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Hombres y Hermandad *(Men & Brotherhood)*:

Exploring the Role of Fraternity Involvement on

Latino Masculinity Development in College

By

Michael Vega

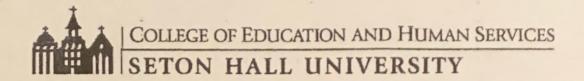Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

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APPROVAL FOR SUCCESSFUL DEFENSE

Michael Vega has successfully defended and made the required modifications to the text

of the doctoral dissertation for the Ph.D. during this **Spring Semester 2020**.

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Abstract

Despite accounting for the largest increase in higher education enrollment over the last ten years, Latinx students have continued to earn their bachelor's degrees among the lowest rates of all racial/ethnic groups. Latino men specifically have continued to underperform Latina females, maintaining one of the widest gender gaps in bachelor's degree completion rates. There are various challenges that all Latinx students face in relation to earning their bachelor's degree within six years, however there are unique gender norms within the Latinx culture that impact Latino male students in a more significant way. Tenets of their Latino masculinity create expectations where Latino men are more inclined to seek out opportunities to stay close to family and provide financially rather than dedicating themselves to their college education. There are, however, other aspects of masculinity which help Latino men perceive their higher education as a way to make their families proud and be more able to fulfill their male roles within the Latinx culture. Harris's Meanings of Masculinity model notes that there are various factors that influence how masculinity develops in college; one significant influencing factor being fraternity involvement. Using Harris's model as a framework, this study explores the experiences of Latino men involved in fraternities and how they feel their involvement as impacted the development of their ideas of Latino masculinity. The study specifically made note of experiences within their fraternity that may have influenced the development of masculinity ideas that are more aligned with college success.

Keywords: Latino, masculinity, Latinidad, fraternity, machismo, caballerismo, familismo

Acknowledgements

Much like the men in this study, my success in higher education is a product of the sacrifices of those who came before me, the support of those who loved me through the journey, the conflicts with those who helped me expand my worldview, and the perceived impact I am having on those Latino men who come after me.

Sacrifice. I need to start by thanking my parents. Because you prioritized my education over the fancy house and the designer clothes, I was able to persist and change the trajectory for what our family can accomplish. I thank you for giving me the freedom I needed to commit to this journey and, despite not always understanding the choices I was making, letting me make them anyways. I thank your parents, my wonderful grandparents, for instilling these values in you and making sacrifices to stay in the mainland United States. I do this to make you all proud.

Support. To my sister, my cousins, my friends, my coworkers, and my loving partner, I thank you for your unconditional support. I couldn't have done it without your pep talks and forgiveness for sometimes missing the big moments to focus on my educational pursuits. I also thank you for serving as the distraction I needed when it became too much and keeping me humble through the process.

Conflict. To that professor who once asked me if I was ashamed of my Latinidad, I say thank you. Through that experience, I was forced to challenge the negative stereotypes that I believed about what I could accomplish as a Latino man. I also thank all the other professors and mentors who introduced me to new ideas and made me question who I was. Because of you, I was able to find myself and own my identity; realizations that sparked me to pursue this research. In the development of this study, I must thank my dissertation committee for guiding me through this process to engage in meaningful research and gain confidence as a Latino higher

education researcher.

Impact. In completing this study, I remained motivated by trusting that I was making a difference and representing for other Latino men in higher education. First, I thank the ten men who participated in this study. I thank you for sharing your truth and reminding me why this research is important for changing the narrative of Latino men in higher education in the United States. Next, I thank those Latino men who are taking the leap of faith to start college. I did this in part, for you. I hope you benefit from the recommendations made in this study to better support you towards earning your bachelor's degrees and representing for your families. I lastly did this for my nephew. You may be young, but every time I wanted to quit, I thought of you and wanting to be a good role model for you. May you remember that *tio* did this so that you may know that you are free to be whoever you want to be and that you can accomplish whatever you set your mind to. You, my nephew, are the future and I hope that my work can be a part of making that future a brighter one for you and our family.

Gracias a todos ustedes.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the recent social and political climate, there is a negative narrative being delivered to the American people about the Latinx population. Despite accounting for more than 50% of the population growth between 2000 and 2010 (Gloria et al., 2017) and representing the largest minority population in the United States (Cheng & Malinnekrodt, 2015; Molina et al., 2016) at approximately 16% of the overall population (Clark et al., 2013), they are being portrayed as a threat to the American dream and such stereotypes are perpetuated through the media, work places, and political spaces (Natividad, 2015). It is a message that intends, as some may say, to "marginalize, impoverish, and disenfranchise Latino/as on social, economic, political, and legal levels" (Natividad, 2015, p. 97).

With this narrative looming, Latinx students come to college campuses to achieve social, economic, and political mobility and validate their presence in the United States. Their overall population growth has contributed to an increase in Latinx students enrolling in higher education (Hall, 2017). The Latinx population, as an ethnic group, has shown a 15% increase in higher education enrollment since 2008, while other ethnic groups show no more than 6% growth in enrollment rates in the same period of time (Arevalo et al., 2016; Ponjuan et al., 2015; Tovar, 2015). However, their enrollment increase is significantly skewed in that they are more likely to attend less selective and two-year institutions (Gonzalez, 2015). Trends show that Latinx students continue to be significantly underrepresented in comparison to White students at four-year colleges and universities, and they are also enrolling part-time at a significantly higher rate than their White peers (Kiyama et al., 2015).

Background of the Problem

The enrollment growth, despite disparities in the institution type, may seem promising; however, that growth has not attributed to a similar growth in persistence and completion rates for Latinx college students (Hall, 2017; Tovar, 2015). According to the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), approximately 54% of all Latinx students who started their bachelor's degree education in 2010 at 4-year higher education institutions completed their degree within 6-years, compared to 64% of White students, 74% of Asian students, and 40% of Black or African American students (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics). This data may not paint a negative picture, but when accounting for the fact that Latinx students usually attend less selective institutions in comparison to their White peers (Gonzalez, 2015) this rate only accounts for a small portion of the Latinx population in the United States, as only 32% of the total Latinx population aged 18 to 24 enrolled in higher education (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics).

Furthermore, when considering gender, Latino males continue to significantly underperform Latina females in every measure, from enrollment to persistence and completion (Gonzalez, 2015; Ojeda et al., 2016; Witkow et al., 2015). The IPEDS data shows that 50% of the Latino males who started a higher education institution in 2010 full-time and were seeking a bachelor's degree graduated in 6 years compared to 58% of the Latina females who started full-time that year. The gap between male and female Latinx students (8%) is the second largest of any ethnic/racial group when compared with Black or African American (10%), Asian (7%), and White students (6%) (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics). Even academically high achieving Latino males experience difficulties succeeding in higher education due to cultural, academic, and financial influences (Nunez, 2009), such as the

expectations to work and provide for their family, not feeling at home on their campus, and lack of social support to persist in college. This reality has led Latino males to be significantly underrepresented in higher education in comparison to men and women from other ethnic groups (Huerta & Fishman, 2014; Ojeda et al., 2011); a reality depicted as the "Vanishing Latino Male epidemic" as it has become so commonplace within college contexts (Nunez, 2014a).

The current literature details a number of factors that influence the graduation rates of Latino men. Within the Latinx culture, males are expected to fulfill the breadwinner role within their families by working or doing other tasks to bring financial support to the home (Cerezo et al., 2013; Harris & Harper, 2008). Since Latino men are expected to contribute financially to their family, many of them put off going to college to pursue a job or they attend college part-time to work, which delays their time to graduation (Gloria et al., 2017; Ponjuan et al., 2015; Witkow et al., 2015). They are also more likely to attend less-selective schools or community colleges which allow them to better tend to their responsibilities within their homes and with their families (Perez, 2017), despite their academic ability. Given these circumstances, Latino males are likely to experience difficulties with their coursework or balancing their responsibilities (Contreras & Contreras, 2015). Since approximately 50% of Latinos are also first-generation college students (Nunez & Sansone, 2016), or are students whose parents have not earned bachelor's degrees, their families are less qualified than campus resources to provide assistance (Vasquez, 2015), yet they are less likely than other ethnic groups to seek help from support services on campus.

This narrative of the Latino man's struggles in higher education sheds light on the challenges they face and seems to describe a complicated series of obstacles to address when trying to support Latino men towards greater college persistence. However, when looking at it

from a cultural lens, it becomes evident that these obstacles correlate with cultural gender norms and ideas of masculinity. Within the Latinx culture, there is a term coined to describe the traditional Latino hypermasculine behaviors and beliefs, *machismo*, and these norms have been linked to gender expectations that lead away from higher education (Clark et al., 2013; Saez et al., 2010). As noted before, Latino men are expected to perform their masculinities in ways that demonstrate they can care for their families financially and provide for their loved ones which influences the types of higher education institutions they pursue, the courses they take, and how they engage on campus. Displaying signs of needing help violates their masculine norms of being strong and in control (Cerezo et al., 2013; Patron & Garcia, 2016), which impacts how they participate in support services when in times of need and their outreach to peers when they are struggling academically. If they do seek help, they are expected to get it from their families (David & Liang, 2015; Wang et al., 2016). However, since their families often do not have a reference for how to navigate the college culture or strategies for success, they do not get the advisement they need. Latino men who strongly adhere to the traditional perception of masculinity with the Latino culture must deal with these challenges and expectations in order to succeed in higher education.

From within their Latinx community, Latino men also need to fight against acting "White" (Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009), as college enrollment and degree attainment are not seen as behaviors aligned with their cultural norms of masculinity. Furthermore, the culture of higher education itself was founded upon individualistic ideals for academic progress and are not aligned with the cultures of minority students, like the Latinx community, so Latino males often feel isolated and marginalized on their college campuses given how they exhibit their masculinity norms. There are also stereotypes from those outside the Latinx community that they

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are being forced to fight, which influence their ability to persist. There is an abundance of research which lends itself to negative narratives about Latino males, detailing "issues of violence, aggression, unhealthy machismo, and drug and alcohol abuse" (Gloria et al., 2009, p. 318), aspects related to performance of machismo.

To counter their traditional perceptions of Latino masculinity or help them develop more *caballerismo* attributes, a Latino masculinity archetype that is chivalrous, respectful, and correlated with success markers (Blanco, 2014; Miville et al., 2017), research has shown that college experiences can play a role. Harris III (2010) developed a model describing how men make meaning of their masculinity while in college. In his model, he demonstrates that men come to college socialized towards gender customs and ideas about how they are expected to enact their masculinity. Once they come to college, their masculinity influences the experiences they choose to participate in and can be reinforced or reshaped by them. Harris states that the meanings men make of their masculinity can be influenced by the college culture itself, their academic experiences, their involvement or engagement on campus, and interactions within male-centered groups, such as fraternities. As they progress through, their masculinity is either strengthened or changed to lead toward their male norms or outcomes. In other studies, Harris's research described how men may be inclined to develop productive meanings of masculinity (i.e. those aligned with positive male performances and beliefs) similar to the Latino ideal of caballerismo through participating in male centered peer-groups, such as fraternities (Harris & Harper, 2015) and, for Black males specifically, athletic teams (Martin & Harris, 2006).

However, Harris's research has not specifically been evaluated or researched with Latino men, including cultural pre-college socialization or Latinidad as influences for their meanings of masculinity. Research on Latino masculinity within college has currently leaned towards

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negative factors to college enrollment, persistence, and completion (Perez, 2017). However, there is a dearth of research on how Latino masculinity develops and can be reshaped towards positive college outcomes. There is also a lack of research explaining Latino male experiences in college overall, especially ones that could reveal supportive factors to college outcomes (Perez & Saenz, 2017). Research is needed that looks deeper at influencing factors that are impacted by their masculinity norms and perceptions (Trevino & DeFreitas, 2014). Investigating further into the nuances of Latino masculinity development, using Harris's Meanings of Masculinity Model as a theoretical lens, could yield insightful information regarding the types of experiences that can help Latino mean in negotiating their masculinity norms and expectations with their college persistence efforts.

Purpose of Study

This study aims to look at how Latino masculinity develops within male peer group interactions. This study will look specifically at how fraternity involvement can impact Latino masculinity development. Overall, fraternities have been linked with negative and positive aspects of masculinity (Harris & Harper, 2014). Research has shown that men involved in fraternities consume greater amounts of alcohol, express more violent or aggressive ways, and are more likely to degrade women than their peers not in fraternities (Capone et al., 2007; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007); Kalof & Cargill, 1991). However, there is also research that shows that in comparison with those men not in fraternities, these men experience more academic success, increased leadership skills, and are more likely to address or counteract hypermasculine behaviors, especially for Black and Latino men (Harris et al., 2011; Pike, 2000; Zernechel & Perry, 2017). In addition, Latino men in fraternities have expressed greater levels of support to persist, felt a greater sense of belonging on campus, and found their brotherhood to counter

machismo ideals which are not conducive towards college persistence (Blanco, 2014; Estrada et al., 2017; Patron & Garcia, 2016).

Given that little research exists on the potential role that masculinity development and fraternities can play in Latino males' college experiences, the purpose of this study is to explore how their ideas of masculinity are influenced by their fraternity involvement by seeking to answer the following questions:

1. What meanings do Latino males give to their masculinity and/or Latinidad while in a fraternity?

2. How does fraternity involvement play a role in Latino males' meaning-making of their masculinity and/or Latinidad?

3. What experiences within a fraternity, if any, reinforce and/or reshape Latino males' masculinity and/or Latinidad?

Significance of the Study

Given the current narrative connecting the low persistence rates of Latino men in college with traditional ideas of Latino masculinity, this study can provide insight into how those Latino men on college campuses are making meaning of their masculinity and what experiences may be influential in developing productive ideas of masculinity, like fraternity involvement. It can also lead to a better understanding of their experiences to forge a new narrative; a narrative that may align itself with more positive persistence behaviors. By expanding the narrative of Latino men in college, higher education professionals can learn to serve Latino male students from a holistic perspective, considering possible social, cultural, familial, academic influencing factors (Hipolito-Delgado, 2016) as past research has shown that overcoming challenges from this holistic perspective is beneficial for African American male students' college persistence

(Hotchkins & Dancy, 2015).

However, most of the current literature employs a deficit model approach (Perez, 2017), focusing more on the challenges and negative experiences of Latino men on college campuses, rather than focusing on how they may overcome these challenges or work towards more positive experiences through meaning-making of their Latino masculinity and the expectations that come with that. This study aims to address this void of research and provide an in-depth understanding of a specific college experience that Latino men may have with the intent to motivate more higher education researchers to study other college experiences that may influence Latino masculinity development or outcomes so that a more realistic narrative of Latino males in college may be constructed and disseminated. Programs that are developed to support this population, often assess the needs of their Latino students by what is portrayed in the media rather than the lived experience of Latino male students in college (Torres, 1999). They also do not tend to consider cultural values and expectations, like masculinity norms, in their recommendations and services. By contributing to research that gives voice to the lived experience of Latino male college students and their meanings of Latino masculinity, higher education faculty, staff, and administrators may gain a better understanding of how to support this population towards persistence.

Furthermore, as higher education research continues to demonstrate how college campus and community engagement is connected to increased success in higher education (Hu, 2011), this study can aid in understanding how they may make sense of their Latino masculinity in regard to other forms of engagement practices by delving deeper into what leads Latino males to fraternity involvement. Should this study find that there are significant activities, conversations, or relationships within the fraternity that help Latino males develop meanings of masculinity that

are better aligned with positive college experiences, then the results can help practitioners and researchers consider other settings where these activities, conversations, or relationships can occur. This study can also contribute to research on the role fraternities hold in the overall college experience of Latino males, an area within fraternity research that is underdeveloped.

Although it is not clear how many Latino males are involved in fraternities, if this study finds that fraternities have a significant influence in their masculinity perceptions, then practitioners can more readily consider fraternities as a resource for Latino students, as there is a substantial need to address how to support and serve increased number of Latinx students on college campuses towards persistence and degree completion (Hall, 2017). Given the significant growth of the Latinx population, it is necessary that higher education institutions seek out improved methods to support and graduate Latino males. Latino men continue to be underemployed and under paid (Hall, 2017) and they have limited educational opportunities and career options (Mejia-Smith & Gushue, 2017; Witkow et al., 2015). Failure to graduate will lead to lower economic mobility, greater ethnic disparities in educational and professional spheres, and lower social and intellectual capital of the United States (Cerezo et al., 2015; Hall, 2017; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009). Without the support, Latino men will continue to miss out on their opportunity for improved health, civic engagement, job satisfaction, and life expectancy that those with bachelor's degrees have been more inclined to report (Crisp et al., 2015). Their persistence in higher education is essential to combatting the negative stereotypes of Latino men in the United States and understanding how productive ideas of masculinity develop within higher education settings can help change that narrative to one of success for Latino men.

Organization of the Dissertation

The remainder of this dissertation will be covered in four chapters. The following chapter will provide background on masculinity development theories, ethnic identity development theories, and Latino masculinity norms. After gaining a theoretical foundation, this chapter describes current research on Latino males in higher education, framed by Harris's (2010) Meaning of Masculinity Model, detailing what is known regarding how Latino masculinity impacts or is impacted by the influencing factors he describes in his model. The literature review concludes by also discussing current research on fraternity involvement, taking careful note to what is understood on Latino male experiences with fraternities. The dissertation continues to the third chapter which describes the design and methods for the established narrative case study aimed to understand how fraternity involvement influences Latino masculinity development. The following chapter describes the results of the study and provides excerpts from participant interviews to create a narrative for Latino masculinity in fraternities; describing what can be asserted, assumed, or not supported through this study. The dissertation concludes with a chapter describing the implications for research and practice as a result of the findings of this study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this literature review is to present the current body of literature surrounding how Latino masculinity influences and is influenced by the college experience. This review begins with the relevant theories of masculinity and Latinidad development, demonstrating how the intersection of these identities lends itself to a unique development of Latino masculinity. Then, using Harris III's model of meanings college men make of masculinities as a framework, the discussion centers on the gendered ethnic identity of Latino male collegians and how college experiences are influenced by the meaning making of their Latino masculinity. Following this section, this chapter concludes with a discussion of the ways in which fraternity involvement contributes to the masculinity development and collegiate experiences of Latino male students and why this influence should be further explored.

Masculinity Development

Gender is one of the most prevalent identities in our society. Given how this identity often implies adherence to a specific set of the decisions, behaviors, and beliefs. In almost every culture and community, there are roles adults are expected to fulfill regarding their gender and children are raised and taught to be prepared for these roles (Bem, 1981). A gender identity is socialized over time depending on familial, school, and other environmental influences, establishing a set of roles and stereotypes that individuals are expected to adhere to. Traditionally, individuals were expected to fall on a gender norm spectrum with masculinity and femininity on opposite ends. However, recently the conversation regarding gender has shifted to show that masculinity and femininity are independent spectrums, and individuals can have a gender identity that aligns with both traditionally masculine and feminine traits and expectations

(Martin & Harris, 2006).

For the purposes of this study, masculinity refers to the expectations placed on men regarding how they should behave, believe, and feel, recognizing that there are "social interactions, social structures, and social contexts" which influence how masculinity norms are established (Harris, 2010). The discussion of masculinity expectations, norms, and development stemmed from gender identity theories. Bem (1981) shows that gender schemas lead to traditionally opposing expectations and stereotypes for men and women, and Bussey & Bandura's (1992) shows how these expectations are reinforced within cultures and societies. For those who identify as male specifically, gender identity is postulated to be significantly influenced by their own expectations of their gender, the role they play in their family, and the broad customs and beliefs of their societies in which they live (Dancy & Hotchkins, 2015).

Given these areas, masculinity can take on varying forms depending on what is prioritized in their homes and communities. In general, men traditionally have learned to perform a version of masculinity that is aggressive, homophobic, athletic, and void of weakness in any form because that is what is valued in their society (Casas et al., 1994; Harris & Harper, 2015). These qualities together are a part of what Connell (1995) refers to as *hegemonic masculinity* which privileges those men who are "White, heterosexual, [and] able bodied" (Harris et al., 2011, p. 49) and creates a system where this traditional form of masculinity is perceived to be better or more appropriate than other forms of masculinity (Edwards & Jones, 2009; Zernechel & Perry, 2017).

O'Neil's (1981) Male Gender Role Conflict. Failure to confirm to hegemonic masculine ideals can lead to what O'Neil (1981) calls male gender role conflict (MGRC). MGRC stems from "the psychological and emotional anxiety arising from men's fear of femininity, and

inability to live up to socially constructed masculinities" (Harris et al., 2011, p. 50). Contrary to some theories of gender identity, MGRC takes the stance that gender is less about connecting with those who identify as the same gender as you, but more about avoiding opposing gender behaviors and attitudes, or masculinity (Carver et al., 2003); referring to what O'Neil (1986) described as the *fear of femininity*, or having strong negative reactions to stereotypically feminine traits and behaviors. Although men can experience MGRC for any aspect of their male identity, Casas et al. (1994) suggest that men are more likely to experience issues when there are conflicts pertaining to masculinity. When experiencing MGRC, O'Neil notes that men exhibit hypermasculine characteristics in efforts to compensate for feminine traits and maintain masculine perception aligned with male gender stereotypes (Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). Hypermasculine traits refer to behaviors and attitudes that are aligned with the excessive and strong identification with traditional male roles and gender stereotypes (Zernechel & Perry, 2017), usually as defined by privileged groups and hegemonic masculinity norms. To further counteract feminine traits, men can exhibit homophobic behaviors to avoid and ensure they are not perceived as homosexual (Harris & Harper, 2008).

For men, literature demonstrates it is often imperative that they are perceived as maintaining the traditional ideas of masculinity. According to O'Neil (1986), there are six hypermasculine traits associated with MGRC: homophobic behaviors, limited demonstration of emotions, desire to be in control or in competition, fixation on needing to win or be the best, inattentiveness to health care needs, and limited displays of affection and sexual attraction (Harris et al., 2011; Zernechel & Perry, 2017). These traits can be exhibited in any or all of four levels: cognitive, affective, behavioral, and unconscious. The cognitive level pertains to the way men think about masculinity, femininity, and the roles they perceive they should play according

to their male identity. The affective level pertains to the emotions they feel about their gender and gender expression, meaning anger, confusion, anxiety and other negative emotions in relation to MGRC. The behavioral level pertains to how men react and respond to themselves and those around them in the face of masculinity issues. The unconscious level refers to those repressed thoughts or those feelings that men may not be conscious of but may stem from their MGRC (O'Neil, 1986). All levels refer to ideas of masculinity as being influenced by internal and external factors and that dynamic impacts the level to which one experiences MGRC.

When assessed, O'Neil (1986) has found that these hypermasculine traits were exhibited in a variety of settings, populations, and cultures, suggesting that these traits were not just evident in the privileged groups associated with hegemonic masculinity. Men are socialized to exhibit hypermasculine traits and parents, teachers, and peers reinforce that "acting feminine" or exhibiting vulnerable emotions are inappropriate for boys to display (Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). Unfortunately, the more this is reinforced, and the more pressure is placed on men to adhere to these norms, the more likely they are to experience MGRC. Research shows that higher MGRC connected to negative psychological well-being, academic problems, increased drug and alcohol consumption, violent behavior, specifically against women and men who do not adhere to stereotypically male norms, and higher sexual risk (Casas et al., 1994; Edwards & Jones, 2009; Zernechel & Perry).

Edward & Jones's (2009) College Men's Gender Identity Development. In Edward & Jones' (2009) study of college men, they found that men felt that they were expected to adhere to a strict definition of how to be a man or perform their masculinity, being associated with hypermasculine traits and traditional male roles within home and community. These men struggled with maintaining the expectations and the perception that they were not homosexual,

emotional, or feminine in any way. The study identified a three-stage model that they coin as "men's gender identity development", but really describes how men's masculinity can develop. The model describes how men come to terms with their ideas of masculinity in relation to their perceptions of others and the pressures they feel.

The first stage referred to how men, in order avoid ridicule and to be accepted by their families, peers, and communities, needed to act according to the prevalent archetype of masculinity in their communities. Edwards & Jones referred to this as feeling the need to put on a mask to cover up those aspects of their identity and self which did not align with that dominant image of masculinity. Whether it was their stature, attractiveness, emotional affect, abilities, and/or hobbies, men expressed how these areas, if not aligned with stereotype, led to MGRC, and if they also identified with other minority identities, they could experience the desire to mask those in order to adhere to dominant performance of masculinity.

This led to the second stage of wearing the mask. The men acted in hypermasculine ways, partied more, and did not prepare as much academically to maintain their mask. For men who also identified as Black or Latino, the mask was also associated with "cool pose", a term Harris coined in 1995 to acknowledge a distinct way of speaking, acting, moving, and even shaking hands which demonstrated adherence to that ideal man within their communities (Harris et al., 2011). However, wearing that mask served as an obstacle to them feeling comfortable with who they were and challenged their internal beliefs of their gender identity. Edwards & Jones found that it also interfered with their relationships with other men since they felt they always needed to maintain the status and put a mask on which led them not to be forthright about their views or feelings.

These gender issues or MGRC related to wearing that mask and performing a presentation of masculinity that was not aligned with their true gender identity led to the final stage of accepting the consequences and recognizing the ways the mask doesn't fit with their own masculinity. As described in Bussey's (2004) theory of gender identity, the more representations of masculinity men observe and have modeled for them, the more they are able to shape and feel confident in their own male identity, separate from the expected dominant mask. Needing to maintain a mask that is usually associated with hegemonic masculinity became increasingly more difficult as their worldview is broadened, especially since it exists to "oppress women, marginalize some men, and limit all men" (Edwards & Jones, 2009, p. 211). Having these realizations and experiences in college can significantly impact the way masculinity develops in college and what expectations are reinforced after.

Theoretical Framework: Harris's (2010) Meaning of Masculinity Model. Stemming from Edward & Jones's theory of male identity development in college, Harris (2010) proposed a model that describes how various sources influence the meanings men make of their masculinities while in college. This model, which serves as the theoretical framework for this study, indicates that the men are socialized to a set of masculinity norms prior to college and then through their experiences in college, that masculinity is either reinforced or reshaped and leads to gender norms associated with their meaning of masculinity.

According to Harris, there are ranges and multiple forms of masculinity which come with their own belief systems, family and societal roles, and personal expectations (Dancy & Hotchkins, 2015) which exist within sociocultural systems and settings (Harris, 2010). In his study, Harris acknowledged that hegemonic masculinity may be prioritized but it is not the only form of masculinity and these ideas can change as people progress through life (Harris, 2010).

Even if men felt the need to defend and compensate for their hypermasculinity they acknowledged after the fact personally feeling their behaviors were unnecessary (Zernechel & Perry, 2017). Thus, other masculinities were recognized through Harris's model. If hypermasculinity and hegemonic masculinity are considered negatively, there is a spectrum with productive masculinity on the other end. Productive masculinity refers to the traits and beliefs that are associated with positive attributes and towards promoting a safer community for others (Dancy & Hotchkins, 2015; Martin & Harris, 2006). As a part of this masculinity meaning, Harris found that being financially stable, being well respected in careers, demonstrating positive moral ideals, and being able to provide financially for families are central to how individuals identified. Individuals can yield any combination of meanings of masculinity from the need to be respected to the need to be physically strong to be able to multitask well, which caters to a spectrum of masculinities.

Fig. 1: Harris's Meanings of Masculinity Model (Harris, 2010, p. 303)

Harris's (2010) Meanings of Masculinity model (Figure 1) highlights five areas which influence the development of masculinity in college: (1) pre-college gender socialization, (2) college culture, (3) academic interests, (4) campus involvement, and (5) male peer groups. Pre-college gender socialization pertains to those family experiences, life circumstances, and societal and cultural values and norms impact the development of masculinity before men come to campus. This is significantly impacted by parent interactions and expectations (especially from fathers), male peer relationships, and involvement in sports or masculine activities (Harris, 2010). Schools (Harris & Harper, 2008) and media (Harris et al., 2011) tend to reinforce this messaging as well. Prior to college, men have been found to be more likely to adhere to traditional masculinity norms (Dancy & Hotchkins, 2015; Harris, 2010; Martin & Harris, 2006) and hypermasculine activities.

The following four influences all pertain to experiences in college. As men progress through college, the meanings of masculinity they came in with are strengthened and/or challenged by the influencing areas Harris describes. College culture pertains to the environment and setting within which the other influences are situated. This refers to the diversity of campus, the general expectations placed on students for academics (e.g., rigorous; competitive, supportive, etc.), and how male groups were privileged on the campus (e.g., prevalence of athletics or fraternities). Academic interests pertain to the types of majors or courses men choose and the academic experiences they choose to participate in. Harris found that men traditionally pursued majors which led to male-dominated careers or were more likely to lead to financial stability. Campus involvement pertains to the organizations, activities, and engagement experiences men are having on campus. Men experiencing MGRC can look to heavy drinking or other risky activities on campus to cope with their gender issues and reinforce hypermasculine

performance (Martin & Harris, 2006). However, other involvement activities help men develop leadership and academic skills which encourages them to develop a more productive masculinity models (Harris, 2010).

The last college influence which impacted masculinity are male peer groups. This pertains primarily to athletic and fraternity organizations; however, any group that is exclusively male in its make up is considered here. Research shows that the influence male peers can have on the meanings men make of their masculinities in college is greater than that of parents and other pre-college socializing factors (Harris & Harper, 2008). Harris's Meanings of Masculinity model acknowledges that some men wear the mask in order to assimilate with what is acceptable and appropriate given the other men in their peer groups (Harris & Harper, 2014). The desire to be perceived as popular can lead men to support and encourage sexual prowess and other traditional masculine norms to gain status (Harris & Harper, 2008). However, among high achieving college men, male peer group interactions were significant in supporting them through their college experiences and how they formed productive masculinities (Harris, 2010).

As men go through college and are influenced in varying ways by the college contexts described by Harris, they develop male gendered norms based on the meanings of masculinities they ascribe and identify with. Traditional or hegemonic masculinities have already been found to be connected to negative college experiences and low academic performance (Edwards and Jones, 2009). Conversely, productive masculinities are associated with positive outcomes in college such as increased student engagement, improved academic performance, and involvement with community services (Martin & Harris, 2006). Although there are significant influencers to male gender identity, the meaning individuals place on said identity can also have greater implications for post-college outcomes (Harris, 2010).

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Latinidad Development

Thus far, this review has discussed how masculinity develops for men. Harris et al. (2011) note that the socialization process of gender is facilitated by cultural or ethnically aligned norms or expectations. With this in mind, it is important to recognize how ethnic identity develops, specifically the Latino identity, to fully understand the masculinity development process for Latino males. Ethnicity is defined as the "cultural orientation and identification an individual holds towards a specific ethnic group" (Aguinaga & Gloria, 2015, p. 16). Although sometimes used interchangeably with race, they are not the same. Race refers to the physiological and phenotypical characteristics that humans exhibit which have been used to produce social and political implications (Fergus, 2016). Ethnicity is associated with group membership linked to cultural heritage. It involves sharing customs and traditions, such as religion, language, kinship, or food, (Torres, 1999) which further enhances the social relationships of those within the group. Even beyond the ethnic group, an individual's ethnic identity impacts how relationships are formed and how they engage socially (Rogers et al., 2015). Having a strong ethnic identity can also be related to developing a more positive emotional and cognitive management system in the face of difficulties and stress (Chun et al., 2016; Huq et al., 2016). Varying socialization sources can lead to varying levels of ethnic identity salience. Even though someone can have a strong positive connection to their ethnic identity, it doesn't mean that it is salient or a prevalent part of how they identify as a whole (Stein et al., 2017; Nunez, 2014b).

As with masculinity and the male identity, there are expectations for how people from an ethnic group should believe, perform, and feel regarding their ethnicity. These expectations and norms are learned and developed through relationships with others. Families socialize their

children by teaching them about the history of their ethnicity, customs associated with culture, and promoting pride in their group status (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015; Torres, 2003). As children learn more about their identity and start to generalize aspects of their identity to everyday life, similar to gender, they develop a stronger sense of ethnic identity for themselves and learn to self-regulate their socialization through building relationships and continuing customs beyond familial spaces. For Latinx people, the norms and expectations related to how they are socialized to connect to and identify with their ethnicity is referred to Latinidad (Castillo-Montoya & Verduzco Reyes, 2018). As with masculinity, there are various ways that Latinidad can be expressed depending on the salience of their ethnicity on their overall identity and the socialization influences surrounding their ethnic practices.

  Latino Self-Identification. For the Latinx ethnic group, there are multiple ways to identify and a unique history with the United States which impacts their socialization. The Latinx ethnic group represents the most diverse racial/ethnic group in the United States (Nunez, 2014a). Although referred to as a Latinos or Latinx overall, or in a pan-ethnic stance, the group is made up of individuals from Spain, Mexico, Central America, South America, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Dominican Republic, and other locations around the world where Spanish is the dominant language. Else-Quest & Morse (2015) and Hipolito-Delgado (2014) acknowledged that Latinx individuals experience a greater ethnic socialization than their White and Chinese peers and that the ability to speak the Spanish language significantly impacts that socialization process. Recognizing the diversity of the Latino population, research suggests that there are three ways that Latinx people may ethnically identify: panethnic (i.e. Latino or Hispanic), racial (i.e. Black, White, etc.), and ethnic heritage or home country (i.e. Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, etc.) (Gonzalez & Morrison, 2016).

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The panethnic label of Hispanic was created in the 1970s to recognize Latinx people in political arenas and in efforts to promote representation of this growing population of people. It brought a diverse set of subgroups of populations, who typically derive from a Spanish speaking country, and encouraged them to ascribe to a more inclusive identification label (Fergus, 2016; Gonzalez & Morrison, 2016; Nunez, 2014a). As Hispanic was a term derived from the United States to refer to this group, the term Latino/a was brought about through group members themselves as a panethnic term that better reflected their history; and, more recently, Latinx to be more representative of those individuals who don't identify on the gender binary, which is why that term is use predominantly in this study.

Regardless of the word, a panethnic identity has not and is still not always accepted amongst the Latinx population. Stein et al. (2017) found that 51% of Latinx individuals prefer to be identified by their country of origin than simply as Hispanic or Latino. The terms can be perceived to be oppressive and marginalizing to some, given their relation to Spanish colonization and the histories associated with that experience (Nunez, 2014b). The panethnic identity implies a historical connection to the United States rather than solely with country of origin (Torres, 2004). For example, Mexican Americans continue to feel and describe their experience in the U.S. as unique in comparison to other Latino sub-groups (Hipolito-Delgado, 2014) and may actively choose to not identify with Hispanic or Latino label (Torres, 2004). Accepting panethnic terms, although acceptable politically, can come at the detriment to overlooking the diversity of the Latinx population and the unique histories within the United States (Nunez, 2014a), which can further marginalize this ethnic group and impact an individual's ethnic identity development.

