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Conformity to Masculine Norms: A Case-Based Time-Series Analysis of Men in Intergroup Dialogue

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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Isaac Curtiss Brandt entitled "Conformity to Masculine Norms: A Case-Based Time-Series Analysis of Men in Intergroup Dialogue." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Psychology.

Brent Mallinckrodt, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Jakob Levy, Joe Miles, Joel Diambra

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

Conformity to Masculine Norms: A Case-Based Time-Series Analysis of Men in

Intergroup Dialogue

A Dissertation Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Isaac Curtiss Brandt
August 2016

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my loving family and friends. Truly, this wouldn't have been possible without your collective care and encouragement over these years and miles.

Acknowledgements

I need to acknowledge several important people. First, a big "thank you" goes to my advisor, Dr. Brent Mallinckrodt, for his patience, encouragement, and expertise. I have needed these three qualities in large amounts over a long period of time, and I am grateful to you for your large generosity of spirit. Additionally, I'd like to thank Dr. Joe Miles for introducing me to powerful social justice process work of Intergroup Dialogue (IGD). Getting to be a part of IGDs has been one of the most memorable and impactful experiences in my graduate training. Lastly, I'd like to thank the remaining members of my dissertation committee, Drs. Jacob Levy and Joel Diambra. I have greatly appreciated and benefitted from your critical feedback and encouragement throughout this process.

Abstract

There is an established and growing body of research associating poor health outcomes among men with conformity to socialized masculine gender norms (Bonar et al., 2011; Borsari, Murphy, & Barnett, 2007; Courtenay, 2011). This study explored whether this socialization is subject to change in four individual male participants in a multi-week, small group learning environment called Intergroup Dialogue (IGD). Participants in IGD "closely examine the socially constructed norms and ideologies that guide their (often unconscious) beliefs" (Dessel & Rogge, 2008 p.213). IGD groups met for eight sessions. Pre- and Post-group scores on the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-46 (CMNI) were compared. Session-by-session ratings from group facilitators on the Interpersonal Relations Scale (IRS) Checklist-Short form were also collected. Results indicated change in one of the four participant's pre-post total CMNI scores and for all individuals on specific CMNI subscales. Patterns of IRS ratings were noted, paralleling participants' journal entries about their experiences in IGD.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1

Introduction and Statement of Problem

There is a growing body of evidence suggesting greater health risks for men than women in several important areas. For example, research has shown that in Western countries, males between the ages of 15-29 have a 2.6 times greater risk of dying than females (Phillips, 2005). American men have, on average, a life expectancy 5.2 years shorter than American women (Minino, Heron, Murphy, & Kocharek, 2007), and have been identified as actively engaging in controllable behaviors that directly increase their risk for disease, injury, and death (Courtenay 2000a, 2000b). College-age men have been identified as a particularly high-risk population.

When compared to college women, college men engage in more harmful behaviors such as binge drinking, abusing substances, and pursuing unsafe sexual activities (Bonar et al., 2011; Borsari, Murphy, & Barnett, 2007). One study found that 10% of college men admit to at least one incidence of physical aggression toward a romantic partner (Gallagher & Parrott, 2011). College men are less likely to engage in health-promoting behaviors such as preventive care (Courtenay, 2011) and are four times more likely to complete suicide than women ("Suicide: Facts at a glance", 2012).

Although researchers have pointed out that there are likely multiple causes underlying these sex differences, such as biology and access to healthcare (Mahalik, Burns, & Syzdek, 2007), a significant body of research suggests gender role socialization as a major explanatory factor (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Liu & Iwamoto, 2007; Locke & Mahalik, 2005; O'Neil & Crapser, 2011). Gender role socialization can be defined as the

"learned gendered attitudes and behaviors from cultural values, norms, and ideologies about what it means to be a man or a woman in a particular society" (Addis & Mahalik, 2003, p.7). For example, in dominant U.S. culture, it is a commonly communicated male gender role expectation that "men don't cry". The current study will focus on a specific measure of masculine gender socialization: conformity to masculine norms (Mahalik et al., 2003; Parent & Moradi, 2009).

Despite this large body of research connecting deleterious health outcomes for men with gender role socialization, there is a surprising dearth of research examining potential learning environments in which these "learned gendered attitudes and behaviors" (Addis & Mahalik, 2003 p. 7) may be unlearned. One such promising setting is Intergroup Dialogue (IGD). IGD is a multi-week, small group learning environment in which participants "closely examine the socially constructed norms and ideologies that guide their (often unconscious) beliefs" (Dessel & Rogge, 2008 p.213). Previous research on IGD has shown that it facilitates some of the crucial components of attitude change, namely critical self-reflection and perspective taking (Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002; Gurin, Nagda, & Lopez, 2004; Nagda, 2006; Nagda & Zuniga, 2003). However, no research to date has examined whether IGD participation can lead to changes in learned gender attitudes and behaviors (i.e. conformity to masculine norms). The current study examined whether participation of individual men an IGD corresponded with changes in conformity to masculine norms.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Conformity to Masculine Norms

Conformity to masculine norms has been defined as "meeting societal expectations for what constitutes masculinity in one's public or private life" (Mahalik, et al., 2003, p. 3). Mahalik et al. elaborated that an individual male may or may not conform to these expectations depending on a wide range of contextual factors, even though he is well aware of what society generally expects of him. Some men define these norms as requiring them to engage in behavior that puts their physical and emotional health at risk. For example, conformity to masculine norms has been linked to binge drinking (Liu & Iwamoto, 2007) and increased sexually aggressive behavior in men (Locke & Mahalik, 2005). O'Neil and Crapser (2011) found that college-age men who conformed more strictly to traditionally socialized masculine norms showed higher risk for significant, negative health outcomes.

Although psychometrically sound measures have been developed for assessing masculine gender role socialization (e.g., Masculine Gender Role Stress Scale [MGRS], Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Gender Role Conflict Scale [GRCS], O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightman, 1986), these measures assess only the aspects of masculine gender role socialization associated with stress and conflict. As such, these measures necessarily assess only the maladaptive aspects of masculine gender role socialization. The conformity to masculine norms paradigm offered by Mahalik (2000), suggests that it is important to assess more broadly for how conformity to masculine norms may have both

adaptive and maladaptive consequences. For example, a man who strictly adheres to norms like emotional control (e.g. don't cry) may experience costs in close, personal relationships, where he may be experienced as distant and cold. However, this man may experience perceived benefits such as admiration and even promotion from his adherence to this same norm in his professional relationships. Furthermore, a different man may in the very same situations exhibit nonconformity to the above-mentioned emotional control norm in his close, personal relationships and experience benefit, while nonconformity to this norm (e.g. showing emotional upset) at the workplace may produce costs.

