and experiences to assess compatibility with other men. When the participants spoke about their least favorite experiences with other men, the experiences they noted were consistently about self or an imposed realization that they were the dissimilar man in the group. However, outside of male-only groups, participants had opportunity to develop the ability to accept difference.

A minority of the participants noted the development of non-sexual, non-romantic relationships with women. They noted their surprise at the discovery that women were more similar to men than they had been aware.

I was nervous to talk to them and thought that they were a whole other species almost. Like I use to think that...you couldn't really have a close friend that was a girl just because they are totally different, but now I have completely changed that. I see that women can offer...[T]hey are pretty much the same as men, they just think differently. Since I have come to college I have had more interactions with women, especially having friends that are women and there are even some girls that I would even call "bros" because they are...somewhat similar to a guy friend. (Ken)

When Ken discovered that women are similar to men he also learned to recognize the worth of the different perspective they offer. Thus, this allows for development of more

mature interpersonal relationships. Don also noted the development of a relationship with a woman, with whom he had no sexual interest, whom he treated in the same manner as other men.

Well one of my friends in the hall, I call her my bro. I treat her like, not all the way, if she was a guy... I will be like "what's up dude," you know like "how's it going." I will just joke around with her and make fun of her and be like...[S]he tells me I am like her bro and I tell her she is my bro.

Don acknowledged the similarity this woman has to men, yet he does not interact with her in the exact same manner he interacts with other men. Thus, he respects the difference. The majority of the participants were in romantic relationships, yet the data do not yield information on the influence of romantic interpersonal relationships on identity development.

*Establishing Identity.* The establishment-of-identity vector is concerned with the development of a secure sense of self and comfort with oneself, that is, comfort with the complex set of characteristics and identities that create the self. Steve, who spoke about his connection to the "nerd" subculture, presented himself as secure in his identity, and he was able to articulate how he was different from and similar to other men. Don, who indicated that he was already successful in life, presented himself as satisfied with the type of man he was, which included the violation of policies. For the majority of the participants, identity development was in process. These participants spoke about their project to improve their bodies and self-esteem. Ashley's sexual orientation was regularly challenged and his emotional state was upset by those experiences. Greg and Ken both

exercised to improve their bodies and attract women. For the majority of the participants, much of their identity was in fluctuation, which included their sense of purpose.

*Developing Purpose.* This vector is specifically concerned with the establishment of clear vocational goals and persistence in goal attainment by aligning interests and activities with the achievement of those goals. Few of the participants spoke with conviction about their vocational goals. Arnold explained that his parents wanted him to be a medical doctor; thus he majored in Biology, and will change majors if he is not successful with Biology. Don wanted to study music, which he expressed as a strong interest, but his mother convinced him that he needed to gain a degree in computer science so that he could pursue a more lucrative field of work if he was not successful as a musician. John explained that he decided to attend the university so that he could find a job that paid well. He wanted wealth. He noted that financial independence was the foundation of masculinity. Within the group of participants who expressed intent to pursue a specific vocation, none had pursued activities aligned with the vocation, other than to take classes in that area of study. Additionally, none of the participants indicated that they would pursue employment in areas typically associated with women, such as teaching or counseling. Finally, there was no connection between the vector of development of purpose and male student misconduct.

*Developing Integrity.* Chickering and Reisser (1993) asserted that there are three stages to the development of integrity, all of which overlap. The three stages include humanizing values, personalizing values, and developing congruence. Prior to arriving at this stage of development, students are guided by a more “rigid, moralistic thinking”

(Evans et al., 1998, p. 40). None of the data indicated that any of the participants had moved beyond moralistic thinking.

I think being a man to me is knowing that you are doing the right thing regardless of what other people think of you. I think that is being a man, like being able to stand up for yourself and what you believe in. (Greg)

Greg's comments focus on "doing the right thing" and defense of his own beliefs. These are not examples of a humanistic values system that explore the beliefs of others to establish his personal conception of "the right thing." Greg explained that his moralistic perception of the role of integrity to define masculinity was based on behaviors. "I don't necessarily think the rules define the man; I think what the person does. What the person does despite the rules. Like I said my conception of the man is being a good person, be honest and respectful." As previously noted, the majority of the participants subscribed to a view of masculinity that embraced moralistic thought through "doing the right thing" and "standing up for what is right." Finally, the data provided numerous examples of a lack of congruency between the participants' actions and the values they assumed that men must possess. These data suggest that the participants in this investigation have not yet progressed in the development of integrity, which may explain some of their proclivity to violate established policies.

Identity development is a constant process that occurs throughout one's life. Chickering's theory of identity development has provided a framework for data analysis. Much of the development that was observed in these students aligned with the vectors in the model, such as developing competence, managing emotions, and moving through



autonomy toward interdependence. These findings are consistent with the model where each vector loosely builds on the previous vector. That is, first-year men develop the most in the first three vectors, as displayed in this section, with a tapering off of development toward the final vector. The struggle to manage emotions and move through autonomy toward interdependence suggests that underdevelopment of identity combined with masculine norms could lead to student misconduct.

### Social Identity

Social identity theory suggests that people use prototypical characteristics to classify themselves and others into ordered groupings, thereby allowing the individuals to define themselves in the social environment (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Once people are able to identify themselves in the social environment, they will engage in activities that are aligned with that identity, support groups that represent the identity, and “reinforce the antecedents of identification” (Ashforth & Mael, 1989, p. 20). In the section that follows, I present data that show discursive identities of masculinity; that is, the ways participants spoke about aspects of their own and others’ masculine identities. These discursive identities are the ways in which the participants think they are perceived and how they prefer to be perceived by other people, thus situating themselves in a social context. Some data illustrate that there are kinds of men that both appeal and do not appeal to the participants. These identities, which do not appeal to the participants, can be supported by the concept of hegemony, a view detrimental to women and dissimilar men. Finally, data support the affinity group of preferred membership, with participants’

preferences more indicative of predictors of male behaviors than those identified in the quantitative findings.

### *Discursive Identities of Masculinity*

A majority of the participants expressed a positive discourse around the masculine identity that can lead to a negative attitude toward women and dissimilar men. In every case where masculinity was spoken about in a positive manner, the participants used prescriptive language, which indicated their avoidance of negative discourses about masculinity. Greg posited that to be respectful a man must present positive characteristics. “I believe that I should be an example of what a man should be; respectful, a good person, and doing the right thing. That is, the three things that, well to me, makes up a good man.” Greg only used positive characteristics to define masculinity. Thus, he recreated a positive discourse about masculinity. Steve also repeated a positive discourse of masculinity that indicated that one cannot be a man if they engage in behaviors that Steve did not want associated with his brand of masculinity.

I would not consider someone a man if they constantly cheated, lied, and stole their way to some place on the social pyramid. To me that is just an individual. I feel that associating yourself with being a man has to do with approaching relationships in a way where everything is out on the sleeve. You don't seek to hide anything from people...Rules encourage people to not lie or not cheat or not steal. It tells people, “Do you want to be a man, a man of your word?” And, what is more a man of your word than being able to just say “I have never cheated on a

test; I have never stolen; I have never lied.” That is something I think we should strive for. Just being an honest man.

These types of positive discourse, which were found throughout the interviews, portray masculinity in such a manner that it appears to be an achieved identity of dominant men based on their effort, intelligence, and morality—an identity which ignores the efforts, intelligence, and morality of women and less dominant men. Ashley asserted that men bring order to disordered situations. “Men are sort of like the voice of reason sometimes and like they are more willing to listen to a man say something because he speaks with authority more than as if a woman would say something.” The concept of hegemonic masculinity asks women and less dominant men to accept an inferior identity on the basis of their own lack of dominant traits. Gee (2000) asserts that in modern societies, the inferior are “encouraged to see the ‘superior’ identities of the elites as achieved [discursive] identities rooted in their efforts within a fair and open system of competition” (p. 113). Once women and dissimilar men accept the dominant male perspective, they will adopt those views and become critical of their own perceived lack of achievement.

In addition to their positive discourse of masculinity, a majority of the participants also presented a discursive masculine identity that was one they did not embrace. Jeff indicated that there are negative stereotypes of masculinity with which men align their masculine performance because they do not have an alternate conception of masculinity.

I think people overthink that a lot. They want so much to be a man they become consumed by the stereotypes that men have. They become really rude,

demanding, controlling. So I feel like a lot of people don't really know what it is to be their own man. They just follow what everybody thinks a man is supposed to be.

Jeff indicated that there is a discourse identity of masculinity that stresses negative features that men are invited to internalize or reject. It is through the internalization or rejection of features of a discursive masculine identity that men categorize themselves into types of men (Gee, 2000). Close to half of the participants noted that they had not internalized negative features of masculinity, specifically related to the treatment of women. Instead, they attempted to present a more positive form of masculinity in opposition to the negatively ascribed masculine identity.

Young men in relatively substantial percentages do behave in sexually predatory ways toward women (Harvey, 1996; Kimmel, 2008; Martin & Hummer, 1989). There is a type of man that is sexually predatory toward women. Four of the participants described in part the characteristic of this man. For two of them, this was not a feature of masculinity with which they wanted to identify.

I talk to girls quite a bit. But I don't like... I am not the type of person where I could go up and be like "let's go and have sex." I mainly just talk to them to be friends and to get to know them and then if there is a connection I will pursue further but I really don't like the guys that will just go up and be like, "hey like what are you up to tonight...let's get down and dirty." (Ken)

Ken noted that those who solicit women for sex in such a brazen manner are clearly evident in the population of college men. That is, there are some men who are sexually manipulative, and these men exist in numerous sub-populations on campus.

Not to stereotype but a lot of fraternity guys or a lot of the sports. It is really a wide range of people. Everyone typically goes to like “oh that’s a frat guy who does that” but there is always those other kids you would think are completely normal and then they go over and just start being really creepy and hitting on a ton of girls. You can’t really put it on one person it is a whole group of people. It seems that every stereotype has some type of people that would do that.

Greg distanced himself from groupings of men when he explained that, unlike other men, he was a “good guy” who treated women as people rather than sexual conquests.

I have noticed typical guys around this age and high schoolers. They are kinda just in it for the pleasure and stuff. I am not really into that. In a sense, I really don’t talk to women to get something out of them. I usually talk to them when like one of my friends is down or something.

Greg explained that men who demonstrate predatory sexual behavior create an unfair and morally questionable environment for both men and women.

Because I feel when guys do that, I feel like they are using the women, and I don’t know. I’m the kinda of person that likes stuff equal. And, I don’t like to see people mistreated. I guess that is why I don’t see it right... From what I know, sometimes they act like a good guy, but they’re really not. And they are just guys... That’s like the kind of stuff I am really against. I think sex is a special

thing; it shouldn't be a doorknob where everyone gets a turn. It should be something special.

