

2002

# Arrested emotional development: male college students' experiences with a campus judicial process

Randall Blaine Ludeman  
*Iowa State University*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd>

 Part of the [Higher Education Administration Commons](#), and the [Higher Education and Teaching Commons](#)

## Recommended Citation

Ludeman, Randall Blaine, "Arrested emotional development: male college students' experiences with a campus judicial process " (2002). *Retrospective Theses and Dissertations*. 1009.  
<https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd/1009>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Iowa State University Capstones, Theses and Dissertations at Iowa State University Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Retrospective Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Iowa State University Digital Repository. For more information, please contact [digirep@iastate.edu](mailto:digirep@iastate.edu).

## **INFORMATION TO USERS**

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

**The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.** Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

ProQuest Information and Learning  
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA  
800-521-0600

**UMI<sup>®</sup>**



**Arrested emotional development: Male college students'  
experiences with a campus judicial process**

by

**Randall Blaine Ludeman**

**A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**Major: Education (Educational Leadership)**

**Program of Study Committee:  
Florence A. Hamrick (Major Professor)  
Nancy J. Evans  
Emily L. Moore  
John H. Schuh  
David L. Vogel**

**Iowa State University**

**Ames, Iowa**

**2002**

**Copyright © Randall Blaine Ludeman, 2002. All rights reserved.**

**UMI Number: 3061844**

**Copyright 2002 by  
Ludeman, Randall Blaine**

**All rights reserved.**

**UMI<sup>®</sup>**

---

**UMI Microform 3061844**

**Copyright 2002 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.  
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against  
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.**

---

**ProQuest Information and Learning Company  
300 North Zeeb Road  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346**

**Graduate College  
Iowa State University**

**This is to certify that the doctoral dissertation of**

**Randall Blaine Ludeman**

**has met the dissertation requirements of Iowa State University**

Signature was redacted for privacy.

**Committee Member**

Signature was redacted for privacy.

**Committee Member**

Signature was redacted for privacy.

**Committee Member**

Signature was redacted for privacy.

**Committee Member**

Signature was redacted for privacy.

**Major Professor**

Signature was redacted for privacy.

**For the Major Program**

<b>CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
Research Purpose	2
Research Questions	4
Research Benefits	4
Limitations of the Study	5
<b>CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW</b>	<b>6</b>
Masculinity	7
Gender Role Socialization	10
Male Gender Role Conflict	13
Student Development Theory	15
Men and Behavior	16
Judicial Programs and Services in Higher Education	21
Critical Postmodernism	26
Feminist Theory	30
<b>CHAPTER 3. METHODS</b>	<b>33</b>
Research Site	37
Participants	39
Data Collection	42
Data Analysis Strategies	45
Trustworthiness	47
Reflexivity and Researcher Role	50
Ethical Considerations	53
Pilot Study	55
<b>CHAPTER 4. ANALYSES AND INTERPRETATIONS</b>	<b>57</b>
Content Analysis of Judicial Documents	58
Student Development as Intended Outcome	60
Ethical and Moral Behavior	69
Legalistic Language	73
Empathetic and Respectful Philosophy	80

Analysis of Narratives, Interviews, and Focus Group Debriefing Session	87
Continuum of Emotional Awareness	88
Protecting Masculinity	96
Restricted Venues for Expression of Emotions	105
Minimizing Feelings	111
CHAPTER 5. LIMITATIONS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	122
Limitations of the Study	123
Reflexivity Revisited	124
Conclusions	126
Recommendations for Practitioners	139
Recommendations for Further Research	144
Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations	146
APPENDIX A. GENDER, ETHNICITY, AND CONDUCT CODE VIOLATION SUMMARIES (1998-1999 & 1999-2000)	148
APPENDIX B. BEMIDJI STATE UNIVERSITY STUDENT CODE OF CONDUCT	149
APPENDIX C. INFORMED CONSENT FORM	152
APPENDIX D. DOCUMENT SUMMARY FORM	153
APPENDIX E. WRITTEN INSTRUCTIONS FOR PARTICIPANT NARRATIVE	154
APPENDIX F. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	155
APPENDIX G. CONTACT SUMMARY FORM	156
APPENDIX H. CONCEPTUAL MAP OF INQUIRY	157
REFERENCES	158



## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

“How do you feel?” “What’s the matter, don’t you have any feelings?” Men often are criticized for not knowing or expressing their feelings. There probably are good reasons for this criticism, as traditionally men have not been taught to know or express their emotions (Farrell, 1974; Pollack; 1998). There are purported benefits of men’s distancing from feelings such as the ability to work and remain goal directed without the distraction of emotions, and responding calmly to crisis (Rabinowitz & Cochran, 1994). However, the negative consequences of this lack of emotional awareness and expression for men often are hidden and include loneliness, isolation, alienation, and physical illness due to the pent-up emotions seeking release (Harrison, 1978; Pollack, 1998). It also has been suggested that men’s restricted emotionality leads to aggression and violence (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995; Seidler, 1996). It is therefore important for boys and men to learn to balance their adaptive strengths with respect and honor for their emotions that form the basis for friendships, relationships, and important life experiences (Gaylon, 1992).

The socialization of boys to a traditional masculine code begins early. The role of parents and other adults, as well as peers, significantly shapes boys’ behaviors and emotional patterns. Restricted emotionality is one outcome of male’s adherence to this traditional masculine role, and conflict resulting from this and other negative consequences of masculinity has become the focus of research in psychology and education (e.g., Levant & Pollack, 1995; O’Neil, 1981a, 1981b, 1990; Pollack, 1998; Sharpe & Heppner, 1991).

College men face many developmental challenges as they enter their new environment. Having an awareness of and the ability to express and manage

emotions has been purported to be one of these developmental tasks for young adult males (Chickering, 1969; Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Levant, 1997). Difficulty in identifying and expressing emotions is one of several outcomes of what O'Neil (1990) has labeled male gender role conflict (MGRC). MGRC has been found to create liabilities for college men including self-destructive behaviors (Meth, 1990), increased stress (Stewart & Lykes, 1985), disregard for health (Courtenay, 1998; Nathanson, 1977), substance abuse and addiction (Blazina & Watkins, 1996; Capraro, 2000), and increased depression and anxiety (Sharpe & Heppner, 1991).

My study focused on men's emotional experience in the campus judicial process. The judicial process was an ideal venue for this inquiry in that men involved in the process have experienced conflict related to their behavior, relationships, and/or environment. Exploring the emotional experience of college men in this venue provided insight as to possible intervention strategies and support systems that could be developed by institutions of higher education to assist college men in emotional awareness and expression. The conceptual framework guiding the study included critical postmodernism (Rhoads, 1994) and feminist theory, which were woven into a qualitative methodology in which a dialectical process of emancipatory theory building (Lather, 1991) with the participants was undertaken.

### Research Purpose

In an effort to explore how male gender role conflict (O'Neil, 1990) and the developmental task of managing emotions (Chickering, 1969; Chickering & Reisser, 1993) affect college men, my study explored, through a qualitative approach, the emotional experience of college men following their participation in a campus

judicial process. Participants had engaged in behavior that violated the code of behavioral expectations of their community. Through my 12 years of experience as a judicial officer working with these men, I have found this experience to produce various emotions including shame, fear, anger, resentment, remorse, and sadness. As a judicial officer, I also have found many men unaware of or unwilling to discuss these emotions during my meetings with them. My study explored, through a dialectical process (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998), young college men's emotional experience following the judicial process in order to understand more fully if and how emotions influenced prior, current, and subsequent decision making and behavior. I also examined whether emotional awareness influenced learning from their judicial experience. Additionally, exploring men's emotional experience in this venue provided insight as to the types of support that would be beneficial to them during the process, and proactive measures that could be taken to prevent men from acting out behaviorally. Engaging with the participants in the inquiry also afforded the opportunity for participants to gain an understanding of how emotional awareness and expression, or lack thereof, affected their experience as men in the judicial process and the college environment. Finally, an examination and analyses of judicial documents, standards, policies, and procedures from the research site and national judicial organizations served to describe the structures, environment, and working understandings that underpin judicial processes faced by college students. The analyses of these documents and resources provided insight regarding how the structures of judicial processes influence college men's emotional experience.

## Research Questions

Specifically, I focused on four research questions:

1. To what extent are college men aware of their emotions during the violation of a campus code of conduct and during the adjudication of the judicial case?
2. How does level of emotional awareness influence decisions and behavior prior to, during, and beyond the resolution of the judicial case?
3. To what extent are college men aware of how emotional awareness and expression, or lack thereof, affects their experience in the collegiate environment?
4. In what ways do institutional and national judicial standards, practices, policies, procedures, and publications influence the emotional experience of college men involved in judicial processes?

## Research Benefits

Research has shown that many boys and men are involved in behavior that is destructive to themselves and others (e.g., Brooks & Silverstein, 1995; Courtenay, 1998; Good, Hepper, Hillenbrand-Gunn, & Wang, 1995; Harrison, 1978; Marshall, 1993; Pollack, 1999). "Scholars from the men's studies movement have documented a clear link between socialization into stereotypical norms of hegemonic masculinity and an increased risk for experiencing violence" (Hong, 2000, p. 269). However, many college campuses have failed to recognize this link between men and violence and have relied only on traditional approaches to violence prevention (Hong, 2000).

This study explored the emotional experience of college men who had engaged in behavior that violated a campus code of student conduct. Although most had not engaged in violent behavior, they had exhibited behavior that imposed

on the rights of others. Exploring the relationship between emotional awareness and expressiveness and the involvement in inappropriate behavior was seen as an opportunity to understand better how male gender role conflict (O'Neil, 1990) and hegemonic masculinity (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1987) affected men, as well as others, in the college setting.

Benefits of this research included illuminating for student affairs practitioners, counselors, and faculty the difficulties experienced by college men related to emotional awareness and expressiveness. By understanding college men and their emotional experience, we may better be able to provide developmental opportunities for emotional growth and management. By engaging the participants in this study and in its findings, it was hoped that these men could gain valuable insight regarding how emotions contributed to or inhibited their transition to and subsequent success in the collegiate environment. Finally, the results of the research were intended to provide insight regarding possible proactive interventions that could be used by practitioners in fostering positive student development, and changes that could be made to the judicial process to enhance the emotional awareness and expressiveness of college men.

#### Limitations of the Study

This qualitative study examined the emotional experience of a specific sample of college men following their involvement in a campus judicial process. The purpose of the research was to explore whether these men were aware of and able to express their emotions related to their experience. The findings of this study were limited to the time, setting, and sample of the study, and generalizations regarding the findings were not assumed.

## CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Theory and research related to the socialization of boys and men, masculinity, and gender role conflict has received much attention in psychology and education (e.g., Greenberg, 1982; Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978; O'Neil, 1981a, 1981b, 1982, 1990; Pleck, 1981; Pollack, 1998, 1999; Rabinowitz & Cochran, 1994). Men and masculinity also have been the subjects of popular culture and self-help books, as society continues its attempt to understand boys and men and the relationships they have with girls, women, and other men (e.g., Bly, 1990; Diamond, 1994; Farrell, 1986; Goldberg, 1991; Keen, 1991; Kindlon & Thompson, 2000).

In reviewing the literature regarding research on men and emotions, several themes emerged. Studies focusing on masculinity have been beneficial in illuminating the consequences of traditional masculine behavior and characteristics, affording an opportunity to explore options to these traditional male roles (May, Strikwerda, & Hopkins, 1996). Research regarding the socialization of boys and men has provided insight regarding the negative affects of masculinity and gender role stereotyping (Pleck, 1981; Pollack, 1998). Another theoretical construct gaining wide spread research attention is male gender role conflict (O'Neil, 1981a, 1981b, 1982, 1990). Finally, research related to the development of college students (e.g., Chickering, 1969; Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Kohlberg, 1969; Perry, 1970) also sheds light on understanding men's emotional development.

Research regarding men and behavior often has focused on men and violence (e.g., Berkowitz, 1992; Good, Hepper, Hillenbrand-Gunn, & Wang, 1995; Hong, 2000; Marshall, 1993). Much of this research has focused on men's violent or oppressive behavior against women (e.g., Berkowitz, 1994; Rhoads, 1995; Sanday, 1990). The

socialization of boys to a hegemonic masculinity, and male gender role conflict, have been discussed often related to men's behavior.

University and college judicial programs and services have received little attention in the education, psychology, and sociology literature. What has been written typically has focused on the nature of disciplinary systems or the protection of students' rights in the adjudication of misconduct (Dannells, 1991). A more recent trend has been the discussion and exploration of the involvement of counseling practitioners in "disciplinary counseling" (Stone & Lucas, 1994). However, little research has been conducted on the emotional aspects of college students as they relate to behavior and judicial systems.

This chapter highlights much of the theory and research in the areas of masculinity, gender role socialization, male gender role conflict, and college student development as they relate to men's emotional awareness and expressiveness. The literature regarding men and behavior and college judicial programs also is summarized. Finally, a summary of the theoretical and conceptual framework that guided my inquiry, including critical postmodernism and feminist theory, is provided.

### Masculinity

In the United States a real boy climbs trees, disdains girls, dirties his knees, plays with soldiers, and takes blue for his favorite color. When they go to school, real boys prefer manual training, gym, and arithmetic. In college the boys smoke pipes, drink beer, and major in engineering or physics. The real boy matures into a "man's man" who plays poker, goes hunting, drinks brandy, and dies in war. (Brown, 1965, p. 161)

The construct of masculinity has been a common focus of psychological and educational research as well as popular culture and literature. Many authors have written about men in an attempt to assist parents, partners, teachers, and others to better understand boys' and men's lives (e.g., Bly, 1990; Farrell, 1986, 1984; Goldberg, 1991; Keen, 1991; Pleck, 1981; Pollack, 1998). Levant (1997) has developed a therapeutic approach in working with men and their emotions. The approach is captured on a video titled "Men and Emotions: A Psychoeducational Approach."

For many men today, the question of what it means to be a man is a perplexing, difficult, and unresolved issue (Levant, 1995). Most sons were raised to be like their fathers, which meant being a strong, silent provider for their families. Emotional expressiveness was considered feminine and discouraged. Unlike daughters, sons were not trained to nurture others or to be sensitive to their needs, but were trained instead in "problem-solving, risk-taking, staying calm in the face of danger, and assertion and aggression" (Levant, 1995, p. 229).

Hopkins (1992), in a discussion of gender identity, provided a list of masculine characteristics that he reported were "culturally relative, and even intraculturally dynamic, but in late twentieth-century U. S. culture the cluster of behaviors and qualities that situate men in relation to women" (p. 98). His list included:

(hetero)sexual prowess, sexual conquest of women, heading a nuclear family, siring children, physical and material competition with other men, independence, behavioral autonomy, rationality, strict emotional control, aggressiveness, obsession with success and status, a certain way of walking, a



certain way of talking, having buddies rather than intimate friends, etc. (Hopkins, 1992, p. 98)

In contemporary society, the traditional roles of men have become less valued. "Society no longer seems to value or even recognize the traditional male way of demonstrating care: through taking care of his family and friends, looking out for them, solving their problems, and being one who can be counted on when needed" (Levant, 1995, p. 230). Instead, men are being asked to take on new roles and demonstrate care in ways that are opposed to the traditional masculine code, requiring them to have skills they have not developed, such as nurturing children, revealing vulnerability, and expressing feelings (Levant, 1995). For many men, this change has resulted in a confusion and conflict regarding what it means to be a "real man."

The critique of traditional masculinity is so well established that some argue it has reached "male bashing" proportions (Baumli, 1985; Farrell, 1987; Levant, 1995). Negative behaviors associated with "hegemonic masculinity" (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1987, p. 4) such as violence, harassment, sexual excess and promiscuity, substance abuse, and relationship dysfunctions, have strengthened this criticism (Levant, 1995).

Negative opinions of men and their behavior have been the focus of popular books. For example, in the book *Men Are Not Cost-Effective*, Stephenson (1991) detailed the damage done to society by men, and recommended "nothing short of men repaying for their own criminal gender. Men must pay for being men" (p. 451). In another book, *Refusing to Be a Man*, Stoltenberg (1989) described a necessity "for the end of manhood as we know it" (p. 4). He argued that "The male sex role is

socially constructed. It is a political entity that flourishes only through acts of force and sexual terrorism" (p. 30).

As this traditional, or hegemonic, masculinity becomes more challenged, men and women search for a more acceptable male identity. Levant and Pollack (1995) spoke of a need for a "gender-aware examination of the psychology of men . . . [that] might contribute to the solution of some of the male problems . . . that have had a negative impact on women, men, children, and society" (pp. 1-2). Pollack's (1998) groundbreaking research at Harvard Medical School has challenged the traditional expectations about manhood and masculinity.

As summarized by the review of literature on masculinity above, hegemonic masculinity has created difficulties for men and all of society. As Levant and Pollack (1995) suggested, "a new psychology of men" may provide solutions to the conflicts and difficulties created for males by traditionally defined masculinity. Pollack (1998) contended that we must begin with changes in the socialization of boys.

#### Gender Role Socialization

Pollack (1998) purported that boys are experiencing a "crisis" due to the pressure society places on them to be strong, follow a strict masculine code, hide their emotions, and most importantly, avoid engaging in anything that creates shame for themselves or their parents. As a result, it often is difficult for us to notice when boys are experiencing difficulty. Yet research shows boys are experiencing crises in many ways: "Boys are failing at school, succeeding at suicide, engaging in homicide, and disconnecting from their own inner lives: losing their genuine voices and selves" (Pollack, 1999, p. 7).

The male gender role is established early for boys. Society places a unique set of expectations on boys to deal autonomously with life, hide pain, and avoid behavior that shames themselves or family (Pollack, 1999). Pollack (1998, 1999) described boys as experiencing "gender straightjackets," which affect them by forcing the repression of emotions and needs for love and affection. "Confused by society's mixed messages about what's expected of them as boys, and later as men, many feel a sadness and disconnection they cannot even name" (Pollack, 1998, p. xxi).

Boys are influenced by parents, other adults, and peers to behave differently than girls. Boys are more likely to be encouraged to play aggressively (Hyde & Linn, 1986), and to be punished physically for inappropriate behavior (Hartley, 1974). Parents and peers are more likely to discourage behavior that diverges from prescribed gender norms (Fagot, 1985). Expressing emotion, such as crying, is discouraged by adult men, often fathers, who remind boys that "only girls cry" (Rabinowitz & Cochran, 1994). Television and other media portray male heroes as possessing strength, determination, and dominance (Greenberg, 1982). The messages begin early for boys that they should adhere to the traditional masculine code.

The socialization process has been purported to hinder the emotional development of boys and men. For many males, "one striking and far-reaching consequence of the male socialization ordeal is an inability to differentiate and identify their emotions" (Levant, 1997, p. 9). Levant (1997) has labeled this condition "normative male alexithymia" (p. 9), which is the inability for men to put feelings into words or even to be aware of them. According to Levant (1997), normative

male alexithymia, in conjunction with the socialization of boys to suppress tender, vulnerable, and caring feelings, leaves only aggression and sexuality as accepted channels for the release of emotional energy.

Kindlon and Thompson (2000) spoke of “emotional miseducation” (p. 4) in describing the socialization process of many boys. Kindlon and Thompson (2000) also described the need for boys to be taught “emotional literacy – the ability to read and understand our emotions and those of others” (p. 4). Goleman (1998) described a similar construct with his “emotional intelligence,” which refers to “the capacity for recognizing our own feelings and those of others, for motivating ourselves, and for managing emotions well in ourselves and in our relationships” (p. 315). These authors somewhat disagree with the gender differences regarding their emotional constructs, but do agree that awareness, management, and expression of emotions is essential to a healthy life and positive relationships.

As boys grow up and enter adulthood, society challenges them to develop further their identity, traditionally associated with the important tasks of choosing an occupation and establishing intimate relationships (Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978). For young men choosing to attend a college or university, entering the “adult world” often can be delayed. These men can explore and experiment with relationships, academic study, and work without assuming much of the responsibility of being an adult (Rabinowitz & Cochran, 1994). However, these college men are faced with the development of competence, learning to manage emotions, developing autonomy, establishing an identity, freeing interpersonal relationships, developing a purpose, and developing integrity

(Chickering, 1969). These developmental tasks may conflict with their socialized experience and expectations of masculinity.

In facing these developmental tasks, college men find the expression of emotion and other traditionally defined feminine qualities more desirable and beneficial (Levinson et al., 1978). Expression of feminine qualities has been shown to create conflict for men, therefore college-aged men are likely to experience difficulty in expressing concern for others, disclosing vulnerabilities, and describing their feelings to others (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995). The fear of femininity in fact is central to the theory of male gender role conflict (MGRC) purported by O'Neil (1981a, 1981b, 1982, 1990). Research in this area has provided insight into the negative consequences of traditional masculinity for college men.

#### Male Gender Role Conflict

Research focused on the effects of socially defined expectations of masculinity on boys and men frequently has centered on the concept of male gender role conflict (MGRC). O'Neil (1990) described gender role conflict as occurring when "rigid, sexist, or restricted gender roles learned during socialization result in the personal restriction, devaluation, or violation of others or self" (p. 25). O'Neil theorized that traditional male-role socialization produces contradictory and unrealistic messages that lead to a fear of femininity (O'Neil, 1981a, 1981b, 1982). As a result, men may engage in patterns of gender role conflict due to a fear of becoming or appearing feminine (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995; Rhoads, 1995).

Research has suggested that conflict surrounding the male gender role creates liabilities for men including self-destructive behaviors (Meth, 1990), increased stress (Stewart & Lykes, 1985), disregard for health (Courtenay, 1998; Nathanson, 1977),

substance abuse and addiction (Blazina & Watkins, 1996; Capraro, 2000), increased depression and anxiety (Real, 1997; Sharpe & Heppner, 1991), negative attitudes toward help-seeking from counseling (Good & Wood, 1995), lack of emotional expressiveness (Pleck, 1981), and a drive to accumulate money, power, and sex partners (Kimmel & Levine, 1989). Thompson, Pleck, and Ferrera (1992) posited that the construct of MGRC, "provides an important link between societal norms scripting traditional masculinities and individuals' adaptation" (p. 598). These authors argued that instruments assessing this construct afford the opportunity for better prediction of men's behavior than other measures of masculinity.

A common measure used in studies of MGRC is the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS) (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986). The GRCS identifies four gender role conflict patterns or factors: (a) Success, Power, and Competition, (b) Restrictive Emotionality, (c) Restrictive Affectionate Behavior Between Men, and (d) Conflict Between Work and Family. The Success, Power, and Competition factor measures the emphasis placed on achievement, on authority or control over others, and on the struggle against others for personal gain. The Restrictive Emotionality factor relates to difficulty with the emotional expressiveness of self and others. Restricted Affectionate Behavior Between Men, the third factor, is a measure of discomfort with expressions of caring between men. The fourth factor, the Conflict Between Work and Family, reflects the level of distress men experience related to conflicts work or school create in personal and family life (O'Neil, 1981a; 1981b; O'Neil et al., 1986).

O'Neil, Good, and Holmes (1995) suggested research has shown that MGRC is negatively related to men's relationships with women and men. O'Neil, Good,

and Holmes (1995) have suggested that “the new psychology of men needs to accelerate its efforts to understand how men’s sexist socialization victimizes women, children and other men” (p. 200). Further research on MGRC in general and the restricted emotionality of men in particular holds promise for resolving these issues.

### Student Development Theory

The emotional and psychological development of young adults has received much attention in psychology and education (e.g., Chickering, 1969; Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Erickson, 1959; Gilligan, 1982; Heath, 1978; Kohlberg, 1969; Loevinger, 1976; Perry, 1970). Prior to the 1970s, the majority of research on psychological, intellectual, and ethical development focused on men. Early theory on college student development also was based on studies using primarily male participants (Bernard, 1981). Although these studies involved the use of males as participants, the research was not focused on understanding male development, but rather on establishing norms of human development. At the time, gender differences were not considered.

In “Education and Identity,” Chickering (1969) outlined a vector model of college student development that paid particular attention to sources of impact in the collegiate environment. Two vectors of this model seem particularly relevant to men’s socialization with respect to this study: managing emotions and developing autonomy. Young men entering the collegiate environment often become aware of their feelings, yet struggle with flexible control and expression of these feelings (Chickering, 1969; Chickering & Reisser, 1993). The difficulty college men experience with the management of emotions often is reflected in residence hall vandalism, conflicts with roommates, exploitive sexual encounters, substance abuse,

and excessive academic anxiety (Widick, Parker, & Knefelkamp, 1978). Men entering the college environment are often also experiencing emotional and instrumental autonomy for the first time in their lives. Parental control and support is not as immediately available, and development of self-directedness and independence, as well as the recognition of interdependence with others, becomes a necessity (Widick, Parker, & Knefelkamp, 1978). These two developmental tasks seem to relate significantly with the socialization of men, in that men typically are expected to deal autonomously with life, hide pain, and avoid behavior that shames themselves or family (Pollack, 1999).

In the 1970's, research conducted by Gilligan (1977) introduced differences in developmental processes for women. Although controversial at the time, this paramount research opened the doors to an understanding of the different developmental processes experienced by women and men. Although much of the research on human development had been centered on men's lives, the emergence of men's issues as a scholarly field of study is recent (Brod, 1990). New research focusing on the effects of socialization, parenting, and masculinity on boys and men has developed over the last decade (Pollack, 1999).

#### Men and Behavior

It is easier, and riskier, than ever to write about the dark side of male behavior. After centuries of celebrating male patriarchal manhood, a new gender consciousness has arisen. Feminist scholarship has written women back into history, highlighting the former marginality of women and challenging the misogyny that is deeply imbedded in Western culture. (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995, p. 280)



Many authors have written about the disproportionate overrepresentation of men among both perpetrators and victims of violence (e.g., Brooks & Silverstein, 1995; Diamond, 1994; Hong, 2000; Pollack, 1998; Seidler, 1996). Research has suggested men most often are the perpetrators of homicide (U. S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1991), physical assaults (Valois, Vincent, McKeown, Garrison, & Kriby, 1993), sexual assaults (Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987), domestic abuse (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1992), and bias-related crimes (Levin, 1993). Boys and men also are more likely than girls and women to bear weapons (Courtenay, 1998; Hong, 2000), which significantly increases their risk for violence. Finally, men have been cited as a significant proportion of the victims of violence (Hong, 2000). It has become abundantly clear, as stated by Brooks and Silverstein (1995), that “Male violence represents the darkest feature of masculinity” (p. 282).

A growing number of researchers and authors have argued that male violence has been prescribed by the traditional masculine norms of hegemonic masculinity (e.g., Brooks & Silverstein, 1995; Courtenay, 1998; Hong, 2000; Pollack, 1998). Creating what Brooks and Silverstein (1995) called the “dark side of masculinity” (p. 281), traditional masculine roles and norms have been purported to encourage behavior such as violence, sexual abuse and sexual harassment, substance abuse and other self-destructive behaviors, relationship inadequacies, absent fathering, and social-emotional withdrawal. These “dark side” behaviors commonly have been regarded as the problem of only a few deviant men; however, it has been argued more recently that these behaviors actually may “exist to a lesser degree in

the *normative* masculine role socialization of all men" (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995, p. 281).