Furthermore, Latinx individuals vary in how they identify ethnically and racially depending on their ethnic socialization which may include moments of recognition and representation, and also misrepresentation of their identity given the perceptions others have of Latinx people (Fergus, 2016). Although commonly referred to as the "brown" race, Latinx people exhibit varying shades of skin tones and phenotypical characteristics. How Latinx individuals describe their ethnic identity may differ by context (Fergus, 2016) such as their socioeconomic status, race, home country, and generational status (Stein et al., 2017). Those who exhibit more acculturated qualities, lighter skin complexion and access to higher education, may be more likely to identify as White (Stein et al., 2017). The United States is home to many diverse racial and ethnic groups, some who have been privileged and others who have been oppressed, so assuming that just because people identify as Latinx they adhere to the same meanings of Latinidad, is a grave overgeneralization which can work against this diverse ethnic group (Hipolito-Delgado, 2014; Nunez, 2014a). Thus, getting a better understanding of how Latinx individuals may self-identify, whether through panethnic term or through home country, could provide useful insight into how Latinx people develop their Latinidad (Stein et al., 2017).

Torres's (1999) Bicultural Orientation Model. Latinidad development for the Latinx population has many nuances and needs to be looked at on an individual basis. Although there are set customs, expectations, and norms that are associated with Latinidad, the way many Latinx people are socialized in their development varies. There are models and theories, however, which provide insight into how Latinx people make meaning of their Latinidad. For example, Phinney (1993) describes a developmental process where individuals move from weak to strong ethnic identity attachment given an in-depth exploration of one's ethnicity over three stages. Latino Critical Race Theory discusses how the outcomes and ethnic identity development process for

Latinx individuals is impacted by the oppressing forces that exist within the United States. These theories provide a lens to consider factors that may contribute to how Latinx people self-identify and connect with their Latinidad given their environment and socializing factors.

One model specifically to note for the purposes of this study is Torres's (1999) Bicultural Orientation Model which provides insight into how Latinx people identify with their ethnicity while in the United States. To add to Phinney's research, Torres noted that for Latinx individuals in the United States the ethnicity identity they accept and commit to may not be solely related to the Latinx culture. She demonstrated the validity of using a bicultural framework for Latinx identity to recognize the contextual influences and levels of connection to their ethnicity. Torres's Bicultural Orientation Model (BOM) focuses on how Latinx students in college navigate between their ethnic or cultural identity and the majority culture or acculturation, which is an Anglo or white identity in the U.S. (Garcia et al., 2016). The model states that there are four possible identities Latinx people can achieve: Hispanic Orientation, Anglo Orientation, Bicultural Orientation, and Marginal Orientation (Torres, 2003a). Each quadrant is either high or low ethnic identity and high or low acculturation. Hispanic Orientation refers to a person with a high ethnic identity and low acculturation, meaning they identify predominately with their culture of origin. Anglo Orientation refers to a person with low ethnic identity and high acculturation, meaning they identify predominately with the Anglo or white majority culture. Bicultural Orientation refers to a person with both high ethnic identity and high acculturation, meaning they feel strongly attached to both cultural expectations. Marginal Orientation refers to a person with both low ethnic identity and low acculturation, meaning they do not associate with either culture or that they are conflicted with how to identify.

Torres (1999) states that the ethnic identity of Latinx people transcends cultural actions, characteristics, and knowledge of the culture. The BOM leaves room for a more fluid identity process as there may be multiple times that ethnic identity conflict arises and leads to exploration. For example, even though people may identify with acculturated identity, they may not face conflict with cultural or ethnic identity (Torres, 2004). Latinx individuals who are acculturated to the majority culture may maintain a strong sense of pride for their culture of origin or Latinidad, hence the significance of a bicultural orientation to ethnic identity. Even if individuals identify as bicultural, they may still have varying levels of ethnic identity as this identity does not necessary meaning an equal split (Castillo et al., 2015; Torres, 1999). Thus, when considering the diversity of how Latinx individuals may identify ethnically, it is evident there are complex systems which need to be acknowledged when discussing Latinidad development.

Latino Masculinity Norms

For Latino men, their ideas of masculinity have specific meaning when looked at through the lens of their Latinidad. Furthermore, their masculinity and Latinidad have distinguished attributes when combined rather than evaluated individually, which is a significant component of intersectionality research (Rogers et al, 2015). It implies that the unique relationship of the multiple identities creates privilege or oppression for the individual and should be evaluated to understand social power (Ojeda et al, 2016; Shin et al, 2017). That intersection is dynamic and changes depending on the political, cultural, and historical landscape. In many contexts, the Latinx and male identity are against each other as men typically are a privileged group and Latinos are typically a marginalized group (Cabrera et al., 2016). Thus, the intersectional identity of the Latino male comes with a unique set of values, expectations, and stereotypes that are

regulated from both gender and ethnic socialization sources (Gloria et al., 2017; Ovink, 2014), referring to Latino masculinity.

Familismo. As families serve a significant role in the socialization of masculinity and Latinidad norms, it is important to note the influence that they play in Latino masculinity development. Many people and cultures adhere to a collectivist value system in which emphasis is placed on the interdependence of group members, collaborative responsibilities and an obligation to promoting group goals (Arevalo et al., 2016; Ojeda et al., 2011; Ojeda et al., 2016). This value system is a staple of the Latinx people and a significant component of their identity (Arevalo et al., 2016; Morgan Consoli et al., 2016; Piña-Watson et al., 2015). They develop close relationships with the people in their communities and seek out support primarily from family and friends who have entered the inner circle (Arevalo et al., 2016; Molina et al., 2016).

For Latinx people, *familismo* is the word used to describe their collectivist values. Family needs come before those of the individual and they are devoted to their family above all else, almost to a fault (Arevalo et al., 2016; Cerezo et al., 2013; Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000; Stein et al., 2017; Wang et al., 2016). It refers to loyalty, unwavering obedience and respect to their elders, and making sacrifices to support their family, which extends beyond blood relatives and includes close friends who are considered like family (Cupito et al., 2015; Matos, 2015; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009). Families also serve as a reference for what is appropriate and acceptable (Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000), and need to be considered when personal decisions are made (Stein et al., 2017). Familismo is the crux of how the Latinx population typically chooses to behave, believe, and live, for all roads lead back to accepting that family comes first.

Familismo values are continually reinforced throughout their life as Latinx individuals tend to develop new relationships with those who share similar values (Miville et al., 2017;

Morgan Consoli et al., 2016). Their connection to familismo beliefs and values is strengthened throughout adolescence and adulthood as their obligations to their family are actualized (Stein et al., 2017). As Latinx individuals earn more responsibilities in the home, they are more likely to adhere to their role in their current family and continue sharing these values in their future families. Latinx individuals have been conditioned for many generations to ascribe to familismo lifestyles and research shows that regardless of where they live, their socioeconomic status, or their education level, they continue to follow familismo values and this remains a consistent part of decisions they make for their futures, assuming they exhibit a strong ethnic identification (Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009; Stein et al., 2017).

Machismo & Caballerismo. Within familismo values, the Latinx culture has developed specific male and female gender scripts that define the role they have within their families and how they are expected to follow their cultural values (Castillo et al., 2006; Cerezo et al., 2013; Cupito et al., 2015). These gender roles become an integral part of their Latinidad (Estrada & Arciniega, 2015). For Latino males specifically, they are expected to provide financially, emotionally, and physically for their family, and carry the weight of promoting the legacy of the family in the future as they carry the family name. Latino men, much like other men, are expected to be the "breadwinners" in their household (Cerezo et al., 2013; Harris & Harper, 2008) and take on more controlling behaviors within the home, whereas Latina women are expected to be more nurturing and take care of things within the home (Ovink, 2014; Saez et al., 2010). Just like familismo, these socially constructed gender expectations for men are perpetuated by the culture and are reinforced both inside and outside the home (Miville et al., 2017), by both men and women, despite women being expected to hold a submissive role within this dynamic (Vasquez, 2015). Even though there are slight differences depending on

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generational status and acculturation level (Davis & Liang, 2015), inability to fulfill these responsibilities could lead to male gender role conflict, which, as noted before, could have negative consequences to their wellbeing and overall development.

Men can carry out these gender roles through varied characteristics and behaviors. Current research describes Latino masculinity has having negative and positive attributes, described as machismo and caballerismo respectively (Arciniega et al., 2008; Nuñez et al., 2016; Saez et al., 2010). *Machismo* refers to a more traditional form of masculinity in which men are expected to be dominant, aggressive, and sexist in their expectations of women to ascribe to submissive behaviors and take care of tasks within the household (Arciniega et al., 2008; Brooms et al., 2007; Cupito et al., 2013; Saez et al., 2010). Latino machismo men tend to be conceited (Arciniega et al., 2008), are more likely to be abusive or engage in criminal activity (Saez et al., 2010), and exhibit other typical hypermasculine qualities (Davis & Liang, 2015). As indicated in gender development research, traditional masculinity and machismo attitudes are not exclusively a Latino ideal. However, it is exacerbated and further reinforced in Latinx families and communities. (Blanco, 2014; Casas et al., 1994; Clark et al, 2013). Studies show that younger men are more likely to exhibit machismo attributes (Davis & Liang, 2015) which may be due to their dependence on their family structure and their socialization processes being more isolated to their households (Castellanos et al, 2017). Latino men are believed to adhere more strongly to machismo or traditional masculinity norms in comparison to any other ethnic group (Saez et al., 2010). Studies show that the more prevalent their ethnicity is in how they identify, the more likely Latinos are to exhibit machismo attitudes and behaviors (Arciniega et al., 2008) and the more machismo they are, the less open they are to other more productive ideas of masculinity (Saez et al., 2010) and the more likely they adhere to a traditional role within their family.

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On the other hand, *caballerismo*, reflecting more positive attributes of Latino masculinity, refers to qualities like being chivalrous, responsible and in touch with emotions (Miville et al., 2017). Coined by Arciniega et al. (2008), the term derives from the word *caballero* which describes a proper and respectful gentleman. Latino caballerismo men are seen as hard workers, spiritual leaders, and nurturing providers for their families (Castillo et al, 2006; Estrada & Arciniega, 2015; Miville et al, 2017). They are viewed as well-rounded and show how a man can provide and lead their family, while still being open to other ideals and belief systems (Blanco, 2014; Davis & Liang, 2015; Estrada & Arciniega, 2015). This is the aspect of familismo that helps them connect with others and engage in behaviors related to social responsibility. There has been a growth in Latinos' desires to ascribe to caballerismo values given the negative perception that the machismo term has developed within the culture (Arciniega et al., 2008), the acculturation process that many Latinos have undergone (Casas et al., 1994), and their advancement through higher education (Blanco, 2014). However, the development of those attitudes can cause stress and create conflict with the expectations of men on college and university campuses (Ojeda et al., 2016). Research has shown a need for a better understanding of how masculinity ideals change over time and in different settings, and to assess how machismo and caballerismo factors can influence success outcomes (Miville et al., 2017), especially in higher education.

Similar to how Harris's meaning of masculinity model discussed the reality of multiple masculinities existing between hegemonic masculinity and productive masculinity, there exists a spectrum where machismo and caballerismo serve as book ends of Latino masculinity (Saez et al., 2010). It is important to acknowledge the variability in Latino masculinity because as Latinos are more likely to adhere to traditional masculine norms in the form of machismo, it can be

assumed they are more likely to experience MGRC and other challenges to their gender development. Research also supports the notion of gender being a performance as Latino men tend to place a significant importance on how they are perceived by others (Cabrera et al., 2016; Vasquez, 2015). When coupled with acculturation issues, Latino men receive, at times, contradicting messages about how they should perform their masculinity which can have further negative consequence on both their ethnic and gender identity development (Saenz et al., 2013). Thus, in this study, Harris's model is looked at from a cultural lens for Latino males, given that the concepts of familismo, machismo, and caballerismo are significant cultural traits that influence the meanings Latino men make regarding their Latino masculinity, which may lead to unique experiences in higher education.

Meaning of Latino Masculinity in College

Given the theoretical foundation that has been established thus far, this chapter continues to demonstrate how Latino masculinity develops in college and how it interacts with the college contexts that are detailed in Harris's (2010) model of meanings college men make of masculinities. This section describes how the various ways Latinos are socialized prior to college impact their decisions to enroll, discusses how literature describes Latino male college experiences within the four context areas in Harris's model, and concludes by demonstrating how Latino masculinity impacts their college outcomes and determining persistence as a male gendered norm for Latinos.

Pre-college gender socialization. Prior to college, Latinos are socialized to adhere to familismo values and their gender role as a provider or "breadwinner" within the home. However, going to college can diminish a Latino's role as a provider for their family and may making them feel weak since they cannot work or fulfill their obligation as men (Castillo et al.,

2006; Huerta, 2015; Ojeda et al., 2016). Aligned with machismo and caballerismo values, Latinos feeling pressure to contribute financially at home and to their education, and this pressure is reinforced by the messages they receive from family and the greater Latino community (Cerezo et al., 2015; Gloria et al., 2009). Furthermore, needing to provide at home and to afford college can significantly impact where Latinos go to college, how committed they are in their pursuits, and the goals they may for their future (Stewart et al., 2015).

These financial obligations often cause Latinos a great deal of stress and can create issues contributing to MGRC (Perez, 2017). Therefore, if they attend college, they are more likely to either work while in college (Cerezo et al., 2015; Gloria et al., 2017; Witkow et al., 2015), which inhibits their ability to engage in campus, or they enroll part-time (Ponjuan et al., 2015; Witkow et al., 2015). It may also mean that they avoid going to college all together in efforts to gain immediate employment or enlist in the military, which may be lower paying, but it fulfills their expectations to provide for family (Gloria et al., 2017; Huerta, 2015; Nunez, 2014a; Ojeda et al., 2011; Pérez, 2017; Saenz et al., 2013). Additionally, they feel that they need to compromise their academic pursuits to focus on family needs as college is not a worthwhile investment when considering loans and additional fees they are charged in comparison to getting a job which can allow them to provide financially for their families sooner (Clark et al., 2013; Cerezo et al., 2015; Gloria et al., 2017; Ojeda et al., 2016; Witkow et al., 2015).

To add to the gender socialization in the home away from college, Latino males are also socialized by the messages they receive in their communities about the place they hold in society. In the recent social and political climate, there is a negative narrative being delivered to the American people about the Latinx population through the media and pop culture. One image that is being popularized is one where Latinx people are viewed as professionally threatening and

being called "illegal aliens" (Nunez, 2014b). They are viewed as a population of people who don't belong and need to be eradicated from our country. They are being portrayed as a threat to the American dream and the stereotype is being perpetuated through the media, workplaces, and political spaces (Natividad, 2015), shaping how non-Latinx people perceive their growth in the United States. Despite accounting for more than 50% of the population growth between 2000 and 2010 (Gloria et al., 2017) and representing the largest minority population in the United States (Cheng & Malinnekrodt, 2015; Molina et al., 2016), that growth is being depicted to the rest of the population as something of which to be scared. It is a message that intends, as some may say, to "marginalize, impoverish, and disenfranchise Latino/as on social, economic, political, and legal levels" (Natividad, 2015, p. 97). As more Latinx people enter the United States and become a part of the general population, research shows that they face resistance and obstacles to their integration with US society (Nunez, 2014a), further demonstrating their need to acculturate to survive and persist.

Another message that is common is one of an overly machismo man which normalizes aggressive behavior towards non-machismo men and women and encourages the usage of illicit substances for an enhanced social life (Zernechel & Perry, 2017). Sanchez et al. (2017) found that even if Latinos are socialized towards caballerismo attributes in the home, they become more socialized towards machismo given what they see and hear in the media. In movies, music, and video games, Latinos are also portrayed as gang members or criminals (Cerezo et al., 2013); roles many Latino men are enticed to perform prior to college as it is perceived to be a viable option to be successful and fulfill male role in family (Huerta, 2015). As Latino families are typically not familiar with college culture or how to navigate ethnic norms, Latino males are not provided with many counter messages to socialize their Latino male identity towards college

going behavior.

Schools can play a significant role in socializing Latino males towards higher education, but peers and teachers often wrongfully assume Latino men are not interested in college or are unprepared for the academic rigor (Huerta & Fishman, 2014). Traditional masculinity involves feeling superior or in control and Latino males are often undermined in academic settings, which takes away from them aligning their masculinity with college. Peers encourage participation in athletics, gangs, or socializing as popular ways to perform masculinity, rather than by exhibiting leadership skills or academic excellence (Cerezo et al., 2013), further reinforcing machismo characteristics over caballerismo ones. Thus, by the time Latino males choose to attend college, they are typically socialized by families, media, school, and peers to believe their Latino masculinity does not align with college culture or other college going behaviors.

College context. Higher education institutions form a unique environment where, for Latino students, familismo values and individualistic values conflict. White American values are prevalent on college campuses (Boyraz et al., 2016) such as independence, materialistic, and self-reliance (Morgan Consoli et al., 2016), whereas Latinos value family and interdependent relationships (Castillo et al, 2006; Ojeda et al, 2016). However, those values are not readily accepted or visible on college campuses (Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000; Kiyama et al., 2015). They are also met with a culture that is solely focused on academic development that does not typically teach them what they've been culturally socialized to value (Rios-Ellis et al., 2015) of ethnic knowledge or culturally competent topics. Thus when Latino men enter college, they can experience acculturation issues which can impact their Latino masculinity development. Aguinaga & Gloria (2015) define acculturation as "the process an individual experience when learning about and adopting White American cultural norms while maintaining their heritage

culture" (p. 17). They describe a spectrum that individuals may fall into between acculturation and enculturation--socializing and adopting values of the heritage culture. For Latinos, the navigation between that spectrum can lead to acculturation conflict or stress, as they experience contrasting pressure from the university environment and their families at home to adhere to specific cultural values, which may have implications on their gender and/or ethnic identity development (Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000). Furthermore, as some Latinos navigate these experiences, they develop a transitionary bicultural identity, which holds values and attitudes of both the White and Latino culture (Aguinaga & Gloria, 2015; Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000; Torres, 1999).

Studies showed that if they are more acculturated and aligned with White college culture, then Latinos were more likely to demonstrate more positive college outcomes (Kiyama et al, 2015); and if they weren't, they felt they needed to assimilate to be successful (Vela et al, 2016). These experiences lead Latinos to feel isolated and marginalized due to their conflicting values (Gloria et al, 2017). Furthermore, if Latinos assimilate to the college culture, it often leads to a strain in family relationships which causes conflict on their male roles within the Latino culture (Castillo et al., 2006; Chun et al., 2016) or may even lead to the development of negative perceptions of their family role and ethnic identity (Wang et al., 2016). Furthermore, depending on how they perform their masculinity, the salience of those gender expectations can negatively impact their college experience, as previously discussed.

As Latinos become more assimilated to the values of higher education institution, the increased family conflict can be debilitative for Latinos in their identity development (Castillo et al., 20016; Huq et al., 2016) and they are looked down upon by their families and seen as a disappointment (Chun et al., 2016; Huq et al., 2016) for developing "non-Latino" attributes.

Parents expect their children to exhibit caballerismo, family obligation, and respect, but the more they push, the more stress the Latino student may experience in their collegiate pursuits (Pérez, 2017) especially since many Latino parents do not understand what college culture is like (Witkow et al., 2015). The family dynamic in itself is conflicting, because many parents want their children to be successful and want to support Latinos in the college process, while they also expect Latinos to maintain the roles they've been socialized to value and not lose touch with their Latino heritage (Vasquez, 2015). Latinos struggle because they typically are not taught how to properly bridge the two cultures or navigate them to develop a bicultural orientation or double consciousness, thus they feel they need to acculturate to do well, which adds pressure and leads to negative perceptions of the entire college experience (Luedke, 2018).

Latino college students tend to associate acculturation with discrimination as they feel they will be harassed and withheld opportunities in college if they don't assimilate and if they do, they feel they will be marginalized at home with their families (Castillo et al., 2006). Therefore, many Latinos feel the need to hide who they truly are and develop a mask of their Latinidad to protect themselves from discrimination on campus. However, this often results in more stress among Latinos (Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000; Wang et al., 2016) and wearing a mask may impact an individual's wellbeing (Edwards & Jones, 2009). The acculturation process can cause stress because they experience a culture shock when they arrive on college campuses, being expected to adhere and assimilate to new norms, and are disadvantaged from not understanding university culture (Castillo et al., 2006; Castillo et al., 2015; Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000).

Additionally, stress can come from not fully understanding the English or the Spanish language, pressure from the university to acculturate, and pressure from family and the Latinx

culture to stay true to their ideas of Latinidad (Castillo et al., 2006; Chun et al., 2016). Studies show that the longer Latinx individuals remain in the United States, the more likely they are to acculturate. However, Nunez (2009) showed that even though being second- or third-generation in the United States may mean that families are more aware of college system, Latino men still experience acculturation issues. Interestingly, many second-generation Latinx people in U.S. perceive the college environment as less welcoming and more discriminatory because they are less socialized with U.S. white culture compared to third-generation and first-generation are more motivated to overcome those challenges and more aware of their ethnic differences when they come into the college setting (Nunez, 2009). Thus, if they can lower acculturative stress, it can lead to more positive persistence attitudes and behaviors, like academic self-efficacy, seeking assistance when difficulties arise, and connecting better with campus environment (Chun et al, 2016); noting that for Latino men acculturation is not just about their ethnic identity but also in their gender identity.

In addition to stress, Latino males specifically tend to perceive acculturation and the university environment as more discriminatory and hostile than Latinas (Castillo et al., 2006; Castillo et al., 2015) which may impact their masculinity development in college. The stronger they adhered to their ethnic identity, the more likely they were to perceive experiences and situations as discriminatory against the Latinx population (Castillo et al., 2015; Kiyama et al., 2015). However, studies have shown that this is not necessarily just a perception. Latinx students face discrimination and hostility, both subtle and overt, in relation to how they acculturate to college campuses (Cheng & Mallinckrodt, 2015; Chun et al, 2016; Gloria et al, 2017) and the current narrative being shared in relation to Latinx people in the United States (Molina et al, 2016). Subtle discrimination can take various forms from the omission of Latino culture in the

food and music played at campus events to not being accommodating of language barriers (Gloria et al, 2017). The subtler forms of discrimination that often to appear as everyday language or behavior but that have negative implications towards a specific group or person described as microaggressions (Cabrera et al., 2016; Cerezo et al., 2013). While overt discrimination can take the form of physical abuse, statements made by students and staff perpetuating negative Latino stereotypes, treated as though they are not as smart as their peers, and denial of resources given their ethnic identity, which all can serve as obstacles to persistence (Hall, 2017; Molina et al, 2016). For Latino students, as their ethnic identity is less obvious than other racial groups, the need to legitimize their ethnic identity can be another unique form of discrimination (Palmer et al, 2015), as if people do not believe students when they say they are Latino with statements like, "Oh, you don't look Spanish?" or "How come you don't speak Spanish?" In the United States, 30% of Latinx-identifying individuals say they experience daily discrimination (Molina et al, 2016) and these experiences can lead to racial battle fatigue, or feeling exhausted from needing to constantly overcome obstacles due to racial or ethnic discrimination, which can have negative outcomes for Latino college students.

Discrimination can lead Latinos to feel more stress, anger, and paranoia which can develop into negative academic behaviors and decreased motivation to persist (Cerezo et al., 2015; Cheng & Mallinckrodt, 2015; Hall, 2017; Hipolito-Delgado, 2016; Palmer et al., 2015). Discrimination can also challenge gender roles as Latinos are reminded that they are not as resourceful as they believe and thus are less likely to be able to provide for their families as other groups (Wang et al., 2016). According to data reported in 2009 by Pew Hispanic Center (as reported by Molina et al., 2016), Latinx folk have become the most discriminated against group in the United States.

Acculturation stress and conflict can also lead Latino men to have a decreased sense of belonging on their campus and feel as though they are not fit to attend college (Aguinaga & Gloria, 2015; Castellanos et al., 2017; Kiyama et al., 2015). Sense of belonging refers to the "cognitive and psychological elements where a student evaluates their own perceived role in the group or institution" (Chun et al., 2016, p. 387). Latino students have a clear role within their families and the Latinx culture as men who adhere to certain standards to fulfill specific obligations (Huyge et al., 2015). However, feeling that they do not have that purpose on a college campus can negatively impact their identity development and their motivation to persist. Such a negative view of their campus environment is a significant barrier to Latino male college persistence (Castillo et al., 2015). They are constantly reassessing their decision to see if they belong in college and can achieve academically and this can further negatively impact their performance and educational goals (Cerezo et al., 2015). Therefore, developing a sense of belonging is essential to their socialization on campus (Hurtado & Ponjuan, 2005; Nunez, 2009) and how comfortable they feel to explore their masculinities.

The more positively Latinos feel about their college environment and the more they feel the college culture supports their ethnic identity, they more likely they will be to engage in persistence strategies (Aguinaga & Gloria, 2015; Castellanos et al, 2015; Tovar, 2015). As Latinos typically align with an ethnic culture that is centered on the collective rather than the individual and ascribe to gender roles regarding their responsibility to the collective, feeling like they belong and are a part of the community is a significant part of Latinos college experience (Cupito et al, 2015). Additionally, Latinos who exhibit a strong sense of belonging on their campus are more inclined to seek out and utilize campus resources for assistances which can help in academic performance and continued motivation to persist (Medina & Posadas, 2012).

For Latinos, community and family matter, so integrating family, faculty, and peers through programming or institutional strategies (Harris, 2017; Medina & Posadas, 2012) can be beneficial in their college experiences and their identity development.

The experiences Latino students have regarding acculturation, discrimination, and sense of belonging can be impacted by the campus climate and the ways that higher education institutions respond to Latino students (Castillo et al., 2015). For example, given the growth of Latinx college going students, there have been a rise of Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs) being recognized. HSIs are those institutions where at least 25% of their total population identify as Hispanic (Medina & Posadas, 2012). Usually located in communities and towns that have a high population of Latinos (Chun et al., 2016; Contreras & Contreras, 2015), HSIs enroll over 50% of the total Latino/a students in higher education today (Cheng & Mallinckrodt, 2015). Whereas, PWIs tend to enroll less Latinx students overall, the enrollment rate is significantly less for Latino male students. (Hall, 2017). Latinos are more likely to experience acculturative stress and discrimination at PWIs, which are not culturally competent or welcoming (Baker, 2013; Cabrera et al., 2016; Kiyama et al., 2015; Pérez & Sáenz, 2017). However, if eligible, they are more inclined to attend PWIs given the reputation and selectivity of these institutions (Ovink, 2014), which provide them with more competence and power.

Despite HSI's intention to serve Latinx students better, they still have relatively high rates of attrition compared to PWIs (Boyraz et al., 2016; Contreras & Contreras, 2015). This may be because HSIs often do not have strategic plans in place to better support Latinx students. Regardless of what their mission statements are (Chun et al., 2016), they tend to continue following the same cultural script that PWIs have, since many institutions don't adjust their overall goals and many of the faculty and administrators who are making policy decisions are not

aware of the Latino culture (Garcia et al., 2016). Latinx students often struggle to balance between adopting university white culture and maintain Latino culture (Castillo et al., 2006; Chun et al, 2016), even if they attend a Hispanic Serving Institution (Chun et al., 2016). Latinos at HSIs are often viewed as a means to received increased financial support from the government (Contreras & Contreras, 2015), rather than a population that need additional support in managing their cultural needs and masculinities.

In addition to HSIs, many Latino students also attend two-year colleges which traditionally have lower retention rates (Gonzalez, 2015). Two-year schools, typically community colleges, are usually more affordable, closer to home, and are easier to get into. (Gonzalez & Morrison, 2016; Ponjuan et al., 2015; Saenz et al., 2013; Tovar, 2015; Witcow et al., 2015). The flexibility of courses and curriculum allow Latinos to enroll part-time much easier which is enticing in their efforts to continue to fulfill their Latino male roles. These institutions also provide developmental courses as a way for Latino students to academically prepare for college-level work. However, most Latino students in community college do not reach college level proficiency in English and Math (Gonzalez, 2015). Faculty at two-year schools play a substantial role in their transition to and success at four-year institutions (Harris, 2017). While attending a two-year college. Latinos can learn how to navigate their masculinities in a less stressful environment so that when they transition to four-year institutions, they are more prepared to handle acculturative issues within the college context. Additionally, having healthy social supports in place can help Latinos adjust to four-year institutions and prepare for developing skills necessary to navigate the more complex college system. Latino students who can get into highly selective four-year institutions have shown a higher likelihood of persistence (Gonzalez, 2015; Pérez & Sáenz, 2017). It may be due to the combination of their academic

ability, supportive relationships with family, faculty and peers, family responsibilities and conflicts, and campus resources (Pérez & Sáenz, 2017).

Despite the acculturation issues and difficulties that arise from the college context to a Latino males' masculinity, acculturation stress has been shown to strengthen one's ethnic identity (Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000). Specifically, the development of bicultural identity can be a useful attribute for Latinos in their college experiences (Mejia-Smith & Gushue, 2017) and in feeling connected with the campus culture and climate (Huq et al., 2016; Ojeda et al., 2016). Furthermore, in the face of stereotypes and acculturative stress, one's Latinx ethnic identity can strengthen as a protective or defense mechanism to counteract the "threatening" messages (Mejia-Smith & Gushue, 2017) both within the higher education context and beyond. Thus, Latino masculinity can be reshaped through their acculturation struggles if Latinos have spaces to contextualize their experiences.

As Edwards & Jones (2009, as referenced in Castellanos et al., 2017) put it, in order to ward off potential acts of discrimination or in the face of negative perceptions of campus context Latino students may present a disengaged, angry, or "cool pose." Developing a consistent meaning of Latino masculinity can help students cope with discriminatory behavior they may face on college campuses, whether overt or subtle, by building strong relationships and positive support systems at school and home (Castellanos et al., 2017; Fergus, 2016). Furthermore, it can serve as a catalyst to exert more effort to persist to prove others wrong and put it in the context of the sacrifices their family made to give them the opportunity to work towards a higher education (Gloria et al., 2017). Latino masculinity is directly connected to how they can play out their role within the campus context and how accepted they feel. Therefore, it is essential to understand how institution type, sense of belonging, and acculturation within the college context influence

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the development of Latino masculinity.

Academic interests & experiences. In Harris's (2010) study on high-achieving college men, he found that men were more likely to seek out academic programs that lead towards careers in law, business, or medicine as they are perceived to be more masculine and can lead to better paying jobs. Men are socialized to desire financial security to remain in control and provide financial support for their families. These majors allow them to fulfill their roles as "breadwinners" and men who can be successful in these programs are perceived to be more masculine than those who struggle. Even though doing well academically is not a traditionally masculine expectation; the expectation is that with these lucrative majors, men can achieve a role at the pinnacle of the U.S.

However, these majors are challenging and often require a great deal of academic self-efficacy and commitment, two things that Latino students typically find challenging. Latinos have been found to repeatedly enroll in remedial courses which delay their time to graduate and keep them unprepared for the academic rigor of courses that will assist in completion (Contreras & Contreras, 2015). Furthermore, they are more likely to have negative interactions with peers and faculty, which serves to decreases motivation to persist and belief in their academic ability to achieve improvements (Gloria et al, 2017). Despite expressing better coping mechanisms than Latinas, Latinos continue to experience less positive academic outcomes in the face of negative experiences (Cupito et al., 2015). Men who ascribe to machismo beliefs tend to have an inflated sense of their academic abilities (Lopez, 2014) and they feel that the effort needed to improve academically is not worth the investment when they could be supporting their families in more immediate ways. Nevertheless, some Latinos persist but continue to feel as imposters on their campuses and thus, do not feel needed for academic resources or assistance (Gloria & Rodriguez,

2000), especially since many of them did not grow up with those services provided in their homes or communities.

Due to their academic difficulties, Latinos can have unrealistic expectations and beliefs in what they can accomplish academically; known as their academic self-efficacy (Pérez, 2017). The more obstacles they encounter, the less they believe that they can perform in their classrooms (Boyraz et al., 2016). Coupled with a low academic determination, referring to a student's intent to perform well and devote energy towards the completion of their intended academic outcomes (Pérez, 2017), most Latinos fall into a perpetuating cycle of fulfilling the negative academic stereotypes. They are often characterized as low achieving and when fueled by other stereotypes of being "threatening" or "undeserving", these messages lessen the value of their education (Chun et al., 2016) and thus, leads them to have lower self-efficacy for educational goals which make them less likely to persist (Mejia-Smith & Gushue, 2017). Even if they can achieve, they perceive their abilities to be less than capable given the pervasive narrative in their lives before college serves as a self-fulfilling prophecy (Gloria et al., 2017).

It is imperative to address Latino college impostership and improve their academic self-efficacy. Increased academic self-efficacy leads to greater academic achievement, through completion of class assignments and earning high GPA (Chun et al., 2016; Pina-Watson et al., 2016), which can be mediated by a greater ethnic identity, belief in their abilities, and connection to a support system. By staying motivated despite their academic performance or negative impact that may have on their view of their masculinity (Trevino & DeFreitas, 2014), they are more likely to increase their academic self-efficacy and in turn develop academic momentum to continue putting forth effort to do well (Contrearas & Contreras, 2015). However, Latinos who are more traditionally masculine are motivated by earning money and exhibiting more traits

aligned with caballerismo or productive masculinity have been associated with high motivation

to do well academically (Sanchez et al., 2017). Students who are the first generation of living in

the U.S. tend to exhibit "immigrant optimism"; a belief that college education will serve as a

crucial means to increase access to financial success and security in the United States as well as a

unique form of motivation while being naïve to the negative experience of many Latinos (Nunez,

2014b). Lastly, having support from family and peers and knowing that their assistance is

unconditional, which are aspects of familismo, are critical to increased academic self-efficacy

(Lopez, 2014; Trevino & DeFreitas, 2014), and developing a positive ethnic identity.

Latinos have also shown significantly higher rates of depressive symptomology,

emotional distress, suicidal ideation, and psychological concerns than their White peers (Molina

et al., 2016; Vela et al., 2016). Additionally, an increase in depressive symptoms is negatively

associated with academic performance (Boyraz et al., 2016; Huq et al., 2016), and this can

impact how they perceive their educational pursuits by framing it in a negative light, which can

create more obstacles for those who experience social discrimination or oppression in higher

education settings.

Latino students are more at risk of depression in higher education given their likelihood

of being first-generation, lack of financial and social resources, and minimal understanding of

support services on campus (Castillo et al., 2006; Davis & Liang, 2015). Furthermore, as

familismo values and gender roles are prevalent within the Latino culture, being unable to adhere

to these roles of providing for their family and keeping a close relationship can contribute to

negative self-view (Castillo et al, 2006; Huq et al, 2016). Specifically, the breaking of family

connection contributes to more psychological and emotional concerns, rather than just the

absence of family relationships (Molina et al., 2016).

