COLLEGE MEN, COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT, AND MASCULINITY: TEN NARRATIVES OF MEN MAKING A DIFFERENCE

by

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Dedicated to my daughter, Lauren
and to all the boys she will meet learning to become men

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the participation of cisgender collegiate men in community engagement activities. As a group, collegiate men disproportionately engage in unhealthy behaviors compared to their female counterparts. Additionally, they are less likely to participate in community engagement activities. Community engagement activities have a multitude of benefits for both male and female college students, yet national data shows that college men are more likely to play video games or sports when given the choice. This qualitative study used a narrative inquiry method and ten participants were interviewed using a semi-structured process. Several themes from the participants' narratives emerged including 1) having an insular group that is representative of individual values; 2) commitment to service is deeply entrenched into career or life goals; 3) complex relationship between service and fraternity; and 4) importance of childhood and boyhood as it relates to identity; matriculated masculinity. The study encouraged reconsidering the definition of service and the power of student voice. This study contributes to several interwoven threads of scholarship focusing on the experiences of collegiate males, community engagement, and masculinity. Results suggest implications for higher education practitioners to more effectively support the needs of college men as well as considering new ways to engage more college men in community engagement activities.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The collegiate student landscape today looks, feels, and acts very differently than it has in the past. There have been numerous studies that have highlighted the shifting demographics of student engagement and retention (Arum & Roska, 2011; Harper & Quaye, 2009; Mir, 2014; Sax, 2008; Seemiller & Grace, 2016; Selingo, 2013; Weiss, 2013). Describing the contemporary collegiate student and engagement landscape, Corey Seemiller and Meghan Grace (2016) write "Having their world completely shaped by the Internet…They are the most racially diverse generation to date…Generation Z has always lived in a virtual and physical reality (p. 7). Further discussing these issues, Shaun Harper and Stephen Quaye (2009) assert "A dependency on sameness is no longer appropriate, as contemporary cohorts of students at colleges are different; the ways they experience and respond to our campuses are varied" (p. 1).

One the most significant shifts among the current generation of college students in the United States is the activities that cisgender collegiate males either choose to or not to engage as compared to their female counterparts (Harper & Harris, 2010; Kellom, 2004; Kellom & Groth, 2010; Laker & Davis, 2011; Sander, 2012; Sax, 2008; Tillapaugh & McGowan, 2019). The disparities in engagement for cisgender collegiate males include both healthy and unhealthy behaviors. Unhealthy behaviors in which collegiate males are disproportionately participating in include possession of dangerous items, skipping class, assault, alcohol consumption (amount of consumption and attending parties), and sexual misconduct (Capraro, 2000; Dannells, 1997; Hong, 2000; Laker, 2005; Sax, 2008; Vander Ven, 2011; Wechsler & Wuethrich, 2002). Disparities in healthy behaviors include community engagement, tutoring, working with faculty outside of class, involvement in student organizations, and study abroad (Chesbrough, 2011; Foste & Jones, 2017; Salgado, 2003; Sax, 2008; Weaver-Hightower, 2010).

One type of activity that cisgender collegiate males are less involved in compared to their female peers that warrants further research is community engagement. By exploring the intersections of service, gender, and identity, there is a potential for the curbing of developing unhealthy masculinity and the behaviors that are associated with it. Exploring community engagement among cisgender collegiate males also has the possibility for ripple effects for impacting other groups of collegiate men, or collegiate men in leadership positions, and having longer term identity impacts for collegiate men post-graduation. Curbing unhealthy masculinity

also has the prospect of a multitude of implications on both the collegiate culture as well as the larger adult culture of unhealthy masculinity behaviors.

One of the goals of higher education institutions is to develop socially minded and community-oriented students. Historically, college students in the United States have been involved in various types of service to the community (Jacoby, 2015; Saltmarsh & Zlotkowski, 2011; Stoecker, 2016; Welch, 2016). Service to the community, in the university environment, can be grouped into two general categories: academic and non-academic. Academic service to the community is traditionally referred to as service-learning, and it entails service that is embedded into a student's academic coursework (Bringle & Hatcher, 1995; Jacoby, 2015; Saltmarsh & Zlotkowski, 2011). Robert Bringle and Julie Hatcher (1995) define service-learning as "a course-based, credit-bearing educational experience in which students (a) participate in an organized service activity that meets identified community needs and (b) reflect on the service activity in such a way as to gain further understanding of the course content. (p. 112). Non-academic service to the community is when students provide their time outside of the classroom and receive no academic reward for their un-paid work. This non-academic service to the community can also be labeled as community engagement (Welch, 2016).

The Carnegie Foundation (2012) defined community engagement as "the collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity" (Carnegie Foundation, 2012). While the Carnegie Foundation provides a useful perspective, it is at the institutional level, and it is important to narrow the focus to the activities of individual students. Community engagement, as an activity that college students participate in daily, can encompass a wide range of activities beyond the traditional confines of the classroom (Butin, 2010; Erlich, 2000; Jacoby, 2009; Taylor, 2009; Welch 2016). Collete Taylor (2009) describes community engagement as "an educational or research initiative conducted through some form of partnership and characterized by shared goals, a shared agenda, agreed-on definitions of success that are meaningful both to the university and to the community participants" (p. 2). Community engagement, for the purposes of this research, is considered the umbrella term for college students engaged in the giving of one's time to assist a non-profit community organization in improving the lives of others or addressing social issues. There is also a strong history of college

students in the United States participating in community engagement activities (Jacoby, 2015; Saltmarsh & Zlotkowski, 2011; Stoecker, 2016; Taylor, 2009; Welch, 2016).

There are a wide variety of community engagement practices that exist on college campuses throughout the United States (Bringle & Hatcher, 2009; Jacoby, 2015; Welch, 2016; Welch & Saltmarsh, 2013). Under the umbrella of community engagement exists co-curricular community service and related programs, community-based internships, service graduation requirements, and immersion programs. Each practice has its own set of goals, learning objectives, intended audience, challenges, and benefits. A large percentage of college students who participate in community engagement are active in co-curricular community service and related programs (Welch, 2016). Co-curricular service and related programs can generally be classified into three groups: leadership, citizenship and politics, and awareness (Jacoby, 2009; Sheffield, 2011; Welch, 2009, 2016). It is important to note that within the different approaches to community engagement, a recurring theme is the importance of reflection (Chupp & Joseph, 2010; Jacoby, 2015; Park & Millora, 2012). Reflection, implemented in various forms, is an element of the community engagement experience that encourages and develops student learning.

There has been significant, recent research on how community engagement impacts the identity development of college students in the United States (Chupp & Joseph, 2010; Jacoby, 2015; Jones & Abes, 2004; Keen & Hall, 2009; Stelljes, 2008). There are a multitude of benefits that stem from students engaged in community engagement (Levesque-Bristol, Knapp & Fisher, 2010). Past research has shown that community engagement positively influences different areas of identity development, including sense of self, civic commitment, self-efficacy, moral development, and multicultural competence (Jones, Robbins & LePeau, 2011; Yeh, 2010). However, there has been minimal research on the intersection of gender identity and community engagement as well as the disproportionate number of collegiate males involved in community engagement activities (Foste, 2018; Foste & Jones, 2017).

There has been sporadic research over the past decade on the lack of collegiate males participating in community engagement activities (Chesbrough, 2011; Foste, 2018; Foste & Jones, 2017; Sax, 2008). Describing the gender imbalance further, Linda Sax (2008) writes "Women are more likely than men to perform volunteer work or tutor other students in the year before college. They are also twice as likely as men to anticipate getting involved in volunteer or

service work during college" (p. 43). As stated previously, there are numerous benefits that can stem from community engagement for college students, so the question remains regarding the lack of collegiate males engaging in service. Discussing the possible benefits for collegiate males and community engagement, Zak Foste (2018) writes "As such, engaging men in service-learning has the potential to develop capacities for perspective taking and understanding of difference, both of which are crucial for the advancement of social justice" (p. 72). This is clearly an area of research that needs to be explored further.

Over the past several decades, there has been a growing body of research on masculinity within collegiate life and how masculinity is learned, performed, reproduced by both male and female college students (Harper & Harris, 2010; Kellom, 2004; Kellom & Groth, 2010; Komarovsky, 2004; Laker & Davis, 2011; Tillapaugh & McGowan, 2019). Further, more recent scholarship has emerged that focuses on subsets of collegiate masculinity, such as high-achieving black males, male student leaders, males studying abroad, queer Latino/a identity development, and sexual assault. (Capraro, 2004; Harper & Harris, 2010). The research on collegiate males and their masculinity suggests that male undergraduates struggle in a variety of areas both in and outside of the classroom. (Harper & Harris, 2010; Kellom, 2004; Kellom & Groth, 2010; Laker & Davis, 2011; Weaver-Hightower, 2010). Recent trends of collegiate males have included poor retention rates, decreasing engagement, increased alcohol and drug abuse, poor academic performance, high rates of depression, and increased perpetration of sexual assaults (Courtenay, 2011; Harper & Harris, 2010; Laker & Davis, 2011).

Historically, men have disproportionately engaged in unhealthy behaviors during their tenure in college compared to their female counterparts (Capraro, 2000; Hong, 2010; Laker, 2005; Vander Ven, 2011; Wechsler & Wuethrich, 2002; Weiss, 2013). In discussing collegiate men engaging in judicial offenses and unhealthy behaviors, Dannells (1997) argues "Most students who become involved in campus discipline difficulties are men, and most often they are younger, usually in their freshman and sophomore year" (p. 25). In describing collegiate men and their "toys," Hong (2010) asserts that college men are more likely to be caught in possession of dangerous items (e.g., BB guns, firecrackers, paintball guns, knives) that violate university weapons policies. Further, some male undergraduates still choose to possess these "toys," despite knowing that these items constitute a policy violation and may result in severe sanctioning (Dannells, 1997; Hong, 2010; Laker 2005).

Additional research regarding the lived experiences of collegiate males has focused on their experiences within peer groups during college (Biddix, 2016, Kimmel, 2008; Mehta & Dementieva, 2017). There are many different types of peer groups on the college campus, each providing a distinct type of support and community for students. One example of a very common peer group for collegiate males is the historically white social fraternity. Social fraternities are exclusive all-male organizations that connect collegiate males to each other, connect students to alumni, and informally attempt to teach males how to become men (Biddix, 2016; Corprew & Mitchell, 2014; Hechinger, 2017; Robbins, 2019; Syrett, 2009). The various social fraternities promote specific forms of masculinity to its members – both healthy and unhealthy.

Modern social fraternities serve as focal points for many college students developing their own masculinity, and fraternities can significantly affect the surrounding collegiate culture (Hechinger, 2017; Kimmel, 2008; Syrett, 2009). Fraternities provide community, support, guidance and engagement to a group of collegiate males looking for that connection (Hechinger, 2017; Robbins, 2019; Syrett, 2018). In discussing the role that social fraternities play in masculinity development on a college campus, Michael Kimmel (2008) argues "Nowhere is the brotherhood more intense, the bonding more intimate and powerful, or the culture of protection more evident than among athletes and fraternity members. Greeks and jocks live at the epicenter of Guyland" (p. 233). Fraternities, according to Kimmel not only directly impact the masculinity of its members but also significantly influence the college males that are indirectly associated with the fraternity system. Despite the values and intentions of social fraternities, there has been significant research on the problematic and unhealthy behaviors of its members (Biddix, 2016; Corprew & Mitchell, 2014; McKee, 2013; Robbins, 2019; Taylor, 2015). Unhealthy behaviors associated with social fraternities that are most common include sexual assault and misconduct, alcohol abuse, drug use, hazing (Hechinger, 2017; Robbins, 2019). Alcohol abuse and associated negative behaviors, for example, has been found to be more prevalent among social fraternity members when compared to other students on campus (Robbins, 2019). While these unhealthy behaviors are acted out predominately by collegiate men can be found elsewhere on campus, as previously discussed, the fraternity environment continues to be the epicenter of unhealthy behaviors. Social fraternities are clearly playing an active role in teaching masculinity to their collegiate male members as well as impacting the larger collegiate male population.

One strand of masculinity research that is relevant to this study is the policing of masculinity. Policing masculinity is the informal social behavior that prevents what is perceived as insufficient or non-conforming masculinity and seeks to reinforce traditional masculinity ideologies (Reigeluth & Addis, 2016). In many instances, men enforce each other; however, women also contribute to the policing of masculinity (Kimmel, 1994; 2008; Reigeluth & Addis, 2016). Intertwined with the policing of masculinity is hegemonic masculinity, which is a power structure and hierarchy among men (Bird, 1996; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Donaldson, 1993). Hegemonic masculinity enacts social norms in a hierarchy centered on what is valued as masculine (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Policing is extremely relevant to this research as it encourages certain behaviors and discourages other behaviors for collegiate males.

Policing of masculinity can begin at young age for boys, continuing as a very salient component of their high school experience, and then likely reemerging when they attend college (Martino, 2000; Messner, 2003; Pascoe, 2007; Pollack, 1998) Several scholars have concluded that the policing of masculinity occurs semiregularly for college males and is engaged in predominantly by male peers (Davis, 2002; Edwards & Jones, 2009; Harris & Edwards, 2010; Kimmel, 2008; Laker, 2005; Nuwer, 2001). Policing masculinity can include many different behaviors and individuals respond in a wide variety of ways. Behaviors of policing include bullying, hazing, homophobic comments, insults, competition, jokes, misogynism, objectification of women, and racism (Edwards & Jones, 2009; Harris & Edwards, 2010; Martino, 2000; Pascoe, 2007; Reigeluth & Addis, 2016). Subsequently, types of responses to policing of masculinity for collegiate males include putting a ‘mask’ on, gender role conflict, gender role strain, hyper-masculinity behaviors, un-healthy behaviors that focus on others or that focus on self, bystander, and resistance (Chu, 2014; Edwards & Jones, 2009; Kimmel, 2008, O’Neil, 2015; Pleck, 1995).

Clearly, the experiences of collegiate males on today’s campus are extremely complex and layered. Additionally, collegiate men are engaged in more unhealthy behaviors disproportionate to their female counterparts. Further, female college students significantly outnumber male counterparts when it comes to community engagement activities (Chesbrough, 2011; Foste & Jones, 2017; Sax, 2008). How is the disproportionate activity explained? What are the experiences of collegiate males that may provide insights into this disproportionate activity?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore how cisgender college males who are engaged in community engagement activities negotiate their gender identity. I will pay particular attention to the activities that cisgender college males are engaged in beyond the classroom and the messages that they receive regarding gender. My primary research question for this study is: What are the lived experiences of cisgender college males engaged in community engagement activities? Connected to this research question in an additional question: 1) How do these men perceive community engagement within gender constructs?

Significance of the Study

By exploring how cisgender college males who engage in community engagement activities, the results of the current study may provide insights related to engaging more college males in community engagement activities. In this vein, this research will be significant for the students, student affairs professionals, faculty, and community agencies. Community engagement has the potential to positively impact male identity development, and this study may shed light on those possibilities. There is a population of student affairs professionals and faculty who work on a continual basis to positively impact their local communities. This study has the potential to provide those individuals with additional insights on how to more effectively support their male students. Lastly, when collegiate males are participating in community engagement activities, they are most likely working directly with the local community, either with non-profit community agency staff or directly with community members. As such, this study also has the potential to support the non-profit community agency staff who have a goal to retain and support their student volunteers.

At the center of this study are cisgender collegiate males. As previously discussed, collegiate males struggle during their college years, feel challenged by constructs of masculinity, and have a difficult time navigating their gender. This study may be useful to cisgender collegiate males, as it may provide them reflective understandings of their own experiences. A greater understanding of the challenges that collegiate males face may lead to more effective services among higher education practitioners and student affairs professionals. Also, this study

may also lead to additional research regarding collegiate males and community engagement activities.

In addition to the student affairs professionals who focus their efforts on community engagement, there are a host of others within the student affairs profession that this study may prove useful. Specifically, practitioners in the areas of residential life, counseling, career advisors, Greek-life, student conduct, and academic advising might be able to utilize the findings from the study. These groups of student affairs practitioners are constantly being bombarded with collegiate males in identity crisis. For some, the focus may be to work more effectively with collegiate males individually. For others, the findings from the study may prove useful for new or enhanced campus programs or initiatives that intentionally aim to address the challenges that college males experience. The study may also support specific professional development training curricula that focus on the lived experiences of collegiate males. Further, the study may provide insights for these professionals to more effectively communicate and to develop common, supportive messages that promote dialogue centered on the promotion of healthy masculinity. A subset of student affairs professionals are the student leaders on campus. This study may provide insights into professional training sessions for student leaders specifically in community engagement programs (service days, immersion programs, etc.) as well as other capacities such as the resident assistant role.

Lastly, the study will contribute to the growing body of research of both collegiate males and community engagement. As such, future research is a critical phase of the learning process and this study will support that process. Within the thread of research focusing on males in higher education, this study supports research on their lived experiences, how they negotiate their gender, how they address societal expectations of masculinity, and the types of engagement they experience during college. Considering the strand of community engagement scholarship, there is minimal research regarding the lack of collegiate males participating or how community engagement impacts gender identity development among males. This study will be an example of this gap in the research and will hopefully encourage future research to explore this area.

Operational Definitions

It is important to define key terms, central to the research, which will provide a clearer overall understanding of the study. These definitions will guide the research as well as be expanded upon as the research progresses.

1. *Collegiate male*, for the purposes of this study, refers to a biological male, domestic undergraduate student who is enrolled full-time at a 4-year institution in the United States. The student may be classified as either a freshman, sophomore, junior, or senior. The student is also traditionally aged, between the ages of 18 and 23.

2. *Community engagement* incorporates performing an unpaid activity for a non-profit organization. There is significant research on the definitions of community service, community engagement, and civic engagement. For the purposes of this study, it incorporates the non-curricular giving of one's time to assist a non-profit community organization in improving the lives of others or a particular social issue. This is a blending on Jacoby's definition of service-learning, the Carnegie Foundation definition, and Butin's views on community engagement (Butin, 2010; Carnegie Foundation, 2012; Jacoby 2009). Civic engagement tends to focus on politically based activities, and community service is too limiting when contemporary practices are considered. Thus, community engagement serves this research as encompassing a wide range of activities. There are some activities that will not be included within this definition for various reasons and this is explained further in the Delimitations section.

3. *Gender performance* has its roots in the work of feminist philosopher Judith Butler. Butler (2006) concluded that gender is continually regulated and re-conceptualized. It is a repeated act that is performed by both males and females. The performance is constructed and consumed along normative, binary lines, which leads to gender norms, power structures, and hegemony.

4. *Masculinity* refers to a performed, learned, socially constructed gender identity, continually in flux, that is often acted out by individuals who identify as boys and men.

Additionally, masculinity refers to power, privilege, relations, style, and structure. This interdisciplinary research focuses on masculinities within the United States. There are stereotypical traits associated with traditional ideologies of masculinity that serve as a foundation of behavior (Connell, 2005; Kimmel, 2008; Pascoe & Bridges, 2016).

5. *Policing of masculinity* is the informal social behavior that prevents what is perceived as insufficient or non-conforming masculinity and seeks to reinforce dominant or hegemonic masculinity ideologies (Reigeluth & Addis, 2016).

Limitations

This study, as with all research, has some limitations. First, it is a qualitative study that explores the experiences of a select group of college men. The experiences of the students are their personal experiences and are from one university. As a result, transferability is a concern as the results may not be applicable to other male students nor to other college campuses. Second, the sample only includes traditional aged college males enrolled in full-time status. Traditional aged college students encompass ages 18 to 23. This sample, while applicable to a large portion of students, does exclude both part-time students and non-traditional aged students. Also, this study is limited to the experiences of domestic students in the United States and excludes international students. Finally, this study is focused on collegiate males participating or who have participated in community engagement activities. There are significant differences between community engagement activities and service-learning within formal coursework (Butin, 2010; Jacoby, 2009; Welch, 2016).

Delimitations

For the purposes of this research, community engagement activities incorporate a variety of ways that college students' interface with the community. However, there are a few activities that "muddy the waters" of community engagement which are not included in this research. It is important to distinguish these activities at the outset when defining community engagement (Sheffield, 2011). The first activity is compulsory community service. In some instances, a court or university conduct office may require a student to complete community service because of

poor behavior. In discussing the challenges of community service as punishment, Sheffield (2011) writes “When service is punishment, the “call to service” can be destroyed” (p. 77). In other words, there are components that are imbedded into the voluntary act of community engagement and this becomes distorted when service is a form of punishment.

The second activity that is not included in this research is philanthropy. Philanthropy is an extremely worthwhile endeavor that many students participate in at some point during their collegiate career. However, philanthropic projects are extremely layered and complex and does not traditionally engage students in direct and meaningful interactions with the community. Describing the challenges of philanthropy, Sheffield (2011) writes “In short, philanthropy, does not provide reconstruction of the needful situation or a reconstruction of self in regard to situations of need” (p. 74). In other words, there are challenges with students who engage in philanthropic projects regarding a meaningful educational experience and learning opportunity for the students. While the result of a philanthropic event may be very beneficial, on-campus philanthropic events rarely educated students about the social issue in which funds are being collected. Thus, philanthropy is beyond the scope of this research.

Next is the facilitation or the engagement of student-based roles that serve the university. These roles are traditionally voluntary and un-paid for the students who participate. While the university is classified as a non-profit organization, one of the goals of community engagement is have student participants “leave” the confines of the university and experience the complexities of the community while also interacting with non-university organizations. Additionally, service exposes students to a particular social issue that is not traditionally found within the confines of a college campus. Traditional examples of student-based roles include the facilitation of leadership programs, participating as a peer health educator, peer mentorship, student ambassador, etc. While these experiences are very valuable and meaningful for the students that engage in them, they are beyond the scope of this study.

The last activity that is not included in this research under the umbrella of community engagement is proselytizing. Proselytizing is the act of spreading and encouraging spiritual beliefs. Within certain faiths, proselytizing is a very meaningful form of service. For some faiths, proselytizing is a required commitment for its members. While this supports the needs of certain faiths, it is again a very layered activity. Thus, it is not included in this research and is beyond the scope. However, it is important to note that a student’s spiritual beliefs can be a strong

motivator for participating in community engagement activities which serves a very meaningful purpose.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I review relevant literature to this study. The literature review focuses on different areas to gain a deeper understanding of how gender intersects with collegiate males and community engagement. I cover each of the following topics in this chapter: 1) a brief overview on the field of masculinity studies; 2) a brief discussion of the concept of gender and the performance of gender, 3) masculinity and the gender of men, 4) policing of masculinity, 5) masculinity applied to collegiate male identity development, 6) collegiate fraternities and hazing, 7) collegiate culture through a masculinity lens, 8) history of community engagement, 9) theoretical origins of community engagement, 10) contemporary practices of community engagement, 11) community engagement and identity development, and 12) the intersection of community engagement and gender. It should be noted that that the reason for extensive focus of the literature centers on the experience of the participant's lives as collegiate men. While not completely encompassing of the lives of the participants ultimately included in the study, aspects of the literature will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Masculinity Studies: The Field of Study

Within the academy, masculinity studies is a relatively new field of study. Academic disciplines that have contributed to a holistic understanding of masculinity include anthropology, biology, gender studies, history, philosophy, psychology, communication studies, and sociology (Doyle, 1995; Edwards, 2006; Imms, 2000; Whitehead, 2002). In discussing the history of masculinity as an academic endeavor, Tim Edwards argues that there have been three waves of masculinity research that began in the 1970s. (Edwards, 2006). Prior to this, the scholarship was limited and focused on the overarching issue of gender rather than specifically analyzing and interpreting men's issues and masculinity (Kilmartin, 2000; Kimmel & Messner, 1992; Whitehead, 2002). The three waves of masculinity research, while building on previous scholarship, are distinct from one another.

The first wave of masculinity research, predominantly during the 1970s, focused on sex role theory while the second wave of research critiqued the first and began to focus more on the intersection of masculinity and power (Connell, 2005; Edwards, 2006; Kimmel, Hearn, &

Connell, 2005; Kimmel & Messner, 1992). The first wave of masculinity scholarship was also intricately interwoven with feminist scholarship as masculinity scholars were only beginning to emerge as representatives of their own academic field (Whitehead, 2002). The second wave of masculinity studies emerged in the 1980s and set the foundation for the discipline as well as a critique of the first wave (Edwards, 2006; Whitehead, 2002). While the first and second waves were intricately linked together, Edwards asserts that the third wave then focused on normativity, performativity, and sexuality (Edwards, 2006). Emerging in the 1990s, the third wave of research, which many scholars recognize is still occurring, is centered on understanding different representations of masculinity as they relate to race and class while also considering post-structural theory (Edwards, 2006; Whitehead, 2002).

Although a relatively new discipline, masculinity studies is clearly making its mark within the research as an interdisciplinary field that is holding the attention of scholars from extremely diverse fields. In discussing the future of the field of masculinity studies, Michael Kimmel and his colleagues (2005) argue that, while it is difficult to predict, significant work needs to be done in countries outside of the United States in the areas of transnational masculinities, the schooling of boys, and the methods in which research is conducted on masculinity. In more contemporary times, the field has seen the emergence of 'hybrid masculinities', 'inclusive masculinity', 'caring masculinity', the #MeToo movement, the *APA Guidelines for Psychological Practice with Boys and Men*, and distinct representations of masculinity of the U.S. President (Anderson & McCormack, 2018; Connell, 2014; Katz, 2016; Pascoe & Bridges, 2016; Tillapaugh & McGowan, 2019). C.J. Pascoe and Trista Bridges (2016) describe the field of masculinity studies by writing "At present, the field of masculinity studies itself is simultaneously cohering and fracturing…Appreciating and acknowledging new kinds of dialogue and interdisciplinary veins of scholarship allow us to more fully explore masculinities" (p. 430). In many ways, the field of masculinity studies has made great strides from its beginnings, however, there is still much to be accomplished.

Gender: Defining, Analyzing, and Interpreting

In order to effectively understand the concept of masculinity, research on gender must first be analyzed. Gender is a concept that scholars have been analyzing for decades; however, different academic fields have approached the concept differently (Bird, 1996; Buchbinder,

2013; Butler, 2006; Connell, 2002; Halberstam, 1998; Kilmartin, 2000; Sax, 2005; Whitehead, 2002). In discussing the challenges related to analyzing and understanding the concept of gender, noted sociologist and renowned gender scholar Raewyn Connell (2002) writes "But gender is also a topic on which there is an amazing amount of prejudice, ideology, myth, misinformation, and outright falsehood . . . Gender is a large theme" (p. vii). Some academic fields have been engaged with the topic of gender for many years while other fields are relatively new to the topic (Connell, 2002; Hoffert, 2003; Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004). There have been waves or movements that have addressed gender in various ways with each wave representing a response and contribution to the concept of gender (Connell, 2002). The most common lenses of studying and understanding gender are biological, anthropological, psychological, and sociological (Connell, 2014; Pascoe & Bridges, 2016; Kimmel & Messner, 2007).

Some scholars recognize psychologist John Money as the inventor of the concept of gender in 1955 when he recognized the distinction of social roles versus biological differences between men and women (Halberstam, 2007). While gender was being discussed, researched, and analyzed by numerous scholars prior to Money, scholars argue that it was Money who provided initial insights toward the social construction rather than biological differences. However, depending on the academic lens, other scholars point toward Sigmund Freud, Carl Jung, and Margaret Mead as examples of scholars who have also contributed significantly to our contemporary understanding of gender (Kilmartin, 2000; Whitehead, 2002).

Considering men as gendered beings, noted theorist and psychologist Sigmund Freud provided a significant foundation of gender identity development with his contributions to the "Oedipal Complex" (Freud, 1949). According to Freud, male identity development occurs at a very young age when boys are conflicted between their mother and father (Freud, 1949; Gaitanidis, 2012). The Oedipal Complex was a concept that Freud introduced which described a man's rivalry with his father, a fear of being castrated, and a sexual desire for his mother (Gaitanidis, 2012; Thurschwell, 2000). This stemmed from Freud's focus with how boys make meaning of their bodies, sexuality, and gender (Thurschwell, 2000). Describing Freud's views of the Oedipal Complex, Pamela Thurschwell (2000) writes "According to Freud, the negotiation of the Oedipal complex as a child is an integral part of everyone's sexual development, whether that development is healthy or neurotic" (p. 49). Freud was mainly concerned with the development of heterosexuality and normative gender among young boys, and his theories have been

criticized by numerous scholars based on these and other limitations (Thurschwell, 2000). For the purposes of this research it is important to recognize the importance of Freud's work which provided the groundwork as it relates to the conflict that many young boys experience with their fathers, their bodies, and their gender.

Shifting to the sociological construct of gender, there have been several scholars that have made significant contributions in that area (Butler, 2006; Connell, 2005; Halberstam, 2007). Halberstam (2007) defines gender by arguing, "In all of these research contexts, gender is understood as a marker of social difference, a bodily performance of normativity and the challenges made to it. It names a social relation that subjects often experience as organic, ingrained, 'real,' invisible, and immutable…" (p. 118). For Halberstam, gender constitutes both a "bodily performance" in which social expectations and norms play a significant role on how each individual is represented However, it is important to note that Halberstam also recognizes gender in the context of the social order as individuals interact with each other as well as the differences that gender displays of each other. In this sense, gender is the social relation that individuals in society are attempting to understand both internally and externally.

A key theorist within the social construction of gender is the French philosopher Michel Foucault. Foucault was primarily concerned with use of discourse and language to better understand how power and knowledge are constructed within society (Downing, 2008). Although Foucault did not focus his efforts specifically on the construct of gender, he was extremely interested in understanding concepts of power, the body, and sexuality (Diamond & Quinby, 1988; Downing, 2008). At the intersection of these concepts is how identities are formed and the construct of gender. A critical component of Foucault's contribution to better understand gender was his approach to understanding discourse and language. For Foucault, discourse and language was the production of knowledge and power within society that leads to the understanding of identity (Downing, 2008). Discourse and language are tools, according to Foucault, are the means in which institutions display their power or the threat of power. Foucault provided a solid theoretical foundation that which provided the opportunity for future scholars to consider, analyze, and build on his work. Scholars within both gender studies and masculinity studies built upon different aspects of Foucault's work in an effort better understand gender as well as associated constructs.

Further describing gender within the context of performance, renowned scholar Judith Butler (2006) argues "In this sense, gender is not a noun, but neither is it a set of free floating attributes, for we have seen that the substantive effect of gender is the performativity produced and compelled by the regulator practices of gender coherence" (p. 34). Gender is, as noted by both Butler and Halberstam, a performance that is continually regulated and re-conceptualized. This concept of regulated performance has been expounded upon by masculinity scholars and will be further discussed in this chapter.

Butler, influenced by Foucault (and several others), argues that gender should be considered as more of a continuum rather than binary extremes and that gender is not "caused" by other factors (e.g. sex) (Butler, 2006). Throughout Butler's works is the concept of gender performance. According to Butler, members of society are continually performing gender (Butler, 2006). Describing the performance, Butler (2006) writes "Consider gender, for instance, as a corporeal style, an act, as it were, which is both intentional and performative, where performative suggests a dramatic and contingent construction of meaning" (p. 190). While individuals may perform gender in different contexts and spaces, they are always performing. For Butler (2006), there is a distinct difference between *performativity* and *performance*. Performance emphasizes the subject while performativity is an aspect of discourse that has the capacity to produce. The effects that performativity produces are hegemony and power structure. This is where gender policing occurs, and the production of gender normative behavior is continually reproduced (the construct of culture and agency) among both men and women. Butler (2006) further argues that gender performativity becomes extremely powerful due to the repetition (and recitation) of the discourse. In continuing to refine her theory of gender performativity, Butler draws on Bourdieu's theory of ritual where the repeated engagement of the body makes the gender "normal." Gender is no longer a role or category but something that is continually constructed, reinforced, and performed (Butler, 2006).

Considering gender in congruence with Butler, Connell asserts that the concept of gender is more closely related to the construct of structure (Connell, 2002). Connell (2002) argues that "Gender is a structure of social relations that centers on the reproductive arena and the set of practices (governed by this structure) that bring reproductive distinctions between bodies into social practices" (p. 10). Gender, for Connell, is the intersection of structure, biology, and social interactions. The structure of gender is a critical component of gender as Connell asserts that it

governs bodies' social interactions with each other. Further, since structure is the central theme for Connell, there is also a recognition that structure is based on cultural values which differ between cultures (Connell, 2005). The binary nature of gender in the United States involves a strict set of social rules and cultural expectations that affect both men and women (Pascoe & Bridges, 2016). Over time, scholars have recognized gender beyond the binary categories of masculinity and femininity with additional categories and fluidity; however, the normativity and social constructs of gender remain (Halberstam, 2007; Imms, 2000).

Dissecting Masculinity and Critical Concepts

Offering a definition of masculinity, Wesley Imms (2000) argues that it is '. . . a set of definable and measurable actions and attitudes, as innate qualities embedded in the psyche, and more recently as a complex set of behaviors with different meanings culturally and historically and regulated by interactions with other men, women, and power structures in society" (p. 155). Within the definition of masculinity set forth by Imms are the interwoven themes of policed interactions, power structures, and measured interactions. Policed interactions as a function of masculinity will be discussed later in this research; however, it is important to note that it is a central theme of understanding masculinity within the United States. Power structures of masculinity will also be discussed further within the context of hegemonic masculinity. Lastly, measured interactions and attitudes as put forth by Imms are the tangible behaviors that are observed daily. These seemingly mundane interactions between men and other men and between men and women appear to be simple yet the reality is that they are extremely complex. What are these social rules that govern masculinity and these interactions? To answer this, it is important to consider another thread of scholarship defining masculinity.

As a social construct, masculinity is learned through socializing practices and structures at a very young age for boys (Buchbinder, 2013; Cross, 1997/2008; Kane, 2013; Kimmel & Messner, 2007; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Pollack, 1998). Masculinity in the United States is produced and reproduced from a multitude of sources including family, media, clothing, peers, video games, toys, movies, and television (Cross, 1997/2008; Dunlap & Johnson, 2013; Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998; Kimmel, 2008; Morris, 2011; Pascoe, 2007; Pollack, 1998). It is the combination of these sources that provide an overflow of different messages, often conflicting, centering boys to conform on how to act, dress, play, compete, and develop as a man. In the

family environment boys look to their fathers for guidance on developing masculinity as well as other male members such as brothers, uncles, cousins, and grandfathers (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998; Kane, 2013). Boys continue to receive messages regarding their masculinity as they continue to grow through activities such as Boy Scouts, Little League, Pee Wee Football, community-based athletic programs, and others (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998; Messner, 2009). While high school will be discussed in further detail, it is also important to recognize recent scholarship considering the masculinity that is learned in school and other environments prior to high school (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998; Lesko, 2000; Morris, 2011; Sax, 2007). While not the focus of this research, it is important to recognize its significance in the development of masculinity among college males. Further, this brief discussion is warranted knowing that when collegiate males first arrive on campus, they bring their experiences of learned masculinity (Harris & Harper, 2015). Additionally, the experiences that boys have with the policing of masculinity will be discussed in depth in a subsequent section of this chapter.

In focusing on the social norms imbedded in masculinity, Kimmel argues the existence of a "guy code" (Kimmel, 2008). Kimmel, a sociologist, is a leading scholar in the field of gender studies and has written extensively on masculinity and gender development in the United States. Kimmel interviewed nearly 400 young men (ages 16 to 26) during a four-year study and developed the theory of "Guyland" (Kimmel, 2008). "Guyland", according to Kimmel, is the territory within culture/society in the United States inhabited by young men during the life stage between adolescence and adulthood (Kimmel, 2008). In further describing "Guyland", Kimmel analyzed the following aspects of masculinity (and their effect on young men): social norms of male peer groups, high schools, fraternities, sports, sexual relationships, and competition. Drawing on 30 years as an educator and speaking with college and high-school males, Kimmel mapped the social world in which he perceives men are made into men. The concept of "Guyland" will be discussed in greater detail when this research considers applications related to collegiate masculinity and understanding college males.

The 'Guy Code,' according to Kimmel (2008), is "the collection of attitudes, values, and traits that together composes what it means to be a man. These are the rules that govern behavior in Guyland, the criteria that will be used to evaluate whether any particular guy measures up" (p. 45). Behavior governance is a clear function of masculinity as well as the influence of defining manhood. Many scholars argue that social psychologists Deborah David and Robert Brannon

developed the four basic, traditional, and stereotypical expectations of men (within the United States) in 1976: 1) Not being perceived as weak or gay; 2) Measurement is wealth, power, and body parts; 3) Man is reliable in a crisis as an inanimate object; and 4) Daring nature and aggression is incorporated into risk-taking (Breu, 2005; Kilmartin, 2000; Kimmel, 2008; Pascoe, 2007; Pascoe & Bridges, 2016). For gender theorists, this concept of masculinity is constantly being reinforced in a variety of cultural methods; however, the rules are unchanging over time. Further, central to the "Guy Code" and the four tenants of masculinity is the construct of men not being perceived as feminine (Kilmartin, 2000; Whitehead, 2002). The dimension that David and Brannon articulated as not being perceived as weak or gay, or *No Sissy Stuff*, is directly connected to the concept of masculinity being focused on what is not feminine (David & Brannon, 1976).

Connected to not being perceived as feminine is the belief of not being perceived as weak, which is a critical component of traditional masculinity that has been reproduced over time (Breu, 2005). Discussing this characteristic, Christopher Breu (2005) argues ". . . a prophylactic toughness that was organized around the rigorous suppression of effect and was mirrored by his detached, laconic utterances . . . the suppression of effect central to this conception of masculinity was structured by the dynamic of projection" (p. 1). Here, Breu argues that the perception of strength is embodied by the male as a form of both identity and social projection. Strength is intricately woven within the construct of masculinity as a function of action, the body, mental toughness, and the perception put forth towards others (Breu, 2005). This concept of strength can also be directly linked to the other tenant of man is a reliable in a crisis. Both women and gay men are perceived as weak and heterosexual males feel forced to portray a toughness which ensures their own masculinity. In other words, the male's identity is focused on how he is perceived by others in social contexts through toughness.

Paul Kivel argues the incongruence and challenging expectations of masculinity within the 'Act Like a Man' box that boys, collegiate males, and men are policed and socialized into learning (Kivel, 2003). The 'Act Like A Man Box' restricts males to act in a particular way – within a box. However, Kivel recognizes that the messages that place males into the box are extremely contradictory but that the social scripts of masculinity still develop very confining limitations for both boys and college students. Describing traits of stereotypical masculinity, Kivel (2003) writes ". . . tough, in-control, no feelings, succeed, don't back down, responsible,

never ask for help, have money . . .” (p. 70). Within stereotypical masculinity, the only definition of success is wealth and the reliability a man must show is directly connected toward achieving and preserving that success (Kivel, 2003). A strong component of Kivel’s model is the socialization that boys received that ensure they are put into the box; it is the learned stereotypical masculine traits that occurs over time. While these stereotypical traits are in alignment with Kimmel’s ‘Guy Code,’ they are extremely problematic and contradictory.

With a foundation to understand masculinity provided, attention shifts to the contributions of several more foundational scholars, each of whom has made significant strides to increase the understanding of contemporary masculinity in the United States. Specifically, sociologist Raewyn Connell, noted scholar Barbara Ehrenreich, historian E. Anthony Rotundo, and gender scholar Lynne Segal will be considered. While there have been other scholars (eg. Harry Brod, Nancy Chodorow, Susan Fauldi, Peter Filene, Jackson Katz, Michael Messner, Eve Sedgwick and others) who have made significant contributions to contemporary understandings of masculinity, the review of these selected scholars will be sufficient for the analysis of collegiate masculinity. Scholars such as Messner and others will be introduced in other subsets of the research as appropriate.

Raewyn Connell is a leading masculinity studies scholar who has researched extensively on the subject (Whitehead, 2002). Even though most of Connell’s research has been conducted in Australia, the conclusions are easily transferable to notions of masculinity in the United States. Connell began by studying educational spaces while also considering the gender and masculinity theories put forth by noted psychologist Carl Jung (Whitehead, 2002). In discussing Connell’s research and influence on the field of masculinity studies, Stephen Whitehead (2002) notes “…Connell and others have since looked into the work of Freud, Jung, and feminist psychoanalysts to shed light on masculinity as an outcome of identity work. In so doing, Connell has made yet a further substantial contribution…” (p. 42). Connell is widely known due to developed theories on multiple masculinities and hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987). Hegemonic masculinity will be discussed extensively in a later section of this research, as there are important connections between hegemonic masculinity and collegiate life.

Connell argues that masculinity in contemporary culture is not a fixed concept but rather a fluid notion that is represented through various forms among men based on the intersection of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, social-economic status, class, and other forms of identity

(Connell, 2005). For Connell, masculinity is defined as the experiences and practices that involve the engagement of both women and men. However, it is important to note that Connell also argues that masculinity is not singular but rather a plurality experienced by men from a wide range of backgrounds. Discussing masculinities, Connell (2005) argues "With growing recognition of the interplay between gender, race, and class, it has become common to recognize multiple masculinities . . . Recognizing multiple masculinities, especially in an individualist culture such as the United States, mistaking them for alternative lifestyles, a matter of consumer choice" (p. 76). Here, Connell recognizes the intersection of masculinity and other social forces as well as the personal choice within the construct of masculinity. However, Connell also distinguishes the concept of "consumer choice" which points to individual agency, allowing for dynamic meaning of an individual's masculinity within a given framework.

Barbara Ehrenreich, in her masculinity-based research, was interested in analyzing the intersection of historical and social expectations of men in the United States as it related to the "breadwinner ethic," specifically during the period from the 1950s to the 1980s (Ehrenreich, 1983). During this 30-year span, specifically in the United States, Ehrenreich (1983) asserted that there was a significant shift in cultural and societal expectations for men which moved away from marriage and income to being "dedicated to his own pleasures" (p. 12). In the 1950s, Ehrenreich coined the masculine role as the "breadwinner ethic" which included rigid expectations of income, marriage, behavior, and policing toward societal survival (Ehrenreich, 1983). In describing the changes that occurred in the cultural expectations of men during this 30-year span, Ehrenreich (1983) writes ". . . the ideology that shaped the breadwinner ethic and how that ideology collapsed, as a persuasive set of expectations, in just the last thirty years" (p. 12). What caused this significant change? Ehrenreich points to several factors including the creation of *Playboy* magazine in 1953, the numerous writings of the Beat generation, shifts in medical and psychology research, Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* published in 1963, and several general counter-culture movements during this time period (Ehrenreich, 1983). As such, Ehrenreich (1983) writes that the resulting expectation for males was, "The man who postpones marriage even into middle age, who avoids women who are likely to become financial dependents, who is dedicated to his own pleasures, is likely to be found not suspiciously deviant, but healthy" (p. 12). Ehrenreich's assessment is a critical component of the contemporary

understanding of masculinity as this shift is still visible today especially in relation to the work of Kimmel's 'Guyland' and collegiate males.

To further this analysis of historical expectations of manhood in the United States, this research will explore the work of history scholar E. Anthony Rotundo. As an American historian and gender scholar, Rotundo is interested in understanding the interwoven layers of how gender has evolved over time (Rotundo, 1993). Looking beyond the period analyzed by Ehrenreich, Rotundo began his historical analysis in the early years of America and continued it into modern times – a span of roughly two hundred years. In describing this evolution of manhood, Rotundo argues that there have been three different phases which he labels: communal manhood, self-made manhood, and passionate manhood (Rotundo, 1993). Rotundo (1993) described communal manhood as a development in colonial New England by asserting "There, a man's identity was inseparable from the duties he owed to his community. He fulfilled himself through public usefulness more than his economic success" (p. 2).