Many hypotheses have been purported regarding the etiology of males' inappropriate behavior. Brooks and Silverstein (1995) outlined five such explanations, including: The "aberrant male" hypothesis, the biological hypothesis, the social-developmental hypothesis, the social construction hypothesis, and the gender role strain/conflict hypothesis.

The aberrant male hypothesis has focused on the belief that inappropriate male behavior is a function of personality deficits of undersocialized men (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995). Many scholars have rejected this theory due to its placing blame on individual men rather than identifying problems inherent in the male socialization process.

Biological etiologies often have focused on testosterone as generating a tendency in males of all species to exhibit dark side behaviors (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995). Although research has claimed evidence of patterns of aggression, dominance, and sexual promiscuity in studies of primates, Haraway (1989) argued that these primate studies have reflected a white, male, capitalist bias. With the feminist revision of primate theory, "the biological hypothesis that differing levels of testosterone in males generate high levels of aggression and sexual promiscuity has not been supported by more recent interpretations of nonhuman primate behavior" (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995, p. 297).

A third etiology of males' dark side behaviors suggested by Brooks and Silverstein (1995) is the social-developmental hypothesis, which has focused on gender role identity (e.g., Chodorow, 1978; Fast, 1984; Pollack, 1990). This theory

has purported that since boys are raised primarily by their mothers (opposite-sex parents) with little emotional connection to their fathers (same-sex parents), a conflicted gender role identity is generated that results in dark side behavior (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995). This theory has been criticized due to its focus on gender as biologically rather than culturally constructed, and the lack of empirical evidence supporting its position (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995).

The social construction hypothesis has focused on feminist theory explanations of male dark side behavior as a natural consequence of male power within patriarchal society (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995). Male dark side behaviors have been described as “strategies for maintaining male entitlement and privilege” (Silverstein & Brooks, 1995, p. 307). For example, men’s sexual violence has been purported as a result of both men’s normative socialization and their desire to maintain control over women (Miller, 1986). Sattel (1976) argued that men’s emotional inexpressiveness was more a sociopolitical strategy to maintain control of social situations than a result of troubled male socialization. “From this theoretical perspective, dark side behaviors are the result of unequal power relations between men and women within patriarchal culture” (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995, p. 307).

A fifth etiology regarding men’s dark side behavior is the gender role strain/conflict paradigm (O’Neil, et al., 1986; Pleck, 1981). This theory has suggested that gender differences as a result of cultural pressures on individuals to conform to gender role norms generates conflict/strain that results in men exhibiting dark side behaviors (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995). According to Brooks and Silverstein (1995), “the men’s studies of gender role strain paradigm is the best description to date of the dark side of masculinity” (p. 306).

There is little published research dealing specifically with college students' behavior, and most of what does exist is based on studies done before 1980 (Dannells, 1997). The research regarding disruptive college student behavior typically has focused on the effectiveness of judicial programs and services. However, several studies have focused on the characteristics of college student offenders. Van Kuren and Creamer (1989) reported that students whose parents have college degrees were less likely to violate student codes of conduct than were students whose parents did not have college degrees. They also found that "students who had positive feelings about the institution, in general, were less likely to be offenders" (p. 264).

Alcohol abuse has been linked to behavior problems on college campuses (Dannells, 1997). Hanson and Engs (1995) reported that campus administrators indicated alcohol increasingly was involved in violations of campus policy and in violent behavior. Wechsler, Deutsch, and Dowdall (1995) found that at campuses where binge drinking is common, 87% of the non-binge drinkers who lived on campus reported they were affected adversely by the binge drinking of others.

Dannells and Stuber (1992) reported that psychopathology appears to be on the rise among college students, leading to more pathological origins of student misconduct. This explanation of student misbehavior is supported by the apparent increase in frequency of behaviors such as sexual harassment, acquaintance rape, dating and domestic violence, alcohol abuse, and stalking (Gallagher, Harmon, & Lingenfelter, 1994).

"Scholars from the men's studies movement have documented a clear link between socialization into stereotypical norms of hegemonic masculinity and an

increased risk for experiencing violence” (Hong, 2000, p. 269). However, many college campuses have failed to recognize this link between men, socialization, and violence, and have relied only on traditional approaches to violence prevention (Hong, 2000). In the college setting, the judicial system is the venue for handling disruptive behavior, including incidents of violence. It would seem beneficial, therefore, for student affairs practitioners, and male college students, to understand better how gender roles and socialization impact male students in the collegiate environment in order to proactively intervene at early stages of misconduct to prevent increasingly serve patterns of behavior.

It is evident that more research is needed regarding the origins of student misconduct and appropriate institutional intervention strategies. In addition, little research has focused on the developmental outcomes of student judicial processes. Although the literature regarding student judicial affairs does include reference to the importance of student development and learning (e.g., Dannells, 1991, 1997), specific structures and procedures for providing student development and learning are absent in this literature.

In an effort to explain better the choice of judicial systems as the venue for my study, I now turn to a review of the literature regarding student discipline in colleges and universities.

#### Judicial Programs and Services in Higher Education

The development of student disciplinary systems in American colleges and universities in many ways reflects the development of these institutions in general. From the beginning of higher education in America, the social (or antisocial) behavior of students was considered as important as academic

progress, and responses to this behavior reflected the atmosphere and philosophical disposition of the institutions. (Smith, 1994, p. 78)

Significant changes in the enforcement of behavioral expectations on college campuses have occurred over the past 300 years (Smith, 1994). From the early practices of "flogging" and "cuffing," to the more current practices of due process and fair and objective hearings, student judicial systems have undergone transformations related to the adjudication of student misconduct (Smith, 1994). As stated by Dannells (1997):

Perhaps no other single subject so dramatically reflects our attitudes about students and how we define our duty and our relationship with them. From the earliest dissatisfaction with pious and moralistic paternalism in the colonial colleges, to recent controversies over hate speech and First Amendment rights, student behavior and institutional response have vexed faculty and administrators with a set of issues both fundamental and timely. (p. iii)

While legislative initiatives have sought more accountability from colleges and universities related to safety, judicial affairs has become a focus of much attention.

The term "judicial affairs" was coined as a result of the litigious 1960s when "in loco parentis" died and higher education administrators more commonly found themselves in the courtroom (Mercer, 1996). The complicated nature of judicial affairs in higher education has led to research in the area, but this research has focused primarily on the nature of disciplinary systems or the protection of students' rights in the adjudication of misconduct (Dannells, 1991). A limited

number of studies and writings have dealt with the developmental component of judicial processes. Several of these studies and writings are summarized below.

Boots (1987) discussed the importance of judicial practitioners understanding human and college student development theory as it relates to their practice. Boots (1987) stated, "Understanding developmental theory and applying it to student conduct interventions provide student development professionals with positive, proactive opportunities to influence students' growth and to benefit the campus environment" (p. 63). Boots (1987) argued that part of the judicial professional's role was assisting students to learn and grow from their judicial experience.

Mullane (1999) examined the relationship between college students' perceptions of the fairness and educational value of campus judicial systems and their own moral development. The results of the study suggested that college students involved in judicial systems exhibited lower levels of moral development than typical students in the normative samples used in the study (Mullane, 1999). It was suggested that practitioners could provide opportunities for moral development as a way of lessening the likelihood of student misconduct (Mullane, 1999).

In a survey of over 500 judicial affairs officers, Bostic and Gonzalez (1999) reported that respondents recommended the use of developmental discipline, less legalistic models, and more training and development for judicial officers. The study clearly indicated "that the judicial officers surveyed believe that sanctions and discipline should focus on development" and that "recommendations also focused on the educational value of a disciplinary process that furthers educational learning

by providing opportunities for behavior change and moral growth and development" (Bostic & Gonzalez, 1999, p. 178).

One of the more recent trends in judicial services has been the use of disciplinary counseling (Dannells, 1991, 1997; Dodson, 1988; Stone & Lucas, 1994). This approach to dealing with student misconduct has involved the counseling staff in developmental intervention. There has been little research regarding the effectiveness of disciplinary counseling in higher education. However, research in public schools (e.g., Gilbert, 1965) and the criminal justice system (e.g., Arcaya, 1987) have reported less than positive results. In a survey of counseling center directors on college campuses, Stone and Lucas (1994) reported a 37% overall increase in disciplinary referrals to counseling services on the campuses surveyed. Also, the authors recommended that disciplinary referrals were best served through educational rather than therapeutic intervention.

Amada (1986) suggested that "The disruptive student, whether emotionally disturbed or not, often angers, baffles, alarms, and immobilizes those instructors and administrators who must cope directly and immediately with the disruptive behavior" (p. 222). It was suggested that disruptive students may benefit from referrals to mental health professionals for either therapy or educational intervention (Amada, 1986).

In his work on discipline and student development, Dannells (1997) discussed the importance of caring, collaborative communities on college campuses. In discussing judicial and other student development programs and services, Dannells (1997) stated:



First institutions must clarify their values, and then campus leaders – including both academic affairs and student affairs – must take responsibility for developing . . . programs which are fair, humane, and uphold those values for the betterment of the individual student and for the community as a whole. (p. 99)

Dannells (1997) argued that more research is needed related to student development in the disciplinary context. Dannells (1997) suggested, “If traditional quantitative methods do not seem to convey the richness of data needed by disciplinary practitioners, then qualitative methods should be encouraged” (p. v).

Gehring (2001) discussed the incompatibility of the legalistic nature of judicial process in higher education and the student development outcomes they intend to provide. “The disciplinary process on campuses has been too procedural and mirrors an adversarial proceeding that precludes student development” (Gehring, 2001, p. 466). Gehring (2001) suggested that higher education has allowed “creeping legalism” (Dannells, 1997, p. 69) to bring the due process rights and procedures way beyond what is required by the courts, and that campuses must review their disciplinary procedures to bring back the focus on education and student development.

Through a review of the literature related to campus judicial programs and services, it became clear that more research is needed in the area of developmental outcomes of these processes and systems. My study examining the emotional awareness and expressiveness of male students involved in the judicial system was designed to add to this literature. Understanding how student development may influence student success and learning in the college milieu in general, and the

judicial process in particular, provided significant insight regarding improvements to the services to students.

The above review of content literature provided a theoretical framework regarding how hegemonic masculinity, the socialization of boys and men, male gender role conflict, college student development theory, the study of men and their behavior, and judicial programs and services influenced my research purpose and questions, and the selection of my research venue. Next, I summarize two theories of inquiry - critical postmodernism and feminist theory - that formed the basis for the conceptual framework that guided my methodology, design, analyses, and interpretations.

### Critical Postmodernism

The roots of critical theory can be traced mainly to the work of Herbert Marcuse, Max Horkheimer, T. W. Adorno, Walter Benjamin, and Jurgen Habermas of the Frankfurt School in Germany (Rhoads, 1994; Schwandt, 1997). In 1934, forced out of Germany by the Nazis, the Frankfurt School formally moved its institute to Columbia University and "a blend of explanatory social research, normative critique, and philosophical reflection divorced from orthodox Marxism emerged that came to be called a 'critical theory' of society" (Schwandt, 1997, p. 56).

Critical theory purports that inquiry is transactional. A dialogue is required between the researcher and the participants that is dialectical in nature to "transform ignorance and misapprehensions (accepting historically mediated structures as immutable) into more informed consciousness (seeing how the structures might be changed and comprehending the actions required to effect change)" (Guba & Lincoln, 1998, p. 206). Giroux (1988) described critical researchers' roles "as

transformative intellectuals, . . . [who] uncover and excavate those forms of historical and subjugated knowledge that point to experiences of suffering, conflict, and collective struggle, . . . to link the notion of historical understanding to elements of critique and hope" (p. 213).

Critical theory also is characterized by its aim to "integrate theory and practice in such a way that individuals and groups become aware of the contradictions and distortions in their belief systems and social practices and are then inspired to change those beliefs and practices" (Schwandt, 1997, p. 24). This form of inquiry enlightens and empowers, providing the impetus for liberation from society's instrumental reasoning (Schwandt, 1997).

As described by Lather (1991) and Rhoads (1994), this form of empowering and emancipatory theory building is also an integral part of the praxis-oriented nature of a critical postmodernism. I now turn to postmodernism and the relation of this conceptual framework to critical theory and my inquiry.

The roots of postmodernism can be found in the works of French social theorists such as Michel Foucault, Jaques Derrida, Jean-Francois Lyotard, Jean Baudrillard, Gilles Deleuze, and Felix Guattari (Rhoads, 1994; Best & Kellner, 1991). The term postmodernism lacks a commonly agreed upon definition, but generally can be described as a reaction to, and critique of "modernism" and the Enlightenment tradition (Schwandt, 1997).

As Lather (1991) stated:

Philosophically speaking, the essence of the postmodern argument is that the dualisms which continue to dominate Western thought are inadequate for understanding a world of multiple causes and effects interacting in complex

and non-linear ways, all of which are rooted in a limitless array of historical and cultural specificities. (p. 21)

Lather (1991) also described postmodernism as questioning “what it means to know and be known, how and why discourse works to legitimize and contest power, and the limitations of totalizing systems and fixed boundaries” (p. 88).

Postmodernism is also concerned with how culture shapes social life (Rhoads, 1994). For example, Foucault’s (1980a) interpretation of normalization as a prescribed code that society members must follow describes accurately the hegemonic nature of our culture’s socialization of boys to a strict masculine code, as outlined in the literature review above. “Modern societies have become sites of social imprisonment in which the observance of norms governs daily life” (Rhoads, 1994, p. 28). For many boys and men the adherence to “normal” male behavior, including suppression of emotions, confines them to a hegemonic male social role.

“Critical postmodernists concern themselves with how language, culture, and power interact to shape the social experience. The focus is on human agency—the process of engaging in emancipatory struggle” (Rhoads, 1994, p. 25). Foucault (1982) described three basic types of struggles in society as:

either against forms of domination (ethnic, social, and religious), against forms of exploitation which separate individuals from what they produce; or against that which ties the individual himself (sic) and submits him (sic) to others in this way (struggles against subjection, against forms of subjectivity and submission). (p. 212)

The socialization of boys and men has been described as subjecting men to restricted social roles (Pollack, 1998; Sawyer, 1974). This argument has led many

liberal profeminist men to draw the conclusion that, similar to women, men are oppressed by these restricted social roles (Clatterbaugh, 1992). According to Clatterbaugh (1992), the existence of restriction or limitation does not in itself constitute oppression. However, it has been suggested that men's restricted social roles do create conflict for men (O'Neil, 1982; Pollack, 1999). It is the struggle of boys and men to break free from the subjected social and gender roles that provides a lens through which I framed this project.

Through the lens of critical postmodernism, my study explored a particular experience for college men and the impacts restricted social roles and gender role conflict had for them. My study examined whether a deeper understanding of men's inappropriate behavior (i.e., conduct code violations) can be achieved by exploring the restricted social roles that these men may have internalized or are in the process of developing. In addition, I explored possible ways the systems designed to hold college students accountable for their behaviors afford men the opportunity for awareness of their emotions, and subsequently growth and maturity, or whether these systems and prevailing assumptions about conduct codes and/or men served to reinforce restricted emotional awareness and expression. In other words, do college judicial processes enhance men's awareness and expression of emotions or might they reinforce "gender straight-jacketing?"

While a critical postmodern lens afforded me as the researcher the framework for examining men's restricted social roles and "normalized behavior," feminist theory also influenced my inquiry. The following section examines how feminist theory influenced the conceptual framework of my inquiry.

## Feminist Theory

Feminist theory and thought has been described as restructuring qualitative research by introducing an epistemology that is standpoint-based, using the experience of participants as the central focus of inquiry, and basing inquiry on ethics of caring, personal responsibility, and open dialogue (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Concerned with both private and public political dimensions in life, feminist theory focuses on how these dimensions are experienced depending on gender (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). "Feminist scholarship in the human sciences is responsible for revealing, rediscovering, and rescuing documentation of women's lives and related gender patterns across societies" (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 26).

Feminist theory has radically changed human inquiry. "Feminist scholarship has written women back into history, highlighting the misogyny that is deeply embedded in Western culture" (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995, p. 280). The feminist challenge to hegemonic masculinity (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1987, p. 4) has afforded an opportunity to explore the negative and oppressive effects of traditional masculinity on both women's and men's lives. May, Strikwerda, and Hopkins (1996) quoted from a lecture delivered by feminist scholar Sandra Harding during which she highlighted the need for writings by men who are committed to feminism who could "speak specifically as men, of themselves, of their bodies and lives, of texts and of politics, using feminist insights to see the world" (p. ix). In this same speech, Harding warned that this task would be difficult and painful, but that it was critical for men to develop a self-understanding of their experiences as men similar

to how women had during the early stages of the feminist movement (May, Strikwerda, & Hopkins, 1996).

Feminist scholar bell hooks (1984) described men who are active in the struggle to end sexism as "comrades in struggle" (p. 68). "Feminism defined as a movement to end sexist oppression enables women and men, girls and boys, to participate equally in the revolutionary struggle" (hooks, 1984, p. 68). Since men have been characterized as the primary agents that maintain and support sexism and oppression, hooks (1994) argued that men need to be a part of transforming the consciousness of society.

Exploring college men's awareness of emotions following their involvement in a campus judicial process afforded the opportunity to explore men's emotional experience from their "standpoint" (Smith, 1987). "Problematizing" (Smith, 1987) men's emotional experience in the judicial process provided the opportunity to "direct attention to a possible set of questions that may not have been posed, or a set of puzzles that do not yet exist in the form of puzzles" (p. 91). Conflict experienced by men due to their socially defined gender role could be revealed or discovered from the standpoint of these men in conflict.

Although much of critical, postmodernism, and feminist theory is concerned with the privilege, domination, and power held by men, it seems beneficial to all of society to understand whether the socially defined roles of men are contributing to devaluation, restriction, or oppression of women, children, and other men. Exploring this aspect of hegemonic discourse regarding masculinity would contribute to a better understanding of how to liberate men from these restricted

social and political roles, thus providing an opportunity and space for men to examine their own oppressive patterns.

The above sections regarding critical postmodernism and feminist theory provided a summary of the conceptual lenses through which I view men's issues. I now turn to how this framework influenced the design and methodology of my research.



### CHAPTER 3. METHODS

In this chapter, I provide a description of the methodological framework that guided this inquiry. I also outline the methods for studying the emotional experience of male college students who participated in a campus judicial process. Descriptions of the research site, participants, and data collection and analysis strategies are then presented. Issues related to the trustworthiness and ethical considerations of the study subsequently are addressed. Finally, the researcher's role and reflexivity are discussed as they relate to my involvement as the researcher.

Qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

(Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 3)

Qualitative research has roots in many disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, history, and feminist studies (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). Many scholars and researchers have attempted to define the qualitative paradigm, including its basic characteristics, methods, and philosophy. However, "qualitative research" simply may not be a very useful term for describing a particular type of inquiry (Schwandt, 1997). According to Van Maanen (1979), qualitative research is, "at best an umbrella term covering an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world" (p. 520). Thus, a qualitative researcher, through various methods, attempts

to understand how participants in a particular setting make meaning of, or understand, their experiences (Whitt, 1991).

The majority of research on college students has utilized quantitative methods based in the positivist paradigm (Patton, 1991). In these studies, researchers remain detached from their "subjects," and the research process tends to mask individual differences (Kuh & Andreas, 1991). Kuh and Andreas (1991) discussed the irony of student affairs so frequently using quantitative methods in that the field is based on premises regarding the uniqueness of individual students and the importance of feelings in thinking and learning. They suggested that qualitative methods "have the potential to more accurately describe and, perhaps, help student affairs staff, faculty, and others better understand the behavior of individual students and groups of students" (Kuh & Andreas, 1991, p. 397).

Critical postmodernism contributes to these aims in several significant ways. Tierney and Rhoads (1993) purported that critical postmodern research is built upon five basic premises:

1. Research is concerned with the structures in which the study exists;
2. Knowledge (and language for that matter) is not neutral but is contested and political;
3. Difference and conflict, rather than similarity and consensus, are used as organizing concepts;
4. Research is praxis-oriented; and
5. All researchers/authors are tied intimately to their theoretical perspectives.

We are all positioned subjects.

I address each of these premises in relation to my study.

The “structures” of the student judicial process concern me in that based on my experience, I perceive that college men often are encouraged to act out behaviorally in the college culture. These men also are reinforced by their peers for remaining disconnected emotionally (Rhoads, 1995). With respect to this study, the culture at the selected research site institution has a powerful, traditional masculine code that is enhanced by its location in a “woody” area offering and encouraging an abundant array of stereotypically masculine outdoor activities such as fishing, hunting, and hockey. Also, the codes, processes, and standards of the judicial process may influence men’s emotional experience through establishing expectations of behavior and accompanying emotional responses.

Rhoads (1994) stated that the question regarding “knowledge” that must be asked by critical postmodern researchers is: “Whose definition of knowledge is enacted, and whose is irrelevant?” (p. 43). With respect to this study, hegemonic masculinity and the socialization of boys and men dictates certain behavioral and emotional patterns for college men. The conflict created for college men by these socially defined gender roles is a result of the powerful knowledge obtained by boys and young men while growing up regarding what is acceptable behavior for men.

“A third premise of a critical postmodern perspective is that research must contend with difference and conflict” (Rhoads, 1994, p. 43). As mentioned above, men come to college with pre-existing notions of acceptable emotional and behavioral patterns for men. I don’t argue that many college men have the capability to behave in a civil and appropriate manner, or that some men have defined masculinity in a way that encourages emotional expression. What may be more relevant to this study is that in the struggle for men to redefine masculinity,

they often find resistance from other men. As discussed by Rhoads (1995), the masculine code on college campuses often is reinforced most strongly by the peer group.

Tierney and Rhoads (1993) also suggested that critical postmodern research is praxis oriented. I long have been interested in men's issues. As a judicial officer, I have worked with many men for whom gender role conflict obviously has been disruptive to their lives. I chose to engage in this research in part to understand the effects of male gender role conflict more clearly. I also find it a way of engaging with men in an inquiry during which we together could make some sense of how judicial processes in particular, as a potential enactment of hegemonic masculinity in general, are creating difficulty for college men. It was my desire to empower these men to understand how society's pressure to conform to traditional masculinity in fact may be affecting their emotional well-being.

The fifth and final premise of critical postmodern research as outlined by Tierney and Rhoads (1993) relates to the researcher disclosing personal and professional biases and theoretical perspectives that may influence the research. Later in this chapter, I highlight my role as a researcher and professional, and strategies used to maintain reflexivity (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; Lather, 1991) throughout the research process.

Having discussed my rationale for the choice of a qualitative inquiry framed in critical postmodernism, I now turn to the design and methods for my study. The following sections describe the research site, participants, data collection techniques, and data analysis strategies. I also address trustworthiness, researcher role and reflexivity, and ethical considerations as they relate to my study. Finally, I

summarize the findings of a pilot study conducted as part of an introductory graduate course on qualitative research methods, and how this pilot study influenced the inquiry.

#### Research Site

My study examined men's emotional experience with a judicial system at a public state university where I have been a student services professional for 12 years. The university is located in a rural setting, and the students are primarily from the region, with small populations of urban, international, Native American, and other minority students. The Fall 2001 enrollment included 4,431 undergraduate and 264 graduate students. The university has 31 academic departments with 44 major fields, five specialized licensure programs, and 13 pre-professional programs. There are strong academic programs in education, industrial technology, business, and psychology.

As discussed earlier, the culture at the research site institution has a powerfully traditional masculine code, enhanced by its location in a "woody" area. The majority of students referred to the judicial process at this institution have been men. Departmental judicial records indicate that men were accused of 68% of the conduct code violations in 1998-1999 and 67% of the violations in 1999-2000. The overwhelming majority of students accused of conduct violations are Caucasian. Finally, the most frequent violations of the code of conduct are alcohol related. As discussed in the literature review, substance abuse often is a symptom of conflict regarding emotional awareness and expression (Blazina & Watkins, 1996; Widick, Parker, & Knefelkamp, 1978). The judicial system thus appears to be an ideal setting in which to explore the impact of male gender role conflict (O'Neil, 1990), and

management and expression of emotions (Widick, Parker, & Knefelkamp, 1978). (See Appendix A for a summary of ethnicity, gender, and most common violations of accused students at the site institution for academic years 1998-1999 and 1999-2000.)

To assist in understanding the student judicial process, several descriptions and definitions are beneficial. Students attending the University at which this study was conducted are held accountable to a set of behavioral and ethical expectations that are designated in writing in the Student Code of Conduct (see Appendix B). In the residence halls, the residence hall staff members, including the student Resident Assistants, enforce these codes of conduct. When students violate these codes of conduct, they are charged through the campus judicial system.

The accused student meets with the judicial officer following the violation to discuss the judicial system procedures, the incident or offense in question, and the accused student's perceptions regarding the incident and charges. It was through conducting these meetings in the past that I often had observed the lack of emotional awareness and expressiveness of accused male students. It was my perception that many of these young male students had difficulty recognizing their emotions, and more difficulty expressing any emotions they may have been aware of as a result of their involvement in the judicial process. I had often wondered if these men were more aware of their feelings and were able to express them in safe, supportive environments, whether they might have been less likely to engage in negative behavior.

## Participants

To provide thick description (Geertz, 1973), I collected data from seven participants. After interacting with these seven participants, it became clear through their stories that there were common themes emerging, which indicated I had reached saturation in the data. The participants were all college men accused of violating the code of student conduct. The focus of this research was primarily on white, traditionally aged college men. Issues of age, ethnicity, and sexual identity without question are significant in the exploration of men's identity development, masculinity, and emotionality. The choice of white men as participants was made due to the fact that the majority of students involved in the judicial process at my institution are white males (see Appendix A).

The selection of participants was based on what Patton (1990) called "purposeful sampling" (p. 169), in that particular male students were chosen who had demonstrated an ability and desire to discuss their behavior and experience with me in prior discussions. These participants were invited to participate in the research purposefully due to the increased likelihood that they would be willing to engage in the collaborative, dialectical inquiry I had designed and intended.

The participants had been charged with a violation(s) of the code of conduct and had their judicial case(s) adjudicated through the University judicial process. They were informed of the purpose of my research and their informed consent was obtained prior to their participation (see Appendix C for a copy of the consent form used with participants). I also obtained clearance from the Iowa State University and the Bemidji State University Institutional Review Boards.

Through my previous interaction with these men, and the time spent with them during this research, the participants shared with me some details of their lives and experiences as college students. A brief introduction to each of the participants is listed below in order to provide a background for their stories portrayed through this inquiry.

ALAN is a freshman and is 18 years old. Alan portrays himself as a serious, matter of fact, and goal-oriented person. He is from a small town and a small family. He currently lives in the smallest residence hall that houses new entering freshmen. Alan enjoys sports, hunting, and fishing. Alan was charged with forging a parking permit and accepted responsibility for the violation.

BEN is a 19-year-old freshman. He is the first in his family to attend college. Ben is a very soft-spoken individual. He is in excellent physical condition. He was recruited to play football, but had recently decided to quit the team due to the time and physical demands. Ben had been found responsible for violating the institution's alcohol policy on two separate occasions, although he continued to insist that both incidents were the fault of his roommate.

CARL is a freshman and is 19 years old. Carl is short in stature. He is very articulate and enjoys conversation. He is from a small rural area and is the second in his family to attend college. Carl was found responsible for violating the alcohol policy twice during his first semester of college, although he indicated that during the second incident he was actually cleaning up after someone else's party when he was confronted for possessing alcohol.