Writers from this perspective acknowledge the sociocultural assumption(s) underlying such a broad definition of masculinity noting: "expectations of masculinity as constructed by Caucasian, middle- and upper-class heterosexuals should affect members of that group and every other male in U.S. society who is held up to those standards and experiences acceptance or rejection from the majority, in part, based on adherence to the powerful group's masculinity norms" (Mahalik, et al., 2003, p. 5-6). From this broad conceptualization, Mahalik et al. developed the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI) with the goal of providing a measure to "assess the extent that an individual male conforms or does not conform to the actions, thoughts, and feelings that reflect masculinity norms in the dominant culture in U.S. society" (p.5). Drawing on existing literature and the use of extensive and intensive focus groups, the authors were able to generate a non-exhaustive, yet robust list of normative masculine norms in dominant U.S. society. A confirmatory factor analysis established 11 different masculine norms or subscales on the original CMNI. The 11 norms or subscales established were:

Winning (e.g. "In general, I will do anything to win"), Emotional control (e.g. "I tend to keep my feelings to myself"), Risk-taking (e.g. "I frequently put myself in risky situations"), Violence (e.g. "Sometimes violent action is necessary"), Dominance (e.g. "In general, I must get my way"), Playboy (e.g. "If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners"), Self-reliance (e.g. "I hate asking for help"), Primacy of Work (e.g. "My work is the most important part of my life"), Power over Women (e.g. "In general, I control the women in my life"), Disdain for Homosexuals (e.g. "I would be furious if someone thought I was gay"), and Pursuit of Status (e.g. "It feels good to be important") (Mahalik et al., 2003). In the more recently developed CMNI-46 (Parent & Moradi, 2009), the subscale "Disdain for Homosexuals" was changed to "Heterosexual Self-presentation" to reflect more culturally-aware and respectful language. Additionally, because the Dominance and Pursuit of Status subscales showed considerable overlap with other subscales, they were subsequently dropped.

The CMNI and CMNI-46 provide both a total score representing a broad measure of overall conformity, as well as specific scores among these specific subscales. Both overall conformity and subscale scores have been shown to correlate significantly maladaptive psychological health outcomes (Wong, Owen, & Shea, 2012). A study examining substance-use and binge drinking among Asian American male college students, demonstrated overall conformity as having a significantly positive relationship with both alcohol use and binge drinking (Liu & Iwamoto, 2007). Additionally, this relationship was shown for the Winning, Pursuit of Status, and Playboy subscales (Liu & Iwamoto, 2007). Another study found a significant relationship between endorsement of

overall conformity and the specific Self-reliance, Violence, and Playboy subscales with health risk behaviors (e.g. unhealthy alcohol use, neglecting preventive care, not seeking help for emotional difficulties, not going to health care appointments) in both Kenyan and U.S. male college students (Mahalik, Lagan, & Morrison, 2006).   Conformity to the specific subscale norms of Power over Women, Playboy, Disdain for Homosexuality (*sic*), winning, and violence were demonstrated to have a significant positive relationship with acceptance of rape myths and sexual violence among predominantly White American male college students (Locke & Mahalik, 2005).

While the outcome data associated with conformity to masculine norms are largely negative and maladaptive, some positive and adaptive outcomes have been demonstrated. Overall conformity to masculine norms was found to be associated with exercising to cope with depression among male college students (Mahalik & Rochlen, 2006). Conformity to the specific norms of Winning and Emotional Control have been shown to have significant negative correlation with substance use in a predominantly White male college male sample (Levant, Wimer, & Williams, 2011). In a sample of Asian American men, the subscale, Emotional Control, demonstrated a significant inverse relationship with alcohol use and binge drinking, suggesting that this may serve as a protective factor for Asian American men (Liu & Iwamoto, 2007). Another study by Hammer and Good (2010) demonstrated that Risk-taking, Dominance, Primacy of Work, and Pursuit of Status were linked to greater personal courage, autonomy, endurance, and resilience.

Gender scholars have long called for critical attention to the danger of essentialist attributions to these identified norms (Gerson & Preiss, 1985; Kimmel, 1995; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Essentialist views of gender attribute norms to innate differences in being male or female, masculine or feminine (Kimmel, 1995). The social constructionists view masculine gender norms as constructed from cultural and subjective meanings that are constantly being shaped and reshaped, depending on time and place (Kimmel, 1995). The conformity to masculine norms paradigm aligns itself with the social constructionist theoretical framework, in that it views gender norms as culturally constructed and that both men and women can conform and not conform to masculine and feminine norms. A recent study by Parent and Smiler (2013) lends empirical support to this theoretical foundation. Results of this study showed the CMNI-46 "functions adequately as a measure of its intended constructs for both men and women" (p. 327).

It is from this social constructionist perspective that the current study was conducted. Because the conformity to masculine norms paradigm operates from the assumption that gender norms are socio-culturally constructed, these norms are, by definition, subject to social reconstruction or change. On an individual level, boys and men are viewed as active agents in the social constructing and reconstructing of both individual adherence and societal value of particular masculine norms. On a more group-based level, as the word "social" implies, gender norms are shaped not just through one-on-one interactions with others, but also through group-based community and societal level interactions. The current study proposes to examine the influence and potential effects of small group-based interactions on individual conformity to masculine norms.