Greg's statements showed that he was frustrated with men who present themselves as "good guys," similar to the positive discourses surrounding masculinity that simultaneously promote a negative feature of dominant masculinity. These examples illustrate that there is a masculine identity that is largely negative due to its treatment of women as a sexual conquest. Furthermore, these examples demonstrate that not all men have internalized negative features of masculinity, but that this feature is often identified in men who participate in athletics and Greek letter fraternities. Finally, in spite of the frequency with which sexually manipulative behaviors toward women was noted disapprovingly by participants, that behavior continues to hold power over masculine status. Steve, who noted that he was too fearful to speak with women, acknowledged that masculinity was associated with "womanizing" in general society and also in his "nerd" subculture. Steve described a man in his group of friends as "nerd man," noting "nerd man is someone who has that sort of intelligence, clever wit, quick wit, strategic, yet also is a womanizer."

Arnold, Don, and John were all novice womanizers. During their interviews, each noted their attempt to have sex with different women. Their descriptions of their behaviors align with a treatment of women that the other participants eschewed. John, the fraternity member, explained that his reason for going to parties was to meet women and have sex. John described his method to meet women as a numbers game where he tried to approach as many women as possible, unless he deemed them unattractive. Yet, at the

time of his interview, John claimed he had not had sex with any women on campus.

Arnold explained that he was interested in casual sex, and initially he experimented with a woman who lived on the same floor in the residence hall to see if it would “turn out negatively.” Arnold explained that subsequently he had a series of short (i.e., two weeks) relationships but none resulted in sex. Arnold explained that he was not willing to engage in a long-term relationship with a woman because he had goals.

I think I am able to talk to a lot of women, but I just don’t wish to because I value my education a lot more than spending my time to a girl... I think that in education and my goals of becoming a doctor the time that I put in is more valuable and I am able to invest more of it than if I were to give up my emotions to a female— to a girl.

Arnold indicated that a relationship with a woman would be a distraction. “Definitely a distraction and a waste of time and money.” Arnold went on to explain that he had several close relationships with men and that those relationships were neither a waste of time nor money. Arnold’s attitude toward women demonstrated the attitude of superiority men have toward women, an attitude supported by a negative masculine discursive identity, which devalues women.

Throughout his interview, Don noted stories of his involvement in policy violation. He spoke about his consumption of alcohol, participation in drinking games, use of marijuana, noisy and disruptive behaviors in his residence hall community, and academic misconduct. Near the conclusion of Don’s interview he explained his technique for the selection of a potential female sexual conquest. The method Don described

illustrated his avoidance of the appearance a predator role while in pursuit of a woman solely for sex.

I have seen guys try to get at girls and they just screw it right from the beginning. You know they are just being freaks and you can tell the girl, like in her face, is like “get away from me.” So I think the first thing is talking to them and making sure they are interested in you. I mean, at least I can read when a girl is not interested in me. They just answer with one-word replies or they just have no eye contact. They are trying to get the business over with, but if they want to get to know you they will ask you questions as well and smile. They will laugh at your jokes and all that good stuff. So that is the first step—making sure they are interested in you. Then after that, if a guy is trying to get at a girl, it is seeing if they are down, you know if it is like a little goodie good girl that doesn’t want to and just wants to be friends then that is cool. Well for some guys once they see that point they back off because she is not down, but for me if she wants to be friends that is cool. But if they are down to hook up I can usually tell by asking them questions. Whatever you have to do like touching... So the way you are talking, how close you are together, and asking them questions will show if they are down. Then after that, for me, once I know they are down I go for the first move. I hug them on the side and just hold there and keep talking. I keep everything chill. Once they are ok with that, that tells me like “ok you are in.” Like you are already inside her. I don’t know what to call it. Like you are already there. You can keep going because she is ok with it and for me when I would



hook up with chicks in high school that never failed. Once I was already in their space hugging them and they are hugging me. After that I knew it was good and be like “this is all mine.”

While Don’s technique does not rise to the level of sexual assault or harassment, it is clear that he has established a selection process for women he seeks to manipulate sexually. Don’s technique grooms the women to accept his physical contact without a request for permission. When this technique is combined with negative attitudes toward women, alcohol consumption, reduced inhibitions, and ability to make decisions it is clear that one outcome could be rape. However, Don was not completely clear about how sex with women influenced his masculine identity.

Don noted that prior to his arrival at the university he regularly “hooked up” with women and that he maintained a sexual relationship with one woman in the present who was in high school back at his hometown. Don also explained that because of the woman back home he was not on a “mission” to have sex, but that he would have sex with a woman if the opportunity availed itself to him. Don described an experience where the opportunity to have sex with a woman occurred but he did not have a condom and thus was unable to engage in sex with the woman. He was told by the woman that he was an inadequate man.

We were about to do it [have sexual intercourse] but then I didn’t have a condom. But the thing is, I didn’t have a condom because I was like...because I was not on that mission. It just came up. She asked me like “why don’t you have a condom? You are a guy.” And, then I took it as an offense because I was like “I am not

trying to go for you.” Ya know. If it happens it happens. So that is why we didn’t go all the way.

Don was offended that the woman suggested that he was the type of man that would always be prepared to have sex. This suggests that even in men who attempt to engage in sex with multiple partners there is conflict between the discursive masculine identity that asserts masculinity is partially predicated on sexual conquest and an alternate masculine identity more similar to the “good guys” other participants identified.

These data show that there are discursive identities that are both positive and negative that the participants either adopted or rejected in their own discourse and presentation of masculinity. Additionally, the data demonstrate that male students’ behaviors are not always aligned with the masculine identity they want to project. Specifically, attitudes toward sex and women are points where there is a negative discourse identity that many of the participants chose not to accept even when adoption of that identity could bolster their masculine status. Finally, these data show that the participants want to distance themselves from certain behaviors and ways in which they present masculinity around women; they also want to distance themselves from men who behave in a dissimilar manner.

### *Social Identity Groupings*

The quantitative data provided evidence that suggests that men with elevated interest in joining fraternities or participating in athletics were more likely to be involved in student misconduct than those with diminished interest. The qualitative data have illustrated the stresses and strains when these students conform to masculine norms of

masculine performance in college. While the inquiry did not examine fraternity or athletic involvement in depth, analysis did yield evidence of the importance of social groups. Participants' responses were nearly identical when they identified and characterized positive experiences with other men. All of the participants explained that the most positive experience they have had with other men was when they spent time in groups of men with which they identified; that is, time spent in groups that validated their individual identities. Masculinity was an important part of that identity for participants.

You need to spend time with your guy friends, like you need to spend time with your bros because there is a different connection that happens. [T]hey are fun to hang out with but they are only fun to hang out with to a certain point unless you have feelings for them. (Ken)

Ken expressed a desire to spend time with his close male friends rather than women, unless there was a partnering attraction. Ken's desire to spend time with similar men is due to the masculine validation which occurs in such a group.

The ability to express one's view, emotions, and experiences without fear of judgment or masculine identity devaluation was an important factor in attachment to social groupings. Greg and his high school friends were all "geeks" but they could do "guy stuff" together.

We were basically all the geeks of the school, but we liked to all have fun and mess around. Those were my best experiences because we were all guys and we would talk about guy stuff. Like, did you watch this movie, did you guys hear

about the new car? We got really into the Walking Dead, and we be like, did you watch the latest episode?

Greg's "geek" influenced masculine identity was validated and supported in a group of similar men. Jeff also explained that when he spent time with similar men he could be less guarded with his behaviors and emotions. "It is just easier to talk to them. Because you don't have to worry about if you say something that they will either agree or feel the same. Being with them you can still be very open without being judged." Steve concurred with Jeff's statements about the value of time spent with similar men. "It was just sort of that ability to be open with people." These examples suggest that men are drawn to similar men where their identity is embraced and validated. Steve explained why he was connected with his similar high school friends but disconnected from his dissimilar cousins.

Why am I close to my friends in high school? Because they were capable of relating. Why am I distant from my cousins? Because I am not capable of relating to that sort of subject [machismo aggression]. Where they can relate to each other. Steve also highlighted that the part of identity he could not relate to was a masculine type—machismo, which in its negative form promotes strength, aggression, and restriction of emotion.

Social identity theory posits that individuals align their behaviors with their identities and they find groups that support those identities. Therefore, specific behaviors are more prevalent in some groups and less common in other groups. Steve with his "nerd" version of masculinity was able to find a group of similar men at the university.

Steve's group rents academic classrooms on campus and they play Dungeons and Dragons. Steve noted that there was no university policy of which he was aware of that he had violated. Similarly Al, who enjoyed exploration of the internet specifically to view memes, fail pictures, and YouTube videos, found a group of similar men. Al and his friends watch movies and play video games in the residence hall lounge. Al relied heavily on positive discourse to explain his adherence to social norms of masculinity, which distanced him from negative features of masculinity. Al noted that he had consumed alcohol twice during his time in college on campus and attended one party that he did not enjoy. The second time he drank, he had a single drink. Al's behaviors do violate university policies which aim to control alcohol consumption; however, they are hardly disruptive to the mission of the university. These men and other participants had an alternate perception of masculinity that eschewed more negative features of dominant masculinity. Their alternate conception of masculinity influenced their behaviors and their social group participation. These data suggest that although each of these men may have violated a university policy, the behavior was not performed consistently, was not a behavior that would be sanctioned by their social group, and therefore not a salient part of their identity. However, not all participants had these alternate conceptions of masculinity.

Don and Arnold each expressed an adherence to dominant masculine norms in the construction of their identity. They also expressed that their social groups supported that identity and the entwined negative masculine stereotypes. Don, who noted that he was already an adult, spent time with the other members of his band who were all older than

he was. The other members of Don's band drank alcohol and smoked marijuana. On campus, Don viewed himself as more experienced than his peers in the areas of drug use, alcohol consumption, and sex. Don readily smoked marijuana and drank alcohol on campus. Additionally, Don expressed enthusiasm over his cheating behaviors on electronic quizzes so that he could receive a higher grade in a course without effort. Similarly, Arnold explained that connecting with similar men was a valued positive experience.

The best experience is when your personality clicks—because there are different personalities in different men. Sometimes the personalities are incompatible. So when you find someone who has the same, I wouldn't say intelligence, but your same knowledge and your same perception of the world you find that more relatable. And, you share this camaraderie. So you have this camaraderie with the other person, with the men you are talking about. I guess that is the best thing.

Arnold's description of the value of similar men is not different from other participants' descriptions, but Arnold's masculine identity was aligned with a dominant form of masculinity: his risk taking behaviors were more frequent than other participants, and the behaviors of Arnold's group were dissimilar to the groups of other participants. Arnold's group coalesced around academic misconduct.

I think because after you cheat, we collaborated together, it forms a stronger bond between some of us. We don't have to study and study and study and do everything on our own. We can collaborate and work together to achieve a

common goal and that is something that in a way unites us. Even though it is just cheating, it helps build our friendship.

Arnold explained that it is through the shared experiences of academic misconduct in his group that their relationships are strengthened. The difference between Arnold and Don and other participants is that one group's shared experiences violate university policies and have potential to disrupt the mission of the university and the other group's shared experiences do not.