JEFF is a 20 year-old sophomore. His father is in the military, so he has moved several times. He is most recently from an urban area in the Midwest. Jeff is very polite and well mannered. He is tall and slender and always well dressed. Jeff was found responsible for violating the campus alcohol policy four times over the past two years.

NATE is a junior and is 21 years old. He has participated on the football team all three years he has been in college. He is a large man and is in excellent physical shape. He has a wonderful sense of humor and enjoys talking. Nate had been charged with violating the alcohol policy twice and accepted responsibility for both violations.

PAUL is a 20 year-old sophomore. He comes from a suburb of a large urban area. He enjoys sports. Paul has an athletic build and is on the football team. He is soft spoken and frequently smiles and laughs. He had accepted responsibility for violating the alcohol policy during three separate incidents over the past two years.

RICK is a freshman and is 19 years old. He comes from a large metropolitan area. Rick enjoys computers and spending time with friends. Rick completed an inpatient chemical dependency treatment program at the age of 17 as a result of a court order. Of all the participants, Rick self-disclosed more personal information. He also demonstrated evidence of having participated in therapy, as he was able to identify and express feelings more readily than the others. Rick plans to work as a counselor in a correctional facility following the completion of his psychology degree. Rick accepted

responsibility for violating the institution's alcohol policy twice in his first semester of attendance.

### Data Collection

A qualitative paradigm and method guided this study, to capture the participant's experience during the judicial process in their own voices. Since a qualitative approach seeks to understand how experiences are created and given meaning (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998), I believe this approach afforded the opportunity to discover the participants' emotional experiences prior to, during, and following the campus judicial process in rich detail.

#### Content analysis of judicial documents

Prior to engaging with participants, I completed content analyses of several institutional documents and national resources related to judicial programs and services. The content analysis of these documents was performed for two purposes. First, these documents provided both historical and contextual dimensions (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992) for the subsequent interviewing process. Second, from a critical theory perspective, these content analyses provided insight into and the ability to draw conclusions regarding whether the structures, functions, and common assumptions underlying student judicial processes influenced the emotional experience of college men participating in these processes.

Institutional documents included Bemidji State University's Code of Student Conduct, Student Guide, and Training Manual for the University Hearing Boards. I also examined the Council for the Advancement of Standards' (CAS), "Judicial Programs and Services Standards and Guidelines" (CAS, 1998), and information

from the American Student Judicial Association's (ASJA) Website regarding college judicial services and programs (ASJA, 2001).

For each document collected, a "document summary form" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 54) was completed (see Appendix D). This form put each document in context, explained its significance, briefly summarized the content, and included my reflective notes regarding the document.

### Narratives and interviews

After obtaining written consent, I asked the participants to complete a written narrative of their recollections of the judicial process (see Appendix E), focusing on the emotional aspects prior to, during, and following their experience. The purpose of this written narrative was to have the participants begin the process of remembering their judicial experience, and to provide a background of information to me for use in guiding the interviews that followed.

The interviews were conducted using a method described by Seidman (1998) as the "three-interview series" (p. 11). Seidman (1998) summarized this process as follows:

The first interview established the context of the participants' experience. The second allows participants to reconstruct the details of their experience within the context in which it occurs. And the third encourages the participants to reflect on the meaning their experience holds for them. (p. 11)

With respect to my study, the first interview focused on the participants' experience in the context of the judicial system using a set of general focusing questions (see Appendix F) and the content of their narratives as guides. The second interview probed deeper into the emotional awareness and experience of the

participants during and following their involvement in the campus judicial process, as well as emotional awareness and experiences in their lives. For the third interview, I invited all participants to a focus group debriefing session following the initial and follow-up individual interviews, during which we conversed about my analyses and interpretations from the narratives and interviews, and together attempted to make meaning of these findings. During the focus group, I also discussed more openly the research related to men and emotions, gender role conflict, and masculinity. Sharing this information was part of my praxis approach to the inquiry, and was intended to provide an opportunity for these men to explore how gender roles related to their emotional experience in the college setting and lives.

The qualitative interview process involves interviewees becoming partners in the research process (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Lather (1991) stressed that emancipatory research involves interviews that are conducted in a dialogic manner and requires self-disclosure on the part of the researcher. I conducted interviews with participants that were reciprocal in nature, during which we discussed through conversational partnerships (Rubin & Rubin, 1995) the topics of men, masculinity, emotional awareness and expressiveness, and the judicial process. Through the collaborative interviews (Ortiz, 2001) and the focus group debriefing session I engaged with the participants in the praxis of emancipatory theory building (Lather, 1991). It was intended that participants would “become the agents of the stories which [were] produced and consumed about them, and the agents and instruments of their own change process” (Lincoln, 1993, p.43).

All interviews and the focus group were audio taped and were transcribed upon completion. I also took notes during the interviews and focus group focusing on observations of significant verbal and nonverbal communication. Following each interview and the focus group session, I completed a “contact summary form” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 53) that summarized the details of the contact including the main concepts, themes, issues, and questions that resulted from the interview (see Appendix G). These notes and transcripts were used to direct and guide subsequent interactions with participants. I collected narratives and conducted interviews with seven participants. All seven participants were also present and actively involved in the focus group debriefing session. My field notes from the individual interviews and the focus group session were also valuable during the analysis of the data as they provided information related to the non-verbal communication of the participants, and also my observations and reflective comments that occurred during these interactions with the participants.

#### Data Analysis Strategies

The analysis of qualitative data is an on-going process throughout the research process. Early analysis of the data helps the researcher “cycle back and forth between thinking about the existing data and generating strategies for collecting new, often better, data” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 50). I began analysis of the data as they were collected, completing summary forms for each document and contact with participants, and allowing my on-going analysis to contribute to the emergent process of the inquiry.

The analysis of the narrative and interview data began with “scanning” (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993) the data several times to check them for completeness

and to reacquaint myself with the narratives and the transcribed interviews. During this scanning of the narratives and transcribed interviews, analytical memos (Maxwell, 1996) were written regarding tentative categories and relationships of the data. The documents related to the judicial process also were scanned.

The next step in analysis was to code (Maxwell, 1996) the data based on categories developed during the scanning. "Coding provides lenses through which data can be viewed in a relational structure" (Krathwohl, 1998, p. 307). The coding was completed following Lofland's (1971) generic scheme of coding suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994). During this process of coding, categorizing, and rearranging the data, analytical notes were taken to assist in the development of themes and categories emerging. These notes were maintained to provide a written summary of the analysis process (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993), as well as to facilitate convergence (Guba, 1978) of the data, or figuring out how the data pieces fit together. The coding process resulted in selection of verbatim narrative from the data to represent each of the themes determined (Krathwohl, 1998).

After this original analysis of the narrative and interview data, I presented my interpretations to the participants for their reactions. This form of member checking (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) afforded the participants an opportunity to provide feedback regarding my initial interpretations. Following the participants' review, their feedback was included in refining themes and categories emerging from the data. To complete this part of the data analysis, I convened the participants in a debriefing session upon completion of my first comprehensive analyses and interpretation of the data to engage with them in a process of "collaborative theorizing" (Kushner & Norris, 1980-81, p. 27) regarding my findings.

As a form of peer debriefing (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Schwandt, 1997), I shared my research purpose and questions, and initial analyses and interpretations, with several student affairs professionals to obtain their feedback and perceptions. These professionals had experience working with males in the judicial process as well as education and training in student development. Their perspectives provided valuable contributions regarding my methods, analyses, and interpretations.

### Trustworthiness

Within the conventional positivist paradigm, criteria for judging the quality of research include:

internal validity, the degree to which findings correctly map the phenomenon in question; external validity, the degree to which findings can be generalized to other settings similar to the one in which the study occurred; reliability, the extent to which findings can be replicated; and objectivity, the extent to which findings are free from bias. (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 186)

Qualitative inquirers have expressed concern with these positivist criteria, purporting that they fail to address the “theory- and value-laden nature of facts, the interactive nature of inquiry, and the fact that the same set of ‘facts’ can support more than one theory” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 186).

Schwandt (1997) summarized the rejection of validity and objectivism by constructivist, postmodernist, and feminist researchers:

First, they reject naïve or direct realism - the idea that we can have direct, unmediated knowledge of the world. . . . Second, and in a related way, critics reject the notion that we “discover” the truth about the world, that is, that truth is somehow “out there.” . . . Third, critics reject the association of

validity with objectivism-the doctrine that there must be permanent, ahistorical benchmarks or foundations for judging the truth of claims. (p. 168)

Schwandt (1997) continued:

One additional, even stronger objection to truth and validity comes from radical postmodernists who hold that the very idea of truth as essential to knowledge or as a goal of science is modernist, Enlightenment value associated with order, rules, logic rationality, and reason, all of which are considered suspect at best and, at worst, oppressive. (pp. 168-169)

In judging the goodness of qualitative inquiry, Lincoln and Guba (1985) proposed the trustworthiness criteria of credibility (paralleling internal validity), transferability (paralleling external validity), dependability (paralleling reliability), and confirmability (paralleling objectivity). These criteria of trustworthiness are discussed below in relation to my proposed methodology.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested five techniques for insuring credibility: prolonged engagement, persistent observations, and triangulation; peer debriefing; negative case analysis; referential adequacy; and member checking. In my study, I collected written narratives and conducted extensive semi-structured interviews (triangulation) with seven college men. I shared my research purpose and questions, as well as original analyses and interpretations, with both the interviewees (member checking) and other professional colleagues in judicial roles (peer debriefing), and incorporated their feedback into my continued analyses and interpretations. The interviews were audio taped, and as I engaged in analyzing the transcribed data, I reviewed the tapes on occasion to maintain a connection with the original data collection (referential adequacy).



Upon completion of the first comprehensive analyses and interpretation of the data, I met with the participants in a group setting to discuss with them these findings (member checking). Through this reciprocal, dialectical process, I empowered the participants to engage in a process that Lather (1991) called emancipatory theory building. This provided an opportunity for developing catalytic validity (Lather, 1993), in that together we discussed how these findings related to men's experience in the college environment and whether there were possible alternatives to consider.

Regarding the second of Lincoln and Guba's (1985) trustworthiness criterion - transferability - I provided thick description (Geertz, 1973) of men's emotional experience as participants in a campus judicial process. I selected participants who represented the institution's population, and through use of narratives and the interview data, provided as wide a range of data as possible within the context of this research site.

As techniques to ensure the third trustworthiness criteria - dependability - Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested several techniques, including an "inquiry audit" (p. 317). Several professional colleagues reviewed my research in its entirety, including my methods, analyses, and interpretations, and provided feedback regarding its acceptability to them as researchers and professionals. I utilized two student services colleagues and several faculty members in my doctoral program in this capacity. The review of my research by my Program of Study Committee also provided a potential future audit of my inquiry.

The fourth of Lincoln and Guba's (1985) trustworthiness criteria - credibility - involves the inquiry audit and triangulation described above, as well as the keeping

of a reflexive journal through the inquiry. I developed a journaling technique through the creation of an index card filing system. In this system, I maintained my "analytical memos" (Maxwell, 1996, p. 11) containing thoughts and developments regarding my study from its inception as a part of an introductory graduate course on qualitative research. I also developed a conceptual map based on the "interactive model of research design" proposed by Maxwell (1996, p. 5) (see Appendix H). These reflexive memos and conceptual map also were available to the inquiry auditors for review upon request.

An essential component to the trustworthiness of research is the reflexivity of the researcher in understanding her or his role in the inquiry. The following section provides a summary of how I remained self-reflexive throughout the inquiry process.

#### Reflexivity and Researcher Role

A traditional interpretation of reflexivity signals the process of critical self-reflection on one's biases, theoretical predispositions, preferences, and so forth. Reflexivity, however, also signals more than inspection of potential sources of bias and their control; it points to the fact that the inquirer is part of the setting, context, and social phenomenon he or she seeks to understand.

(Schwandt, 1997, pp. 135-136)

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) used the term reflexivity to describe a researcher's recognition of herself or himself as an active participant in the research process.

This reflexivity guides the relationship with participants, methodology, and research design.

“Fieldworkers enter the field as more than researchers. Our identities and life experiences shape the political and ideological stances we take in our research” (Kleinman & Copp, 1993). As a male and an experienced professional in student services, there were a number of possible biases I carried into this research that could have produced threats to the trustworthiness of my study (Miles & Huberman, 1994). My familiarity with hegemonic masculinity and my previous experience with males in the judicial system provided me theoretical and experiential expertise to capture emotions more commonly expressed by men such as anger or frustration. However, I also needed to pay attention to the participants’ voices related to possible expressions of growth and learning that took place through their experiences, or expression of other emotions such as fear, sadness, satisfaction, or happiness. It was important that I did not allow my critical theory approach, my previous experience with males in the judicial process, and my familiarity with restricted male emotionality to prohibit me from recognizing all expressions of emotions by the participants.

Qualitative researchers using inductive processes must begin a project by assuming they know very little, or have misinformation, about the subject, the setting, and the participants (Kleinman & Copp, 1993). As a male researcher, I shared on many levels male socialization experiences with the participants. I needed to separate my personal emotional experiences from those of the participants to the best of my ability, making sure not to influence them through my biases regarding the restricted emotionality men experience through socialization or the judicial process. However, I did recognize my reciprocal role as a researcher in guiding the “emancipatory research” (Lather, 1991, p. 60) in which I was engaged. I

attempted “collaborative theorizing” (Kushner & Norris, 1980-81, p. 27) with the participants, and this involved the need for interactive, dialogical, self-disclosure on my part (Lather, 1991). In particular, I incorporated a group debriefing session with the participants following my initial comprehensive analysis and interpretation, during which a dialogical and reciprocal sharing of ideas and theorizing occurred.

With over 12 years of professional experience in student services in higher education, I long have been fascinated with the psychological, moral, and intellectual development of college students. As a campus judicial officer, I have become particularly interested in young men’s moral development, as a majority of the students with whom I have worked in this venue have been males. I was interested in understanding more clearly how these men’s awareness of their emotions affects their choices, behavior, and learning. As I have worked with these men, they often have discussed cognitively their decisions to violate the campus code of conduct, but expression of their emotions related to their behavior and experience has been less apparent and may be outside their awareness.

As a student services professional, I believe males bring their socialization as boys, their conflicts regarding masculinity, and their inexperience with awareness and management of emotions with them into their new collegiate environment. In addition, they are experiencing emotional and instrumental autonomy for perhaps the first time in their lives, adding to the complexity of their emotional awareness and experience. I feel college men often are not aware of their emotions and how they influence their behavior and choices. I also believe that when they do become aware of emotions they may be experiencing, they often have difficulty expressing

these emotions in a healthy manner, creating conflict that may be exhibited through inappropriate behavior.

I brought these personal beliefs regarding college men's conflicts with masculinity and with emotional awareness and expressiveness into my research. Recognizing and acknowledging these beliefs was responsible in part for choosing to explore this research issue. However, it was important for me to acknowledge these beliefs while at the same time letting go of them as much as possible during the research process. As phrased by Kleinman and Copp (1993), "Qualitative researchers only gain control of their projects by first allowing themselves to lose it" (p. 3). Engaging in this research afforded me the opportunity to examine my beliefs and explore their credibility. As Lather (1991) stated, "Our own frameworks of understanding need to be critically examined as we look for the tensions they might entail" (p. 80).

#### Ethical Considerations

My study provided the male participants an opportunity to reflect on their judicial experiences, and, in particular, asked them to reflect on their awareness of emotions during these experiences. One of the risks of this type of exploration was the exposure of emotions that may have been uncomfortable or difficult for these men. They may have felt vulnerable and in need of support, compassion, and empathy.

In a qualitative study of the wives of professional athletes, Ortiz (2001) found that for some of his participants the interview process became "therapy." According to Ortiz (2001), "the interview situation provides an opportunity for interviewees not only to ventilate suppressed emotions and unresolved issues through cathartic

self-revelations but also to somehow benefit from their cathartic self-revelations" (p. 205).

In my study, the processes of "building conversational partnerships" (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 93) and "collaborative theorizing" (Kushner & Norris, 1980-81, p. 27) afforded participants an opportunity to explore their comfort levels with emotional awareness and expressiveness. I accepted, if not encouraged, the likelihood that the participants might learn from therapeutic elements of the interviews and focus group. This goal formed part of my intended research praxis (i.e., heightening the possibility of consciousness raising among participants, so that they also become knowing subjects instead of simply disempowered, unknowing objects of study). Lather (1991), in discussing the erosion of the basic assumptions of positivism, stated:

Postmodernism implodes the concepts of "disinterested knowledge" and the referential, innocent notions of language that continue to haunt the efforts of educational inquiry to move away from positivism and to loosen the grip of psychologism on its theories and practices. (Lather, 1991, p. 6)

In my proposed study, I anticipated participants would become aware of emotions that might be uncomfortable. Through the reciprocal nature of the interviews I conducted, the emotional focus of the inquiry, and my focus on a collaborative process, I needed to remain aware of the emotional needs of the participants and maintain appropriate boundaries as discussed below.

My educational background and professional training includes the development and practice of counseling skills. I was comfortable with my abilities to recognize distress and vulnerability, and to manage these experiences if they had

become evident. I preserved the integrity of the study while balancing the emotional needs of the participants through careful attention to my role and the participants' needs. If I had perceived at any time that a participant was in need of, or was asking for, professional counseling or other assistance, a referral would have been made to the appropriate institutional resource. I did not have to make any such referrals during this inquiry. If at any time participants expressed a desire to remove themselves from the study, they were afforded this opportunity. These parameters were discussed and agreed upon prior to the participants' involvement.

#### Pilot Study

I completed a pilot study using a simplified version of the methodology used for this inquiry. A written narrative was collected and an interview conducted with one male participant. The design, analysis, and interpretation of this pilot study data are summarized below.

The purpose of the pilot study was to explore one male's emotional experience during a campus judicial process. I was expecting the participant to have difficulty expressing feelings related to his experience. Having known and worked with this participant in the adjudication of several conduct cases, I expected him to be more expressive emotionally than many other college men I had worked with over the years. Although with some prompting the participant was able to identify the feelings of anger, resentment, satisfaction, and happiness, my expectations of the verbal expressions of shame and fear were not evident.

In summary, the pilot study afforded me the opportunity to observe and listen to a male student's responses to questions designed to elicit emotional reactions to his experience in the student judicial process. The participant did

respond with emotion, but more often with the traditionally accepted emotion for men (anger and resentment). The participant also did express positive emotions, including satisfaction and happiness, when discussing his experience. I expected him to describe emotions such as shame or fear, which did not occur. The pilot study also provided me an opportunity to develop skills and experience with qualitative research design and methods, and with analyzing and interpreting data. As a result of the pilot study, and through further examination of the literature in men's issues, qualitative research, critical postmodernism, and feminist theory, I revised my research purpose and questions, theoretical and conceptual framework, and methodology.

Chapter 3 outlined the methodological framework of my inquiry. Having presented the purpose and questions, the theoretical and conceptual framework, and the methodology of my research, I now turn to the analyses of the data collected. Chapter 4 presents the analyses of the judicial documents examined and the data collected through interaction with the participants in this study.



#### CHAPTER 4. ANALYSES AND INTERPRETATIONS

As suggested by Walcott (1990), "The critical task in qualitative research is not to accumulate all the data you can, but to 'can' (i.e., get rid of) most of the data you accumulate. This requires constant winnowing" (p. 35). Data analysis in qualitative research is a successively selective process (Krathwohl, 1998). Prior to data collection, I had completed an extensive review of the literature related to men and emotions and student judicial programs and services, and had developed a research purpose and questions conceptually framed in critical postmodernism and feminist theory. As with most emergent types of inquiry, it was important that I maintained flexibility in my methods. As I collected data and began the early analysis process (Krathwohl, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994), I developed new insights that guided subsequent data collection and analyses. Analytic memos were significant in organizing my analyses and the connections these analyses had to the conceptual and theoretical framework of my inquiry.

This chapter summarizes the analyses and interpretations of the data collected for my inquiry. The first section summarizes the findings of the content analysis of the judicial documents. These findings are reported first and separately as they set the stage, through a more informed understanding of the espoused theoretical and philosophical framework of the research venue, for my subsequent data collection with the participants. The second section summarizes the findings from the data collected through my interactions with the participants, including the two individual interviews and the focus group debriefing session. The major themes interpreted from the analyses of the data collected are presented in each

section, and are supported by verbatim narrative from the data to represent each of the themes determined (Krathwohl, 1998).

### Content Analysis of Judicial Documents

The content analyses of documents related to the college judicial process were performed for two purposes. First, these documents provided both historical and contextual dimensions (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992) for the subsequent interviewing process. Second, from a critical theory perspective, these content analyses afforded the opportunity to explore working assumptions and principles of student judicial documents and how they form backdrops for the emotional experience of college men participating in these processes.

The documents analyzed for this study are listed below along with brief descriptions of the content, intended audience, availability and distribution, and reason for choosing the document for analysis.

1. Documents from the Association of Student Judicial Affairs (ASJA, 2001).

Documents chosen for review included: History of ASJA; Constitution; Statement of Ethical Principles and Standards of Conduct; and 1999-2000 Annual Report; article entitled: "ASJA Response to the U.S. News and World Report article, "Is There Any Justice in Campus Courts?". This information is available to the general public as well as members of ASJA on the Association's web site (<http://asja.tamu.edu/>), and is intended to describe the purpose, role, and services provided by the organization. The information from the ASJA web site was chosen for analysis due to the organization's self-description as a resource for judicial affairs professionals (ASJA, 2001). The ASJA membership is currently near 1,200 representing over 750 institutions of higher education.

2. Judicial Programs and Services Standards and Guidelines (CAS, 1998).

The document analyzed for this study was the Self-Assessment Guide (SAG). This document is available at a \$15 cost and was designed to assist student affairs professionals with interpretation and evaluation of the CAS Judicial Programs Standards during a self-study process (CAS, 1998). The SAG, which includes the standards and guidelines, was chosen for analysis in this study due to its growing prominence as a tool for assessment and evaluation of judicial programs and services (CAS, 1998).

3. Bemidji State University (BSU) (2001a) Student Guide.

This document, developed by a committee comprised of students and staff at BSU, includes the following sections: Student Involvement; Student Services; Residential Life; Campus Dining; Policies and Procedures; Bemidji Community; Responsible Men, Responsible Women; and Campus Compass. The BSU Student Guide is mailed to each new entering student prior to her or his arrival to campus, and also is available at various campus locations. Analysis of this entire document was included in this study due to its content related to the behavioral and ethical expectations of BSU students.

4. Bemidji State University (2001b) Code of Conduct.

The Code of Conduct is published by the Office of Student Affairs as an informational and reference manual for members of the various conduct boards and students involved with the judicial (conduct) process. The content of this publication was developed and is periodically reviewed by the Student Conduct Review Committee, which is comprised of BSU students, faculty, and staff. The publication contains the following sections: Introduction; Preamble; Code of

Student Conduct; University Sanctions for Conduct Code Violations; The Student Conduct System; Student Conduct Process; and Guidelines for Hearing Boards/Officers. The Code of Conduct is distributed to each hearing board member and to all students participating in the conduct process. This document was chosen for analysis as the content summarizes the judicial systems and processes of the research site.

5. Bemidji State University (2001c) University Conduct Board and Residence Hall Hearing Board Training Manual.

This publication is prepared by staff from the Office of Student Affairs and the Department of Residential Life and serves as an outline of the training process, as well as a reference manual, for the hearing board members. It is distributed to each faculty, staff, and student member of the hearing boards during the training process. It was chosen for analysis in order to examine the philosophy and process of training related to the judicial (conduct) system.

These documents are referenced throughout the following analyses and interpretations.

The themes resulting from the analyses of these documents are presented below, supported by direct quotations from the documents. The four themes are: Student Development as Intended Outcome; Ethical and Moral Behavior; Legalistic Language; and Empathetic and Respectful Philosophy.

Student Development as Intended Outcome

Boots (1987) argued that part of the judicial professional's role was assisting students to learn and grow from their judicial experience. The first and most prominent theme that emerged from the judicial documents I analyzed was the

focus of the student judicial standards, philosophies, and principles on student development and learning as intended outcomes. This theme was evident in each document and included references to social, moral, ethical, and intellectual development of students. Although student development and learning were mentioned as intended outcomes in the documents examined, there was little mention of the strategies that might be employed to connect this developmental and learning theory to the practice of achieving these outcomes. In addition, this discourse on student development and learning as a theory base for judicial practitioners was not supported, in the documents examined, as an effective or necessary means for managing college student misbehavior.

In the ASJA (2001) documents examined, the focus on student development was highlighted in several areas. In the Preamble to the Constitution of ASJA, the developmental nature of student judicial affairs was stressed in the statement, “The development and enforcement of standards of conduct for students is an educational endeavor which fosters students’ personal and social development” (§ 2). In Article II, Section A of the ASJA Constitution, the mission statement also included a developmental focus:

The mission of this Association shall be to facilitate the integration of student development concepts with the principles of judicial practice in a post-secondary educational setting, and to promote, encourage and support student development professionals who have responsibility for student judicial affairs. (§ 1)

In ASJA’s Statement of Ethical Principles and Standards of Conduct, a student development focus was evident in a standard regarding professional responsibility:

“Members shall make every effort to balance the developmental and educational needs of students” (§ 1). Student development also was emphasized in a standard regarding the treatment of students: “Members shall . . . maintain a campus climate in which learning and personal growth and development take place” (§ 5). In a standard regarding student behavior, student development was emphasized through the following statement: “Members support the principle of adherence to community standards and when those standards are violated, the necessity of disciplinary interventions that contribute to the educational and personal growth of the student” (§ 7).

The Judicial Programs and Services Standards and Guidelines (CAS, 1998) included student development and learning as outcomes of the student judicial process. In the “Mission” standard, the following statements were made regarding judicial programs:

The goals of judicial programs and services must address the institution’s needs to . . . provide learning experiences for students who are found responsible for conduct which is determined to be in violation of institutional standards or who participate in the operations of the judicial system. The [judicial] programs should be conducted in ways that will serve to foster the ethical development and personal integrity of students. (p. 2)

Learning and personal growth also were emphasized in the “Program” standard:

Judicial programs must promote learning and development in students by encouraging outcomes such as intellectual growth, ability to communicate effectively, realistic self appraisal, enhanced self-esteem, clarification of values, appropriate career choices, leadership development, physical fitness,

meaningful interpersonal relations, ability to work independently and collaboratively, social responsibility, satisfying and productive lifestyles, appreciation of aesthetic and cultural diversity, and achievement of personal goals. (p. 4)

This standard reflects many of the developmental tasks outlined by major development theorists such as psychosocial development (e.g., Erickson, 1959), development of identity (e.g., Chickering, 1969; Chickering & Reisser, 1993), maturity (Heath, 1978), and moral and ethical development (Gilligan, 1982; Kohlberg, 1969; Perry, 1970). In the "Program" standard, it is stressed that the training of judicial body members should include "an overview of developmental and interpersonal issues likely to arise among college students" (p. 5). Including student development theory in training of judicial boards is further support for the intended outcomes of growth and learning of the students participating in judicial processes.