Intergroup Dialogue

One such interactive group setting receiving significant research attention is Intergroup Dialogue (IGD). Dessell and Rogge (2008) define Intergroup Dialogue as: "a facilitated group experience that may occur once or may be sustained over time and is designed to give individuals and groups a safe and structured opportunity to explore attitudes about polarizing societal issues" (p.201). IGD is further described as "a critical opportunity for participants to closely examine the socially constructed norms and ideologies that guide their (often unconscious) beliefs (Dessel & Rogge, 2008 p. 213). Dialogues often include members from such social identity groups as white people or people of color; men or women; gay men, lesbians, bisexual men and women, and transgender people; people identifying as Jewish, Christian, Muslim, Atheist, or Agnostic. Dialogue groups typically take place over the course of several weeks and as Ford and Malaney (2012) summarized the work of Nagda, Gurin, Sorensen, and Zuniga (2009) they consist of: "(a) structured interaction (e.g., small group of students, ideally equal representation of two social identity groups); (b) active and engaged learning that balances both content (e.g. sociological and psychological readings) and process (e.g. critical self-reflection, experiential activities) knowledge; and (c) facilitated learning environment led by two trained co-facilitators" (p. 16). These pedagogical features are all grounded in Allport's (1954) Intergroup Contact Theory. Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga, (2013) summarize Allport's work stating that intergroup harmony is fostered under specified conditions such as "equal status between the groups in the contact situation, intergroup cooperation toward common goals, opportunities to get to know members of

the out-group personally, and knowledge that the contact is positively sanctioned and supported by relevant authorities (Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga, 2013, 32-33).

The "structured interaction" feature of IGD is defined as: "the intentional creation of group structures and activities to involve students from different backgrounds in active learning" (Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga, 2013 p. 257). This definition itself highlights the second IGD feature (e.g. active and engaged learning balancing both content and process). IGDs, by design, include both outside and classroom didactic learning (i.e. readings, videos, and lecture) which is largely content focused. The more experiential and process-oriented learning happens in the small group activities (i.e. role-playing different perspectives, sharing personal stories and experiences connected to one's social identities, actively listening to others' experiences). This highlights the third element of IGD (e.g. facilitation) and how: "Because interactions between students of different backgrounds and life experiences can replicate the dynamics of inequality on the campus and in the larger society, skilled *facilitation* is imperative to ensure that dialogue promotes open, equal exchanges and deepened learning" (Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga, 2013, p. 51). Facilitators are trained in the 4-stage IGD developmental model to helps guide the types of activities and level of depth to be facilitated in the IGD.

Stage 1 is called "Group Beginnings: Forming and Building Relationships" (Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga, 2013). This stage, as the name suggests, involves introductions by facilitators, among students, and activities aimed at building group trust and cohesion. The facilitators work along with students to establish a basic set of ground rules to help create a sense of group ownership over the learning and relational

environment and for establishing boundaries for safety and clarity. Additionally, the basic goals of IGD are discussed and examined. IGD experts describe three general goals:

> "to develop *intergroup understanding* by helping students explore their own and others' social identities and statuses, and the role of social structures in relationships of privilege and inequality; to foster *positive intergroup relationships* by developing students' empathy and motivation to bridge differences of identities and statuses; and to *foster intergroup collaboration* for personal and social responsibility toward greater social justice" (Nagda, Gurin, Sorensen, & Zuniga, 2009, p.2).

Finally, the basic dynamics of dialogue vs. debate (e.g. trying to listen to and understand others' experiences vs. debate opinions or argue for rightness).

Stage 2 is called "Exploring Differences and Commonalities of Experience" (Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga, 2013). This stage focuses on exploring identities, inequalities, examining how these have developed for individual IGD members, and how individual social identities (i.e. race, ethnicity, gender, social class) connect to larger social power structures. The activities of this stage invite students (many for the first time- especially those from privileged groups), to examine their and often very different identity and inequality experiences. For many participants, especially those from privileged groups, this represents the first time they have been prompted to examine these issues. This purpose and spirit of this stage is highlighted by this reflection from a White man participating in a gender dialogue:

"The biggest impact of dialogue was increasing my understanding of privileges and discriminatory practices that affect social, gender, ethnic, and religious groups. I am much more aware of the glass ceiling in business and the overall effect of the web of oppression on women's self-esteem and social stature" (Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga, 2013, p.66).

Stage 3 is called "Exploring and Dialoguing about Hot Topics" (Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga, 2013). The goal of this stage is for students to build upon their relationships and dialogic communication skills (e.g. Stage 1) and apply their understanding of social identities and inequalities (e.g. Stage 2) to explore controversial topics. These topics are shaped by the theme of the dialogue (i.e. gender, race, social class) and can be topics like sexual objectification of women in media, racial profiling, or classism in television. The topics and associated activities are chosen by the facilitators and/or by the students themselves. The intention is to push students to feel the pull of a general tendency to become argumentative and instead use their developing dialogic skills, social justice awareness, and sense of personal relationship in their group to experience how it is possible to dialogue through and appreciate others' different experiences and ideas. This is highlighted by a Woman of color in a race-ethnicity dialogue:

"The hot topics activity was a big learning for me because it helped me see that one can get different impressions if you look at something from different angles. I pretty much avoided confrontations before, but now I know that it is important to name what the conflict is and look at it from other people's perspectives as well as my own" (Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga, 2013, p.69).

Stage 4 is called "Action Planning and Collaboration" (Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga,
2013). The goal of this stage is for students to begin to move from awareness around
identities, inequalities, structural systems that shape identities and maintain these
inequalities, and find ways to take action. This stage ideally helps students to
experiences their advantages and disadvantages as socially constructed injustices and
inequalities and to be empowered to own one's individual and collective power to make
the world a more just, equal place. A man of color in a gender dialogue reflected this:

> [It] required much more than just laying down demands on a few issues. It takes
> full commitment and determination from all parties. Such alliances are formed
> out of desire and passion for bettering our world, not because of sympathy.
> Instead, these relationships should revolve around empathy (Gurin, Nagda, &
> Zuniga, 2013, p.72).

Each individual dialogue group is organized around a single social identity group
or theme (i.e. race, gender, social class, sexual orientation, etc.). However, each IGD
also provides the opportunity to explore other social identities and their intersections.
This is highlighted in Gurin, Nagda, and Zuniga (2013, p.257) when describing how a
student in a gender dialogue did not restrict himself to exploring other identities:

> I think what she just said goes with the "Who Am I?" reading. A person usually
> doesn't identify or think of themselves as dominant. For a rich person to think
> about themselves as rich, that doesn't happen, but for someone who doesn't have
> wealth, you sort of have to think about money because you are always striving to
> get more. That's one thing I like about "Who Am I?" I mean as a man, I don't

think about my gender or about being a woman. I don't have to deal with
stereotypes or any predisposed notions, like "women can't do this, women can't
do that". But I think about what I'm limited to as someone in a social class
situation. I think that is what is important in making these connections about
identities. It is what you cannot take for granted in a specific situation that makes
you think about identity (Man of Color, gender dialogue).