Sammy and John were the only participants who were involved in athletics or a Greek letter organization. However, their expressions of masculinity were not similar to each other's. Sammy's expression of masculinity aligned with several masculine norms but also challenged other norms. Sammy, the baseball player, spoke about his respect for women as well as "checking them out" while they are at the gym because "that is what they are there for." Sammy claimed to have not violated any university policies, but some of his explanations were suspect, in light of evidence from the other participants. Sammy spoke about his attendance at a dance party off campus, where a fight broke out—but there were no drugs or alcohol. Sammy explained that there were no drugs or alcohol at the party because people read the rules before attending and then followed them. Sammy was the only participant to assert that there are parties where alcohol is not served. Sammy noted that to violate university policies would be detrimental to the baseball team, and this rationale may have deterred Sammy from frank responses to interview questions. Conversely, John spoke candidly about his disgust of his experience as a pledge to a fraternity because he viewed himself as inferior to the active members. John

explained that he frequented fraternity parties where he drank alcohol even though he was underage and he tried to meet women. John expressed that he had no problem breaking rules as long as the consequences were not severe.

These data suggest a connection between masculine identity, behaviors that violate university policies, and social groups. Additionally, these data suggest that masculine norms and gender-role stress each separately and together influence the identity development of college men. Specifically, certain vectors of identity development (e.g., competence, management of emotions, and moving through autonomy toward interdependence) may be difficult for first-year college men to work through with adequacy. Finally, they show that men who would be drawn to groups where identities supported by masculine norms are promoted and supported are the same men whose behaviors may not align with the policies of the university.

#### Summary of Findings

In total, these qualitative data provided support for a more nuanced understanding of the quantitative findings, and as well they extended explanations for male college student behaviors. With the assumption that the effects of the college experience were controlled for prior to the participants' arrival on campus, it is pre-college socialization to dominant forms of masculinity that encourage certain men to develop interests in athletics and Greek letter organizations. While male role norms and gender-role stress may not predict the likelihood of a first-year male student's involvement in the student conduct process directly, it is clear that these features of masculinity affect first-year male students' identity development and social identity. That is, male role norms and gender-



role stress both influence the identity development of men. The social groups first-year men seek to join and affiliate with support the identity they have developed, and thus they may be more likely than others to violate university policies.

Both male role norms and gender-role stress restrict the way some men present themselves to others in their social world. These restrictions, primarily in the areas of expressions of emotion and the need to maintain status through competition, potentially lay a foundation for a masculine identity that has behavior features which include the devaluation and sexual manipulation of women, drug and alcohol abuse, and disengagement from academic pursuits. The actions of developing competency, especially physical competence, provide an area for men to compete with each other for dominance. Participants provided complex rationales to follow as well as to violate university policies. When men chose to abide by policies, it was to avoid consequences such as embarrassing a team or losing financial aid and because they believed that to abide by the rules illustrated their masculinity to others. Men who chose to violate university policies did so primarily out of self-interest, risk taking, and disregard for consequences. However, for these men, the violation of policy also illustrated their masculinity type to others. Therefore, conceptions of masculinity were a factor in the decisions men made whether or not to violate policies.

Based on the participants' perspectives in this investigation, the primary way that men expressed an alternate conception of masculinity was through their treatment of women conveyed in their perspectives on following university policy. Participants who expressed alternate masculinities expressed a discourse about the manipulative treatment

some men practice toward women. These men explained that women were to be respected and valued rather than manipulated and treated as inferior. Conversely, men who expressed a dominant form of masculinity attempted to manipulate women sexually and did not view women as worthy of equal status. These men, who expressed a dominant form of masculinity, explained that they were aware of policies that were intended to inform their behaviors but chose not to comply because they either had higher aspirations or deemed that the rules were not fit for them to follow.

The following chapter will provide a discussion of the findings presented in chapters four and five, related to the research questions and hypotheses. The chapter will also discuss the limitations of the investigation, implications for future research and practice, and a conclusion, which will highlight the contribution of this dissertation to the literature on first-year college men, masculinities, and student misconduct.

## CHAPTER 6

### DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

#### Chapter Overview

This chapter draws the investigation to a close and begins with an overview of the investigation, the research methods, and key findings from both phases of data collection. A discussion on the consistency of alignment between the key findings related to literature on college men, masculinities, and misconduct follows. This discussion explores a number of insights gained by the researcher applicable to both scholarship and practice. In an effort to further the discussion in the Methodology Chapter (Chapter 3) on the delimitation, this section of the final chapter addresses limitations to the investigation. Subsequently, implications for future research and practice are presented. Finally, Chapter 6 concludes with a final assertion about hypermasculinity and its importance on the influence of male college student behaviors.

#### Summary

Through both quantitative and qualitative research methods, I investigated the influence of hegemonic male role norms and gender-role stress on the likelihood that first-year male university students would become involved with the university conduct process. Addressed in this research were the influences of masculinities, social norms, and gender-role stress on the behavioral decisions of first-year male students. As well, this investigation acknowledged and considered the effect of first-year male students' identity development and social identity development on male student misconduct. Four hundred and twenty-nine participants completed a survey instrument that addressed

hegemonic male role norms, gender-role stress, demographics, and information on the participants' interests and activities. These participants also gave permission for their university student conduct records to be used for data that would serve as the outcomes variable. Ten participants, from the quantitative data collection phase, agreed to contribute qualitative data in the form of one-on-one interviews. These interviews took place throughout the academic year of data collection. The participants in the quantitative portion of this investigation were representative of the campus population of male first-year students. That is, the participants represented the wide range of ethnicities, social classes, high school GPAs, college affiliations, special-interest community participation, and residency decisions made by first-year male students at the institution. Inclusion as a participant in this investigation required the student to self-identify as male to the institution and be a first-year first-time enrollee at UCR during data collection. The participants in the qualitative phase of data collection were recruited from the quantitative participant pool. These 10 participants represented a range of ethnicities, social class standings, and types of masculinities.

The overall purpose of this investigation was to identify and explain the effects of adherence to hegemonic masculine gender-role norms and levels of gender-role stress on first-year college male students' likelihood of participation in the student conduct process. The primary research question was: "Does ascribing greater importance to fulfilling masculinity standards and experiencing greater gender-role conflict predict misconduct by first-year first-time male students?" To further the interpretation of the causes of involvement in the student conduct process by first-year men, three additional

questions were asked and then explored in this investigation: (a) What are the causes for adherence to or violation of university policies; (b) How do college men express dominant and alternative concepts of masculinities; and (c) In what ways are both the identity development and social identity development of first-year first-time male students influenced by conceptions of masculinity?

In the quantitative portion of the investigation, a cumulative odd logistic regression was employed to assess the influence of variables, selected from the literature, on the likelihood that first-year college men would become involved with the university student conduct process at either a “low level” or “high level” of potential consequence. In the qualitative portion of the investigation, interview data were analyzed, through content analysis, and then framed theoretically by Thompson and Pleck’s (1986) model of masculine role norm, O’Neil’s (1981) concept of masculine gender-role stress, and Chickering and Reisser’s (1993) theory of identity development. This categorization and analysis not only provided a nuanced interpretation of the findings from the quantitative phase of the investigation but also addressed the final three questions of the investigation, independent of the quantitative results.

Theoretical perspectives from the fields of education, gender studies, psychology, and sociology frame this investigation. The most salient theories are those concerned with the social construction of gender and masculinities, male gender-role conflict, and hegemonic masculinities. Published scholarly literature in these fields has posited that men are to a high degree encouraged by influential actors, such as parents (particularly fathers), teachers, coaches, and clergy, as well as by social norms to achieve socially

constructed conceptions of masculinity. The discourses of masculinity present a paradox of positive and negative notions of masculinity, such as the need to be honest, strong, and brave, and, as well, unemotional, hyper-sexual, and willing to take dangerous risks. Connell's (2001) concept of hegemonic masculinities illustrates how behaviors by men associated with dominant forms of masculinity normalize masculine behaviors and legitimize patriarchy so that men appear to belong, naturally and normally, in dominant positions that subordinate women and less masculine men. Men who are not able to achieve a dominant form of masculinity are pressured to conform to social norms for masculinity by others or face social consequences (Good & Wood, 1995; Pascoe, 2007). This enforcement can result in male gender-role conflict (O'Neil, 1981, 1990; O'Neil et al., 1986).

University policies are intended not only to support the mission of the institution but also to control the behavior of students, especially relevant to the maintenance of personal safety and property. Additionally, the university attempts to provide an environment that encourages the ideals of equality, tolerance, and acceptance (Lopez-Phillips & Trageser, 2008). These ideals, however, may be antithetical to some conceptions of masculinity. It is within this context that men who attempt to achieve a dominant hegemonic form of masculinity could find their masculine identity in conflict with the context of the institution. This conflict may be experienced as gender-role conflict because these men are not able to realize stereotypical male behaviors or ideals of male role norms. Male responses to this conflict can be presented by exaggerated behaviors that align with stereotypical hegemonic male norms, sexism, homophobia, and

hyper-masculinity (Harris, 2006). Gender-role conflict has been associated with problematic behaviors in college men (Capraro, 2000, Good & Wood, 1995, Harper, Harris, & Mmeje, 2005)

In this investigation, three behavioral patterns associated with gender-role conflict, in addition to adherence to male role norms, were investigated: (a) success, power, and competition; (b) restrictive emotionality; and (c) restrictive behavior between men. Due to the assumed negative influence on the mission of the university by male student misconduct, reduced outcomes for men in areas of persistence and completion of degrees, lack of scholarly literature about male students, and lack of male-specific interventions, this investigation of masculinities' role in student misconduct is warranted.

This investigation adds to a growing body of scholarly literature that addresses the challenges that college men experience at postsecondary institutions. Specifically, this investigation offers insight into the experiences of first-year college males as they attempt to resist or abide by hegemonically oriented social constructions of masculinity. There has been a dearth of scholarly work on the effects of masculinity on the experiences of college males, identity development, social identity development, as well as persistence and attainment in postsecondary education. Furthermore, much of the scholarly work on men has focused on specific male populations, such as student athletes and fraternity members. The primary focus of that research illuminated the prevalence of negative behaviors including binge drinking, illicit drug use, hazing, and sexual misconduct. This narrowly focused research on negative male student behaviors did not address the development, persistence, and achievement of male students, and thus academics and

student affairs practitioners have little to rely upon in their work with male students and their development in college. Institutions lack male-specific programmatic interventions to assist men who are challenged by their college experience. This omission can result in a disproportionate number of men who become involved in the student conduct process.

### Research Questions and Hypotheses

In this investigation, four research questions are offered. The first question is addressed by analysis of the quantitative data. The remaining three questions were addressed by content analysis of the qualitative data. Each question will be presented and discussed in this section.

#### *Research Question One*

The primary thrust of this investigation was to identify the influence of masculinity, specifically hegemonic masculine role norms and gender-role stress, on the likelihood that a first-year male student would become involved in the university student conduct process. The first question was: “Does ascribing greater importance to fulfilling masculinity standards and experiencing greater gender-role conflict predict misconduct by first-year first-time male students?” This question is of importance because male students are overrepresented in campus judicial processes (Dannells, 1997; Harper et al., 2005; Ludeman, 2004), and it has been suggested that hegemonic social norms for masculinity and gender-role stress may be contributing factors to this phenomenon. Quantitative data from 429 participants were collected with the use of an online survey collection tool. The survey consisted of three factors: status, toughness, and antifemininity from the Male roles norms scale (Thompson & Pleck, 1986) and three



factors: restrictive emotionality, success, power, and competition, as well as restrictive behavior between men, from the Masculine gender roles conflict scale (O'Neil, 1981). Each of the scales utilized measured different, underlying constructs of masculinity and gender-role conflict and had a high level of internal consistency, as determined by Cronbach's alpha. Additionally, demographic information was collected which included age, ethnicity, social class, high school achievement, participation in athletics, motivation to participate in Greek organizations, alcohol use, college affiliation, and special-interest community involvement. The outcomes variable, level of misconduct, was collected at the end of the academic year from the participants' student conduct records and was coded as "no violation," "low-level," and "high-level." The designations of low and high were based on the potential outcomes of the incident. That is, low-level cases were those where the student may receive a warning or educational sanction, whereas high-level were those cases that may result in probation, suspension, or expulsion/eviction.