Finally, the "Human Resources" standard indicates: "Professional staff members [with judicial responsibilities] must hold an earned graduate degree in a field relevant to the position description" (p. 12). This standard describes these relevant educational fields as "psychology, sociology, student development including moral and ethical development, higher education administration, counseling" (p. 12). It also is emphasized that these staff members should possess "a general interest in and commitment to the welfare and development of students who participate on boards or who are involved in cases" (p. 12). This standard appears to be congruent with Boots' (1987) emphasis of the importance of judicial

practitioners understanding human and college student development theory as it relates to their practice.

In the Bemidji State University (BSU) Student Guide, the significance of student learning and development is found in several areas of the publication. In the BSU "Vision Statement" the importance of "a campus learning environment dedicated to personal responsibility, global thinking and education for life" (p. 2) is emphasized. In the BSU "Mission Statement", the institution purports to "Encourage a varied educational experience beyond the classroom . . . while providing a campus life rich in unique opportunities for developing a heightened knowledge of the self, others and the world" (p. 3). Within the mission statement of the Department of Residential Life, a commitment to student development and learning is evident through "creating a caring environment that encourages academic success, individual respect, personal growth, and a sense of responsibility toward our community and a global society" (p. 19). The developmental philosophy of the institution and the Department of Residential Life regarding student services, which includes judicial services, is clearly documented in this publication.

The BSU Code of Conduct, which is also located in the BSU Student Guide, also contains information highlighting the significance of student development and learning as outcomes of the student judicial process and system. In the "Introduction," student learning is emphasized in the statement: "The Student Code of Conduct compliments *[sic]* and supports the University Mission, Goals, and Dimensions of Student Learning which are: Intellectual Development, Understanding of Self/Relating to Others, and Participating in an Emerging Global Society" (p. i). The "Introduction" includes an explanation of the role of the Student



Conduct System in student learning and development in the areas of: “higher order thinking, values, communication, human diversity, self-development, and responsible citizenship” (p. i). One of the stated “Goals” of the BSU Student Conduct System is, “The providing of learning experiences for students who participate in the student judicial system” (p. i), although this goal is listed as the fifth and final goal. Although student learning and development are presented as desired outcomes of the judicial process and system, no actual description of how the processes and systems provide for these outcomes is discussed.

In the BSU University Conduct Board and Residence Hall Hearing Board Training Manual, student development and learning are highlighted as an integral part of the board members’ responsibilities. A statement in the “Ethical Standards” section provides evidence of this: “In reaching a decision and in sanctioning, personal development and education shall be stressed” (p. 1). In the “Expectations for Board Members” section, student development is also promoted through the statement: “Understand that one of the roles of discipline and the Student Conduct System is to promote student growth by assisting students in the understanding of their personal responsibility” (p. 2). The Training Manual also outlines activities developed for board members designed to assist them in learn effective skills in communication and providing developmental sanctions. Materials on interviewing and communication skills, as well as exercises related to educational outcomes of the hearing process, are presented. This material does provide theory to practice links for student development and learning by assisting student board members in developing skills related to communication, interpersonal relationships, problem

solving, conflict resolution, and recognizing and recommending learning opportunities for those they sanction for judicial violations.

The focus of judicial affairs on student development, learning, and growth as intended outcomes of the judicial process was evident in each document analyzed in this study. The Association for Student Judicial Affairs (ASJA) stipulates that the judicial process pay particular attention to the development and learning of the students involved in the processes. The Judicial Programs and Services Standards and Guidelines (CAS, 1998), a published set of standards for judicial programs, emphasized its expectations that judicial programs and services in higher education must have student development and learning as intended outcomes. Bemidji State University's documents related to the student conduct system also described the developmental nature of the judicial process.

The national standards for judicial programs and the documents regarding the student conduct system at Bemidji State University highlight student development and learning as intended outcomes of student judicial programs and services. However, there was little in the way of specific practical advice regarding how the judicial processes and systems should be structured to provide these developmental and learning outcomes. Dalton and Healy (1984) suggested that higher education has an obligation to provide students values education with specific emphasis on self-awareness, fairness, respect, and tolerance. Evans (1987) also suggested that professionals responsible for student discipline in higher education have an obligation to see that appropriate attention is paid to the ethical and moral issues that students face in the college environment. A focus on student development and learning has been demonstrated to be a positive component of

student judicial processes and systems (Dannells, 1997). It would therefore seem prudent that professionals with judicial responsibilities must research, develop, and implement specific practices and methods for assuring student development and learning as outcomes of judicial process involvement.

Chickering (1969; Chickering & Reisser, 1993) included managing emotions as one of the foundational developmental tasks of college students. Although intellectual, moral, ethical, and social development are included as areas of focus for judicial processes and systems (ASJA, 2001; CAS, 1998; BSU, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c), the documents examined for this study do not mention specifically the importance of emotional awareness or expressiveness as significant in student development and learning. If college students struggle with emotional awareness, management, and expression, then the judicial process must be seen as a primary venue in which to provide students structured opportunities to learn about how emotions influence their behavior, decisions, and learning. Again, further research is needed in connecting developmental and learning theory to practice related to the judicial process.

The literature on student judicial programs and services highlights the importance of student development and learning in judicial processes and systems (e.g., Dalton & Healy, 1984; Dannells, 1991, 1997; Evans, 1997). Although the documents examined for this study do echo the importance of student development and learning in judicial processes, the documents do not specify strategies and practices that result in developmental and learning outcomes. Similar to the literature on student judicial programs, the documents examined for this study lack

concrete reference to how judicial processes and systems contribute to the social, moral, ethical, emotional, and intellectual development of college students.

In relation to my inquiry, these findings suggested that although professionals administering judicial programs and services claim to ground their practices in student development and learning theory, the link from theory to practice has not been articulated in relevant documents. Theory, research, and documents related to judicial programs and services are missing a crucial bridge to practical application of the espoused principles and standards.

“Foucault, and critical postmodernists in general, argue that all knowledge is particular; there are no grand narratives that convey universal truth” (Rhoads, 1994, p. 29). The discourse of student development and learning as intended outcomes of the judicial process could be viewed as a technology of power used to normalize behavior through knowledge espoused by professionals in higher education. Professionals in higher education, through assertion of their knowledge of student development and learning theory, are using the judicial process to make decisions about student behavior and the correct methods for shaping this behavior. As stated by Rhoads (1994), “Often, one group’s power over another is exercised not so much in an organized strategy but is more subtly evident in the way various aspects of their culture - their narrative knowledge, their discourse, so to speak - become legitimated by institutional mechanisms” (p. 31).

Understanding this hegemonic discourse was significant in preparing for my subsequent interactions with the participants during the interviews. As a student development professional and judicial officer, I have been educated regarding student development and learning theories. My role and practice as a judicial officer

have been directly influenced by my education and training. Since I was choosing to engage in research with participants I had already met with as a judicial officer, I was able to speak with them during this research about a judicial process that I had been a part of developing and facilitating. I was challenged to observe the participants' emotional awareness, or lack thereof, related to a judicial process in which I was directly involved.

Similar to the theme related to student development and learning as intended outcomes of judicial processes, the documents examined for this study also highlighted more specifically the significance of the ethical and moral behavior of both students and staff involved with judicial processes. The following section summarizes this theme and its relationship to both judicial processes and systems and my inquiry.

#### Ethical and Moral Behavior

The second theme identified from the analyses of judicial documents was "ethical" and "moral" behavior of students and staff. The documents included reference to ethical and moral development as outcomes of judicial processes. Also included were expectations for the ethical and moral behavior of campus community members, particularly of students. In addition, the documents addressed the standards of ethical behavior of staff responsible for judicial programs and services. In all documents examined, ethics and morality were addressed in some manner.

In the information located on the ASJA Website (ASJA, 2001), the association's Statement of Ethical Principles and Standards of Conduct specifically addressed the ethical responsibilities of professionals in judicial affairs. Members

are held ethically responsible for performance that among other things: “balance[s] the developmental and educational needs of students with the obligation of the institution to protect the safety and welfare of the academic community” (§ 1); “demonstrates equal consideration to individuals regardless of status or position” (§ 4); and “treat[s] all students with impartiality and accept[s] all students as individuals” (§ 5). Regarding the rules, procedures, and standards of student conduct and processes, ASJA states its members shall strive to ensure that these “rules, procedures, and standards shall reflect the commitment to equity, fairness, honesty, trustworthiness, and responsibility” (§ 6). The ethics regarding the confidential nature of the student judicial process also is emphasized through the statement: “Members ensure that confidentiality is maintained with respect to all privileged communications and to educational and professional records” (§ 9).

The Judicial Programs and Services Standards and Guidelines (CAS, 1998) address ethics in a separate standard. Regarding professional conduct, the standard indicates: “All persons involved in the provision of judicial programs to students must adhere to the highest principles of ethical behavior” (p. 21). Specifically, professionals are expected to “develop and adopt statements of ethical practice addressing their unique issues” (p. 21). Confidentiality is addressed in this standard as well with the expectation that professionals “ensure that confidentiality is maintained with respect to all communications and records considered confidential unless exempted by law” (p. 21). The standard also holds staff members accountable to “perform their duties within the limits of their training, expertise, and competence” (p. 21) and to “use suitable means to confront and otherwise hold accountable other staff members who exhibit unethical behavior” (p. 21).

The Bemidji State University publications (BSU, 2001b, 2001c) related to the student conduct system also present information concerning ethics. In the University Conduct Board and Residence Hall Hearing Board Training Manual, a section titled "Ethical Standards for Hearing Board Members" outlines the expectations for ethical behavior. The standards include statements on confidentiality, fairness, role modeling, and responsibility. Confidentiality and fair objectivity are also stressed in the "Hearing Board Procedures" located in the Training Manual and the BSU Code of Conduct.

Although professionals in higher education may agree that ethical behavior is desired in performing duties, and a desired characteristic in the student body, establishing a code of pre-formed ethics can be interpreted as normalization. Through establishing standards for ethical and moral behavior, higher education indeed may be constraining individual thought, choice, and action. "Modern societies have become sites of social imprisonment in which the observance of norms governs daily life" (Rhoads, 1994, p. 28). In particular, if campus community members and professional peers are expected to confront the unethical behavior of both themselves and those around them, a form of social control may develop by "inducing in citizens a state of conscious and permanent awareness of expectations and social repercussions" (Rhoads, 1994, p. 28). Given this potential internalization of expected ethics, the power of normalization purported by Foucault (1980a) appears to be operating.

College men in general, already restricted emotionally by hegemonic masculinity (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1987), also may be restricted by the normalization of their ethics and behavior as prescribed by the student code of

conduct. In the college milieu, men's behavior, morals, ethics, emotions, and thinking are all influenced by the normalizing practices of institutional policy and procedure. Through normalization of behavior and ethics via codes of student conduct, and the influences of hegemonic masculinity, college men are less likely to explore their emotional awareness and expressiveness. Although the student development discourse seeks to provide developmental opportunities for college students, professionals in higher education also limit and restrict men's emotional awareness and expressiveness through this discourse.

The judicial process attempts to regulate students' behavior, in part, to protect the safety and health of the campus community. Through the process of normalization via student codes of conduct, students who violate these codes are often labeled as immature (deviants). Student development practitioners would then best assist these students by affording them opportunities to understand the precedents to their immature behavior. Rather than labeling these students as deviants, judicial professionals must develop practices that encourage students to understand themselves better. Assisting students to understand, manage, and express emotions is a significant developmental opportunity available in the judicial venue. However, the opportunity for students to explore this developmental task was not highlighted in the judicial documents examined for this study.

The above two themes highlight the espoused significance of student development in judicial systems and processes as outlined in the judicial documents examined. I have argued that these discourses normalize students through use of both institutional and community knowledge and power. However, this is not to suggest that higher education and judicial practitioners should abandon all attempts



to regulate student behavior, ethics, or learning. Rather, we should recognize the power relations that exist between professionals and students in collegiate environments, and seek to empower students to define their experiences and gain knowledge through developmental opportunities. For example, in relation to men and emotions, judicial practitioners could encourage male emotional development by empowering these men to explore their emotional experiences and how these experiences relate to behavioral choices and learning. Encouraging male students to explore their emotionality would both make a statement regarding the importance of student emotional development, and speak to higher education's willingness to challenge gender stereotypes.

Another discourse in the judicial documents examined for this study was the legalistic focus of judicial processes and systems. The following section summarizes this legalistic theme that emerged from my document analysis, and describes how this discourse influences judicial processes and systems.

### Legalistic Language

A third theme in the documents analyzed was the predominantly legalistic nature of language used to describe the student judicial process. It was evident that the standards, philosophies, and principles described in these documents had borrowed and utilized language from the legal judicial system and process. Evidence of this legalistic philosophy was found in all documents examined.

In the documents examined from ASJA (2001), legalistic language was found in many areas. In Article II, Section B of the Constitution of ASJA, "identifying and communicating legal issues and other concerns affecting the Association's members" (§ 1) is listed as the second means of accomplishing the association's

mission. Article IX, Section C of the ASJA Constitution also describes a “Legislative Issues Committee,” whose purpose is to “identify state and federal legislation affecting the administration of student judicial affairs” (§ 6). In the ASJA Statement of Ethical Principles and Standards of Conduct, it is stated that, “Members shall strive to ensure that rules, procedures, and standards for student conduct on their respective campuses meet legal requirements for substantive and procedural due process” (§ 6).

In the Judicial Programs and Services Standards and Guidelines (CAS, 1998), a legalistic focus regarding the standards of student judicial programs and services was evident in the “Legal Responsibilities” standard. In this standard, several statements are made related to the legal aspects of judicial programs and services:

The institution must inform staff and students, in a timely and systematic fashion, about the extraordinary or changing legal obligations and potential liability. Staff members must be knowledgeable about and responsive to law and regulations that relate to higher education and judicial programs.

Sources of legal obligations and limitations include (a) constitutional, statutory, regulatory, and case law; (b) laws and ordinances emanating from federal, state, provincial, and local governments; and (c) policies of the institution. (p. 17)

This standard also suggests the necessity of legal counsel involvement in judicial services by stating, “The institution must provide access to legal advice for staff members as needed to carry out assigned responsibilities” (p. 17).

The Bemidji State University documents (BSU, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c) also outlined legal responsibilities of the institution and the students involved in the

conduct system. In the BSU Code of Conduct, the goals of the conduct system include, "The protection of due process and other relevant legal rights of students" (p. i). The student conduct process, which is outlined in the BSU Code of Conduct and Student Guide, contains language that is legalistic and very similar to language used in criminal and civil courts. Words and labels such as "Accused," "Complainant," "Due Process," "Adjudication," "Hearing," "Charges," "Violation," "Jurisdiction," "Guilt," "Testimony," "Evidence," and "Sanctions" clearly have been borrowed from legal processes, and establish a connection for students between the legal process and the student judicial process.

The legalistic nature of dealing with college student behavior has been documented in the literature for over 30 years. As stated by Mercer (1996):

The term judicial affairs is a relatively recent addition to the higher education jargon arising out of the litigious sixties when in loco parentis died and college and university administrators found themselves more and more frequently in the courtroom. Handling disciplinary problems began to require adjudication between the student and the administration or faculty and in some cases, the lawyers for each side. . . . Thus, the job of supervising student judicial activities began to require extensive knowledge and training far outside the area of student development. (p. 1)

Researchers have argued the importance of judicial affairs moving away from legalistic models. In a study conducted by Steele, Johnson, and Rickard (1984), they concluded that those representing institutions of higher education expressed concern that campus judicial systems had become overly legalistic. Bostic and Gonzalez (1999) reported that the respondents of a survey of 541 judicial officers

recommended more developmental and less legalistic judicial models as beneficial and desired. Bostic and Gonzalez (1999) also concluded that, "This concern has not been mitigated by the developments of the past decade and remains the primary concern of today's judicial officers" (p. 180). Gehring (2001) stated, "The disciplinary process on campuses has been too procedural and mirrors an adversarial proceeding that precludes student development" (p. 466).

Critical postmodernism is "concerned with how language, culture, and power interact to shape the social experience" (Rhoads, 1994, p. 24). The power associated with the legalistic nature of judicial processes can be seen as an attempt to normalize or shape the campus culture. As stated by Foucault (1984),

"Discipline" may be identified neither with an institution nor with an apparatus; it is a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets; it is a "physics" or an "anatomy" of power, a technology. And it may be taken over either by "specialized" institutions (penitentiaries)...or by institutions that use it for a particular end (schools). (p. 206)

Student codes of conduct and judicial processes and systems may be perceived as a technology of power controlled by the university and its administrators, with the purpose of normalizing behavior, ethics, and thinking. "Social control is achieved by inducing in citizens a state of conscious and permanent awareness of expectations and social repercussions" (Rhoads, 1994, p. 28).

The judicial process may evoke fear in students due to the formality of its structure; a structure often symbolized by legal terminology and processes that include consequences such as loss of privileges or separation from the institution.

Summarizing and explaining the judicial process in legalistic terms complicates the process and potentially exacerbates the fear students may feel. Even with a developmental focus, the power exercised by institutions of higher education through codes of conduct and judicial processes can be seen as technologies of control. Similar to the concept of the panopticon described by Foucault (1984), judicial processes and systems in essence may seek to

make the spread of power efficient; to make possible the exercise of power with limited manpower at the least cost; to discipline individuals with the least exertion of force by operating on their souls; to increase to a maximum the visibility of those subjected; to involve in its functioning all those who come in contact with the apparatus. (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 184)

Through development of codes of conduct, and the provision of expectations that students will abide by and employees will enforce these codes, campuses are establishing an environment in which employees hold power over students in the classroom, in the residence halls, and in most all areas of the campus, even when those with the perceived power are not visibly present.

As an example, most residence hall floors at BSU create "community agreements" in which the floor members outline expectations for behavior. Despite having the ability to establish their own guidelines, most of these agreements incorporate components of the BSU Code of Student Conduct into their agreements that restrict their freedom and behavior. For instance, it is common for floors to establish predetermined "quiet hours" during which they must maintain responsibility for lower noise levels. Students are aware of the power that exists within the structures of the University, and have tended to choose self-regulation

related to behavioral expectations of each other, thus affirming normalization of their behavior. Although individual students may express concern over this self-regulation, formal action to change the process for developing these restrictive community agreements has not occurred.

Despite the high incidence of “legal-speak,” there was also evidence in the examined documents of a move toward a more educational and less legalistic process. In a document entitled “ASJA Response to U.S. News and World Report article ‘Is There Any Justice in Campus Courts?,’” (ASJA, 2001) the author representing ASJA responded to this media article by defending campus judicial systems as educational versus legal processes. This ASJA response certainly suggested that accusations of student judicial programs as substitutes for the legal process were not appropriate. The BSU (2001b) Code of Conduct also emphasizes the separation of the student judicial and the legal process:

This code [of student conduct] does not replace or reduce the requirements of civil or criminal laws. . . . The campus is not a sanctuary from the general law. University community members violating civil or criminal law may be subject to University conduct procedures for the same conduct when the conduct occurs on campus or when it occurs off campus but is directly related to the University community. (p. 1)

Clearly, institutions of higher education have the responsibility to protect the legal rights of students participating in its programs and services. Professionals with responsibilities for student judicial programs should be knowledgeable of pertinent legislation and legal responsibilities to protect the rights of the students, institutions, and themselves. The national standards and expectations for judicial

affairs professionals outlined in both ASJA (2001) documents and the Judicial Programs and Services Standards and Guidelines (CAS, 1998) are explicit in this area.

However, if student judicial processes and systems are to become more educational and developmental, some professionals have argued that less legalistic language and processes would be beneficial (e.g., Bostic & Gonzalez, 1999; Steele, Johnson, & Rickard, 1984). A challenge for institutions is to develop judicial processes and systems that protect the rights of those involved without wholesale adoption of legalistic processes, procedures, and language for addressing student conduct code violations. While legislation has been and will continue to be influential in the expectations of institutions' adjudication of student misbehavior (Dannells, 1997), student development and learning as outcomes of the student judicial process also remain the responsibility of judicial professionals.

In summary, with the discourses of legalistic process, student development and learning theory, and moral and ethical development as guiding principles, student judicial programs and services may be operating to further constrain and normalize individual action: "prisons resemble factories, schools, barracks, hospitals, which all resemble prisons" (Foucault, 1979, p. 228). While I do not intend to suggest that higher education should abandon regulation of student behavior on college campuses, I do suggest an examination the power relations existing within the college judicial arena and whether these discourses outlined above best contribute to students' learning and development.

As discussed above, the legalistic language found in the judicial documents examined was incongruent in many ways with the espoused student development

theory. As outlined in the following presentation of the final theme, this legal-speak was also in conflict with the significance of an empathetic and respectful process stressed in the documents examined.

### Empathetic and Respectful Philosophy

The fourth and final theme that emerged from the analyses of documents was centered on the expression of care, compassion, empathy, and respect toward students participating in the judicial processes. Although evidence of this theme was found less frequently than the other three themes, there were numerous statements in the documents describing the importance of empathic and caring student judicial staff members and judicial processes.

In the ASJA (2001) documents examined, the Preamble of the ASJA Constitution stated that, "Integrity, wisdom and empathy are among the most important characteristics necessary for the administration of student conduct standards" (§ 4). In ASJA's Statement of Ethical Principles and Standards of Conduct, it is stated that judicial staff members "shall treat all students with impartiality and accept students as individuals . . . each with goals and needs" (§ 5).

The Judicial Programs and Services Standards and Guidelines (CAS, 1998) also includes expressions of the caring and empathetic nature of student judicial programs and services. In the "Program" standard, specific mention is made regarding programs that are "responsive to special needs of individuals" (p. 4). Referrals to counseling services are mentioned specifically as a responsibility of judicial body members, and it is suggested that the training of judicial board members include "a description of available personal counseling programs and referral services" (p. 5). In the "Human Resources" standard, it is stated that



professional judicial staff members should possess “a general interest in and commitment to the welfare and development of students who participate on boards or who are involved in cases” (p. 12). There is a standard regarding equal opportunity, access, and affirmative action stating that “judicial programs must not be discriminatory on the basis of age, ancestry, color, disability, gender, national origin, race, religious creed, sexual orientation, and/or veteran status” (p. 18). There also is a “Diversity” standard stating, “judicial programs must nurture environments where similarities and differences among people are recognized and honored” (p. 20).

The Bemidji State University (BSU, 2001b, 2001c) documents examined also expressed an empathetic and respectful philosophy regarding students and the judicial or conduct process. In the introduction section of the BSU Code of Conduct, the institution highlights its support of “a just community where the sacredness of the person is honored and diversity pursued” and “a caring community, a place where the well-being of each member is sensitively supported and where service to others is encouraged” (p. i). The University Conduct Board and Residence Hall Hearing Board Training Manual lacks substantial reference to the empathetic and caring treatment of students, but does mention referrals to counseling services as a part of sanctioning. The manual also addresses the needs of board members to “process feelings and/or thoughts about a specific conduct case[s]” (p. 2) with the support of hearing board members and chairpersons.

Although the documents examined did reference empathy and respect as essential to the judicial process and outcomes, these documents did not show evidence of how judicial process provides these elements. For example, referrals to

counseling are mentioned in several documents, but the actual process of counseling was suggested to occur "away from" the judicial process. Several documents highlighted the educational nature of sanctions imposed for student violators. These sanctions were often referrals to learning experiences also away from the judicial process. The documents examined seemed to suggest that empathy and respect are actually a desirable supplement to the judicial process rather than a central concern.

Consistent with Smith's (1987) notion of the existence of gender-specific work roles in society, the documents examined appeared to separate functions related to the work of providing judicial services. Smith (1987) suggested that "feminine" work often cleans up, tidies, and allows the "masculine" (main) work to proceed.

The place of women . . . is where the work is done to facilitate men's occupation of the conceptual mode of action. Women keep house, bear and care for children, look after men when they are sick, and in general provide for the logistics of their bodily existence. . . . At almost every point women mediate for men the relation between the conceptual mode of action and the actual concrete forms on which it depends." (Smith, 1987, p. 83)

The separation of gender work roles was present in the judicial documents examined. While judicial professionals are expected to be sensitive to the developmental needs of college students, this more emotionally related "feminine" work appears to be a responsibility delegated outside the judicial arena, as if it were not as important as the primary "masculine" work of adjudicating misbehavior. If judicial processes and outcomes are intended to be developmental, empathetic, and respectful, they must then incorporate these philosophies into the actual practices

they provide. Ideally, this would include providing students with an opportunity to explore their emotional awareness and expressiveness during their judicial experience, rather than as a supplemental and subsequent process.

The judicial documents examined for this study do include language supportive of an empathetic and respectful judicial philosophy and process. However, this discourse often competes and conflicts with the legalistic discourse, which may confuse students and staff members participating in the processes. For example, in the BSU Code of Conduct, (BSU, 2001b) the following statement is made in the preamble: "As citizens, University Community members have the right to organize their personal life and behavior so long as they do not violate the law or University regulations and do not interfere with the rights of others or with the educational process" (p.1). Another example of the contradictory nature of these competing discourses is shown through two statements made in the ASJA's (2001) Constitution. Listed as a significant means to accomplishing its mission is "identifying and communicating legal issues and other concerns affecting the Association's members" (p. 1). ASJA (2001) also listed as significant to its mission that "integrity, wisdom and empathy are among the most important characteristics necessary for the administration of student conduct standards" (p. 1). While both these principles are deemed important, it appears that the discourses of legal versus developmental philosophy compete for status. Rather than complementing each other, these contested discourses have become a binary argument (Lather, 1991), with each discourse vying for hegemonic status in the judicial arena. As highlighted in the literature, these contested discourses have created tensions among judicial affairs practitioners.

“Language serves as the medium through which power gets enacted, while at the same time language achieves relevancy through the enactment of power” (Rhoads, 1994, p. 25). Since student judicial systems are often perceived as a source of control and power on college campuses, the language these systems use and disseminate to the campus community is significant regarding the level of power and control these systems are perceived to have. With the competing legal, developmental, and empathetic philosophies, students may become confused regarding the trustworthiness and the genuine purpose and motives of judicial systems and processes. Perhaps this is why several researchers and scholars have suggested that judicial programs and services move away from legalistic language and processes to a more developmental philosophy and process (e.g., Bostic & Gonzalez, 1999; Dannells, 1997; Steele, Johnson, & Rickard, 1984). It would behoove judicial affairs professionals to explore how both the legal requirements and the desire for developmental and empathetic process could be married in practices that afford students both freedom and opportunities for learning from behavior.

The results of the content analyses of the judicial documents suggested that the contexts of student judicial systems espoused student development and learning as outcomes, and emphasized a caring and empathetic process. However, the judicial documents also showed evidence of a legalistic language and philosophy, flavored with the intent of normalizing behavior, thinking, and emotions. The conflicting nature of the legalistic versus developmental, empathetic, and respectful language may provide incongruent messages to the students participating in the process, which could hinder the emotional awareness and expressiveness of these students during the judicial process. Students enter the judicial process having

perhaps as their only referent images of the legal court process that they see in the media. Students enter the college judicial process expecting to behave as if they were entering the legal court process; a process where factual evidence is much more validated than emotions and feelings. As they enter the college judicial process and they are presented with legalistic language and structure, attempts by judicial officers to incorporate empathetic and developmental style and practice may confuse students.