Communal manhood, per Rotundo, did not last long as it was replaced by self-made manhood as a result of new government structures, new economic markets, and the growth of class structure in the United States (Rotundo, 1993). This is a significant shift, as the identity of man becomes centered on individual achievements rather than community. Rotundo describes this dramatic change by writing "Male passions were now given freer rein. Ambition, rivalry, and aggression drove the new system of individual interests, and a man defined his manhood not by his ability to moderate the passions but by his ability to channel them effectively" (p. 3). Here is the beginning of power differential between men and women, as men begin to show their dominance over different aspects of daily life through strength and aggression. However, self-made manhood evolved in the late nineteenth century to passionate manhood which marked an exponential increase in man's passions (Rotundo, 1993; 2016). Rotundo (2016) further describes this tension of masculinity by writing "In such an atmosphere, the cultural encouragement for vigorous exercise and athletic combat of the late nineteenth century flourished, and the tender affection and intimate talk of the early years faded" (p. 86). Passionate manhood, according to Rotundo, embodies the toughness of stereotypical masculinity while tenderness among men is perceived as weak. This construct of passionate manhood has continued to inform our present-day perceptions of masculinity.

Finally, this research will consider the work of gender scholar and activist Lynne Segal. Similar to Connell, most of the Segal's research has been on the international stage; however, her work has significant relevance to masculinity in the United States (Segal, 1990). The thread of Segal's work most important to this research is two-fold. First, is Segal's definition of masculinity. Second, is Segal's recognition of the interwoven concepts of masculinity and sexuality. Defining masculinity, Segal (1990) writes "To be masculine, is not to be feminine, not to be tainted with any marks of inferiority – ethnic or otherwise . . . male identities and behavior are constantly produced, reproduced, and transformed" (p. xi). First, similar to previous scholarship, Segal recognizes that the definition of masculinity is inherently not feminine. Second, Segal argues that to truly understand men and masculinity, one must analyze and interpret man's behaviors and attitudes as they are in constant action. The production and reproduction that Segal recognizes has links to Butler and other scholars.

Segal recognizes sexuality, specifically heterosexuality, as intrinsically linked to a masculinity that is idolized in men's social power structure. (Segal, 1990). However, it is important to note that this sexuality is extremely complex, layered, and full of competing messages. Segal (1990) notes "It seems more plausible to conclude from what we know about the ambivalent construction of male sexual identity that men, although the favored sex . . . may nevertheless experience a lack of certainty over their masculinity rather than a lack of satisfaction with it" (p. 290). In this conclusion, Segal notes the constant challenge that males have with sexuality as it relates to both themselves and others. This conflict with sexual identity, as discussed earlier in this research, will also become more apparent as the research focuses on collegiate life and the 'hook-up' culture.

Deeper in the research of masculinity studies is the concept of hegemonic masculinity. *Hegemonic masculinity* is the concept of power structure interwoven with the performance and social construct of masculinity (Bird, 1996; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Donaldson, 1993). The performance component recognizes that all men are not actively participating in hegemonic masculinity, however, as a social construct many men experience the benefits. Also, imbedded within hegemonic masculinity in the United States are the foundational ideals of heterosexuality and homophobia (Donaldson, 1993). Within hegemonic masculinity, hegemonic refers to the concept of cultural hegemony, which was developed by renowned Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci, as an approach to understanding power relations of social classes (Gramsci, 2010). For

Gramsci, the power relationship within the structure of society involves a domination of ideology, worldview, cultural norms and behaviors which both sustain and reinforce the strength of the dominant group. (Gramsci, 2010). While Gramsci may have considered cultural hegemony within the context of economic and political structures, it was Connell who applied the concept to masculinity studies (Connell, 1987; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Connell and James Messerschmidt (2005) discuss the formulation of the term hegemonic masculinity by writing "Hegemonic masculinity is understood as the pattern of practice (i.e, things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allowed men's dominance of women to continue" (p. 832). In this early formulation of the concept, the critical component of hegemonic masculinity has a focus of men's dominance over women. Discussing the concept further, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) write "only a minority of men might enact it. But it was certainly normative. It embodied the currently most honored way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it…" (p. 832). Within hegemonic masculinity, an extremely profound power structure is being enacted which engages other men to act accordingly within the power structure that results in the subjugation of women.

In discussing the intersection of hegemony and masculinity, Mike Donaldson argues that power is not only a critical component of masculinity, but it is imbedded within culture, structure, and male peer groups (Donaldson, 1993). Donaldson (1993) builds his argument from Gramsci by asserting that "A fundamental element of hegemonic masculinity, then, is that women exist as potential sexual objects for men while men are negated as sexual objects for men" (p. 645). For Donaldson, hegemonic masculinity is centered on the concept of power of men over women through mechanisms of oppressive relationships. According to Donaldson, the cultural idea of hegemonic masculinity is the subordination of women by men; this has been developed over time and reinforced through everyday culture. Describing this reinforcement, Donaldson (1993) writes "Hegemonic masculinity is naturalized in the form of the hero and presented through forms that revolve around heroes: sagas, ballads, westerns, thrillers," in books, films, television, and in sporting events" (p. 646). In other words, within the United States, and through a variety of media, men are constantly receiving contradictory messages regarding their power and how they should behave to express that power.

Over time, as the field of masculinity studies has grown as well as the research surrounding the concept of hegemonic masculinity, the term evolved (Connell & Messerschmidt,

2005). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) describe this evolution of the term by arguing "Eventually, the growing research effort tended to expand the concept itself. The picture was fleshed out in four main ways: by documenting the consequences and costs of hegemony, by uncovering mechanisms of hegemony, by showing greater diversity in masculinities, and by tracing changes in hegemonic masculinities" (p. 834). Here, it is important to return to the concept of hegemony initially presented by Gramsci as a way of furthering the understanding of masculinity. Within the concept of hegemony is the layered constructs of power and structure that includes behaviors such as aggression, violence, force, and domination (Kuypers, 1999). Describing the connection between power and unhealthy behaviors of men, Joseph Kuypers (1999) argues "The problem with power lies in the fact that we men demand that our gender strive for an inherently unhealthy state of affairs: control over one another. As we achieve this kind of power, and use it for unhealthy acts, we suffer its errors and terrors . . ." (p. 15). In this context of power, as noted by Kuypers, unhealthy behaviors enacted by men are intricately linked. Connected to hegemonic masculinity, for Connell are the concepts of subordinated masculinity, complicit masculinity, and marginalized masculinity – all within the power structure linked to status (Connell, 2014).

However, within the construct of hegemonic masculinity, it is important to note that these behaviors are not limited to men enacting power over women, but also men enacting power over other men (Cheng, 1999; Connell, 2014; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Within this framework, hegemonic masculinity represents the reproduction of patriarchy that also engages a social hierarchy within subgroups of men. Achieving this power within the social status of men brings into account other identity components, such as race, ethnicity, class, ability, and sexuality. Cliff Cheng (1999) notes "The main reason marginalized masculinities are suppressed is that they are a threat to hegemonic masculinity. Any nonconformity, particularly regarding gender, which is supposedly natural, is a threat to hegemonic masculinity" (pp. 301). Marginalized masculinities, per Cheng, include those men who are not identified as white, able bodied, and heterosexual (Cheng, 1999). Another way men can be marginalized through hegemony is when they are perceived or act as more feminine or "less masculine." As men from various identities compete for power within the hegemonic structure, they perform and police each other. This policing is especially evident when men engage in behaviors that result in ostracizing marginalized men.

Policing of Masculinity

The policing of masculinity has already been introduced within this research; however, a more extensive review of the topic is warranted. The policing of masculinity involves social learning among boys, collegiate males, and men (Reigeluth & Addis, 2016). As discussed prior, the definition of policing of masculinity for the purposes of this research is the informal behavior that prevents what is perceived as insufficient or non-conforming masculinity and seeks to reinforce traditional masculinity ideologies. Christopher Reigeluth and Michael Addis (2016) describe the different components of policing: 1) boys are prone to vigilantly watch for deviations from gender norms in their peers' behavior, 2) boys are likely to deliver negative consequences, and 3) those who are policed are likely to take seriously the sanctions (p. 75). While these components of policing begin with boys, they evolve over time when enacted upon by high school boys, collegiate males, and men (Buchbinder, 2013; Kimmel, 2008; Pascoe, 2007). While policing of masculinity is most common among male peers, it can also be found within other male relationships such as fathers, coaches, and teachers (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1998; Kane, 2013). Further, women can be active participating in the policing of masculinity (Kimmel, 2008; Reigeluth & Addis, 2016).

While there is not a scholar who takes ownership for the policing of masculinity, there are several components that warrant review. First, the term gender policing refers to the enforcement gender norms to ensure that individuals remain within the confines of their societal approved gender binaries (Rubin, 1975; West & Zimmerman, 1987). According to Gayle Rubin, gender policing was first understood by men policing women to remain in stereotypical gender roles (Rubin, 1975). West and Zimmerman (1987) assert that the critical element of gender is the process in which gender is assessed and individuals are held accountable (West & Zimmerman, 1987). West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that the process of accountability is when individuals are policed so that their gender is in adherence "approved cultural standards…normative conceptions" (p. 136). While gender policing has theoretical roots in Freud and others, the policing of masculinity policing has roots within Butler's theory of gender performance, Foucault's theory of power, and Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity (Buchbinder, 2013; Kimmel, 2008; Mac an Ghaill, 1994).

Behaviors of masculinity policing include bullying (verbal, physical, cyber), hazing, homophobic comments, insults, unhealthy competition, jokes, misogynism, objectification of

women, and racism (Edwards & Jones, 2009; Harris & Edwards, 2010; Kimmel, 2008; Martino, 2000; Pascoe, 2007; Reigeluth & Addis, 2016). Discussing the policing of masculinity further, Kimmel (2008) writes "Guys know that they risk everything – their friendships, their sense of self, maybe even their lives – if they fail to conform. Since the stakes are so enormous, young men take huge chances to prove their manhood. . ." (p. 51). Kimmel argues that masculinity must be continually proven as an act of conforming. Policing of masculinity engages boys, young men, and other men to continually on guard as other men are constantly watching them to ensure that they remain within the confines of traditional masculinity (Kimmel, 2008). This constant surveillance of masculinity causes men to choose how they wish to respond.

There are many different types of responses to policing of masculinity for collegiate males which include putting a 'mask' on, gender role conflict, gender role strain, hyper-masculinity behaviors, manifestation of mental health concerns, un-healthy behaviors that focus on others or that focus on self, complicit, and resistance (Chu, 2014; Edwards & Jones, 2009; Kimmel, 2008, O'Neil, 2015; Pleck, 1995; Real, 1997). Gender role conflict is the negative psychological impact that men experience when they are unable to conform to the rigid gendered norms (O'Neil, 2008; O'Neil & Crapser, 2011). In addition to gender role conflict, many men experience gender role strain which is similar (O'Neil & Crapser, 2011). Gender role conflict occurs for men, according to O'Neil, when they experience a devaluation, restriction, or violation of their gender role (O'Neil, 2018/2015). Within the construct of masculinity, gender role conflict is imbedded within hegemonic masculinity as men attempt to gain power from one another and avoid being perceived as feminine or unmanly.

Gender role strain is another type of psychological impact that men experience because of the challenges that men experience as a result of their gender which manifests in mental and/or physical health problems (Pleck, 1995). Within gender role strain, Pleck (1995) recognizes that there are three types of strain that men experience; discrepancy, dysfunctional, and trauma (Pleck, 1995). Pleck asserts that these different types and stages of gender role strain that men experience become visible as they attempt to come to terms with both their identity and the masculine societal expectations that are thrust upon them (Pleck, 1995). Imbedded within the framework of both gender role conflict and gender role strain, college males exhibit a variety of mental health concerns including self-destructive behaviors, increased stress, physical violence, alcohol abuse, and depression (Courtenay, 2011; Laker & Davis, 2011; Real, 1997). While these

behavior concerns are like those experienced through the policing of masculinity, these issues effect the college male more so on an individual level and in social contexts.

As part of the policing of masculinity, there are certain activities within collegiate life and beyond that are perceived as feminine and men are policed to act in opposition to the feminine (Anderson, 2005; Kimmel, 2008). However, there are a select number of men who engage in these activities as an act of resistance. These activities include but are not limited to teaching (early childhood and elementary), dancing and cheerleading, theatre, creative writing, certain sports such as figure skating and gymnastics, fashion design, female stereotyped careers (nursing, social work, gender studies, etc.), and certain types of service (Anderson, 2005; Foste & Jones, 2017; Haltom & Worthen, 2014; Messner, 1992; Weaver-Hightower, 2011; Williams, 1995). In discussing the perception of teaching, especially early childhood education, Weaver-Hightower recognizes the college males are discouraged from teaching and that male pre-service teachers experience many different forms of discouragement (Weaver-Hightower, 2011). Analyzing male ballet dancers, Haltom and Worthen argue that men who chose to dance are participating in a female world. They negotiate their masculine identity, and actively resist traditional gender stereotypes (Haltom & Worthen, 2014). When men choose to engage in activities that are traditionally perceived as female, they find themselves in a feminine terrain which brings a set of challenges that are related to both masculinity and their identity (Anderson, 2005).

There has been significant research on the challenges that boys experience regarding developing their masculinity and the policing that they endure (Chu, 2014; Coloroso, 2003; Cross, 2008; Edgette & Rupp, 2012; Kivel, 2003; Pollack, 1998; Wiseman, 2013). Based on 20 years of research with boys, William Pollack developed the 'Boy Code' which dictates how boys behave and rules boys are fearful of breaking (Pollack, 1998). The 'Boy Code' is based on David and Brannon's expectations for men; 1) boys are not to share pain or grieve openly; 2) boys should be daring; 3) boys should push themselves to succeed and repress feelings of failure; and 4) boys should be self-reliant and not show emotions (Pollack, 1998). In discussing the 'Boy Code' and the impact that it has on boys, Pollack (1998) writes "In other words, by purposely changing his behavior to avoid the embarrassment of violating the Boy Code, he completely sacrifices his genuine self" (p. 159). Here, Pollack recognizes the challenges of the Boy Code and the significant impact it has on males during their adolescence. The genuine self that Pollack

refers to is the notion that boys' interests and identity are silenced and immediately replaced with a social stereotypical ideology of masculinity that the boys did not agree to; this becomes very challenging and concerning for the boy as an individual.

Within boys' groups, both inside the classroom and outside the classroom, exists a hierarchy that dictates policing behaviors and individual responses (Pollack, 1998; Kivel, 2003; Wiseman, 2013). In discussing the hierarchy among boys, Judy Chu (2014) writes "This hierarchy seemed to reflect each boy's relative popularity and power, or ability to influence his peers, and could be regarded as a precursor to the competitive framework that often characterizes the social and cultural contexts of older boys and adult men" (p. 12). Discussing boys' experiences within groups, Rosalind Wiseman (2013) writes "In the short term, it's the experience a boy has in a group that will teach him about friendship and what kind of boy is accepted or rejected by the group" (p. 25). Describing the challenges of boys engaging with the 'Boy Code' or 'Act Like A Man Box', Kivel (2003) writes "Boys develop different strategies for trying to survive in the Box, some might even sneak out at times, but, for many, the scars of living within the walls of the Box are long lasting and painful . . . They are never at ease, always on guard . . . they are often confused, scared, angry, and wanting closeness with others" (p. 69). Kivel provides an important insight on the affect that "learning" masculinity has on boys as well as the contradictory nature of masculinity.

As part of the social hierarchy, the policing of masculinity for boys includes several behaviors. One type of policing that emerges for boys at a young age is bullying (Coloroso, 2003; Pollack, 1998). Discussing bullying among boys, Barbara Coloroso (2003) writes "There are three kinds of bullying: verbal, physical, and relational…Boys tend to use physical bullying more often than girls do…Physical prowess is honored above intellectual ability" (p. 15). The act of bullying not only has a direct impact on the boy who being bullied but also on the boys who witness the bulling (Coloroso, 2003). Other behaviors that boys engage in include name calling and homophobic insults (Martino, 2000). Clearly, policing of masculinity begins at an early age for boys and causes boys to act in very specific (and contradictory) ways resulting in harmful results.

Before considering the intersection of masculinity and high school, two final components of boyhood and boy culture must be briefly considered: fatherhood and coaches. First, fatherhood (or a father figure) traditionally plays a major role in the teaching of masculinity to

young and teenage boys (Bucher, 2014; Edgette & Rupp, 2012; Kimmel, 2008; Wiseman, 2013). In discussing the specific and overwhelming masculinity influence that the father has on young men, Kimmel (2008) argues "…the one person who has the power to validate your manhood or dissolve it in an instant: Dad" (pg. 130). The relationship between a father and his son is a complex one that sometimes oscillates between the validation and challenging of masculinity. While this research is not focused on the father-son relationship, it is critical to recognize its importance in the lives of young men who matriculate to college.

Second, since young boys traditionally participate in a variety of different sports, coaches can have a significant influence on a young boy's masculinity development; sometimes positive, sometimes negative, and sometimes neutral (Anderson, 2011; Edgette & Rupp, 2012; Messner, 2009, 2011; Stuart, 2018). Coaches are in a unique space where they are teaching the young male about the sport; that is the content of their teaching but they also engage in the teaching of masculinity and life lessons as they connect it to the teaching of the sport (Messner, 2011; Stuart, 2018; Wiseman, 2013). In discussing the challenges and influences of coaching boys, Wiseman (2013) writes "Good coaches know how to motivate boys by appealing to the best of Boy World, the intense desire in boys to be part of a team and recognized for courage and hard work. Coaches can be hard, but if they're fair, boys will rise to expectations (p. 290). It is also important to recognize that the influence of a coach is especially critical if the teenage male participates in sports during high school as the young male is more aware of messages as well as approaches to teaching (Anderson, 2011; MacArthur & Shield, 2015; Pascoe, 2007; Nuwer, 2018).

High school in the United States is an extremely complex social environment with multiple layers of meaning and masculinity (Kimmel, 2008; Nuwer, 2001, 2018; Pascoe, 2007). In discussing the challenges of high school masculinity, Kimmel (2008) argues, "Many of America's high schools have become gauntlets through which students must pass through every day. Bullies roam the halls, targeting the most vulnerable or isolated, beating them up, destroying their homework, shoving them into lockers, dunking their heads in toilets, or just relentlessly mocking them" (p. 76). Within the high school education environment, both in and especially outside of the classroom, peers play an enormous role in policing and reinforcing masculinity. As Kimmel suggests, sometimes the reinforcement of masculinity in high school is through physical

force. Often marginalized high school males are targeted by bullies because they are not perceived as being masculine enough (Kimmel, 2008; Pascoe, 2007).

Additionally, masculinity can be peer reinforced between individuals via the fear of being bullied, what certain male peers wear, how other male peers act, and how the male "cool" group defines "cool masculinity." For many high school males, there is a constant surveillance by the invisible gender police. In discussing the gender police, Kimmel (2008) writes ". . . so anti-gay sentiments become a short-hand method of gender policing. One survey found that most American boys would rather be punched in the face than called gay. Tell a guy that what he is doing or wearing is "gay" and the gender police have just written him a ticket. If he persists, they might have to lock him up" (p. 77). For a majority of collegiate males encountering the challenges of the collegiate environment, they have only just emerged from the masculinity "gauntlet" of high school. For these males, there may have been extremely traumatic experiences that affected their masculinity and now they are expected to navigate the new challenges of collegiate masculinity with new adjustments to their traditional support structures.

Numerous scholars have examined the high school as a place of learning; however, there has been less scholarship on high school as a site of learning masculinity (Pascoe, 2007). One of the most compelling and dominant works about high school masculinity is the work of C.J. Pascoe. Pascoe spent over a year doing ethnographic fieldwork at a high school in a suburban, racially diverse, working-class geographic area of northern California. Pascoe named the school, which served as the site of her ethnographic research, River High. *Dude, You're A Fag: Masculinity and Sexuality in High School*, published in 2007, represents the findings and analysis of that ethnographic study.

Pascoe (2007) argues high school is a critical time in the development of youth and that "adolescent masculinity is understood in this setting as a form of dominance usually expressed through sexualized discourses" (p. 5). For Pascoe, the sexualized discourses are critical to the development of masculinity among adolescents as the discourses continually define what masculinity is and what it is not. In further describing the regulating of masculinity among boys, Pascoe (2007) argues ". . . achieving a masculine identity entails the repeated repudiation of the specter of failed masculinity. Boys lay claim to masculine identities by lobbing homophobic epithets at one another. They also assert masculine selves by engaging in heterosexist discussions of girls' bodies and their own sexual experiences" (p. 5). Finally, Pascoe argues that the

construct of masculinity occurs within multiple levels. Pascoe (2007) writes "These gendering processes are encoded in multiple levels: institutional, interactional, and individual" (p. 5).

A central theme to Pascoe's research is the emergence of what Pascoe labels as the "fag discourse" (Pascoe, 2007). The fag discourse is a theme that Pascoe (2007) describes as "Fag talk and fag imitations serve as a discourse with which boys discipline themselves and each other through joking relationships. Any boy can temporarily become a fag in a given social space or interaction" (p. 54). The interwoven meanings of fag exist in the contexts of both homophobia and masculinity; connected to defining manhood as the opposite of femininity. Pascoe discovered that the male students used the fag discourse continually while the female students rarely used it, which clearly implies a significant trend. In discussing the widespread use of the fag discourse, Pascoe (2007) argues, "Given the pervasiveness of fag jokes and the fluidity of the fag identity, it is difficult for boys to consistently avoid the brand . . . The constant threat of the fag regulated boys' attitudes . . . (p. 65). The fag discourse was a central theme to the culture that Pascoe witnessed at River High School and may continue for males when they enter college to different degrees. Many high school males are unaware that the masculinity gauntlet will continue and are unprepared for the challenges related to their gender that they will experience in the next phase of their education.

Within the collegiate environment, there have been several research studies that have found elements of policing of masculinity as it relates to college men's development and experiences (Harris & Edwards, 2010). These studies will be discussed in greater detail in the next section; however, it is important to recognize some generalities regarding policing of masculinity in college. The consequences of policing force collegiate males to behave in a way that they would not traditionally behave to be accepted by the peer group (Harris & Edwards, 2010). This need for acceptance is related to socialization and policing that has occurred for these young men since boyhood. Some of these behaviors include the objectification of women, degrading attitudes towards women, a reluctance to discuss meaningful relationships with male peers, disconnectedness from males – sometimes fathers, commitment to competition, and the use of alcohol or drugs (Harris & Edwards, 2010). Discussing this disconnect among college men, Harris and Edwards (2010) write "…many of the participants reported feeling inauthentic and disconnected from their "true" selves as men…Some of the men reportedly felt "phony" and "disingenuous" after having compromised certain values that were important to them" (p. 53).

This theme will be discussed further but it is important to note this challenge within collegiate males as a result of policing.

Collegiate Masculinity: Identity Development, Expectations, and Performance

Next to consider is the scholarship centered on both college students and masculinity. This scholarship has several strands that include research on the experiences of individual collegiate males navigating their masculinity during college, hyper-masculinity and toxic masculinity during college. Over the past several decades, there has been a growing body of research on masculinity within collegiate life and how masculinity is learned, performed, reproduced by both male and female college students (Capraro, 2004; Kellom, 2004; Komarovsky, 2004; Harper & Harris, 2010). Further, more recent scholarship has emerged that focuses on subsets of collegiate masculinity such as high-achieving black males, male student leaders, males studying abroad, queer Latino/a identity development, sexual assault, etc. (Bowman & Filar, 2018; Hudson-Flege & Thompson, 2017; Kellom & Groth, 2010; Laker & Davis, 2011; Tillapaugh & McGowan, 2019; Yeh, 2014). These strides in scholarship have made the field of collegiate masculinity studies more robust as well as furthering the understanding of the challenges that collegiate males face daily. Additionally, there have been several higher education scholars who have engaged in identity-based research of collegiate males (Harper & Harris, 2010; Laker & Davis, 2011; Tillapaugh & McGowan, 2019). The current research on collegiate masculinity also discusses various campus-based responses to unhealthy masculine-centered behaviors, intersectional identities in relation to masculinity, gender performance, defining healthy masculinity, etc. (Bowman & Filar, 2018; Tillapaugh & McGowan, 2019).

Tracy Davis has published findings regarding how collegiate males have difficulty communicating due to the policing associated with gender roles (Davis, 2002). Davis was interested in exploring the concept of gender role conflict that collegiate males were experiencing as it related to their ability to cope as well as identity development. James O'Neil (2015) first introduced the concept of gender role conflict and has defined it as "a psychological state in which socialized gender roles have negative consequences for oneself or others…it occurs when rigid sexist or restrictive gender roles lead to personal restrictions, devaluation, or violation of others or oneself" (p. 10). Gender role conflict is a critical concept for Davis and for this study as it relates to the social interactions of masculinity and the impact that it can have on

the individual. This is especially important for collegiate males who are still in the process of developing their identity as both individuals and as young men. The results of the research study conducted by Davis were based on interviews of 10 undergraduate males, all serving leadership roles while attending Western Illinois University (Davis, 2002). Describing the results of the study, Davis writes "Five themes emerged from the data: the importance of self-expression, code of communication caveats, fear of femininity, confusion about and distancing from masculinity, and a sense of challenge without support" (p. 514). These themes are distinct yet overlapping while also having connections to both Kimmel's 'Guy Code' and Kivel's 'Act Like A Man Box'. Davis found that the participants were experiencing gender role conflict and were struggling in different ways with that conflict (Davis, 2002).

Keith Edwards and Susan Jones developed a grounded theory regarding collegiate males which emerged from a research study on the topic of gender performance and learning expectations put forth by the culture of masculinity in the United States (Edwards & Jones, 2009). Edwards and Jones (2009) described this theory by writing "The men's gender identity development is described as a process of interacting with society's expectations by learning these expectations, putting on a mask to conform with these expectations, wearing the mask, and struggling to begin to take off the mask" (p. 214). For Edwards and Jones, collegiate males engage in a process of "putting on a mask" to perform gender within very strict rules of masculinity to self-protect and preserve their identity. Putting on a mask, according to Edwards and Jones, is one approach that collegiate males undertake when dealing with the policing of masculinity by their peers. Mirra Komarovsky interviewed collegiate males at an Ivy League, male-only college during the late 1960s and concluded that male college students not only struggle with their gender identity, but they often feel trapped between changing expectations (Komarovsky, 2004). Again, this further illustrates the challenges that collegiate males face when interacting with hegemonic masculinity and policing.

In 2008, Frank Harris published the findings from his qualitative study; these have been used widely within the field of higher education scholarship as it relates to masculinity. While there have been multiple studies that have analyzed the behavior of collegiate males, Harris' study focused on the gender expression and gender performance of collegiate males (Harris, 2008). Harris used a social constructivist approach and drew heavily on the works of Connell, O'Neil, and Kimmel to guide his analysis of how collegiate males' gender is influenced and

performed. Although Harris' study only included data from twelve participants, he was able to conclude that collegiate men "rely on hypermasculine performance to assert themselves as men and affirm their statuses with male peers" (p. 468). Particularly relevant to this study, are the insights that Harris concluded on how college males respond to their peers during instances of the policing of masculinity. In this context, the masculine gender performance is a return to the theory posited by Butler as well as the theory that has been argued by gender scholars such as Connell and Kimmel. It is clear that men are performing gender in various ways within college and that educators must be acutely aware of this performance.

Another subset of research to consider when attempting to understand collegiate males is the concept of hyper-masculinity. Hyper-masculinity is the exaggerated performance of stereotypical masculine behaviors, traditionally by males, within different environments and can be a response to the policing of masculinity (Bengtsson, 2016; Glass, 1984; Kimmel, 1994; Mosher & Sirkin, 1984; Porter, 2012). Scholarship has considered how those representations of hyper-masculinity are affecting the men who are consuming them (MacKinnon, 2003; Watson & Shaw, 2011). Further, scholars are analyzing how hyper-masculinity has a ripple effect with a variety of unhealthy consequences on boys, adolescent males, and collegiate males (Porter, 2012). Hyper-masculinity, sometimes referred to as a toxic masculinity, is very visible behavior to male spectators and it has links to Butler when it is viewed as a performance that his consumed and reproduced by spectators.

Psychologist Leonard Glass (1984) provides a useful definition of hyper-masculinity as the "exaggeration and distortion of traditionally masculine traits" (p. 260). Critical to Glass' definition of hyper-masculinity is the construct of "traditional." While "traditional" is a concept that is extremely problematic, Glass recognizes the constructs of masculinity that are typically found among males in the United States as being within two types of modalities: the man's man and the ladies' man, both of which stem from common characteristics discussed previously (Glass, 1984). Returning briefly to the discussion on stereotypical masculine behaviors as described by Kimmel and David and Brannon, it is shown that these behaviors include aggression, risk-taking, competition, and heterosexuality. In many ways, hyper-masculinity performance is the intersection of sexuality, representations of gender such as dress, the physical body, and behaviors. However, it is important to note that a key function of hyper-masculinity is the extreme nature of the performance and the exaggeration of these "traditional" masculine

behaviors. Building from Glass's definition of hyper-masculinity, psychologists Donald Mosher and Mark Sirkin conducted a research study of 135 college men from which they were able to develop a hyper-masculine inventory (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984). Moser and Sirkin (1984) defined hyper-masculinity as "exaggerated masculinity, including callous attitudes toward women and sex, and the perception of violence as manly and danger as exciting" (p. 151). Both previous definitions are rooted in psychological personality inventories and focus on the exaggeration of masculinity.

Shifting away from the psychological perspective of hyper-masculinity, the social construct is found within Kimmel's definition. Kimmel asserts that hyper-masculinity can be viewed as a social context that is produced over time (Kimmel, 1994). Kimmel argues that hyper-masculinity is the construct of men engaging in exaggerated behaviors while also policing other men as self-preservation of one's own masculinity. Starting at a very young age for boys, Kimmel (1994) writes "Being seen as unmanly is a fear that propels American men to deny manhood to others, as a way of proving the unprovable – that one is fully manly . . . making homophobic or sexist remarks, told racist jokes, or made lewd comments to women on the street" (p. 217). In other words, the social interactions among men can be extreme performances of masculinity centered on fear or the perception of being ridiculed. For Kimmel, engaging in the exaggerated behavior of unhealthy masculinity (such as fighting, sexual aggression, etc.) is a defensive approach against the fear of being emasculated by others, especially by other men. For Kimmel, this process traditionally occurs in social situations with different types of men and different power structures within those situations. Further, Kimmel argues that this process of hyper-masculine performance begins at a very young age for boys in the United States and is continually reinforced (Kimmel, 1994).

Due to the embedded nature of exaggeration of these behaviors, many scholars have concluded that hyper-masculinity is inherently toxic as well as unhealthy (Bengtsson, 2016; Burstyn, 1999; Kimmel, 1994; Mosher & Sirkin, 1984; Porter, 2012). Toxic masculinity refers to the effect of negative masculinity on others while unhealthy masculinity traditionally refers to the effect on the individual. In many ways, hyper-masculinity is the intersection of Butler's theory of performance and Kimmel's theory of the 'Guy Code.' However, it is important to note that males are not hyper-masculine in all the spaces that they occupy, but rather they perform hyper-masculine behaviors to different degrees depending on the context, social situation, or

environment that they are occupying. Discussing hyper-masculinity within schools, educator and scholar Kevin Porter (2012) argues "Hyper-masculinity may emerge within the context of the school where peers interact, explore social rules of acceptance, and develop belief systems. As a result, young boys in school challenge each other with deviant behaviors . . ." (p. 49). For Porter, the context is the school. However, hyper-masculinity can be performed in spaces beyond the classroom or the playground (Bengtsson, 2016).

Fraternities, Greek Life, and Collegiate Masculinity

A noteworthy aspect of contemporary campus culture as it relates to collegiate masculinity is the social fraternity. There are also components of hypermasculinity culture found within some fraternities. In is important to note that this research focuses on predominantly white social fraternities but does acknowledge the importance and influence of both historically black and multi-cultural fraternities within the collegiate environment. Collegiate social fraternities in the United States have a unique and complex history (Horowitz, 1987; Lucas, 1994; Rudolph, 1990; Syrett, 2009). Greek-letter organizations first began on college campuses in the early 1800s and they provided an opportunity for male students to socialize with exclusivity male peers (Lucas, 1994). Over time, collegiate males transitioned their focus from the literary societies and became more interested in joining together for new reasons (Horowitz, 1987). Describing the transition from literary societies to fraternities, Helen Horowitz (1987) argues "Many students saw themselves at war with their faculty and with fellow students. They turned away from the literary society to create in the college fraternity an institutional expression of both their grievances and their divisions" (p. 29). Noted higher education historian Christopher Lucas (1994) described the origin of Greek-letter organizations by writing "Greek-letter societies made their first appearances on college campuses in the early 1800s . . . By the 1830s there already were local chapters flourishing at Amherst, Bowdoin, Brown, Columbia, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Miami of Ohio, Kentucky, Wabash, and elsewhere" (p. 131). It is clear when examining the history of collegiate social fraternities, that after their initial origins, they spread extremely quickly on campuses (Lucas, 1994, Rudolph, 1990; Syrett, 2009). What was the appeal of fraternities and why did they spread to so many colleges in a relatively short period of time?

Social fraternities in the United States, at their initial development, provided their members with a variety of benefits (Horowitz, 1987; Rudolph, 1990; Syrett, 2009). Rudolph (1990)

describes the benefits that fraternities provided collegiate members by arguing “In essence, the fraternity movement was institutionalizing new prestige values, the attributes of a successful man of the world, this world, at the expense of those various signs of Christian grace - humility, equality, and morality, which had long been the purpose of colleges to foster” (p. 149). At their origin, fraternities provided members a variety of personal attributes that appealed greatly to collegiate males which supported not only their time in college but also their post-graduation plans. In describing the appeal of fraternities further, Horowitz (1987) writes “The fraternity appealed because it captured and preserved the spirit of the revolts. Unlike the eighteenth-century literary society, the fraternity consisted of a small, select band pledged to secrecy” (p. 29). The selective and small definitely appealed to many collegiate males because fraternities allowed for the creation of a space where its members felt in control. This was vastly different to traditional collegiate life at the time, since faculty members were continually overseeing an extremely regimented schedule for the students (Horowitz, 1987; Syrett, 2009, 2018).

However, this was not the only appeal of social fraternities. Another major appeal of fraternities at their origin was a reaffirmation of masculinity and the strength of men in an uncertain future (Robbins, 2019; Syrett, 2009). Describing this appeal, Nicholas Syrett (2009) argues “While a man might be uncertain not only of his future but also his place among his peers, fraternities created a group of ‘brothers’ who would vow to protect, honor, and be loyal to him . . . Fraternities and the brotherhood they offered provided these social ties and helped allay anxiety brought about an uncertain future” (p. 15). While college campuses were becoming increasingly more diverse as well as the world beyond campus, college males found themselves searching for a space that reaffirmed their identity as men and their beliefs of masculinity. Additionally, the uncertain future provided a lot of anxiety (and still does) for collegiate males and the peer group of the fraternity provided a much-needed shelter from that uncertainty. Fraternities, thus, played an essential role for collegiate males and they have evolved over time for a multitude of reasons.

As previously discussed, critical aspects of fraternity life are the effect that fraternity life has both on the individual members and on the surrounding collegiate culture (Kimmel, 2008; Moisey, 2018; Rhoads, 1995; Syrett, 2009). In discussing the role that fraternities play in masculinity development for individual members, Robert Rhoads (1995) writes “Among a group whose culture stresses a very macho conception of manhood…The strong emphasis upon

physical qualities, such as strength, fearlessness, and aggressiveness, represents a narrow conception of masculinity" (p. 318). Knowing that these are the some of the values that are being taught to fraternity men on the individual level within the chapter, the next levels of impact become understandably more problematic. These levels of impact are the greater chapter, the Greek community, and the larger campus community.

Discussing the role that contemporary fraternities play within collegiate culture, Syrett (2009) argues "Fraternal masculinity, from 1825 to at least 1970, was regarded by most college students as the preeminent or hegemonic form of masculinity on college campuses, the standard by which all other college men were measured" (p. 3). In other words, the exclusive nature of fraternities serves as the "guide" to which many collegiate males outside of the fraternity system look for assistance on how masculinity was defined and how the standard of masculine behavior was measured. Modern social fraternities serve as focal points for many college students developing their own masculinity (Kimmel, 2008; Moisey, 2018; Robbins, 2019; Syrett, 2009).

On today's college campus, fraternities are comprised of a national headquarters with professional staff, a collegiate chapter with multiple student leadership positions, an extensive alumni community, and possibly a large house near campus. Within each fraternity, exists rituals, activities, and programs that reaffirm members', or brothers' commitment to the fraternity (Hechinger, 2017; Moisey, 2018; Rhoads, 1995; Syrett, 2009). Some examples of educational programing campaigns centered on teaching masculinity sponsored by fraternities include "Men of Principle" by Beta Theta Pi, "Balanced Man" by Sigma Phi Epsilon, "True Gentlemen" by Sigma Alpha Epsilon, and "The Resolute Men" by Theta Chi (Robbins, 2019). Further chapter activities include but are not limited to service projects, philanthropy events, intramural sports, parent's weekends, brotherhood socials (with and without alcohol), and socials with other sororities. At the national level, a fraternity's resources are extremely varied due to a combination of factors; however, this significantly impacts the level of support that a collegiate chapter receives from its national headquarters. It is also important to note that there are over 60 national fraternities with collegiate chapters, however it is highly dependent on the campus as to which fraternities are active and/or have a house. The size of a collegiate chapter is also extremely dependent on the organization and the campus interests.

Additionally, there exists a social tier system within which fraternities are socially perceived as stronger than others depending on criteria perceived by the members of the

particular campus community (Robbins, 2019). Within the tier system, depending on the campus, traditionally exists five different classifications: upper tier, middle tier, lower tier, outside the tier, and unrecognized chapters/groups. The social tier within the fraternity system is based on the campus community's values but also can be influenced by the media and other external factors (Corprew & Mitchell, 2014; Robbins, 2019). Social fraternities are governed by the national headquarters and supported by campus-based Greek-life staff. Depending on the campus, some Greek-life offices are provided significant resources while other offices have minimal staff and a minimal budget. The Greek-life office traditionally supports (and oversees) the fraternities, sororities, and any multicultural Greek organizations that are active on campus. Greek involvement on a campus can range from 10 percent to as high as 50 percent depending on the campus and history that the university has with Greek life. There is also a student-run Inter-Fraternity Council, supported by the Greek-life office, that is comprised of elected collegiate males that provide an umbrella organization aimed at addressing community issues among all fraternities on each campus (Hechinger, 2017). The student governance structure within fraternities varies depending on the fraternity however it traditionally includes president, several vice presidents, treasurer, several committee chairs, and recruitment (Hechinger, 2017; Robbins, 2019).

Within each chapter, prospective members go through a process of rushing, receiving a bid, pledging, and finally initiation (Cimino, 2018; Nuwer 2018). The Rush process occurs when collegiate males are visiting different fraternities to assess "fit" and organizational culture. Describing Rush, Aldo Cimino (2018) writes "Rush activities are typically parties or social gatherings that are designed to highlight the positive aspects of fraternity membership (e.g. male camaraderie and access to women)" (p 217). If the chapter wants the student to join, the organization will offer the student a bid. If the bid is accepted by the student, he becomes a pledge or new member. The duration of the pledge process varies from campus to campus, chapter to chapter, and fraternity to fraternity (Nuwer, 2018). During the pledge process, the pledges are taught the values of the chapter/organization, learn the history, get to know current members, and bond as a group (Cimino, 2018; Robbins, 2019). At the end of the pledging process, the new member is officially initiated into the fraternity. Through the process of joining the fraternity and continuing membership, different messages are conveyed regarding masculinity through various behaviors and activities (Moisey, 2018; Robbins, 2019).

Over the past several decades, there has been a growing body of research conducted on fraternity members, fraternity chapters, and Greek life affiliated students as it relates to masculinity, sexual misconduct, hazing, alcohol consumption, student success, and the disconnect between a fraternity's values versus their practices (Biddix, 2016; Corprew & Mitchell, 2014; Hechinger, 2017; Salinas & Boettcher, 2018; Syrett, 2018; Tillapaugh & McGowan, 2019; Zernechel & Perry, 2017). Discussing the intersection of masculinity and fraternity life, Syrett (2018) writes "In the wake of widespread criticism…fraternity members often defend themselves by pointing to their constitutions and the rituals that are meant to graduate gentlemen…It is the fraternity house, not the constitution, that educates brothers in how to be a man, lessons they carry with them to the world beyond" (p. 191). Clearly fraternities are playing an active role in teaching masculinity to their collegiate male members through a wide variety of formal and informal practices; some of which are extremely problematic. One of the more problematic practices which some fraternities engage in is the act of hazing.

At the intersection of fraternity life, hyper-masculinity, policing, and collegiate male masculinity is the act of hazing (Allan et al., 2019; Nuwer, 2001, 2018; Salinas & Boettcher, 2018; Syrett. 2018). Hank Nuwer has been studying the impact of social collegiate community and hazing (within fraternities and sororities) since the late 1970s. Considered to be an expert on hazing and hazing prevention, Nuwer (2001) defines hazing as "an activity that a high status member orders other members to engage in or suggests that they engage in that in some way humbles a newcomer who lacks power to resist, because he or she wants to gain admission in a group" (p. xxv). In contemporary times, hazing can consist of a variety of different behaviors including forced alcohol consumption, restricted activities, calisthenics, sleep deprivation, servitude to others, forced drug use, verbal insults, humiliation, sexual acts, and physical abuse (Biddix, 2016; Corprew & Mitchell, 2014; Nuwer, 2001, Sanday, 1990). The behaviors associated with hazing can have serious negative consequences both on the group and on the individual (Allan et al., 2019; Biddix, 2016; Nuwer, 2001/2018; Salinas & Boettcher, 2018). It is important to note that hazing can also result in psychological harm to individual students or groups of students receiving or perpetrating (Allan et al., 2019). Within the context of social fraternities, hazing traditionally occurs after a student has agreed to pledge the organization but before he is officially initiated into the fraternity. Collegiate male hazing represents a form of

policing of masculinity as a reinforcement of power which is critical to traditional stereotypical concepts of masculinity.

As discussed previously, hazing within a fraternity can embody many different forms. Discussing the intersection of hazing and sexuality, Syrett (2018) writes "Making pledges do things perceived as gay became the ultimate way to debase and degrade them before they were allowed to become full brothers, now bonded with one another in secrecy and shame. But all that homoeroticism has demanded an equally vocal disavowal, an insistence that fraternity brothers are not actually gay" (p. 190). In this type of hazing, fraternities are using homosexuality to humiliate but also engaging in hyper-masculine sexuality practices to reaffirm heterosexuality. It is this link that some scholars argue is the connecting point for the high instances of sexual assault perpetrated by fraternity males or in fraternity houses (Syrett, 2018).

Hazing continues to make national headlines on a continual basis as well as be a major source of concern for many stakeholders including parents, students, alumni, university administrators, and fraternity national offices (Nuwer, 2018; Reilly, 2017b; Salinas & Boettcher, 2018). In the past several years, incidents of hazing within collegiate fraternities have been prosecuted within the legal court system in addition to students/organizations being held accountable via the university conduct process (Reilly, 2017a). Some universities have also selected to halt all activities of the fraternity system on their campuses for a period of time as a way of attempting to address the problem (Reilly, 2017b). While hazing is predominantly found in social fraternities and sororities, it is also important to recognize that it can be found within other types of student organizations such as athletic teams, sports clubs, bands, music organizations, secret societies, military-based groups, and non-Greek fraternities (business-based, etc.) (Allan et al., 2019; Allan & Madden, 2012; Salinas & Boettcher, 2018). Depending on the type of student organization and the history of the organization, the level of hazing can be extremely varied (Allan et al., 2019). When considering hazing as a form of policing masculinity and the deeply concerning health risk, it is important to continue to be critical of the ways in which masculinity are taught as well as the messages that the collegiate males are receiving.