The ordinal nature of the outcome variable required the use of a specialized regression model. Thus, the cumulative odds ordinal logistic regression with proportional odds was used (Agresti, 2010). In this model, the categorical outcome is divided into three regions (no conduct, low-level, high-level) by two cut-points. The model utilizes the cumulative probabilities up to a cutoff, which in turn makes the whole range of ordinal categories binary at that threshold (McCullagh, 1980). This scheme allows for interpretation of the likelihood that a participant will fall into one of three ranges of misconduct. This model makes two primary assumptions. First, the independent variables must not be collinear. Second, each variable must have proportional odds of predicting

the outcome variable. Analysis of the data provided support for the claim that these assumptions were met.

Various tests for goodness-of-fit of the full model, which included the six masculinity subscales and nine demographic controls variables, indicated that the model was a good fit. However, the final model did not statistically significantly predict the dependent variable over and above the intercept-only model,  $\chi^2(19) = 25.220, p = .153$ . That is, the independent variables collectively did not add statistical significance to the prediction of the dependent variable. The model predicted that all of the cases would be classified as “no conduct.” That is, the model never classified an actual case of misconduct correctly. Specifically, none of the subscales of masculinity utilized added statistical significance to the prediction of student misconduct.

With the knowledge that not all of the control variables in the full model were supported by scholarly literature, a *post hoc* reduced model was tested. This model maintained the masculinity subscales from the original model but reduced the control variable to ethnicity, social class, athletics involvement, interest in joining a Greek organization, and alcohol use. Each of the assumptions for this test was met. Yet, again, the model did not statistically significantly predict the dependent variable over and above the intercept-only model,  $\chi^2(14) = 18.992, p = .165$ .

However, in both the full and reduced models, two of the control variables either approached statistical significance or were statistically significant in the prediction of the outcome. These variables might be mediating the influence of masculinity on the outcome variable. These findings are intuitive, based on literature and support the notion

that dominant forms of masculinities may be influential on male student misconduct.

These findings will be discussed in the additional findings section to follow.

### *Research Question 2*

Scholars have hypothesized that beliefs about hegemonic masculine norms for the behaviors of men are linked to behaviors that generally violate university policies (Capraro, 2004; Harper et al., 2005; Laker, 2005; Ludeman, 2004; Martin & Hummer, 1998). Alcohol use has been linked to hegemonic conceptions of masculinity (Capraro, 2004) and alcohol use by men has been linked with many different behaviors that generally violate university policies. This body of literature led to the second question of this investigation: “What are the causes for adherence to or violation of university policies?”

In this investigation, participants indicated that they were able to express their form of masculinity both by abiding by and through their violation of university policies. This paradox of behavior is aligned with Genovese’s (1972) concepts of accommodation and resistance, where the men will choose which policies they will and will not follow, selectively. A majority of the participants explained that they understood the reason and rationale for the policies enacted by the university, but chose to violate them because they assumed that their behaviors were either innocuous or justifiable based on the context of the university as well as their perception of appropriate behavioral norms for college men. Scholars have noted that when behaviors that men find to be essential to masculine identity are prohibited, those men define the environment as feminine (Best, 1983; Brophy, 1985; Jordan & Cowan, 1995). Hegemonic masculinities assume that

masculinity is superior to femininity (Connell, 2001). Aligned with this concept, participants in this investigation explained that they violated policies because they did not recognize that the policies applied to them or their behaviors. Furthermore, some of the participants acknowledged that through their violation of university policies they illustrated to others that they were men who could make their own independent decisions, accept the consequences of their actions, and demonstrate that they were above the law.

Risk taking as a way to approximate adult roles in the development to adulthood was another potential cause for conduct policy violation by men. All of the participants noted that when they arrived at college they could begin to make independent decisions. Arnett (2000) has contended that independent decision-making is one of the most important criterion for emerging adults to transition into adulthood. Aligned with the notion of the ability to make independent decisions, several of the participants decided to engage in activities that were prohibited by their parents and in many cases by the university. Behaviors by the participant, not all of which violate university policies, included staying out late, drug and alcohol consumption, academic misconduct with groups of peers, and sex. It is possible that masculinities influence the behavioral decision men make and can lead them to take risks that are more likely to violate university policies than those risks taken by women.

Participants who did not violate policies explained that they followed the university policies for student conduct for three reasons: (a) morals and ethics, (b) fear of consequences, and (c) parental influence. Participants noted that their parents raised them to follow the rules and would be disappointed if they did not. The majority of participants

were male students whose behaviors are unlikely to result in their involvement in the student conduct process. Patterns of behavior for most participants included exploration of the internet for amusement, participation in games with friends (e.g., athletic, strategy, and video games), spending time with romantic partners, and just “hanging out.” However, at the precipice of adulthood, for these students, the pressure to make independent decisions and as a result violate rules was of considerable temptation. Two participants explained that since they receive financial aid they were indebted to the institution and feared the loss of financial support. A majority of participants explained that they follow the rules of the institution to display their high moral and ethical character to others, which was a reflection of their masculinity. That is, opposition to those who want to violate policies demonstrated strength, intelligence, and dominance over other men, thus elevating their masculine status. However, only those participants who were able to withstand punishment from peers could defy the pressure of the group to violate policies.

For the participants, violation of university conduct policy was often due to conceptions of acceptable behaviors for college men. Three of the participants expressed a contemporary masculine ideology that was supported by hegemony of masculinity. These men reported excessive alcohol consumption, drug use, misogyny, sexual manipulation, and academic misconduct. Conversely, the majority of participants provided a discourse about masculinity that was informed by hegemonic masculinity, but their behaviors did not align with the discourse. These participants, who were all first-year students, valued academic achievement, did not have access to drugs or alcohol,

were engaged in partnered romantic relationships, and expressed value for women as more than sexual partners. These participants avoided behaviors that would violate university policy.

These findings align with the concept of hegemonic masculinity as an ideology that positions men on a masculine spectrum (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Those men who expressed the most hegemonic masculine norms were the men who were violating university policies, regularly and actively. Conversely, several of the participants aspired to a higher masculine level but were not able to achieve that level of masculinity and their behaviors were aligned with the student conduct policies of the institution.

### *Research Question 3*

The third research question asks: “How do college men express dominant and alternative concepts of masculinities?” The concept of hegemonic masculinities, introduced by Connel (2001), assumes there is a dominant form of masculinity that supports patriarchy while it subordinates women and men who are not able to achieve this form of masculinity. Within this concept, there are different forms of masculinity that men can achieve (Edwards & Jones, 2009). From a young age, men are socialized to the social norms for masculinity by peers and parents (Ferguson, 2004; Pollack, 2000). Gender socialization, which occurs in social spaces, such as schools and places of worship, as well as in intimate settings such as with family and peer groups, serves a considerable role in the gender identity development of men. Additionally, mass media assist the development of masculine images that emphasize stereotyped views of

masculinity (Keith, 2011; Kimmel, 2008; Messner & Montez de Oca, 2005; Nylund, 2004). Although the manner of socialization is different for each male, especially when they are boys, traits of masculinity that are often taught include emotional stoicism, physical and mental strength, sexually virility, homophobia, and fear of femininity. Nearly all of these factors emerged as influences on the ways that participants enacted their masculinity.

Participation in athletics, for many young men, is of considerable influence in the development of masculinities. Athletics within the social context of the U.S. equates toughness of body and mind, aggression, and competitiveness with masculinity (Messner & Sabo, 1990). Seven of the participants engaged in physical activity to improve their image and masculine status. Often the participants noted the importance of being stronger, faster, bigger, and smarter than other men to their perceived level of masculinity.

The maintenance and advancement of masculine status was a common theme in this investigation. Masculine status was maintained by men's avoidance of the appearance of weakness or femininity. Conversely, masculine status was advanced by the participants' presentation of specific behaviors or their attempts at such behaviors. The appearance of physical strength, mental acuity, perseverance, sexual promiscuity, and willingness to drink alcohol and use drugs were all associated with the advancement of masculinity by participants. These behaviors were each situated as points of competition with other men to establish dominance. In this manner, the participants each attempted to

achieve hegemonic masculinity through the subordination of other men with whom they competed for dominance (Connell, 2001).

Stereotypical discourses that address masculinity were evident from the data in this investigation. All but one of the participants indicated that they were driven to achieve a lucrative job so that they could support their family financially, which is aligned with social norms for masculinity (Brannon & Juni, 1984, Willott & Griffin, 1997). Only two of the participants made explicit statements about the connection between heterosexuality and masculinity, yet each participant indicated that they were heterosexual. This aligns with hegemonic conceptions of masculinity that benefit certain men through an ideology that embraces misogyny and homophobia (Edwards & Jones, 2009).

The treatment of women was one area where both dominant and alternate conceptions of masculinity were expressed by participants. Contrary to Messner and Montez de Oca's (2005) discussion of buddies and Harris' (2006) findings around dating relationships of college men, the participants in this investigation were most often involved in romantic relationships. These men noted relying on their partners or other close female friends for emotional support and advice. Additionally, many of the participants noted that they preferred to establish a relationship with a woman rather than seek only sexual relations with women, behaviors that do not align with stereotypes for hegemonic masculine behavior. However, participants noted that there are men who are sexually aggressive and manipulative, and most often these men appeared to be privileged in their masculine achievement and frequently identified as student athletes or



members of fraternities. This aligns with both fictional accounts (e.g., Wolfe, 2005) and recent discussions of male athletes and sexual behaviors (e.g., Cohen, 2014). A minority of the participants explained their sexual objectification and manipulation of women. These findings are supported by literature that posits that misogyny and a perspective of women as sexual objects are common among college men (Rhoads, 1995). These participants explained that their motive for interacting with women was solely to engage in sex. These men noted their perceived superiority to women and, furthermore, that they would ignore or discard women they did not find sexually appealing. In this investigation, there were two types of men: (a) men who have developed a masculine identity that accepts their differences and acknowledges the commonalities with women, and thus treats them as near equals who deserve respect; and (b) men who have developed a masculine identity that objectifies women as sexual objects, recognizes them as inferior, and thus subjects women to sexual manipulation.