For example, a student entering the judicial process expecting to present the “facts” of the case in her or his defense may be confused when asked how she or he is feeling. In addition, students may resist disclosure of feelings in this process because they may fear these feelings could be used against them, or alternatively, may consider emotions insignificant in their defense. The challenge for judicial practitioners is the development of empathetic and respectful processes and systems that meet the necessary legal requirements and support the development and learning of students.

In summary, the analyses of judicial documents selected for this study resulted in four themes: Student Development as Intended Outcome; Ethical and Moral Behavior; Legalistic Language; and Empathetic and Respectful Philosophy. The analyses of these documents were completed to provide both historical and contextual dimensions (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992) to inform the subsequent interviewing process. Also, from a critical theory perspective, these content analyses provided insight regarding whether the judicial standards, philosophies, and principles were supportive or restrictive related to the emotional awareness and expression of college students.

The content analysis of the judicial documents impacted my research in several ways. First, an additional interview question was added related to the participants' perceptions of the judicial materials they may have been given as a part of the judicial process. During the interviews I asked specifically about these materials and for the participants' reactions to them. In the focus group debriefing session, I discussed with the participants the possible changes that could be made to improve these materials.

Second, the content analysis process afforded me an opportunity to compare the findings of the literature review related to judicial programs and services to the content of the documents. This comparison between the documents analyzed and the content and theoretical literature cited earlier enriched my ability to theorize and conceptualize regarding the research purpose, questions, and methods. This comparison process reinforced for me the need for further examination of the standards, philosophies, and principles associated with the judicial process.

Finally, I developed a clear understanding regarding the espoused formal elements of the context of the judicial process at the research site as documented in its judicial materials. This provided me a rich framework for entering the process of engaging with participants. In the focus group debriefing session, the collaborative theorizing component of my research as praxis also was more informed as we discussed the judicial process context as related to emotional awareness and expressiveness.

The above section summarized the analysis and themes emerging from the documents examined, and how this analysis and resulting themes informed my subsequent data collection with the participants. The following section outlines the

analyses and interpretations of the individual interviews and the focus group debriefing session with the participants.

#### Analysis of Narratives, Interviews, and Focus Group Debriefing Session

As outlined in Chapter 3, written narratives were collected from each of the seven participants prior to engaging in the interviews. The purpose of this written narrative was to allow the participants to begin the process of recalling their judicial experience and to provide a background of information for my use in guiding the interviews that followed. Two individual interviews were conducted with each of the seven participants. The first interview was semi-structured, and was based on a set of predetermined questions (see Appendix F) and the content of each participant's narrative that was reviewed prior to the interview. The first interview was intended to begin the development of a collaborative and reciprocal relationship with each participant, and to gather initial perceptions from the participants regarding their judicial experience. The second interview was also semi-structured, and questions were based on an initial analysis of the data from the first interview and my field notes. During the second interview, I probed deeper into the emotional awareness and expression of the participants during their judicial experience specifically, and in their lives generally.

The focus group debriefing session was planned in order to conduct a member check (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) regarding my preliminary findings and to engage with the participants in a process of "collaborative theorizing" (Kushner & Norris, 1980-81, p. 27) related to men and emotions. During the focus group debriefing session, I presented my preliminary analyses to the group and solicited their perceptions regarding the accuracy of what I had concluded from my

interactions with them. The interviews and the focus group session were audio taped and transcribed, and the analysis was based on these transcriptions, the completed Contact Summary Forms, and my field notes.

It is important to note that I viewed my role as a participating actor in this inquiry. As suggested by Rubin and Rubin (1995), the qualitative interview process involves interviewees becoming partners in the research process. My desire to engage in emancipatory theory building (Lather, 1991) involved facilitating interviews that were conducted in a dialogic manner and required self-disclosure on my part. I conducted interviews with participants that were reciprocal in nature, during which we engaged through conversational partnerships (Rubin & Rubin, 1995) in conversations about men, masculinity, emotional awareness and expressiveness, and the judicial process. I have therefore chosen to also include segments of our dialogue in support of the themes that emerged. A brief description of the participants was included in Chapter 3 (page 37). It would be helpful to review this section prior to reading the analysis that follows.

The analysis of the written narratives, interviews, and focus group resulted in four themes: Continuum of Emotional Awareness; Protecting Masculinity; Restricted Venues for Expression of Emotions; and Minimizing Feelings. Each theme is outlined below with statements from the participants included in support of the theme.

#### Continuum of Emotional Awareness

As discussed in Chapter 3, I purposefully selected participants for this inquiry who had shown an ability and desire to speak openly about their involvement in code of student conduct violation(s). These men were chosen due to



the probability that they would openly discuss the issues I was intending to explore in this inquiry.

In reviewing the written narratives and as I began to interact with the participants during the first interviews, it became apparent that most of the men found it initially difficult to openly discuss emotions. When asked to write about their memories of “emotions” and “feelings” associated with their judicial experiences in the written narratives (see Appendix E), several participants instead described in a cognitive manner the details of the incidents in which they were involved. For example, Ben described the details of his involvement in an incident: “It was a Friday night and I had just come back from being with my parents at their hotel. I got back to the dorms and found my roommate and his girlfriend drinking.” Alan also described his involvement in the incident for which he was referred to the judicial process: “Well, It started out when I had my car here for a week. I went and got a visitor-parking pass so I did not have to pay for a parking pass for a week.” Similarly, in his written narrative Carl opened with a statement that clearly showed his interpretation of the instructions as asking for a review of the details of his judicial experience: “I have been asked to look back at my involvement in the BSU Judicial System and describe my experience. My experience consists of being written up for drinking three times. One of these time I was caught with alcohol in my hands.” It appeared for these participants that they had difficulty interpreting the instructions for the written narratives, remembering and/or expressing any feelings or emotions related to their judicial experience, or both.

As I began the first round interviews and asked the participants to discuss specifically their memories of feelings associated with their judicial experience,

several participants had difficulty remembering how they felt. For example, in my first interview with Rick, he stated: "I really don't remember what I was feeling at the time I got busted." In the following dialogue from my first interview with Alan, it was apparent he was unaware of feelings associated with his judicial experience:

Researcher: What feelings did this whole process bring up for you?

Alan: I don't know. What do you mean?

Researcher: Well, did your experience in the judicial process create any feelings for you?

Alan: Not really. I didn't think [the experience] was a big deal.

In the early stages of the interview process, it appeared for several participants that they did not experience feelings or were having difficulty remembering or expressing any emotions they experienced during their judicial system involvement.

Researchers have suggested that men have a difficult time recognizing and expressing emotions. Levant's (1997) description of "normative male alexithymia" (p. 9), which is the inability for men to put feelings into words or even to be aware of them, would describe well most participants' difficulty in identifying and/or expressing their emotions related to their judicial system experience. However, two participants did openly discuss emotions related to their experience during the early stages of the inquiry. In his written narrative, Nate described his experience when confronted for a policy violation: "The first time I got caught with alcohol in the dorms I was kinda scared and worried about what would happen." In the first interview with Rick, he described what it felt like to wake up the next morning after being cited for an alcohol policy violation: "I felt ashamed, embarrassed, worried, nervous, and really wanted to know how much trouble I was in." As I came to find

out in his second interview, Rick had completed a treatment program for substance abuse when he was 17 years old. It was here that, in his words, "I learned to open up and talk about how I was doing."

As the first interviews progressed, several participants who had not expressed themselves emotionally to this point began to talk about feelings they experienced during their judicial experience. Four of the seven participants described themselves as worried or nervous. During a first interview with Nate, when asked if he remembered how he felt when he was confronted for violating the alcohol policy, he responded: "I was really worried. I didn't know what they were going to do." Paul stated: "Well, I was really nervous because I heard that things were getting, you were cracking down harder than they were before." Similarly, when asked how he felt prior to meeting with the judicial officer to discuss his case, Ben responded: "A little nervous not knowing what to expect, I guess." Rick, in describing how he felt before the meeting with the judicial officer stated: "I was a little bit nervous at first, you know, just because it was so soon into the school year and I was already down here."

Anger and frustration, emotions described by Pollack (1995) as acceptable male emotions, were emotions expressed by several participants. In his narrative, Paul described how he felt about being charged with a policy violation: "I was very pissed because there is so many people that deserved to be written up more than what we were doing." Carl described in his narrative the anger he felt towards the resident assistant who confronted him for violating the alcohol policy: "After a while we knew there was no way she is going to cooperate and understand what we were saying . . . . This made me so mad and furious." In his first interview, Paul

stated: "I was mostly like, dang it. Kinda frustrated. I guess I was frustrated mostly like that; not that I was drinking, but that I was dumb enough to let it happen."

Nate expressed anger directed at the Resident Assistant who confronted him for the violation:

Nate: The first time I got caught, well every time I got caught there's always anger towards the RA. Every time you get caught you just get, for some reason, like, "Can't you just let me go with a warning?" and all this stuff. And then they say, "No," and you just get really mad and you just sit there like when they leave and talk bad about them.

During the first interview, Carl described how he felt when he received the letter indicating that he was charged with a policy violation: "And then I got the letter, and right away boom, anger just started going again. I was furious." In his first interview, Ben described how he felt when he was confronted for a possessing alcohol that he claimed belonged to his roommate:

Ben: I kinda felt crappy, not good about getting written up for something that wasn't mine.

Researcher: Explain to me what crappy is. Give me your words. What did you feel?

Ben: Kinda disappointed, angry, not real happy. Just kinda, almost sick to my stomach just thinking I got in trouble for something that wasn't even my fault.

Paul also expressed frustration when describing how he felt talking about his judicial experience with his friends and parents: "Kind of frustrating. Seems like I just keep running into bad luck. And it was really frustrating."

During the second interview with Rick, we discussed anger as an acceptable and often misplaced emotion that is expressed by men. Rick described how his anger resulted in feelings of shame.

Researcher: If there is one feeling that [men] are allowed to have, what is that?

Rick: Anger. Yeah, I know. It's so funny. After all this happened, you know, this last week. I don't drink that much, you know, but it's like when I do a part of me goes back to treatment. I'm just not supposed to, because when I start I like don't quit until my body actually falls over and calls it a night. And after all that shit that happened, I was just a time bomb. I mean this guy came up to me and we didn't exchange blows or nothing, but crazy things were coming out of my mouth. I mean half because I was just shit-faced, and half because I had all this anger stuffed inside me. And I woke up the next day and I had all those feelings, you know? I felt like an ass. I felt embarrassed. I felt ashamed. And I went and talked to the other guy the next morning and we apologized. But still that whole day, all day I just felt like I had something to be ashamed about.

During the focus group debriefing session, I discussed with the participants their varying levels of emotional awareness related to the judicial process. They discussed how and why they presented themselves differently related to emotions and feelings during earlier interviews. A segment of this conversation went as such:

Researcher: So, help me understand why when I first asked you in the narrative to tell me about how you were feeling, and in the first interviews when we were first talking about feelings, that was not happening. Can you

give me any ideas of what was going on that would have stopped you from sharing how you felt?

Carl: I'm just thinking that if we would have came out and said we were sad, you know, didn't understand what was going on, maybe we wouldn't get our point across. Maybe we wouldn't be saying exactly what we felt. Because when I got mine, I mean I was pissed and I wanted to make sure you knew that. Now if I would have came in and said I was sad about the situation, I just felt maybe it would be like, ok, he's sad. That's too bad for him. And look, this guy is angry. We got a problem here. That how I felt on a lot of it.

Researcher: And you weren't probably sad. Maybe you were?

Carl: I don't know. If we came out with more aggressive words, I thought maybe it would get dealt with quicker.

Carl did indicate he may have had feelings other than anger, but he felt anger was going to be a more effective emotion to express in order to get the attention of the judicial officer and perhaps expedite the judicial process. It appeared that Carl had chosen to express a particular emotion based on its usefulness. Even in describing this situation to me during the interview, Carl's voice was louder and he became more excited and animated.

Jeff contributed to this conversation by describing the difficulty he had in his awareness of the emotions he experienced related to the judicial process:

Jeff: I mean, honestly, when I first got my write up, sad wasn't an emotion. I mean it's kind of a big deal. I was more, you know, I shouldn't have done it. But I wasn't sad. It didn't hurt my feelings. Because I knew I did something wrong. That's the rules and I broke them. And I wasn't even that angry. I

mean I've had a couple, some of them I was pissed because I thought they were stupid and I shouldn't have gotten written up for it. But then other ones, we got caught drinking in our room, and it's a dry campus, you get written up for it and I'll go talk to the guy and do whatever I got to do. But no, I guess, like anytime I don't think I'd be sad. Even if I got kicked out of the dorms, an emotion I would feel would be like I would be scared. Because my parents help me with school and stuff, and they help pay for it so my parents would be disappointed. They might, you know, cut my funds. Well, then I'd be scared. Like now what am I gonna do? I can't go to school. But not scared, like, I don't know what I am going to do.

Both Carl and Jeff discussed sadness as an emotion that I may have expected them to feel during their judicial experience. They both also suggested that sadness was not a feeling that would be appropriate to discuss in the judicial process or in the interviews with me, even if they had actually experienced sadness as a part of their judicial experience. As discussed later, the "rules" for emotional expression were beginning to be surfaced by the participants, as suggested by Carl and Jeff's description of the "use" of emotions as a means to accomplish certain ends.

As is highlighted by the statements above, most participants had difficulty remembering or expressing emotions related to their judicial experience. However, several participants were able to discuss emotions they remembered as a part of their judicial system experience in the written narratives and during the first round interviews. This continuum of emotional awareness provided evidence both supportive of and contradictory to the research on men related to restricted emotionality. For most participants, their difficulty in remembering feelings or

putting feelings into words corresponds well with Levant's (1997) description of normative male alexithymia and O'Neil's (1990) contention that men often experience restricted emotionality. Several participants expressed anger and frustration, emotions that are deemed as acceptable male emotions (Pollack, 1995). However, at least two participants were able to both identify and express emotions more freely during the initial stages of my interactions with them. This suggested that for these men, they have learned to both recognize and express emotions they experience regardless of the venue in which they occur.

During the second round of interviews, I probed deeper into the participants' awareness of emotions, and asked for clarification regarding the emotions they had and were presenting. The participants began to discuss more openly the difficult nature of emotional expression, and how gender roles influence the appropriateness of this expression. It was during the second interviews that the theme of "Protecting Masculinity" emerged.

### Protecting Masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity has come under fire in our society as men and women search for a more acceptable identity for men. However research has shown that for many men, straying from the behaviors associated with the traditional male gender role may create conflict (O'Neil, 1990). In the written narratives and during the first round interviews, emotionally related content was minimal. This is consistent with research on men and restricted emotionality (e.g., Levant, 1997; O'Neil, 1990).

During the second round interviews, the discussion by participants of their awareness of and ability to express emotions was more detailed and descriptive. As



I began to probe more thoroughly into their judicial experience, as well as their lives, they responded with more confidence and certainty related to emotions they had experienced.

As the participants began to discuss emotions more openly, they began to describe different definitions or labels for the emotions they had described in the narratives and first interviews. For example, Nate had explained in his first interview that he had been nervous when he received the letter indicating he had been charged with a conduct code violation. During the second interview, his description of nervous deepened and he disclosed a more intense emotional experience:

Researcher: If I remember the context, the one time when you got the letter, you were nervous about what that meant. Tell me what nervous means to you.

Nate: I don't know, when I got the letter, I was nervous wondering just, uhm, just worried about what's going to happen, like, when I met with the person. Worried like if I'm gonna get kicked off, or if I am gonna get in trouble with the coaches or get in trouble with the dorms in any way. If my parents are gonna find out; like how are they gonna take it. Nervous in that sense, more worried.

Researcher: Does nervous mean the same thing to you as scared?

Nate: Yeah, probably.

As Nate acknowledged that for him, feeling nervous is the same as feeling scared, he became visibly uncomfortable and began looking towards the floor and shuffling his feet. It was obvious that talking about being scared was difficult for Nate.

In a similar discussion with Ben, he also initially described what he was feeling as nervousness. The following extended excerpt from our conversation illustrates how Ben responded to a comparison of nervousness and fear:

Researcher: So then you meet with the conduct officer. Do you remember how you felt going into that meeting?

Ben: A little nervous, not knowing what to expect. Kinda, I don't feel good. Kinda sick to my stomach. Just not feeling good about what happened.

Researcher: Tell me a little bit more about what nervous is for you.

Ben: Uhm, it's just kind of a feeling of anxiety. Just kind of; you don't want to tell them because you're afraid of what they are going to say, and that type of thing. You're just kind of not wanting to disappoint your parents.

Worried about what they're going to think and stuff.

Researcher: OK, I am going to throw a question at you and you can tell me if I am close or not. Does nervous for you mean the same thing as being afraid?

Ben: Uhm, kinda.

Researcher: Or scared? You used the word anxious. Anxious is something that I think we get when we don't know what is going to happen. An unknown. And that sometimes is fear too. Do you think it's easier to admit we're nervous or afraid?

Ben: Uhm, nervous.

Researcher: Why is it easier for us to admit we're nervous?

Ben: Uhm, cause it's not the word afraid. Afraid is more, you don't want people to know you are afraid and stuff at times. That's the way things go.

Researcher: Do you think it's harder for men to admit they're afraid than women?

Ben: Yeah.

Researcher: Tell me more about why you think that's true.

Ben: Mmmm. I don't know cause guys are more, are, what do you want to say. I can't think of the word.

Researcher: Macho?

Ben: Yeah, kinda. You don't want to come off as being, kinda, as having weaknesses and stuff.

Researcher: Do you remember that happening when you grew up?

Ben: There's always stuff where you act like, it's not a big deal, when it is.

Researcher: So the nervous thing could be anxiety, it could be fear, it could be kind of being afraid of what might come up. What might happen. That's kind of the same thing for you?

Ben: Yeah, all the same.

Researcher: But it's much easier to say you're nervous than it is to say you were afraid?

Ben: Yeah.

Similar to Nate, Ben also showed signs of being uncomfortable as we discussed similarities of being nervous and being scared. He began to look downward as he talked about feeling scared. He also paused for a moment each time he began to discuss this topic and was hesitant to continue.

During the second interview with Rick, who had been one of the more open participants regarding discussing emotions, he also described the differences of

being worried or nervous and being afraid or scared. The following rather lengthy section of this interview illustrates Rick's description of these differences:

Researcher: Last time you said you were nervous at times when you were going through the process. Talk to me about what nervous is for you.

Rick: Uhm, nervous for me, I mean, are you talking about how I feel emotionally?

Researcher: Yes.

Rick: I guess, I don't know, I guess I just have a really bad feeling in my stomach, you know, and my head is totally focused on what I am nervous about and it pulls me away from everything else. It's like I can't get my work done. I can't, you know, focus. I'm too worried. Almost makes me feel like, like the embarrassment almost goes along with the nervousness. You know, I'm nervous and embarrassed at the same time, and I feel like, ashamed, almost.

Researcher: So that was embarrassment and nervousness. Do you feel at times that nervousness and embarrassment could also be interpreted as fear or getting scared?

Rick: Oh yeah. I think that plays a big part in it. People don't, you know, nervous is like being scared. It's just a different word for it, really. I mean, cause, you know you're going to go bungee jumping. You know, are you nervous or are you scared? Well, you know, you're nervous because you are scared.

Researcher: Is it easier to admit that you're nervous than scared?

Rick: Yes, I believe so. I don't know, I don't really admit that I'm scared too much. I don't know if that's just being a guy, or whatever. I'm the first one to talk about things. I'm the first one to, you know, shed a tear. I'm a pretty emotional guy, but saying I'm scared about something, you know, one I've only said a few times in my life.

Researcher: With certain people it's ok to talk about and other people it's not?

Rick: Yeah, I mean I could look at my mom or dad, and like I'm scared and I don't want to do this, you know, and things like that are fine. But it's not like you can stand up at a podium in front of a hundred people and say like, "I'm scared."

Researcher: Why do you think that is?

Rick: I wish I knew. I really do!

Researcher: Sometimes for some people certain feelings are hard to deal with, let alone talk about. For men for some reason that's a tough one. Women may find it easier to say, like, I'm afraid to walk alone at night.

Rick: Well, cause you're a man. You're supposed to be able to defend yourself. You know, stereotypically, as a society everybody says women are vulnerable. Women can't defend themselves. And it gets instilled in us by our parents and our parents' parents, and it just keeps getting passed on. It's like you're a man and you're not supposed to show you're afraid, or that you're scared. Women are supposed to be scared and you're supposed to be the man standing next to your wife or girlfriend and protect them. You

know, even if you're both scared, you gotta be the one to tell her everything's gonna be ok.

Researcher: That's interesting. You used the word vulnerable for women.

And for men, I think when we feel scared or sad, those feelings that are hard to be as a man, we do feel vulnerable. And we're not supposed to feel vulnerable?

Rick: Yeah, I mean like, stereotypically, if you go to every guy in this University and ask them what kind of person is their dad outside of work. Who do you go to with your problems? Do you go to your mom? Do you go to your dad? Nine times out of ten they'd be like, for the most part, I go to my mom. If it's like manly things, I go to my dad. Well, you know, it's like, what does your dad do when he gets home from work? Oh, you know he turns on the game and, you know, cracks a beer and sits down and has a beer, watches the game and goes to bed. You know, what does your ma do? Oh, you know, she's always trying to talk to me. "What's new, what's going on?" you know, really trying to figure out what's going on. While my dad's sitting over there like, "So how's school today, wanna beer?" "Sure." "Here you go." I guess stereotypically guys are supposed to be this, well, you gotta do what you gotta do type attitude. While your ma's supposed to be like the caretaker. You know, but really, what about all the single parents that are dads? If you're trying to raise a daughter. If you're trying to raise a son and you're a man, you know, your wife's gone or passed away, or whatever, and you're stuck to raise the kids, you know? You gotta take on the responsibility, you know? I think guys should be prepared to be able to do

that. You never know what's going to happen tomorrow. If guys get this instilled in their heads that they're a bunch of redneck, bad asses, then, you know, what's that gonna do for your kids?

Rick's statements regarding traditional masculine roles depict how socialization plays a significant role in how men develop gender role expectations and how conflict can exist for a man if certain feelings such as fear are experienced. O'Neil's (1990) description of male gender role conflict as a fear of femininity fits well with what Rick described when we discussed that women can be vulnerable but men cannot. For Rick, behaving in a way that is feminine, such as being vulnerable, is in conflict with what he has learned as appropriate male behavior. Yet Rick also discussed the inappropriateness of stereotypical male behavior when he talked about parenting children. It was apparent that Rick was dealing with aspects of gender role conflict.

During the focus group, we discussed my interpretation of the participants' protecting their masculinity. The participants did agree that they had and often do restrict their emotional expression in order to remain in a more masculine gender role. During this discussion, Jeff stated:

Jeff: If we're talking about something other than this and you use the word scared, you know, to everyone worried is not as bad as being scared. I don't know why, but you know everyone is worried about something. But then if you're scared, you know, it feels like maybe you're losing power that you have or something. I don't know how to explain it. You know usually I don't say I'm kind of scared, you know I'm gonna say I'm a little worried about

that or whatever. But I don't know why scared is a bigger word than worried.

Several participants confirmed that what they expressed emotionally to others was different than what they actually felt. Carl and Jeff discussed feeling a loss of power or control if and when they express certain feelings to others:

Carl: I guess it's easier, you know, after the situation is over with or something. You know, I got caught or whatever, and it was easier to say now that, you know, I was scared. But at the time, you know, it was like I was really worried about what was going to happen and if everything was all right. You know if I would have said I was scared, it just wasn't the right time. But I can say I was scared about it now because it's done and over with.

Jeff: Like his example, he said he wouldn't say he was scared right at the time. He might say that because he doesn't have control over what's going on. Like if he's worried, then he has a little bit of control over what's going on. He can control it. But if he's scared, he's going, "Now I don't know what to do."

The participants discussed their tendency to restrict emotions or to share only certain emotions in certain situations. When asked why they may do this, several participants talked about gender roles and how men can be perceived if they share certain feelings. O'Neil's (1990) described male gender role conflict as creating restricted emotionality for men due to a fear of femininity. It was clear that for at least Rick, Carl, Jeff, and Alan, expressing certain feelings resulted in consequences, such as loss of control or appearing feminine, that they avoided if possible. Perhaps this was resistance on these men's part to a perceived loss of control they would



experience if they were to express certain emotions they interpreted as signifying vulnerability or femininity.

During the second interviews and the focus group, participants were discussing emotions more candidly. As the researcher, it appeared to me that as the interviews progressed and a rapport was established, the participants began to feel more comfortable discussing emotions. It also became clear that discussing emotions was something they did only with certain people. This third theme, "Restricted Venues for Expression of Emotions," is discussed next.

#### Restricted Venues for Expression of Emotions

Early in the interactions with the participants, most were sharing emotions that they themselves later described as "safe" for men to share. With the exception of Rick, the participants discussed being nervous, worried, and/or angry. As I spent more time with the participants and probed deeper into their prior emotional experiences, they began to discuss more openly other emotions such as fear, shame, and sadness. It became apparent that these emotions were more difficult for most participants to discuss. Only as I spent more time with these men, and continued to discuss their experience with them, did they become comfortable disclosing these more vulnerable emotions to me.

Several participants mentioned it was easier and more comfortable to speak with females than males about emotions and feelings. Two participants specifically discussed the differences in interactions with their mothers and their fathers. For example, in his second interview Ben spoke of discussing his judicial experience with his parents:

**Researcher:** Did you talk about any of this conduct experience with friends or parents or other people?

**Ben:** I told my mom what happened.

**Researcher:** Were you always able to talk to your mom about stuff like that?

**Ben:** Yeah, my mom and I are pretty close. She's really understanding. We have a good relationship. Now my dad! (Ben rolled his eyes).

**Researcher:** What happens when you talk to your dad about stuff like that?

**Ben:** Uhm, I mean, he can be good about it. Sometimes he just sees situations as black and white. Either one side or the other. And he'd be disappointed and stuff, so it's hard to talk to him.

**Researcher:** You talked about your relationship with your mom as being pretty open, accepting. She's someone you can bounce ideas off of, and I assume that feels good to do that?

**Ben:** Yeah.

**Researcher:** Acceptance, you feel comfortable, you feel trusted. What about your dad? You talked about that would be a different story.

**Ben:** Just, since he sees things real black and white. Our personalities don't match very good like me and my mom. Maybe that's why we get along so good. But my dad, he is not as accepting, is not as comforting. He's more just, either it's this way or it's that way. At times, even at football and stuff, he'd usually after I would play a game or something, he used to just be like, you need to do this differently or do that. Not many positives. It's tough so it's kinda driven us apart. He always made me upset after he would say that

stuff, so that's one reason why it's hard to talk to him at times. I think the biggest thing is I just don't want to disappoint him.

As I continued to talk with Ben about the differences in his relationship with his mother and father, Ben started to look at the floor in the office and became more sullen. I then asked him about shame:

Researcher: There's a word that I remember, or a feeling that I have when I'm around my dad when I've done something wrong and it's shame. I feel ashamed. I don't know if that's a word that means something to you or if you've had that experience?

Ben: Yeah, I have definitely had that experience around him, and maybe my mom at times, but not as much as my dad. Different.