The outcome research on IGD has shown that it facilitates some of the crucial
components of attitude change, namely critical self-reflection and perspective taking
(Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002; Gurin, Nagda, & Lopez, 2004; Nagda, 2006;
Nagda & Zuniga, 2003). Intergroup Dialogue has been described as a setting in which
participants have the opportunity to engage in a personal examination of how social
identities have shaped their own lives, as well as others' lives (Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga,
2013).

Current Study

There is a substantial body of literature demonstrating a significant link between
conformity to masculine norms in college men and poor health outcomes (Bonar et al.,
2011; Borsari, Murphy, & Barnett, 2007; "Suicide: Facts at a glance", 2012; Liu &
Iwamoto, 2007). Additionally, evidence and theory suggest that masculine norms are
social constructions: attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors both constructed and enforced by
dominant sociocultural expectations and reconstructed and reinforced by adherence to
such norms (Courtenay, 2000a; Courtenay, 2000b; Mahalik, 2003). Thus, if masculine
norms are socially constructed, they are subject to social reconstruction processes. There

is both theoretical and empirical evidence in support of IGD as providing "a critical opportunity for participants to closely examine the socially constructed norms and ideologies that guide their (often unconscious) beliefs" (Dessel & Rogge, 2008 p. 213). Thus, IGD represents a promising setting in which to empirically examine its effects on possible changes in individual's conformity to traditional masculine norms. Given the established link between conformity to masculine norms and the many and various poor health outcomes, there is a clear and pressing need for this area of study.

The current study examined the following questions. First, were male participants, at the point they began IGD, different than their normative peers with regard to traditionally masculine norms? Given that the male participants in the current study self-selected into this IGD course, it was important to examine whether they were or were not normatively different from their peers at the beginning of their IGD experience. Second, for male participants, did IGD participation scores corresponded with changes in overall conformity to traditional masculine norms scores? We hypothesized that participant's overall conformity scores would decrease after their participation in IGD. It was hypothesized that this would be especially true for those participants in the gender-themed IGD, as its focus was specifically on examining gender as a social identity. Third, did IGD participation scores correspond with changes in conformity to traditional masculine norms subscale scores? We predicted that subscales associated with maladaptive health outcomes (i.e. Violence, Playboy, Power over Women) may decrease from pre to post-group. We predicted that subscales associated with adaptive outcomes (i.e. Winning, Emotional Control, Self-Reliance) may increase. Additionally, narrative

data from weekly participant journals was examined to explore whether the rising/falling of participation mirror participants narrative journal reflections. We hypothesized that the content of these qualitative, narrative data would closely correspond to the observed quantitative data from conformity and participatory measures.

Chapter 3

Materials and Methods

Participants

Participants were male undergraduate students who participated in an IGD group as a required component of a larger multicultural psychology course at a large Southeastern university. A total of six distinct IGDs were facilitated. Among the six dialogues, there were different themed dialogues: one on gender, one on sexual orientation, two on social class, and two on religion/spirituality. The dialogues included a total of 30 female and 6 male undergraduate participants. The six groups were facilitated by twelve graduate student facilitators (i.e. two per IGD). All six male students agreed to participate in the study. Of these six, however, only four were included in the current analysis due to missing data. One of the six male students failed to complete his post-test CMNI-46 measure and for another male student neither of his group leaders provided IRS ratings for his group behaviors. The mean age of the four remaining participants was 23.00 years, (SD = 1.63, range = 21-25). With regard to racial/ethnic identification, two of the participants identified as African-American/Black and two as European American/White.

This study also included ratings from the graduate students facilitating the intergroup dialogues of these four participants. The four participants are labeled with pseudonyms. Two of the participants, Anthony and Carlos, were in the same gender-themed group, Delano was in the social class-themed group, and Bernard was in the religion/spirituality-themed group.

Measures

The Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-46 (**CMNI-46**; **Parent & Moradi, 2009**). is a short form developed by Parent and Moradi (2009) of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI; Mahalik, Locke, Diemer, Ludlow, Scott, Gottfried, & Freitas, 2003). Items for both measures are answered on a 4-point Likert-type scale in accordance with Mahalik et al.'s (2003) conceptualization of masculine gender role conformity (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Agree*, 4 = *Strongly Agree*). Items reflect subscales of *Winning* (6 items, α = .87), *Emotional Control* (6 items, α = .87), *Risk-Taking* (5 items, α = .80), *Violence* (6 items, α = .82), *Power Over Women* (4 items, α = .85), *Playboy* (4 items, α = .80), *Self-Reliance* (5 items, α = .84), *Primacy of Work* (4 items, α = .80), and *Heterosexual Self-Presentation* (6 items, α = .90). Examples of items from each subscale are as follows: Winning, "In general, I will do anything to win;" Emotional Control, "I like to talk about my feelings;" Risk Taking, "I enjoy taking risks;" Violence, "I believe that violence is never justified;" Power over Women, "In general, I control the women in my life;" Playboy, "If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners;" Self-Reliance, "I hate asking for help;" Primacy of Work, "My work is the most important part of my life;" Heterosexual Self-Presentation, "Being thought of as gay is not a bad thing." Parent and Moradi reported evidence of concurrent validity of the CMNI-46 and its subscale factors in a sample of male undergraduate students in the form of positive correlations with the theoretically corresponding scales of the original CMNI (Mahalik et al., 2003). Reliability for the

CMNI-46 ranged from .77 (Primacy of Work) to .91 (Heterosexual Self-Presentation; Parent & Moradi, 2009).