While there has been a significant amount of scholarship that has explored that very concerning behaviors of fraternities on college campuses, it is important to note the existence of several studies that showcase the benefits and opportunities with contemporary fraternity life (Anderson, 2008; Bowman & Holmes, 2017; Cruce & Moore, 2007; Harris & Harper, 2014).

Most pertinent to this research is Harris and Harper's 2014 study which resulted in a recognition of productive masculinity with fraternity culture. Harris and Harper conducted a qualitative study using focus groups that totaled 50 undergraduate college men from a fraternity (Harris & Harper, 2014). Through their study, Harris and Harper found that these participants engaged in behaviors which they labeled as *productive masculinity*. The behaviors included "in ways that sought to disrupt sexism, racism, and homophobia; confronted chapter brothers who behaved in ways that were inconsistent with their fraternity's espoused values; and cultivated substantive, non-romantic friendships with women on campus" (p. 706). Additionally, the college men that participated in the study represented leaders in their chapters or in other student organizations as well as being committed to doing the 'right thing' (Harris & Harper, 2014). Harris and Harper concluded that "Men in this study not only deemed it important to be good men themselves, but also assumed responsibility to help their fraternity brothers be the best men they could be" (p. 712). In this way, while fraternities do have some aspects which make them problematic, there are college men within those organizations that are cause for optimism and hope.

Collegiate Activity and Culture: A Masculinity Lens

In order to fully understand the engagement of collegiate males with their masculinity, it is important to note several aspects of the collegiate culture. While these components of the collegiate culture have been researched in the past, the emphasis for the purposes of this study will be through a masculinity lens. Recognizing that there are many aspects of the collegiate culture to consider, the ones that warrant a brief discussion are 1) sexuality and the hook-up culture; 2) sexual misconduct; 3) alcohol and parties; and 4) sports culture. Each topic will be briefly discussed as it relates to masculinity and the engagement of collegiate males. It is also important to note that these aspects of collegiate culture are not independent of each other, but rather there is significant overlap between them, and collegiate males move through these spaces daily.

The contemporary hook-up culture within collegiate life represents a complex intersection of heterosexuality, alcohol, and stereotypical beliefs of masculinity (Edwards, 2006; Kimmel, 2008). For many collegiate males, masculine behaviors are synonymous with heterosexual environments (Bogle, 2008). In turn, narrow views of masculinity are exaggerated through behaviors in social environments and specific rituals through sexuality. Sexuality expression on

college campuses is extremely complex as the hook-up culture and sexual assault are considered (Barrios & Lundquist, 2012; Bogle, 2008; Katz, 2006; Harding, 2015; Sanday, 1990). A critical component of the hookup culture is the prevalence of alcohol and the abuse of alcohol (Bogle, 2008; Wade, 2017). The hookup culture becomes even more complex as collegiate males who do not identify as heterosexual attempt to interact with the collegiate hookup scene which is traditionally designed for heterosexual males and females (Bogle, 2008; Wade, 2017). While the research on the sexual expression of collegiate males is significant, this section is designed to provide a brief overview while also connecting the concept of sexual expression among collegiate males to the development of their masculinity.

Sexuality is extremely important to collegiate males and the hook-up culture within college encourages males to be extremely anxious about their preparedness (Bogle, 2008; Kimmel, 2008; Wade, 2017). There are many expectations placed on heterosexual collegiate males which include having more sex than relationships, experiencing sexual gratification more than their partners, and being sexually aggressive (Bogle, 2008; Wade, 2017). In addition, there is a perception among individual collegiate males that their peers are engaging in much more sex then they are, and this causes feelings of anxiety and concern (Wade, 2017). Lisa Wade (2017) discusses this myth versus reality further but writing "Students overestimate how much sex their peers are having, and by quite a lot…the average graduating senior reports hooking up just eight times in four years…The cause of students' unhappiness…It's the hookup culture" (p. 17). In this sense it is the perception of the hookup college as well as the interwoven nature of hookup culture being synonymous with versions of collegiate success. (Wade, 2017). Cisgender collegiate males feel the need to impress other cisgender males with their ability to hook-up with attractive women; it is connected to reputation, self-esteem, and versions of power (Wade, 2017).

In describing the importance of the hook-up culture within contemporary college environments, Katherine Bogle (2008) asserts "hooking up as the dominant way for men and women to get together and form potential relationships on campus . . . it is the primary means for initiating sexual and romantic relationships" (p. 25). For Bogle, this marked a dramatic historical shift in the behavior of college students. In the past, college students were more likely to engage in dating prior to expressing themselves sexually (Bogle, 2008). While Bogle argued that hooking-up can have many meanings for students, she (2008) defined the hook-up culture as "For many, hooking up was such a normal and taken-for-granted part of their social lives that it

was difficult to get them to step back and explain how it happens" (p. 30). In other words, hooking-up is a deeply ingrained activity within the social scene and performance of sexuality within collegiate life.

Referring to masculinity and sexuality, collegiate males equate hooking-up to their performance of masculinity (Wade, 2017). Discussing the hookup culture in reference to which population of students benefits the most, Wade (2017) writes "It should be no surprise that heterosexual men express greater comfort with hooking up than other students. The culture is designed to their advantage…white heterosexual men who feel comfortable treating sex as a game" (p. 244). Heterosexual expression is at the epicenter of Kimmel's 'Guy Code' and supported by collegiate male peers (Kimmel, 2008). Men who don't hook-up are considered by their peers as not masculine (Barrios & Lundquist, 2012; Kimmel, 2008; Wade, 2017). The challenges of the hookup culture experienced by males, describes Wade, "Alienated from the pleasure that can come with being desired, and told that it's unmanly and pathetic to seek emotional connection with their sexual partners, men suffer in the hookup culture" (p. 245). Collegiate males are participating in the hookup culture, but they too are experiencing challenges related to the culture as they continue to negotiate conflicting masculinity expectations. While there may be healthy aspects of the hookup culture that currently exists in collegiate life, there are significant concerns that connect it to sexual assault and other forms of sexual misconduct (Bogle, 2008; Wade, 2017).

Under the umbrella of sexual expression among collegiate males are the extremely unhealthy behaviors of sexual assault, sexual misconduct, and rape. In the consideration of sexual assault and sexuality on a college campus, is interwoven masculinity and hyper-masculinity as manifestations of gender performance (Katz, 2006). There has been significant research on sexual assaults by collegiate males during their time in college (Dick & Ziering, 2016; Harding, 2015; Katz, 2006; Sanday, 1990; Tatum & Foubert, 2009). Discussing the problem of sexual assault on college campuses, Jerry Tatum and John Foubert (2009) write "Research has shown that rape is a pervasive problem on college campuses throughout the United States. Studies show between 3 and 5 percent of college women experience rape and/or attempted rape during every academic year…" (p. 195). Other studies place the number of women who experience rape or attempted rape while in college much higher than five percent, possibly as high 30 percent (Dick & Ziering, 2016; Harding, 2015; Sanday, 1990). In this

context, some scholars argue that there is a "rape culture" that exists on college campuses which is a direct result of both hegemonic and hyper-masculine behaviors where collegiate males feel comfortable and encouraged to assert their aggression through sexual means against women (Dick & Ziering, 2016; Harding, 2015; Katz, 2006).

Sexual assault and rape culture have educators and scholars extremely concerned about the lived experiences of both collegiate males and females (Peters, Nason, and Turner, 2007). Jay Peters and his colleagues argue that there is a correlation between hyper-masculinity and rape based on males exhibiting character traits such as a commitment to danger, skewed views of competition, and an unhealthy approach to their sexuality. Peters and his colleagues (2007) assert that "Consequently, hyper-masculinity is thought to be related to violence against women through a process in which women are both desired and feared" (p. 172). Collegiate males are struggling with their masculinity and their sexuality. While collegiate males are hoping to express themselves in a healthy way, they struggle with the extremes that are placed before them as they are continually pressured to be aggressive, violent, and passionate (while at the same time showing no emotion). Again, the extreme contradictions that exist regarding masculinity as well as the unhealthy behaviors that can result are extremely evident.

While collegiate alcohol abuse has been previously discussed, a more thorough discussion through a masculinity lens is warranted. There has been significant research on collegiate alcohol abuse especially in the past decade with many student deaths gaining national attention (Armstrong & Hamilton, 2013; Brandon, 2010; Vander Ven, 2011; Weiss, 2013) Thomas Vander Ven recognizes the disproportionate rates that collegiate men engage in binge drinking. After researching collegiate alcohol consumption over the course of seven years; analyzing survey data and engaging in intensive interviews, Vander Ven was able to reach several conclusions (Vander Ven, 2011). Vander Ven writes "Thanks to the College Alcohol Survey we know that binge drinking is most common among whites, males, athletes, and fraternity and sorority members" (pg. 14). Vander Ven notes that the College Alcohol Survey (led by Dr. Henry Wechsler from the Harvard School of Public Health) began collecting data on college alcohol consumption in 1993 (pg. 14). While it is clear that college drinking has occurred on college campuses for decades; it is important to know that the most concerning information is the prevalence of heavy alcohol consumption among college men (Vander Ven, 2011).

Henry Wechsler, the director of the College Alcohol Studies Program and the Harvard University School of Public Health, has researched alcohol consumption among college students for decades and was one of the first scholars to use the term "binge drinking" (Wechsler & Weuthrich, 2002). A proponent of statistics, Wechsler and Wuethrich assert that alcohol is responsible for 1,400 student deaths each year and that some school administrators are lowering their expectations of being able to effectively address the problem (Wechsler & Wuethrich, 2002). Within the construct of the disproportionate engagement of collegiate males, the data that Wechsler and Weuthrich are extremely concerned about are the following: 73 percent of fraternity members drink compared to 57 percent of sorority members (pg. 6). Utilizing the College Alcohol Study (CAS), which is an on-going survey of more than 50,000 students at 140 four-year colleges, Wechsler and Wuethrich analyze the data from the CAS from a multitude of perspectives: collegiate sports; campus cultures; advertising and sales; physical effects; influence on relationships; campus education/prevention initiatives; and the role of the media (Wechsler & Wuethrich, 2002).

As discussed previously, a function of masculinity is both strength and being daring. For scholars, there is a link between strength, competition, and alcohol consumption (Sweeney, 2014; Vander Ven, 2011). There is also a growing body of scholarship that provides linkages between masculinity, the collegiate culture, and alcohol consumption (Iwamoto et al., 2014; Peralta et al., 2018; Radimer & Rowan-Kenyon, 2019; Sasso, 2015; Sweeney, 2014; West, 2001). Within some collegiate male spaces, Brian Sweeney (2014) argues that there exists a *collegiate party discourse* in which men speak only of parties, competitive alcohol consumption, hooking-up, and being the most daring (Sweeney, 2014). Three distinct opportunities for men to show their strength, completion, and daring within alcohol rituals are drinking games, the twenty-first birthday, and beer bongs. In discussing drinking games such as Beer Pong, Vander Ven argues "…Beer Pong is much more than getting drunk…Beer Pong was a competitive mechanism for friends to challenge one another…it's often the main event" (pg. 43). During drinking games, the objective for participants has double meanings. First it is to win the game. Second, it is to become intoxicated. However, these two objectives are contradictory because it becomes more difficult to win the drinking game as the participant becomes more intoxicated. This is strongly linked to masculinity theory as it becomes a function of masculinity to compete and win. Another specific collegiate ritual within the construct of alcohol consumption is the 21st

birthday. Usually occurring during the academic year while students are attending school, the 21st birthday is a ritual with multiple meanings. In discussing college student birthdays, Vander Ven asserts "Birthdays are typically treated by university students as occasions to drink heavily…to get the "birthday boy or girl" really hammered. The strangeness of this practice – of delivering a ritualistic alcoholic beatdown… "weird tradition" (pg. 30). Again, we see the contradictory nature of both alcohol and masculinity. College students celebrate the birthday by becoming intoxicated beyond accepted conventions. It also become daring for men to consume a high quantity of alcohol without showing their intoxication physically.

A second opportunity for collegiate males to engage in the ritual of alcohol consumption, competition (and "hooking-up") is spring break (Matthews, 1995; Sperber, 2000; Wechsler & Wuethrich, 2002). Spring break usually occurs during March or April and provides some students with an opportunity for rest and relaxation. Other students; however, use the week-long time off from academic to engage in alcohol consumption and other forms of unhealthy behavior. Each spring break week, large numbers of collegiate males (and females) travel to exotic places and engage in week-long parties filled with alcohol consumption. Recognizing the full scope of spring break, Sperber asserted that 1.25 million students spent more than $1 billion at spring break festivities (Sperber, 2000). In discussing collegiate students and spring break, Jim Matthews argues "Spring break is a college ritual long associated with excessive alcohol and other drug use…How much damage is taking place in Florida, the Caribbean, and Mexico during Spring break?" (pg. 76). Spring break has developed into such a period of excess that many college campuses have developed safe spring break programming prior to the break and alternative spring breaks (service trips) in an attempt to address the unhealthy behaviors (Matthews, 1995).

A final opportunity for male college students to compete against one another via alcohol is the use of the beer bong. The beer bong (a funnel with tubing) is used to accelerate the consumption of large quantities of alcohol. Traditionally, beer bongs are used to consume alcohol via the drinker's mouth. However, "butt chugging" or "alcohol enemas" have emerged on college campuses where men "consume" alcohol after inserting the tube into their rectum. In discussing beer bongs further, Vander Ven writes "Beer bongs are widely available at novelty stores and on the internet, but some college students take pride in constructing their own beer flow mechanisms… Make no mistake about it – this method of consumption is designed to get

the bong technician intoxicated in a hurry" (pg. 45). The competitive nature emerges again as butt chugging and beer bongs are traditionally used by men (Vander Ven, 2011).

Another aspect of collegiate culture worth examining through the masculinity lens is sport culture. Within the sport culture on college campuses, there are several different levels which include electronic sports (e-sports), intramurals, club, and varsity or Division. In discussing the collegiate environment within the context of athletic culture, Murray Sperber recognized a synergy between collegiate sports, student life, and the consumption of alcohol (Sperber, 2000). In further discussing the culture on college campuses, Sperber (2000) argues that "Many universities…spend increasing amounts of money on their athletic departments and use big-time college sports to keep their students happy and distracted . . ." (p. xiii). Big-time sports on a college campus is the cultural machine that engages students in "participating" with the specific college's athletic teams (Clotfelter, 2011; Sperber, 2000; Weiss, 2013). Defining big-time sports, Charles Clotfelter (2011) writes "I define big-time sports as the highly commercialized and widely followed competition in football and basketball that is undertaken by several hundred American universities" (p. xiii). In many cases, at most universities, big-time sports as defined by Clotfelter is centered on men's football and basketball with men's lacrosse or men's hockey mirroring the big-time sports concept at some universities. While happy and distracted, the emphasis that some colleges place on athletics reinforces to collegiate men the high level of importance that is placed on both competition and aggression. According to Sperber, collegiate males are transfixed by collegiate sports – whether the collegiate team that the males grew up watching on television or that they embody the teams of the school that they are attending (Sperber, 2000). In other words, as spectators, collegiate males have a front-row ticket (sometimes literally) to the masculine competition and aggression that occurs in big-time collegiate sports.

Subsequently, those male spectators want to be engaged in competitions of their own. Here, collegiate athletics sit at the intersection of stereotypical masculine constructs of competition and the male body. The male body is a site in which some males use as a vehicle to show their commitment to physical strength, endurance, and competition (Pope et al., 2000) There is an abundance of opportunities for male versus male competitions within college that range from video games to athletics via residence hall floors to student organizations. Collegiate males are overwhelmed with the opportunities to compete with one another and the need to

"win." In discussing games further, Kimmel (2008) asserts "Both in their form and in their content, games give you the feeling of power and control. They take the control out of the hands of the director and put it in the hands of the consumer" (p. 156). In some ways, competing and athletics can be very healthy for college males. Intramural sports provide college males an opportunity to compete with one another while promoting the social nature of sport; the opportunity to get to know teammates. However, individual men are continually placed in competitive environments where they must choose the level of competition that is healthy while being mindful of the exterior forces influencing their decision.

History of Community Engagement Practice: College Students in the United States

The history of college student community engagement has two interwoven strands: the history of practice and the history of theory (Flecky, 2009; Welch, 2016). Both historical strands are important as they are mutually dependent and influential to each other. The unique historical focus is the practice of college student community engagement in the United States (Hartley, 2009; Jacoby, 2015; Saltmarsh & Zlotkowski, 2011; Stoecker, 2016; Welch, 2016). While there have been significant community engagement commitments within certain Greek letter organizations, campus ministry-based initiatives, historically black colleges/universities, and other organizations, historically community engagement among U.S. college students remained somewhat sporadic until the 1960s (Jacoby, 2015; Dolgon et al., 2017). However, a brief review of these historical activities will provide a strong foundation for understanding how and why students engage with the community beyond the classroom. One of the earliest records of students engaging in service is when students were supporting the abolition of slavery by helping runaway slaves. Specifically, students at the University of Michigan were committed to aiding runaway slaves to get safely to Canada (Cartwright, 1995). This historical example signifies that social issues within the community were extremely important to some students and important enough for students to commit themselves to sometimes life-threating, challenging work. Additionally, this is one of the earliest examples of undergraduate students engaging in work beyond the classroom focusing on social justice and critical social issue awareness.

During the early 1900s, there was an upswing in civic engagement activities undertaken by college students in the United States (Flecky, 2009). Specifically, students committed their time and energy to the initiatives of the settlement houses (Longo, 2007). Nicholas Longo (2007)

defines the settlement houses by writing "The settlements multiform – and ecological – response to social problems at the turn of the twentieth century took place at the local level. College educated women lived and worked as neighbors with poor immigrants" (p. 48). In essence, while the settlement house served a residential purpose, the greater purpose was interfacing with the community to provide a multitude of different services. These services were critical to struggling urban populations during the early 1900s such as immigrants, low-income families, and marginalized ethnic groups (Longo, 2007). In addition, the settlement houses served as a conduit for college students, professors, and community members to work side by side. One of the most notable examples of this early partnership was between the University of Chicago and the Hull House founded by Jane Addams and Ellen Starr (Flecky, 2009; Rabin, 2009). During the early 1900s, Hull House was a site where social problems were addressed, and University of Chicago students engaged with the residents on projects related to lobbying, poverty, healthcare, and language learning (Longo, 2007; Rabin, 2009). Current scholarship notes that the work of the settlement houses during the early 1900s is central to understanding contemporary community engagement approaches (Rabin, 2009).

Beginning in the early 1900s, African American fraternities and sororities created community engagement commitments to support the needs of the African American communities in the United States (Ross, 2000; Harris & Mitchell, 2008; Dolgon et al., 2017). The student organizations developed community engagement programs which included tutoring and other education-based initiatives that supported young children in the community (Ross, 2000). This development is one of the first examples of student organizations on a college campus participating in community engagement directly linked to their student organization's mission. In addition to education-based programs, some African American sororities supported social change initiatives such as women's suffrage and equality (Ross, 2000; Harris & Mitchell, 2008). In this instance, students are moving away from just service and engaging in early forms of social justice.

The next major upswing of undergraduate students participating in community engagement activities occurred during the 1960s (Flecky, 2009; Jacoby, 2009; Sheffield, 2011; Welch, 2016). While the 1960s is known as a period of turbulence in the United States, especially on college campuses, there were also significant advances made towards community engagement and service-learning within higher education. The 1960s also ushered in two major

national service programs which elevated community engagement to a national level. These programs included the establishment of the Peace Corps in 1961 and Volunteers In Service to America in 1964. The Peace Corps, established by President John F. Kennedy, encouraged college graduates to experience the world while engaging international communities in service (Jacoby, 2009). The Volunteers in Service to America, established by President Lyndon B. Johnson, was created to address poverty through service in the United States (Jacoby, 2015). Both national programs continue today and have historical ties to the Hull House example as the program participants live in the communities in which they serve.

College campuses during the 1960s saw the creation of community service centers and a commitment to student engagement in the community (Jacoby, 2009). The development of campus centers provided students an opportunity to engage with the community in more effective ways which when coupled with the Civil Rights movement, dramatically increased the number of students involved with community-based initiatives. One of the most important examples of community engagement during this period was the Freedom Summer in 1964. The Freedom Summer project was an initiative that engaged college students from a variety of universities to assist African Americans in Mississippi with registering to vote (Watson, 2010). Sponsored by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress for Racial Equality, roughly 500 student volunteers were trained at the Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio and then traveled to Mississippi to assist with voter registration-based activities (Watson, 2010). Describing the student volunteers who participated in the Freedom Summer project, Bruce Watson (2010) writes "All but a few were in college, almost half from Ivy League or other top schools…Taken together, they were the offspring of the entire nation. While four dozen came from metropolitan New York, three dozen from the San Francisco Bay area…the rest came from every corner of the country" (p. 19). The undergraduate students, representing all parts of the country, who participated in Freedom Summer were actively engaging in a form of social justice that received widespread media coverage. It was clear that the students were risking their lives, as three students died during the experience, for a social cause that they believed in (Watson, 2010). By the time they returned to their home campuses, the political climate had shifted, and they had become change agents for social justice.

The next wave of community engagement and service-learning among undergraduate students in the United States came in the 1980s and 1990s (Flecky, 2009; Hartley, 2009; Jacoby,

2009; Saltmarsh & Zlotkowski, 2011; Welch, 2016; Saltmarsh & Hartley, 2017). At the national level, there were multiple organizations and programs which began due to renewed funding sources, new levels of financial support, and interest among potential participants. Some examples of these include the National Society for Experiential Education (1971); National Society for Experiential Education (1978); National Student Volunteer Program (1979); National Center for Service Learning (1982); Campus Outreach Opportunity League (1984); Campus Compact (1985); Bonner Scholars Program (1990); Teach for America (1990); Break Away (1991); and the Corporation for National Service and AmeriCorps (1993). Some of the programs listed were created and supported by former presidents George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton (Jacoby, 2009; Sheffield, 2011; Welch, 2016).

Many scholars point towards the formation, development and success of Campus Compact as being a pivotal element supporting both community engagement initiatives for college students (Harkavy & Hartley, 2010; Hartley & Saltmarsh, 2016; Jacoby, 2015; Sheffield, 2011; Saltmarsh & Hartley, 2017). Campus Compact is a national organization which is dedicated to the promotion of service-learning among college students with state affiliated offices throughout the United States. The mission of Campus Compact is the following: "Campus Compact advances the public purposes of colleges and universities by deepening their ability to improve community life and to educate students for civic and social responsibility" (Campus Compact website). In discussing Campus Compact further, Harkavy and Hartley (2010) describe Campus Compact's growth by writing "Campus Compact, a national coalition of college and university presidents and a leading proponent of service-learning, has grown from 3 institutions in 1985 to over 1,100 in 2009, approximately a quarter of all colleges and universities in the United States" (p. 418). Harkavy and Hartley attribute this massive growth, in a relatively brief period of time, to the commitment of the practitioners and proponents of community engagement. Campus Compact clearly played a significant role in the early beginnings of the community engagement movement and continues to be a major contributor to contemporary advances in both scholarship and practical applications. It is clear that, in a relatively short period, significant advances have been made in the areas of community engagement on college campuses in the United States.

Theoretical Origins of Community Engagement and Service-Learning

Contemporary community engagement and service-learning theory can be traced to the works of the following theorists: Jane Addams, John Dewey, David Kolb, and Paulo Freire (Crabtree, 2008; Flecky, 2009; Rabin, 2009; Stoecker, 2016; Whitley, 2014). While this research is focused on community engagement, the theoretical underpinnings overlap service-learning. Each theorist is considered to have made a significant contribution to both the theory and practice of community engagement and service-learning. More recent scholarship regarding theoretical underpinnings of contemporary forms community engagement and service-learning includes Mezirow and Roberts.

John Dewey's works and theories are most commonly cited within service-learning scholarship as some of the original philosophical underpinnings (Flecky, 2009; Jacoby, 2015; Jameson, Clayton, & Ash, 2013; Saltmarsh & Zlotkowski, 2011; Sheffield, 2011; Whitley, 2014). Many scholars argue that service-learning has theoretical roots in experiential education with specific emphasis on Dewey's scholarship on experience, democracy, and reflection (Jacoby, 2015). Experiential education is the construct in which students engage in learning through experience. Experience, for Dewey, included activities beyond the confines of the traditional classroom – that in order to effectively learn, students need to learn by doing. For Dewey, experiences build on each other and influence a student's development as well as how the student interacts with future experiences (Dewey, 1938). Embedded into the construct of experiences is also the critical component of student reflection. Reflection is the link between experience and learning from experience (Dewey, 1916) Describing the value of reflection, Dewey (1933) notes "we do not learn from experience; we learn from reflecting on experience" (p. 78).

Dewey argued that interwoven within the framework experience and education is the connection between democracy and education. When Dewey analyzed his views on both democracy and education, he believed and hypothesized that the two systems were intrinsically linked (Dewey, 1916). Further, Dewey (1916) argued that education is the key for social transformation by writing that education "signifies a society in which every person shall be occupied in something that makes the lives of others better worth living, and which accordingly makes the ties which bind persons together more perceptible— which breaks down the barriers of distance between them" (p. 173). Education, for Dewey, is an opportunity that if utilized

effectively, can transform society and bring people together from different backgrounds to solve complex problems. Democracy, according to Dewey (1916), "is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience" (p. 50). In this context, democracy for Dewey is not about the system of government, but rather something that is experienced by people engaging in debate and community. Since democracy is experienced by people, education is a critical component as education provides growth and development for the people engaging in democracy. The role of reflection within this construct ensures that growth within individuals which translates to active democracy.

In addition to Dewey, Jane Addams' works have also influenced contemporary community engagement and service-learning within the United States (Daynes & Longo, 2004; Rabin, 2009). Although Addams has been previously discussed within the history of the practice, it is important to briefly discuss her views as they have also influenced contemporary approaches to civic engagement and service-learning. A critical factor for Addams is her recognition and collaborative approach to community problem-solving (Addams, 1910/1998). Addams continually assessed and listened to members of the community while also working collaboratively with them (and others) to creatively approach problems. During the history of Hull House, the number of programs and support services for different populations of community members was expansive as was Addams' ability for creativity and collaboration (Addams, 1910/1998).

David Kolb expanded upon the works of Dewey and developed an experiential learning model. Kolb was also influenced by the works of Kurt Lewin and Jean Piaget (Stoecker, 2016). Kolb posited that knowledge is created in the process of transformation that occurs via experience, experimentation, and reflection (Kolb, 1984). The experiential learning model, developed by Kolb, includes four basic stages to experiential learning: 1) concrete experience; 2) observation of and reflection; 3) forming abstract concepts; and 4) testing in new situations (Kolb, 1984). Kolb's Experiential Learning Model is a cycle where students engaged in the process keep moving through the stages, when they have completed testing in new situations, they return to a new concrete experience. The cycle also allows students to enter at any stage depending on their experience and learning. In order to progress effectively through the stages of the cycle, it is critical for students to continue to reflect on their experiences as well as engage in experimentation. The dual concepts of experimentation and reflection is one way that Kolb built

on Dewey's foundational theory. While learning is continual in the process of the model, it is most evident during the stage after which students test their new concepts (Kolb, 1984). One of the major appeals of Kolb's model to practitioners is its simplicity.

Pedagogy of the Oppressed outlined Paulo Freire's views on education (Freire, 1970). Freire (1970) argues "Knowledge emerges only through the invention and reinvention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquire human being pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other" (p. 72). If the student merely exists for the receiving of knowledge, he/she is not questioning or digesting the knowledge. Freire's goals are for individuals to develop a critical consciousness through critical reflection that allows for the transformation of power within society (1970). While this theoretical is similar to Dewey as it calls for both experience and reflection, it also drastically differs as it has a clear social change goal. In many ways, Freire provided the foundational for more contemporary approaches to service-learning such as the critical and social justice models.

More contemporary theories that scaffold community engagement and service learning are the works of Jack Mezirow. Mezirow developed a transformational learning theory based on the works of Freire as well as conducted intensive research to explain the number of women returning to higher education in the late in 1970s (Mezirow, 2009). Mezirow identified ten phases: 1) A disorienting dilemma; 2) Self-examination with feelings of guilt or shame; 3) A critical assessment of assumptions; 4) Recognition that one's discontent and process of transformation are shared and that others have negotiated a similar change; 5) Exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and actions; 6) Planning of a course of action; 7) Acquisition of knowledge and skills for implementing one's plans; 8) Provisionally trying out new roles; 9) Building of competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships; and 10) A reintegration into one's life on the basis of conditions dictated by one's new perspective (Mezirow, 2009). It important to recognize the influence of Mezirow's transformational learning theory as it is often cited as scaffolding contemporary models of service-learning as well as influence current practices (Crabtree, 2008; Whitley, 2014).

Community Engagement: Practices, Goals, and Learning Objectives

There are a wide variety of community engagement that exist on college campuses throughout the United States (Bringle & Hatcher, 2009; Jacoby, 2015; Welch, 2016; Welch &

Saltmarsh, 2013). Those practices include the structure and services provided to undergraduate students which vary by institution as well the relationship that the university has with the community (Welch & Saltmarsh, 2013). Under the umbrella of community engagement exists co-curricular community service, community-based internships, a service graduation requirement, and immersion programs. Each practice has its own set of goals, learning objectives, intended audience, challenges, and benefits. Further, considering the diverse demographics of the contemporary college student as well as the evolving needs of communities, each practice serves a very distinct and specific purpose.

There have been both renewed and new approaches to co-curricular service in practice. These new approaches can be generally classified into three groups: leadership, citizenship and politics, and awareness (Jacoby, 2009; Sheffield, 2011; Welch, 2009, 2016). Describing this shift, Marshall Welch (2009) writes "As a result, new models of community service and service-learning emphasizing civic engagement, social change, and social justice have begun to emerge. In this approach, activism and politics moved from the margins to the center of learning as students and educators seek creative ways to move from service to civic engagement" (p. 175). The shift that Welch refers to is the notion that social change begins to address social problems while past approaches engaged the community but did not work to actively approach the underlying social issue. Within the context of co-curricular service, each type of practical approach has a distinct focus with a specific set of learning outcomes and impact on student development.

Leadership programs within higher education have seen a recent shift in interest due to the infusion of community engagement and service-learning (Jacoby, 2009; Welch, 2016). Practitioners and scholars argue two reasons for this shift. The first is the renewed development of leadership theories and a commitment of higher education to developing student leaders. The second reason is that recent leadership theories applicable to college students are infused with community-based concepts, most notably the servant leadership model and the social change model of leadership (Longo & Shaffer, 2009). Some examples of practical applications of leadership programs infused with service include co-curricular certificate programs, leadership focused coursework with infused service-learning, first-year seminars, orientation programs, symposiums promoting the public good, training programs that intersect community issues, living-learning programs, and programs designed for specific student populations (Greek-letter

organizations, student-athletes, first-generation students, etc.) (Bringle & Hatcher, 2009; Longo & Shaffer, 2009). By students engaging in leadership-based programs both in and outside of the classroom, they develop stronger communication skills, interpersonal skills, ability to work effectively with others from diverse backgrounds, and a greater sense of self (Longo & Shaffer, 2009).

Another type of co-curricular service-learning practice engages college students in citizenship and politics. Scholars and practitioners have renewed their commitment to educating students on how to be engaged and effective citizens (Jacoby, 2009). Describing citizenship and civic activities, Jacoby (2009) writes that it "includes a wide range of activities, including developing civic sensitivity, participation in building civil society, and benefiting the common good. Civic engagement encompasses the notions of global citizenship and interdependence" (p. 9). For practitioners, citizenship development through service is engaging students in traditional citizenship activities. From the community perspective, this has involved a variety of activities such as voter registration, involvement in political campaigns, protesting, letter-writing campaigns, hosting or engaging in political debates, and supporting guest speakers (Jacoby, 2009). Additionally, depending on the type of activity the students are engaging in, some scholars have argued that it is a form of social justice as it addresses inequities via social change (Welch & Saltmarsh, 2013). By engaging students in citizenship engagement-based programs, students develop a stronger sense of citizenship post-graduation, a commitment to their communities, and deeper understanding of social issues (Jacoby, 2015). This type of co-curricular service-learning is directly connected to the social justice model as it encourages students to be active citizens and engaged community members. The students engaged in this type of co-curricular service-learning practice are more knowledgeable and empathetic of social conditions.

The last type of co-curricular community engagement practice that university administrators engage in focuses on awareness and exposure (Welch, 2016). Awareness and exposure practices are designed to encourage students to consider becoming involved with the community, who would not traditionally prioritize community participation. The goal of the program is to make the college student aware of complex community issues and to encourage him/her to become further involved either with a specific issue or more broadly in the community (Welch, 2016). Examples of awareness and exposure practices include one-day

service events, non-profit agency involvement fairs, lectures, and other minimal time-commitment activities. The hosting organization of these events and experiences includes service clubs, residence halls (living-learning communities), alumni organizations, the community engagement center, or a spiritual organization (Welch, 2016). In some instances, a university may partner with a national or state initiative such as Make-A-Difference Day or the Martin Luther King Day of Service. These are examples of one-day service events that encourage students to consider the needs of the larger community and to prioritize community engagement. These short-term and awareness programs are also examples of the transformative model as they are designed to initially engage the student in border crossing through awareness. Students are exposed to unfamiliar environments, and the social issue encourages them to re-evaluate their priorities or general way of thinking. This leads to student development and new forms of personal growth.

Community-based internships are long-term experiences that students engage in via a professional non-paid work capacity at non-profit organizations (Welch, 2016). This type of experience differs from co-curricular service-learning as the community-based internships are for a longer duration, the student focuses on professional development, and the curricular structure is less formal (Jacoby, 2015). Further, community-based internships can be either curricular or co-curricular. Traditionally, community-based internships are semester- or year-long experiences with sporadic formal curricular experiences. The sporadic formal curricular experiences tend be an opportunity for formal reflection, assessment, and ensuring that the experience is positive (Welch, 2016). In some instances, community-based internships could be a disciplinary capstone project. Some academic departments within colleges and universities have instituted a community-based internship as part of their curriculum for students completing a degree within that particular major (Butin, 2012). Like community-based research, community-based internships have historical roots in Hull House and the works of Jane Addams. Community-based internships are centered on the long-term commitment by the student and a meaningful partnership between the university and the community.

Another community engagement practice within the United States is the undergraduate requirement for graduation. The debate on service being a requirement for undergraduate higher education in the United States has been taking place across a variety of venues since the 1980s. (Dodge, 1990; Mohan, 1994; Yang, 2017). While there has been debate by the media and

policymakers regarding the service graduation requirement, academic research has been somewhat minimal (Moely & Illustre, 2011). While several colleges and universities in the United States have had a service graduation requirement, the 1980s sparked a renewal to the debate as organizations such as Campus Compact were rising to prominence. The benefit of a service graduation requirement is confirmation of knowing that all students (rather than a select few) from a university are potentially benefiting from community engagement or service-learning. When a university requires service-learning or community engagement, an additional objective is the message that the university sends to its community – that the value of engaging the community is just as important as other core curriculum requirements. For a list of universities and colleges currently with a service graduation requirement, please see the Appendix.

There are several issues associated with service as a graduation requirement (Beehr et al., 2010; Jones et al., 2008; Moely & Ilustre, 2011; Yang, 2017). The main issues are implementation, the ethic of service, documentation, and community need. The implementation of the requirement is how it will be completed; this could include an academic service-learning course, co-curricular community service (with or without reflection), or service-learning imbedded into a choice of experiential learning options (Moely & Ilustre, 2011). The second theme is the ethic of service. Critics of requiring service as a graduation requirement often cite ethics as central theme to their argument (Yang, 2017). In other words, central to the benefits that stem from community engagement and service-learning is the belief that the service was voluntary. Critics posit that the benefits would be impacted when service is mandated; this is traditionally visible when service is mandated as a punitive act for certain conduct offences. Another component of the graduation requirement is the ability of the community to embrace or host a potentially large number of students. For some institutions that are in large urban areas, this is not such a concern. However, for schools that are in more rural areas, an over saturation of students in the community could be a serious concern. Regardless of the geographic location of the university, the perspective of community agencies is a voice that must be heard and included when considering the significance of such a practice (Stoecker & Tryon, 2009).

Lastly, immersion programs are an example of contemporary practice of community engagement within higher education. The number of immersion programs has grown significantly at colleges and universities in the United States during the past two decades (Albert,

1996; Jones et al., 2012; Neihaus & Crain, 2013; Welch, 2016). Gail Albert (1996) defines immersion programs as "an opportunity not simply to work in, but to live the life of a community for a period of time. These experiences may be brief, as short as a week in duration; or they may extend for a summer, a semester or longer. With these experiences, an unfamiliar culture becomes the setting for all facets of the student's life" (p. 183). Unfamiliar culture sometimes may mean a domestic culture while other instances may mean an international culture (Welch, 2016). In practice, some immersion programs are connected to coursework while others are not. One of the benefits of the coursework option is the depth of learning that occurs prior to and after the immersion program. For the immersion programs that are not connected to formal coursework, traditionally there is a curriculum that has been developed to engage the student participants in both reflecting on their experiences as well as learning about the place and social issues that they are experiencing.

For many student participants, the act of cultural immersion coupled with service is a very meaningful experience that can serve as a catalyst for significant shifts in identity development (Jones et al., 2012). Based on a research study involving college students engaged in a service immersion program, Susan Jones and her colleagues (2012) concluded "The findings from this study contribute to an emerging research base and suggest that students make meaning of these trips in ways congruent with educating for civic engagement….and that the trips reflect many of the components of…transformative learning model for service learning" (p. 214). The immersion programs include both domestic and international destinations. In discussing the learning objectives of international immersion programs, Elizabeth Niehaus and Lean Crain (2013) argue "International service learning (ISL) is a popular way to facilitate student growth in the areas of cross-cultural learning and civic engagement" (p. 31). Recognizing that both learning outcomes are important for student development, international service-learning programs provide a unique opportunity for students.

One form of an immersion program is the alternative spring break. In discussing the prevalence of alternative spring break service programs within higher education, Neihuas and Crain (2013) write "Alternative breaks have existed for more than 30 years as a means of engaging students in service projects involving travel outside their immediate community" (p. 33). Clearly, this is not a new form of service for college students; however, universities are continually working to strengthen their alternative spring break service programs by offering

more student leadership positions, diversity of service types, diversity of service locations, and diversity of course connections. While immersion programs have significantly grown in practice, especially international service-learning programs, the scholarship on immersion programs is still working to catch up with the practice (Jones et al., 2012; Neihaus & Crain, 2013; Welch, 2016). Immersion programs also have roots to the works of Jane Addams. However, Addams was a proponent of sustained long-term community involvement whereas immersion programs are shorter.

It is important to note that within the different approaches to community engagement, a recurring theme is the importance of reflection (Chupp & Joseph, 2010; Jacoby, 2015; Park & Millora, 2012). Reflection is a critical component community engagement models and is incorporated into practice through various forms. Within the different philosophies of community engagement, reflection is the element that encourages and develops student learning. Reflection allows for the student to contemplate his/her experiences, reality, and their role in the world (Park & Millora, 2012). As the student engages with the community, he/she must have the opportunity to reflect on the experience and to understand how that experience has impacted them (Sanders, Van Oss & McGeary, 2016). This concept of reflecting has roots from Dewey, Kolb, and other educators promoting the value of linking experience to learning (Park & Millora, 2012). Within the practical application, reflection must be structured, engage students in a variety of developmental contexts, require both surface and deeper thinking, and connect students' experiences in the community to their formal learning in the classroom.

Community Engagement and Identity Development

There has been significant and recent research on how community engagement and impacts the identity development of college students (Chupp & Joseph, 2010; Jacoby, 2015; Jones & Abes, 2004; Keen & Hall, 2009; Stelljes, 2008). There are a multitude of benefits that stem from students engaged in community engagement (Levesque-Bristol, Knapp & Fisher, 2010). Past research has shown that community engagement positively influences different areas of identity development that include sense of self, civic commitment, self-efficacy, moral development, and multicultural competence (Jones, Robbins & LePeau, 2011; Yeh, 2010). There has been minimal research on the intersection of gender identity and community engagement (Foste, 2018; Foste & Jones, 2017). Furthering the discussion on the benefits of community

engagement for undergraduate students, Susan Jones and Elisa Abes (2004) posit; "What is enduring about service-learning is not only its potential to shape a more integrated identity, but also how this integrated identity then sparks commitments to socially responsible work. This is the transformative potential of service-learning" (p. 165). Clearly, there are multiple benefits that can result when students engage in community engagement What are the ways that community engagement can influence identity development among college students?

Considering the general influences of community engagement on student identity, Theresa Yeh engaged in a qualitative study to assess the experiences of low income, first generation college students (Yeh, 2010). Yeh conducted interviews with six undergraduate students and observed several of the students in various stages of the community engagement experience. As a result of her research Yeh (2010) concluded, "Four major themes emerged from the data analysis, with respect to the impact and outcomes of their service-learning participation: (1) Building skills and understanding, (2) Developing resilience, (3) Finding personal meaning, and (4) Developing critical consciousness" (p. 54). Each of Yeh's themes is directly tied to an undergraduate students' identity development. The theme that is mostly connected to identity development is finding personal meaning as this correlate to personal growth, building a sense of purpose, continued reflection, and self-evaluation of values (Yeh, 2010). Describing the theme of finding personal meaning further, Yeh (2010) writes, "Ultimately, the study participants were inspired in their search for personal meaning as well as their examination of how their educational pursuits fit into their larger purpose in life" (p. 57). While the search for personal meaning can be extremely challenging for some students, it is clear that community engagement experience can play a significant role in that search.

Furthering the research of the ways in which community engagement impacts undergraduate student identity, Susan Jones, Claire Robbins, and Lucy LePeau conducted a qualitative study of student participants in a short-term immersion program (Jones et al., 2011). The short-term immersion program consisted of participants during an alternative spring break in New York City with a community focus of HIV/AIDS. A unique factor about the study was that the methods included field notes, a focus on community voice, interviews during the experience and one year later, and participant journals (Jones et al., 2011). Discussing their findings, Jones et al. (2011) writes "Analysis of participants' narratives suggested that they crossed contextual, developmental, social, and cultural borders on the trip in ways that rarely occurred on campus"

(p. 35). The crossing of borders represented the struggle students were experiencing as they were attempting to make meaning of that experience. As part of the meaning making process, Jones et al. (2011) posited "Confronting their own privilege, often for the first time, participants' constructions of their own identities were destabilized and reconstructed and they began to think more deliberately about their own behaviors, beliefs, and service commitments" (p. 35). This conclusion is extremely insightful towards participants' ability to reflect on their own values as they were engaged in the experience and how they internalized the experience as part of their identity long-term. Additionally, this finding has ties to Mezirow as students experienced challenges as they crossed borders (Jones et al., 2011).

A common theme of community engagement and service-learning is the ability to influence a student's civic identity and civic commitments (Mitchel, 2015). Describing civic identity, discussed previously as a goal of higher education, Mitchell (2015) writes "can best be described as making sense of how to live every day to best contribute to the world" (p. 24). Mitchell (2015) posited, based on a study of alumni who participated in community engagement programs as students, "A civic engagement program serves to support civic identity development by creating opportunities for students to work on issues in increasingly complex roles; to invest deeply in an issue that creates connection and a sense of belonging; and to create community on and off campus that builds critical awareness necessary to take action in constructive ways" (p. 22). By students engaging with the community to address immediate needs, they are able to understand both the importance of engagement and complexity of social issues. This combination builds civic identity among students as well a commitment to the community post-graduation (Mitchell, 2015).