A number of scholars have indicated that men perceive academic achievement to be a feminine activity (Alder et al., 1992; Swain, 2005). Thus, academic achievement would not be an activity that advances others' perception of one's masculinity. Jackson and Dempster (2009) asserted that men often project an image of "effortless achievement" to avoid the appearance of femininity to others. That is, they balance an image of a man who parties and carouses with that of minimal academic achievement. Contrary to these findings, yet consistent with Harris's (2006) findings where college men assessed considerable importance to academic achievement as a manifestation of their masculinity, participants in this investigation valued academic achievement and

persistence. Aligned with Harris's (2006) findings, men in this investigation explained that their acquisition of a college degree would elevate their masculine status and allow them to provide financially for their family. Consistent with Harris (2006), participants noted that higher masculine status would be bestowed upon men who were able to perform masculinity in a stereotyped manner as well as achieve academically.

#### *Research Question Four*

Masculinity is one of several identities that exist, potentially, for men. Masculinity is a foundational identity that potentially influences men's identity presentation to the world. Therefore, the fourth question of this investigation asks, "In what ways are both the identity development and social identity development of first-year first-time male students influenced by conceptions of masculinity?" Chickering and Reisser's (1993) seven vectors of identity development, although not selected as a theoretical frame on the outset of this investigation, were later utilized to code data. This data analysis framework allowed for a detailed exploration of masculinities' influences on the participants' identity development process. Furthermore, social identity theory was used in the analysis of data that concerned peer groups to guide interpretation.

*Identity Development.* Nearly all of the participants in this investigation reported actively working on the development of physical competence, which is the first vector in Chickering and Reisser's (1993) model. Participants worked on their physical competence through exercise and club sports to relieve stress or develop their bodies to appear stronger to other men and to attract women, reasons bolstered by the attempted achievement of hegemonic masculinity. Intellectual development, different from

academic achievement, was not a major theme. However, it is likely that in their first year of college, the participants had not yet learned enough in any subject to express development in this area. Similarly, none of the participants provided data to support interpersonal development, which includes skills in communication and leadership. This finding is supported by Kimmel (2004) and Davis and Laker (2004), who reported that men are disengaged from student leadership and thus underrepresented in those roles.

Managing emotions is the second vector of identity development suggested by Chickering and Reisser (1993). Participants in this investigation all indicated that emotional expression was potentially dangerous to the way they were perceived by others, as men. The act of crying in public, and sometimes in private, was rejected as a behavior that was acceptable for men. However, the emotions of happiness and anger were emotional expressions that were acceptable. The findings of this investigation are aligned with the concept of fear of femininity and restrictive emotionality as discussed by scholars (e.g., Davis, 2002; Good & Wood, 1995; O'Neil, 1981, 1990). The masculine norm of restrictive emotionality prevented participants from the expression of their emotions publicly and limited their pathways for emotional management primarily to physical exercise and within intimate social groups.

Moving through autonomy toward interdependence and developing mature interpersonal relationships are the third and fourth developmental vectors suggested by Chickering and Reisser (1993). Participants linked autonomy and strength. With the assumption that strength is a stereotypical trait of masculinity, all of the participants indicated that they were emotionally independent and they worked toward instrumental

independence. That is, they made attempts at financial independence and independent decision making. These findings are aligned with the theory of masculine gender-role stress where men seek power and success to relieve gender-role stress (O'Neil et al., 1986). However, in their first year of college, none of the participants were financially independent from their parents and much of their decision making was tied to parental influence. All of the participants noted that they had come to rely on close groups of peers to fulfill their needs for entertainment, social exposure, academic preparation, advice, and exploration of emotions. Furthermore, in these peer groups, the participants reported that they could express their masculinity without fear of judgment from other men. Additionally, they could speak freely about stereotypical masculine interests that included popular culture, women as sexual objects and partners, cars, and video games. Through these social groups, the participants developed interdependence (Chickering & Reisser, 1993) as well as constructed masculinity (Kimmel, 1996). However, the participants rarely noted that they were challenged to respect differences and appreciate commonalities in others, behaviors necessary for the development of mature interpersonal relationships. Participants each expressed considerable affinity for their social groups; therefore, it does not come as a surprise that they would not seek out dissimilar people with whom to engage.

Participants did not provide sufficient data to address the final three vectors for development suggested by Chickering and Reisser (1993), which are establishing identity, developing purpose, and developing integrity. It is possible that the lack of age and experience of first-year men has not allowed for development in these areas. These

participants experience transience in their residency, may be in the process of puberty, and may have not developed a clear self-concept. Most participants were uncertain of their major in college or what vocations they could pursue. Finally, the participants' moralistic reasoning combined with intense self-interest has not encouraged the development of integrity.

*Social Identity Development.* Aligned with Kimmel's (1996) assertion that masculinities are constructed through male peer interaction, all of the participants noted the considerable importance of peer interaction on their identity development. A majority of the participants noted that in these intimate social spaces their identities were validated, they recognized a sense of camaraderie, and they could express their feelings. These behaviors align with Messner and Montez de Oca's (2005) and Harris's (2006) as well as Kimmel's (2008) findings where emotional needs of men are met by the creation of bonds within the intimate group. The participants reported that they met men when they arrived on campus and exchanged "resumes" of interests to sort themselves into social groups. This process is aligned with the creation of affinity groups where members have similar practices and concomitant experiences (Gee, 2000).

Reported behaviors aligned with social norms theory, which posits that the behaviors and interests of individuals are influenced by their conception of the social norms of their peers (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Berkowitz, 2003). Similar to Harris's (2006) as well as Kimmel's (2008) findings, four of the participants noted that within their social groups they would engage in sexist and homophobic behaviors that encouraged an unhealthy expression of masculinity. Specifically, men would encourage

others through a “bro code” in their group to engage in infidelity, sexual manipulation, risky drug and alcohol use, and academic misconduct.

Social groups have the potential to allow men a space to have their emotional needs fulfilled, where they can alleviate gender-role stress through the enactment of stereotypical male roles. Social groups also have the potential to encourage violation of university policies. Social groups that are comprised of members who have the ability to enact hegemonically oriented dominant masculinity will encourage risk taking, alcohol and drug abuse, violence toward men and women, homophobia, misogyny, and academic misconduct. All of these are behaviors that scholars have linked to college athletics and Greek organizations.

#### Additional Quantitative Findings

Although neither the full nor the reduced cumulative odds ordinal logistic regression with proportional odds models were able to predict first-year male student misconduct, two of the variables included in both models were found to significantly influence the likelihood of misconduct. Both athletics and fraternities have been studied and demonstrated as social places where dominant masculinities are developed, supported, and expressed (Martin & Hummer, 1998; Messner, 1992; Sanday, 1990).

In the full model, interest in athletic involvement had a statistically significant effect on the prediction of student misconduct, Wald  $\chi^2(1) = 4.302, p = .038$ . Specifically, an increase in athletic involvement was associated with an increase in the odds of violating university policy, with an odds ratio of 1.536 (95% CI, 1.024 to 2.305). That is, as athletic interest increases so too does the likelihood of becoming involved in the

student conduct process by one to two-and-a-third times over those with lower athletic interest. In the reduced model, this variable loses statistical significance but remains nearly significant. This study provides preliminary evidence that prior interest and involvement with athletics and future interest and involvement with athletics can be effective in the prediction of student misconduct or mediating the effects of hegemonic masculinity and gender-role stress on involvement in the student conduct process.

Athletics have been linked to the social construction of masculinity through coaches and fathers who demand that boys and young men follow narrowly defined, acceptable masculine behaviors (Messner, 1992, 2001; Messner & Sabo, 1990). Specifically, athletics reproduce masculine imagery and emphasize hegemonic masculinities that dictate a dominant conception of masculinity, which promotes heterosexuality, misogyny, and subordination of women while it affords men unearned status and privilege (Messner, 1992). Participants in the qualitative phase of this investigation who were involved in athletics in high school and continued to play sports on the university's athletics teams or club sports all linked their athletics experience to the development of their masculine identity. The participants explained that on the athletics field they were able to dominate other men, demonstrate superiority and strength, express aggressiveness and physicality, and develop a deep sense of self-confidence. These findings are consistent with previous scholarly literature (e.g. Harris, 2006; Harvey, 1996; Messner, 1992; Messner & Sabo, 1990). Furthermore, for male athletes it has been suggested that, in part due to the gender-segregated nature of most sports, athletics serve to limit men's conceptions of masculinity to allow for only a

heteronormative masculinity that devalues women in order to be acceptable (Worthen, 2014). Men who are involved in athletics prior to college and in college establish their masculine identity in that context have likely established a masculine identity that expresses behaviors that are in conflict with their university's recognized and acceptable behaviors for college students.

In the reduced model, participant interest to join a fraternity had a statistically significant effect on the prediction of student misconduct, Wald  $\chi^2(1) = 4.103, p = .043$ . Specifically, an increase in interest in joining a fraternity was associated with an increase in the odds of violating university policy, with an odds ratio of 1.253 (95% CI, 1.074 to 1.558). That is, as interest in fraternity involvement increases the likelihood of involvement in the student conduct process increases one to one-and-a-half times over those with less interest in fraternity membership. In the full model, this variable was not statistically significant but was nearly significant. This study provides preliminary evidence that first-year male student interest in joining a fraternity can be effective in the prediction of student misconduct or mediates the relationship between hegemonic masculinity/gender-role stress and involvement in the university conduct process. This finding is consistent with social identity theory that suggests individuals align their behaviors with their perceived behavioral norms of their peers (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Berkowitz, 2003). In the case of fraternities, popular culture as well as scholarly literature has documented negative behaviors associated with fraternity men such as binge drinking, drug use, academic misconduct, rape and misogyny, and violence (Martin & Hummer, 1989; Sanday, 1989).



At the time qualitative data were collected, only one participant noted pledging a Greek fraternity. This participant explained that his primary purpose for interaction with women, while at fraternity parties, was to have sex. He explained that he did not speak to women he did not find sexually attractive and that made him an “asshole.” Other participants spoke about their experiences with fraternity men. They noted that parties always included alcohol and that the members regularly attempted to manipulate women sexually at the event. These findings are aligned with Martin and Hummer’s (1989) findings that asserted that fraternities provide a social context that encourages stereotypical conceptions of masculinity as well as alcohol abuse, violence, and sexual manipulation of women.

The substantial influence on men’s behaviors by male peers has been reported in the literature (Connell, 1993; Harris, 2006; Harper et al., 2005; Kimmel, 1996; Swain, 2005). Furthermore, there is considerable evidence to support that athletics and Greek life promote and sustain hegemonic masculinity with members who may have higher levels of hypermasculinity than other men on college campuses (Murnen & Kohlman, 2007; Worthen, 2014). However, these additional findings suggest that conceptions of masculinity do have an influence on the behaviors of first-year college men and this influence can be measured by the students’ level of interest and involvement in particular single-gendered groups and not just their participation in fraternities and athletics. Specifically, first-year male students’ involvement with the university conduct process is more likely to include those men whose conceptions of masculinity align with their perceptions of normative behaviors for male athletes and fraternity men.

In sum, an ideology of masculinity can influence the behaviors men recognize as acceptable for their kind of masculinity. Individuals select social groups based on the alignment of their identity and the perception of the group's social identity. Similarly, social groups select individuals whose identities align with those of the organization. In the cases of athletics and Greek life, these men will likely be men who perform hegemonic masculinity. Through this process, stereotypical hegemonic masculinity is maintained on campuses by these organizations (Worthen, 2014). The consequence of this constant reproduction of hegemonic masculinity is that first-year men, who are not yet associated with such groups, find their way into the university conduct process while they align their behaviors with groups who, historically, promote disruptive and dangerous social behaviors.