Interpersonal Relations Scale Checklist-Short Form *(IRS;Shadish, 1984).*

The IRS-short form is a 20-item scale developed as a self-report measure to assess the benefit of group participation in "fostering of intimacy skills" (Shadish, 1984, p.205). Additionally, the IRS assesses the construct of intimacy: skills in dealing with affect, cognitions, and behaviors of self (intrapersonal intimacy) and of others (interpersonal intimacy). The current study used the scale as an observer-rater measure, specifically assessing how often each participant was judged by facilitators to have demonstrated any of the 20 IRS items. The items were: 1. "Discloses true personal feelings, even if threatening or unpopular", 2. "Encourages another to honestly express his/her feelings", 3. "Discusses the reasons for one's own behavior", 4. "Talks about weaknesses of self", 5. "Discusses another's feelings", 6. "Explains what is going on between others", 7. "Expresses dislike of another's behavior", 8. "Talks about own feelings and behavior", 9. "Takes risk by engaging in personally revealing behavior such as crying, discussing fears, etc.", 10. "Expresses anger at another", 11. "Discusses change in attitude towards others", 12. "Tries to explain what one thinks about one's self", 13. "Asks another how he/she is feeling", 14. "Tries out a behavior that is new or acknowledged to be different from past behavior", 15. "Tells others of one's fears or insecurities", 16. "Expresses dislike of own behavior", 17. "States that one has changed one's mind about something", 18. "Honestly discusses opinions and feelings, even if threatening or unpopular", 19. "Expresses negative feelings about self", 20. "Talks about the relationship of self to another". The

current study tallied and totaled the items observed for each participant for each session as rated by the facilitator(s). Shadish (1984) reported evidence for concurrent validity in a sample of undergraduate students with significant correlations to three measures of related constructs: The Self-Testimony Scale (STS: Lieberman et al., 1973), Moos et al.'s (1974) Group Environment Scale, and The State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI; Speilberger et al., 1970). Shadish (1984) reported that reliability for the 20-item self-report short form of the IRS was .93. Observer-related inter-rater reliability studies conducted with untrained raters have ranged from .85 to .99 (Shadish, 1984, 1986).

Narrative data from participants' weekly journal entries were also used. Participants were asked to fill out weekly journal entries in which they were to reflect on a session-by-session basis as to their observations, reflections, and experiences in their group. They were also asked to write about what they felt was the most important thing that happened in each session, and why it was important to them. Participants were also asked to reflect on the whole of their experience at the end of their 8-week IGD experience: What was the most important thing that happened in your intergroup dialogue over the course of the semester? Why was this important for you? What was successful or went well in your intergroup dialogue this semester? What was unsuccessful or do you wish would have been different in your intergroup dialogue this semester? Did your hopes and/or fears for your intergroup dialogue come true? Why or why not? Were your expectations for your intergroup dialogue confirmed? Why or why not? Did you meet your learning goal for PSYC 435 this semester? Why or why not? Data for the first two

sessions were not available due an error in recording entries. Data were not at all available for Bernard, due to a similar error.

Procedure

Data were collected by the instructor of the multicultural psychology course who sent emails to all students enrolled in the course. The students were informed that their participation in the study was optional and that research procedures would preserve confidentiality. Students who were interested in participating were provided ID numbers for the purposes of tracking and also provided an email link to the CMNI-46 during the week the course began. Students were sent a link the week after the course ended to fill out another CMNI-46 for the purposes of the pre and posttest design of the current research project.

The instructor of the course also sent emails to all graduate student IGD facilitators. The graduate student facilitators were informed that their participation in the study was optional and that confidentiality would be preserved. Graduate students who were interested in participating were provided ID numbers for the purposes of tracking. The graduate student raters used the IRS-20 to track the number of interpersonal engagement behaviors that each male undergraduate participant displayed in each weekly dialogue.

Thus, data for this study consisted of pre-IGD and post-IGD self-reports of masculine gender role conflict on the CMNI-46. These data were collected via an emailed link to an online survey sent to all participants after each session. IGDs were conducted for a total of eight weeks. The data includes eight weekly observer ratings on

the IRS-20 for each of the target individuals. These ratings were collected through an

emailed link to an online survey sent to all participating facilitators after each session.

Additionally, weekly narrative data from participants exists in the form of reflective

journal entries. These weekly journal reflections were submitted online to the course

website after each session.

Chapter 4

Results

Given the small sample size, the current study used a methodology called "Case-based Time-series Analysis" which is recommended for examining intervention effects in small samples (Borckardt, et al., 2008). This methodology was designed for psychotherapy outcome research questions. One common question is: "Is there meaningful change in the patient's key symptoms from the pretreatment baseline condition (Phase A) to the treatment condition (Phase B)?" (Borckardt et al., 2008, p. 79). The current study examines as similar question: Is there meaningful change in participants' pre-group conformity scores (e.g. Phase A) for the "treatment condition" (e.g. IGD) post-group conformity scores. Additionally, potential treatments effects in the current study were captured by session-by-session observations of participant behavior. Narrative journal data collected will be used to corroborate both conformity and participatory quantitative data. This quantitative data was plotted and analyzed graphically.

Table 1, below, provides both total CMNI-46 and subscale scores for each of the four participants at pretest and posttest, as well as corresponding z-scores calculated from the means and standard deviations from a large sample of undergraduate men (Parent & Moradi, 2009). Figure 1, below, shows the session-by-session rise and fall of IRS scores for each of the four participants. When discussing changes in CMNI subscale scores for each of the four participants, a pre/post change of +/- 1.0 z-score was adopted as a general criterion for what constituted a "noteworthy" change.

Table 1. Pre/posttest CMNI-46 total, subscale scores ($\underline{X}$), and z-scores ($\underline{Z}$)