Helping Latino students address their depressive functioning and teaching them to utilize the psychological strengths they already exhibit can promote their persistence in college (Ojeda et al., 2016). Machismo and caballerismo both include a component of handling negative emotions. Whether through developing a thick skin and being able to ignore negative feelings or by processing through them with family and maintaining a positive attitude, Latinos are socialized to handle depressive symptoms from a masculine lens (Cupito et al., 2015). It can be of assistance to direct Latinos to roles where they can lead and practice their cultural traits (i.e. machismo and caballerismo attributes) so they can have an increased purpose within the educational setting and potentially experience lower chances of depression.

With machismo and caballerismo attributes remaining strong and consistent (Davis & Liang, 2015), Latinos exhibit a stigma around seeking help for mental health issues which contributes to increased hidden depressive symptoms (Castillo et al., 2006) and lower academic self-efficacy. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services states that less than 10% of Latino men who experience mental health issues seek professional help (Davis & Liang, 2015). However, given the various levels of obstacles they face, Latinos may need assistance more than other groups to persist. Research associates hegemonic masculinity with academic difficulties and insistence on not seeking help (Harris & Harper, 2015). However, the fear and stress surrounding exhibiting help seeking behaviors, is that doing so may validate the negative narrative about them (Cerezo et al., 2013; Patron & Garcia, 2016) and to avoid this, Latinos tend to isolate when they need help (Gloria et al., 2017) or try to figure things out on their own. Although this stress may decrease as they get older (Davis & Liang, 2015), they may not persist in higher education long enough to grow out of this stress.

Latino males tend focus on addressing the problems rather than their feelings on the issue

(Castellanos et al., 2017) and if they do ask for help, they are more likely to seek out assistance

from family members or cultural support systems rather than college resources like advising or

counseling (David & Liang, 2015; Gloria et al., 2017; Wang et al., 2016). Latino men are more

inclined to abuse substances, overeat, or engage in other risky behaviors instead of seeking help

for emotional or mental health issues (Cabrera et al., 2016; Casas et al., 1994; Harris & Harper,

2008; Zernachel & Perry, 2017), as these activities are perceived to be more in line with

traditional masculinity instead of expressing vulnerability. However, research has shown seeking

help was essential for promoting college persistence with Latino men (Harris, 2017). Higher

education practitioners can support help seeking behavior among Latinos by aligning it with

supporting their family and serving as a sign of strength and embedding their need for help as a

necessary function for them to persist (Gloria et al., 2017). It is also important to provide

psychological assistance and support with respect to students' family and social responsibilities

(Tovar, 2015), as their adherence to familismo values may serve as a barrier to them

participating in support services if they have obligations to fulfill at home.

 For Latinos, it's essential to connect their academic interests, college motivation, and

help-seeking behaviors with the understanding that doing well can help their families. Parental

reinforcement can be a strong motivator given familismo values and the obligation Latinos feel

to give back to their family. Even though parents may value home responsibilities over academic

ones at first, if parents see the value of education and encourage students to persist it may

increase positive academic behavior (Cupito et al, 2015; Gloria et al, 2017; Molina & Posadas,

2012; Tovar, 2015; Witkow et al, 2015). Additionally, aligning academic pursuits with the

potential for improved economic advancement can help connect college values with those of the

family and their expectation (Morgan Consoli et al., 2016; Ojeda et al, 2016; Saenz et al., 2013).

As Latinos internalize these beliefs, they have also felt motivated to do well to demonstrate to younger family members what is possible academically. Lastly, Latinos may be motivated to academically succeed to repay their family for the sacrifices that they made to get them to this point, especially for those from immigrant backgrounds (Cupito et al., 2015; Gloria et al., 2017; Molina & Posadas, 2012; Pérez, 2017; Witkow et al., 2015) For Latinos, giving back to and repaying family were the biggest motivators for academic pursuits (Ponjuan et al., 2015), rather than for the sake of learning or receiving an education. The difference between positive and negative academic experiences for Latino students is their ability to connect their academic progress to their performance of masculinity and to develop masculine identity that that values their education to benefit the future of their families.

Campus involvement. For many Latinx students, having faculty and administrators, especially those who identify as Latino, serve as mentors and resource agents is crucial to their identity development in college and the types of experiences they participate in (Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000; Hall, 2017; Pérez, 2017; Vela et al., 2016). Since family may not be supportive or informed about the college culture and expectations, these relationships help them feel more comfortable when they are away from home (Harris, 2017; Huerta, 2015) and provide a sense of support as they navigate their developmental processes. Faculty and staff need to be cognizant of Latinx cultural values and ethnic identity when establishing relationships and promoting student success (Chun et al., 2016; Huerta, 2015), like their family responsibilities, machismo pressures, and financial difficulties as these can serve as barriers to persistence (Tovar, 2015).

When Latinx students feel that their higher education staff are invested in their success, they are more inclined to establish goals for the future and continue in college and beyond (Pérez, 2017), like enrolling in graduate programs or starting their own businesses (Harris,

2017). These outcomes do not come from just seeing faculty in their classrooms or administrators in their offices. Being visible and accessible on campus helps faculty develop trust with Latinos and thus they will feel more inclined to adhere to recommendations they make (Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000; Kiyama et al., 2015; Pérez, 2017). Although this may be difficult with faculty experiencing competing priorities and responsibilities (Huerta, 2015), Latinos greatly benefit from these relationships. They view them as role models, as they may not have many or any college going and/or college completing role models at home or in communities. This can help them learn how to navigate the higher education system and overcome obstacles (Hipolito-Delgado, 2016; Saladino & Martinez, 2015) especially when Latinx faculty and staff share their own experiences with Latino students (Pérez & Sáenz, 2017). Having other Latino professionals who have made it and navigated their own masculinities in college as mentors are some of the experiences which are valued and influential in a Latino student's development.

As discussed before regarding pre-gender socialization, the verbal messages people say to Latinos matter as they can have both a positive or a negative impact on their Latino masculinity development and college experiences. Cerezo et al., (2015) found that positive messages from staff reminding them that college can aid in economic and social advancement were beneficial to as counternarratives to what they have previously heard related to their male role. However, depending on how strongly faculty and administrators believe in Latino stereotypes, they may engage in behaviors that criminalize students and perceive the university environment as hostile (Huerta, 2015). Therefore, having more Latinx faculty and staff has been found to provide more opportunities to engage Latino students, advocate for their needs, and increase representation so Latinos can see what they are capable of (Medina & Posadas, 2012). Additionally, it is not about how frequent Latinos interact with their faculty, but it is about the quality. Therefore, whether

through mentorship, either formal or informal, or follow up meetings or involvement with

cultural organizations, faculty and staff should seek to develop meaningful relationships with

Latinos to support them to persist in college (Tovar, 2015).

Beyond faculty, peers can provide Latino students with the educational support that may

be lacking from home (Arevalo et al, 2016; Harris, 2017; Pérez, 2017; Vela et al, 2016). They

rely on their more informed peers to create pathways to educational opportunities and identity

development in college (Pérez & Sáenz, 2017). Specifically, at Predominantly White Institutions

(PWIs), relationships with other Latino students can improve GPA as they have a support system

to receive assistance from (Chun et al, 2016). Strong peer support, especially in the form of

mentorship, is essential in providing Latinos with guides for their developmental process

(Brooms et al, 2017; Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000), and some may say it is the most influential

predictive factor in college outcomes as Latinos have indicated that engagement with their

academics and social activities are important goals for their higher education pursuits (Pérez,

2017). These social groups are protective measures which can help in potentially hostile and

unwelcoming college environments (Hall, 2017). However, it is important to note, that research

has shown over-involvement in these peer groups might lead to negative academic outcomes

(Pérez & Sáenz, 2017), as Latino students may prioritize socializing over attending to

schoolwork or their responsibilities. Therefore, it is important that mentors and more experienced

peers help Latino men navigate how to balance a social life with their academics.

In a more formal fashion, another social group to consider are student organizations,

specifically those with a mission to serve Latino males, which will be further addressed in the

"male peer groups" section. Student organizations can be a way for Latinos to engage in their

campus and be supported in their ethnic identity exploration (Aguinaga & Gloria, 2015; Castillo

et al., 2015; Hall, 2017; Ponjuan et al., 2015). Specifically having a leadership role within these organizations can aid in their persistence because it may provide Latinos with purpose and align with their values as Latino males (Brooms et al, 2017; Hotchkins & Dancy, 2015). As they value close relationships, Latinx students are more likely than other ethnic groups to form surrogate families with peers and engage in social activities if they can (Arevalo et al, 2016; Cerezo et al., 2015; Kiyama et al., 2015). Latin sxtudent organizations increase Latinos' sense of belonging on campus (Cerezo et al., 2015; Chun et al., 2016; Hall, 2017), and provide them with an opportunity to explore and address the unique intersection of their marginalized gender and ethnic identities (Kiyama et al., 2015), further promoting their belief that they are able to and should continue persisting in higher education. Latinos' engagement with Latinx student organizations can help them develop skills to overcome acculturation stress and promote persistence in their ethnic subculture where their values are appreciated and respected (Hotchkins and Dancy, 2015; Kiyama et al, 2015).

Male peer group interactions. In accordance with Harris's (2009), male bonding has been found to be a strong socializing force for Latinos (Brooms et al., 2017). Within exclusively male peer groups, there are conversations, interactions, and behaviors directly related to their masculinity beliefs and values. The ways men communicate in these spaces reflects how they perform their masculinities (Harris, 2010). Male groups in college can reinforce hegemonic masculinity, specifically in how they view and communicate with women (Dancy & Hotchkins, 2015; Harris, 2010). Within these groups men often engage in activities that perpetuate traditional norms as they feel the need to maintain the mask until they know it is safe to reveal their true masculinity (Harris & Harper, 2008). However, it can also help them develop positive relationships with other men which diversifies their beliefs of masculinities (Harris, 2010) and

thus reshapes what may be a traditional form of masculinity.

Fraternities & athletic groups are the two significant settings in which male peer group interactions occur (Harris, 2010). Although not specifically addressed with Latinos, Martin & Harris (2006) found that athletics helped men build companionship and responsibility while engaging academically, which demonstrated a relationship between productive masculinity and college experiences. They developed masculinities that valued respect, loyalty and collaboration. They expressed a need to maintain a positive reputation as they were looked up to within the school.

Fraternities can provide similar benefits for men in college regarding their masculinity. Fraternities reinforce building strong relationships and having a sense of responsibility to a brotherhood which helps in socialization (Asel et al., 2009). Bowman & Homes (2017) relayed that men in Greek organizations had better relationships with faculty and staff who helped men in their study. Such mentorship experiences are significant in masculinity development and academic progress. Though they also found that fraternity involvement was associated with lower GPAs in comparison to those who were not fraternity members, those in a fraternity expressed having more positive college experiences. In comparison to athletics where there are academic benchmarks that need to be maintained, fraternities are usually formed for social purposes. However, it is unclear if members decided to join due to an inclination away from academics or if the academic performance was a result of their fraternity involvement.

Although not extensively researched with Latinos in LGLOs, an area this study intends to contribute to, Black men in Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLOs) expressed a more positive relationship with their campus culture and their membership helped engage them in leadership activities that are aligned with cultural values (Dancy & Hotchkins, 2015). Given

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what is known of Latinos in LGLOS, the organizations helped them feel more comfortable being on campus which allow them to experience a strong sense of belonging (Aguinaga, 2015; Cerezo et al., 2015; Ponjuan et al., 2015). The Latino brotherhood, or *hermandad*, helped them become leaders and develop caballerismo qualities (Garcia et al., 2017; Luedke, 2018; Patron & Garcia, 2016). LGLOs are their homes and *familias* (Gonzalez & Morrison, 2016). Previous research showed that LGLO members held brothers accountable for their actions and the ways they enacted their masculinity, along with connecting them to college culture which helped in their transition to the campus culture (Moreno & Banuelos, 2013). LGLOs are a way for Latinos to get involved without feeling the need to assimilate to campus culture and disassociate from their ethnic culture. It also allows them a space to explore their Latino masculinity to help them address MGRC. Depending on the culture of the group, LGLOs can both perpetuate machismo or caballerismo ideals and socialize Latinos to develop masculinities specifically more towards one or the other.

Latino male gendered norms. Harris (2010) states that male gendered norms are the result of the college influences interacting with individuals' meanings of masculinities. For the purpose of this study, I want to consider persistence as a male gendered norm, defined as the "the ability to successfully transition into a new collegiate environment and overcome a variety of academic, systemic, and racial impediments" (Hotchkins & Dancy, 2013, p. 30). This definition implies persistence towards a goal and in this case the goal is a college degree. Different groups of students may identify alternative goals (Reason, 2009). The term was originated by Vincent Tinto who conceptualized about students' integration behaviors on campus and discussed what factors makes student more likely to drop out, or not persist (Perez & Saenz, 2017). Although Harris did not reference persistence specifically as a male gendered norm, this literature review

has presented a milieu of examples to how the meanings of masculinities that Latino students make can influence persistence trends.

Latinos historically have low college attainment rates. However, in recently years, the research has demonstrated that Latinx students have demonstrated increasing rates of college enrollment, but the issues surrounding their male and Latino identities have led to lower degree completion (Contreras & Contreras, 2015). Research shows that how Latino men develop and make meaning of their masculinity is the most significant influence in their college outcomes (Vasquez, 2015). Many students who drop out of school early do so because of some form of identity conflict (Harper, 2004). Having to defend their Latino masculinity on a college campus with a conflicting cultural norm can have detrimental impacts on Latinos' ability to progress through college. Studies show that as Latinx individuals increase their ethnic identity salience they are more likely to perceive the campus in a negative light and are less likely to exhibit persistence attitudes and behaviors (Castellanos et al., 2017; Castillo et al., 2015; Crisp et al., 2015).

In discussing Latino masculinity on a machismo-caballerismo spectrum, Latinos who exhibit machismo characteristics are less likely to persist in college (Saenz et al., 2013). Machismo masculinity has been linked to difficulties in asking for help, investing in academic support programs, and campus involvement (Vasquez, 2015), which are all associated with low college persistence. When men feel their masculinity is challenged, they overcompensate by behaving in hypermasculine ways and Latinos tend to leave educational settings where they are expected to adhere to white cultural norms; rather they get a job to fulfill their roles as men in their families (Saenz et al., 2013). Latinos who ascribe to more machismo forms of masculinity have challenges in relationships with peers, faculty and staff, which do not promote positive

college outcomes.

On the other hand, ascribing to caballerismo ideas and having strong family ties can help Latinos get through college (Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009). According to Harris & Harper (2008), productive gender development for men includes getting involved in campus initiatives, engaging in strong social relationships, and reaching out for assistance in the face of stressful situations. In addition, people with positive ethnic identity demonstrate an increased motivation to do well and are more likely complete tasks related to professional development (Mejia-Smith & Gushue, 2017). Notably, getting involved with student organizations or male peer groups are significant socializing factors and facilitators of persistence promotion (Hu, 2011). Identifying ways that caballerismo ideals can be fostered on college campuses can serve to support persistence behaviors for Latinos.

Significant Role of Fraternities on Latino Masculinity

This chapter provided an overview of how Harris's (2010) model of meanings of masculinity that college men make is useful in understanding the college experiences of Latino men and the development of Latino masculinity in college. Latino males are traditionally socialized by their families to ascribe to cultural gender roles that detail how they are expected to perform their masculinity for the benefits of their family and cultural community. The spectrum of masculinities that Latinos can adhere to between machismo and caballerismo influence their experiences in college and those experiences can also reshape or reinforce those masculinities as well. The college culture can cause Latinos to encounter acculturative stress and conflict in how they can maintain their gender roles at home while remaining enrolled in college. The masculinities Latinos may hold can influence their major choices, motivation to perform academically, and how the cope with stressful situations. Their masculinities can influence their

level of investment in mentorship opportunities, peer relationships, and student organizations, and that involvement can also socialize their masculinities towards more machismo or more caballerismo tendencies. The possibility for identity socialization can be even greater if they get involved with male peer groups, specifically groups of other Latino men. All these experiences can reshape or reinforce their Latino masculinity, which can either serve as a support for or hindrance to their intent to persist.

From a research standpoint, any of these contextual influences could be evaluated more in depth with Latino men to better understand how their masculinity is impacted and the consequences of that masculinity development. For the purpose of this study, male peer groups will be looked at more intently, specifically fraternities given the salience of that experience on many Latinos college outcomes. Harris & Harper (2014) indicated that studying how fraternity men perform masculinities within their involvement can yield beneficial information regarding how to support men in college. Though there is significant amount of research on how fraternity membership can impact college outcomes for Latinos, little attention has been focused on how fraternity membership influences masculinity development. This section will provide a more extensive review of how fraternities can impact college life, impact masculinity development, and impact Latinos college experience.

Zernechel & Perry (2017) reported that approximately 25% of men in college are involved in fraternities. Fraternities refer to Greek letter organizations that have exclusively or primarily male membership which engage in social activities and community service efforts. Fraternities are typically founded upon hegemonic beliefs by white men and use formal and strict requirements to socialize members to develop loyalty to their brotherhood above all else. Many fraternities live together as a community and this factor can have a significantly influential role

in socializing masculinity given the proximity and constant communication, much like families did prior to college (Kalof & Cargill, 1991; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). Fraternities can help men in their transition to college and learn to balance all the responsibilities better (Bowman & Holmes, 2017; Zernechel & Perry, 2017), which are typically challenges for collegiate men. Pike (2000) found that fraternity involvement can also positively influence cognitive development and academic performance. He noted that this would occur if academic excellence was made a great value within the fraternity culture. Typically, studies have shown that fraternity involvement negatively impacts academic performance, but it positively influences social relationships and overall college experience (Bowman & Holmes, 2017).

Most research on fraternities, however, supports the idea that fraternities reinforce hegemonic behaviors such as homophobic beliefs, aggressive behavior towards women, and other risky behavior (Anderson, 2008; Blanco, 2014; Harris & Harper, 2014; Kalof & Cargill, 1991; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). Fraternities are generally known for their excessive partying, hazing, and subjectification of women (Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). Fraternity members tend to be more likely to consume alcohol and abuse substances than non-Greek affiliated students (Capone et al., 2007; Park et al., 2008), due to the centrality of alcohol use in fraternity culture (Capone et al., 2007). Fraternity men are also typically less open to diverse ideas (Asel et al., 2009; Martin et al., 2011) since fraternities often socialize their members to believe in similar views and beliefs through the pledging process.

Harris et al. (2011) studied black men in BGLOs and they found that these fraternities cultivated a culture favoring "cool pose" characteristics, which encouraged poor academic behaviors and prioritize socializing over education. They also expressed homophobic tendencies for BGLOs as gay men acted against racial/ethnic norms of gender expression in the culture and

did not maintain the cool pose performance that was typical of other members. The members of the BGLOs valued being a leader and doing well academically, but still exhibited some hegemonic masculine beliefs in how they spoke about women, expressing emotions, being perceived as feminine, and needing to have excessive amounts of money. This is due to the reinforcement of these masculine ideals within Black culture and the racial/ethnic expectations of men. Although not studied, the cultural pressure to maintain traditional masculine expressions are typical within Latino culture as well.

There are a few studies which describe how fraternities can help to challenge hegemonic masculinity within male groups and provide counter messaging for stereotypes regarding fraternity involvement (Dancy & Hotchkins, 2015; Zernechel & Perry, 2017). Fraternities have the potential to reinforce the need to support communities and be responsible given their philanthropic efforts (Asel et al., 2009; Martin et al., 2011). The extensive network of members in a fraternity can help facilitate career exploration and provide professional development opportunities which can help them cope with academic struggles and MGRC surrounding their education (McClain et al., 2015). Ultimately, Harris & Harper (2014) found that fraternities can cultivate productive masculinities if they are intentional about the opportunities, they provide for masculinity to be reevaluated, as research has demonstrated that fraternity members were more open to reshaping their masculinity if the counternarratives were coming from others within the fraternity. Therefore, for productive masculinities to be reinforced within fraternities, they need to be active and diligent about cultivating that culture.

For Latinos, fraternities can help them work through their meanings of masculinity by holding each other accountable and encouraging non-machismo ideals (Cabrera et al, 2016). They provide Latinos with a role within the university. They have a responsibility to others and

are able to demonstrate their collectivist values through fraternity involvement (Estrada et al., 2017; Gonzalez & Morrison, 2016). This responsibility leads Latinos to improve their self-efficacy towards leadership and academics (Garcia et al., 2017; Patron & Garcia, 2016). As Latinos are less likely to enroll and persist in college than Latinas and other ethnic groups, fraternities can serve as a setting to explore and study the engagement practices of Latinos (Blanco, 2014).

To explore this influence of fraternity involvement from a cultural perspective, LGLOs can provide a unique opportunity. Nationally, there are 17 LGLOs with more than 500 chapters across colleges and universities recognized by the National Association of Latino Fraternal Organizations (Estrada et al., 2017) while there are approximately 35 LGLOs not recognized by the national group (Moreno & Banuelos; 2013). They were founded with the intent "to create a Latin American brotherhood, an intellectual group that would address social, economic, and political problems in Latino American countries and to address the effects on the college students' educational experience within the U.S." (Moreno & Banuelos, 2013; p. 114). LGLOs have a unique opportunity to address social, academic, and ethnic needs as they were founded by Latinx students themselves. They promote a sense of belonging, familismo ideals on campus through the development of *hermandad* (brotherhood), and help Latinos better connect their education to their family roles (Cerezo et al, 2013; Estrada & Arciniega, 2015; Estrada et al., 2017; Garcia et al., 2017; Moreno & Banuelos, 2013). Furthermore, LGLO involvement helped Latinos develop a more positive ethnic identity (Patron & Garcia, 2016). One way this was facilitated was by having a space where they could speak Spanish freely and identify using their countries of origin rather than in panethnic terms, which helped them perceive the university environment in less hostile ways (Gonzalez & Morrison, 2016). In prior studies on Latinos

fraternity involvement, aspects of machismo, caballerismo, and familismo were deemed significant on their experience (Estrada et al., 2017); further demonstrating the value that studying fraternity involvement can have on Latino masculinity development in college.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to understand how Latino male college students' involvement in a fraternity impact their masculinity development. I sought to explore how their understanding of what it means to be a man within the Latinx culture may be influenced by various activities, interactions, and relationships with the brothers in their fraternities. Given that Latino masculinity is influenced by both their meanings of Latinidad and masculinity, and that the salience of these identities may differ amongst individuals, this study explores both concepts independently and the interdependently. Acknowledging that fraternities are not the only influencing force to the meanings men make of their masculinity (Harris, 2010), I remained open to other influential experiences within the college setting, keeping in mind that fraternity involvement was the focus. To achieve this goal, the following research questions framed this study:

1. What meanings do Latino males give to their masculinity and/or Latinidad while in a fraternity?

2. How does fraternity involvement play a role in Latino males' meaning-making of their masculinity and/or Latinidad?

3. What experiences within a fraternity, if any, reinforce and/or reshape Latino males' masculinity and/or Latinidad?

In this chapter, I first discuss the research design and theoretical foundation for how I developed this study. Then, I discuss the sample selection process, rationale for the study site, and reflections on how my life experiences may impact how I collected and/or interpreted the data. I also describe the methods used to collect the data for this study and to analyze the data

collected. I conclude with a discussion of the limitations and trustworthiness of the study.

Methodological Approach

This study followed a qualitative research approach given the descriptive nature of this study and the ability qualitative research that allows a researcher to understand the meanings participants place on significant experiences in their lives (Bogdan & Bilken, 2007). Rather than trying to understand if a phenomena or outcome is happening, qualitative research design is concerned with how the experiences of the participant that may impact the circumstances of the phenomena. For this study, I extended to previous research which showed that fraternity involvement was related to masculinity development in college (Harris & Harper, 2014). By employing a qualitative approach, I came to understand what meanings of masculinity and Latinidad some Latino male college students had within the fraternity setting and what experiences within the fraternity were influential in how these students developed their ideas of Latino masculinity.

Research Design

I employed qualitative research strategies consistent with a narrative inquiry design; meaning I looked to use the stories from a specific group of people to describe how they perceived or navigated their life experiences (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). As noted by Barrett & Stauffer (2009), narrative inquiry provides a framework to explore the lived experiences of participants as they relate to a specific culture, setting, and time. The stories participants share are collected, interpreted and retold into a unified narrative of experiences that can provide a deeper explanation of the phenomenon at hand, in this case Latino masculinity development within the fraternity setting. In their research, Rubin & Rubin (2005) stated that by allowing participants to share their own stories, the study can give voice to those groups who are

underrepresented in the literature and use the researcher as a vessel to explain the connections between their experiences. "The purpose of giving voice is to recognize that persons of color hold critical knowledge from their lived experiences of negotiating ethnic and racial minority identities in the United States, and that this knowledge is imperative to success in important domains of life, such as higher education" (Cerezo et al., 2015, p. 245). Giving voice to the experiences of Latino men, a traditionally underrepresented group within higher education research, can be influential to developing best practices to serve and innovative research methodology to further understand how they navigate the higher education landscape.

For this study, the narrative data will be collected through semi-structured interviews, using guided questions to prompt the participant to share their experiences with fraternities, while being open to new developments based on how the participants shared the story of their experience at this specific institution (Savin-Baden & Niekerk, 2007). I probed for as much detail about their experience and sought to develop robust narratives that can be shared to demonstrate to a larger audience how these stories can answer the research questions in an authentic way and lead them to reflect on how these narratives may look in their settings, culture, and context (Clandinin & Connelly, 1989). Sharing the narratives of the participants in this study is imperative, given that masculinity and Latinidad research shows that there is no one way that someone should perform these ideas and that the meanings will differ for the individuals living these identities out (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). The discussion itself can be a validating experience for Latino males as they may begin to feel heard and understood within the higher education context, specifically as it relates to brotherhood, their masculinity, their Latinidad, and their role in their family (Estrada et al., 2017). Ultimately, the use of the narrative inquiry approach in this study helped yield information to the multiple ways that participants identify in regard to

masculinity and Latinidad (Nunez, 2014a), specifically looking beyond what is happening to how it is being experienced and how those experiences fit in with the current understanding of Latino masculinity in fraternities (Clandinin, 2006).

Theoretical Framework

To frame this study, I used Harris's Meanings of Masculinities Model (2010). Support for this framework comes from the need to generate research that demonstrates how Latino men perceive their role within the university and how their identities influence their college experiences (Torres, 2004). By employing Harris's model in this context, I used the narratives collected from participants to expand understandings of how one of Harris's identified college factors, male peer group interactions, may influence the way they perceive their masculinity development and understand how the fraternity experience may interact with other influencing factors in the development process. Though Harris' (2011) research demonstrated how masculinities were developed, he has noted that there is a need to engage in deeper conversations about what this looks like with specific groups of men from different cultures, justifying the exploration of Latino masculinity with this model. Harris (2010) also suggested that future studies look at the intersectionality in investigating masculinity within male peer groups to establish how their meanings can relate to their other identities like ethnicity.

This study intends to address a gap in the current literature on the need for more fraternity research; specifically, how it can shape productive masculinities rather than problematic ones that are prevalent within the current literature (Harris & Harper, 2014; Martin et al., 2011). Since Harris's model has been used with Black males and their development of productive masculinities within fraternities (Harris et al., 2011; Harris & Harper, 2015), I was particularly interested in examining how these experiences may look for Latino males within fraternities.

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Site of Study

This study was conducted at Brother University (BU, hereafter), a moderately selective large public research university in the Northeast, enrolling 60% of its applicants. According to the data published by IPEDS, BU enrolled approximately 36,000 undergraduate students in Fall 2018. The vast majority of students were under 24 years old (93%), were in-state residents (83%), and were enrolled full-time (94%). Enrollment by gender is relatively even, with 50% identifying as women and 49% identifying as men. From their total enrollment of undergraduate students in Fall 2018, 38% of the student body identified as White, 27% as Asian, 13% as Hispanic/Latino, 7% as Black or African American, 9% as Non-resident alien, and 4% as two or more races or unknown. BU has a higher percentage of students who identified as non-white and a lower percentage of students who identify as White than those institutions in its comparison group. In terms of 6-year graduation rates, Hispanic/Latino students accounted for 11% of the bachelor's degrees awarded in 2018, compared with 30% of the graduates identifying as Asian, 43% as White, 7% as Black or African American, and 4% as Non-resident alien students.

BU was selected for several reasons. First, it is located in one of the states in the Northeast with the highest percentage of Latinx people at just over 17% (Ennis et al., 2011). Secondly, it enrolls a percentage of Latinx students which is comparable to the percentage that they represent in bachelor's degrees awarded in 6-years (13%:11%). The 6-year graduation rate for Latinx students at BU is also similar to the national average of 10% (Musu-Gillette et al., 2016). Lastly, according to data reported by BU's Office of Fraternity and Sorority Affairs (OFSA) in Spring 2018, approximately 10% of their student body is involved in a Greek organization. While data is not available on the total rate of students or specifically Latinx students who are involved in a Greek organization, this rate is comparable to rates published by

NSSE that reported that 11% of their respondents were involved in a social fraternity or sorority (National Survey of Student Engagement, 2019). The comparable graduation rates and fraternity involvement rates to national averages, along with the local ethnic demographics, suggest that the experiences, services, or circumstances occurring at BU may be useful and transferable across higher education institutions to understand how Latino males navigate their masculinities and Latinidad towards persistence behaviors.

Once a site was selected, I followed IRB procedures to receive appropriate approvals to conduct this study (see Appendix A: IRB Letter from SHU and Appendix B: IRB Notice of Approval from BU). After approval was granted, participants of this study were recruited through the support from the institution's OFSA and other campus partners. OFSA sent out the recruitment letter (see Appendix C: Recruitment Letter) to all students involved in fraternities which explained the necessary criteria for the study and allowed interested participants to contact me via email to take part in the study. Those participants also helped recruit other participants through snowball sampling, referring other fraternity brothers to me to take part in the study. I also worked with the institution's Center for Latino Arts and Culture (CLAC) and EOF program, two programs on campus with large groups of Latinx students involved, to assist with recruiting participants of this study. All interested participants completed the informed consent form previously approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) (see Appendix D: Consent Form), a short demographic survey (see Appendix E: Demographic Survey), and an interview with me in the between April and October 2019. Those who participated in the interview received a $20 Visa gift card, which was used as an incentive in the recruitment material and approved by IRB.

Selection of Participants

To select the participants of this study, a purposive sampling strategy was used given its

focus on the experiences of Latino male college students (Miles et al., 2014). The participants in this study needed to meet the following criteria: (1) self-identified as Latino or Hispanic male, (2) currently enrolled in an undergraduate bachelor's degree program, and (3) were involved in a fraternity for at least one year during their college career. As previous literature indicated that fraternities were described as a significant experience for Latino males in college regarding their sense of belonging and persistence (Blanco, 2014; Estrada et al., 2017; Patron & Garcia, 2016), this study looks at Latino males who are involved with fraternities for a significant length of time to allow them to reflect on their experiences thus far.

Historically, although not extensively researched, Latinos involved in culturally aligned organizations or fraternities have experienced a greater sense of belonging on their campus and been able to better manage their cultural gender roles within education (Cerezo et al, 2013; Estrada & Arciniega, 2015; Estrada et al., 2017; Garcia et al., 2017; Moreno & Banuelos, 2013). Therefore, I aimed to find two comparably sized groups of participants between those involved in Latino Greek-Letter Organization (LGLO) fraternities and those involved in a non-LGLO fraternities to better understand similarities and differences in the development of masculinity and Latinidad. It is important to understand and compare the experiences of men in both groups as the influence their fraternity involvement has on their masculinity development may differ. Furthermore, as Harris & Harper (2014) recognized that their work with the theoretical model has not delved into the experience of men in multicultural organizations specifically, this study focused on men in both LGLO and non-LGLO fraternities. From these recruitment methods, ten participants expressed interest to participate, were deemed eligible, and completed all study requirements.

Table 1. *Participant Profile*

Pseudonym	Age	Ethnicity Self-Identification	Immigrant Gen.	First Gen College?	Years in Frat	Type of Frat
Alex	22	Latino (Puerto Rican/Dominican)	Second	Yes	2-3	Non-LGLO
Axel	20	Puerto Rican	Third	Yes	2-3	LGLO
Chad	21	Dominican/Salvadorian	Second	Yes	1-2	LGLO
Cristiano	20	Latino (Chileno)	First	No	1-2	LGLO
Daniel	20	Latino	Second	Yes	1-2	LGLO
Greg	22	Dominican	Second	No	1-2	LGLO
Jonathan	22	Ecuador/Guatemala - Native	First	Yes	2-3	LGLO
Jose	21	Latino	Second	Yes	1-2	Non-LGLO
Luis	22	Puerto Rican	Second	Yes	1-2	Non-LGLO
Rio	23	Latino	Second	Yes	2-3	LGLO

*Note: For immigrant generation: first means participants were not born in the U.S. and immigrated to the U.S., second means they were born in the U.S. but at least one of their parents were not, and third means participants and their parents were born in the U.S. but at least one of their grandparents were not (Nuñez, 2009).

In total, there were ten Latino men who participated in this study. They were all between the ages of 20-23. Two participants identified as being first-generation immigrants to the United States (meaning they were not born in the U.S.), seven identified as second-generation, and one identified as a third-generation immigrant. In regard to their education, eight of the men in this study were the first in their families on track to complete a bachelor's degree. Eight participants were pursuing bachelor's degrees in STEM fields related to engineering, mathematics, and computer science, one participant was pursuing a degree in visual arts, and another in social work. Two of these participants were also double majoring in Latino & Hispanic Caribbean

studies. Most of these men were in their last year to graduate with only two men having more than 1 year left. Of the ten participants only one man was not working while in school, with most working on-campus and two working both on- and off-campus.

Regarding their fraternity involvement, seven were involved in Latino Greek Letter Organization fraternities. Of the three non-LGLO fraternity men, two were involved in professional co-ed fraternities and one was involved in a Black Greek Letter Organization (BGLO) fraternity. Participants were mostly involved with their fraternities for a year, with four participants being involved for 2 years. Participants also reported on their perception of their involvement. Four of the men were content with their involvement, four wanted to be more involved, and two felt they were too involved. Along with those two, three other participants perceived their involvement to be more than their other fraternity brothers.