#### Limitations of the Study

Due to the complexity of this investigation, there were a number of delimitations and limitations. When possible, each of the delimitations was addressed through the research design and methodology. However, some unanticipated problems occurred while the investigation was conducted. None of these limitations compromised the findings or implications for future research and practice. In the following section, I discuss limitation in sampling, measures, and data analysis.

#### *Limitations in Sampling and Data Analysis*

The qualitative portion of this investigation was intended primarily to aid in the interpretation of the quantitative findings. However, during analysis of the qualitative data it became clear that the qualitative data provided considerable information and new

knowledge on the causes and antecedents of first-year male students' behaviors, which could result in their involvement in the university student conduct process. In particular, the importance of identity development on behavioral decisions was evident, and led to the use of Chickering and Reisser's (1993) theory of identity development as an analytical lens that was not suggested at the outset of this investigation. Although theory drove the analysis, and with a total of 10 men who participated in the investigation interviewed only one time, there is a limitation on the depth and quantity of collected data. These data may not provide enough insight into the influence masculinity has on male students' identity development, masculine experience, and social identity development. The inclusion of more participants would have allowed for a more robust data set and improved the quantity of the evidence used to address the research questions.

#### *Limitations in the Measures*

This investigation explored masculinity and gender-role stress as predictors of first-year male student involvement in the university conduct process. Prior to the decision to utilize student conduct records as the outcome variable in the quantitative phase of data collection, the rate of first-year male involvement in the student conduct process was calculated for the previous three years. These rates indicated that 20–25% of first-year male students would become involved in the university conduct process. That is, with 429 respondents I expected 86–107 cases of involvement in the student conduct process. However, midway through the academic year data were collected and I was informed that the occurrences of involvement in the conduct process were lower for all first-year students. Subsequently, there were only 58 cases of involvement in the conduct

process present in the quantitative data. Therefore, it is possible that for some unknown reason, student behaviors were improved during the period of data collection or enforcement of policy was reduced. In spite of this limitation, there was sufficient statistical power present to test the hypothesis.

### Implications

In the section that follows, implications for future research on the phenomenon of male overrepresentation in the student conduct process are offered. Furthermore, suggestions for educators, and college student affairs practitioners who work with college men, as well as parents, are offered.

#### *Implications for Research*

There are considerable gaps in the scholarly literature on college men, first-year male students, and student misconduct. Each of these areas could yield further understandings to support the persistence and achievement of men in higher education, reduce the influence of negative masculinities on college campuses, and provide practitioners with much-needed theory to address male student misconduct. It has been hypothesized that hegemonic masculinity coupled with gender-role stress among other factors could predict the involvement of men in the student conduct process. In this investigation, first-year men served as the participants because of their considerable involvement in the student conduct process. However, first-year men are not representative of all male students on college campuses. Future research could expand participation to additional undergraduate years. A longitudinal study such as this would

capture misconduct over several years as the male student moves through the undergraduate years, and their development as adults and as students progress, or not.

The present investigation utilized a high number of control variables. Many of these variables were not needed as demonstrated by the *post hoc* analysis of quantitative data. In this investigation on first-year male students, the age variable's distribution was narrow and did not add to the interpretation of outcomes. Furthermore, the qualitative data illustrated that the participants had not yet made a commitment to their area of study: they had not selected a major and none of their extracurricular activities were aligned with a profession. Therefore, the inclusion of college or program affiliation is not applicable here and could be removed in future research of misconduct in first-year male students. Finally, the proclivity to take risks by emerging adults could be a factor that also correlates with behaviors that violate student conduct policies. Future models could include a measure of risk taking to assess multicollinearity with masculinity related constructs and perhaps control for this phenomenon.

While it was necessary to use student conduct records to ascertain the most accurate data about male student involvement in the student conduct process, this measure is not powerful enough to explore the fullness of disruptions men cause on college campuses. Therefore, instead of an inquiry on involvement in the student conduct process, inquiry into the frequency and types of disruptive behaviors by men could be noted and used. That is, there are innumerable instances of misconduct every day that go unreported and unaddressed by the institution. For research to investigate this issue, participants could be asked to complete a follow-up survey instrument where they self-

report behaviors and the frequency of those behaviors. The inclusion of a more robust outcome variable could allow for different outcomes to be observed. Furthermore, this study would be able to assess which behaviors are sanctioned by the institution unknowingly and those that are prohibited.

In addition to the use of student conduct records, this investigation was conducted at a moderately selective public research intensive, Hispanic serving research institution with a high number of first generation college students. While UCR is not without student misconduct problems, anecdotally, the rates of misconduct are lower than other institutions. Neither athletics nor Greek life provides substantial social opportunities for students. Thus, a similar investigation that relies upon similar methods to measure the influence of adherence to masculine norms and gender-role conflict on the likelihood of involvement in the student conduct process at other institutional types would add additional explanation to the phenomenon of male overrepresentation in the student conduct process.

The present investigation utilized, quantitatively, a measure of first-year male student adherence with hegemonic masculinity norms as assessed by the MRNS and did not find a direct influence on involvement in the student conduct process. During the interviews, none of the questions led the participants to speak about any specific form of masculinity. Yet, the qualitative findings suggest that there is a specific type of masculinity, unnamed by the participants, that is associated with a higher likelihood of involvement in the student conduct process. Murnen and Kohlman (2007) demonstrated that both fraternity men and male athletes exhibit higher levels of hypermasculinity than

men in other social groups. By utilizing a measure of hypermasculinity, future scholars could test hypermasculinity as a predictor of student misconduct. Such a study could allow for a predicative model of student misconduct. Conversely, rather than a focus in scholarship to college men who fail to persist and achieve in higher education and who violate university policies, greater attention could be given to those men who do not violate university policies and persist and achieve. A greater understanding of these men could inform colleges and universities on how to support men who are examples of positive masculinity on campus.

The qualitative phase of this investigation was of considerable importance to an explanation of the phenomenon under investigation. Since the investigation set out, initially, to employ a quantitative methodology, with qualitative methods as ancillary, there was a lack of depth and breadth of qualitative data. Future investigations could include more participants in interviews, as well as focus groups, with participants from specific social groups such as fraternities, male athletics, honors societies, campus clubs, and campus leaders. These data could provide more clarity on the ways in which an individual's masculinity shapes their social group participation and behaviors. This strengthening of qualitative data collection can add to findings and bolster the literature.

#### *Implications for Practice*

The nature of this investigation lends itself to a number of suggestions for practice to reduce the likelihood of male student involvement in the student conduct process. This applies to educators and student affairs practitioners, as well as to parents, who influence these men's conceptions of masculinity, their experiences, and the

consequences of their behaviors. Institutional problems with men have been noted by other scholars of men, masculinity, and student misconduct (e.g., Davis 2002; Davis & Laker, 2004; Davis & Wagner, 2005; Harper & Harris, 2005; Harris, 2006; Nylund & Nylund, 2003; Worthen, 2014), and this investigation adds support to that body of literature for practitioners.

Innumerable factors are important in the social construction of masculinity (Connell, 1993; Kimmel & Messner, 2010). Parents are among the most influential agents in a man's precollege socialization. That is, parents wield considerable power over how men define gender norms, gender appropriate behaviors and activities, and overall conceptions of manhood (Garbarino, 1999; Kane, 2006). Parents must be vigilant to protect their young men from the also-powerful gender messages of peers and popular media. From an early age, boys will be bombarded with messages about how they should behave, what they should like, and how they should respond emotionally (Kimmel & Messner, 2010). Parents must challenge those messages that support a hegemonic masculine ideology. Specifically, parents must be prepared to examine and challenge or restrict access to the abundant sources of gender messages and gender norming presented to their sons by popular media, through television, movies, and internet pictures/videos/blogs/sites, and video games. Furthermore, parents must be active in their education of boys to be respectful of women and explore interest in a wide range of topics and activities, as well as reflect upon the fullness of emotional expression. Fathers must challenge their own conception of masculinity and appropriate behaviors, and understand how those behaviors influence their sons' conceptions of manhood and



masculine development. As well, mothers must challenge their conceptions of masculinity and not make excuses for their sons' behaviors based solely on his sex. Such messages allow for negative discourses of masculinity to take root and ultimately influence their sons' masculine development. Finally, parents must support their sons, who might not rise to the heights of popularity most often reserved for stereotypically masculine men, such as many of those involved with athletics.

Involvement in athletics is associated with the development of admirable traits such as teamwork, leadership, dedication, and humility (Messner, 1995). Furthermore, athletics also promote physical activity, exercise, and the development of physical competence. When these reasons to participate in athletics are combined with the popularity of male sports in the United States, the escalation of participation in youth sports becomes understandable. However, parents must not focus narrowly on their son's athletic abilities as an area of singular interest, support, and encouragement. Parents must also encourage engagement in the development of interpersonal skills, intellectual skills, and critical self-reflection. Finally, if their sons are involved in athletics, parents should insist that their sons be treated with respect and not allow their gender identity to be attacked by coaches to elicit improved performance. That is, boys should neither be shamed by being called "girl," "wimp," or "pussy," nor should they be told to "be a man." Through these words, coaches reinforce hegemonic masculine conceptions, generate gender-role stress, and engrain misogyny in boys (Kivel, 1984; Messner, 1992).

Parents of high school and college age boys should begin to address some of the behaviors that lead to involvement in the student conduct process for men. Parents should

demystify alcohol use and challenge assumptions that all men, especially college men, drink alcohol. Furthermore, parents should discuss the role of sexual activity, both in and out of relationships, and decouple the concept that heterosexual masculinity is defined by risky sex with multiple partners. Finally, parents should recognize their sons for academic achievement and praise them for their efforts to study and work toward academic excellence. To influence young men's conceptions of masculinity to a conception that embraces a healthy version of masculinity that is free of gender-role conflict, parents need to challenge stereotypical gender-role norms that privilege hegemonic masculinity.

Before they go to college, men spend numerous years in primary and secondary education environments. As such, educators are also influential in the development of masculine identities amongst boys (Jordan & Cowan, 1995). Many of the suggestions offered to parents could be duplicated by teachers in schools to challenge and reduce unhealthy conceptions of masculinity. It is of considerable importance that schools stop the justification of poor behavior by male students with a "boys will be boys" attitude. Unchecked, minimally disruptive behaviors, which are validated by conceptions of masculine privilege, can grow to become major disruptions within and outside the classroom. Boys should be held accountable for their behaviors, especially violent behaviors or when they bully other students. However, institutions must temper punishment with development so as to not further influence the adoption of negative masculinities by boys (Ferguson, 2000). Athletics coaches who also serve as educators in this context should be expected to treat their team members with dignity and not bully members of their team. These coaches should be accountable to develop a team that

promotes academic achievement, celebrates inclusion of diverse member types, which includes those who identify as homosexual, and treats women and dissimilar men with respect. In doing so, educators can begin to dismantle the legitimacy of male dominance supported by hegemonic masculinity.