There have been several recent studies that have researched the cognitive development of college students resulting from community engagement participation (Stelljes, 2008). Cognitive development of college student identity can also be codified to students' self-concept, moral standards, and self-esteem. Based on his research of students at the College of William and Mary, Andrew Stelljes concluded that a combination of reflection and immersion of service developed students' cognitive skills (Stelljes, 2008). Describing his conclusions further, Stelljes (2008) noted "The data indicates a general progression along a cognitive development sequence that occurred as a result of a variety of factors, including exposure to injustice through direct service and personal reflection prior to immersion in a service-learning program" (p. 130).

Stelljes, using William Perry's scheme of intellectual and ethical development, recognized that the students progressed within that scheme and were able to further develop their moral beliefs as a result of their service-learning experience (Stelljes, 2008).

Another way that community engagement shapes identity development is developing a student's views on multiculturalism, diversity, and difference (Engberg & Fox, 2011; Keen & Hall, 2009). In order to better understand the influence of co-curricular service-learning on students' views towards diversity, Cheryl Keen and Kelly Hall conducted a longitudinal study of student participants of the Bonner Scholars Program (Keen & Hall, 2009). The Bonner Scholars Program, privately funded, provides scholarships to academically achieving low-income students in exchange for service during their collegiate years. During a 10-year period, Keen and Hall (2009) collected surveys from students and concluded that the students had developed both an appreciation of diversity and the skills necessary to communicate with individuals from diverse backgrounds. Discussing their study, Keen & Hall (2009) write "This study's findings suggest that the core experience of service is not the service itself but the sustained dialogue across boundaries of perceived difference that happens during service and in reflection along the way…" (p. 77). For Keen and Hall, the student participants gained experience, through their service, to have meaningful conversations with individuals from different backgrounds. The ability to communicate with individuals is a critical skill that those students will frequently utilize in their roles post-graduation.

Community Engagement and Gender

When considering the intersection of community engagement and gender, it is important to note that there are two related strands of research. The first is that there have been a limited number of studies that have focused on the differences between male and female college students engaged in community engagement or service-learning. While it may be widely known that female college students significantly outnumber males in participating in community engagement or service-learning, few studies had address possible root causes (Chesbrough, 2011; Foste & Jones, 2017; Sax, 2008). The second strand of research is how gender identity is developed because of community engagement. Again, there is minimal research that focuses on the gender identity development of college students connected to community engagement (Foste, 2018; Foste & Jones, 2017). While these two strands of research are related, there are also noted

differences. However, there have been several recent studies that have concluded in-direct stipulations towards male involvement or gender identity development (Chesbrough, 2011). Additionally, there has been a renewed interest within the mainstream media and practitioners to attempt to understand the lack of participation of male college students engaged in service (Foste, 2018).

One of the focal points of Ronald Chesbrough's (2011) research is the learning outcomes associated with service (Chesbrough, 2011). To answer this and other questions, Chesbrough conducted a mixed-methods research in which he interviewed 24 college students and then developed a survey to test hypothesis from those interviews (Chesbrough, 2011). It is important to note that Chesbrough used a very broad definition of service that combined multiple forms of community engagement. This can be seen as both a limiting and non-limiting factor of his research approach to the questions. One of the notable findings that Chesbrough discovered was related to gender. In concluding his research findings, Chesbrough (2011) argued "There was a difference between men and women in how students described factors leading to their involvement in service, how they selected service involvements, and how they described learning from service" (p. 702). Chesbrough (2011) recognized differences between men and women and further asserted that "Men and women described service differently, with men describing it as an individual and impersonal activity based in rational and objective enactments of societal duty and women describing service predominantly as a relational activity based in emotional and subjective personal commitments" (p. 702). Here is it is clear, based on Chesbrough's research, that male college students view service differently compared to their female counterparts. Additionally, male students engaging in service have a different framework of what service means to them and thus influences their gender identity development.

In one of the few studies assessing the intersection of gender and community engagement among college students, Zak Foste and Susan Jones recently assessed the narratives of ten undergraduate men engaging in service-learning (Foste & Jones, 2017). Foste and Jones (2017) were interested in attempting to understand how undergraduate "college men, as gendered beings, are informed and influenced by gender in the context of service-learning" (p. 65). The ten undergraduate student participants were from service-learning coursework with a social justice focus and were nominated by faculty members (Foste & Jones, 2017). Based on their qualitative study, Foste & Jones (2017) concluded "…these narratives illustrate how the appropriate doing

of gender for college men is often at odds with service-learning…Participants consistently remarked that service was perceived as a feminine endeavor that drew on undesirable emotions such as vulnerability and empathy" (p. 75). While one of the few studies that has researched the intersection of gender identity development and community engagement, this provides significant initial insight towards that intersection.

In addition to the several studies on undergraduate students, there was a related study that assessed men engaging with youth in various settings (Marsiglio, 2008). William Marsiglio assessed the narratives of a diverse (although mostly living in Florida, the group represented different ethnicities, economic backgrounds, etc.) group of 55 men from ages 19 to 65 (Mariglio, 2008). Through a qualitative approach, Marsiglio engaged in both in-depth interviews as well as ethnographic study by observing several of the participants as they interacted with youth. Although Marsiglio was not focused directly on the intersection of community engagement and gender identity, his research questions were indirectly related. Discussing his research questions, Marsiglio (2008) wrote "Clearly, to understand how and why men relate to children in public (and at home) in particular ways, we must explore how men develop preference and make decisions about their involvements with youth in a multilayered, complex social world" (p. 9). In this vein, Marsiglio was interested in gaining a deeper understand at two intersecting populations: youth and men.

One of his conclusions focused on the learned masculinity that can occur in the relationships between older male volunteers and youth. Marsiglio (2008) posited "My interviews and observations lead me to believe that youth can be affected distinctly by watching men's interactions with families, coworkers, and kids….Boys and girls stand to benefit as they see firsthand what it means to be a "good" man…" (p. 322). Here, Marsiglio recognizes the potential unintended benefit that healthy masculinity can stem from the relationship developed between the volunteer and recipients. This learned masculinity also has the potential to be reciprocal as both individuals have the opportunity to teach healthy masculinity to each other. Additionally, it is important to note that Marsiglio's study included male participants who were engaging in both paid and unpaid work with youth. Considering this component of Marsiglio's research, this is a limiting factor because community engagement is unpaid work. When considering Marisglio's conclusions, this component must be factored in understanding the implication for both gender identity and males engaged in the community.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

In this chapter, I explain the design of the study, the methods used, and the tactics utilized to increase the trustworthiness of the analysis. I also include a brief description of my own background as I explore the role of the researcher. A critical component of this section is the connections between the research topic, my position as a researcher, and the methodology of the study.

Research Paradigm: Constructivist

The research paradigm of a study influences all aspects of the study design (Creswell, 2014). I primarily used a constructivist paradigm for this study. The constructivist paradigm presumes that multiple social realms exist with participant interpretations becoming constructions which in term become reality (Flick, 2004; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Manning, 1999; Schwandt, 1994; Yin, 2011). Robert Yin (2011) defines constructivism as "The view that social reality is a joint product, created by the nature of external conditions. Following this view, all social reality, because it is constructed in this manner, therefore assumes a relativist rather than absolute nature (p. 308). One of the imbedded assumptions within a constructivist framework, according to Yin, is that absolute truth does not exist because truths are imbedded within the reality of individuals as social constructions (Yin, 2011).

Further describing the constructivist framework, Thomas Schwandt (1994) writes "Constructivists are deeply committed to the contrary view that what we take to be objective knowledge and truth is the result of perspective. Knowledge and truth are created, not discovered by the mind (p. 125). In other words, a constructivist paradigm recognizes that individuals each recognize their own reality based on their individual perspective of the social world. To understand this reality more effectively, Uwe Flick (2004) argues "What is common to all constructivist approaches is that they examine the relationship to reality by dealing with constructive processes in approaching it" (p. 88). Connecting constructivism to higher education research, Kathleen Manning (1999) writes "Constructivist inquiry emphasizes the multiple perspectives of respondents, ethical obligations of the researcher to her or his respondents, and techniques required to meet standards of quality…well suited to knowledge discovery about

campus life" (p. 12). Since the participants of the study are providing a descriptive account of their experiences during college, researchers can gain valuable insights via the constructivist paradigm (Manning, 1999).

The constructivist paradigm recognizes not only that individual knowledge and realities are constructed but also that experiences are interpreted, and that meaning making is a continual reoccurring process (Flick, 2004). Recognizing the complexity of the constructivist paradigm, Egon Guba and Yvonna Lincoln (1994) assert "The variable and personal nature of the social constructions suggest that individual constructions can be elicited and refined only through interact between and among investigator and respondents" (p. 111). A key component of Guba and Lincoln's argument is the interaction between the researcher and the participants, which is also an integral part of this research.

Connecting the constructivist paradigm to this study is purposeful for several reasons. First, this study is at the intersection of the constructivist paradigm and a narrative methodology. Constructivism becomes linked to narrative via the study participants. As collegiate undergraduate males tell their story of masculinity and community engagement, they detail their experiences through storytelling. The participants provided their interpretations of the world that they are experiencing as well as an explanation of how they interact with that world as it relates to their masculinity. Narrative thus serves as the vehicle for their story telling as it ebbs, and flows based on the story description.

Second, this study is using a definition of masculinity that is performed, socially constructed gender identity, continually in flux, and that is often acted out by boys and men. Sites where masculinity traditionally develops include schools, sports, popular culture, families and other spaces where boys learn the social expectations of what it means to be a man in the U.S. (Connell, 2005; Kimmel & Messner, 2007; Pascoe & Bridges, 2016). There are stereotypical traits associated with traditional ideologies of masculinity that serve as a foundation of behavior (Connell, 2005; Kimmel, 2008; Pascoe & Bridges, 2016). Considering that one component of the definition is socially constructed, masculinity therefore is an extremely complex lived reality of collegiate males. As a lived reality, the constructivist paradigm fits as a way of understanding that complexity. As the study participants are engaged in their narratives, they are constructing their story of their masculinity and the experiences that have shaped their masculinity. Further, the collegiate men are arriving on campus with a host of prior experiences

from boyhood and high school, specifically relating to their constructed experiences of masculinity identity development (Harris & Harper, 2015). Additionally, masculinity as a construct presents significant challenges for cisgender collegiate males as it relates to identity development. As previously discussed, one source of the conflict stems from the individual socially interacting with the group and collegiate environment.

Describing constructivism further, Jones and Abes (2013) write "The constructivist perspective also illuminates how individuals must define their own identity while others try to define it for them…The constructivist meaning-making filter reveals that a person who externally makes meaning defines identity through context (p. 266). Here, it is evident that constructivism paradigm proves useful as this research study attempts to understand the interplay of cisgender collegiate males negotiating their gender identity. The negotiating process includes the meaning-making embedded in the constructivist paradigm as well as identity pendulum between the self and the group. Again, this is reminiscent of gender identity negotiation.

Last, the constructivist paradigm serves many purposes when attempting to understand the lives and experiences of college students (Manning, 1999). Further connecting to collegiate life, Manning (1999) writes "Constructivist inquiry is well-suited to knowledge discovery about campus life. Through an open and trusting relationship between researcher and respondent, a 'slice of life' or perspective is shared" (p. 12). Here, Manning recognizes that the constructivist paradigm provides an opportunity for research participants to provide a descriptive account of their experience. In essence, it is their reality is conveyed to the researcher in a very meaningful way (Manning, 1999).

Methodology: Narrative Inquiry

My primary research question for this study is: What are the lived experiences of cisgender college males engaged in community engagement activities? Connected to this research question in an additional question: 1) How do these men perceive community engagement within gender constructs?

To address these questions, narrative inquiry is the primary methodology for this research. Narrative inquiry is a process in which researchers explain the lives of participants and their experiences (Chase, 2005; 2011; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Kim, 2016). Providing an overview of narrative inquiry, Susan

Chase (2011) writes “Narrative inquiry revolves around an interest in life experiences as narrated by those who live them” (p. 421). While there are several different ways individuals can provide narration, the critical element is an emphasis on the lived experience. Imbedded within narrative inquiry, is the concept of storytelling (Chase, 2011; Clandinin, 2006; Harrison, 2002). Clandinin (2006) discusses storytelling by asserting “It is commonplace to note that human beings both live and tell stories about their living. These lived and told stories and talk about these stories are ways we create meaning in our lives as well as ways we enlist each other’s help in building our lives and communities” (p. 44). There is a richness of storytelling as individuals provide meaning and details of their lives and experiences; storytelling is a process for the individual, but it also serves as an opportunity for inquiry.

One of the characteristics of narrative is the richness of the storytelling process and the content of the story (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Harrison, 2002). Further describing the richness of narrative, Harrison (2002) writes “It is the form our stories take when we use our language and our own voice…We as human beings, record our life experiences in many ways…And we write the stories of our lived experiences…narrative is therefore the method and product of and inquiry” (p. 84). As individuals engage in storytelling, they are engaging in the act and in the process. In this sense, narrative is the method. By processing the story with others, there is an opportunity for self-growth. The self-growth and meaning making potential that can stem from narrative is the product. Gubrium and Holstein (2009) recognize the expanse of the storytelling process by writing “Stories are not only told in interviews, but they also wend their way through the lives of storytellers. They are boundless in that regard, are told and retold, with no definitive beginnings, middles, or ends in principle…” (p. 2). Stories are expansive, and the process of storytelling provides all those involved with the opportunity to understand and to make meaning of the story.

Describing narrative inquiry further, Connelly and Clandinin (1990) write “Narrative names the structured quality of experience to be studied, and it names the patterns of inquiry for its study… narrative researchers describe such lives, collect and tell stories of them, and write narratives of experience” (p. 2). For Connelly and Clandinin, narrative inquiry makes several assumptions (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). The first assumption is that individuals are storytellers. Storytelling is a comfortable approach and act for many individuals. The second assumption is that education is the construction and reconstruction of those stories (Connelly &

Clandinin, 1990). Further, Connelly and Clandinin also recognize that a critical component of the narrative inquiry process is the relationship between the participant and the researcher (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). Discussing this relationship, Connelly and Clandinin (1990) assert "The two narratives of participant and researcher become, in part, a shared narrative construction and reconstruction through the inquiry" (p. 5). Here, it is important to note that the process of storytelling involves the speaker and the receiver – researchers are inherently part of the process and need to be aware of possible complexities.

Discussing narrative inquiry from the perspective of the narrative, Julie White and Sarah Drew (2011) write "Narrative inquiry tends to fall into two camps of narrative analysis or the creation of narratives (which emerged from ethnographic traditions). Of fundamental importance to us is that…and responsibility for interpretation needs to be taken by the researchers involved" (p.5). Here it is important to recognize the different approaches within narrative as well as the continued emphasis on the role of the research within the method. Chase (2011) further outlines narrative inquiry as it has evolved to contemporary times by arguing that approaches include the story and the life, storytelling as lived experience, narrative practices and narrative environments, and the researcher and the story. While the narrative continues to be the primary source of emphasis in these approaches, researchers have begun to approach the method in different ways.

When considering the analysis of narrative, Chase encourages researchers to focus on the voice of the participant (Chase, 2005). Discussing the importance of the narrator's voice, Chase (2005) writes "The word voice draws our attention to what the narrator communicates and how he or she communicates it as well as to the subject positions or social locations from which she or she speaks" (p. 657). Narratives, as a storytelling action, are a verbal representation of the individual and Chase reminds researchers to be very cognizant of the particulars of the participant voice within the study. Chase further argues that when researchers focus on the voice, researchers are able to "…highlight the versions of the self, reality, and experience that the storyteller produces through the telling" (p. 657). While the process of emphasizing the participant voice can be challenging, the benefits of the process have the ability to produce meaningful results.

Clandinin and Connelly describe the methodological framework of narrative inquiry as a three-dimensional space (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The three dimensions of narrative

inquiry, according to Clandinin and Connelly (2000) are personal and social (interaction); past, present, and future (continuity); and the notion of place (situation). From a methods perspective, Clandinin and Connelly (2000) write "Any particular inquiry is defined by this three-dimensional space: studies have temporal dimensions and address temporal matters; the focus on the personal and the social in balance appropriate for the inquiry; and they occur in specific places or sequence of places" (p. 50). Here, Clandinin and Connelly recognize how the three dimensions interact and intersect with each other as well as the role of the researcher. The three-dimensional space is a critical aspect of methods as it is also related to the positionality of the researcher. Through the narrative inquiry method, the role of the researcher is as significant as the researcher becomes the listener, interpreter, and interactive component of the narrative process. Positionality will be discussed further in the chapter.

One of the results from narrative inquiry is being able to isolate moments of learning for the participant. (Chase, 2005; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Harrison, 2002; Kukner, Nelson, & Desrochers, 2009). When the study participant is sharing their story, the researcher can listen for moments when the participant was impacted by an experience or when their views shifted with regards to understanding a specific phenomenon. Considering the focus of this research as cisgender college males participating in community engagement activities, narrative inquiry provides several benefits that are applicable to its approach.

First, as discussed previously, reflection is a critical component of both experiential education and community engagement (Mitchell et al., 2015; Park & Millora, 2012). When students reflect on their experiences, they consider their past experiences and gauge how these experiences influence their views or behavior moving forward. Reflection, in many ways, is narrative, as the student is retelling their experience to themselves and attempting to make meaning from that retelling process. Discussing the overlap between narrative inquiry and community engagement, Jennifer Mitton-Kukner and her colleagues (2009) write "We advocate a narrative inquiry stance for service-learning engagements because, as evidenced by our inquiries, we and participants encountered, not only an aspect of the world, but also the opportunity to examine who one is in the world" (p. 1168). Since community engagement for college students is the experience of the world and the unknown, reflection assists students in clarifying their experiences and making sense of what they witnessed or interacted. In this case, the type of reflection that the students participate in is storytelling through narrative voice.

Narrative inquiry thus becomes and effective process to engage the student participants as it provides a storytelling process that they are not only familiar with but one that they are looking to engage in as part of their own learning/development process.

Additionally, narrative serves as an effective methodology when considering cisgender college men negotiating experiences as they make meaning of their gender identity. First, narrative provides the opportunity for the participant and the researcher exploration on multiple levels as the stories of masculinity are very layered and complex. Additionally, narrative inquiry provides the intersection of physical, social, and cultural environments which all are interwoven and impacting gender identity development.

Role of the Researcher and Positionality

As a researcher, it is important to position oneself within the context of the research (Chase, 2005; Clandinin, 2013; Jones, Torres, & Armino, 2006). Discussing this importance, Jones, Torres and Armino (2006) write "How a researcher positions himself or herself within a research study is critical to understanding the lens used to interpret data" (p. 104). In this vein, it is important for me to disclose my experiences related to the research, recognize my biases, and disclose relevant aspects of my background. Further discussing the role of the researcher, Clandinin (2013) writes "We do not stand metaphorically outside the inquiry but are part of the phenomenon under study" (p. 24). Additionally, it is my goal that by providing this context, it serves a vital part of this qualitative research.

I have worked in higher education professionally for roughly 14 years in a variety of capacities. I have worked in residence life, community engagement, honors, and academic advising. The campuses that I have worked on have included a small private, two different mid-sized publics, and a large public. Throughout the time that I have worked in higher education, I have served on multiple university conduct boards, advised student organizations (including fraternities), served on alumni boards, worked collaboratively with faculty, interacted with parents, and taught first-year seminar courses. During my professional career, I have valued the time that I have spent working with undergraduates on community engagement initiatives as well as community standards. As a practitioner, I have served in several different capacities relating to service-learning and community engagement that have included supporting academic service-learning programs, overseeing one-time service events, coordinating service-based orientation

programs, advising immersion programs – both domestic and international, and individual advising of community engagement interests. I am biased towards the possible benefits of community engagement activities for college students.

While I was working at the various institutions, I served on conduct boards and I had the opportunity to experience collegiate males reflecting on their poor decisions first-hand. I found myself drawn to the experiences of collegiate males as it relates to their gender. I spoke to these males and asked them why they chose to engage in high-risk behaviors. As a higher education professional, I became increasingly interested in the engagement of collegiate males. As a student affairs practitioner, I am a strong proponent of experiential learning and the benefits it has the potential to provide to college students. I also value reflection and encourage students to engage in reflective activities in order to help them make meaning of their experiences.

As a white, heterosexual, cisgender man from the Midwest, I understand the privileges that are inherent to my race, gender, and sexuality. As a man, I can relate to certain aspects of the study as I have experienced the pressures related to my masculinity growing up. While I was supported in a two-parent household in an upper-middle class suburban setting, my high school experience was full of interactions related to the policing of masculinity. I attended a mid-size public university in the Midwest for my undergraduate degree and I was supported by peers as I made sense of myself. The peers that provided the most support were ones that I did not interact with until college as high school was a very challenging experience.

During my high school and undergraduate years, I volunteered in the community and joined organizations with a deep commitment to community engagement. I participated in a wide variety of service projects as well as service-learning connected to formal coursework. In high school, I also participated in athletics, however, was not a member of a varsity team. Throughout high school, I was a victim of bullying as well as a witness to various forms of the policing of masculinity. During my undergraduate college years, I joined several organizations, studied abroad, and served as a resident assistant. It was the culmination of my experiences as an undergraduate that led me to a career in higher education.

Research Setting

The study site is a moderately large, public, four-year teaching-focused institution in the Midwestern United States. The surname of the school for this study is Midwestern University

(MU). While there are several graduate programs, the school is primarily focused on the undergraduate experience. The school prides itself on a liberal core education that provides all graduates a foundation in skill building and critical thinking. The undergraduate population at the university is roughly 17,000 students at the main campus. It is a Division I athletic school with roughly 500 student-athletes and a strong tradition of ice hockey. Further, there are numerous opportunities for student engagement outside of the classroom. In recently years, the school has strengthened its efforts in the areas of undergraduate research, study abroad, internships, and other services related to career development.

It is a residential campus with an on-campus living requirement a student's first and second year. The institution prides itself on a selective admission criterion coupled with a rigorous academic curriculum. There are five academic colleges focusing on business, creative arts, education, engineering, and arts and science. There are also multiple academic programs which are interdisciplinary, providing students an opportunity to engage in cross-disciplinary coursework. From a student engagement perspective, the Admissions office markets that students at the university volunteer "roughly 35,000 hours of service" per year and that "71 percent of students participate in a field experience or internship." In terms of the specific data regarding volunteer participation by the students, please see Table 2 and 3 in Data Sources. The demographics of the institution included the following data points: 1) 52 percent are female, 2) 61 percent are in-state, and 3) 28 percent of the incoming class graduated in the top 10 percent of their high school class. The undergraduate population predominantly white (roughly 70%) with relatively significant population of international students (roughly 15%). There is a 92% retention rate from the first to the second year and the 6-year graduation rate is 80%.

The school is in a rural setting. The town in which the institution is located is roughly 7 square miles with most businesses catering to the student population such as bars, tattoo parlors, local shops, "spirit" stores, and restaurants. There are several neighborhoods of student housing, surrounding the town, in the form of both houses and apartment complexes. The institution has a long history with social fraternities with about one third of the students being members of the Greek community. The university is home to several "alpha" chapters, the founding chapters of the national fraternal organizations, which are still active on campus. 85 percent of the undergraduate students are members of at least one student organization. The school has sometimes been classified as a "party school," as there are several bars within walking distance

from campus and there is a significant portion of upper-class students living in off-campus houses with easy access to alcohol.

Participant Criteria

Criteria for participation in the study included full time undergraduate enrollment at the main campus of the institution or recently graduated within the past 6 months, self-identification of cisgender male, classified as a domestic student within the United States, and have past participation in community engagement activities. Further, due to liability concerns, all participants met the minimum age requirement of 18 years old.

The past participation in community engagement activities is a critical component of participation. One of the service-based fraternities on-campus requires 20 hours of service per semester. Within a service-learning course at the institution, students traditionally are required to complete between 20-25 hours of service. For the purposes of this study, I am interested in cisgender male students who are engaged in more than the minimum but less than the over-involved student. The type of community engagement represents a priority of engagement with social issues while also having interests in other types of engagement (student organizations, undergraduate research, etc.). To this end, the criteria of community engagement activities is the completion of 50 hours within the past calendar year at the time of participation in the study. This number of hours is designed to show that community engagement represents an important component of the student's time but is not the solitary focus of the student's involvement beyond the classroom. Additionally, it should be noted that the use of service hours as a measurement of identity development has its challenges, however it is a tangible criterion for participation. In other words, using service hours as a form of measurement of involvement is a simple and participant-friendly criterion for the study. The challenges related to service hours will be addressed further in the discussion.

Participant Sampling

Purposeful sampling strategies was be utilized, including criterion sampling and snowball sampling (Creswell, 2014; Merriam, 2009). Participants were recruited for this study through personal recommendations from university staff and faculty. I asked staff and faculty members

for recommendations of cisgender male students who are participating in community engagement activities. I approached faculty and staff with whom I have a previous relationship requesting both potential participants and recommendations of others whom I should approach. I also approached specific offices/programs that which cisgender male students participating in community engagement activities are likely to interact with. These offices included the Social Justice Studies Department, Political Science Department, the Farmer School of Business, Pre-Law Center, Honors, Greek Life, Student Activities, Pre-Healthcare Center, Office of Community Engagement and Service, the Career Center, and Athletics. In addition, I contacted several faculty and staff whom I had a relationship with but where males might be less visible; such as the College of Creative Arts, the College of Education, the Orientation Office, and the Learning Center. In some instances, I approached the graduate student staff within an office for participant referrals. Within the Student Activities Office, I approached student organizations that have community engagement central to their mission. There was a tailored message to faculty and staff as well as a tailored message to students. The participants were instructed to contact me, and I verified their eligibility for the study from an initial conversation about the study.

After several days into the fall 2019 semester, I e-mailed over twenty faculty and staff members representing the aforementioned offices for participant referrals. Several responded very quickly while I never received a response from others. While I outreached to several service-based student organizations, I worked closely with one student organization and spoke to both the advisor and current president about the study. Both of those individuals referred potential participants to the study. There were several potential participants that were referred to the study but were not confirmed for participation. One potential participant had recently graduated and was in the process of moving abroad. Another potential participant had participated in a small number of service hours with a high number of student leadership hours. In total, there were ten participants who committed to the study after their service hours had met the qualifying criteria of the study. The e-mail drafts can be found in the Appendix.

Data Collection (how, what, when, why, where)

The primary data collection method for the study was in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews are a critical component of the narrative inquiry method and provide

an opportunity for story telling (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Patton, 2002). Participants were informed that they would receive a small monetary stipend for completed participation in the study. First, participants were asked to complete a brief written reflection on their gender and service. A sample of this document is listed in the Appendix. The writing prompt engaged participants with the concept and provided an introduction as to what they could expect during the interviews. Additionally, it made the participant more at ease during the interview as well as provide a comfort space in telling their story.

Each participant was then be asked to take part in two interviews, each lasting approximately 60 minutes. A third conversation provided follow-up on information provided in the interviews, a continued opportunity for participants to reflect their own experiences, revision of previous comments, and ask their own questions. The third session also allowed for the opportunity for member checking. I provided participants with an informed consent agreement, the study procedures, the confidentiality of their responses, their right to end participation at any time, and my option to clarify their responses. Each interview was audio recorded and I took notes during the interview. It should be noted that the notes that I took were minimal as I was deeply committed to listening to the participant. While there were many participant referrals, ten participants confirmed for the study.

The interview questions are adapted from several studies addressing masculinity, cisgender college males, and community engagement. The studies that are most relevant to this include the Chesbrough 2011 study on college students and service; Cox and McAdams 2012 study on service and identity change; Edwards and Jones 2009 study on college men's gender identity development; Foste and Jones 2017 study on college men engaged in service-learning; Harris and Edwards 2010 study on college men's experiences; and Reigeluth and Addis 2016 study on policing of masculinity.

The interviews for this study took place in the fall 2019 semester. The first interviews took place in mid-September while the second interview took place roughly three weeks later in early October. Due to scheduling conflicts, two participants were unable to meet in person for the second interview and both of those interviews occurred in mid-October via Skype. All of the other first and second interviews were in-person and in private library study rooms. The private library study room was selected as a both a private and neutral space designed to make the participants as comfortable as possible. The library was centrally located on campus that the

participants were very familiar with as they had spent many visits studying. The study rooms are located throughout the library, however the ones in which the interviews were conducted had minimal windows making the more private than others. The third session and member checks occurred in October. Due to scheduling conflicts, the third session interview occurred over the phone with each participant several days after the participant had received and reviewed the member check document.

Participant Demographics

The goal of the study was to recruit participants representing different aspects of Midwestern University culture and life. In some way this was achieved while in other ways it was not. The participants that were ultimately included in the study represent various parts of the campus culture, however, there were parts not included by their demographics and experiences. For example, all the participants self-identified as white. While one participant was extremely connected to his Armenian heritage, he still self-identified as white. Of the ten participants, seven were members of a social fraternity on campus with an eighth participant joining a fraternity during the semester the interviews took place. Each participant discussed his fraternity membership in a slightly different way, but it is important to note that this was a significant component of the study which will be discussed further in Chapter 5. While there were three academic colleges represented, there were no participants from the College of Engineering or Creative Arts. Although several participants were involved with club sports on campus, non were Division I student athletes. Lastly, the participants primarily represent upper-class standings with zero first years, one sophomore, five juniors, two seniors, and two recently graduated students (previous May). Table 1 shows several of the participant demographics as these and others will be discussed further in chapter 5.

Table 1. Participant Demographics

Participant	Year	Residency	Major(s)	Frat	Socio-economic status
Andrew	Junior	In State	Mathematics & Math Education	No	Upper-Middle
Dan	Soph.	In State	International Studies & Spanish	No	Upper-Middle
Dylan	Junior	In State	English Literature & Professional Writing	Yes	Middle
Haig	Junior	Out of State	Political Science, Intercultural Studies, Comparative Religion	No/Yes	Upper-Middle
Joey	Grad	Out of State	Marketing & Entrepreneurship	Yes	Middle/Upper-Middle
John	Junior	In State	Chemistry & Pre-Medical Studies	Yes	Upper-Middle
Michael	Senior	In State	Management & Leadership, Political Science	Yes	Middle/Upper-Middle
Raphael	Grad	In State	Accounting & Finance	Yes	Upper-Middle
Rocco	Senior	In State	Finance	Yes	Middle
Tom	Junior	In State	Finance	Yes	Upper-Middle/Middle

Data Sources

In addition to the participant interviews, there are several data sources that are utilized. The purpose of these data sources is to provide additional context to the environment which is extremely important when engaging in narratives (Kim, 2016). The university where the participants are enrolled as full-time students engages in several institutional surveys. The first is the Graduation survey. The Graduation survey examines what graduates are planning to do post-college and compiles experiences that participants had while students. The survey was developed by the University and is administered by the Office of Institutional Research prior to students graduating. There are 74 items to the Graduation Survey. The two items that have the most relevance to this research are ‘Did volunteer work as part of a student organization’ and ‘Did volunteer work on my own’.

The second data source is the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) which is conducted by the Center for Postsecondary Research at Indiana University. The NSSE was developed in 1998 and 511 universities administered the survey with a resulting 289,867 students responding in 2018 (NSSE). At the university where research participants are enrolled full-time, the NSSE is administered is odd years to first year students and to graduating seniors in the

spring semester. The item within the NSSE that is most relevant to this research are 'How many hours do you spend in a typical 7-days doing community service or volunteer work'.

Table 2. Graduation Survey

	Female	**Male**
Did volunteer work as part of a student organization, club, fraternity or sorority	57.6%	39.3%
Did volunteer work on my own	41.2%	26.5%
Did volunteer – Overall	69.9%	51.3%

Table 3. National Survey of Student Engagement Survey

	Freshman Female	Freshman Male	Senior Female	Senior Male
0 hours per week	56.9%	68.5%	47%	64.2%
1-5 hours per week	34.4%	19.5%	41.1%	27.1%
6-10 hours per week	4.3%	5.6%	7.1%	5.0%
11-15 hours per week	2.2%	1.0%	2.2%	2.7%
16-20 hours per week	0.9%	3.3%	1.3%	0.3%
21-25 hours per week	0.9%	1.3%	0%	0.7%
26-30 hours per week	0%	0%	0.5%	0%
More than 30 hours per week	0.4%	0.7%	0.7%	0%

Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis involves a variety of data analysis procedures and methods, which must be in congruence with the researcher's paradigm framework and methods approach (Kim, 2016; Yin, 2011). In discussing data analysis in generalist qualitative terms, Robert Yin (2011)

writes “In fact, practical experience in doing qualitative research as well as the analytic styles portrayed in numerous texts suggest that most qualitative analysis – regardless of particular qualitative orientations being adopted – follows a general, five-phased cycle. The five-phased cycle is 1) compiling, 2) disassembling, 3) reassembling (and arraying), 4) interpreting, and 5) concluding” (p. 177). Critical to analysis of qualitative data is the disassembling and reassembling phases. While the compiling phase is a lead-up and the interpretative/concluding phases are follow-up, the middle phases comprise the bulk of the practical qualitative analysis (Yin, 2011). The following section is an “unpacking” of this process and how it is defined through this study.

Jeong-Hee Kim (2016) discusses data analysis as it is applied to narrative inquiry by writing “Hence, the analysis and interpretation should be done holistically, heuristically, whole-heartedly, and most of all, narratively” (p. 195). Here, Kim recognizes the challenges of analyzing and interpreting narratives while also arguing that the analysis must be informed by the research design and the data that is collected. Narratives is an extremely unique type of data is it is a story-telling process with features that are not traditionally found within other types of qualitative methods (Kim, 2016). One of the distinct features of narrative inquiry that must be maintained within the analysis is the context of the story. Further discussing interpretation of narrative, Kim (2016) writes “Hence, after flirting with data through analysis an interpretation process, we’ll need to think about writing a text that desires the reader, that is, writing a text that invites the reader to play with our narrative writing…” (p. 222). Narrative data analysis, is thus, most effective when the story is presented in context and engages the reader to deeply experience the story.

The data analysis approaches that were utilized throughout were a combination of thematic analysis and pattern clarification (Fetterman, 1993; Huberman and Miles, 1994). In defining thematic analysis, Michael Huberman and Matthew Miles (1994) write “An often-used approach is finding themes that cut across cases…Often a key variable comes clear only during cross-site analysis. The strategy here might be called pattern clarification” (p. 436). In order to more fully understand the navigation of collegiate males through their masculinity while considering community engagement, themes that cut across narratives will provide tremendous interpretive insight. Furthering the importance of patterns, David Fetterman (1993) argues, “Patterns are a form of ethnographic reliability. Ethnographers see patterns of thought and action repeat in

various situations and with various players. Looking for patterns is a form of analysis" (p. 362). As a researcher, I was committed to searching for both patterns and themes within the narrative experiences of the participants.

In order to locate the themes and patterns among the participant narratives, I engaged in an intensive reading and re-reading of their words within the transcripts of the interviews. This method of reading and re-reading (telling and re-telling) of the participant stories is supported by several scholars committed to narrative inquiry analysis as a method of storytelling (Kim, 2016; Manning, 1999; Thomas, 2012). Additionally, I was very intentional to involve the participants at various stages of the research to receive their feedback on my analysis of their narrative experiences. One of the most pivotal stages of the process was providing the participant with an extremely thorough member-check document that alluded to several themes that the participant discussed. In several instances, the participant was a combination of surprised and appreciative of how reflective the member-check document was as it represented not only the participant's words but also their identity/personal history. While the process provided the researcher to better understand themes that have emerged, it also provides the participant a continual ownership of their voice within the narrative. The narrative is owned by the participant and they are provided opportunities to clarify their words and their experiences. This method is critical to understanding the patterns of behavior/meaning making and themes within the research method for narrative inquiry.

It is important to note that there is debate within the field of narrative inquiry as it relates to the analysis of narratives (Chase, 2005; Kim, 2016; Thomas, 2012). Describing, the approach of researchers, Chase (2005) writes "Narrative researchers who base their work on interviews use a variety of methods for listening to – for interpreting – complexity and multiplicity within narrators' voices" (p. 663). Not only are the multiple approaches to the interpretive of the single story but also interpreting the receipt of several stories. However, it is important to recognize the importance of voice as an essential theme that is critical to the interpretation process. One of the central issues to the debate is the concept of the individual story versus the collective theme. Susan Thomas (2012) writes "Sense making of experience can happen individually and also collectively, through interaction with others…From this perspective, shared meaning of experiences – through narrative – relates to more than just the individual" (p. 214). In other words, there needs to exist a balance of the uniqueness found within the individual narrative as

well as the commonality that exists between multiple narratives. As a researcher committed to validity, I am dedicated to the participant voice and ensuring that their voice is accurately represented. It is for these reasons, that I was deeply committed to the process of reading and re-reading the transcripts in search of themes and patterns among the participant stories that were most meaningful, not to me, but to the participants. This is a critical point as it my analysis of their stories.

CHAPTER 4: PARTICIPANT NARRATIVES

The primary data source for this study was the oral narratives from the ten study participants. In this chapter, are the narrative stories of each participant: Andrew, Dan, Dylan, Haig, Joey, John, Michael, Raphael, Rocco, and Tom. In Chapter 3, there is a table that provides a snapshot of all ten participants. However, it should be noted that the table represents a snapshot and does not encapsulate the full identities of the participants.

Andrew's Story

Andrew is a junior at Midwestern University (MU) pursing dual degrees in Mathematics and Integrated Math Education. His teaching career focus is on grades 7 to 12. Andrew grew up in a rural community near a small town in the same state as MU. In 5th grade, the family moved from one side of the small town to the other. While the move was extremely challenging at the time – when he was making friends and feeling as though he was really "fitting in", he realizes now that it was only 15 minutes away and that he still saw his friends on a fairly regular basis. While the rural community was middle to low income, Andrew recognized that his family was upper-middle class. This was in part because his father is a college professor and his mother works as a special needs pre-school teacher. Andrew's family is a family of teachers. In addition to his parents, both of his older sisters are teachers; one teaches 2nd grade and the other teaches high school math.

The high school that Andrew attended had a very layered social scene within the student culture. There was a lot of bullying, especially cyber bullying; Andrew was both a victim and participated in bullying others. The bullying that Andrew participated in was connected to sports: soccer basketball, and track. Andrew played those three sports all four years. In addition, he was approached his senior year to be the football team's kicker. The coaches for both teams worked out the practice schedule and Andrew was able to be on both teams that season – he enjoyed going to soccer practice and then going over to the football field to get some kicks in. The way that Andrew was bullied was when he was on Student Council and planning the prom. The committee selected a fundraiser that Andrew helped implement and when the fundraiser did not go well, the committee betrayed him by not standing by him and blaming him for the failure.

In addition to the bullying, there were a lot of cliques and fake relationships in Andrew's high school. When Andrew now reflects and looks back on his high school experience, he characterizes it by saying that he did not have many friends but rather a lot of acquaintances.

Conversely to the social scene in high school, Andrew became very involved with different types of school activities including; National Honor Society, Student Council, the Fellowship of Christian Athletes, and participated in several service projects. In addition to the one-day group service projects, Andrew chose to get involved with a multi-year service project by partnering with an elementary school classroom his freshman year. Starting almost when he entered high school, Andrew volunteered three days per week in an elementary school classroom; serving as a teacher's aide. This experience was very meaningful for Andrew as he was also considering if elementary school teaching was something that he would want to do after college. Although he quickly realized that he did not have the temperament for the elementary school environment, he continued his service with the classroom the next four years, until he graduated. He would be taken aback some days when the kids in the classroom would be very excited to see him after a football game, during his senior year; he had never experienced the level of idolization before.

During high school, sports were very important to Andrew as he had a love for the game as well as a commitment to work hard. During his high school career, he experienced two challenging situations, one in soccer and the other in basketball. Andrew had been playing soccer for many years and while he was not the most gifted player, he felt he had a very strong knowledge of the game. This knowledge allowed him to effectively be in the right place at the right time during games; when it mattered the most. During his sophomore year, Andrew was elected Captain of the varsity soccer team – this was an amazing honor but also challenging because he had the "tough burden" of earning the respect of the upper-class team members.

Additionally, Andrew and the varsity soccer coach had a tenuous relationship because neither truly respected each other. This relationship came to boiling point when they played a team in which their previous years' experience with the team resulted in a bench clearing all-out fight. During the following year's game, Andrew received a direction from the coach that he disagreed with and voiced his disagreement on the field. The coach pulled him from the game and Andrew lost the Captain position. Both though they were correct in their assessment of the game and although they met later to discuss the incident, neither was willing to compromise.

They then co-coexisted for the next two years. While Andrew regained the Captain position the following year, the experience from the previous year was always there. In some ways, neither Andrew nor his coach ever moved on from the conflict. Looking back now, Andrew realizes that he could have handled it differently but also believes that the experience taught him several extremely valuable lessons.

The second challenging sports experience that Andrew had was during basketball season. Again, Andrew had been playing basketball for many years. He had developed a strong knowledge of the game and worked extremely hard on the court. He also developed a physicality within the confines of the rules that allowed him to be very good on both defense and offence. Andrew felt that the challenge with the basketball team focused on the varsity coach. The coach was new and felt pressured from the community to win games which resulted in, according to Andrew, playing players whose last names were important in the school district. Over the four years, Andrew worked up from the freshman team to JV and finally made varsity his senior year. However, he describes his varsity experience as "borderline traumatic" because of the way the coach approached the team. Andrew knew that hard work beats talent when talent does not work hard; but the varsity coach approached games from a mistake standpoint. This meant that if players made a mistake, they would most likely get pulled from playing and have to go to the bench. Plus, they would have to run more during the next practice. Unfortunately, this made many of the players on edge and stressed during games because they were anxious about not wanting to get pulled – Andrew felt that he was on edge all of the time. This became too much for Andrew and he made a hard, personal decision to quit the team.

In the summer between Junior and Senior years in high school, Andrew was selected to participate in a program at Midwestern University designed for high-ability students interested in a pre-college experience. The pre-college experience was for roughly a month and gave Andrew a glimpse as to what life would be like if he attended Midwestern University. In one of his classes, he participated in a values exercise. This exercise had a profound impact on him as he reflected on all of his values and then was forced to "remove" and prioritize the values as part of the exercise. The result was a clarification of his values and priorities that he realized he needed to own and embody. One of his core values he recognized was the importance of his family, specifically his sister. Initially, Andrew was not interested in attending MU because his sister was currently enrolled. However, the values exercise taught him how much he valued the

relationship with his sister, and he was able to have a meaningful conversation with her afterwards about his experience. Following that conversation, he committed to attending MU after high school.

When Andrew arrived on campus at MU, he focused on his academics as well as life outside of the classroom. Outside of the classroom, he became involved in a variety of ways. First, Andrew began tutoring students at MU in math. Tutoring, for Andrew, has three different commitments; supplemental instruction, private, and athletics. The supplemental instruction is overseen by the Learning office on campus where Andrew was selected to assist with a pre-calculus course due to both Andrew's skills in math as well as a high level of concern for students traditionally not doing well in the course. Andrew works closely with the faculty member of the course and offers an additional session each week for students interested/needing additional support. According to Andrew, he has developed lesson plans because he traditionally has 30 to 40 students come to the session each week. Andrew sees this as service because he is assisting students achieve their goals while he also views it as a pre-professional internship since it is in direct alignment with what he plans to do after he graduates. In addition to the tutoring, Andrew has also become involved with the Math Teachers student organization and the Tough Mudders Club. The Tough Mudders club is considered a club sport and there are roughly 20 active members; both males and females. Tough Mudders may initially seem like a hyper-masculine activity since it is about running through very intense or unique obstacles such as fire, mud, ice water, greased pipes, etc. However, according to Andrew, it is not about masculinity; rather it is about mental endurance. Can you move past what you think you're capable of? Within the Tough Mudders, there are two different groups – members who enjoy it for the social experience and members who are very committed to the competition. According to Andrew, there is a balanced gender breakdown in both groups.