	Anthony		Carlos		Bernard		Delano	
	$\underline{X}$	$\underline{Z}$	$\underline{X}$	$\underline{Z}$	$\underline{X}$	$\underline{Z}$	$\underline{X}$	$\underline{Z}$
CMNI-Pre (Total)	76	0.74	72	0.42	67	*0.04	66	-0.04
CMNI-Post (Total)	69	0.19	67	0.04	54	*-0.98	60	-0.51
CMNI-Sub								
	$\underline{X}$	$\underline{Z}$	$\underline{X}$	$\underline{Z}$	$\underline{X}$	$\underline{Z}$	$\underline{X}$	$\underline{Z}$
Winning-Pre	10	0.003	14	*1.35	7	-1.00	12	0.67
Winning-Post	8	-0.67	6	*-1.34	7	-1.00	13	1.01
E.C.-Pre	10	0.44	8	*-0.21	7	-0.54	8	-0.21
E.C.-Post	10	0.44	12	*1.10	5	-1.20	5	-1.20
R.T.-Pre	5	*-1.03	9	0.66	8	0.24	7	-0.20
R.T.-Post	8	*0.24	7	-0.20	6	-0.61	6	-0.61
Violence-Pre	10	-0.04	10	-0.04	12	0.55	6	-1.21
Violence-Post	8	-0.63	9	-0.33	12	0.55	9	-0.33
P.o.W.-Pre	6	1.14	1	*-1.42	4	*0.12	5	0.36
P.o.W.-Post	6	1.14	7	*1.66	1	*-1.42	3	-0.62
Playboy-Pre	6	0.33	5	*-0.02	8	*1.03	9	*1.38
Playboy-Post	6	0.33	8	*1.03	2	*-1.07	12	*2.43
S.R.-Pre	4	*-0.83	4	-0.83	7	0.31	9	1.10
S.R.-Post	7	*0.31	4	-0.45	6	-0.07	8	0.70
PrimWork-Pre	11	*3.30	4	0.85	5	0.36	3	-0.62
PrimWork-Post	6	*0.85	3	-0.62	6	0.85	2	-1.11
H.S.P.-Pre	14	0.69	15	0.92	9	-0.48	7	*-0.95
H.S.P.-Post	10	-0.25	10	-0.25	9	-0.48	2	*-2.11

Note: *E.C. = Emotional Control, P.o.W. = Power over Women, S.R. = Self-Reliance, Prim.Work = Primacy of Work, H.S.P. = Heterosexual Self-Presentation, * = Full z-score change.*
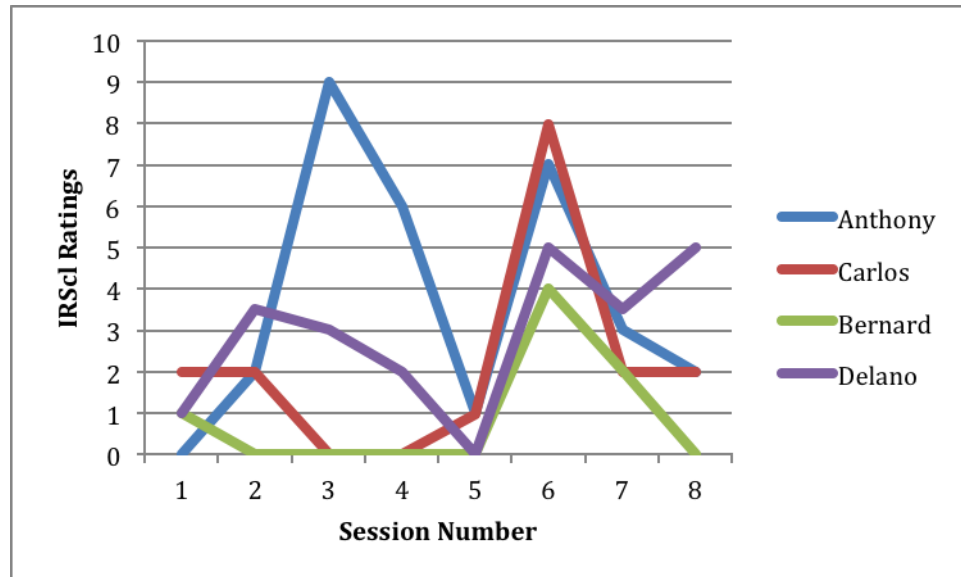
Figure 1. Session-by-session raise and fall of IRS scores for each of the four participants

Anthony

Anthony's pre-dialogue overall CMNI-46 score of 76 was within one standard deviation of the reported norm for the overall CMNI-46 score reported by Parent and Moradi (2009). Recall that Anthony participated in a gender-themed IGD. His CMNI pre-group score was the highest of the four men. As shown in Table 1, Anthony's overall conformity score did demonstrate a decrease (z-change = -.55), but despite the decrease he remained above the CMNI normed mean at posttest. Table 1 shows that the following subscale changed the most pre/post: Primacy of Work (z change = -2.45), Risk Taking (z-change = +1.27), Self-Reliance (z-change = +1.14). As seen in Figure 1, Anthony demonstrated a similar pattern of IRS-scores as compared to the other three participants, with scores starting low, spiking at Session 6, and sharply declining after Session 6. However, Anthony was unique in demonstrating an additional spike in facilitators' ratings of his engagement at Session 3 and maintaining a high IRS score in Session 4,

both engagement patterns not exhibited by the other three participants. Overall these scores appear to reflect some parallel changes (i.e. there was an overall, slight decrease in overall CMNI scores mirrored by a general trend toward increase in IRS-scores through the first six sessions). However, there does not appear to be as close and clean a correspondence between increase/decrease(s) in CMNI scores and increase/decrease(s) in IRS-scores.

With regard to narrative qualitative data, Anthony had several entries that alluded to critical learning moments corresponding to both IRS and CMNI scores. Based on facilitator's ratings, Session 3 appeared to be unusually impactful given the spike in IRS scores. An excerpt from Anthony's entry from this session read "I was able to see a flipped gender role thanks to one of my group members, and I am thankful for that realization as it shows that my family is not so stuck in gender as unknowing participants." Anthony's IRS scoring profile was unique not just in this spike at Session 3, but also in his exhibiting high engagement in Session 4. Another journal excerpt from Session 4 read: "The most important thing that occurred in our last meeting was, for me, outlining and stating that this so-called privilege I as a heterosexual white male have is not something I asked for nor is it something I lord over others." Additionally, Anthony had some seemingly pertinent reflections in his post-dialogue journal entry, in response to the question(s): "What was the most important thing that happened in your intergroup dialogue over the course of the semester? Why was this important for you?" Anthony wrote: "Probably the realization that my family is capable of breaking the gender binary rules set by my perception. Because I had never thought that my mother needed anyone.

She's strong no matter what, but she always wanted to be married while my brother and I stayed with her after her and my father divorced 10+ years ago." This entry parallels the observed increase for Anthony in his CMNI Self-Reliance subscale score (z-change = +1.14).