Schools need to provide clubs, programs, and services to support boys through the development of a healthy masculine identity. Each of these avenues of support must focus intentionally upon the reconceptualization of masculinity to assist boys in the development of positive and conflict-free gender identities. Ideally, there would be opportunities for single-gendered affinity activity and focused clubs and organizations where boys could further develop their social identity and learn techniques to challenge negative hegemonic masculine norms. Boys who participate and lead these clubs, as well as those involved in other non-athletic activities, should be recognized regularly by campus administrators for their efforts and achievements. Finally, to counter the message of male underachievement in school, boys who achieve academically should be praised publicly for their academic prowess. Through the creation of space for and promotion of alternate forms of masculinity, administrators and educators can counter the hegemonic message that there is only one acceptable form of masculinity for men to achieve.

Not all men in college become involved in the student conduct process, yet more men than women do. Furthermore, the disruptions, due to male behaviors that are not detected and formalized in the campus student conduct process, continue to plague institutions of higher education. If the pipeline to higher education thrusts men with unhealthy and hegemonic conceptions of masculinity into college, then it is incumbent

upon faculty and student affairs practitioners to respond. To reduce the overrepresentation of men in the student conduct process, institutions of higher education must develop or adopt programs that support the development of healthy masculinities, challenge student support services to make their services relevant and accessible to men, reframe the disciplinary process to be more developmental and less adversarial, and address the influence of athletics and Greek life on male student misconduct. Prior to the creation of any programs for students, institutions need to devote considerable human and financial resources to the professional development of faculty and staff. Both faculty and staff must have tools to challenge conceptions of hegemonic masculinity and support the development of healthy alternative masculinities. Without such tools to address hegemonic masculinity, these institutional actors are likely to either ignore disruptive behaviors, leaning on the “boys will be boys” discourse or as Laker (2005) found, they will do nothing more than ask the men to stop behaving badly without either party addressing the root cause.

The first introduction to campus—either through new student orientation or welcome activities at the start of the academic year—serves as an opportune time to challenge male students’ perceptions of acceptable gendered social norms and replace those perceptions with contextually accurate information on the acceptable behaviors for men within the campus environment (Pascarella, Terenzini, & Wolfle, 1986). Presentations which dispel myths about the undergraduate college experience to include the role of sex, drugs, alcohol, athletics, and Greek life can allow men to anticipate appropriate behaviors and understand the gendered context of the campus. Single-gender

sessions would also allow men to explore masculinity in the context of the institution while they also address questions that could be more salient for men. However, these presentations must be authentic and factual. That is, if new male students' perceptions about masculinity in college, especially within athletics and Greek life, are those of heteronormative hegemonic masculinities and that perception is accurate for that campus, then the campus needs to address those organizations and their behaviors.

During this initial introduction of new students to campus, clubs, organizations, and campus leaders that are exemplars of healthy conflict-free positive masculine behaviors should be introduced to male students. This introduction will demonstrate that there are people and organizations on campus not associated with negative masculinities, provide opportunities for involvement and mentorship with such people and organizations, and reinforce a positive notion of masculinity. If institutions fail to introduce male students to their campus and dispel conceptions of negative masculinity in an effective manner, then men will turn to stereotypical masculine behavior that can result in their involvement with the student conduct process.

For many men, parental influence is of considerable importance to their behaviors and for their identity development. When they perceive close relationships with their parents they experience less gender-role conflict and stress (Good & Fischer, 1998). Thus, institutions might want to host informational sessions for parents of men during new student orientation or other welcome activities. These sessions could address common challenges to the persistence and achievement of men, challenges that men face to abide by student conduct policies, availability of support services provided on the

campus for men, and methods to assist their continued support of their son's gender identity development, emergence as an adult, and social identity development. Parents should be able to speak with those staff members who work with men such as residence life professionals, academic advisors, student club and organization advisors, Greek life advisors, coaches, mental health counselors, drug and alcohol counselors, and police. The primary goal of these sessions would be for the institution to begin a partnership with parents of men to support these men as they transition to college, persist, and finally graduate.

The role of formal and informal counseling for men must be addressed to reduce male overrepresentation in the student conduct process. Davis (2002) found that men identify a lack of gender-specific support on college campuses. Therefore, whenever feasible, student services offices should address the importance of positive masculinity on male students' health, mental health, persistence, and academic achievement.

Recreational facilities are uniquely poised to present messages of positive masculinity in an area that attracts a high number of men with alternate conceptions of masculinity.

Furthermore, institutions should support the creation of single-gender, non-Greek clubs that could allow for safe and healthy peer interactions. Cultural offices are also sites to challenge negative masculinities, especially when they are associated with culturally specific forms of dominant masculinity such as the Machismo form of masculinity observed in some Latin American men (Fragoso & Kashubeck, 2000; Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000). Finally, institutions should create men's resource centers that mirror the functions of women's resource centers but for male students. These centers could

provide resources to combat common challenges that men face in college. The mission of these centers would be to educate students primarily—and faculty and staff secondarily—on issues that surround masculinity, challenges to persistence and achievement, violence prevention, gender specific drug and alcohol prevention, and conceptions about masculinities. Furthermore, these centers could provide a safe space for men to develop healthy productive male relationships.

Student conduct officers are well positioned within the institution to work with men. These professionals can have developmentally appropriate conversations and convince male students to engage in self-reflection on their form of masculinity. This self-reflection can allow the men to identify dysfunctional behaviors that can be due to their conceptions of masculinity and ways in which they can modify their behaviors. One method student conduct officers could utilize involves small group sessions, as suggested by Ludeman (2004). In these sessions, led by the student conduct officer, male students who have all been involved in the student conduct process explain their experiences, conceptions of masculinity, and experiences in college to develop their identity. Ludeman (2004) asserts that these meetings should be framed, for the men involved, as developmental rather than punitive. The developmental frame is of considerable importance to reduce the adversarial and competitive nature of many disciplinary processes (Gehring, 2001).

Student conduct processes do not have to be mirrored after court proceedings. Institutions should consider a modification to their conduct process to create a process that is developmental in nature. Rather than investigative meetings designed to generate

findings of responsibility for misconduct, institutions could create a process that is more educational, which asks men who are alleged policy violators to participate. This educational process would focus exclusively on the students' education and development, through the use of the incident as a teaching moment. Such a process would be a stark contrast to highly procedural processes that are utilized presently. Students who choose to not partner in their development can then be treated to the university conduct process.

Administrators need to be aware of gender-related misconduct. Harper et al. (2005) suggests that student conduct administrators should carry out an annual assessment of cases of misconduct and disaggregate the data by gender to ascertain patterns of male involvement in the student conduct process. The outcomes of this analysis could inform campus constituents' programmatic efforts and inform the student conduct process office on the effectiveness of sanctioning practices on the reduction of recidivism.

Those men who were involved in athletics in high school or in college and those men who expressed a high level of interest in joining a fraternity were more likely to become involved in the student conduct process. Furthermore, the participants who were interviewed who spoke about fraternity involvement or athletic involvement expressed hegemonic masculine attitudes and behaviors that violate university policy. Therefore, to address the overrepresentation of men in the student conduct process, professionals who coach or advise these organizations need to be a part of that process. Campus administrators must insist that coaches and other athletic personnel are aware of the issues linked to masculine norms and identity. The historical record that charts high-



profile incidents of misconduct by male athletes can motivate athletics personnel to understand the considerable need to reduce masculine gender-related misconduct (e.g., sexual harassment and assault, violence, and incidents connected to drug and alcohol use). Those athletic personnel who work most closely with men must also be vigilant to challenge unhealthy conflict producing conceptions of masculinity. Furthermore, they must sanction team members who violate university policies about academic misconduct, sexual misconduct, drug and alcohol use, and violence.

Popular media have assured that men will come to college with a perception that fraternities offer an alcohol filled, attractive female laden, party environment where men can express masculine norms, however unhealthy or unethical. If the popular perception of incoming male students is inaccurate, then the institution needs to take steps to change these perceptions, and if accurate then change their organizations. Campus administrators and Greek life advisors must work with the campus Greek community as a whole and its individual chapters to curb gender-related misconduct. To accomplish this goal, Greek life advisors must understand the role of masculinity and gender-role stress on the development of hypermasculinity among members. To disrupt the reproduction of unhealthy hegemonic masculinity, all members and new members should be exposed to programming that challenges notions of heteronormative and hegemonic masculine norms and behaviors (Worthen, 2014). Problematic behaviors by chapters should be cataloged and coded to demonstrate where masculinity has influenced the expression of behaviors that violate university policy or create gender-related concerns. Greek life advisors and chapter leaders should then be charged with the reduction of those

disruptive and destructive behaviors. Finally, as suggested by Harris (2006), the entire campus's Greek community should be called together to discuss reports of gender-related misconduct and work as a community to find solutions to those issues. Chapters that are unable to reduce problems in their houses should face sanctions up to the removal of their chapter from the campus.

The problem of male student misconduct is not new to higher education (Harper et al, 2005). Although many students achieve baccalaureate degrees each year, due to their behaviors there are men for whom this achievement will never be a reality. More dire, these behaviors can result in irreparable harm to others and include death (e.g., alcohol poisoning, alcohol related accidents, and hazing rituals). To reduce the overrepresentation of men in the student conduct process will require sustained effort by many entwined actors. However, a start of the process is with parents, who have considerable influence on the development of gender identity, and by continuing with educators through college it is possible to re-conceptualize masculinity in a form that embraces gender equity, supports sexual difference, eschews violence, and is healthy for the men who include masculinity in their identity. These men can be the fathers of tomorrow who help their boys develop healthy and conflict free masculinity.

### Conclusion

Adherence to hegemonic masculine norms and the experience of gender-role conflict as measured quantitatively in this investigation were not predictive of participation in the student conduct process. However, that does not mean that those constructs are not predictive of behaviors that could result in male student involvement in

the conduct process. Involvement with athletics and intent to join a fraternity were independently predictive of involvement in the student conduct process, which might suggest that these variables are mediating the influence of masculinity on the outcome. Participants in both of these social groups have been shown empirically to possess higher levels of hypermasculinity. The qualitative data of this investigation illustrate the considerable influence of hegemonic masculinity on the behavior of men, their identity development, and their social identity development. Specifically, the men who expressed the most intense hegemonic masculine attitudes also noted their frequent disregard for university policies, which will likely result in their future participation in the student conduct process.

This investigation provides support for the claim that adherence to hegemonic masculine norms and gender-role stress influence the negative behaviors of men associated with stereotypical masculinity. Furthermore, this investigation provides preliminary evidence to suggest that hypermasculinity might be a more suitable measure to predict male involvement in the student conduct process. Finally, this investigation demonstrates that a large proportion of men on college campuses possess alternate forms of masculinity that are informed by hegemonic masculinity but do not appear to result in misogyny, homophobia, academic misconduct, drug and alcohol abuse, and violence.

While there are numerous areas for future research on college men, masculinities, and student misconduct, investigations of the role of hypermasculinity and gender-role conflict on the predication of negative gender-related misconduct is of considerable importance. Such research could have implications for the design of specific

interventions and sanctions to reduce male student misconduct. The findings and conclusions of this investigation provide new information and support for the development of programs, support services, and interventions for men that can improve the college experience for all college men and women.