One of the very challenging times for the family and for Andrew occurred more recently when Andrew's dad was out of a job last winter. This lasted for roughly eight months and was an extremely stressful time for the family. During this time, Andrew witnessed his parents drinking more heavily when he was home during the summer. This concerned Andrew because he believed that his parents already had a slightly unhealthy relationship with alcohol – drinking to cope with stress. Andrew firmly believes that alcohol should not be a coping mechanism and that there are many other more healthier ways to effectively handle stress. Andrew decided to have a

conversation with his parents about his views towards their drinking and "it did not go well." When Andrew reflects on this experience, he concludes that he "does not want to turn into that"; meaning he does not want to have that type of relationship with alcohol.

During the spring semester of Andrew's sophomore year, he spent the semester abroad in Europe. While Andrew was studying abroad, he had the opportunity to participate in a wide variety of service projects. In many instances, Andrew participated in indirect service, meaning that he was behind the scenes, planning and organizing events. This is where Andrew thrived because it allowed him to be involved in and be effective in a wider variety of projects. When planning events, Andrew was very proactive to be in collaboration with the local community organizations, the US students, faculty, and the local students. Some examples of events included a zero-waste program, an International Buddies program, an Easter Egg Hunt, and a food/donation drive. The international service that Andrew accomplished taught him the social needs from a global perspective as well as the opportunity to immerse within the culture versus being an outsider.

When Andrew considers masculinity, he gravitates towards his immediate family has having the biggest influence on him – parents and both sisters. His dad was his soccer coach at a young age and Andrew spent time on the sidelines when his dad while coached older kids. Andrew spoke about his dad as both a coach and teacher; someone who listened and gave feedback to how to improve. Andrew also recognized his maternal grandfather as someone who has taught him the stereotypical masculine abilities – woodworking, electrical, and plumbing. While these may be steeped in masculine tradition, Andrew values these skills immensely. He also had a conversation with a female peer recently who had approached him to see if he had a particular tool for a house repair job. Andrew initially made the assumption that the job would be too challenging for her, but he immediately realized his error as he had made an incorrect gender stereotype.

In many ways, Andrew is extremely authentic about who he is and who he is not. He bartends occasionally and sees the alcohol culture at MU from a unique perspective. He sees privileged students engaging in high consumption rates of alcohol. That culture, according to Andrew, values who you are wearing, how much you can drink, and what the perception is of the fraternity or sorority that you are a member. For Andrew, all of those surface level characteristics are not important. He drinks occasionally with friends but rarely goes to the bars because it is so

difficult to hear; he enjoys house parties or more quiet events. Additionally, he has a Sunday ritual of having a little bit of whiskey with some ice cream. For him, this is a healthy approach to both his identity and relationship with alcohol.

Sometimes, Andrew believes that he is not doing enough to serve the community. As a pre-service teacher, he believes that service has a wider definition to include his commitment to tutoring and his commitment to teaching. For Andrew, service is "Sacrificing your time and not getting anything in return." According to Andrew, he has not had too much pushback or policing regarding his decision to become a teacher because he has surrounded himself with peers that respect him for who he is. Coming from a family of teachers, he knew what he was getting into and knew that what he was doing was the right path for him because of so much advice that he received from both his parents and his sisters. Mathematics is a unique field because it is male dominated in application, but teaching is historically female. However, high school math teachers are traditionally male as Andrew's sister was a highly sought-after candidate as female high school math teacher. Additionally, he said that being in a cohort model where he has had the opportunity to connect with other pre-service math teachers has been a great experience as well. While the cohort is 75% female, it is a group of people that he knows he will remain close to long after graduating from MU.

Dan's Story

Dan is a current sophomore at Midwestern University (MU) majoring in International Studies and Spanish. Dan has interests in working for the State Department after graduation – focusing on consular services and the promotion of international cultures. Dan was born in California but moved during 7th grade when his dad was laid off and found a new job in the same state as MU. They moved to a modestly affluent suburb of a large city in the state where Dan's dad worked as a lawyer and his mom decided to stop working as a pre-school teacher and be a stay-at-home mom for Dan and his younger brother. Both of Dan's parents came from three sibling families, all committed to education and higher education. Dan stated that his family would be considered middle class when they were living in California but would be considered upper-middle class when they relocated to the suburb.

Growing up in California, Dan experienced life in a large city. He attended public schools and enjoyed the experience. He liked walking to school from his house each day because they

lived in a relatively safe neighborhood and because he knew his neighbors. The neighborhood was very diverse – there were no high rises but there were apartment buildings, small homes, and then homes that were valued in the millions of dollars. While most people in the neighborhood rented, Dan's family owned their house because they had been fortunate to purchase it when it was being built. The public schools that Dan attended were extremely racially diverse – only 25 percent of students were white, but Dan did not realize that this was not the norm until he moved and saw that the 90 percent of the students were white in the suburb. There are still many Dan's extended family members living in California and they try to visit annually if schedules allow.

In high school, Dan realized the wealth in the community. The high school was considered a wealthy school with a lot of different resources. Every student in the school was given a Mac Book. While some of the classrooms in the high school did not have air conditioning, some of the other classrooms were extremely renovated. During Dan's senior year, the entire high school was being assessed for upgrades. There were roughly 2400 students who attended Dan's high school and he saw a variety of groups of students going in different directions. Some students did drugs and drank but most were committed to succeeding. There were definitely a lot of different cliques but, from Dan's perspective, they all seemed to get along with each other. There was no bullying as far as Dan could tell. The athletes hung out together by sport and there was the marching band group. Dan remembers that there was a "little bit of" a hierarchy that existed between the athletes and the marching band because the marching band was classified as a sport by the high school and many athletes disagreed with that, including Dan. Because the marching band was classified as a sport, they received the benefits that other sports teams did such as not having to complete the gym class requirement and receiving letterman jackets. Many of the student athletes believed that the marching band was not as rigorous as the other athletic teams.

During high school, Dan devoted himself to running. He participated in cross country during the fall term, indoor track during the winter, and Track during the spring term. He was on varsity from sophomore year to senior year. While Dan was not the fastest on the team, he was usually in the top seven. When Dan joined cross country, he realized that it was expected that you also joined the track team even though there were a lot of members of the track team that did not participate in cross country. He really enjoyed the friends that he made through running – it was combination of being able to practice with them as well as hang out with them on the

weekends. In addition to running, Dan was also involved with Model United Nations and National Honors Society. Through National Honors Society, Dan did a variety of different community service projects, again enjoying hanging out with friends. Outside of school, Dan participated in several specialty programs including a trip to Peru for one summer and a government program for rising seniors.

Coupled with Dan's involvement in high school was his significant work in the community. In 8th grade, Dan worked to get his boating license from the local Parks Department. This allowed him to volunteer with the Parks Department on a regular basis to teach others about both boating and kayaking. He also assisted with special boating events hosted by the Parks Department. There were holiday events and other special events that Dan volunteered in support of the Parks Department. Dan definitely did not classify himself as someone who was committed to advocating for the environment, he just enjoyed being outdoors and supporting the community. He also enjoyed spending time with friends while volunteering. It never seemed like a chore to volunteer regardless of the type of service activity.

After graduating, there were a variety of tracks the students followed from Dan's high school. The community had developed a partnership with a career technical program through a local community college that allowed students to participate in the program while in high school. That way, when the students graduated from high school, they were almost ready to join the work force because they had been trained in a very specific technical skill. Another student group participated in a dual enrollment program with another community college that allowed them to earn college credit towards both high school and college. A third significant group attended a 2-year community college after graduating while a modest sized group selected a 4-year college or university. Finally, there was a small population of students who selected to enter the armed forces after graduating high school. Dan was always impressed by his high school for hosting a huge ceremony for these students because it was an amazing choice that they had decided to serve.

When Dan arrived at Midwestern University (MU), he had already distinguished himself from his peers because he was able to speak three languages, Spanish, Arabic, and English. Dan knew that he wanted to work internationally either for a business or the government and had worked hard on learning three languages. This helped him secure two study abroad programs at MU, one to Cuba and another to Jordan. While Dan was a little nervous about making friends, he

quickly got involved with Club Running, a co-ed service fraternity, his residence hall, and a non-Greek organization for International Studies majors. The club running team was a good fit for Dan because it allowed him to participate in the cross-country aspect of the club in the fall semester but did not expect heavy involvement during the spring semester unless he was interested. The chapter of the co-ed service fraternity at MU has roughly 90 members and there was a gender break down of roughly 70% female and 30% male. As a service fraternity, there was a twenty-service hour requirement for members per semester, Dan exceeded this because of his commitment to service.

During Dan's first year at MU, he completed roughly thirty service hours during the fall term and another thirty hours during the spring term. Most of the service work that Dan did was done via co-ed service fraternity. Dan was impressed by the sheer number of service projects that were offered as well as the diversity of types of service. The service fraternity, as an organization at MU, was also very committed to diversity and inclusion. There was a committee as well as continuous discussions at meeting, encouraging members to consider their personal definitions especially in the context of service. While Dan strengthened his interest in international culture and politics during his first year, his interest in many social issues remained. He continued to do service for the purpose of helping others and did not gravitate towards a particular social cause. Dan thought that may happen later in his college career but not quite yet. Dan really enjoyed the community of friends he found within the service fraternity because not only are they very accepting of difference but also because they have so many varied interests which they explore through their volunteering in the community.

Thinking about service fraternity and masculinity, Dan thought that the organization was probably not appealing to "super" masculine guys on campus because they would think that it would be wasting their time. These "super" masculine guys are the stereotypical guys on campus that are more interested in working out, drinking, hooking-up with women, video games, and athletics, most of which are in a traditional social Greek fraternity. Wasting their time would be doing something that was not in the masculine stereotype or connected to their career goals post college. However, Dan also said that the service fraternity is not necessarily feminine but not masculine either; the service commitment of the organization is somewhere in between. Dan feels that there is a lack of awareness of this fraternity on-campus because there are so many service or social issue-based student organizations. These include service-based residence hall

organizations and business-based service organizations. In addition, there are many social issue-based specific groups that are active at MU such as Zero Waste, For Paws, College Mentors for Kids, etc.

After his freshman year, Dan secured an internship during the summer and this was a tremendous opportunity as it was a paid position that gave insight into health care and law enforcement. Dan was very appreciative of this and was energized to return to MU for his sophomore year. When he returned to campus, he continued his three main passions: Running Club, the service fraternity, the organization for International Studies majors. In addition, Dan declared minors in Arabic Studies and International Business. Dan also felt more confident in his career path because he participated in a study abroad program to Cuba during the winter of his first year and had time to reflect on that experience. The Cuba experience was "amazing" as it clarified his interest in working with people from international backgrounds and focus on culture from an international perspective.

When Dan considers his own masculinity, he thinks that it became more visible as he got older in high school and college. To Dan, "masculinity means the traits, habits, and characteristics that are most associated with men…this stereotypically means being strong, tough, and driven…I associated masculinity with independence more than dependence, which is associated with femininity." Dan could see who the cool kids were on the playground because they were the ones playing sports but in college, that dynamic is different when it comes to representations of masculinity. In high school, the expectation that you were playing a sport as a young man and there was definitely a sports hierarchy but that you were still "good" if you were playing a sport. The policing of masculinity is definitely alive and well within athletic teams, but it shows itself differently depending on the sport. Dan experienced this while in Cross Country in high school and in Running Club at MU. However, he struggled with defining it in a concrete way, it was more about that it was just there, it ebbed and flowed.

For Dan, the intersection of service and masculinity stems from his parents. Dan's mom has always been very committed to serving others; she was involved with the PTA, the YWCA both before and after the move. In addition, Dan's dad was very active in Rotary as well as the neighborhood association prior to moving. So, Dan was learning what it meant to be a young man growing up but it was interwoven with representations of service – this was also coupled

with lots of friends doing service so it just made sense to Dan to do service as a function of spending time with friends.

Dylan's Story

Dylan is a current junior at Midwestern University (MU), majoring in English Literature and Professional Writing. Dylan grew up in a very tight knit suburb of a major city in the same state as MU where everyone knows their neighbors. While Dylan sometimes describes the community as "a sad Bruce Springsteen song" and a bit of a "sleeper community", he appreciates that his name means something there. When he introduces himself to people, they know his family and his parents – it is very welcoming and supportive. The community has groupings of upper- and middle-class families with a general expectation that high school graduates will attend a 4-year college or university.

Dylan is from a big family – he is the oldest of four. His dad works as a fireman and his mom is an OBGYN. Dylan classifies his family as middle class but recognizes that while he did not have some of the privileges that others have, there was never a concern for finances. Dylan's parents were very active in the community and took parenting very seriously; teaching a variety of lessons to their children. There were several lessons that Dylan learned at an early age, the first being that family does not mean bloodline. For Dylan, family means people that you feel comfortable around and that love you unconditionally – this was especially true in the community where Dylan grew up. Also, Dylan learned that family is always there for you no matter what. In this family, it does not just mean Dylan's immediate family but also his extended family – many of which were living less than 15 minutes away. This included grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins. Family dinners were very common for Dylan growing up as they included many family members (sometimes over 15) where they would be loud laughing meals, sharing stories and being supportive of each other. Growing up, Dylan enjoyed reading, playing with Legos, and rowing.

In school Dylan struggled for a few different reasons. One was since first grade; he had been in counseling for dealing with anxiety and ADHD. The counselling sessions were once every couple of weeks that allowed Dylan to talk to someone other than his parents and which just allowed him to talk which he really appreciated. Throughout elementary and middle school, Dylan was also bullied on a fairly consistent basis because he was not into the latest trends – he

would try to listen to the popular or the cool music but just did not enjoy it or had other interests. Additionally, while Dylan tried many sports, none of them retained his interest. According to Dylan, "They did not stick." This caused a lot of verbal abuse and feeling ostracized by his peers when all that he wanted was to fit in.

To cope with these challenges, Dylan sometimes bullied another student. At the time, he knew what he was doing was wrong but struggled to find a solution to his challenges – it was "a form of release." Each year form 4th grade to 8th grade, Dylan was suspended once per year. The most concerning of the suspensions occurred in 8th grade when a mean insult after gym class boiled over. Dylan completely "lost it" and began to "clobber him." It was a fight that resulted in an in-school suspension but the hardest part about it was that Dylan had tears in his eyes because he was both emotionally drained from being bullied and trying to fit in. He was fighting and crying at the same time. Ironically, Dylan did not mind in-school suspensions because they allowed him to pursue one of his favorite hobbies: reading.

During 8th grade, Dylan (along with his parents) made the decision to stop attending public high school and switch to the local Catholic high school. When Dylan reflected about his school experience, he realized that he really enjoyed the learning and classroom aspects of school life while not enjoying the other social pieces. "I wanted to go somewhere where I would not be made fun of for enjoying school and learning." In middle school, Dylan realized that guys had a "flippant attitude" in which they were removed and did not care too much, somewhat of a dissociation from applying yourself in the classroom. This was not who Dylan was and was another reason why he did not fit. This reflection caused him to conclude that he wanted to be around students with a greater commitment to learning and academic success. The Catholic high school fit this; it was an all-male high school committed to faith and academics with a very strong reputation of a high percentage of its graduates being admitted to top-tier, selective 4-year colleges/universities.

While Dylan's friend group changed because of the change in high schools, the change proved to be extremely positive and the right fit for Dylan. In some ways, the Catholic high school was a microcosm of a collegiate social fraternity – there was brotherhood, service, and the practice of values. The students at the school were encouraged to be open with their identity and to self-express. While some students would put on a performance of swearing, using rude language, dressing odd (shirt and tie required but some guys would come wearing a flannel shirt

with a polka-dot tie, because they could); it was not the norm. In this environment, Dylan thrived because he could be himself and he was not judged for it by his peers but rather embraced as a function of diversity. When he would find himself sometimes slipping back into the peer pressure of conforming along with his anxiety, he would remember a lesson from his parents: "Be who you are fearlessly, just be you." This would stick with him and encourage him to own his identity and interests.

During high school, Dylan found his niche. He would immerse himself in one of his loves – rowing. He would wake up when it was still dark – so early that it still felt like nighttime and he would drive over an hour to get make sure that he was in the boat, on the water, on time. He would be there with his crew to practice. Practice would start precisely at 5:30am so that the students were able to have enough time to get to school when the first bell rang. There would be intense workouts of endurance and mental toughness but also exercises in teamwork and reflection. At the end of each practice, the crew would get together and discuss what worked, what didn't, and what improvements were needed for the next practice. In rowing, timing of strokes in the water is a critical piece and no one wants to get wet at 6 in the morning. It was the open conversation that Dylan appreciated; the level of honesty and the strong level of commitment that each team member had. Weekends during high school would be spent traveling for various competitions. While Dylan was extremely busy with rowing, he did get involved with the school newspaper, some volunteering, and Student Council. The high school had a 10-hour service requirement per year in order to graduate that Dylan saw that as the foundation of his introduction to different social causes. Sometimes it was challenging to complete the service hours because most of the weekends were scheduled with rowing tournaments.

As Dylan progressed towards his senior year, the rowing team got the attention of several universities in the area. These universities began contacting members of the team in his Junior year including Dylan. The most notable of these schools was an Ivy League school that Dylan became very excited about it. However, the coach at the Ivy League school was not very transparent with Dylan. Although they would speak almost weekly at one point, the coach was somewhat reticent on openings on the team when Dylan was planning to matriculate to the school. This continued through Dylan's senior year. In the end, the coach admitted that there were no spots on the team but promised Dylan a spot the following year if he attended a "fifth year" of high school and committed himself to rowing. Dylan felt like he was being strung along

and was burned out by the recruitment process – also somewhat frustrated that he had banked on the Ivy League school and did not have strong back-up options that he was excited about. It was an extremely stressful as many students and friends had decided where they were attending college many weeks prior and Dylan was still struggling with the decision. Reflecting on his options, Dylan turned down the Ivy League option and reluctantly attended Midwestern University.

When Dylan arrived on campus at Midwestern University, he was "in a daze." He was definitely ready to leave high school, looking for freedom, focus on studies, discover who he was – just not sure if he as in the right place to do that soul searching. He kept wondering "what if", the Ivy League option. It was a surreal experience because he knew he met the academic selectivity for the Ivy League, and he saw Midwestern University (MU) as a party school that was somewhat beneath him – guys from his high school attended as very low back-up options. The stereotype was a bunch of frat guys that love to party and don't care about school. While Dylan was burned out and exhausted by rowing at the end of high school, he decided to get connected to the club rowing team at (MU). This provided a social outlet for Dylan as well as an opportunity to stay in shape, to return to his love of rowing. The club team had roughly 60 members. it was a low stress environment that was focused on enjoying the sport and being social interacting with the members.

The first semester on campus, Dylan was committed to his academics, but he slowly became assimilated to the Animal House culture of MU. He started going out to bars on the weekends – his fake ID allowed him access and Dylan slowly became more courageous using the fake ID. Rather than just the weekend nights at the bars, Dylan would go out weekday nights until he was almost going out every night of the week. Dylan was living what he thought the expectation was for guys at MU to do, to be "The Guy", go out, drink a lot, dance with women, and pick-up different women. During this time, however, Dylan started to struggle because he was not enjoying the bar scene as much as he thought he would. He was dressed usually in khakis, but he felt the women at the bar were more into guys that showed very little commitment to their appearance.

The guys that seemed to be able to hook up with women looked grimy – as if they had not showered in a few days. Additionally, there was an expectation of alcohol consumption that was very challenging; how much can you drink so that you are not in control so that you do not

have to take responsibility for anything, but not puking, this was a very difficult balance. Dylan described the expectation for collegiate men as being on auto pilot. Dylan struggled with the concept of being on auto pilot – he wanted more control of his actions. There was a disconnect and Dylan was having a hard time understanding why he was not able to pick-up women. As it got closer to Thanksgiving, this came to a tipping point for Dylan at the semi-formal event hosted by the rowing club.

The Semi-Formal event for the rowing club was on a weekend night in October where guys were encouraged to bring a date to a pre-game house party, then a bar, and finally a second bar. Dylan was excited about this as it gave him an opportunity to get to know a woman that he was interested in who lived in the same residence hall. The woman was also a first year and was equally excited to attend with Dylan. During the pre-game party, another member of the team (who was also in a fraternity) started hovering around Dylan's date. This continued at the first bar which resulted in Dylan privately confronting his teammate. Unfortunately, the confrontation did not go well, and the teammate blew him off and continued to make advances towards Dylan's date. The woman was clearly uncomfortable by the advances, but the guy was not paying attention. By the time they arrived at the second bar, everyone was fairly inebriated. Dylan and his date became separated and Dylan realized that the woman was going home with the teammate. Dylan became concerned and was quickly told that the teammate has a reputation for one-night hook-ups.

After a mild panic attack, Dylan ran down the street and was able to confront the two just before they entered the teammate's fraternity house. The woman was extremely upset and yelled at Dylan. Dylan cried and walked back to his residence hall – the only comfort was that he was able to speak to his dad who able to calm him down. The next morning, Dylan texted the woman and they went for a walk to discuss what had happened. The woman admitted that she had "blacked out" after the first bar and did not remember any of the events afterwards. Dylan reflected on this experience immediately following and realized that this was not who he wanted to be – he wanted something different. The experience shook Dylan "to his core" as he realized that he was trying to live a stereotype rather than be the person who had values.

Dylan went home for Winter Break and came back in the spring semester looking for an organization that embodied his values. He discovered that a fraternity was newly back on campus and was committed to "doing fraternity right." The fraternity had some issues with

hazing at other campuses and was now committed to doing things differently – doing fraternity the way it should be done. Dylan realized that this was the organization that he would be proud to be part of. He rushed and met brothers who he connected with by meeting and hanging out with them – without alcohol. The fraternity promoted involvement on campus and in the community, which led Dylan to get involved later as an Orientation leader as well as programs with the Leadership and Service Office at Midwestern University. Dylan also left the club rowing team as he realized that he enjoyed rowing for love of the sport and the club was going in the direction of becoming extremely competitive. So, at the end of freshman year, Dylan "jumped ship – pun intended."

During Sophomore year, Dylan became more involved with the fraternity by being elected as Rush Chair. This meant that Dylan oversaw the process of recruiting guys to join the fraternity in both the fall and spring semesters. He took the role seriously and effectively communicated to different alumni as well as campus stakeholders. He traveled with several of the brothers to a regional-based professional development weekend hosted by the fraternity's national headquarters that focused on leadership skills, communication, time management, and effective skills to work with individuals from diverse backgrounds. It was an amazing experience for Dylan as he was surrounded by like-minded peers committed to bettering themselves and their respective campus chapters. During this time, Dylan also more effectively balanced his study in the classroom and life outside the classroom.

During Junior year, Dylan got a job off-campus to make some extra money. He also decided to get more involved with community service. Dylan was accepted to a semester study abroad program in Europe for the second semester of his Junior year. He realized that he had strong interests in working on a college campus, supporting his fraternity on a professional level, and possibly becoming a faculty member. He started having an interest in undergraduate research and began pursuing different opportunities. His eventual undergraduate research stemmed from serving as a TA for a first-year seminar course and having conversations with individuals about his interest in becoming a faculty member.

By this time, Dylan had come into his own and was living the advice his parents gave him: "Be who you are fearlessly, just be you." The fraternity became the support community for this to happen. Dylan started doing the NY Times crossword puzzle on Sunday mornings and while this was initially questioned by some of the fraternity brothers, it quickly became Dylan's

thing with many brothers offering assistance on difficult clues (Dylan would wake up early to do the puzzle so it depended on who else was awake in the house). Dylan also pursued his interest in service and developing his leadership skills – this again was supported the fraternity. The fraternity was one of the few on campus that had a service requirement for semester membership and it actively promoted its members to become leaders in the community. Dylan's commitment to others was not centered on one particular issue but rather helping out a variety of needs in the community and spending time with his brothers while making a difference. The 10 hours of service required for each semester was easily accomplished and Dylan frequently exceeded the minimum.

When Dylan reflects on the meaning of masculinity, he believes "On one hand, I fully appreciate the helpful traits that come out of positive masculinity; however, I also acknowledge the bad that comes out of it as well…I find myself on the cusp between mindfulness of this topic and the world in which it prevails. To me, masculinity is how I honor my role as a male in the world, and use that status to respect not only myself, but those around me as well." In the community that Dylan was raised, the expectation for men is to be the patriarch and the sole breadwinner of the family. Dylan's father was very in touch with his emotions and shared several very complicated stories while serving as a fireman that were extremely emotional for him. Dylan remembers a story that his dad told him senior year which involved a father who hung himself in his house while his wife had gone to the store to buy a birthday cake – this was especially hard as the fire trucks were showing up when the school busses were dropping the couple's kids.

Within the fraternity, Dylan sees brothers valuing a meaningful relationship rather than hook-up culture. The brothers within the fraternity provide a "deep vulnerability" – most are comfortable with opening up and talking and Dylan has been part of those experiences. During the end of sophomore year, his roommate got very drunk one weekend night and told Dylan that he had a suicide note written in his desk drawer. The next day, the two spoke about it but the roommate did not remember because he had "blacked out." Dylan asked if he had the note and the roommate admitted that he did; they worked to get his roommate the help that he needed. Within the fraternity, they have socials with alcohol, but Dylan said that it is drinking in a different way. Rather than drinking to get drunk, blacked out, or on auto pilot, brothers drink to be social.

In the community, Dylan says the fraternity is perceived to be the bottom tier group because they do not haze, value service, and promote healthy brotherhood. The fraternity is focused and committed to "building men up and not tearing them down" which goes against what many fraternities at MU attempt to do. Dylan says that the fraternity does not care that they have the perception that they do – it is about providing the healthy and meaningful experience for each brother through the values of the fraternity. The fraternity was also supportive of brothers who were not interested in status. The social status that Dylan sees at MU is "Who am I wearing and who am I with; social stratification culture" – it is difficult for individuals to humble themselves in this type of environment. Dylan remembers a service project in which the fraternity was clearing trails at a local park and some guys were not willing to pick-up trash. They said that it was not their thing – Dylan sees humility as an interwoven with service – that you must humble yourself to be of service to others.

Haig's Story

Haig is a junior at Midwestern University (MU) pursuing majors in Political Science, Intercultural Studies, and Comparative Religion. Haig is from a suburb of a large city not in the same state as MU. One of the critical aspects to Haig's identity is his Armenian background. Being Armenian is extremely important to him as well as the extremely large family that he is close to, regardless of where each family member lives. Haig has a younger sister who just began her first year in college; pursing Pre-Medical Studies. Haig's parents are both Armenian and first met when they were young in Armenian school. Haig describes his family has Upper-Middle class and recognizes that he had a very fortunate childhood with various privileges.

Considering masculinity, Haig recognizes that his masculinity is intricately woven within his Armenian background. One of his first memories, he believes that he was roughly two years old, is when he received the advice from his father: "Don't cry." Haig recognizes that this is stereotypical masculinity but has also only seen his father cry a few times in his life; when his grandmother passed away and when he graduated from high school. The third time that Haig saw his father cry was when the Chicago Cubs won the World Series – something that rarely happens. Further, he has witnessed his father display various levels of anger which has made him be more acutely aware of his own emotions related to healthy masculinity. In addition, Haig has realized that Armenian masculinity is measured in wealth and in influence. In some ways Haig

recognizes that this is very similar to traditional notions of stereotypical concepts of masculinity, however, Haig believes that there are nuances within the Armenian community that he is continues to try to understand. From a parental advice perspective, Haig traditionally goes to his mom for relationship advice where he would go to his dad for more execute or leadership-based advice. Haig said that he wonders sometimes if he has more an honest relationship with his mom compared to his dad, one that he feels more comfortable sharing emotions.

Growing up, Haig attended Armenian school starting when he was about 3 years old. Armenian school took place every Saturday from 10am to 2pm at the church/community center. During Armenian school, Haig would learn language, singing history, culture, and religion. Tuition for the school came in the form of service to the church or donations. Thus, Haig's first memories of volunteering are through the Armenian community connected to the church that was also linked to the Armenian school. Through the school and the Armenian community, Haig developed a close-knit group of Armenian friends. Some of his Armenian friends were generational friendships, meaning they were connected to his parents' or relatives' friends. Haig remembers that his Armenian friendships stayed relatively stable and secure until high school, when things started to change.

In addition, he also had a group of English friends growing-up. Growing-up, the group of seven friends were very close primarily because they all lived on the same street. The group played stickball in the street and other neighborhood games. However, everything changed for Haig among his English friends in sixth grade. On the first day of sixth grade, Haig was told by his best friend "You are not cool enough. I do not want to hang out with you anymore." This was very hurtful to Haig and it made middle school more challenging that it already ways; there were the "cool" groups with athletes who appeared to be loud, have swagger, and always seemed to have girlfriends. While there were other groups, everyone seemed to know who was "cool" and who was not. Haig's best friend seemed to gravitate to a group that was into drugs; Haig found two new friends and the group of three started hanging out together. Haig's other friends seemed to drift to new groups; trying to fit-in in a new way. While the experience in middle school was "challenging, lonely, and traumatic," Haig noticed later that the friends that no longer wanted to be friends with him looked very lonely at a later time. The experience resulted in Haig realizing the importance of true friendship and real friends, asking and understanding what it means to be friends.

Activities and hobbies that Haig pursue growing up included swimming (he swam for ten years starting at age eight), baseball (five years starting at age five), video games, spending time with friends, watching his favorite professional baseball team, sci-fi movies, and comic books. The hobbies waxed and waned over time, but Haig occasionally picks-up a comic book now and again because Superman continues to be a character he gravitates; for his flaws and his strengths. In high school, Haig's group of English friends morphed from middle school into a large group of twenty friends; some of whom remained close after graduating.

Haig continued his swimming in high school, and this culminated to being named Captain of the varsity swim team and Captain of the water polo team. Haig realized that he found peace and relaxation when he was in the pool; starring down at the long black line. During his time as a swimmer, Haig learned important life lessons from his coaches. One coach, who was a former Army Sargant, taught Haig about the value of small accomplishments. He encouraged Haig to make his bed each morning which instilled the concept of small victories and building self-esteem for more complex tasks later in the day. It also taught Haig the value in optimizing your day – focusing on what you can accomplish. Haig continues to make his bed each morning and consider what he can accomplish through small victories.

Haig is very proud of his Armenian-American heritage. Both of his mom's parents are still alive and he extremely close with many cousins, aunts, and uncles. Unfortunately, his family does not speak too much to his dad's said of the family since his paternal grandmother passed away two years ago. According to Haig, both sets of grandparents immigrated to the United States as they were fleeing the genocide. After immigrating, they were able to successfully complete high school in the United States. Haig's parents are considered first-generation Armenian-Americans as they were both born in the U.S. Growing up and learning about Armenian language, Haig realized that he could never master speaking the language because he did not have the skills or the ability. To compensate his inability to speak the language, Haig became hyper-aware and knowledgeable of Armenian history, culture, and politics.

At MU, Haig has become very involved outside of the classroom in a variety of ways. He is very passionate about politics and has been involved in organizations that create civil discourse, raise awareness regarding social issues, and promote voter registration. Haig is also very involved with MU's student government by serving on several committees after being elected. However, the involvement which is at the core of Haig's passions is a non-profit which

Haig runs with two other students at MU. The non-profit is committed to engaging college students as global citizens while also elevating the quality of education in developing countries. The non-profit organization is something that Haig takes very seriously and devotes many hours per week towards. While the non-profit work is very important to Haig, he realizes that is not completely in alignment with Armenian values of masculinity. Haig becomes in step with Armenian masculinity when he informs people that he intends to go to law school, however, deep down Haig is not entirely certain that is the path he wants to take.

When Haig reflects on the importance of service, the uniqueness for him is that it intricately woven to his Armenian identity. Both of Haig's parents volunteered their time for different organizations and modeled in the importance of service to Haig. Some of the organizations that Haig's parent were members of were connected to the Armenian community. Haig was taught the importance of supporting the Armenian community in any way that you can whether that be giving financially or the giving of your time – "investing in the future." Haig's parents would take him to different Armenian events and Haig would help at those events in any way that he could and there are a lot of different types of events each year. In addition to volunteering at events, Haig was also very committed to supporting social issues that were important to the Armenian community. To accomplish this, Haig support political candidates who were in alignment with the "Armenian platform" by canvassing or volunteering at the candidate's election office. While Haig's views towards the "Armenian platform" changed as he got older, he was still very passionate about all levels of politics.

Joey's Story

Joey recently graduated from Midwestern University with a business degree focusing in Marketing and Entrepreneurship. While Joey was born in Florida, he only has a few memories from there as his family moved to upstate New York when he was in kindergarten and his younger brother was three. Reflecting on his childhood, Joey realized that he was extremely blessed as his family was able to provide him whatever he needed. Also, his parents wanted him and his younger brother to see the world beyond their one-light "small town America", so they would constantly travel. By the time Joey graduated high school, he was one of the few people that he knew who had travelled outside of the United States.

Joey grew up in a small rural farming community. While there was a great ice cream parlor and a grocery store where neighbors knew each other, the closest McDonald's and Wal-Mart were roughly 45 minutes away. Although living in a small community had its challenges, Joey learned from his parents that their family had a commitment of giving to others. Further, it was not about monetary donations, but rather donating one's time. He remembers hearing the following advice from his parents; "If you are part of a community, you are not truly engaged unless you are giving back." It was Joey's parents who set the example of service for both Joey and his younger brother very early in life. It was not until high school that Joey realized that he had been raised very differently compared to his peers as it related to service, understanding the world (through travel), therefore gaining experiences far beyond the small community. Likewise, Joey hade life expectations very different from many of his peers, namely marry at a young age, have children, and stay close to home.

When Joey reflects on the roots of his commitment to volunteering, he points to his faith, mom, and the Boy Scouts. As Joey got older, he became more involved with his church and different aspects of his faith. This involvement included service, youth group, youth retreats, men's retreats, and other events. Joey looked to male role models for guidance who were involved in church activities. Joey volunteered to assist with a men's retreat hosted by his church and through that experience, Joey was able to listen to men reflecting and sharing their views about what it means to be a man in the community. Men spoke about their passions for different social issues as well as serving as role models for other boys in the community. For Joey, service and masculinity were interwoven as men advised him that "you need to be the change if you are seeing something that you disagree with in the community."

Someone who embodied the ideals of both faith and community involvement was Joey's mom. She was a stay at home mom, part-time college professor, and "a full-time volunteer." She was very committed to a variety of types of involvement which morphed over time as her sons got older. She was involved in Bible studies, the church, Cub Scouts, parent's council, and building a community playground. When Joey was younger, he witnessed the high level of volunteering that his mom gave to the community and when older, he spent time with her on different community projects. At this time, service was interwoven for Joey in both faith and family. Joey saw his mom giving her time to others as well as developing meaningful

relationships with the friends she served alongside. For Joey, living the most meaningful life became centered on the giving back to others.

During high school, Joey became very involved in a variety of activities outside of the classroom. Joey was an honors student and the expectation was to be involved with three sports; he chose soccer, swimming, and track. Joey was also very interested in music, so this meant being heavily involved in the choir, the band, and musical theatre. Within the classroom, Joey was very committed to achieving strong grades. This led to Joey being a member of the high school Honors Program, National Honors Society, and the high school quiz bowl. In addition, Joey was active in student government, the Boy Scouts, and service. Looking back, Joey realizes that he was involved in a lot of activities that were very time intensive, but he was supported by his parents and he was surrounded by a group of friends who were mostly as involved as he was. As a continuation of his childhood activities, Joey also spent a lot of time volunteering in the community during high school. As a result of the many hours that he spent at non-profit organizations and at his church, Joey became more and more dedicated to the concept of servant leadership. For Joey, this was a blending of his commitment to service as well as the leadership skills that he was developing through other activities. Joey's personal definition of servant leader was the centered on the concept of role modeling; "being a leader in the community who is serving those around them while also influencing… Not focused on self-benefits but being genuine about giving back in a selfless way." While involved with the many different causes during high school, he attempted to role model that to both his peers and younger members of the small community.

In high school, a career in physical therapy became interesting for Joey once he experienced an injury to his ankle during his sophomore year. Joey was fascinated by the uniqueness of physical therapy and saw the connection to serving others. Joey also aspired of possibly serving in the Armed Forces and learned that there could be an option to be a physical therapist while serving. During the fall of Joey's senior year, it was the aspiration to enter the physical therapy field that was the driver in applying to specific colleges. A friend from church was attending Midwestern University (MU) and encouraged Joey to consider the school as a place where he could get very involved; especially in ways that could push his personal comfort zones. One very late evening, Joey remembers stumbling upon a MU student blog titled "Living Life Without Fear." Joey was capitated by this student's story as it was class project, within

Entrepreneurship, that the student had developed an approach of being involved outside of the classroom that intentionally made the MU student consider new perspectives. The blending of the in and out of class experiences along with being around such committed students clinched Joey selecting MU (along with a generous scholarship).

By the spring of Joey's senior year in high school, he was ready to leave the small town that he grew up in and was looking for a new challenge. Joey's graduating class was fifty-two students and of those, only eight attended a 4-year university. Joey was wanting new experiences after high school and was ready to experience the world; he was excited about the potential to explore his identity in the larger community. This outlook was significantly different than most of Joey's high school friends as most planned not to leave the small community and had plans to start a family soon after high school graduation.

When Joey arrived at MU in the fall of his first year, he experienced his version of culture shock. Coming from a high school of roughly 200 students to a school of over 16,000 was overwhelming especially when Joey considered the size of his hometown. The program that had a significant impact on Joey's transition to college as well as helping him become more comfortable with the larger college community was a pre-move-in leadership program sponsored by the Leadership office on campus. The program was focused on teaching leadership, connecting leadership with service, and giving back to MU. Through the program, which Joey called "Day Negative 4" because it was 4 days prior to when most students moved in to MU, he met some of his future best friends, reflected on what he wanted to gain from college and how to achieve that, and became connected to very genuine sophomore leaders willing to assist with his adjustment to college life. The program kickstarted his involvement at MU beyond the classroom and provided him a network of very motivated students to turn to when he needed advice.

Joey immediately became involved with an all-men's acapella group on campus. Initially, Joey was not interested in continuing his focus in singing, but he met a few members of the group who spoke about the group; not in reference to the singing but of the brotherhood. Joey was fascinated with the brotherhood idea and remembered it from his experiences with the different youth or men's retreats. The acapella group was committed to travelling, singing, retreats and service. Joey remembered that joy that the group was able to bring children at a cancer hospital when they visited. He remembered seeing the challenges that those kids were experiencing and then how their faces brightened up when they heard the songs. The group was

also focused on brotherhood which meant open dialogue, come as you are, and always being there for each other. The retreats would involve sharing life stories and personal, intimate moments that resulted in extremely emotional peer group support. In some ways, according to Joey, the acapella group became a family for him.

The second organization that Joey became involved in was a social fraternity. During the spring semester of his first year, he chose to rush, and he ended up joining a fraternity that he believed was committed to brotherhood, academics, and service. When Joey returned to MU in the fall of his sophomore year, he served as Community Service Chair for the fraternity. In this role he was responsible for helping each brother complete the 12 service-hour requirement for the semester. The fraternity had received the highest rank within the Greek fraternity community at MU for most service hours completed for multiple semesters, so Joey knew that it was very important to the group. He once heard that his fraternity completed one third of all the service hours for the fraternity community. Unfortunately, Joey found the position to be extremely challenging and exhausting. He described a small pocket of brothers within the fraternity that were committed to serving and then a larger group that would continually be pushing back on him. The other brothers did not seem to care about service, or the value associated with their membership for being within the fraternity; Joey became very discouraged and questioned his affiliation with the fraternity. At the end of the semester, Joey completed his role as Community Service Chair; the duration of the position varies from fraternity to fraternity. At that time, Joey also made the decision to step back to focus his time and energy with groups that better reflected his values. During the spring semester of his sophomore year, Joey then became more involved in a business-based fraternity that he had joined earlier, student government, and an organization designed to support alumni engagement for MU.

Throughout Joey's four years at MU, he was involved with many different service projects that amounted to a large number of hours. These service projects were organized primarily by one of the three organizations that he was active in; the acapella group, the social fraternity, and the business-based fraternity. When he reflects on the service projects, there are several that standout as being very meaningful to him. One occurred via the business-based fraternity. For several years, it was a tradition for the group to rent an extremely large cabin in a nearby state; have a weekend-long party and call the event "semi-formal." As the time for "semi-formal" was approaching, Joey remembers one person standing up in a meeting and saying that

they did not want to do that but instead wanted to spend a weekend volunteering at a Habitat for Humanity Build. The response was incredible as many members of the group were excited about the change and it turned about to be very impactful both due to the service and the brotherhood within the group during that sober weekend. Joey realized "that sometimes, all it takes is one person."

John's Story

John is a junior at Midwestern University (MU) majoring in Chemistry and Pre-Medical Studies with plans to become a pediatrician after graduating. John grew up in a wealthy suburb of large city in same state as MU. He lived there his entire life along with older brother; two years older than John. Both of John's parents are practicing lawyers and have taught John the value of hard work, respect, and dedication to school. His parents instilled in John the importance of not developing into a snobby personality; in part because of the stereotype associated with where they lived and in part because they valued humility associated with a recognition nor privilege. His parents took active steps towards this including not giving John a cell phone until high school when many of John's peers had been given a phone as early as fifth grade. John did chores around the house rather than being given an allowance. One of the greatest parts of John's childhood was having family members close by; a set of grandparents, aunt, uncle, and cousins lived down the street from John. He saw them all of the time and it was like having three sets of parents along with becoming very close with his cousins. John learned from his family that "family is the first priority; it is not something that you can skip."

Growing up, John played basketball all of the time. Of all the sports that John was introduced to, he enjoyed the game of basketball the most. Even though the team did not always win, John described the experience as a good culture of guys and an experience that resulted in many friendships. The other sport that came close to John's love of basketball was baseball. John played baseball from age eight to fourteen. John bonded with his teammates whom he spent a lot of time with; travelling to tournaments and hanging out with each other outside of baseball. John's best friend was also on the baseball team. When it came time to choose between the two sports as he approached high school, he made the difficult decision to select basketball. In high school, John enjoyed his experiences both in and outside of the classroom. One of the greatest parts of high school, according to John, were the teachers. He believed that they were excellent

educators who had a strong commitment to the students' success. He also knew that there was a social hierarchy within the school; popular, middle and groups of students that seemed to be somewhat shunned. The popular group was mostly the athletes and while there was not a culture of bullying at the school, John noticed many instances in which people were excluded. John found himself in the middle group; having relationships with a lot of different students at the school.

Basketball was John's top priority for the first two years of high school, however, when John realized that he did not have the athletic ability to progress, he made the decision to quit the team. In addition to basketball, John was involved with a service and leadership organization that he remained with for three years. Through this organization, John completed many service hours via a variety of different social issue-based projects. Overall, John completed over two hundred volunteer hours; and while there was not a single issue that John was particularly passionate about, he did have several life changing moments. One of these occurred when John was introduced to a non-profit dedicated to supporting US veterans. During John's junior year, he volunteered with the group which took veterans on a one-day event tour of Washington, DC. John served as a student chaperone for three veterans on the trip. John was amazed by the life stories that he heard and was taken back when the group returned home to a celebration. John said that he saw the veterans crying because they were so overwhelmed by the day and being celebrated by the community; John was so impacted by the event that he made a point of trying to recruit college students to volunteer for the organization.