Carlos

Carlos' pre-dialogue overall CMNI-46 score of 72 was within one standard deviation of the reported norm for overall conformity reported by Parent and Moradi (2009). Carlos participated in the Gender-themed IGD with Anthony. As shown in Table 1, Carlos' overall conformity score did also demonstrate a decrease (z-change = -.38). His pre-group CMNI score was the second highest of the four men and like Anthony, although it decreased, Carlos' score remained above the norm at the conclusion of his group. Table 1 shows that the following subscale z-scores changed the most pre/post: Winning (z-change = -2.69), Power over Women (z-change = +2.08), Emotional Control (z-change = +1.31), and Playboy (z-change = +1.05). As seen in Figure 1, Carlos demonstrated a pattern of IRS-scores that started low, spiked at Session 6, and exhibited a sharp decline after Session 6. Different from Anthony and Delano, but similar to Bernard, Carlos demonstrated a noticeable drop in engagement and maintained low engagement between Session 3 and Session 6.

With regard to narrative data, Carlos reported several entries that suggested possible connections with CMNI changes and facilitators' observation of his IRS scores. An excerpt from Session 3 read "I did not feel comfortable sharing my personal experience with the group. In my life I have come from very troubling times and this is

one time that I don't want others students or people judging me or my family." This corresponds to Carlos' drop in IRS scores at Session 3. From Session 6:

> "The group members were instructed to pass around note cards and to take about three to four cards and write a question pertaining to the opposite sex about anything that we the students saw fit. The session proceeded to a really good discussion. In the session there were a lot of questions that raised eyebrows and that added lighter fluid to an already hot discussion. I feel that this may have been our most productive discussion as a group, by group I mean instructors and students. I feel group members were locked into the topic, very attentive to the person talking, it made the session that much more interactive. I think the best part about the last intergroup dialogue session was that, we the group members got to dictate what we talked about and I believe that made the session much more productive."

This entry clearly corresponds to Carlos' spike in IRS scores in Session 6. His comments may also reflect the large increase in his CMNI subscale score for Power over Women.

Bernard

Bernard's pre-dialogue overall CMNI-46 score of 67 was within a standard deviation for overall conformity reported by Parent and Moradi (2009). Bernard was a participant in the religion/spirituality-themed IGD. As shown in Table 1, Bernard's overall conformity score demonstrated a noteworthy decrease (z-change = -1.02). Bernard was the only participant to demonstrate a full standard deviation decrease in z-score. Table 1 shows that the following subscale z-scores changed the most pre/post:

Playboy (z-change = -2.10), Power over Women (z-change = -1.54). As seen in Figure 1, Bernard demonstrated a pattern of IRS-scores that was both similar and different to that of the other three participants. Bernard's IRS-score pattern was similar in its starting low, spike at Session 6, and show sharp decline after Session 6. Bernard demonstrated low and maintained low-score pattern from Sessions 1-5, until the overall trend of spiking at Session 6. Due to a technological error in recording, the narrative journal data was not available for Bernard.

Delano

Delano's pre-dialogue overall CMNI-46 score of 66 was within one standard deviation of the reported norm for overall conformity reported by Parent and Moradi (2009). Delano was a participant in one of the social class-themed IGDs. As shown in Table 1, Delano's overall conformity score also demonstrated a decrease (z-change = -0.47). Table 1 shows that the following subscale z-scores changed the most pre/post: Heterosexual Self-Presentation (-1.16), Playboy (+1.05). As seen in Figure 1, Delano started low in early sessions and spiked at Session 6. Uniquely, Delano's IRS-scores did not show a sharp decline after Session 6, but rather stayed steady, and even increased at Session 8. With regard to narrative data, Delano had a couple of entries that suggested possible parallels with his IRS and CMNI scores. From Session 6: "I would like to say that last week's Intergroup Dialogue was without question the most involved dialogue we have had to date".

The general pattern shown in Table 1 for all four participants, was an overall decrease in conformity scores. However, it should be noted that, of the four, only Bernard

demonstrated a full z-score decrease in pre/post-group score. Interestingly, the two

participants (Anthony and Carlos) who were in the gender-themed group demonstrated

some subscale increases. Lastly, weekly narrative data was examined (except Bernard

whose data were unavailable) for correspondence with weekly session engagement

ratings, and for each there was some observed correspondence between session facilitator

observed ratings and self-reported narrative reflections.

Chapter 5

Discussion

The primary aim of this research project was to explore whether participation by college men in Intergroup Dialogue (IGD) corresponded with decreases in their overall reported levels of conformity to traditional masculine norms. This is an important question because research suggests higher reported levels of gender role conformity is associated with poorer health outcomes in college-age men (Liu & Iwamoto, 2007; Locke & Mahalik, 2005; Mahalik, Lagan, & Morrison, 2006; Wong, Owen, & Shea, 2012). Although IGD can be an effective setting in which attitude changes can be produced (Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002; Gurin, Nagda, & Lopez, 2004; Nagda, 2006; Nagda & Zuniga, 2003), a search of the literature could not locate any studies examining whether or not IGD is associated with change in conformity to masculine norms. Findings from the current study suggested that all four participants' pre-post group conformity scores demonstrated decreases. However, in this study "noteworthy" change was conceptualized as a z-score change of +/- 1.0. As shown in Table 1,while all four participants demonstrated decreases from pre- to post-group overall conformity scores, only Bernard demonstrated a noteworthy decrease in overall conformity score (z-score change = -1.02).

However, Table 1 shows that all four men demonstrated multiple noteworthy subscale changes. This pattern of subscale score changes both fits and doesn't fit with hypothesized change directions as well as previous findings. It was hypothesized that, the men in the gender-themed group (i.e. Anthony & Carlos) would demonstrate the most

noteworthy changes in overall conformity and subscale scores. While their overall scores did not demonstrate noteworthy change, they did demonstrate the most subscale score changes among the four participants (3 and 4 respectively) though not entirely along hypothesized directions.   Anthony did demonstrate increases in Risk Taking and Self-Reliance subscales (i.e. hypothesized subscales and directions). Carlos showed increases in Power over Women, Emotional Control, and Playboy subscales (i.e. hypothesized subscales but not directions).   Previous findings have shown that mixed-gender psychoeducational group can have less effective outcomes than single-gender groups for men (Brecklin & Forde, 2001). These outcomes could be further explained by the literature on stereotype threat suggesting that when social identity in-group vs. out-group dynamics are especially salient, individuals who identify with their particular social identity group will be especially likely to comport to more prototypical, stereotypical behaviors of that particular social identity group (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002). Anthony also made mention of the explicit male-female gender ratio (i.e. women outnumbering the men) in two different entries (Sessions 3 and 4).