The participants of this study were recruited over eight months and, after several rounds of outreach and solicitation, only ten participants expressed interest and followed through with the study procedures from BU. Given that there is a lack of demographic data regarding fraternity men's ethnicities both nationally and at BU, it was difficult to determine if the ten participants were a representative sample of Latino men involved in fraternities. However, as defined in Bogdan & Bilken (2007), I found that the participants provided enough data to reach data saturation as the narratives collected represented similar and redundant themes and patterns related to the research questions. Furthermore, participant narratives yielded information that extends previous research on Latino male experiences in higher education, shedding light on significant experiences and influences in fraternities that can be further examined in future studies.

Data Collection

Once participants of the study expressed interest, they received a letter of informed consent and were provided a brief demographic survey. Both were completed prior to conducting the interview to further determine eligibility and assist in developing follow-up questions or characteristics to evaluate in data analysis. Once they were deemed eligible and an interview is scheduled, they participated in a semi-structured interview for approximately 60 minutes. The structure followed pre-selected questions while allowing room to prompt further on specific things participants mentioned or identified on their demographic questionnaire (see Appendix F: Interview Protocol). The intent of the semi-structured interview was to make the individual participant feel as natural and conversational as possible, while still maintaining a satisfactory level of consistency between interviews.

The participants were all interviewed in person at a private location where they felt comfortable to converse without feeling that others were listening. They were asked questions regarding how they described their beliefs of what it means to be a Latino and a man, and what experiences, both inside and outside of fraternities, influenced their masculinity and Latinidad. They were also asked questions, consistent with recommendations from previous research, on what types of experiences Latino men are having in fraternities, the quality of said experiences, and how often they engaged in these practices (Castillo et al., 2006).

Interviews were recorded and then immediately transferred to a password protected cloud-based storage for security purposes. To further ensure security and privacy, participants names were not used, and they were able to select a pseudonym to be referred by. The cloud-based storage drive, which contained all documents and audio files collected during this study, was only made accessible to myself and the Dissertation chair, and data will be remain intact for three years, the approximate amount of time determined by IRB. Participants were offered access

to any data related to their own narratives.

Data Analysis

After each interview, notes were made on what was shared and reflective memos were developed making connections to themes, potential links to other narratives, and my personal feelings and thoughts of the experience. I also made note of potential questions that could be added for future interviews or areas to probe further based off of significant pieces of information that were shared. After my immediate reflection, I listened to the recordings of the interview and transcribed them verbatim. I then listened to the audio and reviewed the transcript for accuracy. Cleaned transcripts were uploaded into NVivo, a qualitative data management service, to code and further analyze.

Following strategies described by Savin-Baden & Niekerk (2007), I engaged in an "analysis of narratives" meaning I used the stories shared by the participants to interpret meaning and demonstrate larger conclusions that relate to my research questions. I did this by reviewing each transcript and writing emergent themes, words, processes, emotions, or connections to previous data that is pertinent to the study topic. I then pulled quotes and summarized each interview into a consistent narrative that demonstrated my interpretations of their experience and provides a concise story of significant themes and patterns. Given the current literature on Latino males in college and in fraternities, I also predetermined codes that could aid in my analysis and interpretation of the data. Some of these codes include: familismo, machismo, caballerismo, providing for family, breadwinner, brotherhood, mentorship, help seeking behavior, and sense of belonging (see Appendix G: Code List). Narratives were also coded according to the setting they were referring to in their descriptions: pre-college, college, and fraternity. This is important so that I could compare how their masculinity or Latinidad may have developed over time and

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within those settings, as relevant to Harris's (2010) model. Although my study focuses on the role of fraternity involvement, I included college as a setting as participants described other experiences outside of their fraternity which influenced their masculinity and Latinidad.

After making an initial list of codes from the transcripts, codes were grouped into patterns and categories to establish themes to make meaning of the data. I connected the narratives and codes of all participants to identify any shared experiences or meanings that were described. These practices were repeated until there are clear and descriptive narratives that can be related back to the research questions that frame the narrative inquiry. From this second cycle of coding, all codes were grouped into one of five main themes, as indicated on the code list: Latinidad, Machismo, Caballerismo, Role of Fraternity, Experiences in Fraternity.

From these groups, I was able to analyze the data to determine findings for this study. A series of comparative matrices were run to engage in cross-case analysis regarding each research question. Following strategies indicated in Khan and VanWynsberghe's (2008) review of cross-case analysis, I reviewed the narratives within each matrix to determine comparable cases or relationships between narratives within each of the cross tabs of the matrix. I also looked for rich individual narratives which bring these experiences to life which were used to develop a greater narrative demonstrating the complexity of identity development in this setting. Following this review and retelling of the narratives, conclusions were made in reference to the research questions framing this study.

Trustworthiness

To promote trustworthiness throughout the study, I employed various methods throughout the process. I first maintained meticulous notes on the interviews and data analysis to ensure that the strategies used throughout the study were consistent. I reviewed my methods and

processing procedures with my dissertation advisor, committee, and other scholars adept in research methodology with this population to ensure I remained cognizant of my perceptions. In my reflections, I also made note of my subjective interpretations or biases that may influence my perceptions of the data. I attempted to be as forthright as possible regarding my interpretations and cross-referenced them with my colleagues and previous research to maintain credibility. This peer debriefing was supplemented with member checking from those participants who were available and interested to review the transcript for accuracy and ensure I was interpreting what they were intending to describe (Bailey, 2007). These strategies were important to reduce the bias and misinterpretation of data, and promote the credibility, validity, and trustworthiness of the results of this study.

Role of the Researcher

In designing a study to conduct interviews and extract participant narratives, it implies that the researcher-participant relationship is a part of the data collection process. Rubin & Rubin (2005) call the relationship "conversational partners", meaning that while the interviews may be structured and organized by the researcher, they should also be responsive to the participant and allow the conversation to go where they lead it. Therefore, it is imperative for the researcher to be mindful of the experiences, mindset, and responsibility they bring to the interview and how they impact the way data is analyzed and perceived.

As a researcher intending to study Latino masculinity within the college setting, I had to reflect on how I navigated my own experiences with my Latino and male identities, and how my precollege experiences shaped my perspective of masculinity within my educational journey. Growing up in Paterson, New Jersey, I didn't give much thought to my identities since I was surrounded primarily by my family and close family friends who were all Latino, primarily

Puerto Rican to be specific, and had worldviews consistent with mine. It wasn't until I went to kindergarten at a private school district that I came to understand that there were even two distinct languages, English and Spanish. To me, we were just who we were and everyone else I was surrounded by thought, looked, and spoke just like me.

Within my world at the time, there were distinct roles for men and women that everyone seemed to understand. Regardless of what titles, roles, or responsibilities family members had outside the home, everyone I knew seemed to fall in line when in the home and these roles were made evident every week during our family lunches. Every Saturday, we would spend the afternoon eating a feast that our mothers and grandmother spent hours cooking. I was served my plate by one of my female cousins, giving me a look of disdain as they brought the food my way. Our fathers would be in the living room talking about work and the businesses while waiting for their wives to bring food their way. After lunch, my female cousins would clean and my grandmother would sit me down to tell me the importance of working hard and needing to carry forth my family name as the last boy in our line. At some point the cleaning would be done and someone would pull out a guitar or a set of bongo drums to start playing some music. My cousins would sing or play a tambourine, while I was only allowed to play the drums because "that's what boys played". I was the only boy of my cousins which only made my status even more distinct in comparison to my other familial peers. If my cousins and I got into an argument, I was reminded to "be a man" and to "suck it up". If we wanted to play, I couldn't play with their barbies or Easy Bake Oven since boys didn't play that. With each example that goes on, the disparities of gender expectations became more apparent.

However, outside of the home or church, I wasn't as much aware of my gender roles as I was my Latino identity. My parents decided to send me to a private Christian school system that

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I remained enrolled in from kindergarten through high school. From the age of 5, I would get on a bus for over an hour to be sent to a school with other students who did not look like me or come from where I came from. The words that they used, the way they dressed, the food they brought for lunch, were all different from me. It was a predominantly white school and in time, I assimilated to the culture of the school. Back at home though, my friends and cousins would ask "Why do you sound so White now?" They would also engage in other ethnic policing behaviors reminding me that if I behaved the way I did at school I would be marginalized at home. Thus, I recall every day needing to code switch and keep my Latinidad in check. It felt as though I was one person at school and at home, I was another. I felt this is what I needed to do to make it through and be successful. Although this school has proven useful in many ways throughout my life, at the time, it was confusing and left me, at times, ashamed of my Latino identity. I went through phases where I felt I needed to hide it and then where I felt I needed to aggressively assert my Latino identity and then retract those behaviors. I was navigating the cultures to the best of my abilities but there didn't seem to be others like me at school who had to negotiate this dissonance, so I remained quiet about these experiences and struggles.

Once I came to college, I chose to leave the separate identities at home and start anew while I was away on campus. I was aware of my gender expectations and the Latino culture I was expected to promote. However, being the first in my family to go to college, there were no expectations on how these were to be performed while in this unchartered territory. Therefore, I chose to assimilate with the diverse group surrounding me and develop a new Latino male identity for myself. One that was confident in their decisions to go to college and pursue a major that my family didn't really understand. One that did not feel obligated to eat rice and beans with every meal. One that felt comfortable to use eloquent words while still maintaining a bit of my

accent. My peers in college had no frame of reference of what my prior expectations were and I was allowed to just be.

It was not until I was in graduate school where I was hit in the face with my Latino male identity and the need to reconcile those pre-college expectations with the meanings of masculinity I was forming while I was in college. Not only was I the first in my family to graduate from college, I was making a decision to further my education which was an unprecedented choice given my family's view of higher education. For them, I was supposed to go to college, get a job, and then start a family of my own. Therefore, I relied on support from my peers and my professors, who primarily identified as White, to guide me through this process. It was with one of my professors where one of my most significant experiences with my Latino masculinity was addressed. We were developing a paper together on case management practices within higher education and he recommended that I focus on Latinx students. I declined the offer, explaining that I didn't want my research to only be focused on Latinx students for wanted my research to stand on its own, aside from my identity, and I didn't want to be known as "that Latino researcher." Noticing my discomfort, he asked, "Are you ashamed of being Latino?" I quickly became defensive, explaining that I was not ashamed but that there was more to me than just being a Latino man and I didn't want to be held back by those expectations that I felt I had progressed so far from.

I left that encounter uneased. Was I ashamed of my Latinidad? Was I fearful of being "found out"? Was I living a lie by not bringing my identities to the forefront? At the time, I could not understand, but progressing into my doctoral program I understood that I was, in some ways, ashamed of my identities. However, I was more fearful of my family and peers within my culture knowing how many of the expectations and norms they instilled in me I had not followed

through with living as a gay Latino male on my own for all these years. In my doctoral program, as I continued to understand the experiences of Latino men in higher education through the literature, I came to understand that although I felt alone in my exploration of my Latino masculinity, I was not actually alone. There were experiences and opportunities that I took advantage of which led myself and those I was reading about in the literature on different paths through higher education.

Not to say that all Latino men should pursue terminal degrees; however where as I was reading that the average Latino man in the United States completes a bachelor's degree in nine years (Contreras & Contreras, 2015), I was in a doctoral program and completed two degrees in that same amount of time. Therefore, I became interested in understanding more about Latino male experiences in higher education and, constantly reflecting on my own experiences, understanding the process of navigating their identities to achieve positive college outcomes. With this study, I have used my experiences and years of research to support the need for producing literature that helps others understand that process. Although I was not involved in a fraternity nor was I conscious of my masculinity development while I was in college, I have come to understand that there are experiences within this setting that can be significantly influential towards Latino males' experiences in college.

My role as a researcher is enhanced by my understanding of the intersected Latino male identity and by my lack of personal experience with fraternities. I can remain relatively objective regarding the experiences participants may share about their fraternity involvement while allowing them to feel comfortable to express their masculinity and Latinidad development process, which can at times be vulnerable, with someone who better understands the culture they come from. Previous research has demonstrated that Latino males in college are more inclined to

share and connect with those who identify like them (Contreras & Contreras, 2015; Huerta & Fishman, 2014; Vela et al., 2016).Therefore, by establishing clear roles as researcher and participant (Rubin & Rubin, 2005), while processing my experiences through memos and discussions with scholars in the field, I believe I can maintain truthful to my evaluation and use my role as a researcher as an asset.

Limitations

While this study may yield useful results and understanding of Latino males in college, there are limitations to the study design and research process. It is important to note that the small sample of participants in this study come from specific ethnic backgrounds and come from a single institution; therefore the experiences shared may not be consistent to Latino males from other ethnic sub-groups, in other regions of the United States, in other types of higher education settings, and in other fraternity chapters. Given the lack of data on Latino male involvement in fraternities at BU and nationally, it's also difficult to determine the representativeness of the sample. Furthermore, the participants in this study may be more engaged than the average Latino male which explains their involvement in fraternities aside from their interest and experiences within the organization. As fraternities are one of many influencing forces to masculinity development in college (Harris, 2010), this study may not provide the full picture of how Latino males navigate their masculinity in higher education and other areas should be explored in future studies to supplement these findings. It also may not provide a full picture of Latino men in non-LGLO fraternities, given that two participants involved were in co-ed professional fraternities which have different sets of values compared to social fraternities. In addition, as Latinidad and masculinity are explored together within this context, there may be more influence from other factors in Harris's model that should be considered when analyzing the data from this study.

However, through collecting rich and detailed narratives of the experiences of the Latino men in this study, I aim to demonstrate how the experiences described in the findings are connected to previous findings and can be transferrable to the understanding of Latino college men in general.

As both the researcher and the participant are active in influencing the research process in this study design, there leaves room for bias. First, as described in the role of the researcher section, there are experiences and perspectives which may unintentionally influence the way questions are asked in interviews and the responses that are provided. Participants may respond in a way that they feel the researcher wants them to or expects them to respond. Secondly, there may be recruitment bias as the participants in this study may be more engaged to speak about their fraternity and developmental experiences than the average Latino male in college. To actively prevent bias and address these concerns, I kept detailed reflective memos and consistently checked in with my dissertation committee to remain conscious of what I was bringing to the interviews and how I can use them for the benefit of the research.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This study aims to provide insight into the ways that fraternity involvement impacts the masculinity and Latinidad development for Latino men in college. Given that gender and masculinity norms are traditionally established within their Latinx cultural identity, I specifically looked at how their Latinidad informed the meanings of masculinity and how the meanings of masculinity shaped their Latinidad. I purposefully sought out narratives that gave life to how the fraternity setting facilitated the developmental experience and what experiences within that fraternity impacted masculinity and/or Latinidad. The following research questions are used to guide this study:

1. What meanings do Latino males give to their masculinity and/or Latinidad while in a fraternity?

2. How does fraternity involvement play a role in Latino males' meaning-making of their masculinity and/or Latinidad?

3. What experiences within a fraternity, if any, reinforce and/or reshape Latino males' masculinity and/or Latinidad?

This chapter highlights the rich narratives of ten Latino male college students who were involved in fraternities at BU. Their narratives yielded extensive findings related to the Latino male experience within a fraternity as it relates to their masculinity and Latinidad development. To aid in framing the findings, it is important reiterate the meanings of key terms and ideas. Masculinity in this study is defined as the norms, expectations, and beliefs aligned with their male identity. Latinidad in this study is defined as the norms, expectations, and beliefs aligned with their Latinx identity. There are many ways in which masculinity and Latinidad can be

defined for individuals, but within the Latinx culture these ideas are typically rooted in their role within and commitment to their families, known as *familismo* (Arevalo et al., 2016; Cerezo et al., 2013; Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000; Stein et al., 2017; Wang et al., 2016). Within these cultural norms, there are traditionally two archetypes of masculinity, visualized as two sides of the masculinity spectrum (Saez et al, 2010). On one side are attributes related to machismo or toxic masculinity, which coincide with beliefs of male dominance, emotional limitation, hypersexuality, aggression, misogyny, and other attributes described by O'Neil (1986) in his definition of hypermasculine traits (Davis & Liang, 2015). On the other side are attributes related to caballerismo or productive masculinity (Harris, 2010), which coincide with beliefs of being nurturing, responsible, chivalrous, and respectful to all (Arciniega et al., 2008).

The narratives shared in this chapter demonstrate the complex meanings of masculinity and Latinidad for study participants across a variety of settings and in a variety of ways. I collected these narratives through semi-structured interviews and analyzed these narratives through evaluating the themes, emotions, and experiences shared, and guided by literature. First, I discuss the meanings of masculinity and Latinidad that were expressed by my participants prior to college, in college, and specifically within their fraternity. Consistent with Harris's (2010) meanings of masculinity model, I acknowledge that men come into college with a meaning of masculinity and there are various experiences in college which may reinforce or reshape their meaning of masculinity. I also ask about their Latinidad given the traditional gender roles and expectations of men within the Latinx culture. Next, I examine the specific role the fraternity played in their meaning making process, the outcomes they found by participating in a fraternity, and any influences the fraternity may have had in their definitions of masculinity within themselves or others. Lastly, I discuss specific experiences that they had within the fraternity that

may have reinforced or reshaped their masculinity or Latinidad. This chapter will specifically look at the experiences within fraternity involvement as an influencing factor to masculinity or Latinidad. Other experiences participants had outside of the fraternity that can be explored in future studies will be discussed in the following chapter.

Meanings of Masculinity & Latinidad

  Meanings of Latinidad & masculinity pre-college. As noted in Harris (2010), pre-college gender socialization influences the types of decisions and experiences men pursue when in college in relation to making meaning of their masculinity. Latinidad also plays a role in their masculinity meaning making as there are traditional gender norms within the Latinx culture. The participants in this study discussed several ways their Latinidad and masculinity were shaped by their connection to family and shared how their meanings of masculinity specifically compared to their families' and how they responded to differences that arose.

  Latinidad: Familismo. When the participants in this study were asked to introduce themselves, most answered by disclosing their ethnic identity, claiming their Latinidad proudly, and talking about their family or where they come from. When talking about their identities and experiences, their Latinidad was most influenced and shaped by experiences with their families prior to coming to college. For example, they all discussed how eating their cultural food, listening to Spanish music like Bad Bunny or Ozuna, and spending time with their family were integral to helping them feel connected to their Latinidad. Alex, for example, spoke about his family and how his Latinidad was evident at home:

   First of all, we're all really loud. Everyone is like screaming to each other in Spanish.

   Um, whenever we find, like when it's time to eat, you would just go, "Oh la comida esta

   lista! *(The food is ready)*" Or whatever and we would come running in. Um, and just like

the smell of the food when they're cooking. You can tell that it's like, your typical meal.

It's like a really Puerto Rican meal… Like, you always have the news in the background

in Spanish, like Univision.

Alex's description of his family shows how they come together over food speaking in Spanish

and embracing their culture through their family time.

Like Alex, many of the men talked about how their Latinidad was based around

practicing their culture with their family. For example, Rio spoke about how he would dance

with his mother to Spanish music at every family party, Chad talked about the special meals his

mother would cook for religious holidays, Leo shared the importance for him to speak Spanish as

a part of his Latinidad to remain connected with his family, and Jose stated how his family was

always over his house, saying, "I feel like that, having that very strong, like, familial

relationships was like a big factor of, like, us being Latino." These examples demonstrate how

they relate to their family and keep family at the center of their Latinidad. Despite variations in

which aspects of their cultural practices were connected to their meaning of Latinidad, the one

strand that tied it was their *familismo* ideology. Although the study only reflects the views of a

small set of Latino men, the participants discussed how they felt their connection to family and

other Latinx people was a common factor for Latinx individuals overall.

As noted in the previous literature, *familismo* refers not only to close relationships and

ties with the immediate family but also to extended family members and those in the community

who are treated like family (Cupito et al., 2015; Matos, 2015; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009). Half of

the participants in this study discussed how they grew up living in a Latinx community or living

close to an extended family network. They reflected on how the relationship they had with

extended family and community beyond the immediate family was a key part of their Latinidad

and their meaning of Latinidad was about being surrounded by other Latinx people. Even for those who may have moved around, they talked about how they always found themselves a home with other Latinx people. This was highlighted in Alex's narrative of moving from Puerto Rico to Chicago to Connecticut and then to New Jersey, stating how New Jersey felt most like home. "It was the biggest population of Latinos where I lived, that I lived in… Being close to family, they were also Puerto Rican, it just felt like I belonged." Chad shared further about what it was like living around other Dominicans. He said,

> They're family. It's like, oh aiight. We're kinda brothers and sisters. You my cousin, you know. There's a saying, uh, when you see another Dominican, you say, "Oh, *de lo mio*," like, "Of mine!" I feel like that bond is something that Dominicans only share.

That sense of belonging in their community was important for their meanings of Latinidad, as it allowed those cultural beliefs and practices to be reinforced.

For those five participants who did not live near family or in a Latinx community, they spoke about how their meanings of Latinidad were diminished and how they needed to adopt a more acculturated meaning of their Latinidad. For example, Luis spent his whole life in a predominantly black community and with some family nearby. Despite having close ties with his mother, grandmother, and some cousins, the lack of reinforcement of Latinidad in his local community led him to develop a meaning of Latinidad that assimilated with the culture he was surrounded by:

> I'll still tell you I'm a Puerto Rican man. I love my Puerto Ricanness. I love my, like you know, my heritage, my family, and their culture. But, they're… not that I caught sides with someone else's culture, but it's a blend.

Luis's culture blended given the type of music he listened to, his lack of speaking Spanish, and lack of spending time with other Latinx people.

On the contrary, Axel developed a split view of his Latinidad since he wasn't surrounded by the cultural practices but still had to occasionally visit extended family who demonstrated their Latinidad more prominently. When he was at home with his immediate family, he didn't participate in any cultural activities. However, when he was with his other family members, he was immersed in his Puerto Rican culture. In attending a family party, he felt the pressures his family gave him to connect more with his Latinidad and struggled with how to do so.

> You get the typical talks and they're like, 'Oh, but when you going to learn? How you not know Spanish? How you gonna speak to your family?'…Like, I would be back in my town, it was one world. I see family or I see friends of family, it's a different world.

Given these experiences, rather than creating a unified meaning of his Latinidad, Axel's cultural connection was separated from his everyday life and his experiences demonstrated code-switching depending on his environment. Regardless of the ways they demonstrated their Latinidad, the meanings that these five participants developed during the pre-college years were shaped by the non-Latinx influences in their communities, but it didn't remove or diminish their connection to their ethnic identity. They still had pride in being Latinx, as Luis highlighted, but noted that it was different and less explicit than if they had their Latinx culture reinforced outside of their immediate family.

Another factor that influenced the meanings of Latinidad was immigration status. The three participants who identified as first-generation immigrants (born in another country and then came to the United States) referenced their Latinidad more than other groups. Their meanings of Latinidad were more consistent throughout all settings compared to those who were born in the

United States. For example, Cristiano made an effort to put his Latinidad at the forefront of his identity, "It's like that pride. This thing I can't get over… It's not even about assimilating to the United States. It's more about, I don't want to forget who I am, who my people are, like where my family lives." The participants with first generation immigrant status wanted to maintain ties to their home country and noted that the connection was not just about their identity, but those *familismo* values that are embedded in their Latinidad experience.

Masculinity: Role in family. Given that participants' meanings of Latinidad are all centered on their relationships with family, it is not surprising that a significant influence of their meanings of masculinity is their role within the family. Prior to coming to college, meanings of masculinity, both caballerismo and machismo descriptions, were often referenced through how the participants described serving as the "man of the house" or providing for their family. Jonathan specifically stated that he grew up believing a man is "the one who provides, the provider. The protector." As he got older, he described that his masculinity extended to caring for his "chosen family", referring to his fraternity brothers and the LGBTQ community, in the same way he did the family he was born into. Despite expanding his view of being a protector and provider as he got older, Jonathan's meaning of masculinity of providing for a family remained consistent.

Three participants specifically mentioned having a father figure who modeled the masculinity with which they identified. For example, Greg wanted to "follow in his footsteps," so he can provide for a family and care for others like his father did. Similarly, though Chad had a father figure in his home, he served as a father-like role model for his siblings.

> I had a younger brother and a younger sister, but I had a younger sister who was a year younger than me and my younger brother was four. I, I used to say a lot with them, "If

you ever do something that's kinda stupid and we got in trouble, I'd take the blame" …

Like, you gotta be better. You gotta be a representation for your brother and your sisters

too.

For those who didn't have a father figure in their home, like Luis, their masculinity was centered

on filling in that missing role and supporting their mothers or other family members. Rio shared

another example in how he would support his mother in any way he could.

Sometimes my uncles would give me money or like, they would be like, "Oh hey Rio,

here pa la colita *(for the bank)*. I'd be like, I would take it, and I would give it to my mom

at the end of the day. I would be like, "Mom, I know we're going through something," or,

"I know we're going through something, whatever we're going through, so here's the

money I have. I know it's not much but it could help us for food or it could help us for

whatever we need."

Regardless of where their meaning of masculinity fell on the spectrum between caballerismo and

machismo, their meanings were grounded in their role within their family.

Meanings of masculinity aligned with caballerismo attributes prior to college were more

prominently found within those seven participants who were raised in a single parent household

with their mothers and surrounded by other female family members. These participants

expressed being more comfortable showing their emotions, open-minded, and nurturing in

comparison to those who had male role models. Daniel and Cristiano discussed how their

mothers shaped their caballerismo meanings of masculinity. Daniel stated, "My mom always

tells me like, 'I'm your best friend. Like, if you need to cry, if you need to tell me something, it's

okay to tell me so. It's like, it's like you and I only.'" Cristiano's experience was similar, "My

personality was taken up by, after the image that my mom had. So it was like very, you know, I

could be a very kind, caring person. I'm very selfless. I put others before myself". These narratives showed how these participants identified with masculinity ideas of emotional vulnerability and being nurturing, attributes related to caballerismo.

Masculinity: Machismo expectations. Despite having meanings of masculinity aligned with caballerismo attributes, these Latino men were not always accepted by their family members for their ideas. Given the embedded traditional gender norms within the Latinx culture, more than half of participants noted having meanings of masculinity that were sometimes different than those of their family. Traditional meanings of masculinity related to machismo attributes like being strong, aggressive, and hypermasculine were often the norm in their households prior to college. However, they did not reference these machismo attributes in relation to themselves, only in reference to others. This discrepancy between their personal meanings of masculinity and those expected from their family often led to conflict and confusion in how they should behave. The confusion often came because of their lack of male role models, thereby following what their female counterparts did. Jose provided a compelling example of how this played out in relation to the differences in gender norms within his family's cultural practices:

I don't know if you, but like, when I, like, show up and there's older people like, my aunts or uncles, I say, "Bendicion. *(Blessings)*" And they're like, "Dios te bendiga. *(May God bless you)*" So girls usually, like, kiss on the cheek, like, you know, the little cheek touch. But guys, it's like a handshake. So like when I was really younger, I guess, I kinda blurred up the distinctions and, like, I went up to kiss one of my uncles on the cheek. So then when I went back home that night, my mom was like, "What are you doing?" Like, "That's for girls! If you're ever gonna say hi to a man, you always shake their hand. You

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don't do that."

Many of the participants in this study experienced the confusion described by Jose while developing their meanings of masculinity in a majority female household. These experiences, however, didn't change the meanings of masculinity that the participants internalized, which were aligned with caballerismo, as they acknowledged that their family views were based on older generational and traditional ideas.

A few participants described how their family would often perceive their caballerismo attributes as aligned with being gay and how their parents disapproved of them identifying in that way. Things like getting earrings, showing emotion, caring for physical appearance, and being understanding in conflict were all perceived by their families as them identifying as gay. Chad recalls an experience he had when wanting to shave his unibrow and how his parents asked him if he was gay when he told them. He said, "Why did they think that me just getting threaded my eyebrows was, was making, was me being gay? Like what did that have to do with me being gay?" Despite not identifying as such, these parents would be ashamed to have a son who was gay and thus, did not accept their son's presentation of his masculinity.

Masculinity: Responding to parental influence. As a result of the differences in meanings of masculinity between them and their families, participants reacted by either remaining silent, challenging the masculinity norms at home, or seeking alternate influences of masculinity aligned with those attributes they ascribe to. For three participants who remained silent, they discussed how they didn't feel challenging those norms would make a difference. These responses correspond to Edward & Jones's (2010) first stage of male identity development where men put on a mask to hide aspects of masculinity not aligned with prevailing norms. Participants who responded in this way discussed how the traditional meanings of masculinity

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were ingrained in their family's cultural norms. Axel described that despite never being told directly he couldn't cry, he wouldn't talk about his feelings with them because he knew they'd respond negatively. In contrast, Jonathan felt the need to combat the masculine norms at home to be true to his ideals. He felt almost oppressed by the expectations at home, especially identifying as a queer man. He explained how he was "rebellious" by experimenting with his hairstyles and clothing as a way to "honor" himself. So he, like the other three men who challenged their family norms, discussed the need to be true to who they were and their meanings of masculinity. Along with staying true to themselves, Cristiano sought out additional influences to reinforce his caballerismo meaning of masculinity. He searched for examples of chivalrous and selfless men through reading books and watching movies to bolster his meaning of masculinity. These examples highlight the ways in which the participants maintained their meanings of masculinity in relation to the conflicting views of their family.

Regarding pre-college gender socialization, the men were heavily influenced by their familismo values and Latinidad in their meanings of masculinity. Their masculinities were more aligned with caballerismo notions of "being responsible", "providing for their family", and "showing their emotions." Machismo descriptors were used in relation to their family and how it conflicted with their own views of masculinity. These discrepancies did not change their personal views of masculinity, but it did influence how they grappled with and presented their masculinity. Moving forward into discussing their meanings of masculinity in college and within their fraternities, their family influence and Latinidad continue to shape their meanings of masculinity in different ways.

Meanings of Latinidad & masculinity in college and in fraternities. This section focuses on the meanings of masculinity and Latinidad participants described once they entered

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college and then within their fraternity. For the Latino men in this study, most joined their fraternity or were exposed to fraternity life within their first year of college so there were many aspects that were intertwined. However, this section will highlight how meanings of Latinidad were mostly referenced outside of the fraternity and masculinity was mostly referenced within the fraternity.

College: Latinidad. Familismo values remained consistent in college as many participants discussed how their families were the reason they came to college and they needed to pay them back for sacrifices they made, which is consistent with previous research on Latino men in higher education (Ponjuan et al., 2015). As more than half of the participants identified as first-generation college students in the United States, their focus on school was driven by their desire to represent their family and their culture, as exemplified by Rio's description of why this matters to him as a Latino male.

> [I'm] always representing. Always, like, being out there. Being the first person in my class to raise my hand. Being the first person to uh, pop out to do something. Um, because… I guess it, what matters to me as being a Latino, because I'm the first person in my family to come here. I guess that's really important… I guess we've been normalized to think that the things that we do aren't great, [but] like, wow, I'm going to be, I'm going to be a college graduate!... I'm a representation of what a possibility can be for somebody.

Since they didn't have role models at home or within their Latinx community to look up to, being able to serve in this role and benefit the Latinx community on campus helped reinforce their ideas of Latinidad.

Almost all participants sought out a community of Latinx people upon coming to college

and participated in Latinx organizations and programs such as Latinx residential communities, cultural organizations, and college support programs geared towards underrepresented students at BU. As Greg noted, "Brother has so many things going for it right now for Latinos. Um, just Latinx people, in general. So for me, personally, it was so easy to find a community you can just be myself with." Part of what made it easy was that, as Axel described, they treated each other like family since they came from similar backgrounds and shared in their struggles as Latinx people. He shared:

> I learned that it's, like, we all face similar struggles and, like, even though sometimes our experiences differ, like, we all treat each other like family. And I know it's not always the case, but I mean, I would definitely say like, in the end of the day like, embracing, like, where we come from is what kind of holds us down the most. You know, you might have different experiences in our lives now, but we do come from places where our ancestors have had many similar experiences.

Axel, along with three other participants, felt connected to their Latinidad, not just through sharing in the cultural practices like at home prior to college, but through overcoming obstacles that Latinx people face in society and specifically that Latino men face in higher education. As Luis put it, "I feel like everywhere I go, I'm kind of not supposed to be there and I'm in this mission to create, like, you know, that space where people like me can [be welcome]." Being able to represent their Latinx culture on campus increased their pride in their ethnicity and became a part of their meaning of Latinidad. This was specifically beneficial for Luis, Alex, and Jose who did not participant in LGLO fraternities and their Latinidad was not central to their fraternity experience.

College: Masculinity. Although attributes of masculinity were not referenced in much detail outside of the fraternity, some participants did reference how focusing on school was one way they were able to demonstrate their ability to provide for their family, how college exposed to new ideas of masculinity, and how some aspects of masculinity serve as obstacles for Latino men in college. As mentioned before, some participants experienced challenges in meeting the meanings of masculinity that were expected of them from their family. For some participants in this situation, like Alex, doing well in school was one way they could make their family proud and portray the provider type of masculinity their family wanted from them. For others who felt trapped by those differences in masculinity, they expressed that coming to college and being away from their family helped them reinforce their ideas of masculinity. Jose shared an enlightening story of how this played out with his family.

> Like, if I woulda been in that situation, it woulda been harder for me to like, explore my own identity and formulate my own beliefs, cuz I still woulda been in that household being fed these ideas. And then, if I would have challenged them, some of the consequences could have been like… like, "Oh, you can't stay here." So it's like, having that independence to like, live on my own, be myself, like, not really rely on them for the basic needs has given me the opportunity to be like, "Listen, what you're saying is not right and I don't agree with you.

By leaving home, Jose was able to reinforce his caballerismo ideas and felt comfortable to challenge those traditional expectations within his family.

This is not to say that machismo ideas did not arise in college. Two Latino men in this study acknowledged that other Latino men at Brother did not seek out assistance when they needed it, prioritized socializing over academics, and were threatened by the success of others so

they didn't seek out opportunities to enhance their college experience. Chad, specifically, recognized that there was an issue with Latino men in college and asked, "Why are they being like short-sighted? Why can't they get the help they need sometimes? But sometimes people don't like, find the help but others, sometimes they just need more extensive help." For this reason, similarly with Latinidad, he and Rio spoke of the importance of serving as role models for other Latino men on campus to improve their experience and college outcomes. As Rio stated:

> I guess that's what being a man is, to be honest. It's just passing down that fire. That will to continue regardless of whatever may, may occur… I feel like for, for being Latino, I think I wanna be that person that people look up to and that people can, like, surpass me.

Serving as a role model on campus for other Latino men was incorporated into their meanings of masculinity to help them overcome the obstacles related to machismo beliefs.

Fraternity: Agency in Selection. For the men in this study, the meanings of Latino masculinity they identified with or wanted to emulate were influential in their decision on which fraternity to join. While the role of the fraternity and the experiences they had within their fraternity were important to reinforcing and reshaping their meanings of Latinidad and masculinity, they exhibited a sense of agency in selecting which fraternity to join given the influence they expected the fraternity to have.