Ben's description of his difficulty with disappointing his father fits well with Pollack's (1998, 1999) concept of gender straight-jacketing. Pollack (1998, 1999) purported that society places a unique set of expectations on boys to deal autonomously with life, hide pain, and avoid behavior that shames themselves or family, which affects them by forcing the repression of emotions and needs for love and affection. Ben described avoiding emotional interactions with his father and seeking out love and affection from his mother.

Rick, in a passage quoted earlier in this chapter from his second interview, had also discussed differences in his communication with his father and mother. Rick had suggested that "nine out of ten times" men would go to their mothers with their problems. He discussed stereotypical roles of parents, stating that mothers were "supposed to be like the caretakers." Rick made it clear that talking with his mother was easier than talking with his father.

In his second interview, Jeff described how difficult it had been for him to talk to people about his feelings, and how a dating relationship with a young woman changed his ability to express himself:

Researcher: So when you're in those situations when something's really bugging you, are you pretty comfortable going to your friends and just laying everything out?

Jeff: I didn't used to be, until my junior year. I'm a lot better than I was, like when I was younger, like freshman, sophomore, and pretty much junior year in high school and behind that. I was real like, bottled, you know? I didn't talk about anything, you know? And even my mom and dad knew that was just the way I was. I dealt with things on my own. I just got through it ok. Then my junior year, I dated this girl, and she kinda made me talk about stuff, and she made me pretty much and I started to. And I've kinda done a lot better, you know, and I'm real, I'm pretty good now, you know, uhm, if something's bothering me. I don't know, maybe I'm not. I think I'm a better listener to my friends, you know? I'm better at that than saying what's bothering me. You know I don't mind if they come to me because I can help them out. I try to help them out, give them advice. And uhm, with some people, I don't go up to everyone, and you know, just open up and tell them what's going on. There's some people I'll do that to. And sometimes I don't say anything at all, you know, I'd just rather not, just because it's not a big deal. I don't know, just because I can do it on my own.

Jeff talked about a female who had "made me talk about stuff." He stated that there were some people who were appropriate to talk with about feelings, but that he

tended to only share feelings occasionally. He insinuated that his feelings “were no big deal” and that he could handle them on his own. He also made it clear that he was more comfortable helping others than admitting he himself was in need. This again would seem to support the literature regarding men’s unwillingness to appear vulnerable or feminine (O’Neil, 1990).

During the focus group, I presented to the participants my interpretation of their stories related to restricted venues for sharing emotions. The participants did agree that men are cautious with whom they share their feelings. The following is a lengthy passage from our conversation that illustrates this caution:

Researcher: So whom do you talk with about your feelings? Talk to me about whether it’s true if men only have certain safe places and people to talk about feelings. Is that true for men?

Alan: Yeah. You gotta have trust in the person.

Jeff: I think if the person knows the situation a little bit. Like say if you have a problem with like a girlfriend or something. And you have a close buddy that hangs out with you and your girlfriend. And then you get into a fight with your girlfriend, you might go to your buddy because he’s around and knows what’s going on. Like if I got in a fight with my girlfriend, I probably wouldn’t call my mom and dad and be like, I got in a fight with my girlfriend. I might call my buddy and be like gosh, I’m pissed off. And like if I get in trouble in school, I’m probably not gonna call my buddies, I’ll probably call my mom. But you could probably go to your buddy, but it would be weird.

Carl: I agree with you on that. Us guys probably go to different areas for different things. I mean if I had a problem with the school, I guess I wouldn't come to you [researcher] right away in the conduct system. I'd probably talk to you know, like my mom or something and say, "What do you think I should do?" Just looking for advice or something. And if I have a problem with my girlfriend, I'm going to go to my mom and say, you know, "What am I doing wrong, why is she is mad?"

For most participants, it appeared that they felt more comfortable sharing feelings with women than with men, which suggested there were restricted venues for emotional expression. Most participants also tended to minimize their feelings. These tendencies are presented in research about men and emotions (e.g., O'Neil, 1990; Pollack, 1995). Restricted emotionality and restrictive affectionate behavior between men are two of the primary factors or measures of male gender role conflict (O'Neil, 1981a; 1981b; O'Neil et al., 1986). However, some of these men became comfortable expressing emotions with me during our interactions. Even through they found expressions of more vulnerable emotions such as fear and shame difficult, they were able to share these feelings with other men. This suggested to me that structured experiences could be developed that afford men the opportunity to explore emotional expression in the presence other men, allowing them to become comfortable with vulnerability.

Related to the restricted emotional venue theme, the participants had also shown evidence of minimizing the emotions they had experienced or expressed. This final theme is summarized in the following section.

### Minimizing Feelings

A pattern that developed for participants as they shared with me emotions or feelings was to minimize the importance or significance of the emotions or feelings after discussing them. It appeared that they would “catch” themselves sharing emotions, possibly feel vulnerable, and then clarify that the feelings were not significant. Interacting with a male judicial officer, even with the preface that their participation was not associated with their judicial status, may have posed a felt risk to the participants. They appeared to find disclosure of emotions difficult, and when they did express themselves emotionally the expression was often accompanied by minimizing of these emotions. This pattern is consistent with research on men and emotional expression in that men resist appearing vulnerable and have a difficult time expressing feelings with other men (e.g., Levant, 1997; O’Neil, 1981a, 1981b, 1990; Pollack, 1998). Therefore, when many of the participants did express emotions with me [male researcher], perhaps leaving them feeling vulnerable, they found it necessary to minimize these emotions and make me aware that the emotions they had felt were not significant, and that they were “doing fine.”

In his first interview, when discussing how he felt meeting with the judicial officer, Nate stated: “I was nervous again. I really didn’t, you know, it didn’t seem like it was a big deal.” Jeff had described in his first interview how he reacted to receiving a letter from the judicial officer informing him he was being charged with a policy violation:

Jeff: I guess I wasn’t too upset or too worried about it. I understood, you know, we got caught. So we called and made an appointment. I mean I wasn’t, like it wasn’t like I didn’t care, but it didn’t stress me out. It didn’t

ruin my day or anything. But, I guess, back to the question, when we were leaving the meeting with the judicial officer, I was a little, I mean I wasn't upset or anything, but a little frustrated, I guess. Nothing too serious."

I followed up with Jeff's comments above during his second interview, and here's how Jeff explained his reaction to being charged for the violation in more detail:

Researcher: That to me is how, what you were thinking. What you explained to me before, those are things you were thinking about, but how did you feel?

Jeff: I guess, I mean, not scared. I mean that wouldn't be the word; scared.

But maybe worried? Not so much, I mean, it wasn't something that I stressed about all day.

Jeff was obviously becoming uncomfortable during this discussion. He began to speak more softly, paused more frequently, and looked towards the floor more often than he had been to this point in the interview. I then asked Jeff if he could remember a situation in his life that created feelings. Our interaction that followed is evidence of how he expressed himself emotionally and then minimized the emotions he had remembered:

Researcher: So now, one of the things I'm interested in talking to the guys in this study about is awareness of and ability to express feelings. Sometimes it's hard to put a label on. You know how you feel, but you can't really describe it. I'm asking you to think back to a time in your life when you know you had an experience that made you feel a certain way. Can you think of any of those that stand out?

(long pause)

Researcher: I am putting you on the spot, I know.



Jeff: OK, uhm, can it be anything?

Researcher: Anything.

Jeff: I don't remember what grade it was, but it was my junior high I think and I got a D for a whole grade, not just on a paper. I was real scared, just cause, not necessarily my mom, but my dad was, he is still real strict about school, you know? Wants me to do good, you know? Doesn't want me to slack. I remember just feeling real scared, and, uhm, disappointed in myself and I knew they were gonna be disappointed in me. And another thing, like I look back on, you know, the worst thing about being a kid was like getting in trouble by your parents. And now I think I'd rather get, I'd rather have them be mad at me than be disappointed in me. I mean I think I'd rather have them be yelling and screaming at me than just to be disappointed in me. You know I think that's a worse feeling than if, than when they're mad at you, you know because then you feel bad, and, you know, you're just, god dang I wish I wouldn't have done that. So, uhm, that was one. I remember that. I remember, you know, I went through a stage where I lied a lot. And I remember every time I got caught for lying I just, ugh. It's like, man, you know and I thought I was gonna throw up because I knew I was busted, and I knew I was gonna get it. Stuff like that.

Researcher: Stop a minute. The feeling in your stomach?

Jeff: Yeah.

Researcher: Sick to your stomach?

Jeff: Yeah.

Researcher: If you had to label that as an emotion, what would that be?

Jeff: Uhm.

Researcher: You know there are a lot of words. Can you put a label on what that felt, what that feeling is?

Jeff: Uhm, it's almost like excitement, but it's like two different kinds of excitement. Like you get excited when you get scared, you know? It's not like a good excitement, you know, you're freaked out. But you get that feeling when something good happens. So it's kinda, kinda like an adrenaline rush, almost, but not the kind of rush you want.

Researcher: There's a word that I use when I feel, like if I get in trouble and then I know somebody's disappointed in me. Then I feel ashamed.

Jeff: Yeah, that's it.

Researcher: Does that fit for you?

Jeff: Yeah, that's a good word for that.

As our conversation continued, I asked Jeff whether he was comfortable talking with other people when he was experiencing feelings. As quoted in a passage earlier in this chapter, Jeff stated that he tended not to talk to others about his problems because, "I'd rather not, just because it's not a big deal." During this conversation, as mentioned earlier, Jeff appeared more distracted and upset. He stared at the floor and gave very little eye contact to me. This was obviously a difficult topic of discussion for Jeff.

Another pattern related to minimizing feelings emerged when several participants described their friends' reactions to their expression of emotions related to their judicial experience. For example, when discussing his interaction with a

group of friends following an incident in the residence halls, Nate described how his friends discounted his feelings:

Researcher: One of the other things you talked about was you mentioned that when you told a couple friends about it they kind of laughed at you, or joked around with you about it.

Nate: Yeah. Everyone just laughed like it was, you know, not a big deal.

Researcher: So were they laughing at you because you were worried about it?

Nate: Yeah, they were laughing because I was making such a big deal out of it.

Researcher: They were thinking you were silly for.

Nate: Yeah, for worrying about it.

Researcher: How did that make you feel when they were laughing at you?

Nate: Kinda like, I was stupid. I felt I shouldn't be so worried about it.

Nate described a situation in which his friends' reactions to his emotional expression (worried) created an internalized form of social control related to masculinity. The "power" of his peers, internalized by Nate, fits well with Foucault's (1980a) interpretation of normalization as a prescribed code that society members must follow and describes accurately the hegemonic nature of socialization of boys to a strict masculine code. After expressing emotions to his peers, Nate felt "stupid" for being worried about the possible consequences he may face as a violator of the student code of conduct. He experienced gender role conflict related to his ability to feel, based on the internalized power of his peers' reactions to his expression of emotions.

Paul also described interactions with friends during which he told them he was embarrassed about the consequences of being charged with another conduct code violation:

Researcher: Can you tell me more about what that felt like to get busted and meet with a conduct officer?

Paul: I was scared about what was going to happen. I was worried if they were going to be really pissed off or if they were going to be nice about it. Actually, I also felt embarrassed, like when other people found out and they'd bring it up to me.

Researcher: Like friends?

Paul: Yeah. People that I knew. It's kinda embarrassing.

Researcher: OK, so when your friends say, "hey I heard you got busted" and you said you felt embarrassed. What does that mean for you?

Paul: I just felt stupid that I got busted again.

As we discussed my perceptions of the participants minimizing their emotions during the focus group, several participants attempted to explain the necessity of this minimization. For example, Jeff gave an example how men are supposed to be less emotional than women:

Jeff: And another thing, back to like the girl being scared and the guy not being scared. Like if you're walking with a girl and she felt kinda scared and you might be scared too, but you might not want to be scared cause you feel like you want to protect her. Not that that's our job, but because you don't want to be scared so she feels safe.

I then asked the group why men are supposed to be less emotional than women.

The following is an extended segment of our conversation related to this question:

Alan: That's the way we were brought up.

Researcher: That's a gender role thing. For men, we're the strong ones.

We're the head of the household. We're the tough person. Is that it?

Jeff: Sometimes I think both sides like that power, you know if the guy likes to protect the girl and she likes to be protected.

Researcher: That's what I found from you guys is a lot of stereotypical stuff related to emotions and feelings. What you were able to and not able to talk about. When you did talk about feelings, you protected yourselves a little bit like, "I was just a little bit sad or a little bit scared." I think that is unfortunate. I think if you're sad, you should be able to say it. Or if you need to cry, you should be able to cry. It doesn't make you a weaker person.

Carl: Yeah but I don't need like all men to, like, someone gets his paper back and he gets a D and he starts bawling because he got a D. I don't want any of that!

Researcher: But women don't do that either, do they?

Alan: Oh yeah, some do!

Researcher: OK, let's say that men did that as equally as women. How would that change the world? How would the world be different?

Carl: I don't know, I mean if I was sitting next to a guy who was crying in class? I don't know. Too weird.

Jeff: I mean, there's a lot of guys that don't feel comfortable. I don't, I would never cry in front of my friends. If my friend cried in front of me I wouldn't

care. I mean my mom and dad, they were never like, don't cry. But I can't do it.

Researcher: I am not saying that all men don't express themselves. But it seems it is more typical that men have difficulty expressing emotions.

Alan: I agree.

Ben: Yeah, for sure.

Jeff: I think women, at the same time, they still like for the guy not to be so emotional. I mean, I know a lot of girls, they don't mind if their boyfriend cries in front of them. But if they do it a lot, they get tired of it. Like, "He's such a baby. He cries all the time." You know? There's only like certain things that are acceptable, when it's always acceptable for a girl to cry about almost anything. They like the guy to be strong. It's not just guys that put on the pressure. It's girls too.

Rick: There's that separation that everyone likes. You know there's guys and there's girls and you don't want them to be the same. If they're the same, then it's not going to be any fun. They want us to be different.

As the responses of the participants above indicate, this group of men generally felt there were acceptable gender roles with accompanying rules about emotional expression. If these rules are generally accepted and followed by these men, then it would seem likely that expressing themselves emotionally would present a risk to their identity as a man. O'Neil (1981a, 1981b, 1990) has purported that men experience gender role conflict when they risk appearing feminine. If the participants feel emotional expression is a feminine characteristic, then restricting or minimizing their emotions would be an expected pattern.

However, these men did appear to become aware of and express feelings more openly as my interaction with them continued. By actively probing and encouraging them to explore and express their emotionality, they began to more openly and candidly discuss emotions with me. Although theory on men and emotions has suggested men may have difficulty recognizing and labeling emotions, at least some of the men I interacted with during this inquiry were able to do so through focused discussion and encouragement. While they exhibited many of the characteristics of gender role conflict, they were able to discuss emotions they had experienced.

In summary, the analysis of the written narratives, interviews and the focus group resulted in four themes: Continuum of Emotional Awareness; Protecting Masculinity; Restricted Venues for Expression of Emotions; and Minimizing Feelings. These themes were drawn from the data collected from the seven participants, and represent my interpretations related to the emotional experience of the men in this study. The themes were presented with inclusion of the participant voices in order to tell their stories from their standpoint.

The focus group debriefing session was conducted, among other reasons, in order to allow the participants to assist me in more clearly understanding their stories by providing me feedback related to the accuracy of what I had reported. As the researcher, I attempted to maintain collaborative and reciprocal relationships with the participants throughout the inquiry. I believe my self-disclosure with the participants and personal commitment to this inquiry were beneficial in allowing these men to more openly share their experiences with me. By role modeling acceptance and encouraging expression of emotions, I was providing these men

opportunities to validate their awareness of and expression of emotions. My presentation throughout the inquiry of theory and research related to men and emotions was intended to be beneficial to the participants in their understanding of how gender role conflict and hegemonic masculinity may contribute to difficulties for men in the college setting. As indicated in our discussions during the focus group debriefing session, the participants were able to recognize stereotypical gender roles. They articulated their understanding of how men are subject to different “rules” than women regarding emotional expression. I believe that discussing these topics allowed these men to begin the process of recognizing the restrictions placed on them as men. This educational component was an intended part of my praxis-oriented inquiry.

As evidence of their desire to discuss these topics and to learn from this experience, near the end of the focus group debriefing session Jeff stated, “So are we done? Would it be possible to talk more about some of this stuff?” Carl agreed by stating: “Yeah, that would be cool with me.” Rick seemed to want me to keep the meetings going by stating: “Sounds good. Do you need us to meet again?” When I offered to meet with the group, or individuals, at a later time to continue these discussions, all but Alan indicated they would be interested in meeting again. I informed these men that following the completion of this research, I would contact them to arrange further sessions to continue the discussion on men and emotions. Nate then stated: “Can we bring other friends?” These men had indicated that they wanted to continue dialogue about a topic that had been difficult for them in the early stages of the inquiry. This suggested to me that a venue had been established



that was supportive of these men's desire and willingness to discuss emotional awareness and expression.

Having summarized my analyses of the documents and the participant interviews, I now turn to the question, "so what?" The following chapter begins with the limitations of the study. I have also included summative comments on reflexivity as a researcher. Next, the conclusions drawn from this inquiry are presented. Finally, recommendations for practitioners and for further research are provided.

## CHAPTER 5. LIMITATIONS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this study, male student involvement in the judicial process in the college setting was used as a venue through which to explore both awareness and expression of emotions of college men. This afforded the opportunity to understand better how male gender role conflict (O'Neil, 1990) and hegemonic masculinity (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1987) affected male students in the college setting. A critical examination of institutional and national judicial documents afforded opportunities to explore whether judicial standards, principles, and processes were conducive to and supportive of men's emotional development. Through multiple contacts and active probing and follow up with the participants, I was able to obtain thick description (Geertz, 1973) related to these men's emotional experience in the campus judicial process specifically, and in their lives in general. Finally, through engaging with these male participants in a focus group debriefing session, respondents were empowered to reflect on how their emotional awareness and expressiveness could contribute to or inhibit their development and success in the college setting.

In this chapter, limitations of the study related to design, methods, and findings are outlined. I then revisit the issue of researcher reflexivity in relation to the completed study. Conclusions drawn from the analyses and interpretations of the data collected are presented. Also provided are recommendations for possible intervention strategies for judicial affairs practitioners in assisting men to cope successfully with their emotional experiences in collegiate environments. In addition, recommendations are presented for further research in the areas of college

men and emotional development, and the student judicial process. In the final section of this chapter, I provide a summary of the findings, conclusions, and recommendations that emerged from my inquiry.

#### Limitations of the Study

My research purpose was focused specifically on the emotional experience of white, traditionally aged college men. This population was chosen due to the fact that the majority of students referred to the judicial system at the selected institution were from this demographic group (see Appendix A). Further research regarding how judicial processes and systems influence the emotional growth and developmental of females, people of color, lesbians and gay men, people with disabilities, and other individuals would be significant and valuable in increasing the depth of understanding regarding the influences and effects of student judicial programs on these populations of students.

I interviewed and conducted a focus group with seven male participants from the research site institution. These seven men were purposefully selected as they had demonstrated an ability to openly discuss their conduct cases with me during previous interactions. Although this "purposeful sampling" (Patton, 1990, p. 169) was an intentional part of my methodology, my analyses, interpretations, and conclusions were limited to the stories told by these seven men.

The documents examined in this study included judicial documents from the research site institution and a select set of documents from national resources in the area of student judicial affairs in higher education. Conclusions drawn from the analyses of these documents were limited to the content of these specific documents.

Finally, the theoretical and conceptual framework I chose for this study was intentional and influenced the methodology and methods utilized. My praxis approach, with emphasis on affording the participants opportunities to examine hegemonic masculinity, restricted emotionality, and gender role conflict certainly influenced the participants and the stories they told.

Engaging in this inquiry afforded me the opportunity to explore an arena in which I have practiced professionally for many years. Through the lenses of feminist, critical, and postmodern theory, I attempted to shed light on whether judicial processes in higher education were conducive to the emotional development of college men. During the analyses and writing of the findings, I was constantly reminded of my role as an active researcher in the process. In the following section, I revisit reflexivity as related to the methodology and findings of my inquiry.

#### Reflexivity Revisited

“Fieldworkers enter the field as more than researchers. Our identities and life experiences shape the political and ideological stances we take in our research” (Kleinman & Copp, 1993, p. 10). During the data analysis stage of this inquiry, it became apparent to me that I had engaged with the participants in more than just a question and answer process. I intended to pursue research as praxis in both collecting men’s stories related to their emotional experience in the judicial process and as a means of providing these men an opportunity to gain insight into how gender roles shape and inform their emotional experiences. My personal experiences with gender role conflict, as well as my extensive review of the literature on this topic, formed a framework for my praxis approach.

As I engaged in interviews with the participants, I pursued an active role in probing into their emotional experiences. As I reviewed the interview transcripts it was apparent that at times I engaged a counseling-type style in my probing of the participants for their recollections of emotional experiences. This approach was instrumental in allowing the participants to explore more openly the feelings associated with their judicial experiences, as well as other life experiences. I also weaved information from the literature on men and emotions and my personal life experiences into my dialogue with the participants as a way of introducing them to this information, and empowering them to connect this information to what they may have experienced. During the focus group debriefing session, I intentionally discussed with these men topics such as male gender role conflict, hegemonic masculinity, and men and behavior. I attempted to provide these men direct examples of how these discourses related to the stories they had shared with me. It was my goal to begin the process of helping these men examine aspects of the gender role conflict that had surfaced during our previous interactions.

As stated by Fee (1988), "The idea of a pure knowing mind outside history is simply an epistemological conceit" (p. 53). I was conscious of the relationship between my life experience, education, and roles as a professional and researcher. I recognized that I carried these lenses into my interactions with the participants and that these lenses may influence and shape the stories that they told.

Reflecting on these issues has allowed me to understand better how my praxis approach may have impacted the findings of this inquiry. My aim was to explore with the participants their emotional experiences in the judicial process. It was evident that for most participants, they did experience emotions related to the

judicial process. However, at times it felt like I needed to help them recognize and express these emotions. This need for guidance, in itself, was consistent with the research on men's emotional awareness and expression. The attempt on my part to provide this guidance was also directly related to my chosen theoretical and conceptual framework, and the praxis orientation I chose for this inquiry.

I also understand that the lenses through which I viewed this inquiry informed my analyses and interpretations. Perhaps recognizing this would form a basis for a "confessional tale" of this study as discussed by Van Maanen (1988). For instance, my "guidance" approach and my personal lenses may have directly influenced the participants' disclosures to me. The use of a less intrusive approach would have changed the nature of my interactions with the participants. However, with my experience interacting with college men, my knowledge of men's issues related to restricted emotionality, and the praxis focus of my research purpose, I intentionally developed a dialectical and intrusive approach designed to challenge these men to explore the issues we discussed beyond a superficial level.

Having discussed the limitations of the study and revisited the significance of researcher reflexivity, I now turn to the conclusions drawn as a result of my analyses of the data. The conclusions discussed below relate to both the analyses of the judicial documents and the interviews with the participants.

### Conclusions

The analyses of documents related to the standards, principles, and structures of judicial affairs in higher education and my interaction with the participants in this study led to several conclusions. The first and most general conclusion was that through the discourse of student development as a framework for student judicial

affairs work, judicial affairs professionals are exercising what Foucault (1982) described as the “pastoral power” that is characteristic in Western culture. Howley and Hartnett (1992) described pastoral power:

Unlike physical domination, which restricts all action, pastoral power establishes a technology whereby certain actions structure the field of other possible actions. Through its exercise, pastoral power enables and precludes certain actions, thereby exerting a normative influence over the lives of individuals. Conceived in this way, the power of the state neither dominates individuals nor connects them to a unitary political entity. Instead, it distinguishes them as individuals, counsels and guides them, and, through this process, “ensures, sustains, and improves” their lives. (p. 272)

Through the discourse of student development and learning, institutions of higher education are exercising pastoral power. In particular, judicial processes and systems constrain individuals’ behavior, insisting that adherence to a prescribed code of behavior will be good for individuals, and in essence, will “lead to their improvement (or salvation)” (Howley & Hartnett, 1992, p. 272). Students have the freedom to choose to violate this prescribed code of behavior, but violators are subject to pastoral power through adjudication of these violations in the judicial system, during which “education and development” attempt to constrain their future behavioral choices.

Along with and perhaps more significant than the normalizing pastoral power of judicial processes, my interactions with the participants also lead to the conclusion that the college student peer group exercises pastoral power through its reinforcement of hegemonic male gender role behavior. College men face

consequences from this peer group if they exhibit behavior that strays from traditionally accepted male behavior. The participants in the study clearly indicated these consequences exist related to the expression of certain emotions such as sadness and fear. Along with the normalizing power of hegemonic masculinity, this pastoral power exercised by peer groups reinforces normalization of college men's behavior and thinking along male gender role lines.

Through the examination of the judicial documents, my interactions with the participants, and from my experience as a judicial officer, the existence of this pastoral power in both judicial processes and male peer groups is evident. Normalization is occurring for these college men on several levels: campus codes of student conduct, male peer group expectations, and hegemonic masculinity. "From the perspective of Michael Foucault, we have all become 'our brother's keeper,' watching over one another, making sure that norms are not violated, that dominant beliefs and values are upheld" (Rhoads, 1994, p. 101).

Engaging with college men in discussions about their awareness of emotions related to their judicial experience resulted in several specific conclusions. The participants initially had difficulty identifying and expressing emotions. Emotions they did express in the written narratives and first interviews were often couched through the use of what they later described as "safe" labels for emotions. It appeared that as the interviews progressed, and I continued to probe into their emotional awareness, the participants began to express more openly and candidly their emotional experiences. However, as they disclosed these more vulnerable emotions, they also tended to minimize the impact of experiencing these emotions. The participants also indicated awareness of tacit rules and limits regarding what



types of emotions they believed they could share and with whom. These patterns of emotional awareness and expression are consistent with literature regarding men and emotions. For example, Levant (1997) has defined the condition "normative male alexithymia" (p. 9), which is the inability for men to put feelings into words, or even to be aware of feelings. Pollack (1999) suggested that society places expectations on men to avoid certain feelings. O'Neil (1990) described male gender role conflict as restricting men's emotional expression.

It was evident through the interactions with the participants in this inquiry that many of them were struggling with emotional awareness and expression. Although they were somewhat aware of how masculinity defined their abilities to express emotions, they were generally unaware of how this contributed to negative consequences in their lives, particularly surrounding the emotion of anger. For example, Rick discussed how he tended to suppress emotions and how this pattern had resulted, on at least one occasion, in him "blowing up" at another student without an apparent reason to do so. Carl described how he "had all this anger, but [he] didn't know how to deal with it," and how this inability to manage and express his emotions led to a conflict with a staff member who was confronting him for a policy violation. Rick and Carl had identified situations in which the inability to recognize and manage emotions led to conflicts in the college setting.

Chickering (1969) theorized that learning to manage and express emotions effectively is a major developmental task for college-aged students. Student development professionals must recognize the importance of the emotional experience of college men and develop systems and processes that encourage emotional exploration, expression, and development. If college men view the

judicial process as a power-laden, adversarial process, as the men in this study viewed it, they are less likely to experience a willingness to explore and express their emotions. An example of this was evident in Carl's assertion that the judicial process "wasn't the right time" to discuss emotions.