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## Appendix A: Male Role Norms Scales

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### Scales and Items

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#### Status Norm Scale

1. Success in his work has to be man's central goal in this life.
2. The best way for a young man to get the respect of other people is to get a job, take it seriously, and do it well.
3. A man owes it to his family to work at the best-paying job he can get.
4. A man should generally work overtime to make more money whenever he has the chance.
5. A man always deserves the respect of his wife and children.
6. It is essential for a man to always have the respect and admiration of everyone who knows him.
7. A man should never back down in the face of trouble.
8. I always like a man who's totally sure of himself.
9. A man should always think everything out coolly and logically, and have rational reasons for everything he does.
10. A man should always try to project an air of confidence even if he really doesn't feel confident inside.
11. A man must stand on his own two feet and never depend on other people to help him do things.

Appendix A *Continued*

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Scales and Items

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Toughness Norm Scale

1. When a man is feeling a little pain he should try not to let it show very much.
2. Nobody respects a man very much who frequently talks about his worries, fears, and problems.
3. A good motto for a man would be “When the going gets tough, the tough get going.”
4. I think a young man should try to become physically tough, even if he’s not big.
5. Fists are sometimes the only way to get out of a bad situation.
6. A real man enjoys a bit of danger now and then.
7. In some kinds of situations a man should be ready to use his fists, even if his wife or his girlfriend would object.
8. A man should always refuse to get into a fight, even if there seems to be no way to avoid it.

Anti-femininity Norm Scale

1. It bothers me when a man does something that I consider “feminine.”
2. A man whose hobbies are cooking, sewing, and going to the ballet probably wouldn’t appeal to me.
3. It is a bit embarrassing for a man to have a job that is usually filled by a woman.
4. Unless he was really desperate, I would probably advise a man to keep looking rather than accept a job as a secretary.

Appendix A *Continued*

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Scales and Items

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5. If I heard about a man who was a hairdresser and a gourmet cook, I might wonder how masculine he was.
6. I think it's extremely good for a boy to be taught to cook, sew, clean the house, and take care of younger children.
7. I might find it a little silly or embarrassing if a male friend of mine cried over a sad love scene in a movie.

## Appendix B: Gender Role Conflict Scale

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### Scales and Items

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#### Success, power, competition

1. Moving up the career ladder is important to me.
2. Making money is part of my idea of being a successful man.
3. I sometimes define my personal value by career success.
4. I evaluate other people's value by their level of achievement and success.
5. I worry about failing and how it affects my doing well as a man.
6. Doing well all the time is important to me.
7. I often feel that I need to be in charge of those around me.
8. Competing with others is the best way to succeed.
9. Winning is a measure of my value and personal worth.
10. I strive to be more successful than others.
11. I am often concerned about how others evaluate my performance at work or school.
12. Being smarter or physically stronger than other men is important to me.
13. I like to feel superior to other people.

#### Restrictive emotionality

1. I have difficulty telling others I care about them.
2. Strong emotions are difficult for me to understand.
3. Expressing feelings makes me feel open to attack by other people.
4. Talking (about my feelings) during sexual relations is difficult for me.
5. I have difficulty expressing my emotional needs to my partner.

Appendix B *Continued*

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Scales and Items

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6. I have difficulty expressing my tender feelings.
7. Telling others of my strong feelings is not part of my sexual behavior.
8. I often have trouble finding words that describe how I am feeling.
9. I do not like to show my emotions to other people.
10. Telling my partner my feelings about him/her during sex is difficult for me.

Restrictive affectionate behavior between men

1. Verbally expressing my love to another man is difficult for me.
2. Affections with other men makes me tense.
3. Expressing my emotions to other men is risky.
4. Men who touch other men make me uncomfortable.
5. Hugging other men is difficult for me.
6. I am sometimes hesitant to show my affection to men because of how others might perceive me.
7. Being very personal with other men makes me feel uncomfortable.
8. Men who are overly friendly to me, make wonder about their sexual preference (men or women)

Conflict between work and family relations

1. I feel torn between my hectic work schedule and caring for my health.
2. My career, job, or school affects the quality of my leisure or family time.
3. Finding time to relax is difficult for me.



Appendix B *Continued*

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Scales and Items

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4. My needs to work or study keep me from my family or leisure more than I would like.
5. My work or school often disrupts other parts of my life (home, health, leisure).
6. Overwork, and stress, caused by a need to achieve on the job or in school, affects/hurts my life.

## Appendix C: Demographic and Interest Scales

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### Scales and Items

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#### Demographic Information I

1. Please select the race / ethnicity that best describes you.
  1. Asian / Pacific Islander
  2. White / Caucasian (non-Hispanic)
  3. Mexican American / Chicano
  4. Other Latino
  5. Black / African American
  6. Native American
  7. Indian
  8. Middle Eastern
  9. Other, please specify
  
2. How old will you be on October 1 of this year?
  1. 16 or younger
  2. 17
  3. 18
  4. 19
  5. 20
  6. 21-24
  7. 25-29
  8. 30-39
  9. 40-54
  10. 55 or older
  
3. Do you consider yourself to be:
  1. Heterosexual or straight
  2. Gay or lesbian
  3. Bisexual
  
4. Please select your gender identity (select all that apply):
  1. Woman
  2. Man
  3. Transgender
  4. Another identity, please specify

5. Are you enrolled (or enrolling) as a: (select one)
- |                      |                      |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Full-time student | 2. Part-time student |
|----------------------|----------------------|
6. What was your average grade in high school? (select one)
- |            |       |
|------------|-------|
| 1. A or A+ | 5. B- |
| 2. A-      | 6. C+ |
| 3. B+      | 7. C  |
| 4. B       | 8. D  |
7. What is the best estimate of your parent' total income last year? Consider income from all sources before taxes. (select one)
- |                       |                         |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Less than \$10,000 | 8. \$50,000 – 59,999    |
| 2. \$10,000 – 14,999  | 9. \$60,000 – 74,999    |
| 3. \$15,000 – 19,999  | 10. \$75,000 – 99,999   |
| 4. \$20,000 – 24,999  | 11. \$100,000 – 149,999 |
| 5. \$25,999 – 29,000  | 12. \$150,000 – 199,999 |
| 6. \$30,000 – 39,999  | 13. \$200,000 – 249,999 |
| 7. \$40,000 – 49,999  | 14. \$250,000 or more   |
8. What is the highest level of formal education obtained by your parents? (select one in each column) (Two columns one each for Father and Mother)
- |                                      |                         |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Junior high/Middle school or less | 5. Some college         |
| 2. Some high school                  | 6. College degree       |
| 3. High school graduate              | 7. Some graduate school |
| 4. Postsecondary school not college  | 8. Graduate degree      |

9. Please select the college of your anticipated major (business, education, psychology, etc) while in school.

1. College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences
2. College of Natural Arts and Sciences
3. College of Engineering

10. Please select your residence type during the coming school year.

1. On-campus Housing (Dorms)
2. On-campus Housing (Apartments)
3. Off-campus Housing with parents / guardians
4. Off-campus Housing without parents / guardians

11. Please select all learning communities you will be a part of during your first-year

1. None
2. Honors
3. Mundo
4. Pan African Theme Hall
5. CNAS Learning Community
6. CHASS Learning Community
7. COE Learning Community
8. Pre-Business

12. For the activities below, indicate which ones you did during the past year. If you engaged in an activity frequently, select “F”. If you engaged in an activity on or more times, but not frequently, mark “O” (Occasionally). Mark “N” (Not at all) if you have not performed the activity during the past year. (Mark one for each item)

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. Smoked cigarettes    | 5. Skipped school/class                |
| 2. Drank beer           | 6. Fell asleep in class                |
| 3. Drank wine or liquor | 7. Failed to complete homework on time |
| 4. Came late to class   |  |

13. During your last year in high school, how much time did you spend during a typical week doing the following activities? The scale is: none, less than 1 hour, 1-2, 3-5, 6-10, 11-15, 16-20, Over 20

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Exercise or sports | 4. Playing video / computer games                 |
| 2. Partying           | 5. Online social networks (Myspace, Facebook, etc |
| 3. Watching TV        |   |

14. Please select your level of agreement or disagreement to the statements below. The scale is: 1= very strongly disagree, 2= strongly disagree, 3= disagree, 4=neutral, 5=agree, 6=strongly agree, and 7= very strongly agree.

1. During High school I actively participated in athletic activities.
2. During college I plan on actively participating in varsity athletic activities.
3. I am interested in joining a fraternity.
4. I am interested in joining non-greek affiliated clubs and/or organization.

Appendix D: Correlations Table

	Status	Toughness	Anti-femininity	SSPC	RE	RABBM	Fraternity	GPA	SES	Asian
Status	1									
Toughness	.260**	1								
Anti-femininity	.182**	.449**	1							
SSPC Score	.447**	.347**	.228**	1						
RE	.100*	.178**	.271**	.323**	1					
RABBM	.186**	.186**	.443**	.360**	.657**	1				
Fraternity	.236**	.312**	.195**	.213**	.049	.085	1			
GPA	.048	-.030	-.049	.084	.009	.072	-.061	1		
SES	-.182**	.067	.099*	-.054	-.051	-.099*	-.071	-.029	1	
Asian	-.082	-.013	-.049	.025	.104*	.082	-.079	-.097*	.125**	1
Caucasian	-.082	.074	.003	.027	.012	-.015	.031	.085	.264**	-.357**

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

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

Appendix D

*Continued*

	Status	Toughness	Anti-femininity	SSPC	RE	RABBM	Fraternity	GPA	SES	Asian
Mexican	.143**	-.004	.049	.011	-.069	-.027	.074	.039	-.385**	-.583**
African	.058	.003	-.031	-.044	-.072	-.067	.027	-.043	-.050	-.175**
Athletics	.174**	.172**	.187**	.114*	-.076	.038	.251**	.076	.033	-.084
CHASS	.039	.060	.058	-.027	-.066	-.083	.088	-.252**	-.096*	-.104*
CNAS	.007	-.056	-.090	.042	.045	.046	-.039	.126**	-.006	.141**
LC	-.024	-.080	-.138**	.033	-.043	-.053	.014	.082	.048	.125**
Alcohol	.019	.152**	.036	.034	-.017	-.105*	.262**	-.121*	-.043	-.104*
Age	-.074	-.010	-.005	.045	.000	.001	.038	-.019	.061	.055

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

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

Appendix D

*Continued*

	Caucasian	Mexican	African	Athletics	CHASS	CNAS	LC	Alcohol	Age
Caucasian	1								
Mexican	-.297**	1							
African	-.089	-.146**	1						
Athletics	.037	.058	.055	1					
CHASS	.032	.056	.129**	-.030	1				
CNAS	-.093	-.059	-.059	-.017	-.549**	1			
LC	-.020	-.100*	-.042	.026	-.224**	.124*	1		
Alcohol	.050	.089	.016	.084	.212**	-.086	-.024	1	
Age	.031	-.081	.027	.013	.040	-.007	.009	.004	1

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

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