For those that joined LGLO fraternities, most were interested in these organizations because it reminded them of the environment and family with which they were familiar at home. Jonathan, for example, "purposely looked for the Latino community" at BU and found that connection to the meanings of Latinidad that he was accustomed to prior to college within his fraternity. With BU being a predominantly white institution, these men found value in having a

culturally-based organization and finding others who also valued the Latinx culture given the high saliency of ethnicity in their overall identity. Cristiano puts it best by saying,

> Everyone, you know, cared about everyone… [They were] like, "Come over. Let's go eat. Let's hang out, play some video games. Let's go smoke some hookah. Let's go dance. Let's go do something and that's what really attracted me cuz it was that family type of, um, environment that I'd been missing [at BU].

Being surrounded by other Latinx people and by engaging in cultural practices on a consistent basis with their families prior to college, these men joined LGLO fraternities because it allowed them to continue those practices aligned with their meanings of Latinidad within their college campus which didn't reinforce those same meanings.

Others who did not grow up with close Latinx family, in a Latinx community, or with any Latino male role models at home prior to college, joined LGLO fraternities because these organizations associated with the meanings of Latino masculinity that they wanted to develop. For instance, Axel wanted to "learn about what it meant to be Latino" through his fraternity because, while he identified with his Latinidad, he felt disconnected to his culture by living in a predominantly white neighborhood. Similarly, Rio was an only child and was raised by his mother and grandmother. Therefore, when he was introduced to other brothers in his fraternity and "saw that family" he thought it "was super dope" because he never had male role models he could emulate and model the meanings of masculinity he identified with.

For those three participants who chose to join non-LGLO fraternities, their decisions were based on their perception of the impact of LGLO fraternities. For Alex and Jose, despite strongly identifying with their Latinidad prior to college and wanting that connection, they felt that their professional fraternity would be more able to help them prepare for their future careers

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in the pre-medical field than an LGLO fraternity would. The ways that they saw themselves providing for their families in the future and acting out their ideas of masculinity took priority over their desire to join an organization that reinforced their meanings of Latinidad. However, both Alex and Jose made it a point to showcase their Latinidad and seek out further connection through their fraternity, recognizing that at times they wish they were in an LGLO fraternity so that their Latinidad could be more promoted. As Jose disclosed,

> I really want to do [an LGLO fraternity]. I want that brotherhood that I didn't have growing up cuz I was always surrounded by females. But then it kinda had like, always clashed with my desire to be like, be a doctor… I would love to be, like, surrounded and like, have an organization that's like, aimed at like, promoting the Latino community… but it just never really fit into my schedule.

Similar to those in LGLO fraternities, Jose was seeking a fraternity that provided him an environment that was different than what he had at home, but he compromised that desire for his professional pursuits which were a significant part of how he intended to act out his meanings of masculinity.

Alex went so far to pursue membership in an LGLO fraternity, but eventually stopped due to not feeling that his ideas of Latino masculinity were aligned with the meanings that were being reinforced in that fraternity. Initially when he got to BU, he sought out experiences to reinforce his ideas of Latindad, saying, "In the Latino community [at Brother], there's so many Greek orgs, like I have to be part of one." However, after indulging in that desire and trying to be more involved in the Latinx community on campus, he realized that he identified with meanings of Latino masculinity and wanted to act them out in ways that were different from his peers. In talking about his decision to change from an LGLO fraternity to a non-LGLO fraternity, Alex

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detailed the differences in what he was seeing.

> There was definitely like, toxic masculinity, in [the LGLO fraternities]. Um, because like, they, they also had those old beliefs that a man should be like this and that. Like, they use saying like, "man up," and stuff like that. Like that shouldn't like, be a thing, especially in 2019. But I feel like this fraternity has never done that. Never made me feel uncomfortable to be just who I am.

Therefore, despite the lack of connection to Latinidad, Alex joined his non-LGLO fraternity because it was closer to the meanings of masculinity and future goals that he made to act those meanings out.

Luis on the other hand did not share the same sentiment of wishing he were in an LGLO fraternity. He said, "I go to like, their interest meetings. I go to them, like, I don't feel home here. I don't feel like this is me. I look around and I see people like me, but it's like, I don't know." Given his pre-college socialization living in a predominantly black community, he found more cultural connection within his D9 fraternity, a historically black fraternity. Although he wasn't ashamed of his Latinidad, he didn't showcase it in the same way that the other two non-LGLO participants, demonstrating how the fraternity he sought out was still closely associated with his weak connection to Latinidad prior to coming to college.

Fraternity: Latinidad. Participants in this study shared how they felt being able to listen to Spanish music with their brothers, eat cultural food, and speak the Spanish language were the ways in which they connected with their Latinidad within their fraternity. Consistent with what has been discussed pre-college, many, specifically those within the LGLO fraternities, sought out a Latinx community they could connect and live with. However, there were distinctions between the meanings of Latinidad for those who were in LGLO fraternities and those in non-LGLO fraternities.

For those involved in LGLO fraternities, participants highlighted that their fraternities

may be Latino focused, but not exclusive; meaning that they are open to all brothers regardless of their ethnicity. However, as Chad mentioned, it may "be more rewarding to be Latino" in LGLO fraternities since the assumption is that everyone involved in these fraternities is Latino. The men in LGLO fraternities commented that they didn't specifically address or discuss Latinidad other than celebrating cultural events like Independence Days or parades, as noted by Jonathan. The culture was just a part of the foundation of their fraternity and interactions with other Latino brothers that didn't need to be explicitly mentioned. By finding this brotherhood, they learned from each other and sharing in their cultural practices to further connect with their Latinidad. Cristiano specifically took great pride in not only sharing in that Latinidad, but teaching it, recognizing that his ethnic awareness and connection was stronger than his other fraternity brothers given his identity as an immigrant. He said, "I see me being able to bring that cultural aspect, my cultural knowledge, my cultural values and everything and be able to instill it there." By having brothers who were so connected to their cultural roots, it motivated others, like Daniel, to want to learn more about his heritage and Latinidad. He explained:

> Being in this fraternity has helped me view that I should know where I'm from. I should know what the people who were the people before me… if I'm not trying to learn what would came before me, how can I try to change what comes after me?

This connects back to the pre-college meanings of Latinidad of familismo and community influence, in that through increased exposure to their culture they were able to not only strengthen their Latinidad but also strengthen their ability to provide for their family and Latinx community.

For those in non-LGLOs, they discussed how not being around as many Latinx people in their fraternity increased their need to represent their Latinidad. Alex mentioned,

Me and my best friend talk in Spanish like, people sometimes like, "What, what does that

mean?" Stuff like that. And like, we translate and try to like, education them. Um, just so

that they can be like, just more aware of the people that they're gonna be around like

when they leave Brother and stuff, you know.

He also stated that by doing this and serving in this role to educate his non-Latinx brothers about

Latinidad, helped him get more in touch with his Latinidad so he doesn't forget where he comes

from. Jose in the same token, didn't want to lose that connection either, so he found his own

Latinx community within his fraternity, as did Luis. By being known as the "papi" of his

fraternity, Luis was able to represent his Latinidad and "embody like a D9 culture but as

Latinos."

Fraternity: Reinforced caballerismo. As noted in the previous section, the meanings of

masculinity for the men in this study were more associated with caballerismo attributes and

descriptions. This finding was only enhanced when it came to their meanings within the

fraternity. Participants shared more references to being nurturing, being open minded, being

comfortable seeking help, and showing emotions within the fraternity setting compared to pre-

college. Fraternity involvement led most Latino men in this study to connect more with their

caballerismo, specifically when in reference to other Latino men, like it did for Axel:

That was probably the first time I ever had developed, like a relationship with other males

where I was able to talk about my feelings or I was able to like, say like… or I was able

to cry to them or stuff like that. Like stuff that I was brought up to like s-… like things

that men didn't do, I was able to do with them.

His meaning of masculinity was reinforced within his fraternity to feel more confident in his

cabellerismo beliefs.

Similarly, Chad, Alex, and Greg discussed how their masculinity shifted from the strict

and traditional views within their family to be more open minded. Their meanings of masculinity

became more understanding and accepting of other views, demonstrating how they were

liberated from the views they felt confined to before college. Greg, when discussing the

traditional stereotypes and expectations of Latino men, highlighted this shift:

There's so many other things that go into being a man, like your household. And being Latino,

like, we already have that stigma on us, like we have to support for your family, you have to do

this, you have to do that. And yeah, they're true, but there's different ways to go about it. You

don't have to follow a set, like, certain path.

While still tied to their role, caring and providing to their family, being in their fraternity

expanded their perspective on how they can do that.

Daniel and Rio were two other participants who shared how being involved in fraternity

allowed them to broaden their meanings of masculinity such as showing more emotions when it

comes down to taking care of family. They both shared that being emotionally vulnerable

demonstrated ways to better care for others since they could better understand what they are

going through. Daniel summarized it well in the following way:

> I feel like it's okay to not be as machismo as you need, you think you need to be. Because
>
> at the end of the day, that men are human and we have emotions. We don't, we can't, we
>
> can't be hardbody all the time. Um, so it's okay to be expressing that form of
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> vulnerability because it's what we, it's kinda like look for. Like we, being vulnerable and
>
> like, trusting, that we're the man that can take care.

Ultimately, being open minded and vulnerable were acceptable meanings of masculinity within

their fraternity more so than pre-college, and they felt supported to enact those meanings within

this setting.

As Axel shared before, his relationship with his fraternity brothers was the first time he felt comfortable to act affectionate and emotional with other men. He gave an endearing example of how this was demonstrated when talking about experiencing a loss in his family:

My grandpa had passed away, and I walked right out of the event we were hosting and then my fraternity brother followed me and like, I was just crying… and he's there and he's holding me the whole time. And there's people passing by and stuff. And it's fine, because he's there supporting me.

The reaction of his fraternity brother was a different experience than how his family would have typically responded. Axel did not feel that showing these emotions went against his meaning of masculinity. Furthermore, having brothers who were open minded to support him, made him feel more secure in his meaning of masculinity. This example is consistent with the narratives shared by most participants who discussed how their caballerismo meanings of masculinity were reinforced within their fraternity.

Fraternity: Providing for family. Prior to coming to college, adhering to familismo values were a vital way that Latino men in this study navigated their masculinity and those values remained consistent through their fraternity involvement. Their meanings of masculinity within their fraternity were defined by being able to provide for their fraternity brothers to advance the organization and also by investing in the brotherhood to be better prepared to provide for their own families, both those they have now and their families in the future. The family dynamics they created within the brotherhood of their fraternities created a means for them to demonstrate their ability to provide for their family in these two ways.

First, despite being students, working on campus, and being involved in other things on

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campus, participants like Cristiano would always try to look out for other fraternity brothers. He described a time when a fraternity brother experienced a loss of a close friend or family member and how he responded by dedicating a significant time to make sure they were supported. He mentioned that was a way that he showed his commitment to his brothers. Even for Jose, who was involved in a non-LGLO, talked about how much he benefitted from his fraternity and wanted to ensure that other Latino men on campus were connected with those useful resources in order for them to be more prepared to be successful within the medical field. Although these men were not brothers, he made an effort to build relationships and recruit them into his fraternity, because he saw the need and wanted to be a role model for other Latino men, further expanding "his family tree." Although his brotherhood experience was different than Cristiano, Jose still demonstrated how part of his meaning of masculinity was to be a role model and provider for other Latino men; a shared meaning between them.

Secondly, participants like Rio, invested in their fraternity and gave it their all because they felt that being involved in the fraternity would improve their ability to provide for their families in the future. Rio described:

> I want that for my kids. I want my kids to have the support system that, and a family that
> I kinda didn't have. I want them to have that because at the end of the day, like, I'm just
> giving them more of a platform to do well. More of a platform to, to succeed.

For the same reason, Greg said, "It's really just envisioning what you're trying to have for your family and practicing those things starting now." Both Rio and Greg framed their meaning of masculinity as committing to their fraternities to build up their skills as future fathers.

In addition to future families, Latino men like Daniel and Luis talked about how fraternity brothers were supportive of their needs to support their families back home. Daniel

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described an event where he was hosting a fundraiser to raise awareness for spinal muscular atrophy, a disease his younger brother died from years ago. His brothers came together to promote this initiative and demonstrated how this cause mattered to them as well because they were his family now. For this reason, Daniel remained committed to his fraternity brothers and had great pride in representing his participation in his new family. This went beyond needing to be in control or serving as the "breadwinner", as described by some as traditional meanings of masculinity within the family but demonstrated their caballerismo meanings of masculinity in fulfilling this role.

    Fraternity: Machismo. In regards to the characteristics of machismo, no men in this study referenced being inattentive to health, exhibiting limited displays of affection, or a desire to be the breadwinner of the house, attributes described to be associated with toxic masculinity or machismo ideas (Harris et al., 2011; Zernechel & Perry, 2017). Like pre-college, the men did not confess to identifying with machismo meanings of masculinity. However, they did disclose experiences where maschismo aspects were personified in other fraternity brothers. Within their fraternities, the participants identified with caballerismo characteristics of being open minded, showing emotion, and being willing to help others, but they mentioned that when other fraternity men or women were around their brothers became more aggressive, competitive, and hypersexual; pretending be more machismo or putting on a mask given their perceptions of acceptable masculine presentation (Edward & Jones, 2009). Despite being involved in non-LGLO fraternity, Alex and Luis both noted that this is highly common within LGLO fraternities and mentioned how, as Alex said, they had rigid ideas that "a man should be like this and that." They both discussed how these machismo ideas didn't represent their meanings of masculinity and were reasons why they didn't get involved in LGLO fraternities. This is not to say that men

in non-LGLO fraternities do not exhibit machismo characteristics, but that those participants in this study did not acknowledge them within their fraternity chapters.

For those involved in LGLO fraternities, most acknowledged how other fraternity brothers demonstrated machismo meanings of masculinity. A prominent meaning that was expressed through multiple narratives was hypersexuality and competition, which tended to go hand in hand. In reference to his fraternity, Axel described:

I don't really see [machismo] as a thing, like def not. Only… with other fraternities. Like, then they really let their masculinity show. Like, oh, who's the, who's the bigger, more dominant Latino male… Like, you go to a party, like who bags the most girls or like, who's not bagging nobody.

Jonathan shared a similar narrative related to his fraternity:

We're known as the fuckboys. It's like a big dick contest. Um, then… then it becomes like the prettiest boys versus the less pretty. It becomes bickering and like, things like that. Their aggressiveness. Um, it becomes a lot of like ego versus ego and pride.

Despite saying they internally identified with meanings of masculinity that were "respectful to women", LGLO participants shared how at times they revert to traditional norms of masculinity given how they raised and socialized pre-college.

Furthermore, there were more references of how this plays out on smaller scales within the LGLO fraternity. Cristiano and Rio discussed how they get aggressive when they argue and how their confrontation is done in a "typical Latino way". Cristiano revealed, "We get in each other's faces or we start attacking each other, like insecurities and stuff and that's when we go at it." Along these lines, Chad and two other participants shared stories of how they made jokes about their brother's "un-masculine" insecurities, commenting specifically on incidents where

they lost fights or were unsuccessful with women. Chad, however, highlights that he didn't feel threatened by these types of comments as they reminded him of interactions he had with his siblings or close male friends and strengthened the bond he has with his fraternity brothers.

Despite being asked, none of these participants felt that these behaviors challenged their meanings of masculinity. These men personally identified with caballerismo ideals and said that their machismo attributes were demonstrations of how they motivated their brothers to be better men. Although a compulsion on being the best was highlighted in the literature as an aspect of hypermasculinity (O'Neil, 1986), Latino men in this study rather talked about how they needed to be the best to further represent Latino men on campus and promote their positive aspects of masculinity to a society. Chad said he needed to do his part to change the perception of Latino men on campus from that which "perceives them to be criminals" or in a negative light. Rio further commented, "I guess that aggression is more like, we don't, that aggression is driven towards not being sloppy. We don't wanna be sloppy." He acknowledged how in all their fraternity activities they make an effort to demonstrate that they are competent, skilled, and ultimately, the best at what they do, and how this is an integral part of how they define masculinity within their fraternity.

This was also true for Luis who shared this type of interaction with his fraternity brothers:

> Oh, you're being an asshole, you're being lazy, whatever the case may be. Like, we're never cool with that. It's like, we're always pushing back to be the best... so we push each other to be the best man that that man can be.

He desired to represent his fraternity the best way he could, which at times meant being aggressive and competitive with his fraternity members. As mentioned by all participants, they

occasionally presented machismo meanings of masculinity through their hypermasculine behaviors with their own and other fraternity brothers. However, their intent for demonstrating these behaviors were aligned with productive masculine ideals. They felt their caballerismo meanings of masculinity prevailed, allowing them to maintain a personal perception of masculinity that was positively influencing others around them.

Fraternity: Perceived to be gay. Three participants in this study discussed how, similarly to pre-college, exhibiting caballerismo attributes made others in the Latinx community on campus believe they identified as gay. Axel said:

Everyone knows us for being calm, soft, like, being able to joke around and even having some of those un-masculine traits. Like, um, like I'll keep it G, like for whatever reason, like sometimes people, like, say like some of my chapter brothers are, like, gay and stuff like that.

For the participants who referenced this, they did not feel their masculinity was threatened by this perception nor did they feel the need to overcompensate to change their meanings of masculinity. Like Axel, Greg and Rio specifically talked about how they embraced the accusation. An excerpt from Rio describes it best:

Some people have said, "Oh like, you, your chapter's fruity." And like, okay? So what? Like this is who we are. Like, this is what we represent. Like, if fruity is being poppin' and dope and being ourselves, I'm with that.

The connection between caballerismo or productive masculinity and perceived homosexuality was evident given the narratives of these three participants.

Some did, however, feel the need to mention their LGBTQ identifying brothers as examples of how welcoming and inclusive their fraternity is. By using the fraternity brothers'

presence to validate their meanings of masculinity, it put further pressure on LGBTQ identifying brothers to serve as influencers of caballerismo meanings of masculinity, as noted by Jonathan, the only openly queer participant in the study. He stated, "For me, masculinity is just keeping myself, keeping my masculinity in check in order to, like, help others, like, the people around to like, keep theirs in check." His meaning of masculinity was reshaped to specifically challenge the machismo ideas of his other fraternity members just as he did pre-college. His experience as a queer-identifying man in his fraternity is discussed in later sections.

Meanings of Latinidad & masculinity summarized. Latino men in this study expressed how their meanings of masculinity were associated primarily with caballerismo attributes and beliefs. Through their narratives, they highlighted examples of masculinity related to "being open minded", "being responsible", "being comfortable showing emotions", "being comfortable asking for help", and "being role models". These ideas stemmed from meanings of masculinity that were socialized pre-college within their families and Latinx communities. These caballerismo ideas became reinforced or reshaped through their fraternity involvement.

Participants expressed their meanings of masculinity in culturally appropriate ways that were in line with their meanings of Latinidad related to "familismo", "remembering their roots", and "representing their culture". Whereas their meanings of masculinity and Latinidad pre-college were centered on family, within their fraternity their meanings were centered on the brotherhood, for all except one participant. For this one, Jose acknowledge that since his fraternity is non-LGLO and co-ed, his meanings of masculinity were shaped through other experiences on campus. This is highlighted further in the next chapter.

Although meanings of masculinity related to machismo attributes were referenced, they were only exhibited under specific circumstances where fraternity brothers reverted to pre-

college traditional norms in the presence of other fraternities or when trying to impress women. Aside from the meanings related to "hypersexuality", "homophobia", "aggression", and "male competition", machismo meanings related to "being the best" were expressed as being necessary to better represent their Latinidad and promote their ability to be respected as men who contribute to their communities.

These meanings of Latinidad and masculinity varied slightly dependent on participants' sexual identity, fraternity type, immigration status, and parental influence, but all remained related to their role within their family or brotherhood. In the next section, the role fraternities play on the meanings these Latino men described is explored and these variations are further discussed. While pre-college gender socialization was a key feature in this finding, it is only referenced and not explored further in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

Role of Fraternities in Meaning Making Process

The previous section highlighted that the meanings of Latino men's masculinity and Latinidad were reinforced and reshaped through their fraternity involvement. The fraternity served as an influential setting in which Latino men explored their masculinity given the prominence their gender and ethnic identity held there. In the following section, the role of the fraternity on the development of participants' meanings of masculinity and Latinidad are discussed. This section demonstrates how participants were influenced by the bonds they formed with their brothers, finding a home on campus, being able to represent their values and identities, developing professional skills, and challenging masculine norms that were established by family, friends, and the Latinx community.

Brotherhood. Throughout this study, every participant talked about the ways in which the brotherhood and relationships with brothers influenced how they developed meanings of

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Latinidad and masculinity. As Alex shared:

> I feel like I can trust them more than I would trust someone like, in a, in a student
>
> organization. Like, with my personal, like secrets or my problems. Like, I feel like I can
>
> confide in them more than like, like in a club or something… just because we went
>
> through [pledging] together.

Within the fraternity, these close relationships were the basis of their idea of family at BU. Prior to coming to college, participants based their meanings of Latinidad and masculinity on their role in the family. Once coming to college, they were introduced to new ideas of Latinidad and masculinity, which were then reinforced and reshaped within their fraternity with their new family of brothers. Similar to what Anderson (2008) found in his study on masculinity in fraternities, this brotherhood had a foundation on building a family where all men can feel welcome and that they could perform their masculinities in productive ways. Chad reiterated this idea by stating, "I think that we are at, at the core we're, family, no matter what. And it may not be blood that brings us together, but it's our values, it's our dreams, it's our hopes. We look out for one another." Their commitment to their new family served as a foundation for their masculinity and Latinidad development.

Regarding Latinidad, Axel further commented how being with his brothers and seeing how they played out their meanings of Latinidad helped him get better connected to his own ideas of his culture, "That was kind of like my first time really like, embracing like, my roots, like dancing. They would make me different food as well too, you know." He went on to share stories about going to parties and hanging out with his brothers, detailing how they helped him connect with his culture further. This cultural development was neither forced nor was sought out, but it occurred naturally through the time spent together and the relationships built. He

continued, "I wasn't chillin' with them because I wanted to be [in a fraternity], I was chilling

with them for them." Axel had genuine relationships with his brothers which helped him

reinforce his Latinidad through the activities they shared, given the embedded cultural

component of his LGLO fraternity.

For those in non-LGLO fraternities, their brotherhood influenced their Latinidad given

the lack of connection to their ethnic culture. For Alex and Jose, it led them to seek out their

Latinidad through other programs and organizations on campus geared towards the Latinx

community. Jose explained how he also participated in events with LGLO fraternities to connect

further with his Latinidad. "I'm friends with a lot of like, people who are in Latino fraternity.

And I like the way that they rely on each other." The brotherhood he witnessed in those LGLO

spaces reminded him of his family at home and encouraged him to create those spaces within his

own fraternity. Jose recognized that an influential part of connecting further with Latinidad is the

consistent socialization and reinforcement in everyday settings, which his brotherhood did not

provide but was evident within LGLO fraternities and how brothers in those settings connected

with each other.

Regarding masculinity, their commitment and role with their brothers helped them

navigate their meanings of masculinity within their new family. Contrary to their experiences

prior to college, their caballerismo meanings of masculinity were shared and accepted with other

brothers so they felt supported in expressing their beliefs in providing for family. As described

by Greg:

> Whether you contribute 30 years down the line or not, doesn't really matter. The point is,
>
> at some point when you joined, you helped your community prosper. You helped your
>
> brothers prosper. And if you ever need anything, you know that you have that support

system to rely on.

Having brothers who did not shame them for their meanings of masculinity like their parents did helped them develop their meanings of masculinity. Even for Jose, who was involved in a co-ed fraternity, felt that the relationships with the men and women in his fraternity helped him reshape his meanings of masculinity.

> I'll call her sister, she'll call me sister and we'll refer to each other as sisters. Like, this is a sisterhood instead of a brotherhood, because like, we feel like, the whole fraternity and like, calling each other brothers had been forced.

For Jose, it was not just about having male brothers, but having close relationships and a family that he could provide for, feel supported by, and learn from.

Despite the positive influence that the brotherhood in fraternities had on most participants, it also served as a negative influence for some, specifically acknowledged by the Latino men involved in LGLO fraternities. For some, focusing on school and doing well academically was a way that they demonstrated their meanings of masculinity. However, they shared how, at times, their brotherhood that was more focused on socializing and committing to all the responsibilities for their brothers took them away from being able to dedicate time to their courses or professional goals. Jonathan described it best when he explained why he needed to take a step back from his fraternity involvement, "In trying to figure out frat and like, put all the puzzle pieces together and not let it fall apart, I kind of let go of, like, myself, academics, and that was the last straw." He recognized that the sacrifices he was making for his brothers, who he wanted to "protect" and "provide for", were negatively impacting the reason he came to college in the first place. Greg echoed this sentiment when discussing his commitment to his fraternity:

> I could have graduated in a, even a semester even earlier than what I did… [but] I was

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like, I'll stay for that extra semester and I wanna like, enjoy myself and just kinda get to

know like, more about the fraternity. I wanna get to know more about my brothers.

As described earlier, Greg believed that his fraternity involvement was a way to "practice" his

meaning of masculinity of being able to provide for his family and serve as that role model.

However, his relationship with his brothers was prioritized even when it contradicted his

meaning of masculinity.

Even with this negative influence that fraternity involvement may have had on his

graduation, Greg did not regret his decision because he felt that his commitment to his

brotherhood would be worth it in the future. As did Daniel, who expressed, "I feel like with our

motto… *para siempre* (forever) is like very, it's very endearing to us and like, it means a lot. So,

it's like no matter what, the end of the day, you're still my brother," even when he had negative

interactions with brothers and recognized that his fraternity involvement was not supporting his

goals or beliefs. Whether positively or negatively, their *hermandad* (brotherhood) served as a

critical component to the role that their fraternity played in the development of their meanings of

masculinity and Latinidad.

Sense of belonging. Along with strong relationships, fraternities in this study were a

place that served as a home on campus. As noted by Alex, "I feel like it made my college

experience better because like, it made like, another feeling of belonging." For some, their

fraternity was the home they never had but always wanted, like Rio who was an only child and

always wanted a home with other siblings. For others, like Chad, it was a "home away from

home"; a reminder of their family environment at home while on campus.

Serving as their "new home", the fraternity provided them a sense of belonging on

campus which helped them feel more confident to explore their meanings of masculinity and

Latinidad in a safe space, as indicated by Greg when he said, "We're trying to establish a community where it's very easy for Latinos to feel comfortable on their campuses." Axel shared this as well, describing how he felt more comfortable to seek out assistance on campus, which is not something that is customary for Latino male college students. "I had joined a brotherhood where I was able to be myself and they encouraged me to like, you know, get good grades and like, they provided me with different resources."

Seven participants indicated that their fraternity increased their sense of belonging and shared how feeling welcomed and included on campus made way for experiences which helped them build up aspects of their meanings of masculinity. Furthermore, their fraternity involvement also enabled them to create welcoming spaces on campus for Latinx students and other underrepresented groups to feel like they belong, as Greg and Luis highlighted about their fraternity, "We like to say that we're the people's frat. So, we wanna be the most, like, welcoming. We want to be the most welcoming to every community." Being able to help others increase their sense of belonging helped the participants in their development of meanings of masculinity and Latinidad aligned with caballerismo values.

However, in incidents of competition and machismo that occasionally arise between LGLO fraternity members, as referenced by Jonathan, fraternities created hostile environments where some men do not feel welcome. As a queer man he alluded to incidents where he felt that the heteronormative and, at times, homophobic tendencies within the fraternity setting did not make him feel comfortable to express himself fully, despite his fraternity giving off the impression that they were an inclusive space. He said, "At some point, I felt like I was a problem as a queer man in this space that's not made for me." While a fraternity can help Latino men feel a sense of belonging on campus and help them feel comfortable to develop their ideas of

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masculinity and Latinidad further, it can also create unsafe environments for others when machismo norms are exhibited and reinforced.

Representation. In addition to a sense of home, fraternities also provided participants with a sense of pride in their Latinidad and role on campus. Specifically, for those in LGLOs, it allowed them to represent their culture and held them accountable to promote positive images of Latino men. Rio noted, "You represent your fraternity wherever you go. My letters are always on my chest and whether I want them to be or not. And I think that, what that does for me, is that holds me accountable to be better." Rio's fraternity involvement gave him a purpose for representing his Latinidad. This was especially important, as mentioned by Cristiano, given the lack of Latinx students on campus at BU:

> That relationship in the sense of ethnicity, in the sense of culture, in the sense of being a minority. Of being in the same situation of that makes you push each other. That makes you become better as, not only student leaders, but also… entrepreneurs.

For four of the participants involved in LGLOs, having the responsibility to represent for Latinx people on campus through their fraternity created a greater connection to their Latinidad and influenced the meanings they made. Even those not in LGLO fraternities, like Jose, acknowledged the positive impact that LGLO fraternities have on the perception of Latinx people. "Even though they're social fraternities, it's not just to like, have this brotherhood. It's beyond that. It's to like, promote, like positive tendencies within the Latino community." Jose witnessed the way they promoted their Latinidad in LGLOs and incorporated that in his involvement that influenced his meaning of Latinidad.

For Alex, being involved in a non-LGLO influenced his meaning of masculinity by having a space to represent positive aspects of masculinity. "I love repping that. I love my

fraternity. Um, and yeah, I feel like, everything you said about hypersensitivity and like, the aggressiveness, and like, I love the fact that we don't show that." He was proud to represent his fraternity because his fraternity demonstrated meanings of masculinity that were aligned with his. This connection to and pride in their fraternity was consistent across most participants. It was Daniel who put it best when he said, "You are no longer your name and that's it. You are your name and your organization." Having that responsibility to represent their fraternity, Latino men, and Latinx people in general, served as significant influences to the meanings of masculinity and Latinidad that they developed within their fraternity.

Professional development. Fraternity involvement played another role in the development of participants' meanings of Latinidad and masculinity through providing professional development opportunities. For those participants in LGLO fraternities specifically, they had to put in a lot of work to keep the fraternity progressing given smaller membership base in comparison to non-LGLO fraternities. As Greg stated, "It was just like, like 5 of us at that point and we really like, understood that we really had to get stuff done. Like, we really had to like, work together." The need to work together helped strengthened their bond as brothers and helped participants practice skills to better provide for their brothers and future families. Through these opportunities, Axel mentioned the benefit of networking with alumni and other fraternity brothers from around the country and Chad said, "I believe my involvement had kinda helped me grow within my time skills… time management, people skills, interpersonal skills, public speaking." Especially for first generation college students, like Cristiano, having these opportunities exposed him to more possibilities than what he was exposed to at home and with his family.

It definitely has opened my eyes a lot more. And you know, just in the sense of like,

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workload, how professional life would be. Communicating with others and then also, you

know, just meeting a lot of other people. It really prepared me for professional life.

Through the professional development opportunities provided within their fraternities,

participants' meanings of masculinity were reinforced and reshaped in a way that they felt they

were better prepared to provide financially for their families through their career prospects.

Challenging masculinity norms. Fraternities, lastly, served as a setting to challenge

masculine norms that were set at home. For those in LGLOs, their brotherhood and experiences

within the fraternity helped participants feel comfortable to challenge machismo norms

traditionally established within the Latinx community and within their families at home to

encourage more caballerismo characteristics and ideas. In talking about how he led his fraternity

as president, Cristiano said, "Let's do the opposite of everything that other people do. In the

sense, it's like, just do what makes you happy, but also like, be that man. Be that gentleman." He

recognized the importance of setting the standard within his fraternity and used it to reinforce

positive aspects of masculinity. They would not only challenge machismo ideas from home, but

they would also challenge them amongst each other when certain situations would arise. As

mentioned before, hypersexual and aggressive behaviors and comments would occasionally arise

when LGLO fraternity brothers were in the presence of women and other fraternity men.

However, they wouldn't shame each other in those situations, like what would happen with their

families at home when they expressed opposing meanings of masculinity. They would have

conversations about more appropriate ways to respond and encourage more positive meanings of

masculinity, as represented by Daniel's comment:

It would help me think critically and let, it made me expand my mind more... No matter

like, if I say something wrong or like, if I do this blah blah, they still, they're gonna be

like, "Listen, you messed up, but I love you."

Having that support from their brotherhood and those conversations that challenged machismo norms influenced how these Latino men in LGLO fraternities reshaped their meanings of masculinity.

For two men in non-LGLOs, Alex and Luis, they were interested in LGLO but didn't pursue membership in these organizations because they felt that those fraternities were more aligned with machismo characteristics than they identified with. These two participants focused more on professional development than socializing and being the "popular guys". Therefore, they sought out membership in non-LGLO fraternities to challenge the masculine norms they saw in LGLO fraternities and better align with their own meanings of masculinity. As Luis noted:

When I see the vision of individuals in Latino fraternities, for example, they don't coincide with my visions. Does that make sense? Their drive, their… for instance, they only, they literally only want to party, and that shit is annoying… I saw so much more opportunity, I saw so much more, like, networking experiences, I saw so much more, brotherhood that I saw here than there.

For Alex and Luis, their fraternities aided them more in their meanings of masculinity development than they perceived LGLO fraternities would. Alex specifically sought out his co-ed fraternity because their lesser focus on masculine norms which allowed him to explore new meanings of masculinity than what he was exposed to at home. He said, "I feel like being in a fraternity has gave me the, confidence to challenge those ideas. Because I know that no matter what, I'm gonna have a fraternity that supports who I am." Their non-LGLO fraternities challenged what they observed in LGLO fraternities and encouraged them to develop meanings

of masculinity jibed with caballerismo values.

Roles of fraternity involvement summarized. Participants in this study expressed various ways that their fraternities influenced how they reshaped and reinforced their meanings of masculinity and Latinidad while in college. The relationships they made with their fraternity brothers served as the primary foundation for their development process within their organizations. Their brotherhood served as their new family on campus. Within this family, they learned more about their Latinx culture and alternative ways to act out their masculinity. They were also able to practice how they would provide for their family and provided them with a sense of purpose on campus. This purpose provided Latino men with an increased sense of belonging on campus and allowed them to represent positive models of Latino men at BU, despite their minority status and the negative stereotypes that were reinforced on campus. Having brothers who they knew supported them unequivocally helped them feel comfortable to experiment and develop meanings of Latinidad and masculinity independently from the pressures of home.

Being involved in a fraternity also provided them with professional development opportunities which further helped study participants feel more confident in their ability to provide for a family. Having these skills further influenced the ways Latino men in this study made meaning of their masculinity specifically. The experiences within their fraternity supported them in their development, exposed them to new ideas, and challenged traditional masculine norms. The following section further examines specific experiences within their fraternity that reshaped or reinforced participants' meanings of masculinity and Latinidad.