The current study also sought to examine whether levels of participation, as measured by observed in-group interpersonal-relational behaviors, would correspond to individual levels of reported conformity score change. Over the course of the eight weeks of IGD sessions, the four participants' levels of participation showed a generally similar trend. As shown in Figure 1, all four showed relatively low scores on engagement behaviors in sessions 1-5 (with the exception of Anthony who demonstrated relatively high scores in sessions 3 and 4), demonstrated spikes in engagement at Session 6, and

followed with declines back to lower engagement scores (with the exception of Delano whose scores remained relatively high after Session 6). These overall patterns in increased participation, as hypothesized, generally correspond with the previously noted 4-stage model of IGD group development (Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga, 2013). That is, during early stages (e.g. sessions) much of participation in the group is aimed at relationship building processes as well as more intrapersonal reflective processes. The observed spike in activity at session 6 is congruent with the intended "Exploring and Dialoguing about Hot Topics" stage 3 of the IGD group development model (Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga, 2013).

With regard to the weekly narrative journal data only a very general correspondence was observed. In a study examining qualitative interview data from IGD, it was found that identified behavioral factors (i.e. external behaviors) of change did not correspond with consciousness-raising factors (i.e. internalized reflective experiences). Kivlighan (2009). Additionally, Kivlighan's 2009 study, which included data from four IGD groups (Men-Women, Black men-Black women, LGBT-Heterosexual, People of Color-White people), showed that, among the three types of change processes identified in participants interview data (Cognitive/Thinking, Affective/Emotional, and Consciousness-Raising), those from the Men-Women dialogue reporting relative higher prevalence of Consciousness-Raising change processes (i.e. Having Eyes Opened, Realizations About People, Personally Engaged). In the current study's participant journals, these themes appear also most frequently in the entries of the participants in the gender-themed group.

Limitations

A number of important limitations must be noted. The current study used a sample that was small and one of convenience. The researcher's interest in studying the IGD learning environment as a consciousness-raising, conformity changing intervention, was limited to the once-a-year, voluntary, undergraduate IGD class offered at the researcher's university of study. Ideally, I would have used a research pool from which participants could have been randomly assigned to a specific (gender-theme only), standardized IGD and used a corresponding comparison group. Given the large logistical limitations for such a project, I opted for the current sample.

In light of these limitations, the current study sought to use a methodology known as, case-based time-series analysis. This has been offered as a means for exploring research questions interested in individual subject behavioral change. Its specific utility has been largely established in the context of therapeutic interventions and their efficacy in changing specific behavioral outcomes as a function of the specific intervention in time (Borckardt et al., 2008). Because the aim of the current study was to examine the possible effect of IGD as an educational intervention, the current study attempted to apply the general principles of this methodology. One of the limitations of attempting to use this methodology was that it the current study did not specifically adhere to an establishment of a baseline behavioral condition from which to extrapolate the intervention effects of the IGD. We relied on a pre/posttest measure of conformity to masculine norms and incorporated an additional variable (i.e. group engagement behaviors) to be examined in correspondence with the conformity measure to build

robustness of data. Additionally, we used narrative data to further corroborate the robustness of the weekly group engagement data.

Essentially, this study used a sequential mixed methodology. The general limitations of this type of methodology are listed as limitations of priority, implementation, and integration (Ivankova, Creswell, & Stick (2006). Priority is referred to as representing the weight given the quantitative vs. qualitative data. In the current study, the data is weighted toward the quantitative (i.e. use of two quantitative measures) and one qualitative (i.e. narrative journals). This fits with the scope of the current studies primary aim of examining change scores, and the use of the narrative data to supplement these data. Implementation refers to the sequence in which the data are collected and analyzed. The researcher examined pre-group CMNI scores initially, followed by the weekly quantitative observer ratings concurrent with participants' narrative journals. The researcher examined the narrative journals for themes highlighting specific critical learning incidents as highlighted by Kivlighan (2009).

Finally, missing data introduced serious limitations. Of the six original participants, there was not sufficient data for analysis in two of the cases. One of the four participants did not have any available journal entries due to a technological error in recording.

Conclusions

Conclusions drawn for this study must remain very tentative. The clearest conclusion that can be drawn is that all four participants were similar to their normative peers in their pre-group reported conformity scores. This was true for three of the four

participants at post-test as well. While one participant (Bernard) demonstrated a full z-score change at post-test (z-change = -1.02), it is unclear what conclusions can be drawn from this. While all four participants demonstrated multiple, full z-score subscale changes from pre/post scores. The conclusions to be drawn from these results are also unclear.

The narrative data from the study suggest that for the three participants who provided journal entries, their IGD experiences matched with the one of the stated purposes of IGD as "a critical opportunity for participants to closely examine the socially constructed norms and ideologies that guide their (often unconscious) beliefs (Dessel & Rogge, 2008 p. 213). Given that all four participants showed spikes in participation at session 6, this study provides some small if not promising data to support the 4 stage theoretical IGD developmental model (Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga, 2013).

Additionally, given that the one participant who showed overall conformity to gender norms change was a participant in a religion/spirituality-themed IGD, it appears to suggest the potentially powerful forms of awareness expanding and attitude changing offered by IGD. Despite the largely unclear specific conclusions that can be drawn from the current study, the findings appear suggestive of implications that IGD can be an both individually and collectively impactful learning environment: one that challenges individuals to be more aware, inspires collective action to create more allied and respectful college communities, and actively engages them in creating a more socially just world.

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Vita

Isaac Brandt was born in Phoenix, Arizona but was raised in Orofino, Idaho by Joanne Braun and Mark Brandt. He was and is the oldest of three, having two talented, kind, and patient sisters. He attended Orofino High School and was co-valedictorian of the class of 1999.

Isaac attended Pacific Lutheran University where he received his Bachelors of Arts Degree in both Psychology and German Language in May of 2003. Isaac spent the next six years exploring various countries and occupations before finding a love for doing therapeutic and counseling work with adolescents in Bozeman, Montana. This inspired him to apply to graduate school and in April of 2009 he accepted an offer to further his study in the University of Tennessee, Knoxville's Doctoral Program in Counseling Psychology. Isaac will continue his training during the 2015-2016 academic year at Texas A & M University's counseling center where he will complete his predoctoral internship and later be awarded a Ph.D. in Counseling Psychology.