It would seem beneficial for student development and judicial affairs professionals to recognize the overwhelming perceptions students have of the judicial process as adversarial. The judicial process is power-laden in that the institution has authority to administer a code of conduct and to hold students accountable to a set of behavioral expectations. Students entering the judicial process often feel like they have less knowledge than the administrators responsible for facilitating the process, and as discussed by Foucault (1980a), knowledge is a technology of power. As students perceive this power differential, the judicial process milieu may not be conducive to student development and learning in general, and emotional development in particular. Empowering students through providing opportunities to learn about judicial processes prior to participating in them may lessen the perceived power imbalance and result in a more developmental experience for these students.

Finally, a significant observation I had as the researcher during this inquiry was the cooperative nature of the participants. It appeared the participants actually enjoyed and looked forward to their involvement. The first seven men I contacted agreed to participate. All seven participants returned the consent form before the date given as a deadline. All seven returned their written narratives on or before the given deadline. Each of the seven participants was early or on time for both individual interviews. Several of the participants asked me following the second

interview if there was going to be a third interview. During the focus group debriefing session, I had expected the participants to find it difficult to continue with discussions about emotions in front of their peers but was pleasantly surprised with their overall willingness to participate in the discussions. Upon completion of the focus group, several participants asked if we could continue our group discussions at a later time.

One interpretation is that these men found having a venue to discuss the sensitive topic of emotions satisfying and rewarding, despite the patterns of difficulty they were exhibiting related to emotional awareness and expression. Perhaps, similar to the findings of Ortiz (2001), the interviews and focus group session became forms of therapy, allowing the participants to explore and express emotions more openly. This would suggest that judicial practitioners could develop learning opportunities as a part of the judicial process that would explicitly support and enhance college men's emotional growth and development.

An alternate possibility may be that the participants' cooperation and willingness to discuss these issues resulted from their desires to appease me as a judicial officer. In other words, they may have performed as they did as a result of a request from an authority figure. I had been very clear with the participants that this research would have no bearing on their status in the judicial system, and that their participation was strictly voluntary. However, the participants may not have been able to separate my role as researcher from that of judicial officer, and may have chosen to cooperate based on the authority I carried with my judicial role.

Of the two above interpretations regarding the participants' openness during the focus group debriefing session, it was more evident to me that these men did

find the group process beneficial and rewarding. Supportive of this conclusion was the request by these men to continue the discussions even though they had completed their roles as participants in the study. Through my observations of their participation, and their desire to continue the discussions about men and emotions, it was apparent to me that they had found the individual interviews and the group experience both satisfying and worthwhile.

This inquiry confirmed for me the existence of a gender border for college-aged men. This border exists due to hegemonic masculinity and its defined set of acceptable behaviors that exist within this border. Men in general experience consequences in our society for crossing this hegemonic gender border. For example, as discussed by the participants in this inquiry, men are often ridiculed and shamed by peers for expressing emotions such as sadness or fear. However, reinforcing this gender border, even inadvertently, has resulted in consequences for men. Male gender role conflict (O'Neil, 1982) is one such identified consequence, which creates liabilities for men such as self-destructive behaviors (Meth, 1990), increased stress (Stewart & Lykes, 1985), disregard for health (Courtenay, 1998; Nathanson, 1977), substance abuse and addiction (Blazina & Watkins, 1996; Capraro, 2000), increased depression and anxiety (Real, 1997; Sharpe & Heppner, 1991), negative attitudes toward help-seeking from counseling (Good & Wood, 1995), lack of emotional expressiveness (Pleck, 1981), and a drive to accumulate money, power, and sex partners (Kimmel & Levine, 1989). Researchers have suggested that hegemonic masculinity has also created negative consequences for women and children (Levant & Pollack, 1995).

The judicial documents examined for this study resulted in several specific conclusions. The first was that these documents contained assumptions underpinning development and encouragement of ethical and moral behavior of college students. Student development theorists have advanced the assumption that colleges and universities are venues for this ethical and moral development (e.g., Chickering, 1969; Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Evans, 1997; Gilligan, 1972; Kohlberg, 1969). However, establishing ethical and moral expectations may also function as mechanisms of normalization. For college men, these expectations may result in the normalization of traditional male gender roles. Using the discourse of student development in conjunction with legalistic processes and sanctioning, judicial affairs professionals may be inadvertently limiting the potentiality of male students along male gender role lines. As discussed by Lamont and Wuthnow (1990):

Foucault deals with discourse's role in producing a 'Kafkaesque' system, which constrains and frames human potentialities. He analyzes knowledge and truth as bases for the institutionalization of mechanisms of control, and as resources for excluding deviants and framing the context and terrain of social life. (p. 296)

In the process of combining educating with adjudicating, we may normalize male students' behavior along male gender role lines. As a result, we may play a complicit role in restricting college men's emotional awareness and expressiveness, particularly among young men for whom this would reinforce stereotypical masculinity. By establishing codes of behavior, a process that is often facilitated by administrators and others in positions of formal power, institutions of higher education indeed are attempting to constrain the behaviors of college students, but

may also be constraining development away from gender stereotypes in the process. This is especially apparent with conduct code violators (deviants), who are expected to learn behavioral conformity through their judicial experience, thus further constraining future behaviors, thinking, and choice.

College and university officials insist that members of their communities must both adhere to and enforce behavioral standards. The exercise of this pastoral power establishes self-monitoring normalization, which occurs at all levels of the community. The judicial process in particular is a technology of normalization, insisting that students conform to a set of behavioral and ethical standards that are deemed appropriate and acceptable, and providing punishment for “deviants” who do not conform. Male peer groups are apparently an additional site of behavioral adherence and enforcement. College men, already restricted emotionally by society’s expectations regarding masculinity, are further restricted by the institution’s expectations regarding their ethical and behavioral choices. Consequences exist for these college men when and if they “break the rules” for gender roles and behavior. Many times these consequences come from peers who assume an influential role in monitoring behavior, including hegemonic gender role behavior, and confronting what they have been led to believe is unacceptable or inappropriate. With these competing discourses and respective technologies of normalization in place, college men are unlikely to choose exploration of their emotional awareness and expressiveness, and risk becoming “deviants” due to the fear of ostracism by peers.

A second conclusion resulting from the analyses of the judicial documents related to the espoused significance of a caring, compassionate, empathetic, and

respectful philosophy and process. Individuals participating in the process are encouraged to grow and develop, and referrals to counseling and other support services are encouraged as a part of this process. According to document stipulations, professionals responsible for judicial affairs are expected to be properly educated and trained in student and human development. They are also to provide an empathetic and respectful process that recognizes and supports the individual needs of those participating in the process.

However, an examination of these documents also suggested that this empathetic and supportive process was secondary in importance to the primary responsibility of adjudicating violations and violators. For example, several documents highlighted referrals to counseling as appropriate developmental outcomes of the judicial process. Although this “developmental work” was deemed important to the development of college students, it was presented as a supplementary intervention, separate from the judicial process itself. Based on the content of these judicial documents, this “emotional work” is delegated to professionals outside the judicial arena, suggesting that the responsibility to deal with the messier collateral damage resulting from the behaviors that led students to, or resulted from, the judicial process rests outside the judicial arena.

In addition, very few strategies were outlined that would provide for the developmental outcomes highlighted as an essential part of judicial processes. For example, there was no mention of the significance of encouraging emotional awareness and expressiveness of college students involved in student judicial processes, even though student development theorists (e.g., Chickering, 1969) have suggested management of emotions is a foundational developmental task of

traditionally aged college students. Although student development and learning, and a caring and respectful process are espoused in the standards for judicial programs and services, it appears that the theory-to-practice links to provide for these affective outcomes are addressed predominantly through referrals.

If institutions of higher education are to provide college men with developmental opportunities through involvement in judicial programs and services, then attention must be given to training and educating judicial professionals in the emotional development of college men and practical applications to provide for this development. For example, judicial officers could provide opportunities for college men to explore their emotional awareness and expressiveness as a part of the judicial process through challenge and support by these officers to do so. Through this practice, colleges and universities could assist men through encouraging them to challenge gender role stereotypes. As Levant and Pollack (1995) suggested, a new psychology of men may provide solutions to the conflicts and difficulties created for males by traditionally defined masculinity, which includes restricted emotionality.

A contested discourse, as found in the literature and in the documents examined for this study, was the legalistic nature of the higher education judicial process. As highlighted by Mercer (1996), judicial affairs has emerged in part to protect the rights of both students and institutions in processes designed to enforce campus policies and procedures. However, some professionals (e.g., Bostic & Gonzalez, 1999; Dannells, 1997; Gehring, 2001; Steele, Johnson, & Rickard, 1984) have argued that this legalistic language and focus complicates the campus judicial process. As mentioned previously, students may perceive this complicated legal



process as adversarial. These contested discourses, the legal philosophy and a developmental and empathetic philosophy, are competing for hegemonic status in the judicial affairs arena. Yet neither of these discourses appears to have been significantly linked through research to more successful management of student misbehavior, or more developmental growth among students, in the college setting.

The challenge for judicial affairs professionals, given these apparently justifiable yet contested discourses, is to determine how we can best help students approach such a complex, seemingly contradictory process in order to provide opportunities for increased self-knowledge and development. Student development theory and the legal requirements of higher education judicial processes need not compete, but rather must complement each other in a process that both protects individuals and communities and provides opportunities for learning and development. One way to begin the process of marrying these discourses would be to acknowledge the problematic (Smith, 1987) created by the contest, and to then create processes that include opportunities for students to learn about both the complicated legal nature and the intentional developmental focus of the judicial process prior to engaging in it. This would empower students to acquire knowledge related to the judicial process, thus reducing the imbalance of power perceived, and would potentially result in a less adversarial process and more developmental outcomes.

In summary, the judicial documents examined for this study suggested that judicial program standards and principles do not necessarily support, or at least don't explicitly deal with, the emotional experience of male college students. Although student development and learning are outcomes that are ideally pursued

through these standards and processes, the normalizing power of these standards and systems may simply mirror society's predominant environment that is not conducive to men's emotional awareness and expressiveness. While individual judicial affairs professionals may provide emotionally supportive environments for college men involved with judicial processes, it would seem beneficial for student affairs preparation programs to provide education and training regarding men, emotions, and behavior to better prepare professionals for working with college men. Higher education should not abandon its responsibility to monitor and regulate student behavior on college campuses, but must recognize the power relations existing in judicial processes and further empower students to learn about themselves through the judicial processes that are adopted.

So how are judicial affairs practitioners to be and act in the postmodern environment that I have described in order to better assist men in developing emotionally? There are many more questions for me than answers. As posed by Lather (1991),

Does postmodernism provide greater power to generate more effective explanation and strategy, or is it more theoreticism, more constructive of theory unmoored in any specific cultural practice which could serve to ground that process dialectically and/or deconstructively? (p. 36)

Through engaging in the inquiry, it has become apparent to me that we must recognize the various discourses we espouse related to the judicial process and systems and provide research-to-practice links that encourage college men to explore emotional awareness and expressiveness. We must acknowledge the power relations that exist in the judicial process and empower students to become active in

their learning prior to, during, and following the judicial process. Finally, we must challenge hegemonic masculinity by actively role modeling and encouraging the emotional development of men.

My conclusions point to several possible strategies for student affairs practitioners to provide opportunities for college men to explore their emotional awareness and expression, as well as recommendations regarding the restructuring of student judicial processes and systems in higher education. The following section outlines these recommendations.

#### Recommendations for Practitioners

“Critical postmodernists seek to bridge the chasm between research and action, a gap that they argue has been promoted by traditional positivist research” (Rhoads, 1994, p. 32). The praxis orientation I chose for my research was an intentional part of my methodology and attempted to shed light on whether the judicial process was conducive to emotional awareness and expressiveness of college men. As stated by Lather (1986), “Rather than the illusory ‘value-free’ knowledge of the positivists, praxis-oriented inquirers seek emancipatory knowledge” (p. 259). One part of my praxis orientation was empowering the participants to explore how their awareness of and ability to express emotions was influenced by hegemonic masculinity and the structures of the campus judicial process. However, through my critical examination of the judicial systems and structures, I also sought to provide recommendations for the practice of judicial affairs that were more conducive to college men’s emotional development. The following section highlights these recommendations.

As the literature cited earlier and the conclusions of this study have suggested, judicial affairs professionals and students have expressed concerns with the legalistic philosophy adopted by campus judicial programs. While legislative initiatives and new policies from governing boards have and will continue to provide structure to student judicial programs and services (Bostic & Gonzalez, 1999), professionals must continue to advocate for a process that both addresses the legal requirements and is focused on student development and learning. Although institutions have the responsibility to “foster a campus community free from disruption and harm” (BSU<sub>b</sub>, 2000, p. i), they also must continue to advocate for the educative role in providing opportunities for student growth and learning through challenging and supportive processes and services. In addition, more research is needed to explore the effects of the legalistic and developmental philosophies on the educational outcomes of judicial processes.

Judicial officers must develop an awareness of the emotional development of college men. Judicial processes, while serving the function of accountability for behavior, must also provide opportunities for emotional growth and development. Male judicial officers must understand their own emotional needs and development in order to effectively role model and facilitate discussions with college men related to emotions. In order for college men to understand possible reasons for their inappropriate choices and behaviors, the judicial process venue must be open to men’s explorations of their emotionality and its connection to their behavioral choices. As discussed earlier in this chapter, this would mean incorporating emotional work with students (i.e., counseling) into the judicial process.

There are several possible venues that could be explored related to enhancing the emotional development of male college students. For example, mediation as a venue for resolution of judicial complaints empowers both the complainant and the accused students to learn from their experience. Serr and Taber (1987) stated, "In the collegiate setting, mediation provides an educational, nonadversarial method of resolving conflict" (p. 83). Warters (1995) also discussed mediation as an educational approach to conflict resolution on college campuses. The goal of mediation is to empower the disputing parties to generate alternatives regarding a resolution to their dispute (Serr & Taber, 1987).

Through the less adversarial process of mediation, judicial officers could encourage emotional awareness and expressiveness on the part of the male students, and facilitate emotional development and learning through challenging and empathetic processes. The mediator, whether a judicial officer or another trained professional, could more readily incorporate a counseling style and approach in resolving conflict or conduct code violations, and pay specific attention to opportunities for students' emotional needs and growth during the process. Through role modeling emotional expression, and encouraging and affirming emotional expression by male students, male mediators, in particular, could afford college men opportunities to successfully cross gender borders of emotionality. For example, two roommates who had engaged in a fight in the residence halls could be brought together through mediation to discuss their emotions related to the conflict and the altercation. The mediator could work with these men to explore how their emotional awareness and expressiveness, or lack thereof, had contributed to the

conflict. Through the mediation process these men could be empowered to develop insight as to how they could better understand and manage their emotions.

A second recommendation for the developmental processing of college student behavioral concerns would be to utilize a restorative justice model, which would involve the victims and accused students' peers in the resolution of judicial cases. Restorative justice enables offenders to make amends to their victims and the community, builds offender and victim skills, and involves the offender, victim, and community in the process and resolution (DeVore & Gentilcore, 1999). This restorative justice model has been used as a venue for addressing at-risk youth (e.g., DeVore & Gentilcore, 1999) and community-based moral education (e.g., Schweigert, 1999).

A restorative justice model could be valuable in enabling college students to better understand their emotions and behavior. For example, if a male student is charged with creating excessive noise late at night on a residence hall floor, the students impacted by this disruption on the floor could be brought together to engage in a process of determining the judicial outcomes. During this process, the judicial officer could encourage all students involved to explore aspects of the case, including their emotional experiences before, during, and following the incident. As emotions are recognized and expressed by these students, the judicial officer could facilitate a developmental discussion in order to acknowledge the relationship of emotions and behavior. Through this process, students could develop insight regarding emotions and the connection they have to behavior as well the consequences of their behavior. It seems this process could empower all students involved to better understand their emotionality, and in the process, enable these

students to experience and practice emotional expression with their peers. For college men this process may be difficult. However, with a developmental focus, this process may provide these men an opportunity to explore their emotionality and empower them to understand better the connection of emotions and behavior.

As suggested by the results of the focus group debriefing session in this study, another possible venue for facilitating male students' emotional development is a group process for male students who have participated in the judicial process. During this group process, judicial officers could share observations with these men related to their emotional awareness and expressiveness prior to and during the judicial process. Discussions regarding the negative consequences of gender role conflict, hegemonic masculinity, and restricted emotionality could be presented and discussed. Most importantly, male judicial officers could provide a supportive environment that is conducive to emotional awareness and expressiveness. Rather than referring these students to a service venue away from the judicial process, judicial officers could be educated and trained to provide emotionally developmental experiences as an extension of the judicial process.

In addition to improved education and training, and possible changes in the systems and structures of judicial process in higher education, student development and judicial professionals must take an active role through research in order to better understand men and emotions, and how judicial processes and systems can enhance men's emotional development. What follows is a summary of recommendations for research resulting from the analyses and conclusions of my inquiry.

### Recommendations for Further Research

As discussed in Chapter 3, I chose purposefully in this inquiry to focus on traditionally aged white college male participants. Similar research regarding how judicial processes and systems influence the emotional growth and developmental of females, people of color, lesbians and gay men, people with disabilities, international students, and other individuals would be significant and valuable in increasing the depth of understanding regarding the influences and effects of student judicial programs on these populations of students.

For the purposes of this study, my content analysis was limited to the judicial documents from the selected institution and several national resources. A comparison of judicial materials from a national sample of institutions may provide insight regarding whether the philosophy of student judicial affairs indeed has become more legalistic than developmental. Many models are used in providing student judicial services, and a more comprehensive analysis of these models would illuminate more clearly and generally whether some processes and systems more productively deal with these contested discourses to support the emotional awareness and expressiveness of male college students in particular, and student learning and development in general.

Interviews with judicial affairs officers, and observation of various judicial processes, may shed light on institutional and practitioners' values and philosophy regarding judicial programs in higher education. Discussions with judicial officers could explore whether the emotional development of students is valued and encouraged in various models and philosophies of student judicial processes. In addition, observing campus judicial hearings would provide insight regarding the



processes used, and whether these processes support the developmental and emotional needs of students.

During this inquiry, I engaged with seven male college students in discussions related to their emotional experience in the judicial process. During these interviews, we also discussed emotional experiences in their lives. The judicial venue was chosen for this inquiry in part due to the conflict being experienced by these men in the judicial process. I also chose this venue due to my previous experiences with college men in the judicial process during which I observed struggles with emotionality. Having completed this inquiry, I am intrigued about further interactions with college men in various venues for the purposes of discussing emotional awareness and expressiveness. For example, observing or interacting with male members of college fraternities or athletic teams may provide valuable insight related to emotionality of men choosing involvement in these organizations. Perhaps interacting with men involved in student leadership positions, such as student government, would also provide for valuable inquiry regarding men and emotions. Another possible valuable male group to engage in research related to emotions would be men who have sought counseling through the services offered on college campuses. As was evident in this study, Rick appeared more able to both recognize and express emotions during this study as a result of his previous therapy.

Little research has been conducted on the origins of college student disciplinary problems (Van Kuren & Creamer, 1989). Dannells (1997) argued that men are more likely to be offenders of campus judicial codes. He indicated that the profile of students likely to engage in misbehavior in the college setting was:

“Immature, impulsive young men, most often freshmen and sophomores, who have not developed positive feelings toward the institution and who very likely were engaged in alcohol use or abuse at the time of the incident” (Dannells, 1997, p. 28). More research is needed in order to better understand the reasons for men’s involvement in misconduct in the college setting. Particularly, this research should focus on the relationship of hegemonic masculinity, gender role conflict, and restricted emotionality to college men’s involvement in misconduct.

Student affairs practitioners must also continue to conduct research to explore the effects of hegemonic masculinity on college students, staff, faculty and the higher education culture. Student affairs preparation programs also could be improved through incorporating theory and research in the areas of gender role conflict, gender role stereotypes, and emotional development. While many preparation programs provide a foundation of student development theory, focuses on the developmental research and theories of children, adolescents, and early socialization is not as common. Understanding the socialization processes of children and adolescents would illuminate for student affairs practitioners the gender training through which students have been influenced, and better prepare them for research and practice.

#### Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations

Critical postmodernists concern themselves with issues of marginalization and empowerment. The endeavor is to help individuals and groups understand how society and psyche have structured people’s lives in such a way that they might organize around self determination. Only through such

an awareness is social and psychological emancipation possible. (Rhoads, 1994, p. 31)

It was evident during my interactions with the participants in this study that they were experiencing the effects of hegemonic masculinity. The gender border existing for these men reinforced their restricted emotionality, as did the judicial processes they experienced. It was also evident that the judicial standards, philosophies and principles outlined in the documents examined espoused the significance of a developmental and empathetic judicial process, but failed to provide strategies to accomplish this mission. Further complicating the judicial venue is the legalistic nature of judicial process, which lends a perception of a process that is adversarial at heart.

The results of the study suggest the importance of an examination of the current judicial standards, philosophies, and structures. We must recognize the power relations we have created through the current practices and reframe our vision of judicial affairs to be more conducive to student development and learning. Particularly for college men, the influences of hegemonic masculinity, gender role conflict, and restricted emotionality must be recognized, and judicial practices must be designed to challenge these existing difficulties for college men. By empowering male students to cross gender borders and explore a broader range of emotional awareness and expressiveness, we may stimulate for these men “a self-sustaining process of critical analysis and enlightened action” (Lather, 1991, p. 75).

## APPENDIX A.

**GENDER, ETHNICITY, AND CONDUCT CODE VIOLATION SUMMARIES  
(1998-1999 & 1999-2000)**

Gender of Accused Students:

1998-1999	Male – 202 (68%)	Female – 95 (32%)
1999-2000	Male – 190 (67%)	Female – 92 (33%)

Ethnicity of Accused Students:

1998-1999	Caucasian	293	(98.65%)
	Asian	3	(1.01%)
	African American	1	(0.34%)
1999-2000	Caucasian	274	(97.16%)
	Asian	5	(1.77%)
	Native American	3	(1.07%)

Top Five Conduct Code Violations:

1998-1999	Use/Possession of Alcohol	246	(62.76%)
	Sleep/Study Policy (noise)	92	(23.46%)
	Minor Consumption of Alcohol	21	(5.35%)
	Failure to Comply with Staff	20	(5.10%)
	Disruption of Operations	13	(3.33%)
1999-2000	Use/Possession of Alcohol	228	(68.67%)
	Sleep/Study Policy (noise)	65	(19.58%)
	Threatening Behavior	16	(4.82%)
	Failure to Comply with Staff	13	(3.92%)
	Damage to or Theft of Property	10	(3.01%)

Source: BSU Judicial Officer Records

## APPENDIX B.

**BEMIDJI STATE UNIVERSITY  
STUDENT CODE OF CONDUCT**

The Code of Conduct governing the behavior of students of Bemidji State University:

- Insures the basic rights of individuals and reflects the practical necessities of the community,
- Prohibits and limits acts which interfere with the basic purposes, necessities, or processes of the University, or with the rights of its members, and
- Reconciles the principles of maximum freedom and necessary order.

Statement of Responsible Behavior:

- Students will adhere to federal, state, local, State University Board and Bemidji State University laws / regulations that govern individual actions and relationships among university members for the common good.
- Students will work as honest and respectful partners with the University in fulfilling its academic and administrative mission and responsibilities, fulfilling their academic endeavors in an honest and forthright manner.
- Students will speak and listen to others with care, seeking personal understanding and maintaining respect and civility.
- Students will respect and protect the personal privacy, rights, and safety of others with regard to physical and sexual boundaries, living space, possessions, electronic accounts and academic endeavors.

Behaviors which violate these responsibilities and may result in Student Conduct action are contained within the following Student Code of Conduct:

- A. Violation of written policies or regulations contained in any official publication or administrative announcement of the MnSCU Board or Bemidji State University. This includes, but is not limited to, the State University Internal Rules, BSU Student Guide, Policies and Procedures Manual, Residential Life Agreement terms, Residence Halls Guide, Catalog, etc.
- B. Violation of local, state, or federal law on University property, or off-campus when such violation of the law is directly related to the University Community (See the Brief of Laws in this Guide.)
- C. Academic dishonesty, including, but not limited to, cheating and plagiarism. (See Code of Academic Integrity and Related Policies in this guide.)
- D. Disruption of operations of the University. Disruption is an action or combination of actions by an individual or group which unreasonably interferes with, hinders, obstructs, or prevents the regular and essential operation of the

University or infringes upon the rights of others to freely participate in its programs and services.

- E. Knowingly furnishing false information to the University or other similar forms of dishonesty in University-related affairs, including knowingly making false oral or written statements to any University Conduct Board or Student Conduct Officer.
- F. Forgery, alteration, destruction, or misuse of University documents, records, identification cards, or papers.
- G. Failure to comply with directions of, or to present identification to, University officials acting in the performance of their duties. This includes failure to comply with conditions of sanctions resulting from previous University conduct action.
- H. Unauthorized entry into or use of University facilities or equipment.
- I. Use, possession or carrying of firearms (including, but not limited to, pistols, rifles, air guns, shotguns, or ammunition), incendiary devices, smoke devices, hand bills, dangerous knives, explosives, bows and arrows, or other dangerous weapons while on University owned or controlled property, or at University-sponsored or supervised activities, except by authorized law enforcement officers and other persons specifically authorized by the University.
- J. Use, possession, or distribution of alcoholic beverages, except as permitted by law and University policy. (See Alcohol and Other Drug Policies and Guidelines and Brief of Laws in this guide.)
- K. Use, possession, or distribution of narcotics or dangerous drugs, except as permitted by law and University policy. (See Alcohol and Other Drug Policies and Guidelines and Brief of Laws in this guide.)
- L. Theft of, damage to, or unauthorized use of property of the University or property of any of its members or visitors.
- M. Physical or psychological/emotional abuse, intimidation or harassment of a person including but not limited to stalking, defamation, intimidation or harassment through other persons, or use of electronic or other communication devices such as video, computers or telephones.
- N. Conduct which threatens or endangers the health or safety of a person, to include oneself.
- O. Engaging, individually or in concert with others, in sexual misconduct; i.e. non-consensual physical conduct of a sexual nature including but not limited to sexual physical abuse, rape or any other form of sexual assault, or threat of sexual violence.

**Note: Consent does not exist when acts are committed by force, intimidation, coercion, or through use of authority, or the victim's mental or physical incapacity even if that lack of capacity is chemically self induced. The expectation is that consent is clear and mutual.**

- P. Engaging in brawling or fighting; disturbing any lawful assembly or meeting; or engaging in any offensive, obscene or abusive language, or in boisterous or noisy conduct reasonably tending to arouse alarm, resentment, or anger in others on University-owned or controlled property or at University sponsored or supervised activities.**
- Q. Gambling for money or other things of value, except as permitted by law.**
- R. Hazing: An act which endangers the mental or physical health or safety of a person, subjects a person to public humiliation or ridicule, or which destroys or removes public or private property for the purpose of initiation, admission into, affiliation with, or as a condition for continued membership in a student group or organization. Hazing, whether occurring on or off campus, shall be considered a violation of this code.**
- S. Sexual harassment. (See Policy on Sexual Harassment in this guide.)**

**The Code of Conduct is made public through the Student Guide and the BSU Web Page and may be revised during the academic year by the University in consultation with faculty, students, and administration. Revisions that occur during an academic year will be updated on the BSU Web Page.**

## APPENDIX C.

## INFORMED CONSENT FORM

(Arrested Emotional Development: Male College Students'  
Experiences with a Campus Judicial Process)

You are invited to participate in a research study on the emotional experience of male students involved in the Student Judicial Process at Bemidji State University. This project is a doctoral dissertation research project. Data collection for this research will occur from October 2001 through January 2002. There will be the possibility of further contact with you through May 2002 to clarify information and to ask for your input.