During John's junior year, he began actively looking at different colleges with his parents. Initially, he wanted to travel far away but he soon became more realistic in what he was looking from a college experience. His high school is perceived as a "feeder" to MU, and he was apprehensive of wanting to see the same peers he attended high school with at college. However, he knew that MU had a strong reputation for educating undergraduates and preparing them for graduate school; his dad attended MU prior to attending law school. When John visited MU, he was extremely impressed when he interacted with a Chemistry professor who showed him different research opportunities at MU and the type of options that would be available to John with a Chemistry degree from MU. This interaction all but confirmed the decision for John and what clinched it was when John learned that he would be a 4th generation MU student, meaning

his great grandfather and grandfather also attended MU. It was a legacy that John was excited to be a part of!

During his time at MU, John has been very focused on his pursuit of his decision to become a pediatrician. This has included becoming involved in student organizations for students interested in medical school, undergraduate research, service, shadowing, and additional involvement. The additional involvement came when John decided to join a fraternity in the spring of his freshman year. John admits that he made the decision to join because that it what everyone else at the time seemed to be doing and it was a good opportunity to meet people. The fraternity ended up being a good fit for John and he was elected Philanthropy and Service chair at the beginning of his sophomore year. Unfortunately, John experienced challenges that he did not foresee when he became more involved in the role.

As Philanthropy and Service Chair, John wanted to get the fraternity involved with the veterans-based organization that he had volunteered with in high school. He also wanted to expand on the fraternity's commitment to service. He received a great deal of push back from the brothers as well as a general lack of enthusiasm for service in general. What was surprising to John was that the brothers' membership requirement for service was extremely minimal, only eight hours per member per semester, and there was still a struggle to get brothers to complete the requirement. This was challenging for John because service was a very important part of his values as well as being connected to his career goals. John discovered that there was a significant divide within the fraternity membership between those brothers that were committed to service and those that were not. Due to the responses that he received from the brothers, he became comfortable with maintaining the level of service that the fraternity had participated in the past and tried to focus more of his efforts on the philanthropy part of the role. Service had become a priority that was pushed to the bottom of the list and John encouraged another brother to share the role with him so that he could focus his time elsewhere. Afterwards, he decided to remain in the fraternity but only as an active member and not in a continued leadership role.

Service began for John at a young age when he witnessed his dad and grandpa involved with Rotary; he saw the importance of giving back to the community and to others. John's family would volunteer together during Thanksgiving at a soup kitchen, delivering secret Santa gifts, or supporting the YWCA. In high school, the service evolved to include medical related service as John had conversations with his grandpa who was also a physician. During John's junior year of

high school, he volunteered at a camp for sixth graders and this sparked an interest in John to consider working with kids, hence the future role of the pediatrician. The decision to pursue medical school with the hopes of becoming a pediatrician thus originated from both experiences and conversations. One of the most meaningful volunteer experiences of John's collegiate career came when he got the opportunity to volunteer at a camp specifically designed for providing a traditional camp experience to children with severe medical conditions. John spent almost a month at the camp during the summer between his sophomore and junior year. He interacted with three groups of kids; heart disease, cancer, and siblings of previous campers. John had interest in all three groups and was especially captivated by the sibling group because of their psychological issues. John describes this as a "life changing experience" because John had never interacted with kids dealing with such a challenge but that they had an appreciation towards those that were helping them; it was that appreciation and kindness in those circumstances that John realized he wanted to make a career out of that experience. It reaffirmed his decision to pursue pediatrics.

Michael's Story

Michael is a current senior at Midwestern University (MU) and is pursuing dual degrees in Management & Leadership and Political Science. He was born and raised in a moderately sized city in the same state as MU. One of the most important pieces of Michael's identity is being a member of his large Italian family; he is also extremely proud of his Italian heritage and culture. Family relatives still live in Italy and Michael aspires of visiting them at some point after graduating from MU. Michael's grandparents immigrated from Italy, his grandfather was a contractor and bought land for the entire family to have houses. For Michael's family, this included multiple families - aunts, uncles, and cousins. Within the allotment is a little hill and the grandparents lived there. Michael has many memories of walking from his house and then up the hill to see his grandparents. Sometimes it would just be to talk while other times it would be to help out around the house It was a significant loss to both the family and Michael's personal life, when his grandfather passed away.

Michael's parents met during their college years and taught Michael the importance of education especially his mom, since she was a teacher. The main influences of teaching Michael on how to be a man came from his grandfather and father. His dad taught him that hard work is

the most important thing as it provides for your family. The lesson that Michael remembers most is that “It is important to provide for your family, but you must balance work and family.” His grandfather reiterated this advice to him many times; “Family is the most important thing.” During his childhood, Michael played some sports including community soccer and a brief stint with baseball. As Michael grew up, he continued to play sports but was never very good. He tried hard and later was nicknamed “Rudy” by a football coach for his work ethic and heart. Later, he felt pressure to be good at sports and was bullied when he wasn’t. Sports were never as important to Michael as they seemed to be to others. For Michael, politics would become his “sports”; but that would not happen until later.

Sixth grade marked a very challenging time in Michael’s life. That year, Michael’s father made the decision to leave his vice president position and start his own firm. It was extremely hard on the family; in a different way for each member because the result was that Michael’s dad was working all the time. When Michael did get the opportunity to interact with his dad, dad was always in a bad mood as stressors would follow him home. This frustrated Michael further as he was already hurt and frustrated that his dad would usually miss school events, games, or other activities. Deep down Michael understood that his dad was doing his best to provide for the family, but it was extremely difficult. This lasted for roughly six years and put a significant strain on the relationship between them. The relationship would not be repaired until Michael left for college. During Michael’s junior year in college, he realized that his father was his best friend and decided to write him a letter. The letter was very challenging for him to write because it brought up so many emotions. However, when he gave it to his dad for his birthday, his father cried and said that it was one of the best gifts he had ever been given.

At the end of eight grade, the family moved to nearby neighborhood so that Michael would be able to attend a better high school. This was a very different experience for Michael since he had been going to school with the same thirty-six students for many years and then he entered high school (student body of over four hundred) and knew no one. The decision to attend a public school was an important one that Michael was very appreciative of his parents for including him in the process. He was also ready to try a different school environment as he had experienced some bullying in his previous schools. Initially the public high school was overwhelming for Michael and this caused some anxiety; especially being new on the first day of freshman year and not knowing anyone. Michael was very interested in getting involved but was

heartbroken when he tried out for the soccer team and was cut from the JV team. Luckily, in the last class on the first day, Michael found a familiar face, his best friend whom he had not seen in nine years! There was an instant connection and the two were able to rekindle the relationship which is still going strong today.

Boy Scouts was one the activities that Michael was involved in outside of school. He had started in first grade and really enjoyed the experience. Throughout his childhood, he did a variety of programs with Scouts including some community service. In high school, because Michael got involved with many different activities, he needed to step back from some others. Since he had not completed the requirements for the transition to Eagle Scout, he planned to drop his commitment to the Boy Scouts. However, his father would not let him; he said that it was something that Michael needed to finish and that he would regret it. Michael stuck with his commitment to attain Eagle Scout and partnered with his church to complete a community project requirement. The project was a massive undertaking as it involved the rehabilitation of the church's large playground. He was diligent, focused, and committed. This finally paid off during his Junior year when he was awarded Eagle Scout. Now, he is extremely thankful that he stuck with the decision to attain Eagle Scout as it is a major talking point for potential employers and students he interacts with as part of his fraternity.

Through high school, Michael chose to get involved with a variety of different activities. First, since sports was important to him, he chose to start running and made the Cross-Country team his sophomore year which he continued until he graduated. Following his interest in politics, he joined the speech and debate team and was a member for all four years. Furthering his interest in politics, Michael was elected Vice President of Student Council his senior year after having several positions sophomore and junior year. Lastly, based on an interest in television journalism, Michael got involved in broadcast television within the high school – the high school had one the best equipped television studios in the state. It was through this experience that Michael was then asked to serve as a red-carpet host for regional Emmy Awards.

In addition to his extra-curricular involvement in high school, Michael was very committed to service during this time. After assisting his church with the playground rehabilitation, Michael proposed a holiday variety show fundraiser that he would host. Michael had recently been watching a lot of late-night television and feel in love with the male comedians. He had a dream of a variety show much like the late-night comedy television shows

and Saturday Night Live. Michael was paired with a church advisor to assist him and no one seemed to understand the concept of the variety show nor did they think that the idea could be pulled off. Again, Michael was diligent, focused, and committed. He raised the money, collaborated with the local non-profit, solicited for bands, wrote the sketches, and it came to fruition. The first year, his junior year, Michael raised $2000. The following year, Michael raised $5000 and was able to get several local celebrities to attend including the mayor. For Michael, it was a surreal experience because he was able to "live his dream." It was definitely a major accomplishment, but more importantly the support that he received from the community who appreciated the event and his dedication made it so fulfilling. The non-profit community organization that benefited from the holiday variety show was a local home rehabilitation for the homeless and through the partnership, Michael started doing more direct service with them.

When Michael arrived at Midwestern University (MU), the "wave" of high school had crashed; Michael had ridden it and he was back at square one. He did not know anyone and found himself in search of community again. He joined the College Republicans because he was committed to his political beliefs but more importantly the organization gave him access and involvement in a variety of political campaigns. This also included getting involved with an organization that encouraged college students to register to vote. Michael also became active with in a student organization that allowed him to pursue his idea of a possible career in government. The community that Michael found his first year at MU was centered on the College Republicans and a local church that he started attending. It would not be until sophomore year that Michael would find his "true" community.

At the beginning of sophomore year, there was an incident involving state politics. At the same time, Michael was excited because he had been elected to Executive Board within College Republicans. Unfortunately, the incident peripherally involved Michael and several Exec members used the opportunity to remove him from the board. This was very upsetting to Michael, but he was determined to remain in College Republicans for the remainder of the year as a form of protest. A few weeks after he was removed, he was at a restaurant in town and noticed a member from College Republicans having a great time at a table with a group of guys that did not look like they from the same group. The next night, at the College Republicans meeting, Michael approached the member.

The member informed Michael that he was starting a new fraternity on campus. Michael was immediately suspicious of the idea because he knew the reputations of many of the fraternities at MU and knew he did not want to be part of that culture. The member assured him that he was not into that either, he wanted to be a part of fraternity that was the opposite of that. The idea of a non-fraternity fraternity appealed to Michael and he figured he did not have anything to lose. Michael ended up dropping his involvement with College Republicans and started spending more and more time with this new fraternity. The national headquarters of the fraternity soon made a visit to MU and met with the group of guys who were interested in starting the chapter; including Michael. Thirty guys attended that meeting. Unfortunately, when the headquarters representative explained the level of work that would be involved to start the chapter (as well as the importance of paying dues), the next meeting held only had five guys.

The interest group that had five members had to start recruiting members and Michael characterizes this as just a "very weird experience." He was out there recruiting guys to be in a non-fraternity fraternity even when he was wondering if it would actually happen. Again, Michael stuck with it and they slowly recruited a small group of guys. Surprisingly, it was enough for the national headquarters to charter the chapter and then Michael saw the opportunities to build something from nothing. Michael realized that there was the ability to "do fraternity right." Michael was a founding father of the fraternity and he worked with the other brothers on making the fraternity what fraternity is meant to be – focusing continually on living the values, service, and brotherhood. The brotherhood events were based on values and reflecting on how to be better men in the classroom, campus, and community.

During Michael's junior year, he was elected president of the fraternity which was a huge honor for him because it gave him the opportunity to repay that honor by leading through the values of the chapter. In the fall of Michael's senior year, the fraternity hosted a party which Michael was very nervous about for several reasons. The first was because they had recently been provided a small house the previous year from a fraternity that had been removed from Midwestern University – Michael knew the challenges of a fraternity house party and wanted to make sure that the chapter did everything that it needed to do. Michael as very aware of the risks associated with alcohol consumption.

There were two instances that night that Michael will never forget. First, there was a sophomore woman who came up to Michael and told him that she had never been to a fraternity

party before. She said that she was scared to go to fraternity parties because of the possibility of being drugged or assaulted. She said that she had no idea that they could be fun and safe events. She explained that she was so thankful that she had gone to the party and kept an open mind about fraternity men. It was a great conversation in which Michael told her that not all fraternity parties are like this but that he really appreciated the compliment. Second, Michael had invited a family friend, a first-year woman, and her roommate to the party. The roommate had never really drunk alcohol before and became extremely intoxicated. Several brothers realized this early on and made sure that she stopped drinking, got her water, ensured that she was looked after, and went home safely. The family friend remarked to Michael that she had no idea that there were fraternity guys at Midwestern University that were committed to taking care of women in that way. Again, Michael said "That is what fraternity should be and that is what we are trying to do."

In college, Michael did a lot of service because he was in a space where community service was the norm and it was supported by those around him. Michael volunteered in the community in part because he cared about what the non-profit was trying to do but also because he enjoyed spending time with his fraternity brothers. When he discusses his service, Michael uses these words "I choose to volunteer my time because it fulfills my life's mission of making an impact on people's lives for the better. My life's greatest passion is to have a lasting impact on other's lives and find that volunteering is one of the best ways to accomplish this. Additionally, many of the ways that I volunteer (voter registration for example) are for specific causes that I am passionate about." Connecting his notions of service to both masculinity and feeling accepted, Michael says, "I think that my desire for community stems from feeling like an outsider for much of my life, where I had a notion that to be a man you had to be 'cool' and 'popular'.

When Michael thinks about masculinity and college, he immediately is reminded of the conversations that he has when he is recruiting members to join the fraternity. He finds guys on campus that are looking to do fraternity right, and, in many cases, they had gone through the traditional rush process and stopped. The main reason they stopped was because they realized that the fraternity culture was not something that they wanted to be a part of. Michael has conversations with each of them about what they experienced and why they want to join a fraternity. According to Michael, many of these guys were asked extremely disgusting questions

by prospective fraternities during Rush to gauge fit. Some examples of the questions included: You are required to have sex with one of the following: your mom, your sister, or your grandma. Which one do you choose and why? or 'You have to have sex at the same time with two women whose ages add up to 25 – what are their ages?'. The conversation that Michael has with these guys are about values and living their values through the fraternity. During chapter meetings and brotherhood events, Michael said that the fraternity has explored the topic of masculinity and "concluded that to us, we believe masculinity to be adhering to a high moral standard, showing love and respect to ones friends and colleagues, an appreciation and realization of the common good and common unity, and respect for the diversity of people; judging intrinsically rather than extrinsically." These can be boiled down to five core values: integrity, initiative, accountability, trustworthiness, and respect.

Raphael's Story

Raphael is a recently graduated student with double majors in Finance and Accounting. Raphael grew-up in a suburb of a major city in the same state as Midwestern University. The suburb can be described as affluent with a large majority of the residents as upper-middle class. The norm in this community is to attend high school and then attend a 4-year college. Raphael's family moved to the suburb when he was four of five years old. While Raphael did not describe his family as affluent, he did recognize that both his parents graduated from college and that all five kinds in the family are planning to graduate from college with a 4-year degree. Additionally, several of Raphael's grandparents attended college.

Growing up, Raphael learned personal and very important life lessons that he still carries with him today. First, as one of five siblings, he learned the importance of sharing and not being selfish. There were times that Raphael remembers that when he was younger, he was aware that his family really did not have a lot of money. He realized that while sometimes that made him feel insecure, he needed to make the best of it and learn to share. Next, Raphael's maternal grandmother was a huge part of his life and he would spend a lot of time with her. His grandparents lived in the same neighborhood and were always at games he played in as well as family dinners. He felt that she was an amazing and caring person who "always put others first." Raphael remembers hearing his grandmother say, 'If everyone's happy and my family's happy, that's all I really care about'. This stayed with Raphael as his mother had a very similar outlook

on life. Last, as Raphael entered high school, he had a very important conversation with his parents. His parents sat him down and told him 'You are a product of the five people that you spend most of your time with – good or bad'. This concept of influence stayed with Raphael through high school, to college, and after.

At a very young age, in grade school, roughly fifth grade, Raphael became more involved with service on a continual basis via his church. In church, Raphael was a student minister – helping with church services and activities. Student ministers were required to complete 10 hours of service each semester. Raphael remembers volunteering at food pantries, soup kitchens, and homeless shelters during this time. While some of these services were associated with the church, they did not preach the faith but rather just promoted service. Raphael saw the different people who used these services and became slowly interested in serving others. This service continued from elementary school through high school. When Raphael reflects on why he chooses to volunteer, he immediately thinks of his grandmother. He remembers her giving nature and the way that she lived. She passed away recently and he remembers people coming up to him and remarking what an amazing woman she was – this was especially memorable as it was Raphael's peers who made these comments to him about his grandmother.

Raphael attended a public high school. The high school he attended was ranked as one of the top high schools in the state. The facility was very up-to-date and enormous. For example, the Athletic Department had a 5-million-dollar stadium and a 1.2-million-dollar field house. Raphael's graduating class was roughly 400 students. Students dressed very nice, similar to Midwestern University, and many of the kids were driving a car to school. While many of the cars were not new cars, they were high-end models. Raphael remembers being told that when he graduated, 97% of his graduating class went on to attend a 4-year college or university. In total, there are roughly 40-50 from Raphael's high school enrolled at Midwestern University at any one time. Some would describe Raphael's high school as a "feeder" school to Midwestern University. Raphael attributes the high school success rate to many well-educated, affluent, families with resources who are very active in the community and in the lives of their children.

Raphael described his high school as "stereotypical." QB1 was the top kid in the in the school with groups of kids in "somewhat of a social hierarchy"; athletes, science kids, etc. The ethnic make-up of the student body was extremely white, almost 95 percent with Asian ethnicities representing the remaining. Raphael became very involved in high school activities

which included the football team, recreational basketball, business club, National Honors Society, and Key club. In addition, he worked at McDonald's for two and half years. During his high school years, Raphael volunteered his time at various non-profits and felt very supported by his close friends, school, and family. When he would attempt to get his friends to volunteer with him, often they were very supportive as it was a time to hang out as friends while doing something good in the community. Raphael would become the "un-proclaimed leader" of the group, meaning the group of friends would naturally look to him for things to do or before making a final decision.

One of the most meaningful high school experiences came during Raphael's senior year. During his junior year, he was encouraged by a friend to apply for "service-learning." Looking back now, he described it as "the best thing I could have ever done…it was a life changing and phenomenal experience." Service-learning was a program during the senior year that allowed students to volunteer at various service sites several days a week that was supported by coursework at the high school. During the fall semester, Raphael assisted in a grade school classroom for kids with mild learning disabilities. He would go to the grade school each week while also going to class at the high school which discussed different social issues and had structured reflection for the service experience. During the spring, he volunteered at a food pantry. At the food pantry, Raphael met people from many walks of life and heard life stories that were very different from his own. He said that these experiences taught him empathy in a way that he had never understood before which had ripple effects in his everyday life. As a direct result of his experiences with the service-learning program, he promoted it heavily to his friends and siblings.

At the end of high school, Raphael admits that he was not ready to leave his community to attend college but was reassured because he saw similarities between his community and the community of Midwestern University. When Raphael arrived at Midwestern University, he was eager to get involved on campus and in the community. He went to a big student involvement fair and attended many different organizations for their introductory meeting. Unfortunately, nothing stuck; there was not a student organization that he felt particularly interested in going to a second meeting. He decided to get a job off-campus at the local bar. However; his grades at midterms were not a good as he hoped, and he left the job at the bar in November. In the beginning of the spring semester, he decided to join a fraternity with the six guys in his residence

hall corridor that he had become close to. Raphael had a conversation with his parents about rushing since he was barely eligible with his fall semester grades. In the end, all seven friends ended up joining the same fraternity.

During the spring semester, Raphael admits that they were hazed a lot and that "I was told to do things that I would never make anyone else do." For him, he thought "it was cool" and was all about the experience of pledging and being hazed even though deep down he knew it was wrong. While Raphael had experiences with cyberbullying in middle school, this experience was different because there was an end goal. Also, Raphael used an approach that had worked with him growing up with his older brother; might as well get something in there if they have the advantage. In other words, if I am going to get hazed, I am not going to just sit by and take it; I might as well piss them off. This meant that the members saw Raphael not showing them the respect that they thought they deserved but also that Raphael was not afraid of them. This dynamic made Raphael's experiences during pledging very different than the other pledges.

Unfortunately, the fraternity was suspended by the University for this and previous violations of policy. As a result, fraternity membership decreased from 110 to 27. The repercussion was that the fraternity was unable to have any activities for a year – until the following spring semester. The remaining members, including Raphael, were unable to do anything as a group; they would just hang out – it was very "lame." At the time, Raphael was extremely frustrated that this suspension also included not being allowed to perform any volunteer work in the community. In addition, the suspension of the fraternity caused a significant rift between the brothers that were removed and the active brothers that continued the fraternity. The removed members were continually pissed and said "extremely messed-up stuff" which continued until they had all graduated. Removed members would show up at the house and try to get in but would have to be denied entry – this would also cause a lot of conflict. Raphael remembers a lot of confrontations that included yelling, getting in your face; standing toe to toe, and insults.

Within the fraternity leadership, Raphael first served as Philanthropy Chair meaning that he oversaw the fundraising and service activities of the fraternity. Each brother was required to complete 6 hours of service per semester. Raphael worked extremely hard to encouraged brothers to go to a service site at least once and they would want to drink instead or would give some "other miserable excuse." This somewhat challenging Raphael's service values. However,

Raphael "saw an opportunity" to do something with this position and make a difference in the community and he "hit it pretty hard." One of the best experiences was scheduling a weekend in Tennessee where a large group of brothers went to do rehabilitation work at a camp designed for kids with disabilities. It remains "a favorite memory of college" as it was sober, full of service, and allowed everyone to truly to get to know each other.

In addition, Raphael re-started the relationship between the fraternity and an elementary school in a nearby community. The relationship between the two had always existed but had become almost non-existent in recent years. The elementary school has a large population of kids with disabilities and one of the tenants of the fraternity is to serve those who have challenges related to ability. Raphael started the experience of a group of fraternity brothers going to the school every Friday afternoon to spend time with the kids – who would see the college students as "superheroes." As a result of his hard work, Raphael raised the yearly service hours from 10 to over 1,000. In addition, Raphael and the fraternity were recognized in the local paper for their work with the school. The fraternity was given a grant by their national headquarters and it was decided that the grant should be given to the elementary school. Raphael remembers the phone conversation extremely well as the teacher started crying on the phone; "it was an amazing moment." The fraternity made the Holiday party an event by presenting the check and having some special games for the kids.

Raphael continued to volunteer his time with the elementary school past his time as Philanthropy chair and was consistently in the top 10% of brothers completing service hours. Service continued to be a value for Raphael and one that he tried to instill in those around him. It was challenging since most of the brothers, roughly 70%, choose only to do the bare minimum of service hours to complete the membership requirement. After serving as Philanthropy Chair, the next brother in the role had a much harder time and Raphael described it as a "War Zone" because many of the brothers pushed back on the new Chair with insults and excuses.

In the fall of his junior year, Raphael stepped up when the president of the fraternity chose to resign. Raphael also was taking more courses each semester so that he could complete the double major before graduating – he was so busy; going to class, then meetings, then the library to study. During his time as president of the fraternity, Raphael remembers the level of busy that was unmatched to anything – but that it was also a period of growth when he learned so much about himself. The most important lesson that Raphael learned during this time was the

ability to delegate responsibilities and oversee projects in a productive way. Looking back on all of his experiences with the fraternity, Raphael describes it a as "wild ride" in part because he went from being a chapter that was suspended to serving as president. Raphael experienced the extremes of fraternity life – the idea of coming into a fraternity with an established reputation on campus and then building it back up from scratch. The idea of creating a culture was appealing to Raphael and it drove him to making something from the ground up – to build new traditions for the brothers. It was a rollercoaster – from hazed as a pledge to doing nothing while suspended, gaining amazing experiences serving, and finally serving as president. Raphael realized that he could not have done it without the support of his six friends that he pledged with. This group of friends stayed close throughout all four years – lived together each year and had a graduation party together.

In discussing service and the fraternity, Raphael argued that it must stem from the Executive Board – if they support it, then it will be a value that the brothers will be more likely to engage in. However, if the Exec does not support it, as is the situation in most chapters, the brothers will be more interested in other activities – namely drinking. Brothers in the fraternity, according to Raphael, also did not like being told what to do – even when it was something that they knew was expected from them and they had to do. For Raphael, the "crap" that he would get from speaking to the brothers about service – was also centered on FOMO – Fear Of Missing Out. Some brothers would not be interested in service because of the possibility of doing something more exciting, however, it was usually video games or drinking – which was not more exciting in Raphael's mind. Some brothers were lazy and while most were immature – there also seemed to be apprehensive of trying something new associated with the service projects. Raphael remembered learning about comfort zones in high school and concluded that some have a very difficult time going beyond their comfort zone even though they are supported by their brothers.

In addition to volunteering and being heavily involved with his fraternity, Raphael also worked as an intramural referee. This was extremely impactful for him as he would be screamed at for calls that he did make or calls that he did not make. He realized that there was very little empathy amongst the players for the referees and he had to develop a thick skin and not worry what people say or think. This concept of not worrying all the time of what people think but rather doing what you believe reinforced values that Raphael learned when he was growing up. While refereeing, he was continually surprised at how seriously the guys took competing against

one another while the women were mostly more social. He focused on doing the best job that he could and realized later that when he was fraternity president, he used a lot of the skills that he had learned when he was a referee.

When he looks back on his service experiences and reflects on what it meant/means to him, Raphael says that he is truly happy when he is able to help other people and have a positive impact on them. He never heard anyone ever discuss this type of happiness during college except when friends would talk about the serious relationships that they were in. For Raphael, it means a lot to him that his close friends have seen and know how important service is to him because they know how much happiness it brings him. Raphael also believes that sometimes service gets "a bad rap" because it has the perception of being connected to a faith, there is a belief among some that only "Jesus freaks" do service. While Raphael's faith is important, he believes that if more people knew of the opportunities and the critical needs in the community, they would choose to volunteer their time.

Rocco's Story

Rocco is a senior at Midwestern University pursuing dual degrees in Anthropology and Finance. He also has a minor in French. Rocco grew up in a small town with what he describes a lot of "close minded people" on everything from politics to race to sexuality. Rocco is a first-generation college student. While the town may have some of the best Italian food in America, Rocco does not enjoy returning there because it feels very depressing. There was once an auto plant that made the community thrive but when it closed, the population began declining. While there is a university in the community that is doing its best to be a positive influence and Rocco has family there, it is not a place that he feels connected to anymore.

Growing up, Rocco felt very supported because there were lots of family members living either in the small town or very nearby. While his brother is 6 years older, Rocco still felt very close to him although sometimes the age difference proved to be challenging. Rocco enjoyed some privileges growing up as both of his parents were employed and he describes his background as being upper middle class. Rocco's father owns a painting company that is very successful as it spans five counties while Rocco's mother was a vice president of a bank and then transitioned into a successful house flipping business. Rocco also had the opportunity to travel with his parents enjoying different parts of the state and nearby cities. Thus, while many families

may have experienced struggles, Rocco recognized that he had a different type of background which would later serve as a motivating force for him to become involved with volunteer work.

Rocco always enjoyed his education growing up. He had a lot of friends through various activities as he was encouraged to play sports. Throughout his childhood, Rocco remembers playing baseball, football, basketball, track, and tennis. Since so many relatives were living close by, Rocco remembers feeling very supported as his grandparents attended many of his games. During this time, Rocco remembers that most of the boys played football and that it was expected that you played and enjoyed football. These "forces" were also there for baseball and basketball but not as strong. However, Rocco remembers that early on, he did not want to play football. Rather, he wanted to be inside playing with dolls, Barbies, or make-believe house. Rocco also wanted to pursue dance. A very clear memory for Rocco is when he gained the courage to ask his mother if he could take dance lessons and his mother saying "No." In eighth grade, Rocco also remembers a photo taken of him wearing his football helmet and he was miserable. Rocco remembers his football coach at the time being very rowdy and aggressive – walking up and down the sidelines and yelling at the kids. This was not a fun time for Rocco, and he realized he was different but could not exactly figure out why. He remembers that there was something going on inside him – his interests were seemingly very different from those around him.

When Rocco entered high school, his interests became more focused. He was in many honors courses and graduated from high school having successfully completed many Advanced Placement courses. With regards to sports, Rocco quit everything but tennis – he enjoyed playing and continued through high school. Rocco also was very committed to service and student activities during high school. Every year of high school, Rocco completed over 100 hours of service through a variety of organizations and projects.

While in some ways it was expected that Rocco would volunteer because of his Catholic high school, in other words, it was what Rocco was genuinely interested in doing with his time. The major organization that Rocco volunteered was with KeepStart. This was a summer program during which Rocco would go to the park to play with kids from low-income families. In addition to playing with them, the program also involved tutoring. Through the program, Rocco saw that kids were coming from very different backgrounds but were living in the same neighborhood. This would end up having a huge impact on Rocco as he realized not only his

privilege but also the discrepancies that exist within families living near one another. In addition to volunteering, Rocco also served as Student Body Treasurer and was involved in a few student organizations. He truly loved high school and the friends that supported him during that time are still close friends today.

Rocco decided to attend Midwestern University because of a friend of friend. He was on the waitlist for several schools, including an Ivy League school, but fell in love with the MU campus during a visit. Initially, Rocco pursued an academic goal of a strong focus in the sciences because he had plans to attend medical school after his undergraduate studies. Even though Rocco excelled in his science coursework, after he saw blood, he decided that it was not the career path for him. During Rocco's sophomore year, he decided to switch majors.

While changing majors was an important one for Rocco, it was another decision that occurred during the summer of his freshman year. During that summer, he came out. His parents did not accept him as gay and kicked him out of their home as a result. This was extremely difficult for Rocco in many ways. He had two summer jobs and was out of the house and away from his parents. The relationship that he had with his parents prior to coming out was very loving and supportive, and it was very challenging for Rocco to redefine that this was now how his parents felt about him. When Rocco returned to MU in the fall, he received a letter from his parents that communicated to him how disappointed they were in him for being gay. Rocco responded with a letter to them that he wanted them to understand that he still loved them and wanted them in his life. At Thanksgiving break, Rocco went home to see his parents. While things were better, they were still hard for him. During this period, Rocco reflected a lot on his life experiences and where he was headed – it was a time that he describes now as very challenging but also when he learned so much about himself.

As Rocco reflected on his career goals and life experiences, he realized that he was interested in both business and the experiences of LGBT individuals. Thus, he chose Finance to pursue his interest in business and he chose Anthropology to pursue his interests in understanding the lives/stories of individuals coming out all over the world. Rocco understood that while his own story of coming out was hard, there were many different stories of individuals and many who were looking for someone to listen to their story. Since that time, Rocco has become very involved with undergraduate research that specifically focuses on collecting

people's coming out stories. He has travelled both domestically and internationally as part his own research as well as assisting faculty on their research – centering on sexuality and identity.

Throughout his time at MU, Rocco has been very involved outside of the classroom through both volunteer efforts and student involvement. During Rocco's first year, he was involved in the Honors Program student council, an international student mentoring program, and an international service trip during spring break. Rocco joined a fraternity his sophomore year, became heavily involved in undergraduate research, and took on a leadership role within the Honors Program student council. Junior year included the fraternity, student government, and undergraduate research. In addition to serving others through volunteering, Rocco became committed to "serving" students at MU through various on-campus initiatives as part of the student government. Rocco's fraternity experience was unique because he was in the process of joining a fraternity during his first year but cancelled his membership during the pledge process because he "was hazed pretty bad." Reflecting on the experience, he realized that joining a social group was important to him, but he selected the fraternity because of its perceived status within the social culture at MU.

During his sophomore year, he took a more critical approach and found a fraternity that more closely matched his interests and values. He joined a fraternity who representation was focused on being friendly to others and doing service. He was not hazed by the fraternity and he says that it was one of the best decisions he has ever made while in college. Brothers in the fraternity were very accepting of Rocco being gay. Rocco was apprehensive about it because he did not tell the brothers that he was gay during the rush or pledging process. However, Rocco realized that one of the characteristics that makes the fraternity he joined different from others was that there was not a stereotypical representation for the brothers. In other words, they were not known for their looks, ability to hook-up with women, or how athletic they were. Rather, there were a lot of different types of men in the fraternity committed to making a difference and being nice to people. The only typical characteristic of the fraternity that Rocco was mindful of was the fraternity house. The house, as Rocco describes it, is where you go for the hyper-masculine – video games, sports, hook-ups, etc. Rocco never lived in the house and most of his time with the fraternity brothers was away from the physical house.

The social culture of Midwestern University, according to Rocco, is steeped in many unhealthy behaviors associated with alcohol, sexuality, and masculinity. In his first year at MU,

Rocco pretended he was not gay and started hooking-up with different women. He engaged in this behavior because that is what he thought was valued and expected of him as a man at MU. Over time, he realized that he was trying to be someone that he was not. He woke up one day, dyed his hair blonde, and looked in the mirror. When he looked, he said "This isn't me." At that point, he stopped pretending and realized how exhausting the experience was for him. In addition to the hook-up pressure, Rocco also felt the pressure to consume large amounts of alcohol. During his first-year, Rocco remembers testing his limits with alcohol and needing to be taken care of because overindulging. He has reflected on these experiences and realizes that he has limits and what he values in the social experience with others.

When Rocco reflects on the reasons he is committed to service, he is grateful for the support that he feels that he received from the MU community and recognizes that it is an important part of his life. Rocco's dad always was involved in the community and gave his time to help others. Growing-up, Rocco witnessed the humility of his father as he gave his time and was involved with different social causes. For Rocco, it is also about the ability to meet new people, he recognizes that when you attend a university within a community, you do not get to meet a lot of non-student community members. For Rocco, that is the part that he enjoys – being able to meet others that are not students. Service, according to Rocco, has been a part of his life since he was very young. One of Rocco's most vivid memories is the lemonade stand.

At the time when Rocco was roughly five years old, he remembers watching TV and seeing the news about Hurricane Katrina. He remembers the devastation that people in New Orleans experienced and how everyone was talking about how to help the people who had been impacted most by the hurricane. Rocco remembers thinking, 'I should do something to help' while at the same time feeling awful. So, Rocco set-up a lemonade stand near his house. At the stand, Rocco sold lemonade and live grasshoppers (he had caught the grasshoppers and put them in jars) to benefit the Red Cross. Although the money that Rocco was a relatively small amount, roughly $100, it was more about the act of doing something to help others that was meaningful for him.

Service has taught Rocco many valuable lessons which he believes he never would have learned in the classroom. First, service has changed Rocco's worldview on many things. While Rocco felt that he was very informed on certain social issues, his viewpoint changed after he volunteered his time towards a specific issue. Also, service has taught Rocco how to effectively

interact and communicate with others. The service that Rocco has engaged in took courage; it meant getting involved and trying new things. In process, he learned to connect with others and how people's different experiences made them who they are; experiences usually vastly different than his own. Additionally, Rocco has recognized the part of the process of service is about helping those who want to be helped and that it is very challenging to support those individuals who do not want to be helped. Lastly, Rocco has become deeply aware of his privileges as he is continually reminded of what he has when he is volunteering with people who have not been afforded the same resources. Rocco has been and continues to be very reflective about service, his impact on others, and how his identity has been shaped by his experiences.

Tom's Story

Tom is a junior at Midwestern University (MU) studying finance. Tom grew up in an affluent suburb community within a large city in the same state as MU. Tom classifies the suburb as a bunch of soccer moms and housewives gossiping on Facebook but a nice place to grow up. Stereotypically, the suburb is filled with families with high earnings and most are male dominated, meaning the male patriarch is the sole breadwinner. For Tom, he had the same group of friends from kindergarten to 8th grade – they continued from elementary school to middle school. The end of middle school was when everyone made a choice on what high school to attend as there were many options in the large city. While there are three public high schools available, that students could attend, there were also a variety of private high schools with strong reputations and varying student cultures.

Growing up, Tom focused on sports and doing well in school. He describes his childhood as "standard" and that he was fortunate not to worry about certain things. Tom's parents shielded him from certain things in the world such as the challenges related to money, their relationship, and September 11. Tom was also born in the summer and his parents made the decision to start school a year later to promote his development. In many ways, Tom recognizes his privileged childhood while at the same time knowing that his parents were both first-generation college students. Throughout his childhood, Tom loved playing sports – soccer, baseball, and basketball. He remembers always being involved with some type of athletic activity either organized or playing with friends. Over time, soccer emerged as Tom's favorite sport with track emerging at a much later time. Aside from sports, Tom played some video games with his two brothers, took

piano lessons, spent time reading, and practiced math during the summer months, which stemmed from his mom wanting him to do well in school.

A significant part of Tom's life is the relationship that he has with his father. Tom's father is an alcoholic who has been to rehab many times. During Tom's childhood, his dad was intoxicated around him, but Tom did not learn and understand the magnitude until he was 18. It was the summer after graduating from high school and Tom remembers the day as if it was yesterday. On July 4, Tom was hanging out in his bedroom, when his dad knocked at the door and said that he needed to talk to him. He then told Tom about his alcoholism. This moment, according to Tom, was a "significant inflection point", as it helped clarify many things for him. Tom's dad still attends AA on a weekly basis but continues to struggle with his relationship with alcohol. There was an incident during Tom's time at MU when he was home and his dad came home intoxicated. Tom remembers his dad "swinging punches" towards him but also hallucinating to a certain degree because of his level of intoxication. The relationship between Tom and his father is definitely complicated, however, Tom has chosen to use it has a motivating force in his life. For Tom, he does not want to talk about the addiction and does not want to engage in a relationship with alcohol; he wants to take on leadership roles and be more outgoing so that he does not become his father (connected to alcohol and being shy).

Additional major influences on Tom's life are his two older brothers. One is 3 years older and the other is 6 years older. Tom's brothers both attended Midwestern University (MU) and both completed business degrees. While Tom is at MU and pursing finance, he has made his choices based on his values and not being a passive follower. The brothers are the ones that Tom traditionally goes to for advice as the age difference places them at different life stages; their reputations existed in schools, but they were gone for Tom to forge his own experiences. Tom enjoyed hanging out with his brothers' friends when he was younger and he continually valued the advice that they gave him as he looked to them for guidance on everything from being polite, to acting a certain way at family events, and helping with college choices.

In conjunction with his parents, Tom made the decision to attend private high school after 8th grade. Tom saw the tight-knit groups of his brothers' friends and he wanted that connection that he was not getting from the public school. The private high school turned out to be an extremely demanding environment – Tom had to wake up very early every day because it was a 45-minute bus ride to school. The academic rigor of the school demanded that students stay

focused on their schoolwork. Reflecting on what he learned in high school, Tom says that he has a difficult time remembering content, but rather it was more about the work ethic that he learned which allowed him to succeed both in and out of the classroom. There was also a dress code at the school – shirt and tie every day, dress shoes and dress pants. In school, Tom's main source of involvement was the soccer team and he found that he sometimes struggled during the months outside of soccer season. Additional activities that Tom became involved in during high school included weightlifting, National Honors Society, Engineering team, Track, and service.

Tom's mother was the main influence in getting Tom involved in community service. On Saturday mornings, he would be taken to the food pantry and would volunteer through lunch. His mom would drop off and pick him up and they would talk about the experience on the way home. This started in 8th grade for Tom. In some ways this prepared Tom for high school because his high school had a service hour requirement each year; freshman year: 12, sophomore year: 16, junior year: 24, and senior year: 30. The culture of the high school was centered on service and faith. For Tom, he got involved in two main social issues; a center supporting families and kids from low-income backgrounds and Muscular Dystrophy.

Tom's involvement with the family center was a direct result of the center's founder being associated with the high school. Tom became more passionate about the center the more he volunteered there and decided he could do more. In 8th grade, he started a book drive which lasted two years and amassed more than 3,000 books which he cataloged with a donated computer and organized in a library room at the center. Tom also volunteered as a counselor at a Muscular Dystrophy camp. During the camp, he spent most of his time with camper who only had minimal wrist function. Tom would have teenage boy conversations with the camper as well as assist the health-based bedtime care routine which lasted an hour. Tom realized that nothing else in life would be more fulfilling than the way he felt when he was volunteering. Further, he became more aware of his privilege and was committed to doing something with that privilege. When Tom graduated from high school, he was very ready for the next step. It was a "slow walk to graduation" and Tom could not wait to start his time at Midwestern University.

When he arrived on campus freshman year, his brother had just graduated. During his first semester, Tom got involved with intramural sports, several business clubs, and the Leadership office on campus. Tom was uncertain if he wanted to join a fraternity – one brother had joined and the other had not and both had amazing experiences at MU. At the last minute,

Tom decided to rush. He received a lot of advice from his brother on the culture of chapters and how to navigate the process. In the end, he accepted a bid to a fraternity that was committed to service, but Tom selected it because there was a definite balance crafted between academics and the social scene. Many other fraternities that Tom visited seemed only focused on the social scene at MU. Although time consuming, pledging was a good experience for Tom as he learned about the chapter and met brothers. This process led Tom to finding his identity and becoming connected to a social group on campus.

When Tom returned to MU for his sophomore year, he felt very different compared to his first year. He had just completed a summer internship; he found the position and secured it on his own merits – he learned a lot and it affirmed his career interest in finance. In the fall, Tom spent a lot of time supporting recruitment efforts of the fraternity and interviewing students for possible scholarships. Towards the end of the fall term, Tom ran for vice president of the fraternity but lost. This was devasting news for him as he had not considered other involvement if not elected. After the election, a member of Intra-Fraternity Council (IFC) approached Tom to see if he would be interested in a positing on IFC. Tom thought that he would need more experience to serve on IFC as that was traditionally the case but there were certain positions that were not steeped in experience but rather needed new ideas. Tom ran on several ideas and was thrilled when he was elected to the position of Service and Philanthropy. Tom transitioned into the position at the end of the fall term when he was being supported by the outgoing IFC member. Tom officially began his at the beginning spring term of his sophomore year.

For Tom, his experiences on IFC have been mixed. On the one hand, he succeeded with several large-scale philanthropy events that were connected to basketball. He spent a lot of energy collaborating with two different basketball games – one raising awareness for cancer and one raising awareness for adopted/service animals. The games raised money and showed the community how passionate the Greek community was about those issues. In addition, Tom helped coordinate a large scale one day service event for the Greek community – focusing on beautification of the community. For the one-day event, roughly 400 fraternity and sorority members contributed over 1,200 hours to the community – it was huge sense of accomplishment for Tom as he put in many hours organizing the event. The role that Tom had on IFC was focused on setting up large-scale philanthropy and service events as well as supporting the chapters.

Tom found that supporting the chapters proved difficult when roughly two thirds of the chapters did not have a service membership requirement. It is very tough to hold chapters accountable when they are most likely not holding their members accountable. In speaking with other Greek affiliated students, service does not seem to be a priority for many of the male chapters and the brothers say that they would rather be doing something else with their time. While success might be connected to finding a cause that brothers are passionate the challenge is resistance to change and participating in service along with the national philanthropy dictated by headquarters. Tom thought about instituting an all Greek male service requirement for the semester but was apprehensive because he wanted to support chapters through positive behavior, and he had not developed a process to hold chapters accountable if they did not meet the minimum service hour expectation.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter is divided into several sections that reviews the findings of the study as well as issues associated with the findings. The sections of the chapter are 1) a return to the research questions which guided the study, 2) findings and emergent themes; 3) limitations of the research, 4) recommendations for practice applied to different stakeholders, 5) a brief discussion of the definition of service as it relates to the study, and 6) recommendations for future research. The chapter ends with a few concluding thoughts.