Experiences in Fraternity that Influence Meaning Making

Latino men in this study expressed having meanings of Latinidad and masculinity that

were primarily centered on their role within their family. Their ideas of masculinity were mainly aligned with caballerismo attributes. However, participants described circumstances with older family members, women they were attracted to, and other fraternity men on campus where machismo attributes arose. Their fraternity involvement provided them a space where they could explore their ideas of Latinidad and masculinity further, learn new beliefs and behaviors associated with those meanings, and be supported in their development process through their relationships with their brothers. Given the role that fraternities played on the development of their meanings of Latinidad and masculinity, this section presents specific experiences and situations within their fraternity involvement that reinforced and/or reshaped their meanings of Latinidad and masculinity. This study found that the following experiences in fraternity significantly impacted their development in these areas: (a) the pledge process, (b) events they attended or hosted, (c) serving in a leadership role, (d) being and having role models, (e) having or being a brother who identified differently than the majority, and (f) dropping the fraternity.

Pledge process. The pledge process refers to the period prior to joining the fraternity where students demonstrate their commitment to the organization through a series of activities, programs, and socializing initiatives. The exact process is individual to the fraternity and is often secretive in nature. For this reason, while they are pledging, specifically for multicultural fraternities, they are not as visible or involved in other campus activities for weeks at a time. Once they have completed the pledging process, they are presented to the larger community as having the values and ability to represent for their fraternity, like Luis mentioned, "You know, how you pledge a fraternity, whatever the case may be. So then my image on campus leaves and then I come back as this new person." Going through the pledge process and demonstrating their new status as a fraternity brother is a significant part of the socializing aspect of the fraternity

setting.

In this study, all the Latino men mentioned that they were introduced to fraternities through their involvement in campus programs and organizations that were meant to support Latinx students at BU. From the Latinx cultural center to Latinx housing options, fraternity involvement was highlighted and encouraged, specifically involvement in LGLO fraternities. LGLO fraternities and sororities at BU permeated the broader Latinx student community and often served as representations of Latinidad to the rest of the campus community. Given their prior connection to their Latinidad through these other campus options, those seven participants in LGLO fraternities felt their Latinidad was reinforced after pledging and joining their fraternity through their ability to better represent for the Latinx student population on campus. As Axel noted about his presence in the Latinx student community at BU, "After I had pledged, like, I feel like everybody and their mother knew me." He was now well known with the Latinx community and pledging for this title of a brother within an LGLO fraternity provided him with the opportunity to further connect and represent for Latinx students on campus. While Axel didn't explicitly report that his fraternity involvement reshaped or reinforced his Latinidad directly, it did provide him and the other members of LGLO fraternities to connect with other groups on campus that did.

Part of what makes the pledge process so influential to their meanings of Latinidad and masculinity is that they all go through a demanding and challenging time while pledging. They learned to support each other through the process so that they can all finish or "cross" together in the fraternity. Regarding this experience Luis expressed:

So my probate, for me, like I said, is a coming out show. So it's like, you know, the release of you being, you coming through the fraternity and this process... So it's a sense

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of, accomplishment, you know. All this hard work that you're literally, like, in the

fraternity… You know, all this hard work amounts to you finding that, like, the, the great

reward and the great reward was that, you know, you're, you finished.

That reward was further enhanced in LGLO fraternities which were typically smaller in numbers

in comparison to other more established or "mainstream" fraternities on campus. For these

fraternities, every brother that pledges played a significant role in progressing the fraternity.

Daniel mentioned, "There's a lot of sense of pride and like, if one of you accomplish like,

finishing the process, it's always a, a great feeling." Being able to go through the challenging

pledge process with their brothers fostered their bond and taught them to be resilient in positive

ways with no need to be aggressive, competitive, or hypermasculine about it. This was

significant because it also demonstrated a change from how Latino men were perceived on

campus as they were representing a less publicized image of fraternity men.

For Rio, his idea of masculinity was further reshaped through his pledge process because

it was during this experience where he learned that it was okay to be in touch with his emotions.

The demanding nature of his pledge process taught him a lot of about himself and caused him to

confront some of the machismo norms that were instilled in his pre-college. "When I was

pledging, I would cry every day. And I would cry every day because, I guess, I was becoming

more in tuned with my emotions… But you face yourself when you're pledging." After having

these emotional breakthroughs, the brothers would then come together for "circle time," a

moment of reflection and bonding with his brothers. "I get to talk to different associate members

for the different parts of [the state, even other states], anywhere. They come and we sit down

with them and we talk to them about what they're going through," Rio further commented.

Hearing from and sharing his emotions with his brothers brought their relationship closer and

helped him learn that his emotions were not in conflict with his meanings of masculinity, but just a part of it.

Jose expressed a similar experience within his fraternity and how they reinforced his idea of masculinity, given he already believed that emotional vulnerability was a part of his masculinity. The brotherhood he formed with the men and women in his fraternity allowed him to see a "deeper, more personal part" of his brothers. This bond was formed through his pledge process because it was the first time that he was "actually forming bonds that weren't solely based on [the] academic parts of [their] lives." As mentioned before, Jose wanted to join a fraternity because he saw the influence it could have on his connection to campus and professional development. However, he specifically didn't pursue membership in an LGLO because he felt like his desires to be a doctor and be a brother were conflicting with each other. From his perception, LGLO fraternities were focused more on socializing and he needed an organization that held academics at a higher priority. Therefore, finding a fraternity and forming the relationships with his brothers while pledging enabled him to marry both of his goals in his professional pre-medical fraternity. His fraternity helped reinforce his ideas of masculinity by providing him a space where he shared with others who had similar meanings of masculinity as well as supported him in his pursuits to provide for his family through his professional efforts.

As acknowledged by Greg and Luis, it should be noted that although pledging a fraternity can positively reinforce or reshape masculinity ideas, the influence fraternities have on members' development of masculinity is dependent on the individual chapter, the specific activities as part of that chapter's pledge process, and the dynamic of the brothers in the fraternity at that time. While a fraternity organization may have a good reputation and be perceived to exhibit meanings of masculinity aligned with their own, participants witnessed that these meanings were not

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consistent across other chapters of the fraternity at other schools. Greg, for example, learned about his fraternity from his sister who was involved in a LGLO sorority at another university. She told him about his fraternity's chapter at her school and helped him connect with the chapter at BU. However, during the pledge process, he began to have doubts. "What if I didn't actually like these people for who they are? Like, I may like the organization, [but] what if I actually didn't like these people and like, I already went through all this to join?" In Luis's account of his pledge process, he similarly shared, "This chapter is very different from chapters in Maryland, but we're in the same fraternity. But if I was in Maryland, I probably wouldn't have pledged this fraternity." They witnessed masculinity and brotherhood in those chapters at other schools that didn't correlate with how they made meaning of their masculinity, in the way their chapters at Brother did. Thus, the influence of an individual's pledge process into a fraternity on their development of meanings of masculinity and Latinidad may depend on the culture and expectations of their specific fraternity chapters.

Programs and events. Nine participants acknowledged that attending programs or events through their fraternity influenced the development of their meanings of Latinidad and masculinity. Daniel put it best when he said,

> Everyone says the same thing. Like, the notion of joining a frat is all about partying and what not. But like, and I totally get that cuz I've partaken in it. But I've, but the extra work, like the programs and like the community services and everything like, that was something, eye opening for me, like in a good way.

For Daniel and the eight other men, they were able to learn about new ideas, engage in conversations with others about their perspectives, and develop supportive networks.

For two participants in non-LGLO fraternities, hosting events centered on the Latinx

culture was a way that they were able to express their Latinidad and enhance their development in a non-culturally focused setting. Both Jose and Alex discussed the impact of hosting a "Latin Night," as noted by Jose's description of the event:

> We had a Latin night… and like, the people who knew how to dance, like the few like, six Latinos in the frat. We were teaching other members how to dance, like salsa, bachata, and stuff. And it was a huge success. So many people came out and like, most people don't usually, not that most people don't usually turn out, but it was a really large turnout compared to other social events we had.

For Jose and Alex, hosting the event with their fraternity was a way to celebrate their Latinidad and reinforce their culture within their non-Latinx space. Involvement in these events helped them to be inclusive within their fraternity, which gave them more of a purpose and strengthened their ethnic pride. By taking on this role in hosting Latin Night, they connected with other resources and programs that were geared toward serving the Latinx population at BU and made attempts to represent for other Latinx students on campus so they knew that they could find a home in their fraternity. This responsibility and commitment to the community through hosting this event further reinforced their connection to their Latinidad and gave them a way to increase their sense of belonging within their fraternity and at BU.

For those in LGLO fraternities, all participants mentioned that the events they either hosted or attended as part of their fraternity involvements impacted their meanings of Latinidad and masculinity. Regarding Latinidad, they connected and bonded over Spanish food, music, and culture, but it was not a major focus of the events they hosted. Rio noted, "We're Latino based, but we're not truly Latino, to be honest… We just come together and we, and I don't, and, and I feel like that aspect of Latinidad, it's, it's there. But it's not like, a very heavy one." Given that

their fraternity is already founded upon Latinx values and many of them are Latinx individuals, they did not feel that they wanted to host cultural events, but rather host events that were geared towards, as Greg put it, "things that people don't really focus on" and "practice diversity" through their programs.

Greg, Daniel, Jose, and Rio talked about events hosted by LGLO fraternities that challenged masculine norms. Rio spoke to an event his fraternity hosted where a fraternity brother talked about getting sexually assaulted. Part of what made it impressive for Rio was seeing how vulnerable his fraternity brother was and how supported he was within the fraternity community after being vulnerable. He said, "Wow, he's really like, opening up himself to, to not just, no opening up just his experience, but opening up how he feels about what happened." Greg spoke of an event "about toxic masculinity and how that can be affected by where you come from, your background, and moving from one place to another and coming to a PWI." Both events helped expose men in LGLO fraternities to counter messages about showing emotions and helped them reshape their meanings of masculinity. They were able to challenge traditional machismo ideas through these conversations and show their emotions in positive, constructive ways. Furthermore, by hosting these events, they were able to represent for Latino men in their campus community and support the advancement of Latinx students on campus. Chad said:

> We're there for the people no matter what. Like, we don't care who likes us, if you don't, if we don't like you. But we don't like, we don't, we don't care if we don't like you… we're gonna be there supporting you, no matter what.

Their meanings of masculinity were reconstructed through hosting events about masculinity to be more aligned with caballerismo attributes of showing emotions, being vulnerable, being nurturing, and caring for others.

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Regarding Latinidad, while LGLO fraternity men did not mention hosting events about the culture, they did support other Latinx cultural events on campus being offered by other fraternities and student organizations. As Daniel said,

> We always try to help out the Greek community in that, in that sense. Like, always tryin' to cosponsor them and like, be like, 'Oh well, yeah, we'll help you with this. Oh, we can help yall with that.' And the, the best thing about that is like, they help us out too!

Through attending and supporting other events about Spanish music and dancing, Latinx history, and immigration reform, they were exposed to new ideas and reinforced their meanings of Latinidad.

For Chad, his meaning was reshaped through learning more about the history of Dominican Republic and issues that Latinx people face in the United States.

> I've learned that throughout, from my time here… being a Latino is something not to be ashamed of…This is where I was able to find out my culture, where I was able to see that I'm not aware of who I am, so I want to be more invested into my culture, that Latino culture.

Likewise, for Greg, attending these events exposed him to "the food and the dancing and things like that", which made him want to learn more about his Latinidad. Through this exploration, his Latinidad became more prominent and was reshaped into a significant part of his identity. For Cristiano who already had a strong connection to his heritage given his first-generation immigrant status, his Latinidad was reinforced through finding a community of other Latinx people attending Latinx programs. Ultimately, their meanings of Latinidad were influenced through their social networks attending these events and they strengthened their sense of community or familismo through participating with other Latinx people. Although they may

have had the opportunities to engage with these events outside of their fraternity, their fraternity involvement served as a connection to these programs and encouraged them to attend. Furthermore, attending with their fraternity brothers who were Latino validated the development of their meanings of Latinidad and supported them in expanding their cultural awareness.

Community service events and initiatives influenced both masculinity and Latinidad development by increasing their connection to the broader Latinx community outside of Brother University and changing the local perspective of Latino men. Cristiano described, "I feel like that's where Latino pride comes. In like, just being able to do something good for the community. Just like, that a lot of other, like Latinos would do. Just being able to show that off in the sense of, 'Hey look at us!'" He also recognized the importance of representation for Latino men and his fraternity hosted community service events which allowed him to do that.

Daniel and Jonathan's fraternity did the same with their initiatives centered on mentoring underrepresented minority high school students and helping them prepare for college. Daniel said, "We're in the community and we're like infiltrating the community and like, we're trying to raise awareness to like, in order for us to [unite] and in order for us to move forward." Their fraternity involvement allowed them to provide for their community and to practice their meanings of masculinity related to caring for others. Specifically serving Latinx communities on campus and locally, they are also able to represent their Latinidad and have that reinforced.

A specific community service initiative that was discussed in this study was a food drive that Axel, Chad, & Cristiano's fraternity hosted. The idea of hosting a food drive came when they were experiencing food insecurity and needed to seek out assistance from the school food pantry, compelling them to challenge their own meanings of masculinity which told them that they shouldn't have to ask for help, as Chad mentioned in his description of the initiative:

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We all kind of have our heads down cuz we felt kind of ashamed to walk in, like, begging cuz that's something that, that shouldn't happen. Like, that's something I guess men don't like to do. You don't want to beg. Um, you don't want to seem like you're human, cuz you don't need it.

But experiencing the support from the food pantry helped them reconcile what that meant for their masculinity, that is, they wanted to give back and change the perspective of men who ask for help. Thus, they were able to sponsor a semester long food drive which ended up being very successful. Axel shared:

We were able to, like, get more than like 800 pounds of, like, supplies and food to the food pantry. And they, even Brother featured us. And no, I feel like we never, you never see a multicultural organization like featured on Brother.

The success of the food drive gave them a platform to shift the perception of what Latino men could accomplish on campus and gave them an opportunity to demonstrate their Latinidad through their connection to the community. For Cristiano, this initiative reminded him of support he received from his local community in Chile when his family couldn't afford all the food they needed. "So that's like, really like, kinda brought me back to my roots. You know, like all that community work… You could be in the same position, but you try to make something better." Through this community service initiative their fraternity coordinated, their meanings of masculinity were challenged and reshaped to be more aligned with nurturing, supportive, and productive ideals. As Latino men, being able to change the societal perception of the impact that Latino men have on the community into a more positive idea reinforced productive meanings of masculinity and Latinidad.

Leadership role. Nine participants mentioned holding a leadership position within their

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fraternity. Some were presidents of the fraternity for a term or two and others held lesser positions within the organization. Regardless of the time or title, holding leadership roles within their fraternity helped them feel like they were providing for their fraternity family and helped them develop their meanings of masculinity further. They felt that they were responsible to positively influence and represent for Latinx people as a leader in the community. Rio shard, "You are like the key person that everybody looks to. If the org fucks up, people look at you and they'll be like, you're fucking up." Rio believed that being masculine was being a support for others and doing his best in whatever he was doing. Holding a leadership role gave him an opportunity on campus to explore and practice playing his meaning of masculinity out. Luis had a similar meaning of masculinity and as president of a predominantly black fraternity, he had added how challenging it was to serve as president as a Latino man as well as the pressure of representing his Latinidad through his leadership role.

> I have to make sure that everything I do is like, you know, up to excellence that I wanna show, if that makes sense. So, if I want my brothers to show a certain amount of energy or show a certain amount of support or do, you know these kind of things, being that leader and not being black, takes a lot of energy.

He shared the same sentiment with Rio in the responsibility he felt to represent and provide for his brothers.

For those who were working while in college, holding a leadership position also helped these participants learn how to manage their time and balance multiple responsibilities, which aided in their professional development. It also reshaped their ideas of how a man can provide by teaching them that they could contribute to their brothers through more than just financial means. Both Axel and Cristiano were presidents of their fraternity at one point in time. Axel mentioned

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how he learned to "delegate properly", "be patient with others", and "understand people from different perspectives" through serving as president. These skills that he learned are also associated with caballerismo attributes of being nurturing, being open minded, and collaborating with others rather than needing to be solely in control, which is more aligned with machismo attributes. Cristiano mentioned how being president taught him to manage a lot of responsibilities, communicating effectively with others, and properly handling his anxiety and stress, which he specifically noted is one of the most valuable outcomes from being a leader in his fraternity. He stated, "At that point it's like, when you get into that situation when you're already in your professional career, well this wasn't as bad as the anxiety I had here. I already know, like, how to handle it." His experience as president helped him understand that it is okay to seek help and acknowledge when challenging times arise, which is not something traditional machismo men value. For example, the leadership role Cristiano took allowed him to be more understanding and emotionally aware which would help him in his professional pursuits.

Chad shared similar sentiments to Axel and Cristiano of gaining professional skills through serving on the executive board for his fraternity:

> My fraternity kinda helped me with what I wanna do. What I actually have a passion doing. What I felt like giving back. Um, something I never really kinda put together. It kinda let me figure that the youth is more important than me. Um, kinda gave me an image that I… what I'm building is not for me now. It's built for people later.

Chad found his professional passion in his fraternity and even though he originally went into Engineering because he thought it would help him have a lucrative career, he now wanted to make sure that he wanted to make a difference for the larger community. He also wanted to ensure that he was being a representation for other Latino men so they can see themselves in

STEM fields as career. His meanings of masculinity and Latinidad were reshaped by finding a purpose of helping other Latino men in his professional efforts, which is something he was able to practice through his leadership role.

For Axel, Cristiano, and Chad, their leadership roles were a way for them to change the perception of what Latino men could accomplish and represent positive values associated with caballerismo ideas. Cristiano discussed how being a leader could make someone "become more cocky" in their masculinity, but he was able to stay true to his ideas and meanings of masculinity. For Axel, he was proud of how people were recognizing the changes they were making and how his fraternity was challenging the masculine norms of Latino fraternity men on campus under his leadership. He said,

> We started really putting in the work. Like, we finally, we're finally like good with our grades. Like, we're in good status with everything. Like, we have a brand new start… We were, like, honored as like, the chapter of the year out, like, out of all our New Jersey/New York chapters.

These men valued the impact they were having on campus and that they felt that their fraternity involvement was instrumental in reaffirming caballerismo ideas of masculinity.

Rio, specifically, mentioned that the changing masculine norms through their leadership was also creating a legacy for future fraternity leaders:

> I know they're gonna run differently because of the ideas that we talked about, you know? I guess it's just setting that standard. Setting that standard so that standard can be broken again. So that way it can be set, broken, set, broken, set, broken. So that way it's consistently evolving. Consistently getting better. And I guess that's what being Greek is, consistently being better.

Their leadership roles were how they could establish new norms and expectations regarding masculinity on campus and within their fraternities. By changing the culture, they were also changing the perception of Latino men on campus and helped them find a purpose for their leadership.

Jonathan, however, mentioned that his leadership role and responsibilities within the fraternity led to conflict with other brothers and challenged his ability to do well in school, which was a part of how he made sense of his masculinity. He felt that his brothers couldn't separate the work that needed to be done within the fraternity from their personal beliefs. Given that he had different meanings of masculinity from his brothers, this added further strain, eventually leading him to step down from his leadership role and take a step back from his fraternity involvement. He explained:

> Because it's a business so like, if we're talking business then, like, that doesn't necessarily pertain to your personal life, but it's like, yeah it does cuz like, you're talking shit about how I'm doing things… I'm not leading them anymore because, like, the whole thing just like, took me out of that. Like, it's not worth my energy, I'm trying to graduate at this point.

Jonathan's masculinity was challenged through this conflict and thus needed to temporarily disassociate to reinforce his values and beliefs.

Although he didn't experience this directly, Cristiano alluded to the struggle of holding a leadership position. He believed that it was important to "not [let] yourself unfold with other peoples' expectations and stigmas." Unfortunately, Jonathan's experience with that struggle did not lead him to develop coping strategies to reshape his masculinity positively within the fraternity space like the struggles did for Cristiano. However, Jonathan recounted that his

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leadership role was no longer serving him well in the development of his masculinity to care for others and be a positive role model for his brothers, thus leading him to leave his leadership role behind.

Role models. Along with serving as role models within their leadership roles, this study found that fraternities also provided the participants with male role models who influenced their sense-making of masculinity. This was especially significant for those participants who did not have male role models or Latinx role models at home. The brotherhood formed within the fraternity setting provided the participants with mentors and examples of how to navigate college and life as Latino men. For Alex in his non-LGLO fraternity, having a Latino fraternity brother who demonstrated masculinity behaviors that were different from what he was exposed to at home helped him feel more comfortable to be himself and exhibit the masculine norms that aligned with his beliefs of what a man should be.

> I feel like he definitely showed me that it's ok to not be what like, what everybody else wants you to be… I just feel like men in like, social fraternities don't really advertise their, how the way they're feeling. And like the way they talk, they don't really like to break things down and like, ask why. And I feel like because he did that, I was able to implement that in my life and like, just mold the way I look at like, how masculinity should be like.

Alex's relationship with his Latino fraternity brother helped him to rethink the meaning of masculinity by showing him how to express his emotions and communicate more effectively than what he believed was traditional of Latino men. Axel had similar experiences with brothers in his LGLO fraternity. Regarding his fraternity brothers, he said, "I don't have to put on a fake persona for them. I don't have to try and act like the man. I don't have to like try to get with girls,

to like get their approval, or stuff like that." Despite the absence of male role models at home, Axel and Alex were accepted for who they were and were able to be exposed to the masculinity socialization within their fraternity.

Fraternity brothers also modeled how to support others in a more nurturing and understanding way than that which Latino men were exposed to in their homes, which aligned more with traditional machismo norms. By the support participants received from their brothers when enduring difficult situations, like pledging or experiencing personal loss, they were able to learn how to be emotionally sensitive to others in need, like family members, romantic partners, and friends. For Daniel, his meaning of masculinity was reinforced by finding brothers who supported him in the same way his mother did and who showed him how exhibiting those values did not challenge his idea of masculinity. He said,

> The bros like, showed me love and like, it was something that I never experienced and [they] like [showed me] how to deal with different types of situations. And to me, it would help me think critically and let, it made me expand my mind more.

For Rio, he talked about the advice he received from his brothers and how they helped him through a breakup. They showed him how to be understanding, not express his emotions in an aggressive manner, and to manage his stress effectively.

> I guess that's how we help each other. I guess that, like, we need to, I feel like we just give each other advice. And at the end of the day, you take it or you don't, but we highly suggest you take it.

Although the influence was different for both these men given their pre-college socialization, their meanings of masculinity were impacted by the support and love they received within their brotherhood and the role models they found there.

Participants also discussed how their fraternity brothers modeled the importance of serving as a positive representation for Latino men, especially in comparison to white fraternities as noted in this excerpt from Greg:

> We have different ways of going about it where we can't afford to do something stupid and now have that stigma put on us. Whereas them, there's so many white organizations with so many members. If they step up and do something like that to one chapter out of the thousands that they have, out of the one of thousands of organizations that they have it's not as impactful. For us, we're really small. One person makes a mistake, the entire Greek organization for Latinos is already impacted. So I feel like we have that pressure on us a little bit more and we're more attentive and more conscious of what we're doing.

Participants in this study talked about how much of what was seen in the media negatively portrayed fraternity men, mostly white fraternity men, and for those in LGLOs, they had to combat the negative stereotypes of fraternity men on college campuses and Latino men in the United States. As Cristiano explained, "I don't have to do a keg stand and then jump out of a window or snort a line of like, coke to try to be cool." He was referring to the machismo stereotypes one would find in "white mainstream fraternities." Having a brotherhood who served a purpose to represent for Latino men on campus and demonstrate counter examples of what is considered typical fraternity male behavior influenced the ways in which LGLO participants developed their meanings of masculinity.

Being in a smaller fraternity, as most LGLOs were, influenced Greg, Cristiano, and other LGLO fraternity men to be more mindful of their behaviors since their errors could have a larger had impact. As "white mainstream fraternity" culture is the norm, the participants felt the pressure to uphold the history and legacy of LGLO fraternities to counter the Latinx stereotypes

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that may exist on campus. Axel pointed out the importance of upholding that legacy modeled by his brothers to keep the fraternity advancing:

> I have a brother that was my RA that I spoke about before. Like he's my role model and, like, I try to like, live up to his shoes. And in doing that, I serve as a role model for others, like all the, including my own chapter brothers… Yes, will we party? Yes, sometimes. Will we be social? Yes. But it's like, when all your fraternity brothers are grinding, getting internships, working, getting good grades, then like it influences you to do better.

Having the role model and in turn being that role model gave Axel and other participants more purpose on campus and helped him develop positive meanings of masculinities so they could continue representing the positive impact their brothers made on campus for Latinx students. Chad also mentioned a similar impact of these fraternity role models on his masculinity development by saying, "I think that's how I think the shift in my, in my involvement in my chapter, it's like be a mentor. Be more, not for yourself, but more for the ones, like I said, the ones coming after." Their fraternity brothers and the family they found within their fraternity taught them the importance of providing for their family and advancing the fraternity, and thus reinforcing their meanings of masculinity of providing for their family and doing so in an open-minded way.

Even for Luis who was in a non-LGLO fraternity, the relationships he established with his brothers made him "realize that like the uncomfortable moments now usually mean the bigger the bigger reward," and that he served a role in promoting the positive masculine culture of his fraternity, even though he didn't physically resemble the individuals in his black fraternity. Luis was more comfortable with other black men given that is how he was socialized prior to

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coming to college. Since he didn't connect with the values and brothers of the LGLO fraternities

he considered, he found a home in his fraternity predominantly made up of black men and found

they had masculinities more aligned with those he identified with. Furthermore, he had another

Latino brother from his neighborhood in this fraternity who modeled how he could find a home

with his black brothers and feel comfortable as an "other" in that space since they shared similar

values. Like with Luis, the role models these participants found within their fraternities taught

them how to best represent their new family and foster positive meanings of masculinities.

For Jose, in his non-LGLO fraternity, though he sought out Latinx male role models, he

did not find them and struggled with his role. He said, "It saddens me to see like there's not that

many Latinos even though there are more Latino students who want, who are pre-med."

However, he saw the positive impact his fraternity could have on Latino men and thus made it a

point to build a legacy, serving as that role model for Latino men in premed. He continued, "I

want to participate more in those [recruitment events]. So like, if a Latino happens to pass by, I

can be like, be that person they can relate to." Thus, the influence of a role model on

participants' meaning of masculinity was not just centered on them being Latino, but on

representing the attributes that promote positive stereotypes of Latino men on campus.

Along with having brothers who served as role models, having engaged alumni to bridge

the development process from college to post-college was also important in masculinity

development, especially since many of the participants had meanings of masculinity which were

partially aligned with an ability to provide for a future family. However, the impact of alumni in

this study differed depending on fraternity type. Within non-LGLO fraternities, participants

provided more references of positive meanings of masculinity provided by alumni role models

than those in LGLO fraternities. Jose and Luis both talked about how their alumni who mentored

them professionally challenged masculine norms and supported them. Jose's talked of his female fraternity brother who gave him all the tips to get through school that he was missing from home, given his first-generation college student status. Jose mentioned,

> She gave me like, tips on how to study for the MCAT. Like, she's given me resources for my own classes. Like, she took Biochem the year before and she gave me her old exams… And like, without her, I would not be anywhere I am today.

Luis similarly had an alumnus fraternity brother who was coincidentally also his advisor in high school and showed him how to make it through and be the man he wanted to be. About his brother, he said,

> He basically raised me in my school. Got me out of a lot of trouble, saved my ass from a lot of stuff, and I never had a dad so, you know, a dad complex going on. Um, so yeah, and I called him today, we talk like everyday kind of thing.

Both Jose and Luis built relationships with fraternity brothers which continued after their brothers had graduated from college and these relationships remained critical to their meanings of masculinity demonstrating what the caballerismo values they were developing in college look like post-college.

Within LGLO fraternities, on the other hand, participants mentioned that their alumni had masculinities aligned with machismo ideas and often, these relationships demonstrated how they didn't want to be as men. There is an expectation in fraternity culture, where alumni remain engaged in the fraternity through mentorship and social initiatives, which led to conflict for some in LGLO fraternities. As Chad noted about his fraternity, "Most of us are kind of really soft-hearted people, some kinda of kind-hearted people. My alumni however, that kind of may have fallen into that [hypermasculine] stereotype a bit. But I guess time changes. That there's been a

time shift." Chad's fraternity is trying to make a positive impact and reshape the meanings of masculinity reinforced historically within his fraternity by his alumni. However, as Cristiano mentioned, it's difficult to reshape those masculine norms when you are constantly in need to keep tabs with alumni and maintain the legacy they set, even if that legacy is perceived to be negative. These conflicting views would sometimes result in disagreements with alumni, which would negatively impact the fraternity as they depended on alumni engagement to fulfill certain responsibilities within the fraternity, like organizing their pledge season or giving back financially. Jonathan and Daniel both shared stories of alumni who challenged what was happening within the fraternity and projecting negative meanings of masculinity, but as Jonathan put it, it always "became a problem, but like amongst the shadows." The fact that LGLO alumni weren't on campus but had such strong opinions about the ways in which participants were running their fraternities and the masculinity norms being reinforced made the conflicts even more difficult to address.

Participants wanted to be more inclusive and welcoming than their fraternities were historically. They wanted to develop a culture of alumni engagement based off positive mentorship similar to what participants in non-LGLO fraternities expressed. However, as Rio acknowledged, there were circumstances that impacted the type of engagement and influence LGLO alumni can have on their fraternities:

> People like us, it's hard. Because one, we'll have our alumni that already have families. Two, we have alum that are probably still going through it even after they graduate college. You know what I'm saying? They'll probably not have a job or they will depending on what their career is. And you have, and you have, people like not s-, not giving back to the chapter. And that's a thing. And it's not just a thing at my chapter.

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Alumni from LGLO fraternities may not have the same access to post-college opportunities that those from non-LGLO fraternities have, specifically those from "mainstream white fraternities". Therefore as participants mentioned, they may not be perceived as being as influential as non-LGLO fraternity alumni. However, the LGLO fraternity participants in this study were actively involved in reshaping their meanings of masculinity to be more engaged, more intuitive, and more open minded than their alumni of the past, and did not expect this culture of disengagement to be a part of how alumni interact with fraternity brothers in the future.

Presence of an "other". In this study participants discussed their Latinidad and masculinity being reshaped by being exposed to diverse points of view and those who didn't identify similarly as they did. Conversely, for those who identified as the "other" they felt additional pressure and stress as they recognized that it was their role to challenge the norms established by the majority. Regarding Latinidad, having brothers who were non-Latino opened their mind to other ways they could represent their ethnicity. Participants in LGLOs mentioned time and time again that their LGLOs may cater to Latino men but are not Latinx exclusive. However, seeing other non-Latinx individuals connect with their ethnic culture strengthened the importance of their representation on campus and showed them that Latinx people can have a place with other ethnic groups. Chad described, "We actually have a brother who's Asian… He said that he never really connected with Asians like that… He got involved with the CLAC events. Um, and after a while he kinda of, like, "Yeah, I like this culture." As no one really questions his Latinidad, having an Asian brother connect with his ethnic culture and participate in their cultural activities changed the way he saw his Latinidad in comparison to other groups.

In contrast, in Jose's fraternity, he was one of a few Latinx people involved. He discussed about how he was able to reshape his Latinidad through the relationships he built with non-

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Latinx folk and allowed him to strengthen his connection to his ethnic identity:

> I've been able to meet people who share the same goal as me, but like, not just, don't necessarily like come from the same background as me. So that's really like, given me the chance to not just explore my Latino culture, but like different cultures in general. So and, it makes me wanna like, be more involved so I can like reach out to like other Latino pre-meds to get them involved in the fraternity.

Being involved in a non-LGLO fraternity allowed him to navigate his Latinidad in non-Latino spaces and not diminishing it but finding ways to increase his connection to his ethnic culture.

While Jose's experience in his fraternity did reshape his Latinidad, he did also feel the pressure to educate his brothers about the experiences of Latinx people and represent for all Latinx people within his fraternity. For this reason, Jose and Alex intentionally spoke Spanish around their brothers and hosted a Spanish night for the fraternity. As Alex said, "We want to bring more diversity to the fraternity. I feel like that's our responsibility now." They are taking it upon themselves to increase representation for Latinx people within their fraternity. Similarly, as mentioned before, Luis also felt the need to represent his culture given that he didn't think he would be taken seriously as a Latino man in a black fraternity. Although he did not connect strongly with his Latinidad, given he did not spend a lot of time with other Latinos or engage in many cultural practices, he didn't want to deny and pretend that he was something he was not. This is why he wore the title as "Papi" within his fraternity with pride. He added:

> It's not that I don't, like, try to tell people like, you know, like "Oh, I'm Puerto Rican." But, you know, like I don't care. I got my Puerto Rican, I got my Puerto Rican flag or, you know… I had on this bracelet of me and my LB, and it says "Papi [name of fraternity]".

Despite his fraternity not being a LGLO fraternity, Luis found a way to demonstrate his pride as a D9 fraternity man and a Latino in a meaningful way that married both identities. This desire that Jose, Alex, and Luis had to represent their Latinx ethnicity reinforced their meanings of Latinidad as they challenged the traditional non-Latinx norms within their fraternity.

For their meanings of masculinity, participants discussed how having a fraternity brother who identified as gay influenced their development. Traditionally, meanings of masculinity aligned with caballerismo attributes like showing emotions, seeking help when in need, and being understanding of other points of view, were perceived to be a sign that they were gay. However, for many participants who never had relationships with LGBTQ individuals before college, the relationships they formed with these fraternity brothers reinforced their productive meanings of masculinity. Axel's narrative highlights this point:

> Like when I crossed into the brotherhood, there were gay brothers as well and they were still there and they were supporting me, just as any other brother would. And I… and like, up until that point, I didn't really have any gay friends like that… Like growing up, like a lot of my friends made jokes like, "Oh, that's gay," or like, "Oh, like, why you acting like…", like being very immature. But like now, like, having my own brother who is one, like I see. I'm like, I look back and I'm like, I would never ever, ever treat that the same way.