For the purposes of data collection, you will be asked to complete a written narrative regarding your experience in the judicial process. You will also be asked to participate in two interviews, scheduled at your convenience. These interviews will be documented through use of researcher notes and will be audio taped. These interviews will last approximately one hour. You will also be asked to participate in a group discussion regarding the preliminary results. This group interview will be scheduled following the completion of all individual interviews, and will last approximately two hours.

Your participation is confidential and this confidentiality will be maintained through: storage of data and notes in a secure location accessible only to the researcher; use of personal pseudonyms in written reports and oral presentations of this research; and removal of personally identifiable information from field notes, transcripts, and research reports submitted to the instructor.

There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to you as a participant in this research. Benefits to be gained from this research include an understanding of the emotional experience of male students prior to and during their involvement in a student judicial case. Your participation in the study is voluntary, and you may decline to participate without penalty. Your past, current, and future conduct status will in no way be affected whether or not you decide to participate. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty and the data pertaining to your participation will be destroyed or returned to you.

If at any time you have questions about this research or your participation, you may contact me: Randy Ludeman; Department of Residential Life, BSU, 1500 Birchmont Drive NE, Bemidji, MN 56601; (218) 755-3750; rludeman@bemidjistate.edu.

-----  
I consent to participate in the research study named and described above:

Name: (printed) \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_



APPENDIX D.

DOCUMENT SUMMARY FORM

Site: \_\_\_\_\_

Document #: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Name or description of document:

Event or contact, if any, with which document is associated:

Significance or importance of document:

Brief summary of contents:

## APPENDIX E.

## WRITTEN INSTRUCTIONS FOR PARTICIPANT NARRATIVE

Researcher's prompt given to participant regarding writing the narrative:

"Looking back at your involvement in the BSU Student Judicial System, please describe your experience. Particularly, please comment on any emotions that you were aware of as you were confronted for the policy violations, as you met with the judicial officer, and after you were informed of the consequences (sanctions). Finally, please comment on how you felt following the whole process and whether these feelings at all have affected you since your experience in the judicial process."

APPENDIX F.  
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

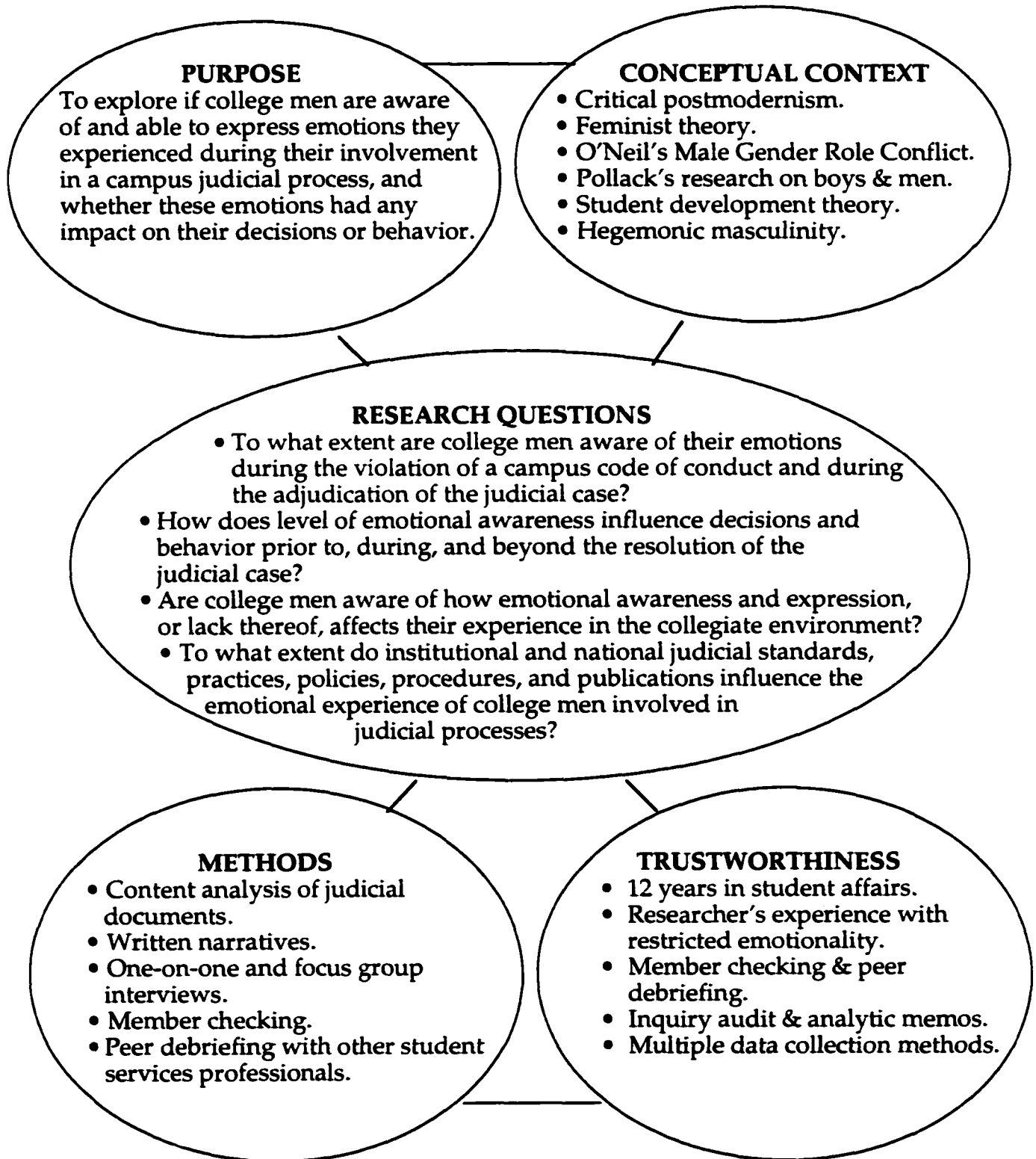
1. Can you describe how you felt when you were confronted for the policy violation? Can you recall being aware of any emotions at this time?
2. After you were charged with a student code of conduct violation, how did you feel? Can you recall being aware of any emotions at this time?
3. During the meeting with the University Judicial Officer, how did you feel? After the meeting concluded, how did you feel? Can you recall being aware of any emotions at this time?
4. What were your perceptions of the materials given to you regarding the student conduct process (i.e. Handbook, Code of Conduct, Notice of Charges, Letters)?
5. How did you feel discussing the experience of your conduct system involvement with parents? Friends? Others?
6. Did your experience in the student conduct system have an effect on you? How did you feel as a result of your participation in the conduct process?
7. Did you make any changes in your behavior as a result? Changes in the way you feel about others? The way you feel about your self?
8. What have you learned as a result of your student judicial process experience?

In preparing for the second interview, could you please spend time considering the specific emotions you were aware of during your judicial system experience and the emotions you feel now regarding the experience. Remember, focus on how you felt/feel rather than what you thought/think.



## APPENDIX H.

## CONCEPTUAL MAP OF INQUIRY



## REFERENCES

- Amada, G. (1986). Dealing with the disruptive college student: Some theoretical and practical considerations. *Journal of American College Health, 34*, 221-225.
- Arcaya, J. M. (1987). Role conflicts in coercive assessments: Evaluation and recommendations. *Professional Psychology, 18*, 422-428.
- Association of Student Judicial Affairs (ASJA). (2001). Retrieved January 18, 2001, from <http://asja.tamu.edu/>
- Baumli, F. (1985). Searching for men's emotional history. In F. Baumli (Ed.), *Men freeing men* (pp. 306-307). Jersey City, NJ: New Atlantis.
- Bemidji State University. (2001a). *Student guide*. Bemidji, MN: Bemidji State University.
- Bemidji State University. (2001b). *Code of conduct*. Bemidji, MN: Bemidji State University.
- Bemidji State University. (2001c). *University conduct board and residence hall hearing board training manual*. Bemidji, MN: Bemidji State University.
- Berkowitz, A. (1992). College men as perpetrators of acquaintance rape and sexual assault: A review of recent research. *Journal of American College Health, 40*, 175-181.
- Berkowitz, A. (1994). *Men and rape: Theory, research and prevention programs in higher education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Bernard, J. (1981). Women's educational needs. In A. W. Chickering (Ed.), *The modern American college* (pp. 256-278). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Best, S., & Kellner, D. (1991). *Postmodern theory*. New York: Guilford.

Blazina, C., & Watkins, C. E. (1996). Masculine gender role conflict: Effects on college men's psychological well-being, chemical substance usage, and attitudes toward help-seeking. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 43*(4), 461-465.

Bly, R. (1990). *Iron John*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Boots, C. C. (1987). Human development theory applied to judicial affairs work. In R. Caruso, & W. W. Travelstead (Eds.), *Enhancing campus judicial systems* (pp. 63-72). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Bostic, D., & Gonzalez, G. (1999). Practices, opinions, knowledge, and recommendations from judicial officers in public higher education. *NASPA Journal, 36*, (3), 166-183.

Brod, H. (1990). Scholarly studies of men: The new field is an essential complement to women's studies. *The Chronicle of Higher Education, 36*, March 21, B2-3.

Brooks, G. R., & Silverstein, L. B. (1995). Understanding the dark side of masculinity: An interactive systems model. In R. Levant, & W. Pollack (Eds.), *A new psychology of men* (pp. 280-333). New York: Basic Books.

Brown, R. (1965). *Social psychology*. New York: Free Press.

Capraro, R. L. (2000). Why college men drink: Alcohol, adventure, and the paradox of masculinity. *Journal of American College Health, 48*, 307-315.

Carrigan, T., Connell, B., & Lee, J. (1987). Toward a new sociology of masculinity. In H. Brod (Ed.), *The making of masculinities: The new men's studies* (pp. 63-100). Boston: Allen & Unwin.

Caruso, R., & Travelstead, W. W. (1987). *Enhancing campus judicial systems*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Chickering, A W. (1969). *Education and identity* (1<sup>st</sup> ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Chickering, A. W., & Reisser, L. (1993). *Education and identity* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Chodrow, N. (1978). *The reproduction of mothering*. Berkeley: University of California.

Clatterbaugh, K. (1992). The oppression debate in sexual politics. In L. May, R. A. Strikwerda, & P. D. Hopkins, (Eds.), *Rethinking masculinity: Philisophical explorations in light of feminism* (pp. 169-190). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Council for the Advancement of Standards in Higher Education. (1998). *Judicial programs and services standards and guidelines: Self-assessment guide*. Washington, DC: CAS.

Courtenay, W. H. (1998). College men's health: An overview and a call to action. *Journal of Amercian College Health*, 46, 279-287.

Dalton, J. C., & Healy, M. A. (1984). Using values education activities to confront student conduct issues. *NASPA Journal*, 22, 19-25.

Dannells, M. D. (1991). Changes in student misconduct and institutional response over 10 years. *Journal of College Student Development*, 32, 166-170.

Dannells, M. D. (1997). *From discipline to development: Rethinking student conduct in higher education*. ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report Vol. 25, No. 2. Washington, DC: Graduate School of Education and Human Development, George Washington University.



Dannells, M. D., & Stuber, D. (1992). Mandatory psychiatric withdrawal of severely disturbed students: A study and policy recommendation. *NASPA Journal*, 29, 163-168.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.) (1998). *The landscape of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

DeVore, D., & Gentilcore, K. (1999). Balanced and restorative justice and educational programming for youth at-risk. *The Clearing House*, 73(2), 96-100.

Diamond, J. (1994). *The warrior's journey home: Healing men, healing the planet*. Oakland, CA: New Harbinger.

Dodson, W. W., & Vaccaro, B. (1988). Mental health consultation in campus discipline: A program of primary prevention. *Journal of American College Health*, 37, 85-88.

Erickson, E. (1959). Identity and the life cycle. *Psychological Issues Monograph*, 1(1), New York: International Universities Press.

Evans, N. J. (1987). A framework for assisting student affairs staff in fostering moral development. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 66, 191-193.

Fagot, B. (1985). A cautionary note: Parent's socialization of boys and girls. *Sex Roles*, 12, 471-476.

Farrell, W. (1974). *The liberated man*. New York: Random House.

Farrell, W. (1986). *Why men are the way they are*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Fast, I. (1984). *Gender identity: A different model*. Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic.

Federal Bureau of Investigation. (1992). *Uniform crime reports*. Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office.

Fee, E. (1988). Critiques of modern science: The relationship of feminism to other radical epistemologies. In R. Bleier (Ed.), *Feminist approaches to science* (pp. 42-56). Elmsford, NY: Pergamon.

Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and punish*. (A. Sheridan, Trans.). New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (1980a). *Power/knowledge* (C. Gordon et al., Trans.). New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1982). Afterward: The subject and power. In H. Dreyfus, & P. Rabinow (Eds.), *Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics* (pp. 208-226). Chicago: University of Chicago.

Foucault, M. (1984). Panopticism. In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *The Foucault reader* (pp. 206-213). New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1988). *Politics philosophy culture: Interviews and other writings 1977-1984*. New York: Routledge.

Gallagher, R. P., Harmon, W. W, & Lingenfelter, C. O. (1994). CSAOs' perceptions of the changing incidence of problematic college student behavior. *NASPA Journal*, 32, 37-45.

Gaylon, W. (1992). *The male ego*. New York: Viking.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Gehring, D. D. (2001). The objectives of student discipline and the process that's due: Are they compatible? *NASPA Journal*, 38(4), 466-481.

Gilbert, N. S. (1965). When is the counselor a disciplinarian? *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 43, 489-491.

Gilligan, C. (1977). In a different voice: Women's conception of self and morality. *Harvard educational review*, 47, 481-517.

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Glesne, C., & Peshkin, A. (1992). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction*. White Plains, NY: Longman.

Goldberg, H. (1991). *What men really want*. New York: Signet.

Goleman, D. (1998). *Working with emotional intelligence*. New York: Bantam.

Good, G., Hepper, M, Hillenbrand-Gunn, T., & Wang, L. (1995). Sexual and psychological violence: An exploratory study of predictors in college men. *Journal of Men's Studies*, 4, 59-71.

Good, G. E, & Wood, P. K. (1995). Male gender role conflict, depression, and help seeking: Do college men face double jeopardy? *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 74, 70-75.

Greenberg, B. (1982). Television and role socialization: An overview. In National Institute of Mental Health, *Television and behavior: Ten years of scientific progress and implications for the eighties* (pp. 179-190). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Guba, E. G. (1978). *Toward a methodology of naturalistic inquiry in educational evaluation*. Los Angeles: Center for the Study of Evaluation, UCLA Graduate School of Education, University of California.

Guba, E. G. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1989). *Fourth generation evaluation*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Guba, E. G. & Lincoln Y. S. (1998). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The landscape of qualitative research* (pp. 195-220). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1983). *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. London: Routledge.

Hanson, D. J., & Engs, R. C. (1995). College drinking: Administrator perceptions, campus policies, and student behaviors. *NASPA Journal*, 32, 106-114.

Haraway, D. (1989). *Primate visions*. New York: Routledge.

Harrison, J. (1978). Warning: The male sex role may be dangerous to your health. *Journal of Social Issues*, 34, 65-68.

Hartley, R. (1974). Sex-role pressures and the socialization of the male child. In J. Pleck & J. Sawyer (Eds.), *Men and masculinity* (pp. 7-13). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Heath, R. (1978). Personality and the development of students in higher education. In C. Parker (Ed.), *Encouraging development in college students* (pp. 213-234). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Hong, L. (2000). Toward a transformed approach to prevention: Breaking the link between masculinity and violence. *Journal of American College Health*, 48, 269-279.

hooks, b. (1984). *Feminist theory: From margin to center*. Boston: South End.

Hopkins, P. D. (1992). Gender Treachery: Homophobia, masculinity, and threatened identities. In L. May, R. A. Strikwerda, & P. D. Hopkins, (Eds.), *Rethinking masculinity: Philosophical explorations in light of feminism* (pp. 95-118). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Howley, A., & Hartnett, R. (1992). Pastoral power and the contemporary university: A Foucauldian analysis. *Educational Theory, 42*(3), 271-283.

Hyde, J., & Linn, M. (1986). *The psychology of gender*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University.

Keen, S. (1991). *Fire in the belly: On being a man*. New York: Bantam Books.

Kimmel, M., & Levine, M. (1989). Men and AIDS. In M. Kimmel & M. Messner (Eds.), *Men's lives* (pp. 344-354). New York: Macmillan.

Kindlon, D., & Thompson, M. (2000). *Raising Cain: Protecting the emotional life of boys*. New York: Ballantine.

Kleinman, S., & Copp, M. A. (1993). *Emotions and fieldwork*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Kohlberg, L. (1969). Stage and sequence: The cognitive developmental approach to socialization. In D. Goslin (Ed.), *Handbook of socialization theory and research* (pp. 347-480). Chicago: Rand McNally.

Koss, M., Gidycz, C., & Wisniewski, N. (1987). The scope of rape: Incidence and prevalence of sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample of higher education students. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 55*, 162-170.

Krathwohl, D. R. (1998). *Methods of educational and social science research* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). New York: Longman.

Kuh, G. D., & Andreas, R. E. (1991). It's about time: Using qualitative methods in student life studies. *Journal of College Student Development, 32*, 397-405.

Kushner, S., & Norris, N. (1980-81). Interpretation, negotiation, and validity in naturalistic research. *Interchange, 11*(4), 26-36.

Lamont, M., & Wuthnow, R. (1990). *Between and between: Recent cultural sociology in Europe and the United States*. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *Frontiers of social theory: The new synthesis* (pp. 287-315). New York: Columbia University.

Lather, P. (1986). Research as praxis. *Harvard Educational Review*, 56(3), 257-277.

Lather, P. (1991). *Getting smart: Feminist research and pedagogy with/in the postmodern*. New York: Routledge.

Lather, P. (1993). Issues of validity in openly ideological research: Between a rock and a soft place. In C. Conrad, A. Neumann, J. G. Haworth, & P. Scott (Eds.), *Qualitative research in higher education: Experiencing alternative perspectives and approaches* (pp. 457-476). Needham Heights, MA: Ginn.

LeCompte, M. D., & Preissle, J. (1993). *Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research*. San Diego: Academic Press.

Levant, R. F. (1995). Toward the reconstruction of masculinity. In R. Levant, & W. Pollack (Eds.), *A new psychology of men* (pp. 229-251). New York: Basic Books.

Levant, R. F. (1997). *Men and emotions: A psychoeducational approach*. New York: Newbridge.

Levant, R. F., & Pollack, W. S. (1995). *A new psychology of men*. New York: Basic Books.

Levin, B. (1993). A dream deferred: The social and legal implications of hate crimes in the 1990s. *Journal of Intergroup Relations*, 9, 3-27.

Levinson, D. J., Darrow, C. N., Klein, E. B., Levinson, M. H., & McKee, B. (1978). *The seasons of a man's life*. New York: Knopf.

Lincoln, Y. S. (1993). I and thou: Method, voice, and roles in research with the silenced. In D. McLaughlin & W. Tierney (Eds.), *Naming silenced lives* (pp. 29-47).

New York: Routledge.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newberry Park, CA: Sage.

Loevinger, J. (1976). *Ego development: Conceptions and theories*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Lofland, J. (1971). *Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (1989). *Designing qualitative research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Marshall, D. (1993). Violence and the male gender role. *Journal of College Student Psychotherapy*, 8, 203-218.

Maxwell, J. A. (1996). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

May, L., Strikwerda, R., & Hopkins, P. D. (1996). *Rethinking masculinity: Philosophical explorations in light of feminism*. Lanham, MD: Bowman & Littlefield.

Mercer, W. L. (1996). *Critical issues in judicial affairs: Current trends in practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Meth, R. L. (1990). The road to masculinity. In R. L. Meth & R. S. Pasick (Eds.), *Men in therapy: The challenge of change* (pp. 3-34). New York: Guilford.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Miller, J. B. (1986). *Toward a new psychology of women* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Boston: Beacon.

Mullane, S.P. (1999). Fairness, educational value, and moral development in the student disciplinary process. *NASPA Journal*, 36(2), 86-95.

Nathanson, C. A. (1977). Sex roles as variables in preventative health behavior. *Journal of Community Health*, 3, 142-155.

O'Neil, J. M. (1981a). Male sex-role conflicts, sexism, and masculinity: Psychological implications for men, women, and the counseling psychologist. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 9, 61-81.

O'Neil, J. M. (1981b). Patterns of gender role conflict and strain: Sexism and fear of femininity in men's lives. *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 60, 203-210.

O'Neil, J. M. (1982). Gender role conflict and strain in men's lives: Implications for psychiatrists, psychologists, and other human service providers. In K. Solomon & N. B. Levy (Eds.), *Men in transition: Changing male roles, theory, and therapy* (pp. 5-44). New York: Plenum.

O'Neil, J. M. (1990). Assessing men's gender role conflict. In D. Moore & F. Leafgren (Eds.), *Problem solving strategies and interventions for men in conflict* (pp. 23-38). Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.

O'Neil, J. M., Good, G. E., & Holmes, S. (1995). Fifteen years of theory and research on men's gender role conflict: New paradigms for empirical research. In R. F. Levant & W. S. Pollack (Eds.), *A new psychology of men* (pp. 164-206). New York: Basic Books.



O'Neil, J. M., Helms, B., Gable, R., David, L., & Wrightsman, L. (1986). Gender Role Conflict Scale: College men's fear of femininity. *Sex Roles, 14*, 335-350.

Ortiz, S. M. (2001). How interviewing became therapy for wives of professional athletes. *Qualitative Inquiry, 7*(2), 192-220.

Patton, M. J. (1991). Qualitative research on college students: Philosophical and methodological comparisons with the quantitative approach. *Journal of College Student Development, 32*, 389-396.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Perry, W. G. (1970). *Forms of intellectual and ethical development in the college years*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Pleck, J. H. (1981). *The myth of masculinity*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Pollack, W. S. (1990). Men's development and psychotherapy: A psychoanalytic perspective. *Psychotherapy, 27*, 316-321.

Pollack, W. S. (1995). No man is an island: Toward a new psychoanalytical psychology of men. In R. F. Levant & W. S. Pollack (Eds.), *A new psychology of men* (pp. 33-67). New York: Basic Books.

Pollack, W. S. (1998). *Real boys: Rescuing our sons from the myths of boyhood*. New York: Henry Holt.

Pollack, W. S. (1999). The sacrifice of Isaac: Toward a new psychology of boys and men. *The Society for the Psychological Study of Men & Masculinity Bulletin, 4*(1), Winter 1999, 7-14.

Rabinowitz, F. E., & Cochran, S. V. (1994). *Man alive: A primer of men's issues*. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole.

- Real, T. (1997). *I don't want to talk about it: Overcoming the secret legacy of male depression*. New York: Scribner.
- Rhoads, R. A. (1994). *Coming out in college: The struggle for a queer identity*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Rhoads, R. A. (1995). Whale tales, dog piles, and beer goggles: An ethnographic case study of fraternity life. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 26(3), 306-323.
- Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (1995). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sanday, P. (1990). *Fraternity gang rape: Sex, brotherhood, and privilege on campus*. New York: New York University.
- Sattel, J. W. (1976). The inexpressive male: Tragedy or sexual politics? *Social Problems*, 23, 469-477.
- Sawyer, J. (1974). On male liberation. In J. H. Pleck & J. Sayer (Eds.), *Men and masculinity* (pp. 170-173). New York: Prentice-Hall.
- Schwandt, T. A. (1997). *Qualitative inquiry: A dictionary of terms*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Schweigert, F. J. (1999). Learning the common good: Principles of community-based moral education in restorative justice. *Journal of Moral Education*, 28(2), 163-183.
- Seidler, V. (1996). Masculinity and violence. In L. May, R. A. Strikwerda, & P. D. Hopkins, (Eds.), *Rethinking masculinity: Philosophical explorations in light of feminism* (pp. 63-75). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Seidman, I. (1998). *Interviewing as qualitative research*. New York: Teachers College.

Serr, R. L., & Taber, R. S. (1987). Mediation: A judicial affairs alternative. In R. Caruso & W. Travelstead (Eds.), *Enhancing campus judicial systems* (pp. 73-83). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Sharpe, M. J., & Heppner, P. P. (1991). Gender role, gender role conflict, and psychological well-being in men. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 38*, 323-330.

Smith, D. B. (1994). Student discipline in American colleges and universities: A historical overview. *Educational Horizons, 72*, 78-85.

Smith, D. E. (1987). *The everyday world as problematic: A feminist sociology*. Boston: Northeastern University.

Steele, R. H., Johnson, D. H., & Rickard, S. T. (1984). Managing the judicial function in student affairs. *Journal of College Student Personnel, 25*, 337-342.

Stephenson, J. (1991). *Men are not cost effective*. Napa, CA: Deimer, Smith.

Stewart, A. J., & Lykes, M. B. (Eds.) (1985). *Gender and personality: Current perspectives on theory and research*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Stoltenberg, J. (1989). *Refusing to be a man: Essays on sex and justice*. Portland, OR: Brienbush Books.

Stone, G. L., & Lucas, J. (1994). Disciplinary counseling in higher education: A neglected challenge. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 72*, 234-238.

Thompson, E. H., Pleck, J. H., & Ferrera, D. L. (1992). Men and masculinities: Scales for masculinity ideology and masculinity-related constructs. *Sex Roles, 27*, 573-607.

Tierney, W. G., & Rhoads, R. A. (1993). Postmodern and critical theory in higher education: Implications for research and practice. In J. C. Smart (Ed.), *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* (pp. 308-343). New York: Agathon.

U. S. Department of Health and Human Services. (1991). *Healthy people 2000: National health promotion & disease prevention objectives*. DHHS Publication No. 91-50212. Washington, DC: U. S. Department of Health and Human Services.

Valois, R., Vincent, M., McKeown, R., Garrison, C., & Kirby, S. (1993). Adolescent risk behaviors and the potential for violence: A look at what's coming to campus. *Journal of American College Health*, 41, 141-147.

Van Kuren, N. F., and Creamer, D. G. (1989). The conceptualization and testing of a causal model of college student disciplinary status. *Journal of College Student Development*, 30, 257-265.

Van Maanen, J. (1979). Reclaiming qualitative methods for organizational research: A preface. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24, 520-526.

Walcott, H. (1990). *Writing up qualitative research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Warters, W. C. (1995). Conflict management in higher education: A review of current approaches. *New Directions for Student Services*, 92, 71-78.

Wechsler, H., Deutsch, C., & Dowdall, G. (1995). Too many colleges still in denial about alcohol abuse. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 14, B1-2.

Whitt, E. J. (1991). Artful science: A primer on qualitative research methods. *Journal of College Student Development*, 32, 406-415.

Widick, C., Parker, C. A., & Knepfkamp, L. (1978). *Applying new developmental findings*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.