Research Questions Restated

As previously stated, the purpose of this study was to explore how cisgender college males who are engaged in community engagement activities negotiate their gender identity. The study focused on the activities that cisgender college males are engaged in beyond the classroom and the messages that they receive regarding gender. The primary research question for this study is: What are the lived experiences of cisgender college males engaged in community engagement activities? Connected to this research question is in an additional question: 1) How do these men perceive community engagement within gender constructs? In order to address these questions, a review of the themes that emerged from the narratives is warranted. After, the questions will be revisited along with some concluding thoughts.

Findings and Emergent Themes

There were several themes that emerged from the participant narratives that warrant a review. The themes include 1) having an insular group that is representative of individual values; 2) commitment to service is deeply entrenched into career or life goals; 3) complex relationship between service and fraternity; values versus practice; and 4) importance of childhood and boyhood as it relates to identity; matriculated masculinity. In addition to these themes, the participant narratives warranted a continued discussion of the definition of service which several stakeholders conceptualized in ways within and beyond the scope of the study.

It should be noted that this study was designed to investigate the lived experiences of college men engaged in community engagement activities while also considering their gender or

masculinity as college men. While there is relevant literature and connected research threads to this study, it is very unique: it focuses on only the experiences of collegiate men engaged in community engagement activities with a significant emphasis on the intersection of identity and gender. The several previous studies proved extremely helpful as general guides; however, those studies included constructs that were significantly different from this study. Some of these included participants of both genders, non-collegiate males, males engaged in "public service" or "service-based careers", and collegiate males participating in academic service-learning as a requirement for coursework. This study explored the lives of ten collegiate men at one university in the United States and the themes that emerged provided fascinating insights while simultaneously encouraging a host of future research questions.

Theme: Insular Group Representative of Individual Values

One of themes that emerged from the participant narratives was the development of an insular group that was representative of the participant's values. Several of the participants were very aware of the stereotypical masculine behavior at MU, and some were even drawn into it early on during the collegiate career. In addition, each participant shared stories of how they felt pressured or were policed regarding their masculinity growing up. Several participants also shared stories of the policing of masculinity that they witnessed or participated in during high school. Interestingly, the participants did not share stories that showcased a poignant moment in which they were policed in college. One underlying reason for this was that each of them shared a story that provided evidence of them finding an insular group.

As each participant was committed to becoming involved outside of the classroom through service, they also spent a considerable amount of time searching for groups of peers that were representative of their values. In many ways, this is representative of what many students hope to gain from college: finding friends that will become long-term influences during college and post-graduation. However, it may have been particularly important for the participants in this study because they knew that they had interests or values that would possibly not be accepted within traditional collegiate male peer groups. Thus, the importance of finding an insular group becomes that much more valuable. In some cases, this involved joining a student organization and then quitting once the participant realized that the organization did not represent their values. In other cases, the process involved finding an organization and then realizing that there was a

sub-group of peers within that organization that closely aligned with their values. In either case, the result was that the participant was not policed away from their commitment to service but rather supported by peers/friends that they had developed a strong bond. The group that the participants found not only supported their commitment to service but also other non-traditional interests. These interests included doing the Sunday *New York Times* crossword puzzle, cooking cultural/international foods, sipping whiskey and having ice cream, watching B-list movies, reading comic books, and having conservative political views.

In terms of finding an insular group, Joey found groups in three different spaces: an acapella group, a business fraternity, and a social fraternity. In the acapella group, Joey described the experience as "Come as you are. 100% as you are. On our retreats, the first night we would sit in a circle and you tell your life story…it is about being honest with your brothers…that spoke to me in so many ways." When Joey was considering pledging a social fraternity, he sought out chapters that were committed to service; where service was an expectation of membership within the fraternity. In reflecting on the importance of this, Joey says "It was impactful to be part of a group of men that were really into service…I think when you give back to other people, it shows a lot of your level of maturity, or your awareness of people beyond just yourself."

Later, Joey joined a business fraternity that was also committed to service. One of the stories that Joey told was about the business fraternity and the community service chair. Joey described a tradition within the business fraternity was Spring Formal. During Spring Formal, the group would rent a huge cabin several hours from campus for the weekend and it would be one long party filled with alcohol. Joey remember the community service chair standing up during a meeting and saying "I want us to do a service retreat instead of a formal. We're going to go and do a dry weekend and we're going to work for Habitat for Humanity." Joey remembers it as "an amazing weekend where everyone had a blast…we were able to speak at our national convention about the experience…all it took was one person to stand up." For Joey, this is an organization that he felt comfortable in as well as representing his values.

For Rocco, he was very committed to joining a fraternity when he arrived at Midwestern University "because so many people walking around campus were wearing letters…I wanted to be in that scene." However, when Rocco was going through the rush process, he went to several fraternities that asked him questions that did not align with his values. The questions were

extremely sexual and inappropriate. One example was “Who’s your favorite porn star?” Rocco finally found a fraternity that he thought he connected with and then began the pledging process. Unfortunately, the process involved a lot of different types of hazing that included mostly mental challenges such as line-ups and running errands. Recognizing that this was not for him, he stepped back from the Greek system. During his sophomore year, Rocco decided to rush again and found a fraternity that was genuine. Describing the group, Rocco says “They actually genuinely want to know who you are…they want to know about you and how you would contribute to the fraternity…we are nice guys committed to doing good.” Rocco felt that the group met his needs and provided a social outlet that he valued. For him, he was able to open up to his fraternity brothers in ways that he had been unable to do previously.

Similar to Rocco, Dylan first found a group that he though he enjoyed with the rowing team because he had spent so much time rowing in high school. Unfortunately, Dylan quickly realized that collegiate men in the rowing team were “applauded” for how much alcohol they could consume or how many different women that they were able to hook-up with. While there were some “guys who made good choices and wanted to be exemplary men”, overall it was a toxic environment that Dylan decided he needed to leave. In addition, the rowing team became almost hyper-masculine with regards to competing and Dylan was looking for a space where rowing was fun and not consuming with competing or wining. In essence, Dylan witnessed hyper-masculine behaviors within sports and alcohol consumption in the same group of collegiate men. Dylan, looking for a different peer group, discovered a fraternity that was interested in a different type of men then the stereotype at MU; trying to establish a different type of fraternity culture. In describing the brothers in the chapter, Dylan says “Deep vulnerability. I think the guys are very open and honest with one another. And they don’t have to cover it. Another thing too, we drink in a different way – we don’t drink to get hammered. It’s more about conversation.” For Dylan, because he values the fraternity so much, he has taken on a variety of leadership roles and done a lot of service in the community; to spend time with the brothers of the chapter.

Tom’s story is more similar to Rocco and Dylan as he found many fraternities “that were into alcohol, drugs, or hazing…and they just hung out with themselves.” Then a fraternity approached Tom for an academic scholarship and Tom saw that the fraternity was very committed to academics and being involved on-campus at MU. Tom realized that this was the

group that shared his values, so he joined. In reflecting on the group and its importance to him, Tom says "When I got to campus, I was involved in things but had not really found my place yet…after, I met my group. I was really excited to have an identity on campus." For Tom, having an organization that represented his beliefs was very important to him as the involvement elsewhere on campus did not have that same level of importance. It provided him the opportunity later to take on more leadership roles which he was extremely grateful.

Raphael's process to finding an insular group was challenging as the fraternity that he joined was suspended soon after he had joined. He decided to rush with his seven closest friends from his residence hall and all eight joined the same fraternity. The group of eight were committed to making the fraternity strong and they supported each other when they encountered different challenges along the way. During their senior year, all eight friends lived together and shared the same graduation party; "On our cake, there's picture of all of us from freshman year and then there's a picture of all of from this year together." In reflecting on what the insular groups of friends means to him now with regards to his passion for service, he says "I've discussed with my close friends how I love doing service and I am truly happiest when I am able to help other people and have a positive impact on them. My close friends have seen it, and they know about the importance of service to me."

Theme: Service is Entrenched into Career Goals or Self-Concept

Within the theme of commitment to service being entrenched into career goals and self-concept is the value of reflection and a recognition of self-direction. This theme was more visible is certain participants as opposed to others. One clear example of the reflection is seen in Joey's realization when he discovered that he had over committed himself. Describing this, Joey says "I didn't understand mental health and rest days…I literally at the end of the year got rid of my Apple watch because it was going off all of the time because I had so much stuff going on…I learned that I need to unplug and take care of myself…so that I can be my best self." Here it is clear that Joey is extremely reflective of the experiences that he has had in the past and how he wants to be different moving forward. He has taken a proactive step of getting rid of his watch but knows that there are more steps that he needs to take moving forward. When Joey was considering where he wanted to work post-graduation, he says "I always knew that no matter what I wanted to be doing, I want to be a part of communities that give back…If I was going to

be working for a company, I want that company committed to being involved in the community."

When discussing his career goals, Dan originally was interested in working for the State Department and being involved in a foreign embassy. During his time at MU, he took International Studies coursework, learned several foreign languages, and studied abroad. As he reflected on his interests, he realized that he was increasingly more interested in the culture of international studies rather than the politics. In reflecting on this, Dan says "I just want to help people…I'm still interested in the State Department…I am leaning towards organizations like the Peace Corps or international aid organizations…the service and the culture are important pieces for me." Here, Dan is merging his commitment to service and his career goals, recognizing that he has passions in both areas that are evolving over time. However, it is clear that the concept service and being in a space to help others in need is entrenched into Dan's life plans.

For Andrew, service is entrenched into his career goals when the definition of service is expanded to the concept of "public service." Public service is an important strand of scholarship and student perspective that will be discussed further in the chapter. When Andrew was in high school, he was initially interested in pursuing a career in law enforcement. However, as Andrew spent more time volunteering in elementary classrooms, his perspective shifted. Andrew says "I can't work with younger kids….But it was one of those things that once I decided the kind of path I was to go on, a different perspective came over me once I went into that classroom…I saw the classroom as a classroom and just a place with four walls that held kids." Andrew realized that his passion for teaching was centered on working with high school students and that his family was full of teachers. Andrew has a deep commitment to helping those around him learn mathematics skills as he is dedicated to both the importance of math and teaching others. This dedication is evidenced by his involvement in numerous positions that are connected to mathematics and teaching throughout his collegiate career.

Within the group of ten participants, the one that most represents service being entrenched into career goals *and* self-concept is Haig. While the theme represents either, Haig clearly represents both parts of the theme. The cornerstone to Haig's narrative is the formation of a non-profit organization that is committed to "connecting schools in developing countries to institutions in the United States like universities, non-profits or community centers." Haig's non-profit is different than others with similar missions because the organization has a dual purpose:

to “elevate the quality of education while also giving college students the tools and the resources to become global citizens.”

As an individual from an Armenian background, Haig was taught an early age on the importance of giving of one’s time to the community. Describing this value further, Haig says “It’s supporting the community in any way that you can. Maybe it’s not giving a dollar, but it’s giving your time and that is an investment.” That value stuck with Haig through his high school years and took off when he arrived at MU. Haig has become involved with a wide variety of community-based initiatives both on and off-campus. Serving others is ingrained in him as he constantly thinks about others before himself; not only learning from them but listening to them and working with them to collaboratively problem solve. While Haig worked with several peers to start the non-profit at the end of his first year at MU, he modeled a commitment to serving others. Haig says, “I sincerely just want to see something better.” While Haig is somewhat uncertain of where he sees himself past his time at MU; he has interests in politics, international studies, and law school. However, central to his career is service. For Haig, it is about “giving a voice to those who have difficulty finding it.” One of Haig’s favorite pastimes on campus is “having conversations waiting in line for the Rec Center to open at 6:00 a.m. and just talking to the people who live here – not students – hearing their stories is amazing.” Service is entrenched for Haig and will continue to be in some capacity as he moves forward in life.

Theme: Complex Relationship between Service and Fraternity

For the participants that were members of social fraternities, seven of the ten, there was a complex relationship between the value of service within the chapter and the day-to-day activities of the chapter. Describing this complexity, Joey says “You come in knowing the expectation but then when it actually faced against you, that’s where some guys struggle…But I think that there is more to it than that…It is about getting guys to be aware of how fortunate we are and how we have the opportunity to give back.” In this instance, Joey recognizes that collegiate males would select a social fraternity and join that organization but not fully understand the expectations of membership. While each fraternity has members in positions designed to educate new members about membership expectations, Joey recognized that many would put up barriers to doing service even though the members were aware that service was a core value of the fraternity.

Of the seven participants, several served as the Community Service Chair of their chapter which meant that it was their role to recruit members to participate in service projects during the semester. In describing his experience as Community Service Chair, Joey says, “There are guys who just say, ‘I don’t want to do it’ and do not want to leave the bubble. It would get a little better if you were able to do events with girls…so many guys would not do it…and it discouraged my commitment to those people.” Here, Joey reminded the brothers that the expectation of membership within the is a certain number of hours and when they are not committed to service, it creates a struggle within the brotherhood as the belief is that there is a shared commitment to the specific values of the chapter. Reflecting on the challenges of recruitment, Joey says “The need is HUGE - but actually getting 18-22-year-old guys to wake up on a Saturday and help is extremely difficult…. But I found that when I actually got guys to go and give their time, it was extremely fulfilling and beneficial for everyone.” Joey would see the meaningful experience by the brothers that would volunteer and would attempt to get that experience to others within the chapter. While offering free food and events with women helped in the recruitment process, Joey continued to struggle with recruitment efforts.

Raphael also served a Community Service Chair as well as Philanthropy Chair and he described the efforts of his work as “I took our service hours from 10 the year before to over 1,000. And our fundraising from $250 to close to $13,300.” Describing this further, Raphael says “One of my favorite memories of college was when we decided to go to Tennessee for a weekend and completely rebuild a camp there…we got close with each other during service for an amazing cause…We also started a relationship with a local grade school which was also an amazing experience.” However, it was not an easy process of Raphael. While he was able to make great strides, he met a lot of resistance from the brothers giving a variety of excuses such as wanting to start drinking or more interested in playing video games. After serving in those roles, Raphael was elected to president of the fraternity. While he was president, Raphael worked to support the Community Service Chair, who described his experiences in the role to Raphael as a “war zone.” Raphael saw how the Community Service Chair would yell at the brothers for not doing service. Raphael experienced the conflict in values and actions within his fraternity.

Similar to Joey and Raphael, Kevin also served as Community Service Chair for the fraternity that he joined his first year at MU. As a student committed to Pre-Medical Studies with hopes of being a pediatrician post-graduation, Kevin “had big plans going in.” Describing the

experience, Kevin says "I thought it would be a good way to show them what community involvement meant. And so, we did a few things…It's always hard to get guys to do that sort of thing. So, I definitely struggled…It wasn't really pushback as much of a lack of enthusiasm for it." During high school, Kevin had a very meaning experience with Honor Flight which is an organization that takes veterans to Washington DC on trips. He attempted to bring that experience to the fraternity where brothers would serve as escorts with the veterans on the trip. Unfortunately, the brothers were not excited trying something different and wanted to continue the service projects that had worked in the past. This experience frustrated Kevin but it was complicated for him because he recognized that they were "good guys" but just tended to be lazy sometimes and not live up to the values of the fraternity. Kevin is very committed to service and self-reported that he completed 400 hours in the past year while some members of his fraternity struggled to complete the minimum requirement of 8 hours per semester. Describing the challenge of service within the fraternity culture, Kevin says "I would say it's just that has gotten kind of pushed down the ladder of importance. People still do it because you need to show that you do it…the main motivator is the social scene." In many ways, Kevin is an outlier in his fraternity as he values serving others while other members of the chapter see it more as a chore to complete.

Tom served in a significant role on the Interfraternity Council (IFC) where he oversaw fraternities' service and philanthropic events. Considering the large community of roughly twenty-five Greek social fraternities, it was Tom's estimation that of the chapters only eight had service as a requirement for membership. Additionally, Tom believed that there was a relative wide range of service hours within the group of eight; from two to twelve hours per semester. He was also overseeing the large-scale projects that were designed to build community through service. For Tom, he understood that a large number of fraternity chapters on campus did not have a service requirement for the members. He realized that the sororities have service requirements, but he had a difficult time working with the other IFC members on how to incentivize fraternity chapters to do more service. Tom was also apprehensive to penalize chapters for not doing service especially when so many chapters did not have the membership requirement; even though they had leadership positions and service was an important pillar of their national values. In discussing the challenge of recruiting fraternity members to volunteer, Tom says "They just seem to not make it a priority. They always seem to want to be doing

something else or it is a fear of missing out…guys join for the social reason and forget that service is an important part of membership." For Tom, he struggled in similar ways as Joey and Rocco because service was so important to him and he saw so many of his peer make excuses as to why they were unwilling to participate.

One of the interwoven issues connected the intersection of service and fraternity is the tier system within the Greek community. The tier system, as discussed previously, is the social ranking of fraternity chapters within a specific Greek community which can contribute to the types of socials and relationships a particular fraternity chapter has with certain sororities on campus. The chapters that value service more likely to be perceived as lower-tier or completely outside of the tier system. In describing this further, Dylan says "The most common pushback we have received is a perceived low social status, verbal abuse from other fraternities, and a general animosity from "top tier" Greek-life organizations. I think there is just an internal struggle to do the right thing." For Dylan, he found a fraternity that he describes as "trying to do fraternity right"; however, there is continued challenges when members within the fraternity see how other chapters are operating, the internal struggle that Dylan characterized is a very real experience by both general members and individuals in chapter leadership positions. Similar to Dylan, Michael was president of a fraternity also "outside of the tier system" and was committed to focusing on the values of the organization as well as putting those values in action for good as opposed to just being committed to social events. For Michael and the chapter, this means focusing efforts more on brotherhood and service rather than on socials – it means having important conversations with prospective members and not focusing on recruiting "frat stars."

Theme: Importance of Boyhood and Matriculated Masculinity

In discussing the intersection of masculinity and service, all the participants connected the concepts back to their experiences prior to matriculating to Midwestern University (MU). As part of the matriculating storytelling, there were several interwoven strands for the participants. First, it was a discussion of their boyhood and high school experiences; as they saw connecting points that led them to college. In addition, many of the participants traced their commitment to service to a family member; usually their mother, father, or both parents. Further, each participant discussed service as a meaningful experience during their high school years.

Joey, for example, described his parents' commitment to service as a life lesson they taught him. He said, "My parents always taught me if you are part of a community, you're not truly engaged with it unless you're giving back…if you have something to give, you give it to other people." In Joey's case, not only did his parents teach him this lesson that he still values but that they also embodied it by being extremely active in the community during Joey's childhood. Joey described the commitment his family has to service as "it's not expected, it is part of the culture…it is who we are."

Rocco, like Joey, went into great detail about his childhood experiences and how they influenced his choices in college. In describing one aspect of his childhood, Rocco says "And one picture, this is masculinity to me as an eight-year-old. I'm playing football which I hated but my dad and brother loved football. There's a picture of me in my helmet with the coach talking to me and I'm sobbing through it…I didn't want to be there…that was masculinity at eight." Here, Rocco is very aware of the pressures that were on him at a young age and the struggle that he felt in dealing with those pressures. While it was Rocco's father pressuring him to play football, it was also his dad who role modeled for Rocco on the importance of helping others in need.

Raphael recognized that his motivation for service stemmed from his maternal grandmother. In describing his grandmother, he says "Actually, just an amazing caring person that literally would always put other people first…So the lessons were taught to my mom, then my mom taught all of us those lessons." While Raphael became involved in a variety of different service projects at a very young age, he was driven by the outlook his grandma had on life. Similar to Raphael, Dylan also attributed his commitment to service as stemming from his parents. Describing his parent's influence with regards to service, Dylan says "When I was young there wasn't any requirement for me to do service, but my parents' constant push for it really made me understand the good that comes out of it. So, moving forward in my life, I have been inclined to serve." For Dylan, he was initially pushed by his parents to serve, but he continued to have a commitment to service when he experienced the different benefits that stem from his various experiences over time.

While Michael did not particularly focus on where he believed his commitment to service came from, he was very passionate when he spoke about his background. He went into significant detail regarding his high school experiences, his family heritage, and the importance

that certain events during his boyhood he felt led him to his current life stage. In discussing his family heritage, Michael says "It's a culture. It's how I was raised...It's a very important piece of who I am. I was under the assumption that everybody got that and that just not true…My mom's parents came here straight from Italy…Family is the most important thing for me." For Michael, his Italian heritage was interwoven with his commitments to service and politics and the stories he shared continued to reflect that. He was extremely involved in high school and his commitment to involvement continued in college as he was the president of his fraternity as well as involved in other campus initiatives. Recognizing that his values are very important to him, Michael found the opportunity during his role as president of the fraternity to continue to talk to the brothers about living the values of the chapter.

As mentioned previously, each participant discussed service as a meaningful experience during their high school years. This narrative of service can be categorized into three different sub-topics: 1) a meaningful singular experience; 2) total number of hours volunteered; and 3) having a service graduation requirement. Four of the participants had a singular meaningful experience in high school. These examples included Haig being very committed to serving the Armenian-American community, Raphael being accepted into a competitive year-long service-learning course his senior year, Andrew volunteering in an elementary classroom that would influence his future career choice, and Michael planning and implementing the philanthropy event that would raise thousands of dollars while bringing community members together for homelessness awareness. In addition, four participants discussed completing between 50 and 100 hours of service each year while in high school through various community initiatives or projects. Lastly, two participants discussed their high school service graduation requirement not as a burden but as something that was very meaningful and encouraged them to realize the importance of more complex social issues in the world (or community) around them. In other words, the participants were matriculating to college with an extremely meaningful service experience in recent memory. It is possible that their high school service experience inspired them to continue to be engaged in the community once officially matriculating to the university.

Limitations: Participant and Research Parameters Revisited

This study, as previously discussed, has some limitations. First, it is important to recognize the limitations that were evident at the outset of the study. Since the participants of the

study all came from one university, transferability and generalizations are limiting factors. Not only are the experiences extremely personal but, the demographics of Midwestern University locate the experiences to a specific place. Additionally, the outset participation limiting factors include the traditional age range (18-23), full-time student status, domestic student status in the United States, and identifying as cisgender.

Second, there were several participant demographics that emerged which also limit the transferability of the findings. These emerging demographics that warrant a brief discussion include the following: whiteness, affiliation with a predominantly white Greek social fraternity, heterosexuality, privilege, and high-achieving or high-ability.

All ten of the participants identified as white. While this was not intentional, it is relatively reflective of the overall student demographics of the university where the participants attend. The university is traditionally classified as a predominately white institution with a relatively minimal domestic, ethnic, minority population. Within this framework of whiteness, it's important to note two additional components that are relevant to this study. First, one of the participants, Haig, discussed whiteness only in the context of his Armenian-American identity. Haig made a point of saying while he isn't white, he passes as white and receives almost if not all of the same privileges afforded to other white college students. Second, none of the participants felt compelled to explore their white identity within their narratives as it related to their involvement in the community or their masculinity. One reason for this could be because recognizing whiteness requires individuals to be critical of their privilege. While several participants were acutely aware of their privilege, their reflections and stories did not incorporate their race.

One of the goals of the study was to have participants who represented different aspects of campus life. At Midwestern University, as stated previously, fraternity involvement occupies over one third of the student population where there is a deep history of fraternal legacy on the campus. As such, it was assumed several of the participants would be affiliated with a social fraternity. Within this study. seven of the ten participants were members of a fraternity with an eighth participant in the process of joining at the time of being interviewed. It is important to note there are two significant themes that emerged related to participant affiliations. First, the participants' commitment to the organization varied from participant to participant as well as during each student's college career. Second, it became abundantly clear that affiliation with

Greek organizations was characterized in different ways as it related to how the organization actively represented the participants' values. While each of the seven students were affiliated with a fraternity; their respective fraternities varied in different levels of commitment to values. This will be discussed in greater detail in the recommendations for practice/research.

Of the ten participants, one shared openly that he is gay: Rocco. Rocco discussed his sexuality as critical in his identity and development as a man but only moderately connected to his masculinity. Further, Rocco discussed his commitment to community engagement almost completely separate from his sexuality. However, Rocco did discuss his commitment to searching for and listening to the coming-out stories of others in part because he could empathize with the struggles that they most likely endured. It is possible that Rocco recognizes this process as 'service' but this would definitely expand on his own notions of service if accurate. The other nine participants only tangentially discussed sexuality, relationships, and the hook up culture on campus. Almost every time it was discussed it was in relation to alcohol. Additionally, when it was discussed, most of the participants recognized the unhealthy nature of the hook-up culture on campus and seemed to make an active choice not to participate after witnessing or experiencing it initially. Heterosexuality in this instance serves as a limitation for this study in part because of the significant representation in the study but also because it was a hidden privilege rarely discussed.

All ten participants classified their family's socio-economic status and did so in an honest and evidence-based way. Of the ten, six classified their family's as upper-middle class. The other four were either middle or upper class. Two of the participants discussed family income fluctuations during their childhoods which influenced how they classified their family. However, similar to the concept of heterosexuality, privilege was not discussed in reference to masculinity or involvement in community service.

One of the goals of this study was to gain insights to how collegiate males navigate their masculinity as it related to community engagement. A hope was to have participants in the study who represented various levels of campus involvement while also having a commitment to community engagement. Of the ten participants, eight were completing more than one major including a participant who was completing three majors. In addition to the prevalence of participants with double majors, several participants also were completing one or two minors.

Additionally, all the participants not only referenced a commitment to academics but six highlighted their grade point average (GPA) as being above a 3.5 cumulative.

With regards to the participants' commitment to community engagement, it is important note that six out of the ten participants stated that they had completed at least 100 hours of service in the past twelve months. This level of commitment to community engagement significantly exceed the minimum level of participation criteria for this student. It is possible that this level of commitment also far exceeds the typical level of community engagement on campus among their collegiate male peers. Coupled with the participants' high GPA and their strong involvement with community engagement was their high level of participation in a variety of student activities. Each participant in the study was involved in a variety of student organizations, academic research, part time employment or serving in campus leadership roles. While none of the participants are being intentionally labeled as "high-achieving or high-ability" it is still a limitation due to each student participants' high level of involvement and academic success. One of the reasons that the student participants are not being labeled is because it is both outside the scope of this study as well as a vast range of literature defining what it means to be either high-achieving or high-ability in college (Comeaux, 2013; Dougherty, 2007; Satterfield, 2002). It is also reasonable to argue that several of the participants in the study would be classified as student leaders since they held leadership roles in student organizations, student government, or in their fraternity. Again, this is a subset of the male student population on campus that acts differently than the average student.

Recommendations for Practice and Research

As a practitioner and a scholar, I am committed to furthering the work in both fields as it relates to the education of university students and the development of college men. This commitment is especially relevant as masculinity of college men is linked to unhealthy behaviors as well as healthy behaviors. As such, the following sections are devoted to recommendations for practice and research. Within the practice of higher education, at the intersection of college men and community engagement, sits three very important stakeholder groups: student affairs professionals, community engagement initiatives, and the fraternity experience. Each area is unique and requires intentionality of work as it is connected to this research. Finally, there is a

section devoted to future research as there are several areas of scholarship worth examining as a result of this study.

Recommendations for Practice: Student Affairs

Student Affairs professionals need to be prepared and equipped to deal with the issues of masculinity on today's college campus. This is in part because of the complex needs of collegiate males, but also the ever-growing scholarship on the topic. Due to the diverse subfields within the student affairs profession, professional development on collegiate male masculinity must be catered to each subfield. The subfields that are most applicable to the collegiate male experience are: Greek Life, Student Conduct/Judicial Affairs, Student Wellness, Academic Advising, Counseling Services, Residence Life, and Career Services. While there are additional subfields beyond this, these represent the major areas that interact the most with college males and on a continual basis. Professional development, in order to be the most meaningful, must be ongoing, collaborative, reflective, a mix of scholarship and practice, and supported by the institution. Both of the major student affairs professional organizations (ACPA and NASPA) are committed to masculinity as an area of professional development for its members. NASPA sponsors the Men and Masculinity Knowledge Community and ACPA supports the Coalition for Men and Masculinity. Jointly, the two professional organizations co-sponsor, along with a hosting university, a national conference on college men. Further, research has shown that effective coalition building on the topic of college men and masculinity can strengthen practitioner's approaches to working with college men (Tillapaugh & McGowan, 2019).

There are a wide variety of collegiate men's programming initiatives that are currently being implemented on campuses. These initiatives include, but are not limited to, male peer health advisors/educators, men's discussion groups or retreats, social norming campaigns centered on men's health or what it means to be a man, sexual violence prevention programming, bystander intervention programming, mentor programs, ally development for men, and academic success initiatives. These different programmatic initiatives have been promoted within the scholarship surrounding collegiate masculinity and found to be effective (Funk, 2006; Kellom & Groth, 2010). However, there are several important considerations. First campus administrators must recognize the intricacies of their campus culture especially as it intersects with the collegiate male experience. What may work on one campus may not necessarily work on another

without adjustments. Further, in order for these programs to be successful, they must have a high level of student support including student-based leadership. When applicable, students must be involved in all aspects of the program – development, curriculum, learning outcomes, marketing, and implementation. By engaging male students in this process, the program becomes "co-owned" with a greater potential for success.

One area of campus programming that is particularly applicable to this study is reconceptualizing productive masculinity. As discussed previously, productive masculinity is engaging males to consider the ways in which they can recognize the impact that they are having on the greater community and how that influence may have positive results (Harris & Harper, 2014). While community engagement is one type of activity within productive masculinity, there are many other ways that college males can consider and what 'productive' means to them in the context of the larger community. It is somewhat common that Greek Life staff and other student affairs professionals engage with college males who are serving in leadership roles. However, by engaging in productive masculinity programing with larger groups of college males; such as the entire membership of an organization, there is a greater possibility for individual impact. Student affairs professionals can be trained on leading presentations and reflective activities that focus on the meaning behind productive masculinity.

An additional recommendation for practice focuses on the engagement of parents. While the way in which universities communicate with parents varies from institution to institution, it is clear from this research that parents represent a strong support structure to their sons. Each participant spoke about the close relationship that he had with either his mother, father, or both parents. Several participants referred to their father or mother as "my best friend." This type of relationship, clearly meaningful to the male student, could be leveraged in an intentional way to promote collegiate male student success both in an out of the classroom. It is particularly relevant to this research as several of the participants, as discussed previously, reflected that their commitment to service stemmed from their parents. Many universities have established a Parent Relations Office and that office has the opportunity to engage parents in a positive way to educate them on masculinity and certain challenges that their son may face in college. The Parent Relations Office uses many different approaches to interact with parents and past research as implied that if done intentionally and collaboratively, the results will be positive for the university, student, and parent (Chapman, 2017; Earle & LaBrie, 2016).

Finally, it is important to recognize the importance of voice and story that emerged from the study as it relates to practice for student affairs professionals. Student voice is a critical aspect of the student experience as it relates to owning experiences, reflecting on choices, making different decisions in the future, and teaching others. One of the commonalities that emerged from the study in all of the ten participants was a comfortability in sharing their story. Each participant was honest as he shared his experiences and was very forthcoming of detail and emotions that he felt during a vignette. In addition, they were very thankful about given the opportunity to discuss their masculinity and experiences during college. One conclusion from this is the possibility that college males are looking to share their experiences and that their sharing may be a way to engage more college males in assisting their navigation of masculinity. Student affairs professionals and other higher education administrators should consider ways in which to showcase college men's stories/voices through various methods and programmatic initiatives.

Recommendations for Practice: Community Engagement Initiatives

There are several recommendations related to community engagement initiatives and each will be briefly discussed: service hour requirements, marketing, men's-based service programs, recruitment of males, and the importance of reflection. There are a variety of service hour requirements that exist in higher education today. The majority of the examples exist as either a graduation requirement or student organization membership expectation. There are additional service hour requirements that are associated with specific program involvement or scholarships. The debate on service being a requirement for undergraduate higher education, particularly as a function of graduation, in the United States has been taking place within a variety of venues since the 1980s. (Dodge, 1990; Mohan, 1994; Yang, 2017). For a list of current schools with a service graduation requirement, please see the Appendix. In addition to these types of requirements, there are several program requirements. As a recommendation for practice, student affairs professionals should consider the benefits associated with a service hour requirement. Further, community engagement professionals should be working closely with the organizations that do have a membership service requirement as it shows evidence of the intersection of values and practice.

Marketing and social norming programs that focus on college males engaged in service is something that educators need to encourage. College campuses do a relatively effective job showcasing their commitment to the public good, however, when marketing direct service; it traditionally includes photos of women. While women encompass a large percentage of the student volunteers, promoting men's involvement in the community speaks volumes to both current and prospective students. The critical aspects of a marketing campaign are the use of language, race, imagery, and type of service (Chesbrough, 2011; Kellom & Groth, 2010). Community engagement professionals are encouraged to consider several avenues before implementing a successful campaign: collaborative efforts, university marketing department, a focus group of male students, continual communication with the non-profit agency, and an assessment plan to measure success.

Recruitment of males engages men to consider further involvement and consider how the service is related to personal goals/values (Chesbrough, 2011; Kellom & Groth, 2010). Community engagement professionals are traditionally very well versed in effective recruitment strategies for volunteer opportunities. They are encouraged to consider the needs of college males and appropriate recruitment strategies to consider that population. To assist in this process, one suggestion would be to develop a men's group associated with the community engagement office, such as a Men's Council that specifically focuses on the efforts of engaging men in service. Membership on the council could be representative of service-based student organizations on campus. Another strategy to consider would be assessing community engagement programs that appear to be more feminine. In other words, does the community engagement center focus on any of the following that may appeal (stereotype) to more college males: mentor program, Big Brothers/Big Sisters, tutoring young boys of color, rehabilitation work, demolition work, service associated with male-dominated majors (business, engineering, etc.), direct support services geared towards Community Service & Philanthropy chairs inside and outside of the Greek community, an alternative spring break for men only. Alternative spring break programs, study abroad programs with a service emphasis, and pre-orientation service programs focusing on masculinity are programmatic options to explore if the curriculum and reflection are developed with intentional learning outcomes. There is a growing body of literature that explores the benefits and challenges of service immersion programs and professional are encouraged to be aware of the literature before exploring a masculinity-focused

service program (Bowen, 2011; DuPre, 2010; Jones et al., 2012). These are just a few of the programmatic examples designed to assist with the recruitment of college males for service.

As previously discussed, high impact educational practices were developed and researched by George Kuh in 2009 (Kuh, 2009). Kuh asserted that the following are considered as 'high impact' as they increase both student retention and engagement: first-year seminar, common intellectual experience, learning communities, writing intensive course, collaborative projects, undergraduate research, diversity/global learning, service learning, internships, and capstone projects (Kuh, 2009). For the purposes of this research, the practice most applicable is service learning. While Kuh does not argue that service learning must be infused in the curriculum to be a high impact practice, he does write "A key element in these programs is the opportunity students have to both apply what they are learning in real-world settings and reflect in a classroom setting on their service experiences…is good preparation for citizenship, work, and life" (p. 11). While this research focuses on community engagement beyond the classroom, Kuh's description reinforces the importance of reflection. Reflection, as discussed previously, is a critical component of learning that stems from community engagement for the student to make meaning from the experience. Kuh (2009) asserts that service learning is associated with both deep learning and personal growth – both of which are connected to the imbedded activity of reflection.

Recommendation for Practice: Developing the Fraternity Experience

Lastly, this research warrants recommendations for practice in the area of developing the fraternity experience for undergraduate men. In it is important that fraternity and sorority life professionals focus on the unique needs of men in the Greek community. Student programming must be tailored to each chapter or clusters of chapters so that student ownership will lead to culture change. One of the strands of the participants' narratives illuminate a unique grouping of fraternity chapters. This first included the "tier structure" of top tier, middle tier, and lower tier chapters. According to the participants, the majority of the unhealthy behaviors associated with masculinity exist in the top tier chapters. It is recommended that Greek professional focus their energies on combating the highest-risk activities while collaborating with culture-changing agents in those chapters.

Connected to the "tier structure," according to the participants, is a group of fraternities attempting to operate "outside" of the tier structure. This group of chapters are values-based and as Michael described them, they are "trying to do fraternity right." While not in the majority, this is a group of chapters that also need a higher level of support from both the university and their national organizations to encourage them to thrive and remain "outside" of their tier structure. Additionally, there is another group of fraternities that operate "outside" of the tier. However, these groups engage in extremely problematic behaviors because they are not recognized by the university and/or national organization. The history of these groups traditionally involves being suspended from the university or no longer being recognized. Within the Greek community, they are traditionally labeled as "underground chapters." Similar to top tier fraternities, these "underground chapters" promote extremely unhealthy environments for collegiate males predominantly because there is no oversight, advising, or membership expectations for these chapters. While the tier system may not exist on all college campuses in the United States, it is important to note that several participants spent significant time discussing the importance of their fraternity experience because their particular chapter was intentionally choosing to be a different type of fraternity. In this way, the chapter was distinguishing itself from the other chapters and not wanting to participate in all of the Greek-based programs or initiatives. It is important to note that a recommendation practice related to the tier system is a renewed commitment to supporting chapters that are committee to "doing fraternity right" as outside of the tier. Additionally, it is critical for fraternity and sorority life professional to work with national headquarters and campus judicial offices to remove the toxicity and challenging behaviors associated with unrecognized or "underground" chapters.

Finally, it also important to recognize the intersection between the service-hour membership requirement and the "tier structure." According to the participants, very few fraternities have a service-hour membership requirement. At Midwestern University, informal remarks by the participants were that fewer than one third of the active chapters have service requirements. Of the chapters with the requirement, the hours ranged from two to twelve per member per semester. Additionally, the level of accountability practices that the chapters engaged in to ensure their members completed the service hours varied greatly. It is a recommendation that Greek Life professionals consider working more collaboratively with the

Service or Philanthropy chairs to ensure chapter participate in a high level of service and that the men serving in those roles feel supported.

Explorations of the Definition of Service

It is important to briefly discuss the definition of community engagement used in this study. The definition of community engagement needs to be considered from four different perspectives: the study, the scholarship and relevant literature, the university, and the student participants. Each perspective is slightly different, warrants a brief discussion, and a recognition that they are interwoven.

While the definition has been thoroughly described, the challenges of this definition are warranted especially when considering it as a limitation. First, the fifty hours completion in the past 12 months criteria was intentionally selected as it related to both a membership requirement for a co-ed service organization and the average student requirement for a semester long service-learning course at the university. The co-ed service organization is very active on campus and recognized as one of the strongest service-based student organizations based on its membership and level of activity (both service and 'brotherhood').

However, several potential participants who did not meet the fifty-hour requirement would have been included in the study if the requirement was twenty-five hours or thirty hours. Further, several administrators and faculty members expressed concern about being able to "find" participants who met that "high" number of hours. In other words, if a lower threshold of hours had been selected, it is possible a different type of male student would have been able to participate in the study. Second, there was not a verification or accountability process related to participant's self-disclosure of their service experiences. In other words, participant's hours were taken on their honor. While it is unlikely that participants were intentionally lying about the number of service hours that they completed or the locations in which they served, it is possible that they may have embellished their involvement. Third, there were several moments during the data collection process in which the definition being used in the study was thoroughly questioned by either an administrator or potential participant. The sub-categories of the definition that were questioned included: serving the university in a student leadership role, student facilitation in university programs, certain types of academic support to university students, Greek organization-based philanthropy, and, university committees. While each of these experiences

can be extremely meaningful for the student involved, this type of university service is beyond the scope of the study. It is important to note these functions of the definition further reinforced the limiting nature of the definition of community engagement used in the study.

In recent years, there has been significant scholarship on the definition of community engagement, service-learning, and civic engagement (Einfeld & Collins, 2008; Jacoby, 2015; Soria & Mitchell, 2016). One of the reasons for continued discussion on definition is the multitude of activities that current college students are engaged in partnering with community agencies. This multitude of experiences, as described by the participants, warrant classification as some are vastly different from one another. Another reason, and this could be an attempt to understand the different types of impact that various community engagement activities have on students which may have stemmed from George Kuh's argument of service-learning being a high-impact practice (Kuh, 2009). Lastly, several scholars have begun to also recognize the different types of impact that certain types of community engagement activities have on communities (Mills, 2012; Scheffield, 2011; Soria & Mitchell, 2016; Welch, 2016). In other words, are there certain types of community engagement activities that are doing more harm than good or are they continually perpetuating levels of inequality? This strand of scholarship will continue as it will take more time to merge the scholarship with practice.

Third, as discussed previously, it is important to recognize the role of the university and its employees when considering the definition of community engagement. In this case, the definition plays a critical role because it showcases values of the university and communicates those values to both students and to community engagement stakeholders. One administrator asked during the recruitment process if definition of community engagement that I was using incorporated time that students spent "serving" as a member of a student organization. From the administrator's perspective, this was a reasonable question, however, that type of activity would have greatly expanded the definition of what it means to "serve." Another administrator was very committed to the concept of incorporating students who "serve" campus offices into the definition of community engagement. By "serving" the campus office, the administrator argued that the students were fulfilling a much-needed task and that they were not being paid for their work; presenting to other students, promoting the university to visitors, etc. Again, the concept of community engagement from a definitional perspective must be recognized by all stakeholders involved.

Finally, it is important to recognize the student perspective on service, especially as it intersects with masculinity. First, most of the student participants recognized and agreed with the definition of service being used in the study. There were, however, several variations and assertions that a few of the student participants put forth. Rocco, for example, spent a lot of time during his junior and senior year with student government on campus. While he recognized that being involved with student government was a different type of activity, he asserted that in his mind, it is a "a public service." In this view, it is in alignment with how some people conceptualize being involved with government. In many ways, government is a male dominated endeavor with many of those men arguing that they are "serving" (Carrizales & Bennett, 2013; Taylor, 2002). This concept of serving can be taken several steps towards additional masculine dominated fields: the military, police force, and fire. These fields are all recognized by outsiders as serving the community or serving the country even though they are paid professional positions. Service is a concept, in the United States, that is used in a wide variety of contexts and is also a term that has evolved in meaning over time (Taylor, 2002).

Another participant, Andrew, made a similar argument regarding serving the community. Andrew said, "For me, you're sacrificing your time and really not getting anything in return…Personally, I still see that as service. I am serving those students. Yes, I'm getting paid for it, but I will be the first to tell you, that is not why I'm doing it." In Andrew's case, he was tutoring different populations of students at the university – mostly in math and getting paid either from the university or by the students. He believed that he was doing a service to both the university and to the students. While he recognized it was a very different type of service, he still believed it was service. Andrew is also somewhat representative of "serving" the community because of his chosen profession of teaching – while not a male dominated field, many recognized teachers as serving their communities. These conceptions of service traditionally are labeled as versions of "public service"; meaning the individual is making a meaning contribution to the community but that he or she is receiving pay for that contribution (Carrizales & Bennett, 2013). While public service is an extremely meaningful experience for many, it is beyond the scope of this study. However, it is important to recognize it as a lived experience of several of the participants.

Considering the intersection of service and masculinity, Dan provide a unique perspective by offering "I don't think that service is seen as necessarily a masculine thing to do, but that

doesn't necessarily mean it's a feminine thing. It's just not masculine." This insight comes from Dan considering the gender make up of his service-based fraternity on campus which he estimated was 70% female and 30% male. While there is a critical social aspect for Dan in doing service with his friends (both male and female), he says that "The super masculine guys would not consider joining…they probably would see it as not wanting to give up their time or wasting their time." In this instance, Dan is recognizing the interwoven strands within the constructs of masculinity and service. Not only is he witnessing the involvement or lack of involvement by males in the service-based fraternity but also listening to the reasons as to why collegiate men are choosing not to engage in service. Again, this expands the understanding of service from the student perspective.