Although one can be gay and be masculine, that fact was not reinforced for Axel and other participants prior to college. As Chad noted about his brother, "He let me see that yo, it's fine to be in touch with your emotions. He said it, he was, he was like, it's not, at a certain point, he was probably manlier than me." Having a gay brother who he perceived to be more masculine than he is changed the way he viewed his masculinity. Chad and Axel already believed pre-college

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that heterosexual men could have traditional masculine, caballerismo, and feminine qualities. Although being socialized to ascribe to machismo meanings of masculinity, they identified with more caballerismo meanings of masculinity and had other socializing influences, like peers and media, to determine that it was acceptable. However, having gay fraternity brothers who reinforced their caballerismo qualities but also demonstrated traditional masculinity norms was a significant influencer into how they reshaped their own meanings of masculinity.

In this study, only one participant disclosed identifying as LGBTQ, and he gave a rich narrative about how his experience as a queer man in his LGLO fraternity influenced his masculinity. When Jonathan first pledged his fraternity, he thought that it would be an inclusive place where he could feel welcomed and find a sense of belonging. He described, "One of the first few brothers that I met was, um, was a gay man as well… so that felt really like a first connection, like, 'Cool, there's somebody like me.'" This was the case at first; however, after a while, he feel like his fraternity was "too much sometimes" and he found himself being compelled to serve as the one challenging the machismo norms that were common when his fraternity brothers were alone:

> I felt like I was the crazy one who would always just like, talk and say things and call people out, and like the villain. Um, and so gradually, I started to feel like the villain. Interrupting these comfortable spaces that they'd have. Um, bringing some kind of awareness or trying to talk about these things, or trying to talk about deeper things.

While the heterosexual men felt that their ideas of masculinity were being opened by having a gay brother, Jonathan felt a tremendous burden which eventually led to conflict between him and other brothers.

This experience drastically changed the way he viewed his masculinity because he was

constantly reminded of masculinity norms that were different than how he identified himself. He felt that his meanings of masculinity were more progressive than his brothers given his queerness and other socializing settings:

> [Other Latino men are] gonna come to this thing and they're gonna benefit from it as hetero-identifying men. But if, if a queer, like, young Latino man approached me about this fraternity…it wouldn't be like, don't do it. It would be like, you need to be aware that, like, you might think a little ahead of people.

The stress the conflict placed on him, eventually led him to take a step back from his fraternity and have a negative perspective of the brotherhood he once had. For Jonathan, he recognized that the LGLO fraternity had made progress when it came to challenging machismo masculinity norms. However, his experience within his fraternity demonstrated that there may still be more progress to be made in fraternity settings.

Dropping fraternity. The final experience to note that came out of this study is how dropping a fraternity was perceived to influence meanings of masculinity and Latinidad. Only one participant disclosed dropping his fraternity, but others, specifically in LGLO fraternities, discussed how dropping did not match with their ideas of masculinity. Rio put it best when he said:

> Dropping is trash, like, people know you dropped. Ima, and when I look at you, I'm, in my mind, you're gonna be that person, but you're gonna be that person that dropped. And? For what? Why you giving up? Why are you giving up on something when you can do it? People talk about their mental health. I understand. But you can't make mental health an excuse as to why you can't do something.

For him and others, masculinity meant being emotionally strong, being a man of your word, and

seeking support when in time of need. Therefore, if someone were to drop, it would be perceived as an un-masculine trait and a betrayal of the brotherhood in the fraternity. Moreover, if you drop the fraternity, you are silenced to talk about the experience because, as Daniel described, you are not to share the struggles of a fraternity publicly so as to not tarnish the reputation of the fraternity. This further alienated the individual who dropped and may leave them questioning their masculinity.

This was the experience of Alex, who initially pledged an LGLO fraternity before he joined the fraternity in which he is now, but dropped prior to crossing into the fraternity due to having conflicting meanings of masculinity rather than what was being reinforced in his fraternity. Through joining his other fraternity, his meanings of masculinity that were oriented toward more caballerismo ideals were accepted and reinforced. However, the alienation and response from his initial fraternity helped him integrate his meanings of Latinidad and connection to the Latinx community at BU. He elaborated in the following way:

> If you're not part of, like, a Greek life in the Latino community, then you're kind of on the outside. Whenever there's events in the CLAC or something… it's literally everybody's Greek… like there's a community for you to go to, but if you're not involved in, um, in the social Latino fraternities then, like, you're kind of, like, looking from the outside in.

He felt "ostracized in a way" from those he once called friends and from a community he once called home. Upon entry to college, he was active in the Latinx community by participating in leadership retreats at the Center for Latino Arts & Culture, living in the Latinx residential community, and partaking in all the LGLO fraternity interest events. He developed his sense of belonging from within the Latinx community at BU, since he was striving for a place on campus

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that felt like home. However, after he stopped pledging the LGLO fraternity he felt outcast saying, "They didn't no longer look at me as a friend type of thing. They looked at me as a dropee." This experience challenged the way in which he made the meaning of his Latinidad because he needed to reconcile his marginalization with his own ethnic pride.

Similarly, when Jonathan stepped away from his fraternity duties, he not only questioned his masculinity, but also how connected to his Latinidad he wanted to be. These participants' narratives shed light on the idea that if you are not in a LGLO fraternity as a Latino man, you are not as welcomed within the Latinx community at BU.

Experiences in fraternity summarized. In this study, there were specific experiences within participants' fraternity involvement which influenced the development of their Latinidad and masculinity. For many in this study, their Latinidad was most influenced by the programs they hosted and attended through their fraternity involvement. From a "Salsa Night" to general conversations with other students involved in Latinx Greek Life, they were able to learn more about their heritage and reconnect with their roots. Although LGLO fraternities did not want to put a focus on their implied Latinidad connection, they did collaborate with other organizations on campus and facilitate opportunities for members to reinforce their Latinidad.

Additionally, Latino men in this study were influenced through the brotherhood they formed. They were introduced to other Latinx individuals who served as role models for them and helped them negotiate what it means to be a Latino man. These role models taught them how to represent their Latinidad on campus and professionally, communicate their Latinidad to non-Latinx individuals, and methods to give back to the Latinx community to promote their advancement. Their Latinidad was further reshaped by having non-Latinx brothers for those in LGLO fraternities and by being one of the only Latino brothers for those in non-LGLO

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fraternities. Within their brotherhood, they interacted with non-Latinx individuals who helped

them recognize the importance of representing their Latinidad and how to promote it in non-

Latinx spaces. A sense of family they felt with the diverse brothers in their fraternities solidified

a safe space for them to further explore their meanings of masculinity.

There was one experience that hampered the development of a participant's meaning of

Latinidad. For Alex, dropping a LGLO fraternity to pursue a different fraternity made him feel

disconnected from the Latinx community on campus and caused strain on his development. He

had such great pride in being a member of the Latinx community and that was challenged when

he no longer felt welcomed in the Latinx-centered spaces given the prevalence of LGLO Greek

life within them. For those in LGLO fraternities, dropping a fraternity was perceived as a sign of

weakness and betrayal to the Latinx community on campus, so it could not be tolerated. The

Latinx community at BU appears to be a large and accepting one. However, LGLO Greek

organizations seem to establish the social norms within the campus culture and how an

individual relates to these organizations may impact the way they connect to the greater Latinx

community.

Regarding masculinity, there were a number of experiences that were found in this study

to reinforce and reshape participants' development of their meanings. Similar to Latinidad, their

fraternity provided them a brotherhood which exposed them to new ways to enact their

masculine beliefs and challenge the traditional masculine norms that were reinforced within their

families prior to coming to college. This brotherhood was formed through their pledge process in

which they collectively overcame obstacles and a great amount of stress in order to join the

fraternity. Through this process, all but Jose and Alex, learned to support each other, express

their emotions with other men, and seek assistance when in need. Once in the fraternity, all

participants discussed programs about toxic masculinity and sexual violence that challenged the machismo ideas they were raised to believe and normalized the caballerismo ideas that they wanted to align themselves with. By communicating with other men about these sensitive topics, specifically Latino men, they learned that vulnerability and having an open mind is not a weakness. Their meanings of masculinity were reshaped to be more understanding, respectful towards others, and non-combative, in comparison to the traditional masculinity norms they were taught to value.

Within their fraternity, their meanings of masculinity aligned with providing for a family were reinforced by the role they played within their fraternity involvement. All but one participant revealed that they served in a leadership role in their fraternity and that having this responsibility helped them practice the ways in which they would lead or guide their future families. It also increased their connection to campus as they were serving as representatives for what Latino men could be, challenging stereotypes that they encountered on campus and within their local communities. They were demonstrating their masculinity in positive ways through serving as role models for their brothers and other Latinx students on campus, reflecting their beliefs about providing and caring for others.

Furthermore, just as with Latinidad, having role models to follow and brothers who had different meanings of masculinity, they were able to explore their meanings of masculinity within their fraternities knowing that if they were being negative or harmful, their brothers would challenge them and support them in maintaining positive masculine norms. They were also exposed to new ideas about emotional vulnerability, affection with other men, and challenging hypersexuality. Specifically, having brothers who identified as gay, helped them become more open minded than what they believed their families were. As being gay was perceived to be un-

masculine and more aligned with caballerismo attributes during the pre-college time, their LGBTQ brothers countered these ideas and taught them that expressing their emotions, being understanding, and accepting other identities is not un-masculine but rather a part of more positive meanings of masculinity.

However, identifying as LGBTQ within the fraternity led to strain on their masculinity development given the pressure the participant felt constantly the need to challenge machismo ideas of masculinity. While non-LGBTQ participants valued their presence, Jonathan felt at times that he didn't belong in his fraternity and felt villainized for having meanings of masculinity, which were different than the majority of his fraternity brothers. He specifically noted that alumni involvement further caused strain as alumni had more traditional meanings of masculinity and pressured the fraternity to reinforce those ideas, especially in relation to other LGLO fraternities. This perception of alumni was seen among many participants and caused conflict within their fraternities as they wanted to promote more open minded and positive masculine norms, but alumni wanted them to do otherwise. This conflict resembles the pre-college experiences the participants described with their families who valued more machismo ideas of masculinity. It also demonstrates how as society changes and generations progress over time, the meanings of masculinity for Latino men, as highlighted tin the participants' the narratives, are becoming more open-minded and fluid, aligning with caballerismo ideas of masculinity.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study contributes to understanding Latino masculinity development in higher education, specifically within fraternity settings. This chapter provides an overview of the study, research questions, and methods of conducting this narrative study. The findings that were derived from participant narratives detailed in the previous chapter are discussed in relation to the literature on the Latino male experience in college. Following this discussion, the chapter concludes with a discussion on the implications of this research on working with Latino men in higher education and suggestions for future research on the ways in which their masculinity development may influence or be influenced by their college experiences.

Overview of the Study

Comparable to general population growth in the United States, there has been a rapid increase in enrollment of Latinx students in higher education (Hall, 2017). However, such an increase in enrollment has not comparably led to an increase in Latinx students' completion rates for bachelor's degrees (Hall, 2017; Tovar, 2015). Furthermore, when separating the completion rates by gender in 2015, Latinx students account for the largest difference in completion rates by gender, with a 7.4% gap between Latinx male and female rates compared to 6% for Black or African American students, 6.5% of Asian students, and 4.8% of White students (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics). This disparity has remained consistent over the last 20 years, indicating that there may be a link between the gender norms and expectations for Latinx college students and their completion rates.

Current literature suggests that a multitude of factors contributes to the gender difference in college completion rates for Latinx students. Within the Latinx culture, there is a strong sense

of family and desire to remain family-centered in all decisions, behaviors, and beliefs they maintain (referred to as *familismo*) (Cerezo et al., 2013; Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000). Latino men are expected to contribute to their family financially by pursuing a job or other means over college education (Castillo et al., 2006; Huerta, 2015; Ojeda et al., 2016). Given this, Latino men are more inclined to pursue an education at less selective or community colleges closer to home and often struggle to manage their time with working, education, and home responsibilities (Stewart et al., 2015). Additionally, there is a traditional expectation for Latino men to subscribe to machismo masculinity ideals of being strong, not needing help, not showing emotions, and being a breadwinner. As the masculinity perspectives are centered on their role within their family and their adherence to the cultural value of familismo, existing scholarship indicates that Latino men in college are less inclined to get engaged in campus, seek support when in need, and allocate more time to academics which are crucial for college success (Ponjuan et al., 2015; Witkow et al., 2015),.

However, the small body of literature suggests a shift in masculinity norms for Latino men, indicating caballerismo attributes, such as showing respect, being chivalrous, and not being afraid to be vulnerable, influence positive college success outcomes. Thus, more scholarship on Latino men is needed to better understand what experiences in college may foster the development of positive masculinity norms for Latino men and how the development of masculinity in college influence those students' success.

One such experience that may influence masculinity development for Latino men in college is fraternity involvement. The literature indicates that the impact of fraternity involvement on masculinity is both positive and negative. While fraternity involvement has been linked with hyperaggressive, hypersexual, and other risky behaviors on campus, it has also been

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linked with leadership opportunities and academic success in higher education. Within fraternities, masculinity is at the forefront of all they do as they call themselves brothers and pride themselves on adhering to whatever masculine norms are established within their organization. For Latino men especially, fraternity involvement has been connected with persistence support, increased sense of belonging, and positive masculinity norms related to caballerismo attributes (Blanco, 2014, Cabrera et al, 2016).

For this reason, this study sought to further understand the role that fraternity involvement plays in Latino masculinity development. Given that masculinity norms within the Latinx culture are also embedded in their cultural beliefs and connection to Latinidad, this study also addressed their cultural identity development. Three questions: guided the inquiry: 1). What meanings do Latino males give to their masculinity and/or Latinidad while in a fraternity? 2). How does fraternity involvement play a role in Latino males' meaning-making of their masculinity and/or Latinidad? 3). What experiences within a fraternity, if any, reinforce and/or reshape Latino males' masculinity and/or Latinidad?

Research generated from this narrative study contributes to the literature by giving voice to the experiences of Latino men in higher education, which are often overlooked in the literature on college experiences and outcomes. Furthermore, this research intends to develop an understanding of strategies and experiences that can support college success, rather than continuing to understand factors associated with the low completion rates for bachelor's degrees. Given masculinity development for Latino men in higher education is understudied, this study sheds light on how higher education professionals can facilitate college persistence for Latino men in culturally competent ways.

Theoretical Framework

Harris's (2010) Meanings of Masculinity model was used as the theoretical framework for the present study. In this model, he describes how the ideas men make about their masculinity are (re)shaped or reinforced through socializing factors and experiences in college. The model postulates that men come into college with meanings of masculinity that were socialized through the experiences and relationships they had prior to college. Then, once they begin their college life, their meanings of masculinity influence and are influenced by the college campus setting, their academic decisions, their campus involvement activities, and their male peer group interactions. Through interacting with these influencing factors their meanings of masculinity are reinforced and/or reshaped, leading to the development of male gender norms within the higher education setting.

This study focused on one of the primary male peer groups on campus, fraternity involvement. Following Harris's model, the study explored the meanings of masculinity Latino men made prior to college and in college. Then, looking at fraternities specifically, the study sought to understand how fraternity may influence and be influenced by participants' meanings of masculinity, and what specific experiences within their fraternity might impact how Latino men reshape or reinforce their meanings of masculinity. This study validated Harris's findings related to the influence of male peer groups as participants found that the experiences within their fraternity were influential in how they made meaning of their masculinity and demonstrated the prevalence of maintaining machismo norms at times to "maintain their status and acceptance within the group" (Harris, 2010, p. 311). This study also validated the importance of male relationships or brotherhood as both of our studies demonstrated that positive male relationships in college were important for feeling supported, motivated, and productive.

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Acknowledging that Latino men traditionally develop their meanings of masculinity within the context of their Latinidad, the study explored aspects of Latinidad along this process as well. In Harris's study (2010) on the meanings of masculinity model he discussed that men strategically expressed themselves in hypermasculine ways. However, given the negative stereotype of machismo Latino men and the need to represent their culture in a positive light, many men in this study felt the need to exhibit more productive meanings of masculinity rather than hypermasculine presentations. The intersection of their Latinidad and their masculinity led men in this study to have a different responsibility given the cultural impact of their role as fraternity men, specifically those in LGLO fraternities further validating the need for more research on the development of culturally-based gender norms, like Latino masculinity. Given there is a scarcity of scholarship on using Harris's model as a theoretical framework to research Latino masculinity for Latino men in college, this study provides insight into the ways that specific experiences might influence how these ideas develop differently than for non-Latino men. Engaging in more research within this theoretical model may also help to understand how Latino men may develop masculinities that can positively influence their pursuit of college completion.

Methods

Qualitative research methods were chosen for this study because it allowed the research to get a deeper understanding for what experiences participants shared within the fraternity setting and how they made meaning of their experiences (Bogdan & Bilken, 2007). This narrative inquiry sought to collect data through the stories of Latino college male students, utilizing criterion sampling: enrolled full-time in a bachelor's degree program at BU and involved in a fraternity for at least a year. Ten participants were interviewed, with seven being

involved in LGLO fraternities and three being involved in non-LGLO fraternities. The

participants shared regarding their fraternity experience. This was accomplished through having

each participant complete a demographic questionnaire and a semi-structured interview, which

ranged from 45 to 90 minutes. In these interviews, participants were asked about their

backgrounds, experiences within their fraternity, and how those experiences might have

influenced their ideas of masculinity and Latinidad. I wrote reflective memos making note of

participant details, key ideas that arose during the interview, and relevant information regarding

the interview process.

Interviews were transcribed and analyzed. The first cycle of coding occurred through

reading the transcript line by line and making note of any terms, ideas, emotions, and descriptors

that arose in participants' narratives. These codes were then compared to relevant codes

identified in the literature related to Latinidad, masculinity, and fraternity involvement. The

second cycle of coding grouped codes into themes related to the research questions and reflecting

the process of masculinity and Latinidad development within the fraternity setting. From this

analysis methods, narratives of study findings were developed, shedding light on the complex

experiences and identities of Latino men in higher education overall.

Discussion of Findings

The following highlights the findings of this study and discusses how they contribute to

literature on Latino men in higher education. Given that this study explored how masculinity and

Latinidad develops among Latino men within fraternities, the findings will also be compared

with research on the experiences of Latino men on college campuses and what is known about

how their Latinidad and masculinity influences college outcomes. Current literature has not

delved into how meanings of masculinity develops for Latino men in college and therefore the

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findings of this study provide a greater understanding of how college experiences, specifically fraternity involvement, might influence that development. Furthermore, the findings of this study reveal the important role that fraternities and other college experiences can have in reshaping traditional masculine norms within the Latinx culture towards more positive ideas of masculinity could positively influence these students' college outcomes.

Meanings of Latinidad & masculinities in fraternities. The first research question in this study sought to understand what meanings of masculinity and Latinidad Latino men identified with while involved in their fraternity. Participants in this study shared rich narratives about their meanings within their fraternities. However, it was important to gain stories about what meanings of masculinity and Latinidad participants had prior to coming to college in order to understand the foundation that impacted their fraternity involvement in the first place. For men in this study, their meanings of masculinity were also connected to their meanings of Latinidad as they based both on their role and contribution to their family.

Consistent with previous research, participants in this study expressed a strong sense of familismo and feeling "most Latino" meant being able to spend time with family while engaging in cultural practices (Huerta, 2015). Prior to coming to college, this was evident with participant descriptions of eating "Spanish" food, listening to music in Spanish, dancing, watching *novelas* (Spanish soap operas), and engaging in other cultural practices with their family. Even for those participants, who did not feel very connected with their Latinidad, given they were not surrounded by their Latinx culture or heritage on a consistent basis, spoke about how being able to connect with their family or see Latinx individuals represented in the media would reinforce their meanings of Latinidad.

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Family was at the center of participants' Latinidad and being able to provide for their family was at the center of their masculinity. They felt the pressure from family members, as discussed in studies from Cerezo et al. (2015) and Gloria et al. (2009) on Latino men, to contribute and fulfill their role as providers in their family. Participants shared how they framed their meanings of masculinity between machismo and caballerismo ideals while maintaining the provider role. In Sanchez et al.'s study (2017) on Mexican-origin adolescent ethnic socialization, they found that their participants were socialized towards machismo attributes through the media and that caballerismo attributes were socialized at home. However, this study found that prior to college while they self-identified with caballerismo attributes of masculinity, their families were reinforcing and expecting participants to exhibit machismo meanings of masculinity related to being strong, emotionally reserved, and homophobic. For a few participants, their caballerismo attributes were perceived by family members as them identifying as gay which would have caused shame to their family if it were true. Media, books, and peers were significant influences to help Latino men in this study maintain their caballerismo ideals despite the pressures placed by family, not machismo ideals like Sanchez et al. (2015) and Cerezo et al. (2013) described.

When coming to college, participants in this study searched for a community of other Latinx students which they found through services, organizations, and resources available at BU. Engaging in these experiences on campus helped them connect with their Latinidad further, especially given that mainstream culture at the university was predominantly white. In times when their cultural norms did conflict with those of the institution (Boyraz et al., 2016), having their surrogate family on campus helped them reshape their meanings of Latinidad. Even for those participants who identified second generation immigrants, they found the university to be a welcoming place given their connection to organizations and services for

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Latinx students, while previous research indicates that this group of students are more likely to experience acculturative stress and perceive the campus in a hostile way (Nunez, 2009). Their Latinidad, wherever participants fell on the spectrum, was not significantly challenged because the Latinx community on campus provided them with the opportunities to express their familismo values.

Involvement in these Latinx services and opportunities on campus served as the introduction for most participants into their fraternity. Within their fraternity involvement, most participants were able to strengthen their familismo through their brotherhood and their participation reinforced the caballerismo attributes of masculinity they identified with as scholarly research offers evidence on fraternity involvement for Latino men (Garcia et al, 2017, Luedke, 2018; Patron & Garcia, 2016). Their fraternity involvement allowed most men in this study to feel safe to further explore the caballerismo meanings of masculinity since they no longer felt the pressure to subscribe to machismo meanings of masculinity as they did at home. Though this at times posed conflict for participants (Vasquez, 2015), the support they found from their relationships and involvement in their fraternity helped them develop more productive meanings of masculinity aligned with caballerismo attributes (Harris & Harper, 2008).

Despite all participants identifying with more caballerismo attributes of masculinity, there were times when participants would put on a maschismo mask of masculinity when in the presence of other fraternities or women as they thought that would be more acceptable (Castellanos et al, 2017; Edwards & Jones, 2009). For two participants, the reasons they specifically did not seek out involvement in LGLO fraternities was due to their perception that these organizations prioritized meanings of masculinity that were not aligned with the caballerismo ideals they identified with. Similar to previous research on the negative outcomes

of fraternity involvement, they perceived the LGLO fraternities to be less open to new ideas of masculinity (Asel et al, 2009; Martin et al, 2011) and to reinforce machismo ideas of aggression and hypersexuality (Anderson, 2008; Blanco, 2014; Harris & Harper, 2014). This finding is consistent with Harris et al.'s (2011) study on black men in Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLOs) that while participants valued caballerismo ideals of leadership, responsibility, and emotional vulnerability, they still exhibited machismo beliefs in how they spoke about women and other men they viewed as competition.

      Role of fraternities in masculinity & Latinidad development. The second research question in this study sought to understand the role that fraternity involvement plays in how Latino men in college make meaning of their masculinity and Latinidad. The primary role that fraternities played was developing a surrogate family on campus, which is to be expected given their consistent communication and time spent together, as found in Kalof & Cargill (1991) and Murnen & Kohlman (2007). Their brotherhood served as a means for participants to act out their caballerismo meanings of masculinity and for those in LGLO fraternities, connect further to their Latinidad. They felt unconditional support from their brothers and were able to be vulnerable with other men, which was not something that they experienced before outside of their fraternity. Through their brotherhood they learned that seeking help was a sign of strength (Gloria et al., 2017) and supportive and help seeking behaviors was found to increase academic self-efficacy and positive college outcomes (Lopez, 2014; Trevino & DeFreitas, 2014). As the previous research indicates evidence on the positive outcomes of fraternity involvement (Asel et al., 2009; Cabrera et al., 2016; Estrada et al, 2017; Gonzalez & Morrison, 2016; Moreno & Banuelos, 2013), the current study found that participants felt a sense of responsibility to the brotherhood in the fraternity which held them accountable to maintain and represent caballerismo meanings of

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masculinity on campus.

Being able to have this brotherhood helped participants feel more connected to campus, have a purpose to represent their Latinidad on campus, and increase their overall sense of belonging. Current literature on Latino men in higher education indicates that these students feel the pressure to be more acculturated (Kiyama et al., 2015) or have assimilate with white culture (Vela et al, 2016) to feel successful in college. However, this study found that participants in LGLOs were able to navigate how to bridge both cultures through their fraternity involvement. Participants were able to be seen and appreciated as Latino men on campus because they were developing positive meanings of masculinity and changing the narrative of how Latino men could contribute to society. Their fraternity involvement increased their sense of belonging and helped them address the acculturative stress that many Latino men feel on campus (Rios-Ellis et al., 2015), which have been found to improve college persistence for Latinx students (Aguinaga & Gloria, 2015; Castellanos et al, 2015). Participants felt that their fraternity involvement helped them reshape the negative stereotypes about Latino men prevalent at BU and further connecting to their meanings of masculinity.

Another role that fraternities played on their masculinity development specifically was through providing professional development opportunities (McClain et al, 2015). From these opportunities, participants felt they were establishing themselves up to be more financially secure and more able to provide for their families in the future, both motivators to persistence (Ponjuan et al., 2015, Saenz et al., 2013). The participants in non-LGLOs felt that their fraternity set them up for their career aspirations better than LGLO fraternities. These participants prioritized professional development as a part of their masculinity and sought to get involved in opportunities that would enhance that. Although not as prevalent for those participants in LGLO

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fraternities, they still felt that the professional development opportunities they were given

through their fraternity contributed to how they would provide for their families. They also

practiced the role through their involvement, which influenced how they made meaning of their

masculinity.

Overall, fraternity involvement and experiences with their fraternity brothers, helped

participants challenge traditional masculinity norms aligned with machismo ideals that they were

socialized to prioritize with their families prior to college. In Harris & Harper's study (2008),

they noted that black men maintain their mask until it is safe. In this study, Latino men's

brotherhood was that safe space for them where they could reshape their meanings of

masculinity towards more caballerismo attributes. Through their strong sense of brotherhood,

they were able to challenge masculine norms and discrimination, providing them a safe space to

learn and explore new ways to enact their masculinity in a productive way, as an important factor

for persistence (Mejia-Smith & Gushue, 2017; Hall, 2017). Another aspect of persistence in

college is seeking help. This study found that fraternity involvement posed challenges for

traditional views that men can't be emotional or need to be strong all the time. Participants were

able to be vulnerable with each other and address mental health issues, which allowed them to

challenge what they thought was expected of them as Latino men.

Experiences within fraternities that reinforce or reshape development. The third

research question in this study sought understand what specific experiences participants had

within their fraternity involvement influenced their development of meanings of masculinity and

Latinidad. In Harris & Harper's (2014) study on productive performances of masculinity for

college men, they found that fraternities can cultivate productive masculinities if they are

intentional about providing opportunities and developing counternarratives shared among

brothers. Participants in this study felt that from the moment they pledged their fraternities they were reshaping their masculinities to be more productive. As part of their pledge process, participants and their pledge lines overcame obstacles and learned to support each other in ways more aligned with caballerismo attributes of masculinity. Pledging also taught them how to cope with challenges that Latino men face without responding in toxic or hyperaggressive ways. Their brotherhood was built through this pledge process and such support is instrumental in how they navigate the rest of the college experience as Latino men (Contreras & Contreras, 2015).

Once they became members in their fraternities, participants discussed how their meanings of Latinidad and masculinity were reshaped through the programs and events they participated in through their fraternity. Gloria et al.'s study (2017) addressed the negative impact that not being able to eat their cultural food, hear their music, or speak the Spanish language can have on Latino men's perception of their campus culture. On the contrary, this study found that cultural programs and events helped them connect to their Latinidad more. Although one participant in a non-LGLO fraternity was not looking to further connect with their Latinx culture, the other two actively participated in cultural events in their fraternities to represent their culture in a non-culturally specific space. Furthermore, across both types of fraternities, men were exposed to new ideas of Latinidad through cultural programs. Through these events, they learned more about their cultural histories, the various ways Latinidad may be expressed in different Latinx sub-groups, and the importance of representing for and advocating on behalf of other Latinx people through their positions within the fraternity.

For those in LGLO fraternities, they didn't feel the need to have to focus on cultural programming, but their events focused more on addressing toxic masculinity and enhancing productive meanings of masculinity. Participants noted that attending these events reshaped their

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meanings of masculinity by teaching them how their caballerismo meanings of masculinity can be performed and provided models for them to challenge the ideas that they had been taught to value. Regarding both their Latinidad and masculinity, events where they were able to give back to the community, specifically the local Latinx community, helped reinforce their ideas of providing for others, challenging negative Latinx stereotypes, and being examples to others. Extending previous research connecting community engagement with productive meanings of masculinity (Asel et al, 2009; Martin et al, 2011), this finding adds the cultural component for these Latino men was influential in how their meanings developed.

Two other experiences within their fraternity involvement that were important to participants' development were holding a leadership role and serving as a role model for others. This study found that having a leadership role and serving as brother helped provide participants with a role on campus, which helped them feel more engaged and connected to campus, addressing their meanings of masculinity related to providing for family (Huyge et al, 2015). Similar to Dancy & Hotchkins' (2015) study on black men in BGLOs, having a leadership role in LGLO fraternities help the participants align their cultural and masculinity values. Being that they didn't have Latinx role models or representatives to look up to prior to college regarding how to be successful in college (Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000; Perez, 2017), serving in this role for other Latino men in college and in their communities helped them develop a more productive meaning of masculinity. These roles enabled them to be more productive and exhibit more caballerismo traits of masculinity. It also made connect them to their Latinidad by providing them more examples of what Latino men can accomplish, compared to what they saw prior to college in their local communities. Seeing the example set by their alumni and how beneficial those relationships were, motivated them to serve in that role as kin-like relationship within their

fraternity. Providing for those they cared for, seeing the impact of their work in their fraternity and college campus, and being able to challenge the prevalent narrative of Latino men often posed as negative stereotypes through their leadership and mentorship roles helped participants redefine their masculinity and further connect to their Latinidad.

To close this section, there were two experiences in this study that influenced the meanings of masculinity and Latinidad participants made but were not addressed specifically in previous literature and need to be explored further in future research. First, the experience of having or being a fraternity brother who was considered an "other", or not identifying with the prevalent culture established in the fraternity. For LGLOs, it was being non-Latino or gay that served as the other role. For non-LGLOs, it was being Latino in that space that was uncovered in this study as an influential role. For those participants who were part of the prevalent culture in their space, they appreciated having the "other" brothers as it exposed them to new ideas and reshaped their ideas about what was acceptable regarding their masculinity or Latinidad. However, identifying as that "other", either as a Latino in a non-LGLO or as an LGBTQ identifying man in an LGLO, led to great stress and pressure to have to socialize and educate their other brothers. While Blanco (2014) engaged in a review of the literature on fraternity involvement, masculinity ideas, and sexuality, he acknowledged that "there is no research that explores the intersection of sexual identity and Latino fraternity membership" (p. 35). This impacted their meanings of masculinity and Latinidad by making them question what they believed and compelling them to challenge the traditional norms established in that space in order to be their authentic selves. While diversity within fraternities can be beneficial, it is important for fraternities to support those individuals who may not identify with the norms established in that space despite their alignment with the values in that space. The stress the

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"othered" participants in this study felt related to their fraternity, could impact other areas of their college experience and negatively influence college outcomes.

The last experience, specifically related to LGLO fraternities, is dropping a fraternity. Given the prolific status that being in an LGLO had within the Latinx community at BU, dropping from an LGLO fraternity after initiating the pledge process was perceived by the community as counter to their ideas of masculinity. The participant who dropped was perceived as not being a man of his word nor being emotionally strong. This caused him to question his own meanings of masculinity and Latinidad since he was no longer welcome in the community that he had called home for the first half of his college career. Being outcast from the Latinx community, eventually led him to pursue other opportunities and experiences on campus. One of these experiences ended up being his professional fraternity that aligned more with his meanings of masculinity of inclusivity and emotional expressiveness. More research is needed to understand the status of LGLO fraternity membership in the Latinx student community and how sense of belonging is impacted by losing that status.

Implications for Practice

This study presented findings related to the meanings of masculinity and Latinidad that Latino men have within a fraternity setting and how fraternities might influence the development of those meanings. From these findings, several recommendations can be made for how faculty, staff, and other higher educational professional can support Latino men in their collegiate pursuits and aid in their development of productive meanings of masculinity on campus.

Providing educational & social programming. This study found that intentional programs and events were important in how Latino men reshaped their meanings of masculinity and Latinidad towards more productive means. As noted in Blanco's study (2014) on Latino men

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in fraternities, these student engagement initiatives can work to provide counternarratives for Latino men and promote positive college outcomes. Along with the programs offered within their fraternity, participants talked about events they attended through the Latinx cultural center and other cultural organizations at BU. In relation to Latinidad, providing spaces on campus for Latino men to practice their cultural practices and learn more about their heritage can help them feel more connected to campus and reinforce their meanings of Latinidad. At predominantly white institutions hosting cultural events is important in developing a sense of belonging at the institution. Furthermore, hosting events on a consistent basis in a variety of settings are especially important while they are related to academic experiences, social connections, and professional development. As Latino men may not have role models at home related to college success given most identify as first-generation college students, these cultural events help develop a community of other Latinx students who support each other outside of the events in other areas of the college experience. They can also educate non-Latinx individuals about the Latinx culture and promote inclusivity for all underrepresented groups.

In addition to cultural programs and events, initiatives related to masculinity is also an opportunity for Latino men to promote more caballerismo ideals of masculinity and challenge traditional masculine norms. Having discussions about toxic masculinity, sexual assault, responding to adverse events, and other topics related to negative stereotypes of Latino masculinity can be useful for promoting productive masculinity norms. If these conversations about masculinity are done within cultural spaces, they can be especially rewarding. Study participants from LGLO fraternities discussed they sponsored their own events to combat machismo masculinity beliefs and behaviors in addition to the mandated workshops they needed to attend for the Office of Fraternity and Sorority Affairs at BU. Participants also described the

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positive impact of attending similar events through the Latinx cultural center and student

organizations on campus. Similar to the cultural events, having cultural centered programs and

workshops related to promoting caballerismo ideals and combating machismo norms can

influential to Latino male development of meanings of masculinity aligned with positive college

outcomes.

Community service initiatives are also a type of programming that Latino men should be

encouraged to participate in, specifically when the community they are serving is predominantly

Latinx. Being able to positively contribute to their community helps Latino men enact their

meanings of masculinity and Latinidad in productive ways. They feel they are representing for

other Latino men and serving as role models for other Latino men who may not have college-

going people in their lives to look up to. Higher education professionals should aim to develop

these types of programs for Latino men to help them have a role on campus and feel that they are

doing something meaningful to give back to their Latinx community. This can not only keep

them engaged in their college pursuits, but also keep them connected to a community that they

may not have on campus, specifically if the college is a predominantly white institution.

Developing mentorship & leadership opportunities. Along with educational programs

and events, providing Latino male students with leadership and mentorship opportunities can be

influential in how they enact productive meanings of masculinity and persist in higher education.

Given that for many Latino men their masculinity and Latinidad are centered on providing for

their family, holding a leadership role in a student organization or fraternity can help Latino men

exhibit these caballerismo attributes in positive ways. They can feel they are contributing to the

advancement of a group of other students who depend on them. However, as research shows that

many Latino men do not have the time to participate given their other responsibilities with work

and within their family (Tovar, 2015), the difficulty remains on how to get Latino men to engage in these leadership opportunities. This study showed that Latino men were willing to take on these leadership opportunities since they built a strong sense of family with their brothers and provided for them in the same way they would provide for their family. Their brothers needed them to lead and they were empowered to step up. Additionally, they saw the leadership role as a way to gain skills for professional development related to managing time, public speaking, and delegating responsibilities. Serving in a leadership role can be beneficial to how they perceive their ability to provide for their families in the future since they feel that it is advancing their career goals.

Through their leadership roles, they were able to serve as role models for other students and individuals in their Latinx community. The Latino men in this study spoke greatly of how they were seen as mentors, contributors, and leaders within the Latinx student community at BU and how that responsibility held them accountable to exhibit productive meanings of masculinity and Latinidad. They were representing for and changing the narrative of what Latino men could accomplish. Providing Latino men with opportunities to mentor others, specifically other Latinx students, can be important to their sense of being to the college campus and their motivation to be successful in their higher education pursuits.

Previous research has shown that having people to look up to, specifically other Latinx individuals, on campus can help with their persistence in college (Tovar, 2015). This study validates that by providing evidence on the important role that alumni brothers had on shaping their college experience and showing them how to be successful in the absence of other role models, given their first-generation college student status. Having Latinx mentors can be helpful for Latino men to make meaning of their college experience within a cultural context, bridge

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their college experience with their professional pursuits, and support them in developing their careers. For Latino men, it is not enough to be successful within the college setting if that success does not align with their cultural and gendered values of providing for their families. Therefore, having mentors who have graduated and are providing for their families can help them develop strategies to be successful.

However, as beneficial as mentorship and leadership opportunities may be, it is important for Latino men not to get over-involved as that can be linked with negative academic outcomes (Perez & Saenz, 2017). Given the importance of these relationships, Latino men may be inclined to prioritize social organizations over studying for classes, seeking help to improve academically, or attending classes themselves. Having mentors who can help Latino men learn how to manage their time effectively early on in their college career can help reduce the risk that involvement can have. Therefore, higher education professional should be mindful when encouraging Latino men to seek leadership opportunities. Programs where Latino men can be matched with mentors or role models early on and then serve as mentors for other Latino men as they advance through their college career can be important in keeping Latino men engaged and motivated through their college journey.

Increasing awareness of Latinx cultural values. Lastly, this study demonstrates the need for higher education faculty and staff to be cognizant of Latinx cultural values (Chun et al, 2016; Huerta, 2015) and the developmental process of Latino male students' meanings of masculinity and Latinidad. Given that the college culture is predominantly aligned with White American values (Boyraz et al., 2016), increasing awareness of Latinx cultural values are important in order for higher education professional to advise and interact Latino male students in culturally relevant and competent ways. Traditional higher education norms of

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individualization and independence are not as helpful to base recommendations for Latino male persistence as are interdependence and familismo (Cupito et al, 2015). Framing conversations in ways to help Latino men connect their college experience with their role in their family, how they can repay their family for the sacrifices they made, or how they can better provide for their future families is more appropriate when working with Latino male students who have a strong sense of Latinidad. Solely identifying as Latinx does not mean that the student will adhere to Latinx cultural values. However, this study showed that even for those individuals who were not as connected to their Latinidad as other participants, they still held familismo meanings of Latinidad and masculinity.

Given the importance of family and the adherence to familismo values in Latino men, administrators who are recruiting Latino men to higher education institutions or are advising these students in their academic pursuits, should include communicating with family in their professional practices. Since many Latino men are first-generation college students (Nunez & Sansone, 2016), helping the families of Latino male college students understand the college culture, the benefits of college education in how they can provide for their families, and how to navigate their expectations of their son with those of the institution, may help the family be more supportive of their son's educational pursuits and more understanding of their Latino masculinity development. This study showed that Latino men wanted to make their family proud and were persistent in their collegiate pursuits because they desired to give back to their family through their educational accomplishments, further promoting their Latino masculinity as providers for their families. Thus, being aware of these cultural values and incorporating a family plan of success for these Latino men, highlighting the roles of student and family members alike, may help them further persist and help the family better support their development and progression in

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college.

Higher education professionals should also provide opportunities for Latino men to practice and represent their cultural values. Since there is wide diversity in the subcultures within the Latinx community, allowing Latino men an opportunity to share the heritage from their country of origin can be helpful to their sense of belonging on campus. Providing spaces where they can teach others about their culture with pride and feel their cultural experiences are being heard can improve how they enact their meanings of masculinity as they have a role in promoting the inclusivity of the campus culture. Latino men are more inclined to pay attention to recommendations from higher education professionals when they feel their cultural values are respected, understood, and incorporated into their college experience (Gloria & Rodriguez, Kiyama et al, 2015; Perez, 2017). Latino men would benefit greatly from a greater integration of their Latinx values on campus and having their Latinx culture represented in a variety of settings on campus can foster their sense of belonging and persistence in higher education.

Furthermore, diversity and inclusion workshops designed to provide education to faculty and staff about Latinx college student experience, should not overlook the importance of gender norms within this culture and the different experiences that Latinx men and women have in college. Providing seminars about Latino masculinity specifically and strategies to align higher education practices with these gendered cultural norms can be useful in how Latino men perceive the support from the faculty and administrators they interact with.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study explored the experiences of a small group of Latino men within their fraternities and how their involvement influenced the development of their meanings of masculinity and Latinidad. To continue learning and understanding the complexity of Latino

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male college experiences and how these experiences influence the ways they make meaning of their intersecting identities, this study suggests the following recommendation for future research:

1. This study was only able to collect the narratives of ten Latino men in fraternities. However, given the growing number of Latino men enrolling in higher education it can be assumed that the rate of Latino men involved in fraternities is also increasing. The challenge that remained in this study was identifying how many Latino men were involved in fraternities and what type of fraternities, since demographic data about ethnicity was not collected across fraternity types and at the institution. Future studies on Latino men involved in fraternities should improve on the demographic data collected for those involved in fraternities and aim to collect narratives from more Latino men to provide a richer collective narrative that represents the nuanced experiences of heterogeneity of Latino men. These narratives should be better reflected across fraternity types, ethnic subgroups, and immigrant status.

2. This study was conducted at a predominantly white, bachelor's degree granting, public institution. However, many Latino male students are also enrolled at Hispanic Serving Institutions (Cheng & Mallinckrodt, 2015), community colleges (Gonzalez & Morrison, 2016; Ponjuan et al., 2015), and/or taking courses at a part-time status (Kiyama et al., 2015). These institutional factors could influence the ways that Latino men make meaning of their masculinity and Latinidad. Understanding the fraternity and campus experiences of Latino men at these settings should be the focus of future research to compare how different institutional structures and higher education institutions may impact the developmental process of Latino male college students.

3. This study used Harris's (2010) Meanings of Masculinity model as a theoretical framework, looking specifically at the role that one influencing factor, male peer groups, played on how Latino men made meaning of their Latinidad and masculinity. Future research should explore the other influencing factors in Harris's model, especially student organization involvement. Many participants in this study shared that participating in Latinx centered organizations, services, and programs on campus introduced them to their fraternity and influenced how they made meaning of their Latinidad and masculinity. Research has also shown how student organizations (Cerezo et al, 2015), specifically Latinx student organizations (Hotchkins & Dancy, 2015; Kiyama et al, 2015), can improve their sense of belonging on campus. The role involvement in student organizations or Latinx cultural services plays on Latino male masculinity and Latinidad development in college should be further explored.

4. This study demonstrated that the intersection between masculinity and cultural norms is important to understand when interacting with students who come from backgrounds with cultural gender norms. However, Latino men are not the only ethnic gender group who have embedded cultural gender norms for men and women or who adhere to familismo, or family centered, values. Future studies should explore how men from Asian and Middle Eastern cultures make meaning of their masculinity and cultural identity as this may influence their college experiences.

5. This study found that identifying as an "other" within the fraternity setting can lead to differences in how Latino men make meaning of their masculinity and Latinidad. Specifically, identifying as LGBTQ, was an intersecting identity which was acknowledged in this study. Strayhorn and Tillman-Kelly (2013) found that men of color

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who identify as LGBTQ often do not feel accepted by their cultural peers and families leading them to have difficulty accepting themselves given traditional masculine norms. Their study also noted that identifying as LGBTQ for black male college students influenced how these men expressed their masculinity and the activities they engaged in on campus. Future research should explore how Latino men who identify as LGBTQ make meaning of their masculinity, especially since they may feel they need to put on a machismo mask to be accepted and welcomed within their Latinx community and families at home or feel the need to consistently challenge toxic masculine norms in those settings. The supports and services that LGBTQ Latino men need in relation to how they develop their ideas of masculinity may differ from those that heterosexual Latino men need. Therefore, future research is needed to better understand sexual identity development, in relation to masculinity and Latinidad development.

6. This study had participants who were able to live away from home and get very involved in their fraternity organizations. However, that is not the case for many Latino male college students given the expectations placed on them by their families and the responsibilities they have within their homes. Familial relationships play a key role in the choices Latino men make regarding higher education and how they engage on campus (Cupito et al, 2015; Gloria et al, 2017; Molina & Posadas, 2012; Tovar, 2015; Witkow et al, 2015). Future studies should explore the role that Latinx parents and family members play in allowing their sons to explore their masculinity and develop independence in how they make meaning of their identities. Since this study revealed that Latino men often had meanings of masculinity that differed from that of their parents, studying the parental influence on their masculinity development can be important in understanding the ways

that Latinx parents can support their children towards persistence behaviors.

7. This study explored the meanings of Latino masculinity of Latino men within their fraternity, specifically highlighting the ways their meanings were reshaped to be more productive or aligned with caballerismo ideas through being away from home. However, it is not clear if these caballerismo meanings of masculinity persist post-graduation or if they will need to renegotiate their meanings of masculinity considering the norms reinforced and expected within their families and home environments. Therefore, it would be beneficial to conduct longitudinal studies that further examine what meanings of Latino masculinity persist after college and what factors help produce productive meanings of masculinity.

Conclusion

This study sheds light on how Latino men made meaning of their masculinity and Latinidad and provides insight into the ways these meanings impact their college experiences. Prior to coming to college, Latino men identified with caballerismo attributes of masculinity but were not supported in exploring, practicing, and performing these meanings of masculinity until they were in college and surrounded by others who supported them within their fraternity. The *hombres* in this study found value in their *hermandad* to enrich their college experience and aid in their overall persistence. Faculty, staff, and other higher education professionals should be aware of these fraternity experiences. Even if they do not work within fraternities, administrators can identify ways to strategically build communities of Latinx students and support Latino men in developing productive meanings of masculinity in order to foster their college success. This study sought to give voice to the experiences of Latino men in higher education so that as a collective group, strategies can be developed and implemented to change the narrative of the

"threatening" or "vanishing Latino male" from college campuses to one of success and social

advancement of Latinx people through the promotion of college education.

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Appendix A

IRB Letter from Seton Hall University

January 30, 2019

Michael Vega
████████████████
████████████

Dear Mr. Vega,

The Institutional Review Board office is in receipt of the application for your research entitled "Hombres y Hermandad (Men and Brotherhood): Exploring the Role of Fraternities on Latino Masculinity Development in College."

Your application does not fall under the purview of the IRB office because, as you describe the study in your application, it is a non-generalizable case study of undergraduate fraternity members enrolled at ██████████ only.

Sincerely,

Mary F. Ruzicka, Ph.D.

Mary F. Ruzicka, Ph.D.
Professor
Director, Institutional Review Board Office

Cc: Dr. Eunyoung Kim

Office of Institutional Review Board
Presidents Hall • 400 South Orange Avenue • South Orange, NJ 07079 • Tel: 973.313.6314 • Fax: 973.275.2361 • www.shu.edu

A HOME FOR THE MIND, THE HEART AND THE SPIRIT

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IRB Notice of Approval from Brother University

**DHHS Federal Wide Assurance
Identifier:** FWA00003913
IRB Chair Person: Beverly Tepper
IRB Director: Michelle Watkinson
Effective Date: 3/29/2019
Approval Date: 3/20/2019
Expiration Date:

eIRB Notice of Approval for Initial Submission # Pro2018002821

STUDY PROFILE

Study ID:	Pro2018002821		
Title:	Hombres y Hermandad (Men & Brotherhood): Understanding the Role of Fraternities on Latino Masculinity Development in College		
Principal Investigator:	Ebelia Hernandez	**Study Coordinator:**	Michael Vega
Co-Investigator(s):	Michael Vega	**Other Study Staff:**	There are no items to display
Sponsor:	There are no items to display	**Approval Cycle:**	Not Applicable
Risk Determination:	Minimal Risk	**Device Determination:**	Not Applicable
Review Type:	Exempt **Expedited Category:** N/A	**Exempt Category:**	2
Subjects:	20 **Specimens:** N/A	**Records:**	N/A

CURRENT SUBMISSION STATUS

Submission Type:	Research Protocol/Study	Submission Status:	Approved
Approval Date:	3/20/2019	**Expiration Date:**	
Pregnancy Code:	No Pregnant Women as Subjects	**Pediatric Code:** No Children As Subjects	**Prisoner Code:** No Prisoners As Subjects

Protocol:	IRB Application Protocol	**Consent:**	Consent Form.pdf Demographic Survey.pdf Interview Protocol.pdf	**Other Materials:**	Recruitment Ad Recruitment Letter

* Study Performance Sites:

ALL APPROVED INVESTIGATOR(S) MUST COMPLY WITH THE FOLLOWING:

1. Conduct the research in accordance with the protocol, applicable laws and regulations, and the principles of research ethics as set forth in the Belmont Report.

2. **Continuing Review:** Approval is valid until the protocol expiration date shown above. To avoid lapses in approval, submit a continuation application at least eight weeks before the study expiration date.

3. **Expiration of IRB Approval:** If IRB approval expires, effective the date of expiration and until the continuing review approval is issued: **All research activities must stop unless the IRB finds that it is in the best interest of individual subjects to continue. (This determination shall be based on a separate written request from the PI to the IRB.) No new subjects may be enrolled and no samples/charts/surveys may be collected,**

reviewed, and/or analyzed.

4. **Amendments/Modifications/Revisions**: If you wish to change any aspect of this study, including but not limited to, study procedures, consent form(s), investigators, advertisements, the protocol document, investigator drug brochure, or accrual goals, you are required to obtain IRB review and approval prior to implementation of these changes unless necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to subjects.

5. **Unanticipated Problems**: Unanticipated problems involving risk to subjects or others must be reported to the IRB Office (45 CFR 46, 21 CFR 312, 812) as required, in the appropriate time as specified in the attachment online at: https://orra.rutgers.edu/hspp

6. **Protocol Deviations and Violations**: Deviations from/violations of the approved study protocol must be reported to the IRB Office (45 CFR 46, 21 CFR 312, 812) as required, in the appropriate time as specified in the attachment online at: https://orra.rutgers.edu/hspp

7. **Consent/Assent**: The IRB has reviewed and approved the consent and/or assent process, waiver and/or alteration described in this protocol as required by 45 CFR 46 and 21 CFR 50, 56, (if FDA regulated research). Only the versions of the documents included in the approved process may be used to document informed consent and/or assent of study subjects; each subject must receive a copy of the approved form(s); and a copy of each signed form must be filed in a secure place in the subject's medical/patient/research record.

8. **Completion of Study:** Notify the IRB when your study has been stopped for any reason. Neither study closure by the sponsor or the investigator removes the obligation for submission of timely continuing review application or final report.

9. The Investigator(s) did not participate in the review, discussion, or vote of this protocol.

10. Letter Comments: *There are no additional comments.*

CONFIDENTIALITY NOTICE: This email communication may contain private, confidential, or legally privileged information intended for the sole use of the designated and/or duly authorized recipients(s). If you are not the intended recipient or have received this email in error, please notify the sender immediately by email and permanently delete all copies of this email including all attachments without reading them. If you are the intended recipient, secure the contents in a manner that conforms to all applicable state and/or federal requirements related to privacy and confidentiality of such information.

Appendix C

Recruitment Letter

Dear Student:

You are invited to participate in an exciting student on Latino men in fraternities titled:
Hombres y Hermandad *(Men & Brotherhood)***: Understanding The Role of Fraternity Involvement on Latino Masculinity Development In College.**

My name is Michael Vega, and I am a doctoral student in the Higher Education Leadership, Management, and Policy program at Seton Hall University in New Jersey. The purpose of my study is to gain an understanding of how fraternity involvement may or may not influence the ways Latino men make meaning of their masculinity while in college.

All men who identify as Latino who are currently enrolled in a Bachelor's degree program at a 4-year college or university and have been involved in a fraternity for at least one full academic year are eligible to participate in this study. Your story is important and valuable to this research; therefore, you will receive a **$25 gift card** after you have completed a short demographic questionnaire and participated in a 60 to 90 minute interview. The interview will be conducted at a place and time that is convenient for you between **March 1, 2019 and October 30, 2019**. During the interview, I will ask you questions about what it means for you to be a Latino male in college and involved in your fraternity.

Your participation in this study is voluntary and much appreciated. With your permission, the interview will be recorded with a digital voice recorder. Information from this research will be used solely for the purpose of this study and any publications or presentations that may result from this study. **All conversations will remain confidential**. Personal identifying information such as your name, fraternity you are involved in, and school you are enrolled in will not be used in reports or presentations.

Thank you for your time and consideration and I sincerely hope you will grant your consent to participate in this important study aimed to give Latino men a voice in sharing their college experience. If you have any questions or would like to participate, please contact me as soon as possible at Michael.vega@shu.edu or ███████████.

I look forward to being able to hear your story!

Sincerely, Michael E. Vega
Michael.vega@shu.edu Doctoral Candidate
Seton Hall University College of Education & Human Services Ph.D. in Higher Education Leadership, Management, and Policy

CONSENT TO TAKE PART IN A RESEARCH STUDY

TITLE OF STUDY: Hombres y Hermandad *(Men & Brotherhood)*: Understanding the Role of Fraternities on Latino Masculinity Development in College

Principal Investigator: Dr. Ebelia Hernandez, Associate Professor, Higher Education and College Student Affairs
Co-Investigator: Mr. Michael Vega, Ph.D. Candidate

This informed consent form provides information about a research study and what will be asked of you if you choose to take part in it. If you have any questions now or during the study, if you choose to take part in it, you should feel free to ask them and should expect to be given answers you completely understand. It is your choice whether to take part in the research. Your alternative to taking part is not to take part in the research.

After all of your questions have been answered and you wish to take part in the research study, you will be asked to sign this informed consent form. You are not giving up any of your legal rights by agreeing to take part in this research or by signing this consent form.

Who is conducting this research study?
Dr. Ebelia Hernandez is the Principal Investigator of this research study. A Principal Investigator has the overall responsibility for the conduct of the research. However, there are often other individuals who are part of the research team. Michael Vega, who will be using this study for his dissertation, will be the co-investigator by primary contact for the project. Mr.
Michael E. Vega is a doctoral candidate in the Seton Hall University College of Education and Human Services, Ph.D. in Higher Education Leadership, Management and Policy program.

Mr. Michael Vega may be reached at ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ or at Michael.vega@shu.edu.

Ebelia Hernandez or Michael Vega will also be asked to sign this informed consent. You will be given a copy of the signed consent form to keep.

Why is this study being done?
The purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of how fraternity involvement may or may not influence the ways Latino men make meaning of their masculinity while in college.

Who may take part in this study and who may not?
Any student who identifies as a Latino male, is enrolled in an undergraduate bachelor's degree program, and has been a member of a fraternity for at least a year is eligible to participate in this study. Any student who is enrolled in a graduate program or taking courses with the ▮▮▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ are ineligible to participate.

Why have I been asked to take part in this study?
You are being invited to participate because the experiences you share about your fraternity involvement and ideas of masculinity can help other educators better understand the experiences of Latino men in college. With this understanding, educators can hopefully identify better ways to teach, advise, and support Latino males towards college success.

How long will the study take and how many subjects will take part?
Each participant will be asked to dedicate no more than 90 minutes to this study. We are looking to have approximately 20 students participate.

What will I be asked to do if I take part in this study?
Research procedures include the following: research subject completion of a demographic survey, and participation in one audio recorded, open ended, semi-structured interview not to exceed 90 minutes conducted by the researcher. Participant's information and identities will not be released. Interview questions will focus on how participants make meaning of their gender and racial/ethnic identities, and how their fraternity involvement and college experiences may influence the meaning they give to these identities. Each participant will have the opportunity to review any recordings, transcripts, or analysis of data that pertains to them throughout the course of the study.

What are the risks and/or discomforts I might experience if I take part in this study? There are no anticipated physical risks involved with taking part in this research, including potential physical stress or discomfort. However, if you need to, you may contact Counseling, ADAP, and Psychological Services (CAPS) for counseling support. They can be reached at ███████████ to make an appointment and their offices are located at ████████████████████████.

The measure that the researcher is taking to safeguard participants' confidentiality ensures that their identities will not be revealed. The information provided by a participant will not be traced to his participation.

Are there any benefits to me if I choose to take part in this study?
While there are nor foreseeable direct benefits, it is anticipated that the results of this research will help the participants better understand their collegiate experiences and fraternity involvement by reflecting upon their identity development within these contexts. This study intends to give voice to the Latino male experience in higher education, focusing on potential experiences that can help Latino men develop masculinity norms aligned with positive persistence behaviors.

What are my alternatives if I do not want to take part in this study?
There are no alternatives to participating in the study. Your only alternative is not to take part in this study.

How will I know if new information is learned that may affect whether I am willing to stay in the study?
During the course of the study, you will be updated about any new information that may affect whether you are willing to continue taking part in the study. If new information is learned that may affect you after the study or your follow-up is completed, you will be contacted.

Will there be any cost to me to take part in this study?
There is no financial cost for you to participate in this study.

Will I be paid to take part in this study?
You will receive $25 in the form of a gift card after consenting to participate in the study.

Who might benefit financially from this research?
No one is expected to benefit financially from this research.

How will information about me be kept private or confidential?
All efforts will be made to keep your personal information in your research record confidential, but total confidentiality cannot be guaranteed. Responses during the interview will remain confidential and pseudonyms (alias) will be assigned to each participant and to each fraternity. Participants' identities will not be revealed in preliminary and final reports, or published materials. During the study, dissertation mentor and committee members will have access to the coded information through the researcher.

What will happen if I do not wish to take part in the study or if I later decide not to stay in the study?
It is your choice whether to take part in the research. You may choose to take part, not to take part or you may change your mind and withdraw from the study at any time.

If you do not want to enter the study or decide to stop taking part, your relationship with the study staff will not change, and you may do so without penalty and without loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

You may also withdraw your consent for the use of data already collected about you, but you must do this in writing to Mr. Michael Vega at Michael.vega@shu.edu or to Dr. Ebelia Hernandez at Ebelia.hernandez@gse.rutgers.edu.

Will I be recorded as part of the study?
A digital audio recorder will be used to record the interviews. Participants will be identified by a pseudonym (alias) and files will be saved under this pseudonym. Audio files will be kept confidential and transferred from the digital recorder to a password protected drive on Box.com. Audio recordings will then be transcribed by the researcher. Only the researcher will have direct access; while the dissertation mentor and committee members will have the right to access the data files upon request. Participants have the opportunity to obtain a copy of their interview (both audio

and transcribed) upon request. After the research is completed, the audio files, transcripts, and print materials will be destroyed.

Who can I call if I have questions?

If you have questions about taking part in this study or if you feel you may have suffered a research related injury, you can call the primary investigators: Michael Vega, Ph.D. Candidate, at ██████████ or Dr. Ebelia Hernandez, Graduate School of Education at ██████████.

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, you can call the IRB Director for ████████████████████████████████████ at ██████████ or the ████████████████ ██.

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE

1. Subject consent:

I have read this entire consent form, or it has been read to me, and I believe that I understand what has been discussed. All of my questions about this form and this study have been answered. I agree to take part in this study.

Subject Name:_____

Subject Signature:_____Date:_____

2. Signature of Investigator/Individual Obtaining Consent:

To the best of my ability, I have explained and discussed all the important details about the study including all of the information contained in this consent form.

Investigator/Person Obtaining Consent (printed name):_____

Signature:_____Date:_____

Appendix E

Demographic Information Questionnaire

Thank you for consenting to participate in this interview for the project, **Hombres y Hermandad: Understanding the Role of Fraternities on Latino Masculinity Development in College.** As we previously discussed, this study focuses on your college experience and fraternity involvement.

Before we begin, please complete the following demographic questionnaire. A reminder, any information you share here that may indicate who you are, what college you attend, and which specific fraternity you are a part of will be kept confidential.

1. Full Name: _____

2. Name to be referred by in the study (Pseudonym): _____

3. Age:_____   Gender _____

4. Ethnicity: _____

5. Primary Major: _____

6. How many years have you been attending college?
   a. 0-1 years
   b. 1-2 years
   c. 2-3 years
   d. 3-4 years
   e. 4+ years

7. How many years until you intend to complete your undergraduate degree?
   a. 0-1 years
   b. 1-2 years
   c. 2-3 years
   d. 3-4 years
   e. 4+ years

8. Immigration Status (select which applies):
   a. You were not born in the United States (U.S.) but were raised here
   b. You were born and raised in the U.S, but at least one of your parents was not
   c. You and both your parents were born and raised in the U.S., but at least one of your grandparents was not
   d. Your, your parents, and your grandparents were born and raised in the U.S.

9. Place a check next to the highest level of education completed by your parents.
    a. Parent 1
        i. Less than High School
        ii. High School/GED
        iii. Some College
        iv. 2-Year College Degree (Associates)
        v. 4-Year College Degree (BA/BS)
        vi. Master's Degree
        vii. Doctoral or Professional Degree
    b. Parent 2
        i. Less than High School
        ii. High School/GED
        iii. Some College
        iv. 2-Year College Degree (Associates)
        v. 4-Year College Degree (BA/BS)
        vi. Master's Degree
        vii. Doctoral or Professional Degree

10. Are you currently working while attending school?
    a. No
    b. Yes, on-campus
    c. Yes, off-campus
    d. Yes, both on- and off-campus

11. If so, how many hours do you typically work per week while attending school? _____

12. Are you involved in a fraternity?
    a. Yes
    b. No

13. Is your fraternity a Latino Greek Letter Organization?
    a. Yes
    b. No

14. How long have you been a member of this fraternity?
    a. 0-1 years
    b. 1-2 years
    c. 2-3 years
    d. 3+ years

15. How would you describe your involvement compared to other members of your fraternity?
    a. More than most members
    b. The same as most members
    c. Less than most members

16. How would you describe your perception of your level of involvement within your fraternity?
    a. I want to be more involved
    b. I want to be less involved
    c. I am content with my level of involvement

17. Which of the following best describes where you are living while attending college?
    a. On-campus housing
    b. Off-campus, within walking distance to campus
    c. Off-campus, farther than walking distance to campus

18. Relationship with those you live with (Please select all that apply):
    a. Fraternity brother(s)
    b. Friend(s), not affiliated with fraternity
    c. Family member(s)
    d. Romantic Partner(s)
    e. Other

Appendix F

Interview Protocol

Process: Study subjects will be participants in a semi-structured, open-ended, in-depth interview that will last approximately 90 minutes. The strategy of narrative inquiry is utilized for this qualitative research study. Therefore, the pre-determined interview questions act as a guide to maintain the focus of the interview and to assure that the research questions are thoroughly discussed. However, the questions are intended to elicit stories about the participants experience within a fraternity and the study participants will be informed that they can share their narrative in as much detail as they feel comfortable. Predetermined probes are provided to guide the researcher but additional follow up questions will come from their responses.

Consent Process: Once potential study participants express interest in being interviewed for the study, I will send a message to their email asking to schedule a time to interview and provide a copy of the consent form for them to review. Then, when they attend the interview, they will have an opportunity to review the consent form again, ask any questions they may have, and sign two copies, one for the researcher to keep and another for their records.

Interview Session Process: After obtaining a signed Consent Form, participants will be asked to complete a brief demographic questionnaire. After completing the questionnaire, they audio recorded interview will begin.

Interview Script:
"Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview today. My name is Michael Vega and I am a doctoral candidate in the Higher Education Leadership, Management, and Policy program at Seton Hall University. You were invited to participate in this study because you shared that you identify as a Latino male and have been involved in a fraternity for at least a year. During this 60 to 90 minute interview, I will ask you questions about your background, your experiences within your fraternity, and how those experiences may have influenced your idea of what it means to be a Latino man.

As stated in the Consent Form that you signed, your participation in this study is voluntary and the interview will be audio recorded so that I may accurately document your responses. If at any time during the interview you wish to discontinue the use of the recorder or the interview itself, please feel free to let me know. Information from this research will be used solely for the purpose of this study and any presentations or publications that may result from this study. All conversations will remain confidential, and your name, name of your fraternity, and other identifying characteristics will not be used. Thank you in advance for your time and for being a part of this study"

Interview Guide:

Participant Pseudonym: _____

Date of Interview: _____   Start Time: _____   Location: _____

Interview Question	Research Questions Addressed
1. Can you start off by telling me about yourself, your family, and where you grew up? 2. What was it like being a Latino where you grew up? 3. Growing up, how did your family talk about or practice your Latino culture? 4. What aspects of your ethnicity do you feel most connected to? 5. What was it like growing up as a man in your household? 6. To you, what does it mean to be a man and how did you come to develop this idea? 7. How do you feel your views and beliefs regarding what it means to be a man or Latino compare to your family's views?	**Background questions** Develop understanding of pre-college gender socialization and background on their development of Latino and male identities.
8. Tell me about your college experience thus far. 9. What is it like to be a Latino male on your campus? 10. Tell me about your fraternity and how you came to join your fraternity. *(Probe for understanding of fraternity mission, perceptions on campus, typical activities, community service, etc.)* 11. Tell me more about your involvement, activities, and relationships you've made through this fraternity. 12. Tell me about your most meaningful experience since being involved in your fraternity. 13. How has your involvement impacted your college experience?	**What meanings do Latino males give to their masculinity and/or Latinidad while in a fraternity?** Gain an understanding of their involvement within the fraternity and how it interacts with other parts of their college experience. Establishing a baseline for their meaning making process in relation to the male peer group interactions as noted by Harris.
14. Tell me about what it's like to be Latino in your fraternity. *(Probe for specific*	**How does fraternity involvement play a role in Latino males' meaning-making of their masculinity and/or Latinidad?**

experiences that demonstrate their response) *15.* Tell me about how your fraternity talks about masculinity and how that plays out in the activities they hold. *(Probe for specific experiences that demonstrate their response)* 16. Fraternity men are often perceived as aggressive, hypersexual, and hypermasculine. Tell me about how you feel about that and what that means for your involvement. 17. How do you feel being Latino interplays with that stereotype?	Understanding the experiences of being Latino and male within this male centered context and establishing how they view themselves in relation to stereotypes of fraternity men.
18. Given what you've shared about your fraternity, tell me about how your definition of what it means to be a man has been influenced by your involvement. *(Probe for specific experiences that demonstrate their response)* *19.* How, if at all, was your masculinity challenged or questioned through your involvement? *(Probe for specific experiences that demonstrate their response)* 20. What about your ethnicity? How has your idea of what it means to be Latino been influenced by your fraternity involvement? 21. What other experiences or relationships in college outside of your fraternity, if any, have impacted your ideas of masculinity or Latinidad? 22. If you were asked to share some words with another Latino male who is interested in joining a fraternity, what would you share about your experience?	**What experiences within a fraternity, if any, reinforce and/or reshape Latino males' masculinity and/or Latinidad?** Understanding critical moments or experiences that may or may not lead to shifts in how participants make meaning of their masculinity and ethnicity within the college context.
23. Do you have any questions for me regarding this interview or is there something you would have wanted me to ask you regarding your experience in a fraternity?	**Interview Wrap-Up** Opportunity to share additional comments or ask clarifying questions before concluding.

Appendix G

Code List

Latinidad
Acculturation
Ethnic identification
Ethnic pride
Familismo
Immigrant experience
Living in Spanish community
Loud
Man of the house
Pay family back
Religion
Remember ethnic roots
Responsibilities in home
Shared struggles
Spanish dancing
Spanish food
Spanish language
Spanish music
Spanish TV shows
Spending time with family

Caballerismo
Affectionate
Attentive to health
Dependable
Gender equality
Gentleman
Helping others
Independence
Man of your word
Nurturing
Open minded
Providing for family
Respectful towards others
Respectful towards women
Responsible
Seeking help
Showing emotions

Machismo
Aggression
Being in control
Being strong
Being the best
Being tough
Breadwinner
Competition
Heteronormative
Homophobic behaviors
Hypersexual
Inattentive to health
Limited display of affection
Limited display of emotion
Machismo
Male pride
Masculinity shaming
Power
Traditional views

Roles
Brotherhood
Challenging masculine norms
Commitment to fraternity
Different from home
Difficulty socializing
Diverse
Fraternity = work
Fraternity pride
LGLO vs. non-LGLO
Not welcoming
Reinforce masculinity
Reshape masculinity
Sense of belonging
Time management
Welcoming
White fraternity

Experiences
Academic performance
Academic struggles
Alumni
Being a role model

College support program
Conversations about ethnicity
Conversations about masculinity
Discrimination
Discrimination against other Latinx
Dropping fraternity
Exposure to fraternity
Feeling othered
Financial struggles
First generation students
Focus on school
Food insecurity
Having Latinx friends
Having Latinx role model
Having male friends
Having male role models
Jokes about ethnicity
Lack of diversity
Lack of ethnic connection
Lack of Latinx role model
Lack of male friends
Lack of male role models
Latinx program or resource
Leadership role
Leaving home LGBTQ identity
Media influence
Negative perception of fraternity
Overcoming obstacles
Parental influence
Perceived as criminals
Perceived as gay
Pledge process
Pretending to be masculine
Professional development
Single parent household
Student involvement
Working while in school