Lastly, the waters do become muddier when you consider service as a requirement. This study intentionally focused on community engagement as a non-curricular form of service as there have been several prior studies focusing on gender and service-learning. However, it is important to briefly discuss the construct of service as a requirement for membership within student organizations. Of the ten participants, seven were members of a social fraternity on campus with an eighth participant joining a fraternity during the semester the interviews took place. Of those eight participants, six were involved in a fraternity that had a membership requirement. At Midwestern University, there are roughly 25 social Greek fraternities. Of the 25, it is believed that only 7 or 8 of the chapters have a service requirement with the requirement being a range of 12 to 2 hours per semester. In addition, one of the other participants was a member of a service fraternity that had a service hour requirement; being 20 hours per semester. While the participants in the study superseded these membership requirements, it is important to recognize the value congruency and incongruence of what is service and what is required.

Recommendations for Future Research

This research contributes to the growing body of research as it relates to the collegiate male experience, college men's identity development, and community engagement in higher education. While this research provides some insights towards college males engaging in service, further research needs to continue to explore this. There is already a very strong body of research on service-learning, however, community engagement as a non-curricular based activity needs to

be explored further as it relates to gender. Within the area of community engagement, there are several areas of future research of consider.

One area of future research to consider would be an ethnographic study at non-profit community agencies that would provide stronger insights as to what types of learning are taking place during the times when the colligative males are volunteering. In this vein, the research would need to spend significant time at the community agencies in which the male students are volunteering. This type of research would provide insights towards the lessons that are being taught in those non-traditional spaces of learning.

Another area of future research would be to consider a sub-population of collegiate males in a more intentional way such as athletes, black males, Greek males. or males with a judicial history. There are also several active service-based student organizations on campus. One possible study would be to examine the experiences of both males and females in those student organizations with a commitment to service; to better understand the identity development and learning that occurs in that space. In some ways this research explored the service being done within the Greek community or high-ability males. Future research could explore this topic further by focusing efforts on a single fraternity or expanding the definition of service to include philanthropy. While philanthropy does complicate the type of service that students are engaged in, philanthropy is an important value within the Greek community. In terms of the Greek males, further research could also explore the experiences of the males serving as philanthropy chairs as males in these roles spend significant amounts of time recruiting males for service-based activities. Research could also explore specific chapters within a collegiate setting that have a stronger commitment to service which may include an ethnographic focus to consider the fraternity house, chapter meetings, etc.

In addition to considering different activities as part of the service definition, further research could explore males who had completed a different number of service hours. This could be either lower than the 50 hours in the past year or a higher number than 50 – with the possibility of gaining different insights towards the intersection of community engagement and masculinity. In addition to considering different hours related to the service, future research could also expand the definition of service. As discussed previously, one option would be to consider philanthropic experiences of students and the meaning making that is connected to that type of activity. When considering philanthropy, research could explore activities within the

Greek community while also considering the work of specific cause-based student organizations. Another way the definition of service could be expanded would be to explore the experiences of students engaged in "public service." As several of the participants discussed, public service is a very meaningful part of some students' experiences on campus; the main difference being is that it is either serving the campus community or there is some level of payment for hours served. Again, this clearly expands the definition of service but may also provide a unique perspective and insight on the lives of students engaged in those types of activities. Another subset of research to consider would be to explore the collegiate male experiences within required service programs on campuses where the research explores the impact specifically for male student success. For a list of colleges and universities that have service as a requirement to graduate, please see the Appendix.

Finally, it is important for future research to consider other age groups of males. In other words, two subsets of males could be considered: younger and older. One of the themes in this study was the impact that service had on participants' lives prior to arriving to college. In this sense, it is worthwhile to explore the experiences of high school males and service. While many high school males may be engaged in community engagement to strengthen their chances for collegiate admission, their experiences need to be investigated further. Lastly, an older group of males could be researched as part of a longitudinal study that would consider the long-term impact of community engaged with regards to masculinity.

Concluding Thoughts

My primary research question for this study is: What are the lived experiences of cisgender college males engaged in community engagement activities? Connected to this research question in an additional question: How do these men perceive community engagement within gender constructs?

In many ways, this was an introductory study into how college men view and conceptualize community engagement experiences. There are multiple research threads that can be explored further including but not limited to the fraternity philanthropy chair experience, the experiences of non-high-ability males, experiences of non-white males, the experiences of Division 1 male athletes, service as a requirement, etc. When service is considered as a constructed act engaged by college men, it appears as though service may be gendered but it

does not seem to be stagnant in its perception. This is like Butler's construct regarding the notion of gender as being an act that it is constantly be performed. While service does not appear to be inherently masculine, it is definitely not conclusively feminine. In other words, it is more fluid. The fluidity of service being conceptualized as neither masculine nor feminine does require more investigation as it is a critical component of the recruitment of both collegiate males and females into community engagement activities.

Lastly, an important discovery that emerged from this study as a byproduct of listening to the stories of the participants was the power of student voice. As a researcher, I was immediately struck by the level of honesty and detail that the participants conveyed while telling their stories. The participants were willing to share parts of their lives that were extremely personal to them. Some of these personal examples included struggling with mental health challenges, exploring one's sexuality, navigating a relationship with an alcoholic parent, consuming unhealthy amounts of alcohol, being disciplined for concerning behaviors during boyhood, struggling with a strained relationship with their father, and trying to understand parental choices. Throughout the listening process, there was a definite appreciation by the participant which included a deep level of reflection. In an e-mail that I received from Joey after the process, he described the meaning of the interview experience by writing "It really made me take a step back and appreciate how much my parents and family have impacted who I am and the values instilled in me/the ones I have developed during my lifetime…Also, I never realized how much of my middle school/high school upbringing influenced how I approached college and my discovery/development of masculinity."

Tom, echoing Joey's thoughts, wrote a similar e-mail stating "I was happy to participate in your study. I learned a lot about myself and was interested in your research topic as well. I am grateful that you asked for my story." Raphael wrote similar sentiments, "I am really happy that I was able to participate in your PhD study because it enabled me to think about things in a way I never had before." Raphael, Tom, and Joey's reflections showcases not only the importance of telling the story but also the strength in student voice. The collegiate male voice showcasing experiences that are gender-related is a powerful force and something that should be strongly considered moving forward.

In an e-mail, Andrew informed me that he had spent some time reflecting on the what service means to him and how it evolved for him over time from prior to high school to him being in college. Andrew wrote,

> "Since I have been at MU, more so since the end of freshman year, I have been on a crazy journey of self-development. Throughout this journey, I have found that my why, the reason I live life, is to provide my experiences to other people in order for them to have the opportunity to relate and/or learn from my experiences. With this in mind, teaching is an ideal job because I am able to have an audience for me to share my experiences when necessary. I see living my life as adding experiences to talk about, so when I think about service, I see it as a win-win. I am able to gain an experience that positively impacts other people, and I can share other life experiences with them as well"

Here Andrew, as discussed previously, is connecting service to his career goals which is deeply entrenched into his identity. Additionally, what is very evident in this passage is Andrew's reflection on what service has meant to him and its evolution of meaning. Andrew's voice is an important one to listen to, and I am grateful of having the privilege of listening to him as well as the other participants part of this study.

APPENDIX A: FACULTY/STAFF E-MAIL

Faculty & Staff Invitation (E-mail)

Hello, [name];

My name is Mike Loeffelman and I am a doctoral student at Purdue University. I am writing to inform you about my dissertation study which is focused on the ways in which college students who identify as male participate in community engagement and navigate their identity as men.

I believe that community engagement provides a variety of different benefits for college students as a way of exploring their identity, world view, their personal, and professional interests. This is accomplished through action and reflection. Currently, there is little research on the topic of male college students and community engagement as it relates to gender identity. This study has the potential to assist other individuals interested in these intersecting topics.

The study requires students have completed 50 hours of service prior to participating in the study. If you know of students that might be interested in participating, please encourage them to contact me so that I can explain the study. Please provide interested students with my e-mail address. I provided you a sample e-mail to send to students that you think might be interested in participating in the study.

I am happy to sit down with you and discuss the study further if you are interested. Further, I really appreciate your willingness to support me and the study. Please let me know if you have any questions.

Sincerely,
Mike

Participant Invitation from Faculty/Staff (E-mail)

Hello, [name];

I recently received a message from a researcher on campus who is conducting a study and looking for participants. The study will investigate the ways male students participate in community engagement. I immediately thought of you and want to nominate you to participate in this study. The study requires students to have completed 50 hours of service prior to participating in the study. Please contact Mike Loeffelman (loeffemp@miamioh.edu) if you are interested in the participating in the study.

[Closing],

APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANT E-MAIL

Participant E-mail from Research (E-mail)

[Participant Name],

My name is Mike Loeffelman and I am a doctoral student at Purdue University. I also used work as an academic advisor in the College of Arts and Science at Miami. I am writing to invite you to participate in a dissertation study focused on the ways in which college students who identify as male participate in community engagement and navigate their identity as men.

Findings from this study will be used to further explore strategies that may be effective in encouraging more male college students to participate in community engagement as well as supporting those currently involved.

I believe that community engagement provides a variety of different benefits for college students as a way of exploring their identity, world view, their personal, and professional interests. This is accomplished through action and reflection. Currently, there is little research on the topic of male college students and community engagement as it relates to gender identity. This study has the potential to assist other individuals interested in these intersecting topics.

Participation will consist of two face-to-face individual interviews with me, the primary researcher. Each interview will last approximately 60 minutes in length. The first two interviews will occur during a 2-3 week span in summer 2019 and the third will occur later the term or during fall 2019. Some analysis from the first two interviews will be provided prior to the third meeting. As a potential participant, you will have the opportunity to see the questions and topics of discussion prior to agreeing to participate in the study. Interviews will be scheduled at a time based on your availability and at a place you choose.

If you successfully complete all parts of the requirements to participate in this research study, you will be provided a $30 Amazon gift card.

To participate in this study, you need to meet the following criteria:

- Be at least 18 years old
- Be a current undergraduate student Miami University-Oxford campus
- Be registered as a full-time student
- Classified as a domestic student
- Identify as male
- Completion of 50 hours of community engagement in the past calendar year at the time of the interview

If you choose to discontinue participation, you may withdraw from the study at any time and there is no penalty to you for choosing not to participate. I will work hard to protect the confidentiality of all information provided in this study, including not using your name when discussing this study and changing other names (hometown, organizations) to describe you in a way that others cannot recognize you. You will have the opportunity to see these materials before they are published.

If you are interested in participating in this study or learning more about participation, please email: mloeffe@MiamiOH.edu. You may also contact my advisor, Dr. S. Jake Burdick, with any questions: burdics@purdue.edu, 765-494-4901.

Mike Loeffelman
Doctoral Candidate, Purdue University

[Participant Name],

Greetings. I hope this finds you well. I wanted to follow-up with you regarding my research study. First, I want you to know that I appreciate your interest and willingness to participate in the study.

In terms of the study, I wanted to make sure that you are aware that participation will consist of a brief questionnaire and two face-to-face individual interviews with me, the primary researcher. Each interview will last approximately 60 minutes in length. If you successfully complete all parts of the requirements to participate in this research study, you will be provided a $30 Amazon gift card.

To participate in this study, you need to meet the following criteria:

- Be at least 18 years old
- Be a current undergraduate student Miami University-Oxford campus
- Be registered as a full-time student
- Classified as a domestic student
- Identify as male
- Completion of 50 hours of community engagement in the past calendar year at the time of the interview. Community engagement is volunteering that is not required for a course or the courts. It is also not the promotion of spiritual beliefs or certain types of philanthropy.

Please let me know if you have questions about the community engagement requirement or any other concerns.

If you are still interested in participating in the study, I would like to have a brief conversation with you after you have completed the brief questionnaire (see attached). Please let me know when you might be available, and I look forward to hearing from you.

Again, thanks so much,
Mike

APPENDIX C: PARTICIPANT INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONNAIRE

Exploring Male College Students and Community Engagement Research Study
Participant Demographic Form

Please complete the form and send back to loeffemp@miamioh.edu. If you have any questions, please contact Mike. Thanks.

Section I: Personal Information

Name:	Click or tap here to enter text.
Major:	Click or tap here to enter text.
Co-major/Minors (if applicable):	Click or tap here to enter text.
Intended Graduation Date:	Click or tap here to enter text.
E-mail:	Click or tap here to enter text.
Age:	Click or tap here to enter text.
Permanent Address:	Click or tap here to enter text.
Phone Number:	Click or tap here to enter text.

Section II: Community Service
Please put some thought into these questions before responding. Feel free to write as much as you are interested.

How many hours have you volunteered at non-profit organizations in the past 12 months?

Where have you volunteered in the past 12 months?

What types of service did you perform at those non-profit organizations (ie. sorting cans, yard work, playing with kids, etc.)

Why do you choose to volunteer your time? Please put some thought into this question.

Section III: Gender
Please put some thought into these questions before responding. Feel free to write as much as you are interested.

What does masculinity mean to you?

APPENDIX D: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

IRB Protocol: 1906022372

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Exploring Male College Students and Community Engagement

Dr. S. Jake Burdick
Curriculum and Instruction
Purdue University

Key Information

Please take time to review this information carefully. This is a research study. Your participation in this study is voluntary which means that you may choose not to participate at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may ask questions to the researchers about the study whenever you would like. If you decide to take part in the study, you will be asked to sign this form, be sure you understand what you will do and any possible risks or benefits.

The purpose of this study is to explore how cisgender college males who are engaged in community engagement activities negotiate their gender identity. The primary research question for this study is: How do cisgender college males who are engaged in community engagement activities negotiate their gender identity?

One of the most significant shifts among the current generation of college students in the US is the activities that collegiate males either choose to or not to engage in as compared to their female counterparts. By exploring the intersections of service, gender, and identity, there is a potential for the curbing of developing unhealthy masculinity and the behaviors that are associated with it.

This research study will take place during the summer and fall 2019 terms. To participate, 6-8 individuals must commit to two 60-minute recorded interviews and a third meeting to review and confirm.

What is the purpose of this study?

This study focuses on the experiences of male college students who participate in community engagement activities and explores the ways they navigate their identity as men.

You are being asked to participate in this study because you have met the following criteria:

- Full-time undergraduate enrollment
- Self-identification of cis-gender male
- Domestic student status
- Minimum of 18 years old
- Completion of 50 hours of community engagement in the past 12 months

We would like to enroll 6-8 students in this study.

What will I do if I choose to be in this study?

If you choose to participate in this study, here are the following requirements for participation:

- Review and sign the research participant consent form
- Participate in Interview #1 lasting roughly 60 minutes
- Participate in Interview #2 lasting roughly 60 minutes
- Attend meeting to follow-up on information provided in the interviews, revise previous comments, and ask any additional questions.

These interviews will be audio recorded, and the researcher may take occasional notes during the interview.

How long will I be in the study?

In total the length of participation will be roughly 2.5 hours. This includes the two interviews as well as the third meeting. This will take place during the summer 2019 term and fall 2019 terms.

What are the possible risks or discomforts?

Risks associated with study are minimal. The risks are no greater than the participant would encounter in daily life or during the performance of routine physical or psychological exams or tests.

Taking part in the interviews provides the opportunity for participants to continue reflecting on their identities (focusing on gender). This also has the potential to bring up difficult topics, memories, or experiences. Participants will be reminded that they can end their participation in this study at any time during the process. When participation is ended, all notes and audio-recordings will be deleted. If needed, participants may be referred to counseling.

There is a minimal risk of participants being identified by readers of the study. Pseudonyms will be used for all participant names. When applicable, generic terms will be used to describe other characteristics.

Under federal law, Purdue researchers must report all incidents of discrimination, harassment, and/or retaliation in the Purdue workplace and/or educational environment to the Title IX Coordinator or Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Officer. "Harassment" includes sexual harassment, sexual violence, rape, and any non-consensual sexual act. "If you tell us something that makes us believe that you or others have been or may be physically harmed, we may report that information to the appropriate agencies.

Breach of confidentiality is always a risk with data, but we will take precautions to minimize this risk as described in the confidentiality section.

Are there any potential benefits?

There are no anticipated direct benefits to participants.

Will I receive payment or other incentive?

For completion of the study, each participant will receive a $30 gift card from Amazon.com. If a participant withdraws from the study or participation is terminated by the investigator, the participate will receive a $15 gift card from Amazon.com.

Are there costs to me for participation?

There are no anticipated costs to participate in this research.

This section provides more information about the study

Will information about me and my participation be kept confidential?

The project's research records may be reviewed by the study sponsor/funding agency, Food and Drug Administration (if FDA regulated), US DHHS Office for Human Research Protections, and by departments at Purdue University responsible for regulatory and research oversight.

The notes and audio recordings of the interviews will be stored in a locked storage box that only the researcher has access to. The audio recordings and the notes will be destroyed at the conclusion of the PhD, which is expected to be five months following the interviews.

Within the written study, pseudonyms will be used for all participant names. When applicable, generic terms will be used to describe other characteristics.

During the third meeting between the participant and the researcher, there will be an opportunity for the participant to review what was said as well reviewing initial themes developed by the researcher. The participant will have the opportunity to adjust statements as well as clarify comments.

What are my rights if I take part in this study?

You do not have to participate in this research project. If you agree to participate, you may withdraw your participation at any time without penalty.

If you choose to withdraw from the study at any time, all interview recordings and notes will be destroyed.

Since the researcher is a full-time employee of the school where the study is taking place, there is a potential for the participant to have a pre-existing relationship with the researcher. The decision to participate or not in the research will have no effect on the participant's relationship with the researcher.

Who can I contact if I have questions about the study?

If you have questions, comments or concerns about this research project, you can talk to one of the researchers. Please contact Dr. S. Jake Burdick, with any questions: burdics@purdue.edu, 765-494-4901. Dr. Burdick is the principal investigator and is the first point of contact.

To report anonymously via Purdue's Hotline see www.purdue.edu/hotline

If you have questions about your rights while taking part in the study or have concerns about the treatment of research participants, please call the Human Research Protection Program at (765) 494-5942, email (irb@purdue.edu) or write to:

Human Research Protection Program - Purdue University
Ernest C. Young Hall, Room 1032
155 S. Grant St.
West Lafayette, IN 47907-2114

Documentation of Informed Consent

I have had the opportunity to read this consent form and have the research study explained. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research study, and my questions have been answered. I am prepared to participate in the research study described above. I will be offered a copy of this consent form after I sign it.

_____ _____

Participant's Signature Date

_____

Participant's Name

_____ _____

Researcher's Signature Date

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Exploring Male College Students and Community Engagement
Participant Interview Questions Guidelines

Growing up and High School

- Tell me about yourself.
- Where are you from?
- Tell me about your family.
- Tell me about your high school experience.
- Tell me about the relationship you had with peers in high school.
- When did you first start to volunteer your time?

College Experiences

- Tell me about your college experiences.
- What do you do in your spare time?
- What is it like to be a man at this university?
- Tell me about a time when you have been teased or joked about not being man enough?
- How have you changed since your first year?

Masculinity and College

- What types of activities have you become involved in outside of class?
- Has your definition of being a man changed during your time in college? How? Why?
- Why do you think guys engage in teasing about not being man enough?
- Tell me about a time you acted counter to stereotypical male behavior
- How about a time you reinforced stereotypical male behavior?
- How has being a man influenced your college experience?

Masculinity General

- How would you define what it means to be a man?
- What kinds of things or people influenced this definition?
- Describe yourself as a man.
- How do you see yourself in relation to other men?
- How have your thoughts on what it means to be a man changed over time?
- Who or what impacted/influenced that change?
- When was the last time that you really opened up? You shared with someone who you really are?
- How does society define being a man differently from how you define it?

Community Engagement

- Tell me about your experiences with community engagement and service. Why do you serve?
- What types of social issues are you most passionate about? Why?
- What have your experiences been engaged in service as a man?
- How do you talk about your community engagement? With friends? With family? With male friends?
- How do you talk about the benefits of community engagement?

Member Check and Final Reflections

- How are you feeling about graduation?
- What are your plans for after you graduate?
- What parts resonate or don't resonate with you, and why?
- What has it been like to share your story in this study?

APPENDIX F: IRB APPROVAL

PURDUE UNIVERSITY

Zoom out (Ctrl+Minus)

HUMAN RESEARCH PROTECTION PROGRAM
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARDS

To:	BURDICK, STEVEN J
From:	Institutional Review Board
Date:	08/08/2019
Committee Action:(P100)	Determined Exempt, Category (P100)
IRB Action Date:	08 / 04 / 2019
IRB Protocol #:	1906022372
Study Title:	Exploring Male College Students and Community Engagement

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) has reviewed the above-referenced study application and has determined that it meets the criteria for exemption under 45 CFR 46.101(b).

Before making changes to the study procedures, please submit an Amendment to ensure that the regulatory status of the study has not changed. Changes in key research personnel should also be submitted to the IRB through an amendment.

General

- To recruit from Purdue University classrooms, the instructor and all others associated with conduct of the course (e.g., teaching assistants) must not be present during announcement of the research opportunity or any recruitment activity. This may be accomplished by announcing, in advance, that class will either start later than usual or end earlier than usual so this activity may occur. It should be emphasized that attendance at the announcement and recruitment are voluntary and the student's attendance and enrollment decision will not be shared with those administering the course.
- If students earn extra credit towards their course grade through participation in a research project conducted by someone other than the course instructor(s), such as in the example above, the students participation should only be shared with the course instructor(s) at the end of the semester. Additionally, instructors who allow extra credit to be earned through participation in research must also provide an opportunity for students to earn comparable extra credit through a non-research activity requiring an amount of time and effort comparable to the research option.
- When conducting human subjects research at a non-Purdue college/university, investigators are urged to contact that institution's IRB to determine requirements for conducting research at that institution.
- When human subjects research will be conducted in schools or places of business, investigators must obtain written permission from an appropriate authority within the organization. If the written permission was not submitted with the study application at the time of IRB review (e.g., the school would not issue the letter without proof of IRB approval, etc.), the investigator must submit the written permission to the IRB prior to engaging in the research activities (e.g., recruitment, study procedures, etc.). Submit this documentation as an FYI through Coeus. This is an institutional requirement.

Categories 2 and 3

- Surveys and questionnaires should indicate
  - only participants 18 years of age and over are eligible to participate in the research; and
  - that participation is voluntary; and
  - that any questions may be skipped; and
  - include the investigator's name and contact information.
- Investigators should explain to participants the amount of time required to participate. Additionally, they should explain to participants how confidentiality will be maintained or if it will not be maintained.
- When conducting focus group research, investigators cannot guarantee that all participants in the focus group will maintain the confidentiality of other group participants. The investigator should make participants aware of this potential for breach of confidentiality.

Category 6

- Surveys and data collection instruments should note that participation is voluntary.
- Surveys and data collection instruments should note that participants may skip any questions.
- When taste testing foods which are highly allergenic (e.g., peanuts, milk, etc.) investigators should disclose the possibility of a reaction to potential subjects.

You are required to retain a copy of this letter for your records. We appreciate your commitment towards ensuring the ethical conduct of human subjects research and wish you luck with your study.

APPENDIX G: UNIVERSITIES WITH SERVICE GRADUATION REQUIREMENT

Alvernia University (Reading, PA)
Bethany College (Lindsborg, KS)
California State University – Monterey Bay (Seaside, CA)
Centenary College (Shreveport, LA)
Claflin University (Orangeburg, SC)
Defiance College (Defiance, OH)
Eckerd College (St. Petersburg, FL)
Elon University (Elon, NC)*
Evergreen State College (Olympia, WA)*
Florida Gulf Coast University (Ft. Myers, FL)
Georgian Court University (Lakewood, NJ)*
Jacksonville University (Jacksonville, FL)
Knox College (Galesburg, IL)*
La Sierra University (Riverside, CA)
Lee University (Cleveland, TN)
Liberty University (Lynchburg, VA)
Lipscomb University (Nashville, TN)
Millikin University (Decatur, IL)
North Carolina Central University (Durham, NC)
Olivet College (Olivet, MI)
Portland State University (Portland, OR)
Rosemont College (Rosemont, PA)*
Southern University (Baton Rouge, LA)
Tougaloo College (Tougaloo, MS)
Tulane University (New Orleans, LA)
Tusculum College (Tusculum, TN)
University of the Incarnate World (San Antonio, TX)
University of La Verne (La Verne, CA)
University of Redlands (Redlands, CA)
University of San Francisco (San Francisco, CA)
University of Scranton (Scranton, PA)
University of Wisconsin – Eau Claire (Eau Claire, WI)
Warren Wilson College (Swannanoa, NC)
Waynesburg University (Waynesburg, PA)
Whitworth College (Whitworth, WA)
Wittenberg University (Springfield, OH)

*School has an experiential education graduation requirement that includes service. However, students are given the choice between different types of experiences (study abroad, research, internship, etc.)

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VITA

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EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE

Doctor of Philosophy, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN — May 2020
Curriculum Studies

Master of Education, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA — January 2006
Social Foundations of Education/Higher Education

Western Australia Study Abroad Program, Michigan State University — Summer 2005

Bachelor of Philosophy, Miami University, Oxford, OH — May 2003
Interdisciplinary Studies/Cultural Studies in Education
Semester at Sea, University of Pittsburgh — Fall 2001

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

EARS Program Advisor — Jan. 2020-March 2020
Dean of Students Office Care & Crisis Services, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY

- Support peer-to-peer counseling program and oversee training processes
- Provide guidance to student leaders and student-staff members
- Provide on-going crisis counselling support to all student counselors
- Oversee budget and collaborate with campus partners on funding needs

Academic Advisor — July 2015-July 2019
College of Arts and Science, Miami University, Oxford, OH

- Served as divisional advisor to provide supplemental advising to 8,000 students
- Served as primary advisor to 175 students and assist with major/career exploration
- Served as primary advisor to College Credit Plus Program/dual-enrollment high school
- Provided support on college-wide interventions for students with academic challenges
- Assisted with academic advising sessions for new students and transfer students
- Advised Dean's Student Advisory Council and support College Ambassador Program
- Collaborated with Registrar, Office of Liberal Education and faculty members
- Supported Dean of Student Office on student concerns
- Provided support to Assistant Dean on special projects and initiatives
- Supervised and manage office student staff
- Collaborated on assessment project for University Studies student experience
- Served on university-wide search committees for Career Services and Student Success

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE (Continued)

Assistant Director July 2011-July 2015

College of Liberal Arts Honors Program, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN

- Advised over 300 honors students on academics, campus involvement, and post-grad plans
- Promoted and recruited College of Liberal Arts students for Honors
- Co-managed the Dammon Dean's Scholars Program and served as a faculty fellow
- Supervised CLA Honors Administrative Assistant
- Updated and oversaw CLA Honors Program website content
- Assisted with prospective student advising and special recruitment events
- Co-Advised CLA Honors Student Steering Committee and assisted with Honors Colloquium
- Supervised academic-year and summer student interns
- Collaborated with CLA student services on diversity initiatives, career development, and study abroad
- Assisted with CLA scholarship selection and Honors Program Awards Banquet
- Served on multiple university-wide and departmental search committees

Interim Director Oct. 2012-April 2013

College of Liberal Arts Honors Program, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN

- Served as chief academic officer of the program and collaborated with CLA faculty
- Oversaw honors programming budget
- Created, edited, and distributed CLA Honors Program monthly electronic newsletter
- Served as chair of the CLA Honors Faculty committee
- Collaborated with faculty and departmental heads on student concerns, courses, and special initiatives

Volunteer Coordinator Feb. 2009-July 2011

Volunteer and Service-Learning Center, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC

- Promoted and recruited student volunteers for one-time events and on-going service
- Oversaw first-year service-based living-learning community
- Supervised AmeriCorps VISTA member and oversaw Campus Kitchens Project at ECU
- Co-supervised administrative assistant
- Oversaw student service programs; Pirate Playtime, TRIPS, Adopt-A-Grandparent, Mural Corps, MAN Council
- Created, implemented, and advised first international service trip to Honduras
- Planned and implemented special events; Service Days, University Million Meal Event, Sept. 11, Pirate Fest
- Served on various institutional-wide committees; Weeks of Welcome, Elite Pirates Selection, Saturday Service
- Initiated 2010 and 2011 Summer Associate positions with First Year Center and Admissions
- Authored and received mini grants from North Carolina Campus Compact for 2010/2011 MLK Day of Service
- Provided oversight for the Volunteer and Service-Learning Center: Service NC and President's Honor Roll
- Supported student organizations on philanthropic and direct service initiatives
- Collaborated with departments on volunteer management: Honors College, Business Leadership, Access

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE (Continued)

Area Coordinator: Hill Houses, Benefit Street, and Moshassuck Square Feb. 2006-Feb. 2009
Residence Life Office, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, RI

- Oversaw residential life of 500 upper-class undergraduate and graduate students
- Selected, trained, and supervised 10-14 resident assistants
- Participated in on-call system, housing lottery, student staff selection, and resident assistant training
- Adjudicated students on student code of conduct
- Introduced and implemented "In Prov Community Service Day" with 120 students and 7 community agencies
- Served on various institutional-wide committees; Financial Aid Appeals, Orientation, Graduation, and Fire Safety
- Initiated student programs with Student Life, Multicultural Affairs, Public Engagement, and Dining
- Collaborated with the Offices of Student Development, Public Safety, Health Services, and Facilities

Service-Learning Specialist/AmeriCorps V.I.S.T.A Aug. 2003-Aug. 2004
West Virginia Service-Learning Institute, University of Charleston, Charleston, WV

- Facilitated over 3,000 hours of service-learning by University of Charleston students
- Worked with faculty members in multiple disciplines on curriculum implementation
- Trained students in service-learning, working with diverse populations, and effective communication
- Worked with 40 community agencies to create semester-long placements
- Advised service-learning student organization and collaborated with Office of Student Life

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

UNV 101: I am Miami Aug. 2016-Dec. 2018
College of Arts and Science, Miami University

- 1-credit first-year seminar transition to college course

GS 490: Liberal Arts Scholar Seminar Co-Instructor Aug. 2011-June 2015
College of Liberal Arts, Purdue University

- Co-teach Fall and Spring Semester 1-credit first-year seminar courses
- Assist in oversight of Spring semester student-faculty research placements

COAD 1000: Student Development in Higher Education Instructor Aug. 2009-Dec. 2010
First-Year Center and Orientation, East Carolina University

- Created syllabus and taught 1-credit first-year seminar course
- Created community issue-based syllabus for Fall 2010 service themed student cohort

EDHS 289: Peer Alcohol Education Teaching Assistant Jan. 2005-May 2005
Center for Alcohol and Substance Education, University of Virginia

- Supported instructor on syllabus creation, assignment grading, and student needs

HIGHER EDUCATION ENGAGEMENT

ACPA Coalition for Men and Masculinities Sept. 2019-Present
- Serve as Vice Chair for Outreach

Western Alumni Association at Miami University Board Jan. 2013-Present
Miami University, Oxford, OH
- Serve as President and Executive Board Member June 2016-Present
- Serve as President-Elect June 2015-June 2016
- Initiated alumni-senior mentor program to assist with senior student thesis
- Serve as a liaison to Western College Alumni Association and Studies Program
- Assist with 45th Mega Reunion planning and implementation

Madison House Alumni Council Member June 2013-June 2018
Madison House Student Volunteer Center, Charlottesville, VA
- Co-Chair and Executive Board Member June 2016-June 2018
- Programs Committee Chair and Executive Board Member June 2015-June 2016

Student Conduct/Community Standards Involvement April 2005-June 2015
- Purdue University Advisory Committee on Equity Member April 2014-June 2015
- Purdue University Community Standards Board Member/Chair Aug. 2011-June 2015
- East Carolina University Student Conduct Board Member Jan. 2010-June 2011
- Rhode Island School of Design Student Conduct Committee Aug. 2006-Feb. 2009
- University of Virginia Student Conduct Judge April 2005-Dec. 2005

Purdue University LGBTQ Center Advisory Board Member Oct. 2012-June 2015
LGBTQ Center, Purdue University

Purdue Student Organization Advisor Aug. 2011-June 2015
Office of Student Activities and Organizations, Purdue University
- Purdue Independent Musical Association March 2014-June 2015
- Phi Delta Pi Honors Society March 2014-June 2015
- Purdue Leadership Forum (co-advisor) Aug. 2012-May 2013
- College of Liberal Arts Student Council Aug. 2011-May 2012

Sigma Tau Gamma Fraternity Advisor Jan. 2012-June 2015
Office of Fraternity, Sorority and Co-Operative Life, Purdue University
- Advised fraternity on logistical operations, long-term projects, member concerns, and housing

Interim Study Abroad Advisor: Selected Countries Jan. 2013-May 2013
College of Liberal Arts, Purdue University
- Assist students on study abroad preparations: Germany, Australia, New Zealand, Africa, and Eastern Europe

HIGHER EDUCATION ENGAGEMENT (Continued)

ECU Student Organization Advisor April 2010-July 2011
Student Organizations Center, East Carolina University

- ECU Chapter for Habitat for Humanity Nov. 2010-July 2011
- Kids With Knowledge April 2010-April 2011

Theta Chi Fraternity Advisor April 2010-July 2011
Office of Greek Life, East Carolina University

- Advised fraternity on logistical operations, long-term projects, member concerns, and service initiatives

RISD Alternative Service Break Program Advisor Jan. 2007-Feb. 2009
Office of Student Life, Rhode Island School of Design

- Introduced program, recruited, trained, and advised ASB student site leaders

RISD Service Orientation Program Advisor March 2006-Sept. 2008
Student Affairs Office, Rhode Island School of Design

- Oversaw orientation service program for 15 upper-class mentors and 25 in-coming students

RISD Area Coordinator: Pre-College Summer Program June 2007-Aug. 2007
Office of Continuing Studies, Rhode Island School of Design

- Oversaw residential life of 550 high school students during intensive summer program
- Co-supervised, trained, and advised 21 resident assistants on crisis management and community building

Graduate Staff Assistant Sept. 2004-Dec. 2005
Madison House Student Volunteer Center, Charlottesville, VA

Resident Director and Mini Course Instructor June 2005-Aug. 2005
Exploration Senior Program at Yale University, New Haven, CT

Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention Team Graduate Assistant Sept. 2004-May 2005
Center for Alcohol and Substance Education (C.A.S.E.), University of Virginia

PRESENTATIONS

Ashlee, K. and Loeffelman, M. (2020). *Engaging Individual College Men through an Intersectional Framework*. American College Personnel Association National Conference. Nashville, TN.

Loeffelman, M., Banjeree, A., Goettsch, J., and Baudry-Young, R. (2019). *Addressing Masculinity on College Campuses: Successes and Failures*. Organization for the Study of Communication, Language, and Gender. 42nd Annual Conference. Cincinnati, Ohio.

PRESENTATIONS (Continued)

Loeffelman, M. (2019). *Cincinnati Edition: Does What it Means to be Man need to Change?*. Cincinnati Public Radio: 91.7 WVXU: October 14. https://www.wvxu.org/post/does-what-it-means-be-man-need-change

Loeffelman, M. (2019). College Men and Masculinity: Academic Advising. Miami University Association of Academic Advisors. Miami University.

Loeffelman, M. (2019). *College Men and Masculinity: A Residence Life Lens*. Department of Residence Life, Miami University.

Loeffelman, M. and Banjeree, A. (2019). *Complex Masculinities: Understanding and Working with College Men*. Psychology Department Inclusion Week 2019, Miami University.

Ashlee, K., Becker, R., Goettsch, J., Kuykendoll, M., and Loeffelman, M. (2019). *Evolving Discussions: College Men and (Toxic) Masculinities*. 17th Annual Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality Symposium, Miami University.

Cash, B. and Loeffelman, M. (2017). *College Male Masculinity: Working with our Male Students*. Miami University Inclusion Symposium.

Loeffelman, M. and Ashlee, K. (2017). *Advising College Males 101*. Miami University Academic Support and Advising Association Annual Symposium.

Loeffelman, M., White, S., and Ware, J. (2013). *Community and Curriculum Integration: Service Learning*, Bergamo Conference on Curriculum Theory and Classroom Practice.

Loeffelman, M. (2011). *Volunteering: Benefits, Challenges, and Reflections.* Golden Key Regional Summit; East Carolina University.

Cooper, J. and Loeffelman, M. (2004). *The Perfect Service-Learning Project from Faculty, Student, and Community Perspectives.* West Virginia State Conference on Volunteerism, National Service, and Service-Learning.

PUBLICATIONS

Ashlee, K. C., Spencer, L. G., Loeffelman, M., Cash, B., Muschert, G. W. (2018). Fostering critical awareness of masculinity around the world. In G. W. Muschert, K. Budd, M. Christian, B. V. Klocke, J. Shefner, & R. Perrucci (Eds.) *Global Agenda for Social Justice (Vol. 1)*. Bristol, United Kingdom, Policy Press.

CAMPUS-BASED STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

Purdue University

- Honors at Purdue: Challenges, Support, and Benefits — June 2013
- CLA Student Services for Transfer Students — March 2013
- The Search: Internships, the Job Market, and YOU — Jan. 2013
- Supporting High-Ability Students: Practices and Resources — Nov. 2012
- Applying to Graduate School 101: Successfully Navigating the Process — Oct. 2012
- Developing your CV: Design, Build, and Adapting — Oct. 2012
- Honors Contracts: Collaborative Learning and Research — Aug. 2012
- Honors Membership: Opportunities, Benefits, and Scholarship — June 2012
- Applying to Graduate School 101: Using Your Resources — Oct. 2011

East Carolina University

- Volunteering in the Community: Benefits and More — Aug. 2009-July 2011

Rhode Island School of Design

- Rules of Engagement: Policy Pursuit and Policy Jeopardy — Sept. 2008
- Community Service + Engagement: Providence and Beyond — Sept. 2008
- Conflict Mediation for the Resident Assistant 101: Tools and Skills — Sept. 06, 08
- Conflict Mediation for Pre-College RA: Tools and Skills — June 07, 08
- Understanding Your Environment: Walking in Their Shoes — June 07. 08
- Developing Community: Multiple Levels and Multiple Spaces — Sept. 2007
- Conflict Mediation for the Resident Assistant 202: Effective Practices — Sept. 07, 08
- TIPS for the Resident Assistant — Sept. 2007
- Resident Assistant Expectations: Pre-College — June 2007
- Effective First Impressions for the Resident Assistant — June 2007
- What is Community? If you Build It, they will Come — Sept. 2006

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Applied Suicide Intervention Skills Training	March 2020
Miami University Strengths for Academic Advising	June 2018
Ohio Alliance of Dual Enrollment Partnerships Conference	Nov. 2017
Miami University Center for Teaching Excellence Summer Read Co-Facilitator	July 2017
Green Zone: Working with Student Veterans	March 2017
Miami University Mental Health Ally Certification	Dec. 2015
LGBTQ Ally 101 at Miami	Nov. 2015
Safe Zone at Miami	Aug. 2015
PACADA News You Can Use: College Men and Masculinity	Jan. 2014
College Men and Masculinities Conference	May 2013
Safe Zone Training at Purdue	Jan. 2013
North Carolina Campus Compact Civic Engagement Institute 2011	Feb. 2011
Campus Kitchen Boot Camp 2010	Sept. 2010
Break Away: Alternative Breaks Professional Development	May 2010
Lynn Miner Workshop: Grant Writing	April 2010
North Carolina Campus Compact Pathways to Civic Engagement Conference 2010	Feb. 2010
Safe Zone Training at ECU	Feb. 2010
North Carolina Campus Compact VISTA Supervisor Training	July 2009
Jackson Katz Workshop: Macho Paradox	April 2008

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT (Continued)

Accommodators, Assimilators, Resistors: Diversity Among Latino Students	April 2008
AICAD Student Affairs Conference	March 2008
Tools for Social Justice Conference	Nov. 2007
TIPS Train-the-Trainer	Aug. 2007
Sophomore Year Success Seminar	June 2007
Safe Zone Training at RISD	April 2007
RI Dept. of Mental Health: Preventing and Dispersing Underage Drinking	March 2007
NEACUHO Resident Director Institute	August 2006
Campus Compact Institute for Community Service and Service-Learning	July 2006
Donald J. Gehring Campus Judicial Affairs Training Institute	June 2006

COMMUNITY AND UNIVERSITY SERVICE

Ithaca Dad's Group Co-Leader	Oct. 2019-Present
Cornell Child Care Center Parents Connection Committee Member	Oct. 2019-Present
Miami University Masculinities Committee Ex-Officio Member	July 2019-Present
Miami University Comprehensive Action Team Committee Member	March 2019-July 2019
Miami University Faculty Learning Community Co-Lead Facilitator	March 2018-July 2019
Miami University College Credit Plus Committee Member	Jan. 2017-July 2019
Miami University Fraternal Excellence Selection Committee Member	March 2016-July 2019
Miami University Masculinities Committee Exec Board Member	Jan. 2016-July 2019
Miami University Alcohol Coordinating Advising Sub-Committee Member	Nov. 2017-May 2018
Purdue University College of Liberal Arts Events Volunteer	Aug. 2011-July 2015
Purdue University Leadership Advisory Board Member	Aug. 2013-July 2015
Purdue Curriculum and Instruction Graduate Student Association Treasurer	April 2014-May 2015
Purdue College of Education Awards Committee Member	Jan. 2014-May 2015
Purdue Curriculum and Instruction Awards Committee Member	Feb. 2014-May 2015
Purdue Anti-Racism Coalition Member	Oct. 2012-Dec. 2013
Pitt Association of Volunteer Administrators Secretary	Jan. 2010-March 2011
East Carolina University Campus Events Volunteer	April 2009-July 2011
East Carolina University Pen Friends Pen Pal	Jan. 2010-May 2010
Food Bank of Central and Eastern North Carolina Volunteer	July 2009-July 2010
Providence Year-Up Mentor and College Application Advisor	May 2006-June 2008
RISD AmeriCorps Scholarship for Service Supervisor	Sept. 2006-Sept. 2007
Charlottesville Community Attention Home Tutor	Jan. 2005-May 2005
Blue Ridge ESL Council: American Reads Program Tutor	Sept. 2004-May 2005
21ST Century Learning Partnership Advisory Member	Nov. 2003-March 2004
Salvation Army: Boys and Girls Club of Charleston Volunteer	Sept. 2003-June 2004
United Way of Central West Virginia Volunteer	Oct. 2003-July 2004

HONORS, AWARDS, AND RECOGNITIONS

2020 ACPA Men & Masculinities Harry Cannon Outstanding Professional Award	Dec. 2019
Miami University Master Advisor Award	June 2017
Miami University Level-A Academic Advising Certificate of Achievement	April 2016
Purdue 2013-2014 Learning Community Advocate Nominee	April 2014
Purdue College of Liberal Arts Professional Staff Development Grant Recipient	Oct. 2013
Sigma Tau Gamma Outstanding Advisor	March 2013
PACADA 2013 Professional Development Grant Recipient	March 2013
Cecelia Zissis SPAN Plan Grant Recipient	April 2013
Purdue 2012-2013 Learning Community Advocate Nominee	April 2013
East Carolina University Creed Award: Citizenship	Nov. 2010
Honorary Golden Key Member	Nov. 2010
US Census 2010 Certificate of Appreciation	May 2010
Omicron Delta Kappa Member	Dec. 2009
RISD 2008 Staff Diversity Award Nominee	Nov. 2008
Literary Work Published: RISD/Brown Issues Magazine	Spring 2008
Literary Work Published: RISD/Brown African American Literary Magazine	Winter 2007
Literary Work Published: RISD's Gay/Lesbian Literary Magazine	Sept. 2007
Conflict Mediation Certificate of Achievement	July 2006
Literary Work Honor: UVA Kaleidoscope "Strange Fruit" Art Exhibit	Jan. 2005
Phi Delta Kappa International Honor Society Member	Oct. 2004